

# singsing

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The Juan D. Nepomuceno Center  
HOLY ANGEL UNIVERSITY

for Kapampangan Studies  
ANGELES CITY, PHILIPPINES

## BOCABVLARIO DE PAMPANGO EN ROMANCE, Y DICCIONARIO DE ROMANCE EN PAMPANGO.



Compuesto por el M. R. P. Lector  
Fr. Diego Bergaño, de el Orden de los  
Hermitaños de N. P. San Agustín,  
Examinador Sinodal de este Arzobis-  
pado, Diffinidor de esta Provincia del  
Santissimo Nombre de Jesus,  
y Prior del Convento de  
S. Pablo de Manila.

Impreso en Manila: En el Convento de Nuestra Señora de los  
Angeles. Año de 1731.

# ROMANCING THE KAPAMPANGAN LANGUAGE

*Lampanga*

Antes que tratemos de las Pasivas, dire  
breve mente la diferencia, que ay entre a  
pasivas: para que se sepa, quando se  
se por activa, y quando se  
pasiva.

que usamos, quando se  
una Cosa en general con que  
nada: lo qual se conoza  
nuestro Español no tiene  
lo el, la, lo; pero alrevés  
se usa: quando se habla de  
señalada, y con modo de  
Vg. para decir trae agua,  
trae pan &c. nose adu defu  
num, pingan, tinagay, &  
uiera sezi, sino trae el  
plato, y trae la comida:  
señalada, y que ellos entien  
y así dize como can Ba  
en pingan, como can canang  
señalada Vg. mata larga  
del Capon, y así en los de  
por fuerza mente de la pa  
do, patayan munang ma  
nuntang capon, i es general  
abor simples, como Compu  
puesta que se vna Cosa de  
se habla de ella deteimi  
lo qual se collige, de aquel  
lato, o otro equivalente  
tiene en el español la tal  
zimos queda na ning L  
ning sallan nano, &c.  
muchas veces el síncolo V  
XPLICACION  
de las preposiciones,  
y Verbos com-  
puestos.  
Elas preposiciones  
y particulas N. y An.  
Esta particula N. tiene otra signific



# RECENT VISITORS



BEA ZOBEL DE AYALA, JR



GOV. GRACE PADACA



JUSTICE JOSE VITUG



REP. SALACNIB BATERINA



DEAN RAUL SUNICO



REP. CYNTHIA VILLAR



PROF. JAIME LICAUCO



GEMMA CRUZ ARANETA



JOHN SILVA



JONATHAN BEST

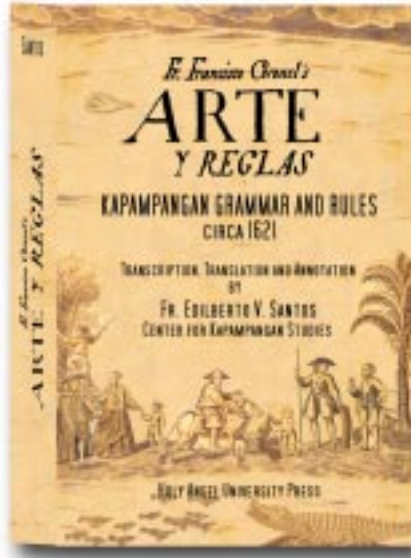


GOV. ESTELITO MENDOZA



CESAR VIRATA

## Center launches translated 1621 Kapampangan grammar



The Center recently released the English translation of Fray Francisco Coronel's *Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Pampanga*, the oldest extant Kapampangan grammar. It was translated by Fr. Edilberto V. Santos on a University grant.

Coronel's book is the first in a series of

translations that the Center is undertaking to make early Spanish archival documents accessible to scholars and students. The next are Fray Diego Bergaño's *Vocabulario en la Lengua Pampanga* (1732) and his own grammar *Arte de la Lengua Pampanga* (1729), both already completed; Fray Alvaro de Benavente's *Arte y Diccionario Pampango* (1700); and documents from the Luther Parker Collections, the National Archives and the Manila Archdiocesan Archives.

"Coronel's *Arte* is significant because it was written in the early 1600s, barely a few years after the Spaniards first made contact with the Kapampangans," Center Director Robby Tantingco said. "Because our ancestors used the ancient writing system of baybayin, Coronel's *Arte* represented the colonizers' earliest attempts to reconfigure our language and their efforts to make us unlearn what we were already using."

Fr. Santos, a former Benedictine, is a guest priest of the Archdiocese of San Fernando.

The book is available at the Center and in bookstores in Manila.

## Consultant presents paper at Illinois conference

Prof. Lino Dizon, Director of the Center for Tarlaqueño Studies and history consultant for the Center for Kapampangan Studies, recently presented his paper *Mr. White and the History of Public Education in the Philippines: The Legacy of Frank Russell White of Milburn, Illinois, 1901-1913*, at the 7<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference on Illinois History held at the Prairie Capital Convention Center in Springfield, Ill.

Mr. White was a Thomasite in Tarlac whose alleged haunting of an old public school building in Concepcion town led Prof. Dizon to write his book, which the Center launched two years ago.

Prof. Dizon also acquired materials for the Center during his side trips to various libraries and private collectors in the US, including the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, which reportedly has the largest Filipiniana collection outside the Philippines; the University of Southern Califor-



nia, which has the collection of Adam Derkum, a Thomasite assigned in Mexico, Pampanga and later promoted as Division superintendent of the province; the National Archives in Washington, D.C.; and the private Filipiniana collections of Mike Price.





## JimenezBasic designs promo materials for Kapampangan Center 'Culture Made Useful': COUNTRY'S TOP AD AGENCY PROMOTES LOCAL HISTORY & CULTURE

Kapampangan culture recently got a marketing boost when the creative team of JimenezBasic, one of the most respected agencies in Philippine advertising, designed posters and postcards for the Center for Kapampangan Studies.

Publicis Groupe, one of the largest global communications conglomerates with 300 offices in 70 countries and clients that include Nike, Nestle and Nescafe, also acknowledged the development in the October 9, 2005 issue of its publication, Publicis Asia Pacific.

The creative team that designed the materials was composed of Don Sevilla (executive creative director), Nathan Javier and Lawin Bulatao (creative directors) and Third Domingo (associate creative director). The project's account team was headed by JimenezBasic business unit director Alex R. Castro, who is a consultant and museum curator of the Center for Kapampangan Studies.

"The creative challenge was how to make culture relevant to our daily life," the article in the Publicis Asia Pacific said.

The posters show copies of the cultural magazine *Singsing* being used as tinapa wrapper, or folded to fasten a cabinet door, with the line "The truly useful

cultural publication," thus "cleverly and factually situating culture—and its importance—in our everyday life," the article said. "JimenezBasic lent its support to...the Center for Kapampangan Studies, an academic-led organization of scholars, professionals and cultural advocates that is at the forefront of promoting the rich heritage of Pampanga, a province north of Manila."

The postcards, on the other hand, depict Kapampangan folk practices and the effects of lahar, e.g., the Aguman Sanduk cross-dressing festival in Minalin, crucifixion of a flagellant, Bacolor church destroyed by pyroclastic material. "The postcards are characterized by an explosion of color and decorative details, very typical of Filipinos' penchant for over-art direction," the article said. The back of each postcard contains sketches on extra uses of postcards—as fly swatter, table balancer and fan—thus extending the ad agency's theme of "culture made useful."

"The reaction to the designs starts with shock then progresses to humor then insight," said Robby Tantingco, Director of the Center for Kapampangan Studies. "The message is about the practical usefulness of culture, which is contrary to the popular notion



that culture is for entertainment only. What use do the masses or common folk have for culture? That is precisely what

the Center is trying to accomplish, to make local history and culture popular and accessible and, ultimately, useful."





## Center sponsors *Ligligan Kantang Pasku*

Twenty-six (26) brand-new Kapampangan Christmas songs were submitted to the Ligligan Kantang Pasku, a songwriting competition sponsored by the Center for Kapampangan Studies last December.

A Masantol-born Catholic priest, Fr. Carmelo Agustin, won the top prize for his entry *Ing Panalangin Cu Ngening Pasku*. Tied at second place were the songs *King Paskung Daratang* by Rudy Lopez of Betis, *Guagua and Salamat 'Ting Pasku* by Jose Irwin Nucum of Sto. Tomas town. Third prize went to *Maligayang Pasku*, *Maligayang Pusu* by Jun Marcos Nulud, also of Betis, Guagua. The song *Malaus Ko Pu... Pasku* by Franklee Lorenzo and Fr. Gabriel Mercado II was awarded a special citation as a contemporary ballad.

The contest attracted entries from amateur as well as professional songwriters, including a few from Kapampangans residing Mindanao and the United States. The entries were performed last December 16 by the Holy Angel University Chorale, HAU String Ensemble (violins) and HAU College Rondalla, and the rest by either the contestants themselves or their choice of singers. Popular Kapampangan artist Mon David sang one of the entries.

"We did not shortlist the entries anymore because we wanted to show the public the whole range of musical genres that a Christmas song can fit in," Center Director Robby Tantingco explained. "Sure enough, we attracted ballads, polkas, church hymns, slow rock, pop love songs, even the traditional Kapampangan basulto." (continue next page)







The Center has re-issued the popular Kapampangan meditation book *Ing Cacanán Cu Aldo-Aldo* (Anthony Paone, S.J.'s *My Daily Bread*), translated by Holy Angel University founder Juan D. Nepomuceno. The translation was first released in the 1970s and first reprinted in the 1980s by the St. Paul's Publications. The cover design uses a painting by Kapampangan National Artist Vicente Manansala.



After the competition, popular recording artist Mon David (extreme right) stayed and jammed with local *polosa* singers and poets Ruth Lobo, Pusoy Dos and Jaspe Dula

## LIGLIGAN...

Tantingco added that the contest achieved its purpose of generating new Kapampangan songs for Christmas. "We have one of the most festive Christmas celebrations in the country, as well as unique Christmas festivals like the giant lanterns and the *lubenas* (lantern procession), and yet no Kapampangan carols to go with them, except a handful that Cris Cadiang composed and recorded recently."

The Board of Jurors was composed of musicologist Prof. Felipe de Leon, Jr. of the UP College of Music, who is Commissioner of UNESCO Philippines and the NCCA; musicologist Prof. Alexandra Iñigo Chua of the UST Conservatory of Music, daughter of noted recording industry columnist Baby Gil; and Kapampangan language expert Fr. Venancio Samson, who recently translated the Bible into Kapampangan for the Archdiocese of San Fernando, and the oldest Kapampangan dictionary (by Diego Bergaño) for the Center for Kapampangan Studies.

Tantingco disclosed that plans are underway for the recording of some of the entries for next year's Christmas.

The other entries are *Malucang Pasku* (Myron K. Marquez), *Muli Ku Keng Pasku* (Geronimo F. del Rosario/Felix M. Garcia), *Masaya ya ing Pasku* (Roland Quiambao), *Pascung Capampangan* (Landlee A. Quiwa), *Sana Keng Pasku* (Ben M. Escasa/Deng D. Escasa), *Labing Adwang Bulan* (Sana Disyembri La Ngan) (Larry L. Miranda/C. G. Tayag), *Aliwa Talaga ing Pasku king Pampanga* (Joseph "Pepes" Flores), *Pascua N'indispu* (Ernest "Ernie" C. Turla), *Kawangis da ring Mago Kaniting Pasku* (Fr. Jose Ronnie D. Cao); *Diwa ning Pasku* (Adora Gigante Ferrer); *Pasku Na Naman* (O Kakung Kaluguran) (Jun Marcos Nulud), *Espiritu ning Pasku* (Rey Galvez Arciga), *Pasku Na, Magsadya Ta Na* (Rudy A. Lopez), *Gawan Meng Belen ing Quecaming Balen* (Fr. Carmelo M. Agustin), *Parul* (Kenneth Q. Macapugay), *Kaniting Kapaskuan* (Franklee G. Lorenzo), *Pangarap Kung Pasku* (Lester Jorolan), *Pusu ning Pasku* (Mark-Jedh D. Yutuc), *Paskung Pasibayu* (Oliver P. Viray), *Kabaldugan ning Pasku* (Oliver P. Viray), *Hoy, Ninang, Ninong... Pasku Na Naman!* (Ben M. Escasa/ Deng D. Escasa).

## Research Journal #3 off the press

The Center has released the third issue of *Alaya: Kapampangan Research Journal*, which features, among others, some papers from the First International Conference on Kapampangan Studies held at Holy Angel University on September 3-5, 2001.

The articles are:

**Bibliographical Sources for the Study of the Kapampangan Language** by Bro. Andrew Gonzales, FSC De La Salle University);

**The Augustinians and the Development of Pampango Literature: Printing Press, Philology, Poetry and Religious Literature** by Fr. Policarpo Hernandez, OSA (Convento de San Agustin);

**Filipino Alcaldes Mayores in the Province of Pampanga** by Ivan Anthony S. Henares (University of the Philippines);

**The Domestic Architecture of Pampanga in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century** by Jose Ma. Ricardo A. Panlilio (Museo De La Salle);

**The Baluga of Tarlac in the Military: Historical**

**Notes, Realities and Prospects, 1993** by Margarita R. Cojuangco (Philippine Public Safety College);

**The Impact of the Pinatubo Eruption on Ayta Women: The Case of Barangay Camatchiles, Floridablanca, Pampanga** by Victoria Narciso Apuan (Miriam College);

**Luzon Paleolithic Sites: Implication and Tight Spots in the Early Peopling of the Island of Luzon, Philippines** by Joel P. Mallari (Holy Angel University);

**Instructions That Must Be Followed and Observed by Each of the Ministers Who Reside in the Convents of the Zambales Missions, namely: The Convent of Alupay, of \_\_\_\_\_, of Mabalacat, of Talimarin, and of Dinalupijan, Translation from the Spanish Original** by Fr. Regino Z. Bangcaya, OAR.

The journal is published by the Center for Kapampangan and is edited by Prof. Lino Dizon. For orders, please email [rptmt@yahoo.com](mailto:rptmt@yahoo.com) or fax at (045) 888 2514.

## NEWS BRIEFS

**TIMELINE FOR DOMINICAN SISTERS.** The Center assisted the Dominican Sisters of Our Lady of Remedies with the production of a mural timeline and a video presentation depicting the history of the Dominican House. Both were unveiled during the 40th Anniversary of the establishment of the Order in the Archdiocese of San Fernando.

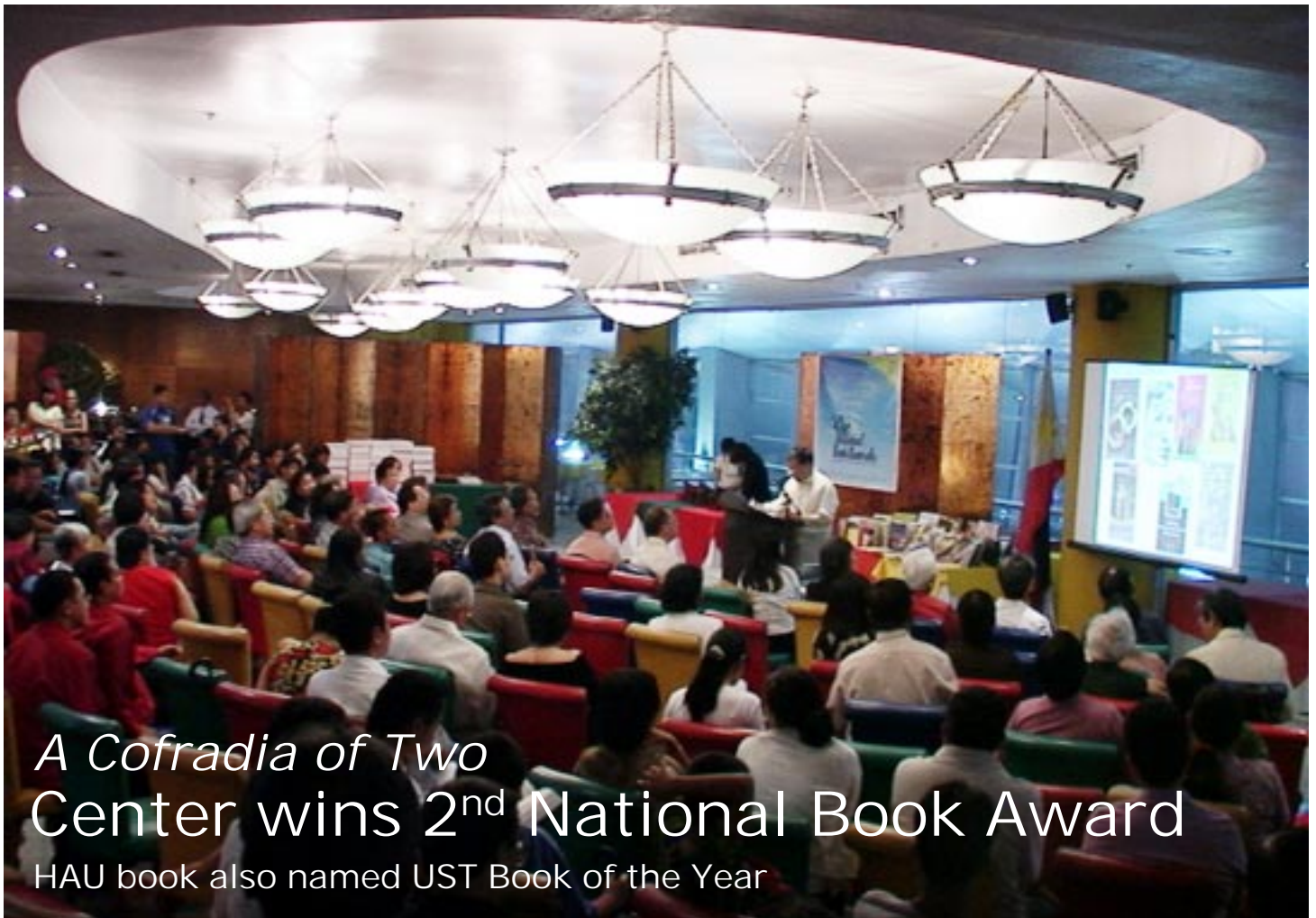
**CONVOCATION ON ARAYAT HISTORY.** The Center co-sponsored with the New Life United Methodist Church a forum on the history of Arayat held at the Arayat Central Elementary School last December, upon the invitation of local historian Dr. Raymundo Rivera and Mrs. Lucrecia Dizon, school principal.

**MOKA RULES REVISION.** Center Director Robby Tantingco served as resource person in the revision of rules and guidelines of the provincial government's Most Outstanding Kapampangan Awards (MOKA). He also served as member of both the pre-screening committee and board of jurors.

**MINALIN TIMELINE.** The Sta. Monica Parish has asked the Center to assist in the production of a timeline of Minalin history as a permanent showcase at the convento. Last year, the Center assisted the Sto. Tomas Parish in the production of its own timeline.

**PROJECTS WITH METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.** During the recent visit of Manila Metropolitan Museum officials led by Bea Zobel Jr. and Ino Manalo, they discussed future projects with the Center, including the creation of a centralized Kapampangan arts and crafts showcase.





# A Cofradia of Two Center wins 2<sup>nd</sup> National Book Award

HAU book also named UST Book of the Year



Author Erlita Mendoza (second from left, seated) with the other awardees at the 24th National Book Awards. Right, the Dangal ng UST Award.

The Sangguniang Panlungsod of Angeles City recently passed a resolution congratulating the Center for Kapampangan Studies for its second National Book Award.

The unanimously approved Resolution No. 4743, S-2005 was sponsored by Councilors Vicky Vega Cabigting and Jericho Aguas and seconded by Councilor Jay Sangil.

The Center won for *A Cofradia of Two: Oral History on the Family Life and Lay Religiosity of Juan D. Nepomuceno and Teresa G. Nepomuceno of Angeles, Pampanga*, authored by Erlita P. Mendoza, a native of Angeles City. It won in the Biography/Autobiography category.

In 2004, the Center won its first National Book Award (Translation Category) for *Gloria: Roman Leoncio's Kapampangan Translation of Huseng Batute's Verse Novel, Lost and Found*. The year



before, its book *Laying the Foundations: Kapampangan Pioneers in the Philippine Church 1592-2001* by Dr. Luciano Santiago, was a finalist in the History Category.

The National Book Award is the highest honor Philippine authors and publishers can get; it is handed out by the Manila Critics Circle, chaired by Ophelia Dimalanta with members National Artist Virgilio Almario, Isagani Cruz, Fr. Miguel Bernad, SJ, Juaniyo Arcellana, Cirilo Bautista, Resil Mojares, Krip Yuzon, Ruel de Vera and Danton Remoto.

In her acceptance speech, Ms. Mendoza dedicated the award to Don Juan Nepomuceno's family for sharing their stories with the public. She also thanked the critics' group for encouraging publications from regions outside Manila.

The Manila Critics Circle, in its citation, described *A Cofradia of Two* "wonderful, well researched and well argued" and praised the Nepomuceno couple's contributions to Kapampangan society.

The book also won the coveted Gawad Alberto Magno of the Dangal ng UST Awards, the top award given annually by the pontifical and royal university to books authored by members of its faculty and employees union. Mendoza wrote the book under a special arrangement between the HAU Center for Kapampangan Studies and the UST Center for Intercultural Studies, where she is a researcher.

Center Director Robby Tantingco said he hopes the lives and legacies of other great families in other small towns outside Manila would also be told. "Manila may be this nation's capital but even the smallest town in the farthest province has a story to tell that can captivate the imagination of an entire nation," he said.

*A Cofradia of Two* tells the unlikely partnership of a Jesuit-educated lawyer and town mayor, and his enigmatic wife, as told by their children and children-in-law.



# Aglipayan Church's Supreme Bishop a Kapampangan IFI, ICFI bishops visit Center



University President Bernadette Nepomuceno with The Most Rev. Godofredo David (second from left), the 11th Obispo Maximo of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente (IFI), and other bishops.



Center Director Robby Tantingco with Bishop Nilo S. Tayag (right) of the Iglesia Catolica Filipina Independiente (ICFI) and Dr. Roger Posadas.



THEN. Nilo Tayag as founder of the Kabataang Makabayan in the early 1970s.



NOW. Nilo Tayag as bishop of a branch of the Philippine Independent Church.

pino (and first Asian) cardinal, the late Rufino Jiao Santos.

During the welcome ceremonies attended by HAU administrators, faculty and employees, Bishop David called for a better understanding and appreciation of the role the Philippine Independent Church played in the struggle for independence. In her response, University President Bernadette M. Nepomuceno said the HAU community welcomed the IFI leaders in the spirit of ecumenism and in recognition of a fellow Kapampangan's leadership and accomplishments.

The IFI leader was accompanied by bishops of other IFI dioceses throughout the country.

A few weeks later, Bishop Nilo S. Tayag of the Iglesia Catolica Filipina Independiente (ICFI) visited the Center en route to a talk at the HAU Graduate School. He was accompanied by Dr. Roger Posadas, also an ICFI leader.

When he was still a student, Bishop Tayag founded the radical student movement Kabataang Makabayan (KM), whose street protests were known as the First Quarter Storm, one of the reasons President Marcos declared martial law.

Bishop Tayag is an alumna of Holy Angel University.

Ranking leaders of the two branches of the Philippine Independent Church (a.k.a. Aglipayan Church) recently visited the Center on separate occasions.

The Most Rev. Godofredo Juico David, Obispo Maximo XI or 11<sup>th</sup> Supreme Bishop, the leader of the Iglesia Filipina Independiente (IFI), led several other IFI bishops in a rare visit at the Center last June 28. A native of Guagua, Pampanga, Bishop David is the first Kapampangan to assume the top IFI post. The town is also the birthplace of the first Fili-

## NEWS BRIEFS

**LECTURE SERIES.** The Center and the City of San Fernando cooperated on a series of lectures on the City's history and culture. Among recent lecturers provided by the Center are consultant Fray Francis Musni (on Tiburcio Hilario and Pedro Abad Santos) and archaeologist Joel Mallari (on toponyms and early Kapampangans).

**CONSULTATIONS.** Center staff member Joel Mallari also served as consultant in a meeting on the Candaba Swamp co-sponsored by the Candaba local government and the head office of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR); participated in the consultative meeting creating the Pamamupul Festival sponsored by the Pampanga Governor's Office; delivered paper at an international conference on the Austronesian language held in Palawan.





US-based Kapampangan visual artist and poet Rafael Maniago (right) of Mexico town held a free lecture and demonstration on portrait painting at Holy Angel University, for the benefit of young and aspiring Kapampangan artists.

## HAU to put up Museum of Kapampangan Art



Vicente Manansala

The Holy Angel University (HAU) will open a museum showcasing the works of Kapampangan artists in various genres, and the evolution of Kapampangan art from prehistoric to colonial to contemporary times, and covering functional art forms like agricultural and fishing tools, pottery, architecture, woodcarving and furniture, kalesa and banca making, to folk arts like betel chewing implements, parul making, hats, baskets, trinkets and ecclesiastical and folk religious arts.

"We will also invite Kapampangan artists like Bencab, Patis Tesoro, Dom Martin de Jesus, OSB (a.k.a. Gang Gomez), Claude Tayag, Gerry Sunga, Willy Layug, members of the Pampanga Arts

Guild, sculptors, installation artists, poets laureate, musicians, thespians, filmmakers, and the families of Fe Panlilio, Josefina Gonzales, Florencia Salgado Paloma, Juan Flores, Vicente Alvarez Dizon, etc. to donate or loan some of their works for exhibit," Center Director Robby Tangingco said. The new museum will be an adjunct to the Center for Kapampangan Studies.

"It will be a shrine to Kapampangan art," Tangingco added, "a sanctuary for art works that would otherwise be lost or spirited abroad, and a venue for artists to exhibit their creative outputs and share their talents through workshops, lectures and performances. Kapampangans are a very creative people. We have so many artists in so many fields, but they're scattered all over and they're not even known as Kapampangans."

Eight (8) nudes (done in charcoal and pencil in the 1950s) by National Artist

Vicente Manansala, a native of Macabebe, will be on permanent exhibit at the new museum. US-based Kapampangan

artists Steve Lumanlan and Rafael Maniago have also donated works to the University for this purpose.



Left to right, top to bottom: Bencab, Juan Flores, Fernando Ocampo, Claude Tayag, Patis Tesoro, Dom Martin de Jesus (Gang Gomez), Bob Razon, Vicente Alvarez Dizon, Galo Ocampo



# "INYO ANG PAMPANGA, AMIN ANG CAVITE"

Role of Caviteños, Kapampangans in nation-building tackled in conference



Former Prime Minister Cesar Virata and former Solicitor General Estelito Mendoza flank HAU President Bernadette Nepomuceno during the Conference held at one of the University's case rooms at the St. Therese of Lisieux Hall, below.

A total of 18 papers dealing with the historical/cultural convergences and divergences between Pampanga and Cavite were presented at a conference entitled *Inyo ang Pampanga, Amin ang Cavite*, held last January 24-25 at the Holy Angel University (HAU), Angeles City.

Co-sponsored by the HAU Center for Kapampangan Studies and the Center for Cavite Studies of the De La Salle University-Dasmariñas, the conference drew scholars, historians and social science teachers from mostly the two provinces.

In their keynote addresses, former Prime Minister Cesar Virata and former Solicitor-General and Pampanga Governor Estelito Mendoza called on the delegates to take heed of the lessons of history.

Virata, a grandnephew of Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, exhorted the delegates to take responsibility for promoting history and heritage conservation. For his part, Mendoza, a critic of the Arroyo Administration, told his mostly Kapampangan audience to snap out of their apathy and take a more active role in the struggle for social justice and poverty alleviation.

"We should make ourselves worthy of our ancestors' legacy of bravery," Mendoza said.

Cavite and Pampanga were considered bastions of colonial power during the Spanish Period, but led the revolution against Spain towards the end of the 300-year colonial rule.

HAU President Bernadette Nepomuceno, in her welcome remarks,

called for more partnerships between regional studies centers. "Promoting local histories is the way towards completing the national history," she said.

The papers presented at the conference were:

A Preliminary Study of the Prehistory and Archaeology of Pampanga and Kabite (Joel P. Mallari, HAU); The Augustinian Recollects: Politics and Influence in Upper Pampanga (Lino L. Dizon, Tarlac State University); The Native Clergy's Foothold in the Friar Estate of Sta. Cruz de Malabon, Cavite 1772-1898 (Alain Austria, College of St. Benilde); Rebolusyon at Kontra-Rebolusyon: Ang Nag-Umpugang Liderato nina Bonifacio at Aguinaldo (Joel Regala, HAU);

Ang Mga Kabitenyo sa nang Republika Filipina 1899 (Dr. Emmanuel F. Calairo, DLSU Dasma); Kapampangans in the Revolution Against Spain (Ivan Anthony Henares, UP Diliman); Gen. Aguinaldo and the Macabebes (Renato Pelorina, Cavite State University); Trece Martires de Cavite (Teresita P. Unabia, DLSU-Dasma); Proclamation of Philippine Independence in Kawit 1898: Change and Circumstances (Angelo Aguinaldo, DLSU-Dasma); First Anniversary of the Philippine Independence in Angeles 1899 (Fray Francis Musni, HAU);



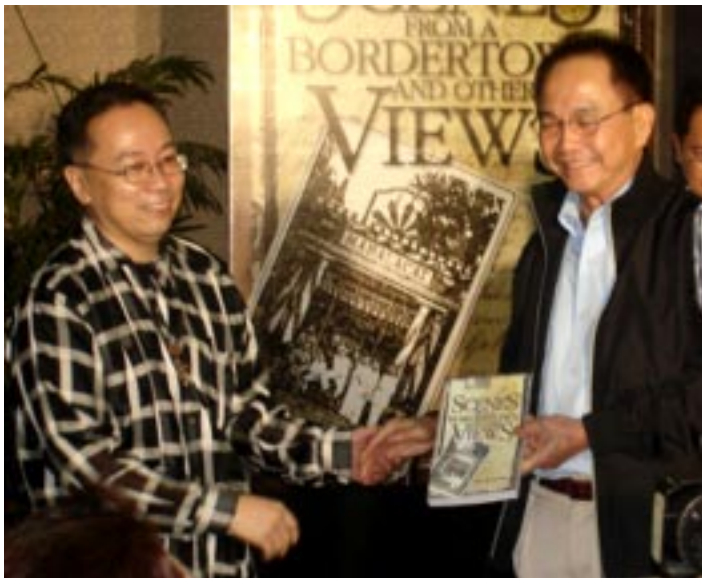
Ang Banda San Francisco de Malabon at ang Kalayaan ng Pilipinas (Gilbert Macarandang, DLSU-Dasma); Babae Po Ako... Isang Paglilikom ng mga Kuwentong Buhay ng mga Piling Kababaihan sa Kasaysayan ng Kabite (Josephine Lejos Cruz, DLSU-Dasma); Mga Manunulat na Kabitenyo (Dr. Efren Abueg, DLSU-Dasma); Bidas, Binibinis and Bayanis: Chance Meetings in History (Alex R. Castro, HAU/JimenezBasic);

Paskuhan sa Imus: Its History and Dynamism (Jeffrey Lubang, DLSU-Dasma); Christmas Traditions in San Fernando, Pampanga (Ivan Anthony Henares, UP Diliman); The US Military Bases and their Aftermath: The Case of Clark Air Base in Pampanga and Sangle Point Naval Port in Cavite (Dr. Virgilio Pilapil, US-Phil. Historical Society); The Role of Government in Promoting Local History (Dr. Regino Paular, National Historical Institute).





# Book on Mabalacat Launched



Top, HAU President Bernadette Nepomuceno welcomes guests; left, author Alex Castro presents book copy to guest Sec. Jose 'Ping' De Jesus; above left to right, guest speakers Mabalacat Mayor Marino 'Boking' Morales, Pampanga Board Member Dr. Prospero Lagman, and book reviewer Cid Reyes.

The Center for Kapampangan Studies launched Alex R. Castro's two-books-in-one, *Scenes from a Bordertown and Other Views/Views from the Pampang and Other Scenes*, at the Casa Nena of the St. Therese of Lisieux Hall, Holy Angel University, last January 28.

Mabalacat Mayor Marino Morales and Provincial Board Member Dr. Prospero Lagman congratulated the author in their speeches. The book, said

the mayor, is a momentous event in the town's history. "By looking at its past, Mabalacat can proceed to its future with more self-knowledge and confidence," he said.

HAU President Bernadette Nepomuceno thanked the author for his contributions to the Center. Castro is a consultant to the Center and curator of its museum.

Critic-painter Cid Reyes, in his review of the book, likened Castro to Ambeth Ocampo,

known for popularizing history by focusing attention on previously ignored subjects. "While much attention has been given prominent Pampanga places—Angeles and San Fernando come foremost to mind—Mabalacat now takes its turn on center stage. ... From all these small pieces of mosaic emerges a clearer, bigger picture of Small Town Philippines, Pampanga version."

The book was published by the author himself, based on his researches, collection of old photographs and weekly columns

in SunStar.Pampanga.

Castro's own composition, *Ing Sumpa*, about the alleged curse made on the town by a Spanish friar prior to his execution, was sung during the program by the University Chorale, conducted by Reygie Honrada.

Other guests included former DPWH Secretary Jose "Ping" de Jesus, Sasmuan Mayor Catalina Bagasina, historian Dr. Jaime Veneracion, filmmaker Floro Quibuyen, and the author's townmates and friends from advertising, media and culture/art circles.



pantaya, y qui lala, que en sal pantaya,  
y qui lalan tiene quilalan, sal pan  
tayan.

Muchas raíces ay, que son equivo  
cas, i admiten diversas significac  
nes; pero de ordinario se  
pretérito se distinguen,  
que en mojar tiene por que  
na mura, y en pasiva be  
le es haze el pretérito, m  
hiva, y binaria por pasiva.

Pagaral por aprende pag  
en señas se pagaran, como  
modo de lo, que se compon

Deraoan por cam vidar sa  
en gendes fueco tinao.

Nbi y salaini, y y pali  
salainzan, i todos los demar, que tie

nen este modo de significar, y esta  
diferencia, que el y pali, y y salaini  
significan y a en tender, o calentar.

En otra parte aquello, que  
y pali es encender, o calentar  
es inmutable aquello,  
Etc. esto es lo que ay  
en lo qual estiba toda  
y ari sea seno della  
se bien fundado en  
axiba, y el con  
tras el, que se du  
ellas.  
En pasiva  
es haze el pretérito, m  
hiva, y binaria por pasiva.

Pagaral por aprende pag  
en señas se pagaran, como  
modo de lo, que se compon

Deraoan por cam vidar sa  
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Nbi y salaini, y y pali, pali, y  
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Pagaral por aprende pag  
en señas se pagaran, como  
modo de lo, que se compon

Deraoan por cam vidar sa  
en gendes fueco tinao.

# Arte de Lengua Pampango

Antes de...



Antes que tratemos de las Pasivas, dire  
mos la diferencia, que ay entre a  
para que se sepa, quando  
por activa, y quando p  
1720.

que y somo, quando se  
lo una Cosa en general con qu  
terminado: lo qual se conoza  
en nuestro Español no tiene  
riendo el, la, lo; pero abrey  
si se usa: quando se habla de  
Cosa señalada, y con modo de  
nada: Vg. para árris trae agua,  
comer, trae pan. Etc. no se ade des  
mono danum, pingan, tinapay, y  
esto no quiere decir, sino trae el  
agua, trae el plato, y trae la comida:  
todas cosas señaladas, y que ellas entien  
se entenden: y así dice una can Ba  
con pingan, comacau canany  
pero para cosa señalada Vg. mata la ga  
lina, asa aquel capon, y así en los de  
suja diciendo, patayan munang ma  
que, patayan mung capon, i en general  
simples, como Comgu  
que se vna Cosa de  
habla de ella detrim  
qual se collige, de aquel  
articulo el, la, lo, o otro equivalente  
quando no tiene en el pañal, la tal  
Ja: si dezimos quelda no ning L  
y dicit i nny sallan nayo, Voz  
lad nny, y auclar Voz ridicula V  
EXPLICACION

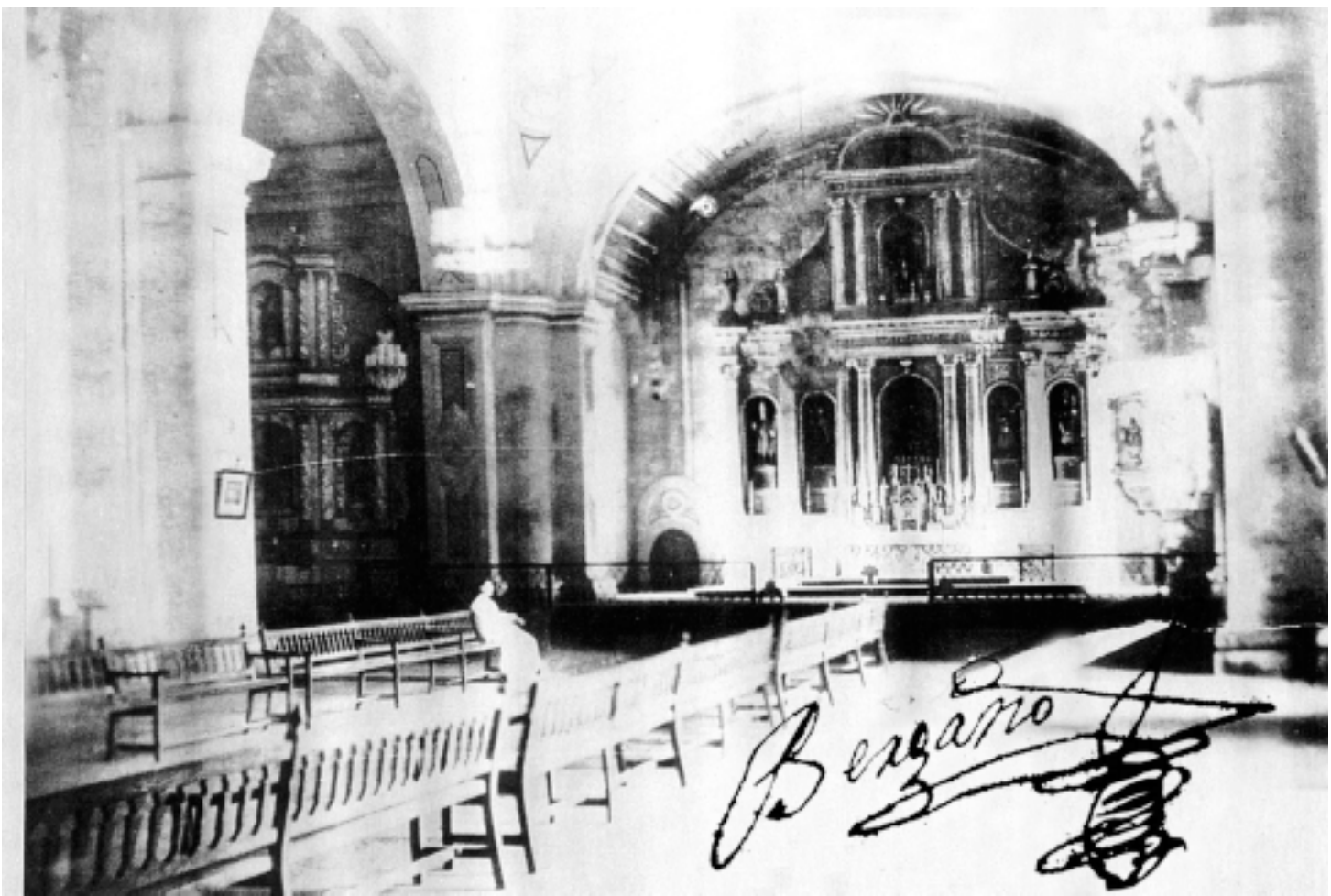
## Pibabagayan co ngeni ing Arte ila ning Bocabulario.

Inasmuch as everyone has received  
the Grammar (el Arte) and received it very  
graciously or even just graciously,  
what reason do I have to fear that  
this Dictionary (este Bocabulario) will not be  
welcomed as graciously?  
Since they (Arte and Bocabulario) are  
brothers, you will not be able to relate well  
with one without relating well with the other.  
And they are so inseparable that if you split  
the brotherhood, you will feel, right then and  
there, that something is missing.

*Handwritten signature: Bergaño*

EXPLICACION  
delas preposiciones,  
y verbos com-  
puestos.  
Delas preposiciones  
y particulas A y N.  
-Esta particula A. tiene onor officio





Fray Francis Musni/Convento de San Agustin

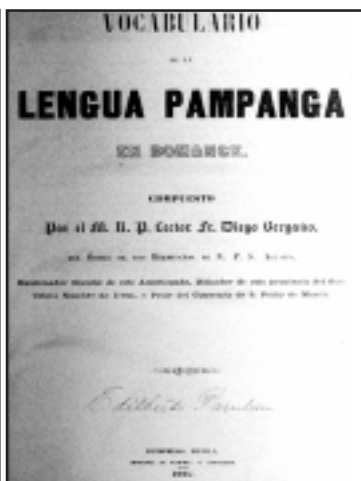
A solitary Augustinian friar is dwarfed by the altar of the Bacolor church, circa 1890s. Fray Diego Bergaño was assigned to Bacolor after his stint in Mexico. The superimposed signature is that of Bergaño.

Unlocking a linguistic and anthropological treasure trove

# LOST & FOUND IN TRANSLATION

18<sup>th</sup>-century critics called Bergaño's dictionary "a work of art"

By Robby Tantingco



The original 1732 edition of Bergaño's dictionary

The 1860 reprint

When the Spanish missionaries first came here to evangelize the new colony, the first realization they had was that there were as many languages as there were islands in the archipelago (which meant more languages to learn). And the second realization was that to facilitate communication, it was easier to learn to speak the natives' languages than to teach them to speak Spanish (which meant fewer students to teach).

The number of languages in the colony left the missionaries no choice but to get more linguistic experts from Spain and send them to different regions to study the languages and write dictionaries and grammar books of each of those languages. These books were for the benefit of their fellow Spaniards, never for the natives. Which was why, even after 300 years of Spanish presence in the country, Filipinos never learned the Spanish language the way, for example, the Latin Americans learned it. The distance of the Philippines from Spain limited the number and influence of Spaniards here; whereas they had to cross only the Atlantic Ocean to reach Mexico (seven months by ship), they had to



cross another ocean to get to the Philippines (another eight months, for a total of 15 months of seasickness, beriberi and boredom).

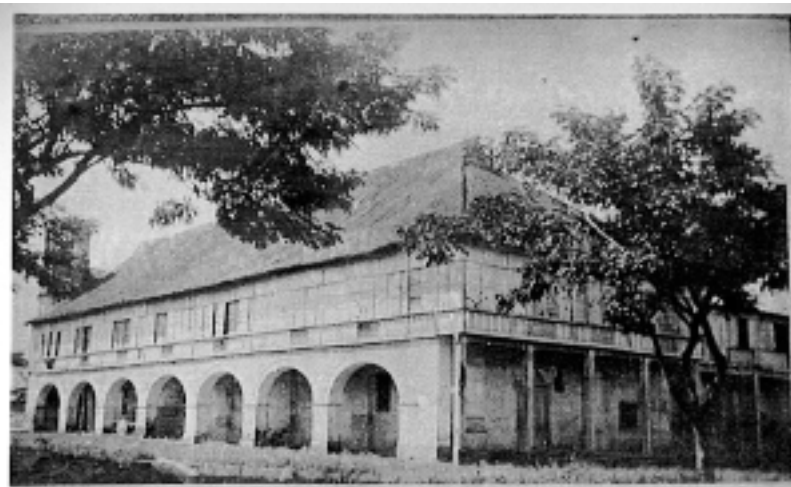
Filipinos at that time probably lost the chance to learn a foreign language; however, Filipinos today are certainly benefiting from extant copies of excellent dictionaries and grammar books written by some of the most erudite Spanish missionaries.

Fray Diego Bergaño, OSA was one such erudite missionary and his *Bocabulario de Pampango en Romance, y Diccionario de Romance en Pampango* (1732) was one such excellent dictionary. Prior to his book, many others had attempted to write their own versions but it was his version that won widespread approval among the Spaniards. “This book will finally satisfy the great desire of the ministers of the Gospel to grasp the precise meanings and connotations of those words in order to be able to speak the language correctly,” wrote Fray Vicente Ibarra, OSA Definitor of all Augustinians in the Philippines at the time and prior of Betis. “(Our fellow missionaries) will find everything that they need to be able to explain the Christian doctrines to the inhabitants of Pampanga.”

Fray Casimiro Diaz, OSA Official Censor of the Holy Office and prior of Lubao, wrote, “The author of this Dictionary has taken advantage of his creativeness and personal discipline to produce this work of art, and it therefore came out perfect that there is nothing else to ask for and there is nothing to modify.”

Fray Remigio Hernandez, OSA, prior of Candaba in 1732 and another reader assigned to review the dictionary, wrote, “While the authors of other Kapampangan dictionaries explained things clearly and laudably, they did not touch many important modes and many other words, which are now presented with certainty and with ease by this author.”

What Bergaño did which the others did not, was to go down to the very root word. While other dictionaries would have, for example, separate entries for *micaburi* (“those who love each other”) and *paburen* (“abandon”), Bergaño was able to identify the root from which these two words came: *burí* (“like”); *paburen* is a contraction of *paburian*, as in *mipaburian ing obra* (“the work was neglected”) and *paburian ye* (“leave him alone”). Bergaño was able to identify the basic, original source word of all derivatives and string them up together under only one word entry, and



The old convento of Mexico town, c. 1890s, where Fray Bergaño worked on his Kapampangan grammar book, *Arte*.

Bergaño could not have written his dictionary without the help of his Kapampangan consultant, Don Juan Zuñiga of Mexico town

The Augustinian friar inevitably imposed his own personal interpretations based on his cultural and religious background

spread wings. And the third is the idiomatic *dimpa* (also *dipan*), as in *Ing saquit a dimpa caco* (“The illness that befell me”) and *Dipan na ca ning alti* (“May lightning strike you”), again related to the first word because of its reference to perching.

Fray Bergaño of course had the advantage of having seen what worked and what didn’t in the previous dictionaries; he also had the good fortune of meeting and soliciting the support of a local leader in Mexico town, Don Juan Zuñiga, whom he named in his Prologue and described as “the most intelligent and best qualified person in Pampanga for this undertaking.”

Ancient dictionaries aren’t just dictionaries. They are documents (albeit unintentional) of anthropological data obtaining at the time they were written—time capsules buried between the lines and behind the untranslated Spanish language, until such time they are unearthed through translation and scrutiny. This is what gives Bergaño’s dictionary added value; it is what makes it unique among other dictionaries of other Philippine languages.

Of course it also has its flaws, some corrected during its republication in 1860, others uncorrected until today. There are entries that baffle the reader; the English translation of some entries does not make sense because the Spanish original probably did not make sense also, and it was either due to Bergaño himself not quite understanding it but recording it anyway, or due to a lapse in transcription, or probably printing error. And because Bergaño was a Spaniard relying on his Kapampangan consultant (Zuñiga), he inevitably imposed his own personal interpretation based on his own cultural and religious background. Thus we see many references to Spanish (Castilian) elements, the Bible and the teachings of the Church (especially St. Augustine), including his personal beliefs and biases.

The linguistic and anthropological information contained in



“Saint Jerome reduces to only one all the rules which a good translator must follow, and I assure you, from the very start, that you will be a good translator if you do not deviate from it. He says: ‘And this is the rule for a good translator, namely, that what the other language says in its own style, he must express in his own language according to its own style.’”

St. Jerome, patron saint of translators

Bergaño, *Arte*, Chapter 18, Section 5 (1729)



“The most important reason why I undertook this work [of writing this Kapampangan-Spanish Dictionary] was my desire that, when we explain the Word of God, we avoid inappropriate language.”

Bergaño, Prologue to the Vocabulario (1732)



The belfry of the Mexico church, the only surviving relic from the original church

the dictionary reflect indigenous, even pre-Hispanic, conditions of the Kapampangan language and the Kapampangans themselves, but only to a certain degree. 1732 was 161 years after the Spaniards landed in Pampanga; language and culture had been altered and supplanted by the colonizers by the time Bergaño sat down to write his dictionary. However, in the absence of mass media at the time, the rate of adulteration may have been quite slow; the Kapampangan that the friar recorded for posterity is, by and large, the Kapampangan as the colonizers first found it in 1571.

Lastly, Kapampangan readers might find the Kapampangan spelling and syntax awkward, even alien. Bergaño had been assigned as prior (parish priest) to border towns where there was plenty of mutations going on between Kapampangan and Tagalog (e.g., tete spelled as tetay). Also, the early Kapampangans probably had a way of saying things, a way of conjugating verbs, for example, that has been forgotten since then. For instance, our

## Fray Diego Bergaño only wanted to help fellow Augustinians learn the language of their converts

ancestors merely repeated a syllable to indicate intensity, exaggeration or extreme condition (bucas abac, bucas cayabacan, bucas cayayabacan, “tomorrow morning, tomorrow early morning, tomorrow at the earliest time”)—which we do not do anymore today.

What is the practical use of a Kapampangan-Spanish dictionary that has been translated into Kapampangan-English? Previously, only scholars, historians, anthropologists, experts who understand Spanish (and there are only a handful of them) had access to Bergaño’s work; now, this linguistic and anthropological treasure trove is within reach to practically anyone. Translating it is only the beginning; the general public can now study it, dissect it, and discover more gems for themselves.

When Rizal said, “Ang hindi marunong magmahal ng sariling wika ay daig pa ang mabaho at malansang isda” he did not mean that all Filipinos should speak the legislated national language, which is Tagalog (Filipino). Rather, he meant that Filipinos should speak their respective native languages, i.e., Kapampangans should speak Kapampangan, Cebuanos should speak Cebuano, etc.

But before we can successfully campaign for our amanung sisuan (an immensely more profound term than sariling wika), we have to retool our cabalen with enough vocabulary to use in everyday life. This is where the translated Bergaño’s dictionary can be really useful.

## Who was Bergaño?

Fray Diego Bergaño, OSA was born in 1695 in Cervera, in Palencia province, under the diocese of Leon. In 1710, when he was only 15 years old, he was admitted into the Augustinian Order in the convent of Santa Catalina of Badaya, where he became a celebrated reader. At 23, he joined the mission to Manila headed by Fray Miguel Rubio, which left Spain on July 28, 1718. He first served in the Augustinian convent in Intramuros for about six years, after which he was sent to his first parish assignment: Mexico, Pampanga. He stayed in



Bergaño’s remains may have been buried by lahar along with the rest of Bacolor

Mexico for six years, from 1725 to 1731, during which he wrote the *Arte de la Lengua Pampanga* (published 1729 by the Jesuits). In 1731, he was transferred to the next town, Bacolor (San Fernando would be created between Mexico and Bacolor only in 1754) but was, however, immediately recalled to the Augustinian house in Intramuros to serve as

examinador sinodal (promotion/assignment board), definidor (a special elector at the triennium, i.e., provincial chapter during which the head of the Augustinian Province was elected, done every three years) and prior (head) of the Augustinian house in Manila in 1731. It was about this time that he wrote the *Vocabulario de Pampango en Romance y Diccionario de Romance en Pampango* (published by the Franciscans in 1732, later abbreviated to *Vocabulario en la Lengua Pampanga* in the 1860 edition). The Kapampangan from Mexico, Don Juan Zuñiga, who had helped him with his *Arte*, probably went to Manila and stayed in the convent with him while he worked on the *Vocabulario*. In 1734, during the next triennium, Bergaño was elected head of the Augustinian Province in the colony. He wrote a third major work, *Informes sobre Patronado y Jurisdiccion* in 1734. Apparently, Bergaño stayed in Intramuros for more than a dozen years, but the official Augustinian records do not mention any output from him during this time. This is strange, considering how prolific the brilliant Bergaño had been in previous years. And then, things got even more strange: in 1747, he was assigned back to Bacolor, his last parish assignment in Pampanga where he had barely warmed his seat before being recalled to the Augustinian house in Intramuros back in 1731. The records show that Bergaño died in Bacolor on January 9 of the same year, 1747, which means he had again barely warmed his seat before he again left, this time for good. For all we know, he had been ill in Intramuros (which was why he had done practically nothing) and had asked to be sent to Bacolor at the last minute, perhaps so he could be buried there?

## Crash course on Kapampangan

The Augustinians created the Office of the Lector whose function was to teach neophyte missionaries the language of their future assignments. The lector was someone who had a reputation for expertise in the language he was teaching, someone who had written a *vocabulario* and/or an *arte*, which served as textbook. Bergaño was one such lector. The crash course ensured that the missionaries would establish good rapport with their native parishioners and more importantly, preach the Gospel in correct Kapampangan.





## AUGUSTINIANS DISOBEY THE KING

# Why we never learned to speak Spanish like the Mexicans did

Why would the Augustinians still bother to teach the Spanish language to the natives when the friars themselves had already mastered Kapampangan?

By Fray Francis Musni, OSA

On April 27, 1594 the Council of the Indies instructed the governor and bishop to divide the Philippines into contiguous zones among the four religious Orders (Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits). The partition of the settlements strictly followed geo-ethnic lines. From the

vantage point of the Crown, the apportionment contained some disadvantages. The royal policy was that each religious corporation could not be allowed to dominate a large, contiguous, ethnic missionary area. The geographic distribution of the Philippine missions violated this principle and the geo-ethnic mosaic of the islands offered no workable option. On the other hand, the outstanding practical advantage of this proposed partition was that it enabled each Order to

concentrate its linguistic studies on not more than four (4) languages. The Augustinians, for instance, mastered the northern Philippine languages such as Iloco, Pampango and Tagalog, and southern languages like Hiligaynon and Cebuano.

The quilt-like variety and distribution of languages in the archipelago posed a major obstacle in the Christianization and subjugation efforts of the early Spanish expeditions. Jesuit chronicler Chirino writes in his *Relacion de las Islas Filipinas* (1604):

ter plan. To organize the seats of Christianity and later on basic civil units, the missionaries were given a free hand in persuading nomadic natives to settle in small permanent units. This gave rise to the pueblos.

The first step was for the

more of a utilitarian than a scholarly cause. The pioneers took pains in learning an entirely new language so foreign that it did not even remotely belong to the family of languages of their homeland.

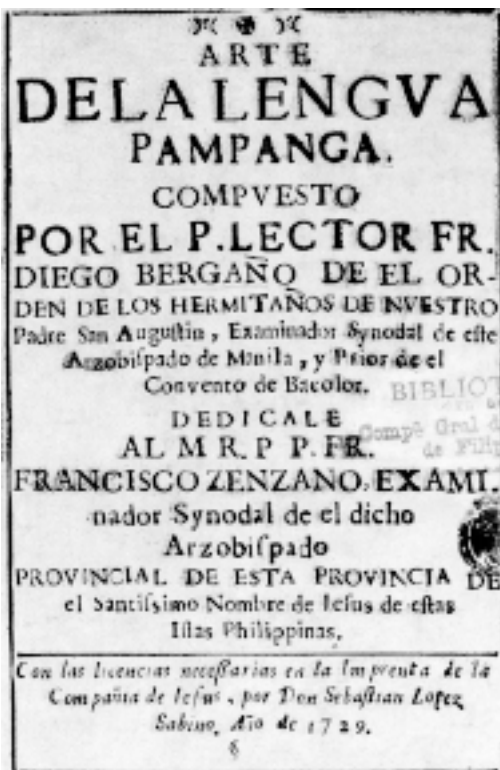
In the beginning, the missionaries learned the local languages through their constant

mingling with the natives. Coupled with just enough research on the more practical aspects of the language, the daily interaction enabled them to familiarize themselves with local indigenous beliefs and culture.

Later, religious chapters decreed that the priests already assigned to towns and who already had some command of the languages should write grammatics, artes, vocabularios, a n d diccionarios so

that the other missionaries could learn the language with greater ease.

Meanwhile, existing documents show an attempt in the eighteenth century to impose the teaching of Spanish in the Islands. It was a basic duty of parish priests to see to it that



The 1729 Kapampangan grammar book *Arte de la Lengva Pampanga* (first edition) written by Fray Diego Bergaño

[In the Philippines] languages do not vary according to the Islands; some islands have many languages as the one of Manila [Luzon] and Panay."

The expeditions consisting of experienced pacifists and cartographers, and seasoned missionaries set out their mas-



King Carlos II of Spain issued these decrees requiring the colonies to teach Spanish to the natives, which the friars ignored

missionaries, in the case of Pampanga, the friars of the eremitic Order of Saint Augustine, to study the language of the region to which they would be assigned. The bet that could be said if at all is that the study of the local languages by the pioneer missionaries served



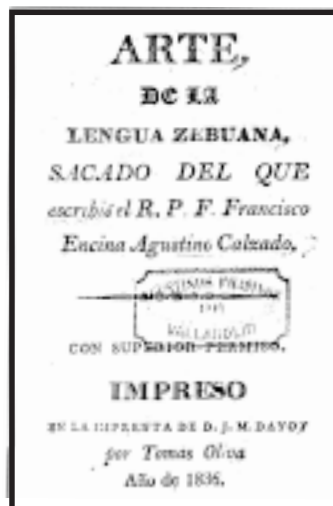


Tagalog grammar, 1610

the Christian doctrine was taught to the natives in Spanish. (Recopilacion de las Leyes de Indias, xiii, Vol. 1) Several decrees confirming this law were issued from time to time but their execution did not seem to suit the policy of the friars. Most of the religious superiors were bent on capitalizing on the linguistic mastery of their missionary brethren. Besides, it afforded an opportunity later for linguistic scholarship and a rich field for pastoral training of young missionaries. The Philippines was transient assignment for fresh and young missionaries bound for more difficult mission territories elsewhere.

John Foreman, at the twilight of the Spanish stronghold in the Islands, wrote:

“On June 30, 1887, the Governor-General published another decree with the same effect and sent a communication to the Archbishop to remind him of the obligation of his subjects and the urgency of its strict observance. But it had no effect whatsoever, the poor class villagers were only taught to gabble off the Christian doctrine by rote for it suited the



Cebuano grammar, 1836

friar to stimulate that peculiar mental condition in which belief precedes understanding.”

He adds:

“If the friar had agreed to the instruction of the townsfolk though the medium of Spanish, as a medium of attainment of

Kapampangans are lucky that it was a noted expert on grammar and lexicography who had been assigned to study our grammar and vocabulary.

higher culture, one could well have understood their reluctance to teach it to the rural laborers, because it is obvious to any one who knows the character of this class that the knowledge of a foreign language would [render them] unfit for agricultural labor and other lower occupations, and produce a new social problem.”

Very few were convinced with the argument of the religious corporations that the natives would respond more readily if the Faith were preached in the native language. At a closer look, the



Ilocano grammar, 1628

“practical approach” of the pioneer missionaries unconsciously as well as deliberately resulted in a greater advantage. Since almost all of the printing presses in the islands were owned and operated by the major religious Orders

well until the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, a bulk of Philippine imprints were bilingual catechisms, dictionaries, grammars and spiritual guide books. Many linguistic manuscripts, most of which are local translations of famous books and pamphlets in Europe, were circulated.

Most of the early linguistic and literary works have found their way into Rariora. The early grammaticas, artes and vocabularios are now considered fine reference pieces for linguistic scholarship. The lasting impact of this is ever more impressive in that several of the



Bisayan dictionary, 1841

early writers in these languages were able to capture the nuances that have become rich sources of scholarly reference by modern-day writers and linguists. Bergaño's notes and annotations in his monumental 1729 Arte and Vocabulario never cease to invite surprise from its recent readers in that they are replete with cultural vignettes and details.

In toto, the functional and pragmatic study of the local languages including Capampangan, by the early religious missionaries, graduated to scholarly mastery, which in the long run secured the perpetuity of the local languages. The subjugated indios of the Spanish colonies steadfastly embraced Hispanic culture and language and that most—save only the Philippines—lost their native tongues. The best example is the Nahuatl of the native Mexicans who lost to the likes of Hernando Cortes in the mid-sixteenth century.

References: John L. Phelan, SJ, The Hispanization of the Philippines, 1965. John S. Foreman, The Philippines, 1906. William Howard S. Taft, The Philippines, 1901. Policarpo F. Hernandez, OSA, The Augustinians in the Philippines.

## Spanish John Doe

The name ‘Fulano’ is a recurring name in many early Spanish documents, especially in passages where the

author gives an example or illustration. For instance, in Coronel's Cathecismo de la Doctrina Cristina en Idioma Pampango (1621), he writes, “Fulano, yo te bautizo en el nombre del Padre, y del Hijo y del Espiritu Santo,” and read-

ers scratch their heads and ask, “Fulano who ??” Even old folks today still tell their boys, “Pulano, mekeni na !” even if none of their boys is named Pulano. It turns out that Fulano is the Spanish Everyman, their Juan de la Cruz and John Doe,

who personifies all the citizens of Spain. In fact it is the abbreviation of a longer phrase, Fulano, Sutano y Mengano, the Spanish way of saying Every Tom, Dick and Harry.



## 'Romantic' *Vocabulario*

What does the Romancé in *Vocabulario de Pampango en Romancé y Diccionario de Romancé en Pampango* mean? Most dictionaries define romancé as “a tale of chivalry” or “historic ballad” or “a poem in octosyllabic meter with alternate assonance.” The 1940 Appleton's *Nuevo Diccionario Inglés-Español y Español-Inglés* has another definition of romancé: “plain language”. Thus, Bergaño's dictionary is a functional dictionary for everyday, practical purposes, as opposed to literary use.

## *Bocabulario* or *Vocabulario*?

Of course it's *Vocabulario*. However, the amanuensis (transcriber of the original manuscript) or the printing press' typesetter was probably a native (maybe a Kapampangan with limited education) so he spelled the title of the book as *Bocabulario* according to how he thought the word should be spelled. Even in those days, natives (not just the Kapampangans) already had trouble with b and v as well as with p and f; an example of this is the family name Vargas, which is a clear corruption of the original Vargas. At the time the *Vocabulario* was printed, the Augustinian printing press (which at one time was set up in Lubao, Pampanga) had long been sold (probably to the Jesuits). In Bergaño's time, there were three printing presses in the colony: the Dominican press (at the University of Santo Tomas in the old Intramuros site), the Franciscan press (in Sampaloc) and the Jesuit press (relocated several times). Bergaño's *Vocabulario* was printed by the Franciscans at their Convento de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles in Sampaloc.

## Most wanted by the British

Fray Remigio Hernandez, OSA who reviewed Bergaño's *Vocabulario* and called it “the most appropriate dictionary for enabling us missionaries to distribute the loaves of religious doctrine lawfully and fruitfully,” was the Augustinian Provincial at the start of the British Occupation in 1762. After Manila fell, he moved the Provinciate from Intramuros to Victoria, Tarlac. With Gen. Simon de Anda, who moved the capital from Manila to Bacolor, Fray Hernandez led the resistance movement against the British by organizing the friars and volunteer native armies from Pampanga and Bulacan. Fray Hernandez ordered church bells brought down from church towers and smelted into cannons (which is why you will never find any church bells in Pampanga dated before 1762). Because of these activities, he and Gen. Simon de Anda became the two most wanted men by the British, with a P5000.00 bounty on each head. Before the British Occupation, Fray Hernandez had served as prior of Minalin (1728), Candaba (1732, at the time Bergaño published the *Vocabulario*) and Bulacan (1756). Immediately after the British left the country, he was assigned prior of Paombong (1765). He retired in old age at the Augustinian house in Intramuros but shortly before he died, he was reassigned to Paombong (1776). Like Bergaño, who died right after resuming his post in Bacolor, Fray Hernandez passed away on February 18, 1777, at age 90. By the way, he hailed from Avila, Spain and may be a forebear of Fray Policarpo Hernandez, OSA, former Regional Vicar of the Vicariate of the Orient, and friend of the Center for Kapampangan Studies.

## THE TRANSLATORS

Two Catholic priests help the Center decipher the ancient dictionaries and grammars

Fr. Venancio Q. Samson of Sta. Ana, Pampanga got his seminary training at the San Carlos Major Seminary in Makati City; he was ordained priest on March 22, 1958. His Kapampangan translation works include the Liturgical Books (1970), *Interfaith Kapampangan Bible - Old Testament* (1977-79), *Novenas, Mass song books, Alistu Kayu* (Catechism for Adults), *Sunday Missals for the Laity*, and *Ing Bayung Bibliang Capampangan* (Official Catholic Pampango Version, 2004). He compiled four volumes of classic Pampango literary works as well as homilies and sermons.



Fr. V. Samson

*Ing Bayung Bibliang Capampangan* is based on an earlier translation of the Bible (also by Fr. Samson) done in 1975-79.

Fr. Samson's pastoral assignments include: San Fernando (1958), Macabebe (1958), San Luis (1958-59), Arayat (1959-61), Angeles (1961-67), Lubao (1967-69), Abucay, Bataan (1969); Sto. Tomas (1975-77), Samal, Bataan (1977).

He taught part-time at the Arayat Institute, Holy Angel Academy, Holy Rosary Academy (Lubao), and Mother of Good Counsel Seminary. He also served as interim administrator of the St. Catherine Academy in Samal.

At present he lives with his family in Sta. Cruz, Porac, and is finishing a comprehensive Kapampangan dictionary commissioned by the Center for Kapampangan Studies. His translation of Bergaño's dictionary is partly sponsored by the National Commission for Culture and the Arts (NCCA).



Fr. E. Santos

A former Benedictine monk, Fr. Edilberto V. Santos is the author of *And God Brought Me to Eden* (an autobiography) and *Western Pangasinan, Earliest Beginnings 1572-1898*.

Fr. Santos was a high school sophomore at the Holy Angel University when he decided to enter the monastery, where he subsequently lived from 1951 to 1967. He was ordained by Rufino J. Cardinal Santos on December 17, 1960.

After leaving the cloister, Fr. Santos exercised the parish ministry in Laguna, Bataan, Pampanga, Caloocan, Bulacan, Tarlac and Pangasinan, as well as in Canada (Nelson and Kamloops) and San Angelo, Texas, where he served as the priest-administrator of the St. Charles Parish in Eden from July 1, 1993 to March 23, 1994.

He was incardinated in the Diocese of Tarlac and the Diocese of Alaminos, and is now a guest priest of the Archdiocese of San Fernando.

He taught at the San Beda College, National College of Business and Arts, Saint Louis University in Baguio City, Angeles University Foundation and Holy Angel University.

Fr. Santos holds an AB in English (San Beda College, 1958), a Licentiate in Theology (University of Santo Tomas, 1961) and an MA in History (Ateneo de Manila University, 1977). He is currently translating *Arte Y Diccionario Pampango* (1700) by Fray Alvaro de Benavente and *Arte de la Lengua Pampanga* (1729) by Fray Diego Bergaño, for the Center for Kapampangan Studies, Holy Angel University.



# TIME AND SPACE ACCORDING TO ANCIENT KAPAMPANGANS

Complex concepts of time, eternity and the cosmos  
in just three words: *suclub*, *sucsuc* and *sucú*

By Robby Tangingco



The early Kapampangans saw the sky as a sphere sheltering the world like a gigantic pot or jar cover

In my travels around Pampanga I met people who told me they have never gone beyond the borders of the province, and

who have never even heard of a city called Angeles, and who have no concept whatsoever of a metropolis like Manila. I imagined that they are like the early Kapampangans whose world-view was limited to how far their eyes could see or how far their boats could take them. The center of their universe was the mystical mountain of Arayat (Alaya), by which they reckoned time and space: any direction towards it was *paralaya*, any direction away from it was *paroba*; and since the sun always rose from the mountain's general direction (except for those living farther south), the east had come to be known also as *alaya*.

And then I read Bergaño's dictionary and realized how I underestimated the ancient Kapampangans' comprehension of the complex aspects of time and space.

In the 1700s, even the best minds of Europe could only understand the universe in archaic Newtonian and Copernican terms; across the planet, islanders could only imagine the world in terms of giant turtles and crocodiles. Bergaño's dictio-

nary hints that Kapampangans might have had a relatively more sophisticated understanding of the cosmos and of time. This understanding is revealed basically in just three ancient Kapampangan words recorded in the *Vocabulario en la Lengua Pampanga*.

These words are: *suclub*, *sucsuc*, and *sucú*.

## Piercing the bubble

Of course, ancient Kapampangans didn't know the planet was round, but they imagined the firmament as a semi-circular canopy on top of a fixed earth in the midst of darkness. They used the phrase *meto sicluban banua* to mean *meto yatu*, the earth, "all that is contained under the vault or mantle of the sky." *Sicluban*, which means "covered," comes from the root word *suclub*, "a lid, or covering, like that of an earthen jar or pot." The horizon was referred to as *ing sisi ning banua*, i.e., "the edge of the sky."

Thus our ancestors looked at the sky





and saw a sphere sheltering the world like a gigantic pot cover, with a circular edge sharply defined as the horizon where the sea met the sky or where the clouds dropped behind the hills.

Bergaño records the word *sucsuc* (still used today), “thorn,” whose verb form means “to become pricked with a thorn.” The phrases *sucsucan ning aldo*, where the sun pierces the sky, and *sucsucan ning bulan*, where the moon pierces the sky, give a picture of a huge bubble being continually pierced by the sun and the moon, each rising and setting at regular intervals. That the sky could be pierced means that our ancestors imagined the sky not as an empty space but as a semi-solid ether, from which the stars hung and through which the other celestial bodies moved.

And as the sun rose and lit the world, our ancestors had words to describe it: *aclaap*, “to spread the light throughout the world” and *actang*, “to fill up or bathe, like the light of the sun encompassing the world.”

*Babo ning masala* is a phrase found in Bergaño which means sky, or above the visible world. *Masala* in this case does not mean “bright” but “visible” or “the world as illuminated by the sun.” Another inter-

pretation of *babo ning masala* would be the dark space above the earth or beyond the sun and moon, i.e., if our ancestors imagined the sun and moon as part of the world.

### The sun and the moon rose and set, piercing the sky where the stars hung

#### Fullness of time

The early Kapampangans’ idea of time was also surprisingly profound.

Consider the remarkable word *sucú*, a noun that Bergaño defines as “the terminal or end, but it is an indeterminate end.” He very carefully explains by first giving a phrase common in the 1700s: *datang mangga quing sucú*, “until the end, or duration of the ages.” What exactly or even approximately is the time frame contained in this phrase? Bergaño himself cannot say; “not even the one who may have coined this word knows when that end will be,” he wrote, “nor do we know if this concept is that of eternity.”

*Mesucú* is the verb used to indicate that one has reached the end or completed the

term; on the other hand, *meapas* is used to mean that one has not arrived at that end. It can refer to mundane things like *sinucú nang danum*, “when the water or tide has reached its ordinary peak, like on a full moon or in a flood;” or *sinucú yang lulut*, “when a fruit reaches its full ripeness on the tree, because it is ordinarily plucked before it is fully (or over) ripe. When it refers to people, the word *tua* (age) is added, e.g., *sinucún tua* or *mesucún tua* which means “one has reached or completed the term of life, which ordinarily is reached by many; it means one who is extremely old.” To wait forever is *datang mangga quing sucú*.

Which brings us to the word *luid*, which Kapampangans today use to greet others, similar to the Tagalog *mabuhay*. As Bergaño defines it, *luid* is not a verb but a noun that means “prolongation” or “length of years.” *Maluid ka*, *Lumuid ka* and *Luid keka* (all of which mean “May you live long” or “Long life to you”) are the more correct ways of saying it, rather than the more popular *Luid ka*, which, strictly speaking, is ungrammatical (but since everyone’s using it, it can already be considered acceptable).

In the 1700s, the popular greeting was



not Luid ka but Pacaluiran na ca ning Dios, i.e., “May God prolong your life” or “May God grant you a very long life.”

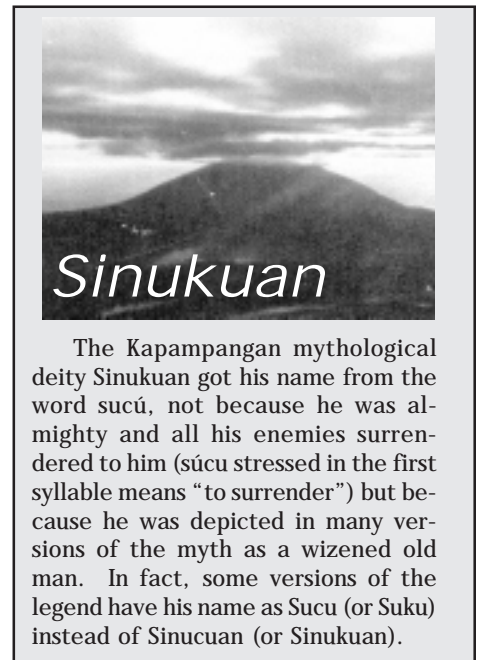
The reason I am mentioning luid here is to show how it interacts with our word sucú. In another greeting popular in the 1700s, Lumuid ca datang sucú, i.e., “May you live on till old age,” the combination of luid and sucú would initially seem like a redundancy, but actually the former connotes a lengthening of life while the latter specifies until when (until old age, which is the full term of a lifetime). Thus the two words together tell us what our forefathers considered as the highest blessing or the supreme luck in life: to be able to live out the years assigned to your life-

Thus the words *luid* and *sucú* together tell us what our forefathers considered as the highest blessing or the supreme luck in life: to be able to live out the years assigned to your lifetime

time (the bad luck being your term is cut short by an early death). Our forefathers did not aim for eternal life, probably had no concept of eternity; the longest they hoped for was 70 years, 80 years, 90 years, whatever was written on the palm

of their hand or indicated in their individual book of life. If someone died young, his loved ones would feel better if they knew that was all he was supposed to live, rather than thinking that his life had been terminated before his time was up.

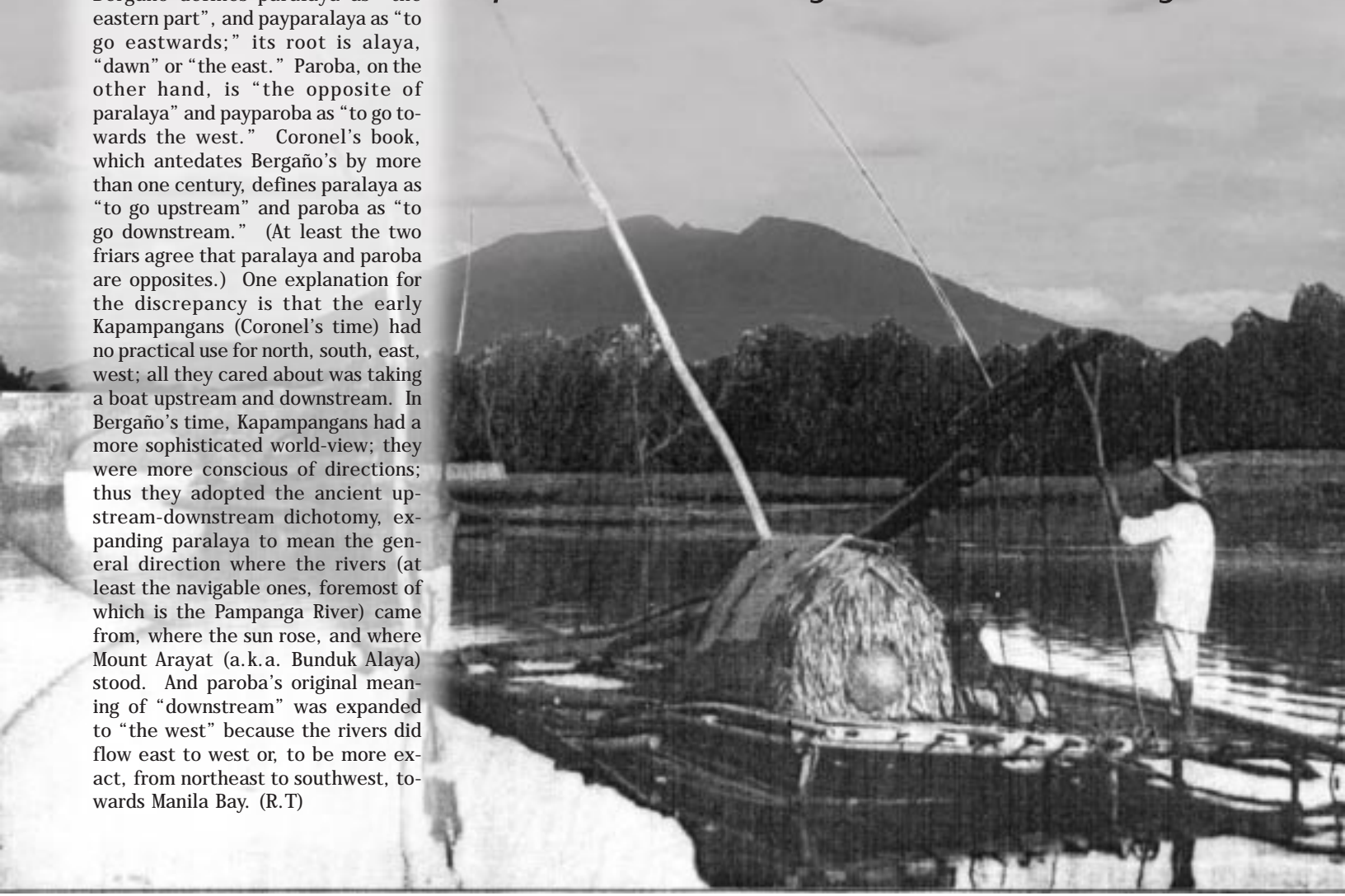
And if someone greets you Luid ka! (or the more correct Maluid ka!), what he is saying is “Long life to you!” but what he really means is, “May you live out all the years God has assigned to you!”



Alex Castro

Fray Bergaño’s dictionary (1732) and Fray Coronel’s grammar book (1621) present two different interpretations of the ancient Kapampangan words *paralaya* and *paroba*. Bergaño defines *paralaya* as “the eastern part”, and *payparalaya* as “to go eastwards;” its root is *alaya*, “dawn” or “the east.” *Paroba*, on the other hand, is “the opposite of *paralaya*” and *payparoba* as “to go towards the west.” Coronel’s book, which antedates Bergaño’s by more than one century, defines *paralaya* as “to go upstream” and *paroba* as “to go downstream.” (At least the two friars agree that *paralaya* and *paroba* are opposites.) One explanation for the discrepancy is that the early Kapampangans (Coronel’s time) had no practical use for north, south, east, west; all they cared about was taking a boat upstream and downstream. In Bergaño’s time, Kapampangans had a more sophisticated world-view; they were more conscious of directions; thus they adopted the ancient upstream-downstream dichotomy, expanding *paralaya* to mean the general direction where the rivers (at least the navigable ones, foremost of which is the Pampanga River) came from, where the sun rose, and where Mount Arayat (a.k.a. Bunduk Alaya) stood. And *paroba*’s original meaning of “downstream” was expanded to “the west” because the rivers did flow east to west or, to be more exact, from northeast to southwest, towards Manila Bay. (R.T)

*paralaya*: towards Mt. Arayat  
*paroba*: away from Mt. Arayat





TIME

## *metoyatu*: all the earth

The archaic prefix *meto*, according to Fray Francisco Coronel's grammar book (1621), "if placed before a noun, indicates all that the noun embraces." For example, *metoyatu*, "all the earth," which is different from *metung a yatu*, "one earth." Today Kapampangans say *mabilug a yatu* to mean *metoyatu*, but the literal meaning of *mabilug* is "round." Other examples: *metobanua*, "all that which the whole firmament encompasses;" *metobalay*, "the entire house;" *metobalayan*, "the whole town;" *metosicluban banua*, "the entire expanse of the sky;" *ding metobanuang angeles*, "all the angels of heaven."

1763 Chinese map of the world allegedly copied from a 1418 original based on the travels of Zheng He who sailed across Asia and Africa in 1405-1433. If proven true, then it is the Chinese, not the Europeans, who first circumnavigated the world.

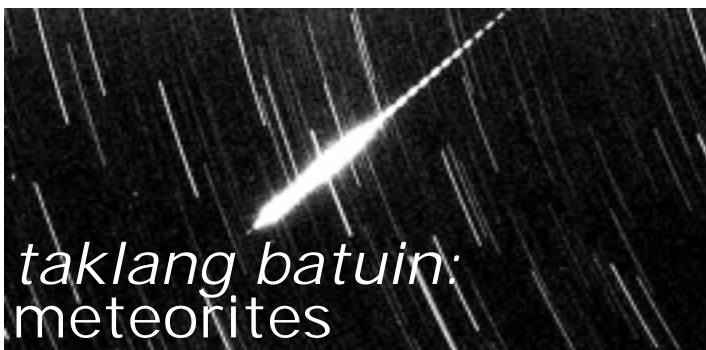


## *lauo*: lunar eclipse

Only Kapampangans have a local word for eclipse, *lauo*. All other tribes borrowed the English word, *eclipse*. Bergaño defines *lauo* as "the darkening of the moon in an eclipse." Interestingly, there is no specific word for solar eclipse, an occurrence more spectacular than a lunar eclipse but rarer, which is probably why our ancestors did not bother to coin a word for it.



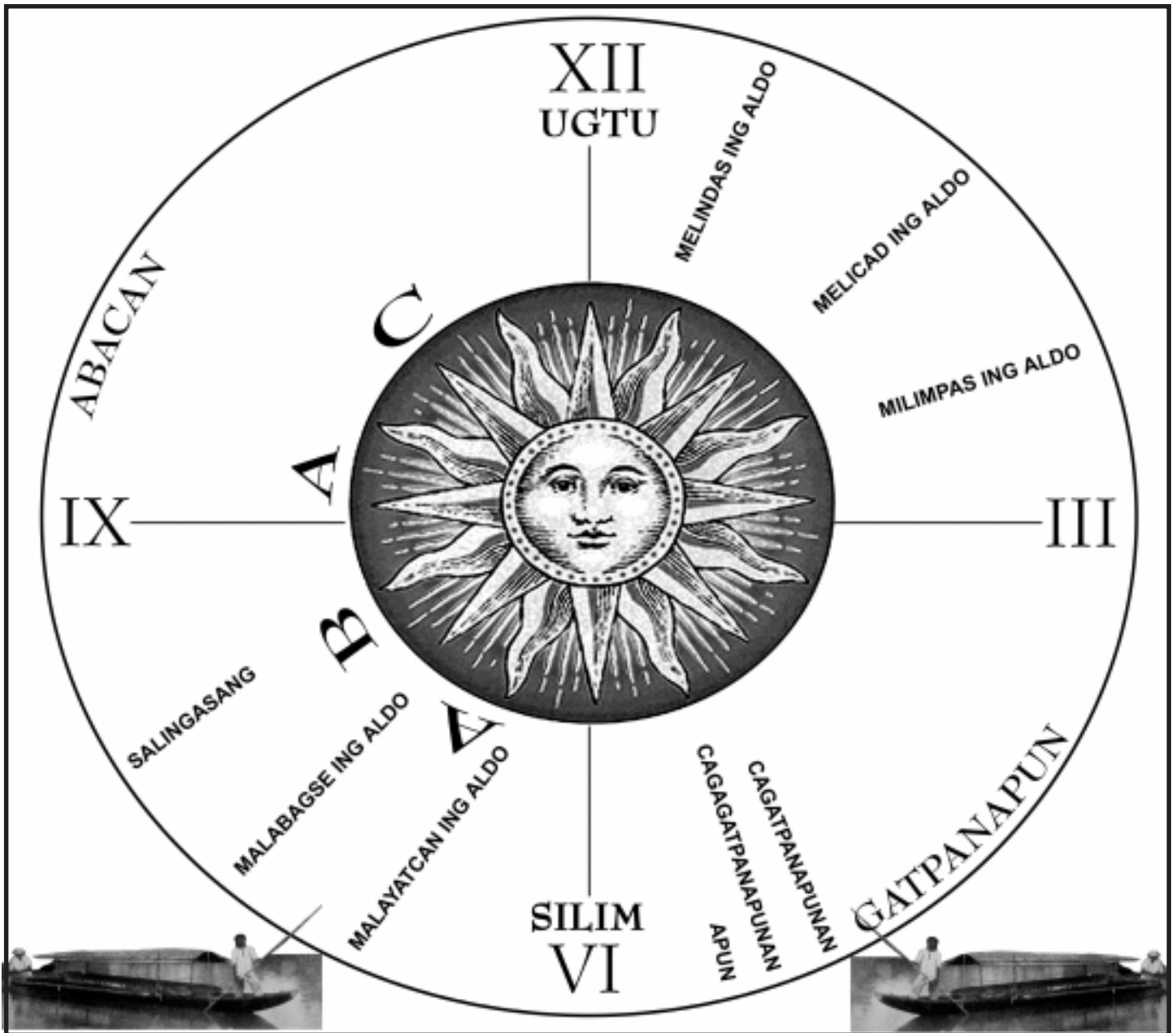
## *sulundaguis*: planet Venus



## *taklang batuin*: meteorites

Only Kapampangans have a word for the planet Venus, the morning and evening star: *sulundaguis* (literally, rat's lamp), which Bergaño defines as "that bright star that is seen occasionally in the west." *Tála* is the word used exclusively to refer to "the star of dawn, the morning star" (*tála king abak* or the Tagalog *tála sa umaga* is therefore a redundancy). Stars, in general, are *batuin*. The illumination, or ray of light, from a star (as in the Star of Bethlehem) is called a *simbul*; thus, *simbulan* means "illuminated by such light." A ray of light from the sun fixed on something below, be it miraculous (like the Ladder of Jacob) or natural, is *tucud*; *ticuran* is the place where the ray falls on. *Bulalaco* is a "shooting star...also known as *taclang batuin* (literally, "star droppings")."





Malayatcan ing aldo is 7 a.m. or 5 p.m. because the position of the sun corresponds to the position of the long bamboo pole (atcan) used by river people, Bergaño says, "when the sun is around 10 degrees over the east (A.M.) or west (P.M.). It is a meticulous thing and any old woman will tell you many more measurements of time." He adds, "Kapampangans did not know the measurements of the hours, they nevertheless differentiated the time sufficiently."

# TIME AND TIDE

The early Kapampangans observed the nuances of the sun to tell the time, and used fishing implements to describe it

By Robby Tantingco

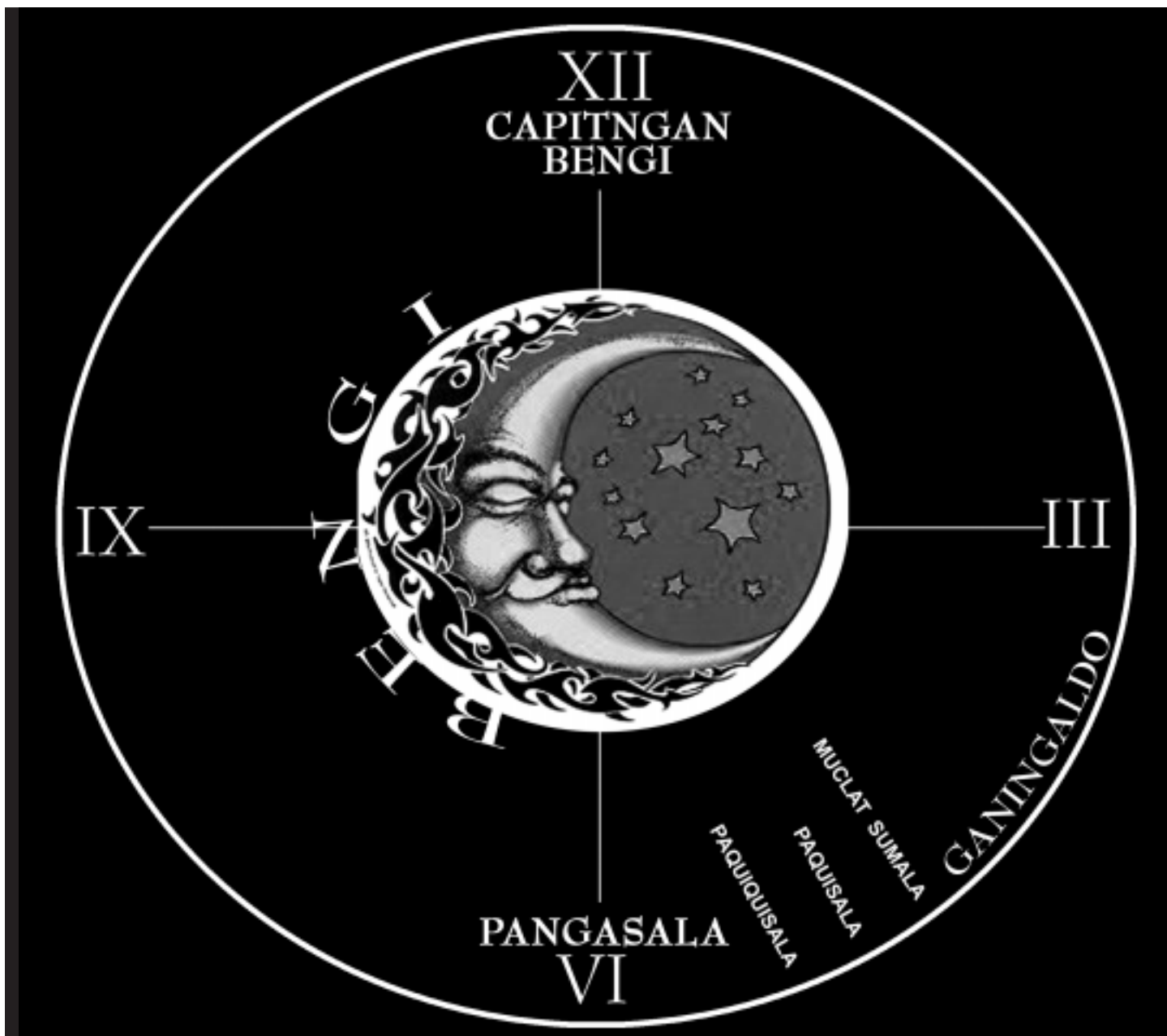
The early Kapampangans did not have clocks, watches, hour-glasses, sundials and other gadgets to help them keep time, but, as Bergaño's dictionary shows, they used other means, natural and ancient, handed down from the earliest days of civilization. The following word entries in the 1732 dictionary reveal the ingenious, indigenous ways our ancestors determined the time of day (and night):

**EARLY MORNING**

Ganingaldo is "early dawn," only mentioned in passing in the

dictionary under the definition of cutcut ("to bury" or "to pierce"): Mangutcut a dimla ing angin nung ganingaldo, "The cold air is penetrating at early dawn." Gani means "to prepare;" thus, dawn is the time when the sun is preparing to rise.

Muclat sumala, "as the day dawns;" buclat is "to open" so the phrase is a rather accurate description of the sun's rays opening the new day. If muclat sumala is "daybreak," paquisala is "after daybreak," while pangasala is "early morning when the sun is out;" lastly, paquiquisala, "a little after it has become



Capitngan (not capitangan) bengi is midnight. Ganingaldo (or galingaldo) was either malálam (long before daybreak) or mabábo (shortly before daybreak). The reason the ancient Kapampangans had very few words for night and many for dawn is probably that they slept early and woke up early.

morning.”

#### MID-MORNING

Ábac, “the time of day from dawn till noon;” capamanabac is “to eat lunch” because “lunch to the natives is 9 to 10 AM.” Manabac cayo, “You have lunch together;” manabac-nabac, “to eat here or there on the same morning” or “what takes place throughout the morning, like buying and selling; another meaning of manabac is “to work only in the morning and not through the afternoon.”

And when our ancestors set an appointment for the next morning, they had to specify the time thus: bucas abac, “tomorrow morning;” bucas cayabacan, “tomorrow early morning” and bucas cayayabacan, “tomorrow at the earliest hour of the morning” (it was customary to repeat a syllable for emphasis, or to indicate a more extreme situation).

Malayatcan ya ing aldo, “like at seven in the morning, or five in the afternoon,” the position of the sun being like that of a long bamboo pole called atcan, when it is stuck against the bottom of a river to propel a boat or raft; the pole does not approxi-

mate the position of the hand of a clock (since our ancestors did not use clocks or watches), but rather its top end points to the position of the rising or setting sun.

Malabagse ya ing aldo, another position of the sun in the sky pointed at by the tip of a bagse (oar or paddle) during rowing.

Salingasang, verb, “the rising of the sun when it becomes hotter, like from eight o’clock in the morning;” casalingasangan, the heating up of the day as the sun rises; this is probably the origin of the word maalisangan (“hot, humid”).

#### HIGH NOON

Ogto (Ugtu), as in ogtong aldao or caughtuan aldao, “mid-day, noon” or “to work or make a thing until midday” or “to stay until midday.” Manugtu na cang aldo caque queti is “Come here about noon” or “By midday you should be here.”

Melindas ya ing aldo, “when the sun leaves the meridian, goes beyond noon;” lindas is “to move away” or “to be diverted from the target.”

Melicád ya ing aldo, “the sun has passed the meridian, like one o’clock, or two o’clock.”





Meging talang ing aldo, i.e., the setting sun looking like a red mabolo fruit



Iyayabyab ne ing aldo, i.e., the setting sun is dipping into the sea, visible from the coastal towns of Pampanga

Milimpas ya ing aldo, "the sun beyond its zenith, going down and the force of its heat is waning;" limpas is "the decline of a thing, losing its vigor with the passage of time" (the Tagalog lipas simply means passage).

Magurung, "midday" or "half day, from morning till noon;" pepagurungan, "what was done in half-day." Pagurungan da ne bukas, "Tomorrow they shall finish it by noon;" pangatpanapunan, "what is done in the whole afternoon (from noon till sundown;" mamengi, "what is done at night time." Mecaduan magurung is "a day and a half."

#### AFTERNOON

Galpanapun, "afternoon, about 4 o'clock PM;" cagatpanapunan, "in the very afternoon;" cagatpanapunan, "near evening;" magatpanapun, "to be overtaken by the afternoon;" pengatpanapunan, "work done throughout the afternoon hours;" pepatingapun, or pengatingapungnan, "the whole day" or "done in a whole day."

#### LATE AFTERNOON

Apun, "supper;" also, "to roost, like the fowls, hens," and "to eat supper at roosting time;" manapun, "one who sees to it that the hens are in their roost;" panapun, "the chickens;" apunan, "the place where the chickens roost."

Silim or silimsilim, "to grow dark, to become dark at night-fall;" today the word has been corrupted into sisilim.

Iyayabyab ne ing aldo, "the sun is dipping into the sea;" lalbug ne ing aldo, "the sun is setting." Yabyab is "to dip in water," which is why iyayabyab ne ing aldo refers exclusively to the sun setting over the sea, visible to Kapampangans living near the bay.

Meging talang ya ing aldo, "the sun turns red (as the mabolo or talang fruit) as it sets in the horizon."

#### NIGHTTIME

Bengi, "the night;" mabengi, "one who is caught or overtaken by the night;" pacabengi, pepacabengi, "one who intentionally waits for the night;" Pabengian ta pa, bayu ta maco, Let us wait till night, before we go.

Capitngan bengi, "midnight," from the word pitnga, "to cut in the middle, to make two halves;" capitnga, "the half" or "the middle." Today, the term has been corrupted into capitangan bengi.

#### OTHER TERMS PERTAINING TO TIME

Licat, "interval in time, between actions, e.g., the ticks of the clock which, though unceasing, the ticks are distinguished

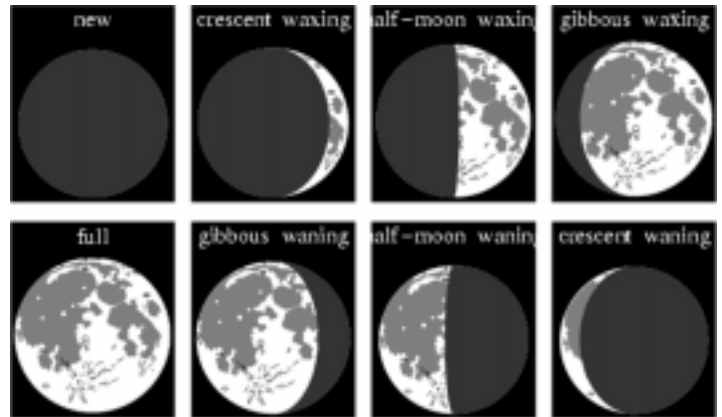
from one another by the interval between two ticks." Alang palicat a uran, "the continuous rainshower." This reference to the clock is probably Bergaño's own example which is for the benefit of his fellow Spanish missionaries; or, by the dictionary's first edition (1732) or second (1860), more Kapampangans were using watches and clocks.

Ngean, "antiquity; ancient times;" ding tauo ngean, "the ancient people;" cange-ngeanan, "extreme antiquity."

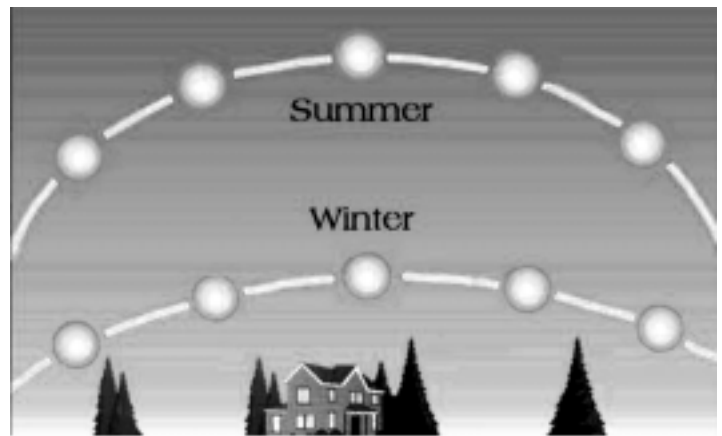
Balabas ya ing aldo, "when the sun changes its path during the season of shorter days," because balabas means "to take another path that is not familiar."

Dulum, "to decline, to wane; the moon." Merunut ya ing bulan, "The moon is worn out, i.e. The moon has waned" from the root word dunút, "overripe, wasted, destroyed."

Panaun, "time, season, era;" mamanaun, "one who takes time in what he does;" pamaanaun, "the business for which one gives time;" panaunan, "to give a thing the time it requires to do it" (Panaunan mu ing pamaglabas, "Give time for working out in the fields"). Bergaño gives another example: "You are looking for Pedro at his house at 11 o'clock but you do not find him, because he comes home only at 12 o'clock. So I tell you, Panaunan mu ya, See him at 12 o'clock." Pipapanaunan mu ing sablang daraptan mu, "Do everything in its time." Ing sabla sipapanaun, "There is time for everything." Manamanaun yang misaquitán y Pedro means either "It takes a long time for Pedro to recover from an illness" or "Pedro rarely gets sick."



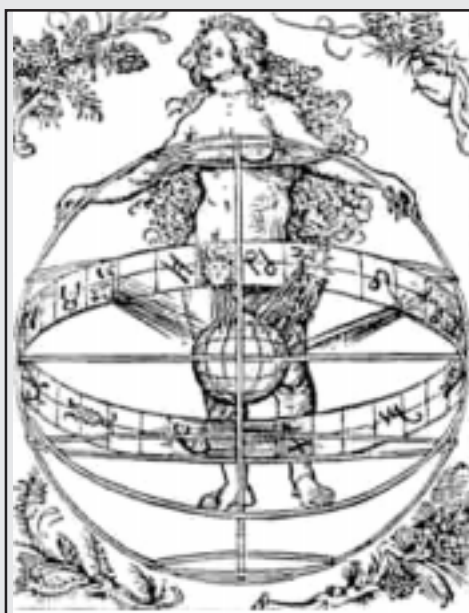
Merunut ya ing bulan, i.e., the moon is worn out, tired (the moon has waned).



Westerners observe the changing path of the sun in summer and winter; the early Kapampangans also did, as evidenced by the term balabas ya ing aldo, i.e., "when the sun changes its path during the season of shorter days."

# Adverbs of time, circa 1621

By Robby Tantingco



## HOOR

galingaldo malamal  
galingaldo mabábo

abac (or cayabacan)  
ogtong aldo (or ogto yang aldo  
or caogtoan ning aldo)  
gatpanapon  
silim (or silimsilim)  
bengi  
capitngan bengi

long before daybreak  
just before (or near) day-  
break  
morning

high noon  
afternoon  
nightfall  
night  
midnight

## DAY

ing aldo ngeni  
ngening bengi  
bucas  
cabucas  
quebucas  
bucas bengi  
macadua  
macatlu  
quening (qing) capat a aldo  
napun  
nabengi  
napun sa bengi  
nacadua na  
nacadua na sa bengi  
nacatlu na  
quetang capat a aldo  
nacapilan na

today  
tonight  
tomorrow  
the whole night (to-  
night until tomorrow)  
the whole night (last  
night until today)  
tomorrow night  
day after tomorrow  
(two days from now)  
three days from now  
four days from now  
yesterday  
last night  
two nights ago  
day before yesterday  
(two days ago)  
three nights ago  
three days ago  
four days ago  
a few days ago

## MONTH

iting bulan (or iting bulan iti) this month  
quening (qing) bulan a metung  
(or quening bulan a arapan) next month  
quing caduang bulan a arapan  
(or quing caduang bulan a datang)two months from now  
quing bulan a metung a gilutan last month  
quing caduang bulan a gilutan  
(or adua nang bulan) two months ago  
quening catlong bulan three months ago

## YEAR

iting banua (or iting banuang iti) this year  
quening (qing) balictaon  
(or quening banuang arapan) next year  
quening (qing) caduang banua  
(or quing caduang banuang datang)two years from now  
quing catlung banua three years from now  
banuang metung last year  
banuang sicaduaa two years ago  
banuang sicaluna  
(or quing catlong banuang gilutan)three years ago

## ADVERBS OF FREQUENCY

aldo aldo (or bálang aldo) everyday  
bálang aldo someday  
bengi bengi (or bálang bengi) every night (or nightly)  
bulan bulan (or bálang bulan) monthly, every month  
banua banua yearly, every year  
dat Dominggo every Sunday  
dat fiesta every fiesta  
mipacadua every two days  
(every other day)  
mipacatlo every three days  
mipanuminggo every two Sundays  
(every other Sunday)  
mipamulan every two months  
(every other month)  
mipamanua every two years  
(every other year)

## ADVERBS OF DURATION

patingapun the whole day (future)  
pepatingapun the whole day (past)  
inapun shorter than the whole day  
aduang aldo for two days  
pabulan the whole month (future)  
pepabulan the whole month (past)  
aduang bulan for two months  
pabanua the whole year (future)  
pepabanua the whole year (past)  
aduang banua for two years

Sources: Fray Francisco Coronel's *Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Pampanga* (1621) and Fray Diego Bergaño's *Arte de la Lengua Pampanga* (1729), translated by Fr. Edilberto Santos.





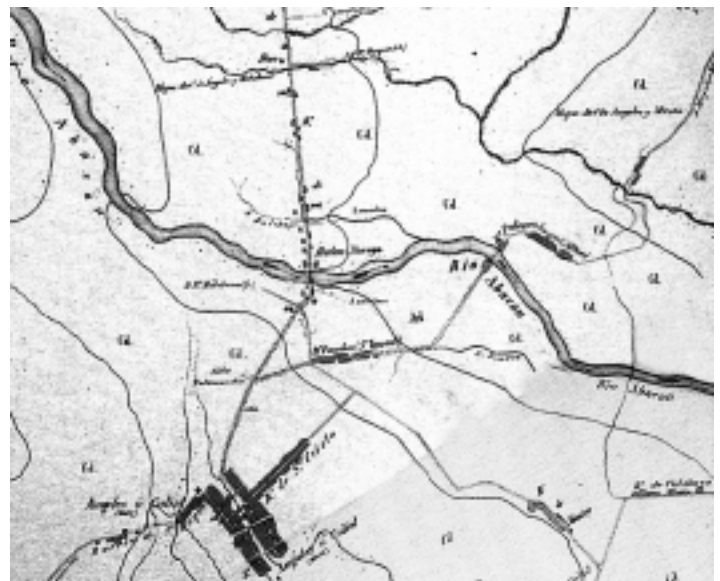
(1) The early Kapampangans skipped breakfast because they had to work in the field before daybreak; thus they had no word for breakfast. (2) They ate lunch as early as 9 a.m.; maugtu meant to have late lunch, about 2 p.m. which was the Spanish “merienda.” (3) Dinner or apunan coincided with roosting time which was late afternoon, before the sun set.

## Breakfast, lunch, dinner

The early Kapampangans often skipped breakfast (either because they worked in the field early, or it was too much of a bother to prepare a meal that early), which is why they had no word for it; almusal is borrowed from Spanish. So if they had no breakfast, naturally they would take an early lunch (abacan, taken at 9 or 10 AM, which is actually what we would call “brunch” today).

Although ogto means “midday,” Bergaño says that meogto or maogto means “to eat lunch late, after midday, about 2 o’clock;” thus, lunch after midday or afternoon snacks (the Spanish merienda) is paugtuan..

Lastly, because they skipped breakfast and took lunch quite early, dinner (apunan) had to be early, too. It coincided with roosting time, which is late afternoon (what our ancestors called gatpanapun, which we today use to refer to the whole stretch from noon to evening). It made sense because they had to finish everything before darkness fell.

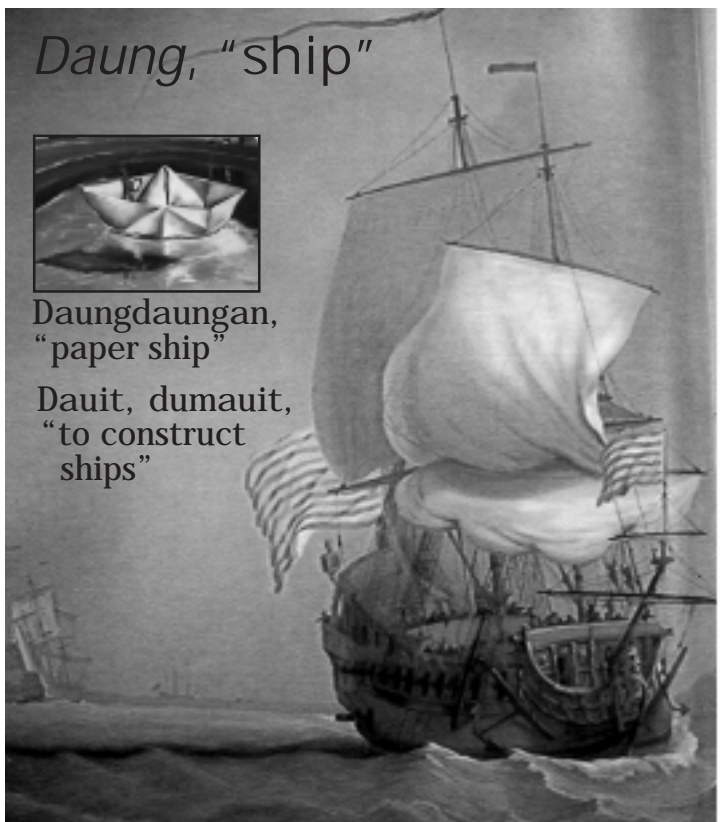


An old Spanish military map showing Abacan River cutting through Angeles and Mabalacat and heading towards Mexico.

## Abacan The river named after ancient word for “lunch”

The river that separates Angeles from the southern section of old Mabalacat (which is now Balibago) was named after the ancient Kapampangan word for lunch (abacan) probably because early-morning traders and travelers from downstream Mexico town reached Angeles (then Culiati) about nine or ten in the morning, the usual time for lunch.

Some scholars believe that Abacan River used to be navigable; it became shallow either due to slow siltation or due to some cataclysmic event—a great flood, probably the same one that created the Sacobia River in Bamban, Tarlac (early maps did not show a Sacobia River) and caused the transfer of old Magalang and old Capas towns to their present sites. It was only after the 1991 eruption of Pinatubo that we came to realize that Abacan and Sacobia Rivers have the same headwaters, and that the flow could be alternately diverted either way.



*Daung, “ship”*



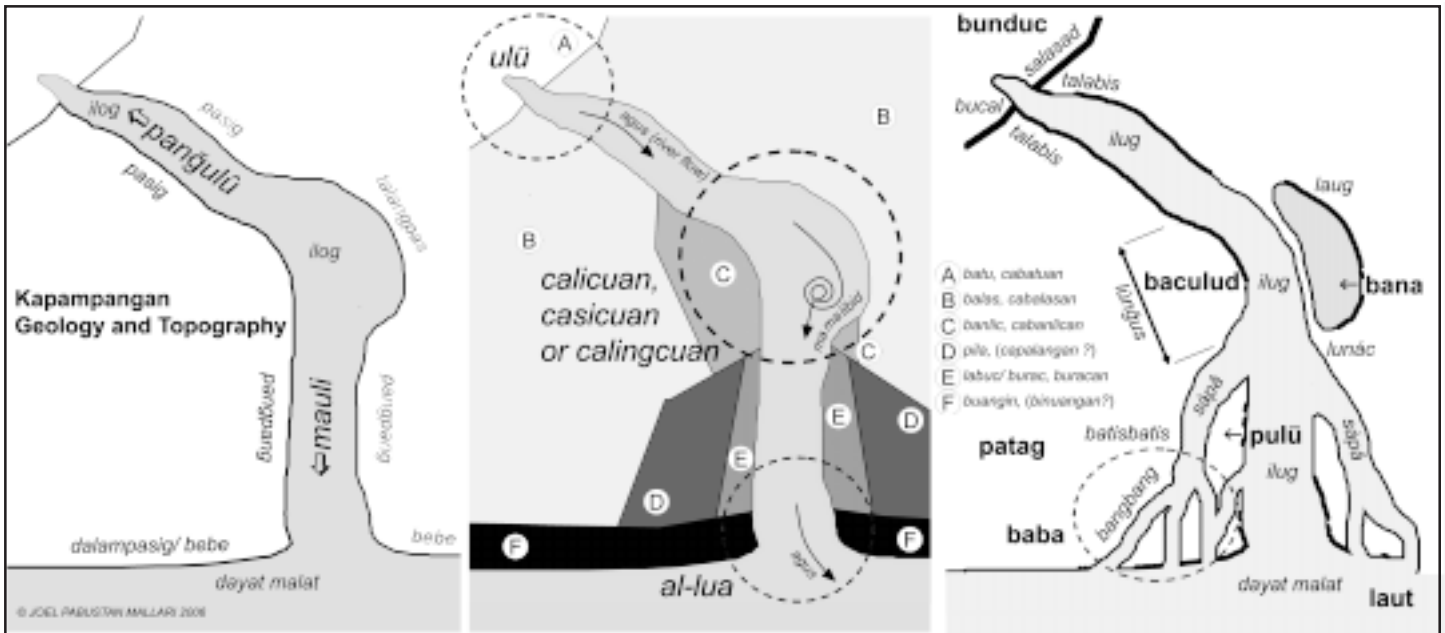
Daungdaungan,  
“paper ship”

Dauit, dumauit,  
“to construct  
ships”

# THE RIVERS & MOUNTAINS OF PAMPANGA

Word entries in the Bergaño dictionary reveal our ancestors' understanding of their environment

By Joel Pabustan Mallari



**Kadanuman: waterworld**

balaum, deep miry place, a hole, pit, and also a trap, which is a 'pozo' a deep hole or pit with water to catch foxes or wolves;

bangbang, a ditch or a trench to drain water from a place, like the ricefield. Bangbangan, the field that has such a ditch or drain... Bangbangan, bingbangan, the place where the drain discharges its water. The root is used often, the rest no.

batis, stream, brook. Batisbatis, streams, but not precisely the water, but principally the place through which the brook runs. It also means the path or trail where deer, carabaos usually trod, e.g., batis usa, etc.

bucal, fountain, spring, from which water comes out in spurts or jets, as if it were boiling, bubbling, seething...

dayat malat, the sea: mialatan, land intruded by sea water / salty water; calatan, quelatan, quelatanco, like tasting salt, as in, quepaitan, tasting the bitterness.

dulug, carulugan, like the center of each thing, from where it inclines, or towards which it has greater propensity to go, v. g. motus infine velocior, movement is faster at its end, and thus a river reaches its deeper parts which is like its vortex, and from there flows with greater speed and inclination: and so its bottom is the Carulugan ning agus.

ilog, river. Cailugan, the river bed / or the source of the river, and also where the river is wider and deeper, in the middle of, the center/ vortex of the river.

labác, puddle, water hole. Labac labac, to have many puddles, as in the aftermath of a heavy shower. Malabac, the soil/earth becoming full of these holes...;

laput, quagmire, slough, deep miry place, softness, due to

having more water than mud;

laug, a pond, a reservoir of water; Calaugan, its depth/ deepness.

laut, gulf, deep sea. Calautan, deepness/ depth, to enter a gulf, or deep bay... Macalaut, to be far out in the deep. Malaut ne iyang daung, The ship is far out at sea.

lunác, like the soil through which water passes, or stagnates. Lunaclunac, become softened;

paranúm, the canal, ditch or trench through which water passes to the field / seeding field. Paranumán, the field.

pialugan, inalugan, the water being waded through (alug, to wade across shallow water, causing some disturbance on the water);

saluran canal, ditch that receives the water; sàpâ (sàpâ), brook, stream, or ditch with water... Pamasapan, pemasapan, the ditches/streams...;

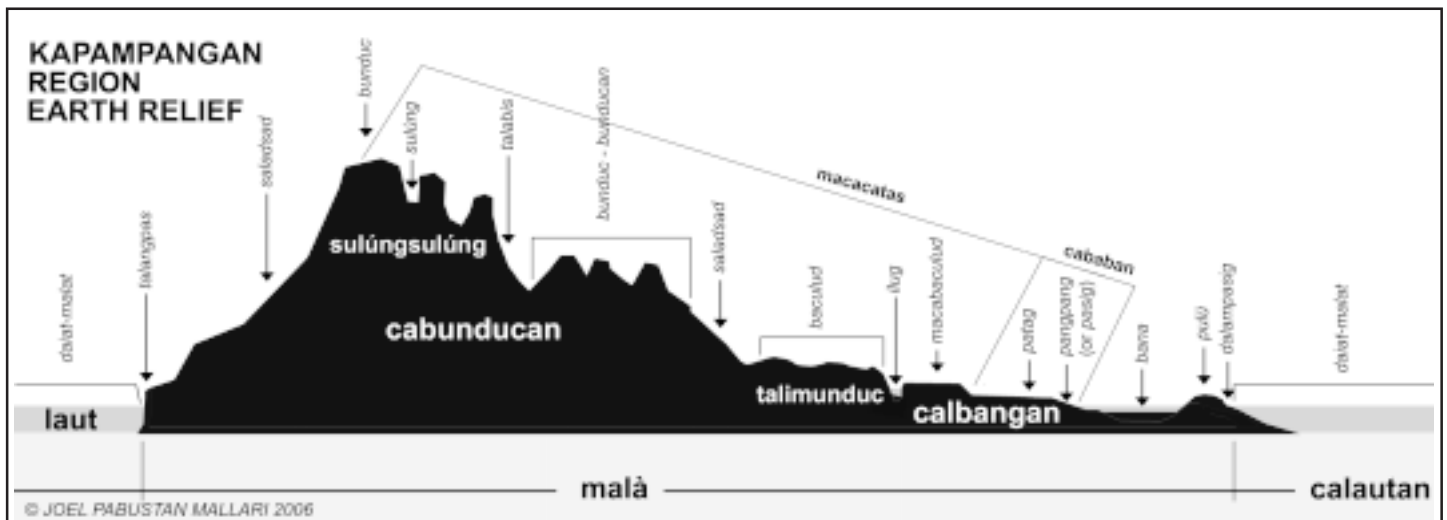
taue. (diphthong tauay). a dangerous extremity, like a river where it bends, or where there is already the danger of drowning, or the extremity of a branch where there is a danger of falling... Teuayan, the place that is stepped upon with danger. Macataue, be in the deep of the river, or on the end of a branch. Mataue, with abundance, where one is in a great danger.

tibunan, the river, or that which obstructs, the materials (tabun, a dam, dike, embankment of a river)...;

ulü, the source of the rivers.

Most of the activities of natural phenomena mentioned in the Vocabulario indicate the keen understanding of Kapampangans about their natural wet environment, such as tides, currents and flow of water. Examples:





Quebalican con danum carin, 'I was caught up by the rising water there.'

Ing atab a susun iyan queruac ning agos, 'The rising of the tide is the cause of the slowing down of the waves.'

Quilbugan con danum carin Minalin, 'I was caught up by the flash flood in Minalin.'

Agusan: various water movements

agos, the current of water eroding the soil /river bank...;

agus, the current, the flow, wave... Mayagus, flowing abundantly;

alauli, whirlpool, spinning movement in the water, which appear now and then at the bend of a river. Malauli, to whirl, spin around.

alimbuque, malimbuque, minalimbuque, to stir from bottom to top, like, meat that is boiling, or water that falls precipitously over the bank or dike;

anyud, mamanyud, minyud, manyud, and its construction, manganyud, to be carried along by the current. ... anyud anyud, like quiapo; patinganyud, to follow the current like one riding a banca down the river. Also, panyud, that which is made to follow the current: ipanyudmo itang-gala (let the dead leaves be carried along by the current), etc.

bulus, flood, flash flood, or its breaking out like the river that overflows;

buyun, tidal wave, deadly great waves.

lapo (depth. lapao), surplus, overflow, excess...;

mamsa, memsa, said of waves that upturn, but not on the shore, but rather on the waves that follow after them.

manmulmul, also said of water that flows from the canals into the rivers, and from the rivers into the sea... Milmulan, the river, or the sea;

salapi, a thing divided into two, like ... when one river enters into another. P. 1. the one made to join another. P. 3. past, selapian, the recipient river. Misalapi, with company, when the roads or rivers merge into one, Macasalapi, be joined;

sápo (diphthong sapao). Misápo, to overflow, like the rivers, which in times of flood overflow to the plains... Nanung isápo ning ilug? What will cause the river to overflow, if there have been no rains?

saligsig, the flowing of water from the streams with that ripple, including those rivulets that flow down from the mountains with the inundations.

Kapampangan: riverbanks and coasts

al-lua, sandbar, or mouth of the river.

banlic, sandbank or silt left behind by a flood, like rubbish, or sand, the flood subsides, leaving silt. ...mangabanlican, mengabanlican ya ngeni ing ilog, the river has now become shal-low, because it is silted.

bebe (diphthong bebai), seashore, sea side. Riverside, mountain side... Macabebe, to be close to the shore; Mabebe, very, very close to the shore, or river bank, or foot of the mountain;

dalampasig, sand bank along the sea, beach, or river bank, like, the one they have on the beaches or seashores of Manila.

lele (diphth. lelay) margin, border, edge, river bank, shore, foot of the mountain, Lele ilug, lele bundoc...Lelayan, the place...

lipat, the edge, or bank opposite to where a thing is...

pecauan, the edge or approach thus constructed; paco (diphthong pacao) the edge or approach of one or other part of a river, or of a canal which consists of the form given to it...;

pangpang, riverbank... it applies well of the flood/inundation that overflows the banks. Memampang yang ilug quing bulus, or, ing bulus quing ilug. Capampangán, (like caongotan), and this is how they call the province, because it is in a place of many banks, of many rivers.

pasing, sandy bank, shore of the sea, river, or sapa, stream... Dalampasig, said of a wide shore (beach), solely of the sea.

talangpas, steep banks, or pangpang, not sloping down. One who goes down the talangpas, immediately sinks into the water, because the depth there is not gradual... Talatalangpas, to have many steep banks, some lower than the others.

The early Kapampangans understood the nuances of their river systems as well as the sea. The Vocabulario names the northern part of Pampanga as Pandulú, and the southern part, Mauli. Topographically, northern Pampanga is more elevated than the southern part, which enables the rivers to flow towards Manila Bay. Examples of these rivers are: Pampanga River, Sacobia-Bamban-Parua River, Angat River, Peñaranda River, Pasig-Potrero River, Abacan River, Porac-Gumain River. Just before they empty into the bay, a number of these rivers swell and expand, forming marshes, swamps and deltas, especially in Lubao, Sasmuan, Macabebe and Masantol towns. Bergaño writes: Ding sablang ilug mipacasusu la quing dayatmalat, literally, "All the rivers suckle at the sea," using the metaphor of river mouth and probably recalling a map that shows the rivers attached to the sea like they get their water from it, when in reality, the water flows in the opposite direction: the rivers empty into the sea.

Micacatas: Landforms

baculud, highland, i e., surrounded by lower lands, over which it stands out: macabaculud, the land thus situated and stands out over the surrounding or neighboring places;

bana, lowland, marshland; mabana, very swampy;

batisbatis, the path or trail where deer, carabaos, usually trod, batis usa, etc.

bitas, a breach in the breakwater, or water gate of the canal through which the water flows or released down the river...;

bunduc, a high mountain. Cabunducan, the place where there

are mountains, mountainous country. Verb, to pass over, or to go to the mountains. Talimunduc, highlands, like the hills, hilly place; culcul, a hole in the ground, not deep, but like those on the road that is not smooth or plain, or level, or even... Culculculul, the place or the road that has many holes or pock- marked with holes...

cumbu, to become mound shaped, to become raised, opposite of Culcul.

dalampul, midalampul, that which is carried away by the waves... Cadalampul, the place, like the beach where they are hurled/ dashed by the waves, or the gulf towards which they are carried away by the waves.

delirulan, the place, or the ship where water spouts or enters. Dalirul, spout of water.

dilungan, the place or point of disembarkation...;

dungan, the docking place,

guno (depth. gunao), land devastated by water/flood. Maguno, become inundated, like an islet that is overrun by the sea, or becomes devastated by the sea. Active verb, idiomatically, it is said of land desolated, over run, or destroyed by its enemies...

lauis, sign, mark along the way, to find the right way upon returning, or in the sea, to avoid missing the route, like those of the Veracruz, mariner's cross. Also, it is said that the sign left by a witch in her house to assure her return is also lauis... Leuisan, the place marked, to be able to return to it again, or the tree marked thus along the way.

lurang, anchoring-place, that is, the canal where there is a greater depth, as in a sand bar, or in a barge...

burac, mud... Mangaburac, those places that become muddy

malà, mamalà, dry land...become dry, like the river, the sea, when the tide wanes, or the field...;

malbang, low land or depressed land: calbangan, the low land, the hollow ground; albang albang, uneven land, high here and low there, like in a bad road pock-marked with holes, deep here, shallow there;

mecatingcating, said of that which is left dry, like the beach, or the fields for lack of water...

pasung, pit, gorge, ravine, on the road, or on the mountain. Pasungan, and Mi, with an, that which has it, like a road... Passungpasung, to have them at every turn/passage.

patag, equal in depth. Pante (Diph. pantay), equal on the surface, e.g. the water in the river is patag, but if it is deeper in one part than in another part, it is not patag...;

pulü, isle, island, including groves, forest surrounded by lagoons, Macapulu, become grouped together, in the manner of an island, like grove of trees in the midst of a marangley, or a group of houses, isolated from other groups: pulupulu, islets.

pungsu, a mound of earth where the termites thrive. Pungsupungsu, the soil, or road that is high here, and low there. Mapungsu, in abundance.

saladsad, the foot of a mountain, which is not the plain, but the slopes, where it goes sloping down to the plain... seladsad,

that which is placed at its side, like a banca;

secan, the place where one goes up to, or through where one goes up.

segaran, the place (sàgad, the ship running aground on the sand where the sea is shallow; the deep-sea lead finding the depth...)

sulúng, the depth that causes fear to look down at it, like the depth between mountains, or from one mountain alone. Macasulúng, to be in the depths, far below. Casulunđán, like cabunducan. Sulúngsulúng, mountain that has these depths/canyons, gorges, steepness;

tabun, a dam, dike, embankment of a river...;

talabís, deep cleft, or hollow on sloping ground on the mountain side...Tatalabis, the place where there are many such hollows, or clefts, or hollows.

tas, to rise high; macacatas, micacatas, plurals, like towers, houses, buildings, mountains, etc.

taue. (diphthong tauay), a dangerous extremity, like a river where it bends, or where there is already the danger of drowning, or the extremity of a branch where there is a danger of falling...

Teuayan, the place that is stepped upon with danger. Macataue, be in the deep of the river, or on the end of a branch. Mataue, with abundance, where one is in a great danger.

tubû and its constructions, to grow, or increase, like a mountain, anthill, and animal, or a thing that has vegetative life.

Mt. Pinatubo derived its name from this Kapampangan root; thus it can be presumed that ancient settlers like the Aitas and the early Kapampangans witnessed the "growth" or dome-building of this active



Pampanga River as seen from the peak of Mt. Arayat

volcano, long before the Spaniards came. The volcano's last big eruption was the so-called Buag Eruptive Period (~1500 yr B.P.), which occurred just over 100 years before the Spaniards arrived in Luzon in 1571. Archaeological evidence shows there were already communities thriving on the slopes of this volcano, e.g., Porac (Pampanga) and San Marcelino (Zambales) at this time. This eruptive period, most likely characterized by lahar flows such as what we saw in the 1990s, coincided with the height of our ancestors' trading activities with merchants and mariners from China and other Southeast Asian nations, many of whom probably had settled in the coastal and river communities in Pampanga as well. Mt. Pinatubo's pre-1571 eruption certainly disrupted all these. In defining baculud (high land surrounded by low-lying areas), Bergañó cites areas between the convento and the river as the typical example of macabaculud, and adds that its opposite is cababan, "low area." He names the town of Baba Lubao as the opposite of the town Bacolor (Baculud). The town was probably named prior to the Buag Eruptive Period, when it was higher than its surroundings; that eruption dumped lahar on the surroundings which made them higher than Bacolor. This was what the conquistadores found in 1571, which remained the same until the time of the writing of the Vocabulario (1732). The situation was reversed once more only in 1991, when Mt. Pinatubo dumped lahar on Bacolor, making it higher once more than its surroundings.



**P a n g a r á p :**  
Topographical directions

One of the most important parts of defining the ethnic culture of people is by knowing their relative place origin. This was illustrated in the Vocabulario as pangrap, the fact of being in place: Mirap ya paroba, minarap ya mauli, 'going westward, going towards the south'...

Spatial location is identified in various ways. One is by means of topographical features such as markers. Another is through the use of extraterrestrial phenomena, like movements of stars, moon, sun etc. and knowing the pattern and season of wind activities. Bergaño shows that Kapampangans used all of these methods of mapping. One interesting entry is the word alaya, "the dawn;" while paralaya or nangan king alaya, is referring to the eastern side, the layman's definition of alaya is arayat, Mt. Arayat, whose location has become a virtual marker indicating eastern direction. The problem with this interpretation is that only those living on the western side of Mt. Arayat would consider the mountain as located east, and there were certainly old communities of Kapampangans south, north and maybe even east of Mt. Arayat—unless the biggest settlement was in the western side or that it is this western community that coined the word alaya or at least associated it with the mountain. Could these be the old settlements in Porac (and partly Lubao) which recent archaeological diggings have unearthed? Lubao, by the way, is in the southwestern end of Pampanga, which can be referred to as Camamaulian or mauling mauli, a superlative of mauli. And then there's the word misunan, which refers to people moving up from south to east, like from Bacolor to Mexico, not to Betis, which is in the middle.

Other related place directions are as follows:

alubebe (diphth. alubebay) to navigate the ship near land / along the shore... the place, pialubebayan.

ampit, to stop over in a place, house while traveling... or the boat that is brought to shore for a stop over...the place, inampitan, piampitan.

becut, to pull upwards, like going up the stairs or pull out the banca from the river. Binecut, the object. Pibecutan, the place from where, or to where it is brought up. Also, magbecut, said of a crocodile which goes up to the shore to dry up.

batas, babatas, mamamatas, mematas, To go not by the common road, but through a short cut or diversion road. Bergaño illustrates further: If in a common road there are so many curves, and there is a byway or little street that crosses these curves, that is the batasan, like the contrary, if I go to Manila passing through the bay which is a straight and shorter way, I shall arrive by taking that short way, but if there is a violent sea wind, and I choose to go through the river, even if it is circuitous, the river is the batasan, because it is not the usual or regular way;

	North/northern	East/eastern	West/western	South/southern
River direction	<i>Pangulá,</i> North/northern part/region (Pampanga)			<i>Maulí,</i> Southern part or region (Pampanga)
Sun cycle and vantage point vis-à-vis the sun		<i>Paralaya,</i> <i>aslagan</i>  <i>Aslaganing aldao,</i> or <i>Silanganing aldao</i>  <i>Payparalaya,</i> to go eastwards, towards that direction.	<i>Paroba,</i> <i>albugan</i>  <i>Sacsucaning aldao</i>  <i>Payparoba,</i> to go towards the west	
Wind pattern	<i>Amian,</i> north  <i>Amianan,</i> northern part	<i>sabalax,</i> wind blowing from the northeast,		<i>abugat,</i> violent wind coming from the sea.  <i>Abagatan,</i> the South... <i>timog,</i> violent sea-wind, southerly winds

Based on this table of Kapampangan terms for river direction, wind pattern, etc., it would appear that most of the important rivers and populated areas were concentrated on the west and southwest parts of Central Luzon, away from the banks of the present Pampanga River.

c a n ð a t b a ;  
canðatba ning ilug, that which is on the other bank of the river, because this and that are mindatba;

dalaquit, to pass or cross over from one region, or line (written or printed), or from one plain/level to the other, and if it is turning a leaf or page of a book, it is also sinumangid...delaquitan, the place, river, area, road, etc... Dalaquitan mo co, cross over to me, carry me over to the other side, like, a river, sea etc ... Piralaquitan, can be the placed from where, or on which, like a banca. Mányaláquit, like St. Christopher.

dulung, to go, or go down the river, passing through it, or, go down from the towns in the uplands to those of the lowlands...

lipat, the edge, or bank opposite to where a thing is...

lulus, go downwards, contrary to saca and suba, go upwards... lislusan, the place, or the object. Also, to cast something to roll down the coast... like bringing something down the river, and if not referring to mere movement like the house...

mauli, southern, that part, or region that is opposite of Pangolo, northern. The part that is lower, where the rivers flow down... Camamaulian, mauling mauli, southernmost.

saca, to go up from the plain to the mountain, or to the pampang, bank, one who disembarks; also, to unload something from a ship.

suba, to navigate upstream, or against the wind. Macasuba, be against the current... Malaguang luluslos, maliuag ing susuba, to go down stream is fast, to go upstream is slow;

Some phrases that indicate special sections of rivers, etc. are as follows:

Mamitnðaya pan ylug, reach the middle of the river, come to mid-river; and,

Eca lalaut quing ilug, said to a child, do not go too near the bank of the river.

Deng gabun: soil profile

In general, land, soil, and earth are collectively referred as labaud.

Moreover, gab-bon, generally refers not only to mud, but also to the soil, earth, ground. (See table on soil types)

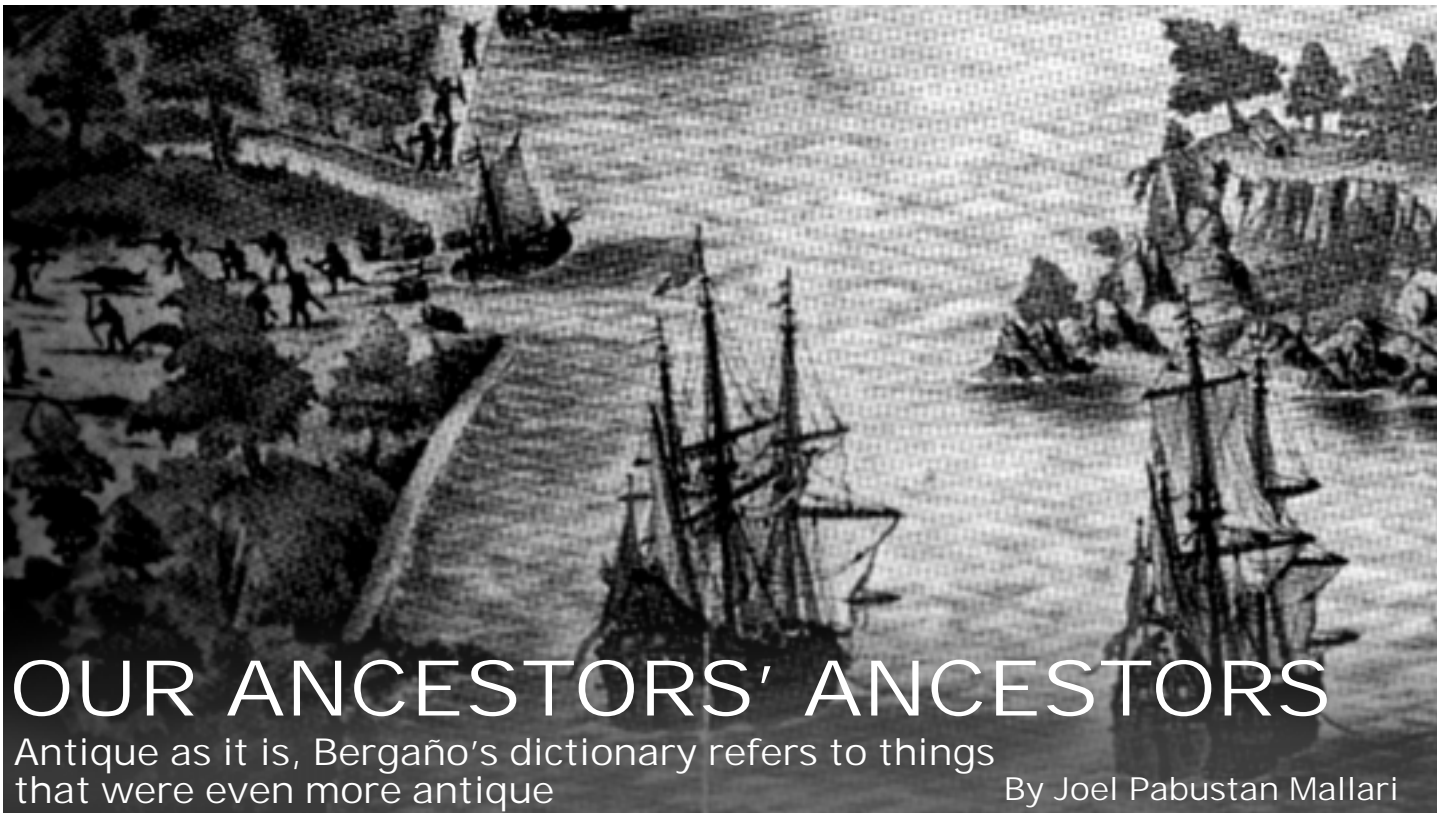
The vapor of the soil is referred to as busuc, which is emitted, like smoke; the heat is called alimum.

18<sup>th</sup> Century Kapampangan balen

Kapampangan settlements were, and continue to be, situated along riverbanks. Thus, these settlements were inevitably named after river features. Oral tradition has it, for example, that the old town of Mexico came from masico, 'many elbows of river,' referring to the meandering river of the present Abacan River (which flows from Angeles to Mexico). Other related word en-







# OUR ANCESTORS' ANCESTORS

Antique as it is, Bergaño's dictionary refers to things that were even more antique

By Joel Pabustan Mallari

A section of a map of Manila Bay published by the Dutch East India Company in 1647 showing Mariveles Island (right) where the San Diego and the San Bartolome anchored in 1600. The river on the left is most likely the Pampanga River. Sherds of stoneware jar such as those found in the San Diego wreckage (below) have been unearthed in Candaba.

Certain word entries in the 1732 dictionary hint at the lifestyles of Kapampangans long before the Spaniards came in 1571, or 161 years earlier. Examples:

**NGEAN**, referring to antiquity, ancient times. *Ding tauo ngean*, the ancients. (Ngean, cange-ngeanan, superlative. Thither in the time of King Perico.) This entry is comparable to another term, **NĒNI** that is also an adverb of time, which means "now". The latter is still widely used by Kapampangans..

**SAMULĀ**, "ancient artifact." Bergaño noted that Kapampangans used this word to refer to certain finishes or styles of plates. *Ibat quing samula*, from ancient times until now, nothing like this had been seen. *Ibat quing samulang mulamulâ ning pamasaua, eanti queta. Ab initio autem non fuit sic.* From the very beginning it was not so.... The phrase *tapac á lalic* also refers to antique plates, with certain kind of finish and color;

**TUA**, literally, the age, ancientness, antiquity, coming of age. *Ma*, adjective, old, ancient, fully grown up, mature.

**SUD-DIA**, the pointed end of a skirt, or of an ancient tunic worn by men;

**BASCAL**, an antique necklace; the derivative *cabascalan* means the gold sufficient for one necklace.

**BALASINI**, "ancient tiles;" the friar fur-

ther described them: "They seem to wear out easily, they do not last long; very few are available now." These may have been the ancient earthenware jars which became popular during the 13<sup>th</sup> century; they were considered priceless by ancient Japanese tea masters who had visited Luzon just to procure these brown jars.



The term *balasini* may have been derived from another Kapampangan word *balas*, "sand," thus hinting at the use of sand minerals like feldspar and mica crystal as part of the usual tempering material for pottery. This kind of soil was abundant especially in the various pampang areas

**GAYĀNG**, an ancient lance; the object was most likely similar to the *tulipas*, *talibung* and *sundang* of the early Kapampangans—the same weapons used by the 2,000 Kapampangan warriors who had fought an animated battle against the Martin de Goiti-led Spanish army and *pintados* at the Bankusai Channel in 1571, as recorded by Fray Gaspar de San Agustin in his *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas*.

Or, *gayang* might refer to those traded metal blades like the *katana* of Japan or several Chinese-made swords. Or, it can be part of the general reference to the various metal blades recently recovered in an archaeological site in Porac by the UP Archaeological Studies Program and the

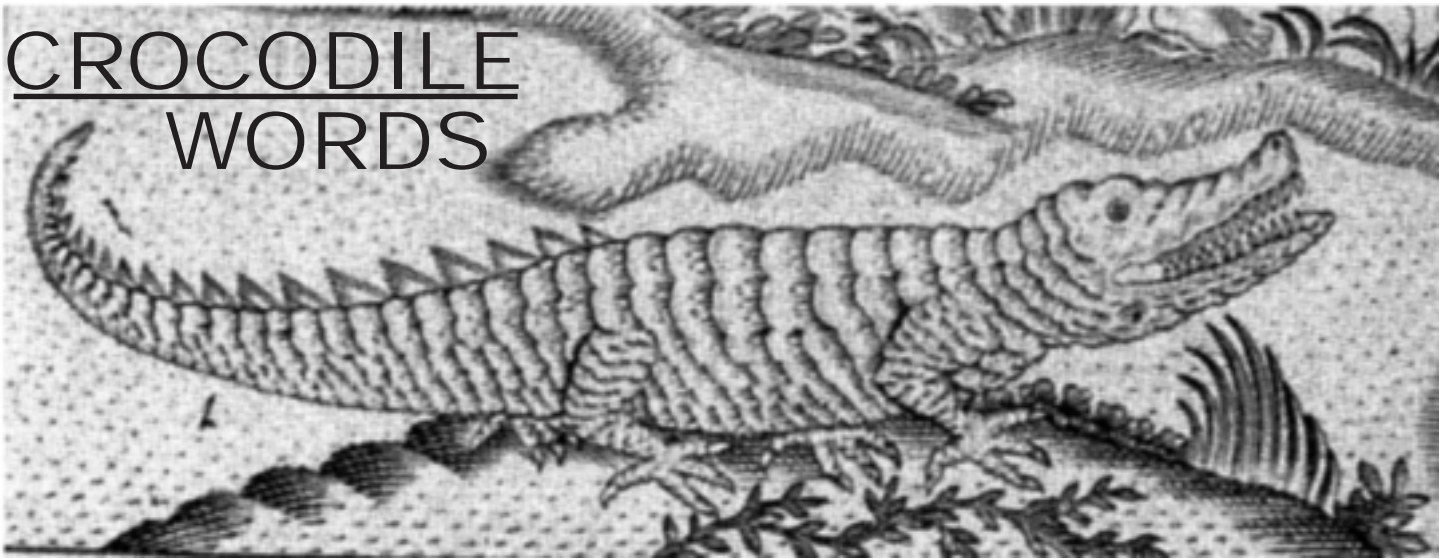
National Museum. Or, it could also have been the precursor of the *palang* industry of Apalit, the hometown of Pande Pira, the first noted metal smith.

**SIOLAN**, an ancient small flask, or bottle. This could refer to samples of the Tzechow type (Tz'u-chou Type Ceramics) of black and white jars of early China at about AD 960 to AD 1644. In fact, some of the artifacts recovered in Lubao during the time of American Anthropologist Henry Otley Beyer, were identified as belonging of this type. *Siolan* may have been the local pronunciation of early Kapampangan speakers for the Tzechow jars. This can also be compared to the colloquial Kapampangan term for a small porcelain soup bowl called as *silio* or *silyo*, which is recognized to be of Chinese borrowing. The *basical* can be similarly compared to several copper bangles also recovered from sites of Porac; and *tapac á lalic*, can be related to early forms of ceramic wares of China and Mainland Southeast Asia.

The *siolan* may have been the blue and white porcelains, or the stoneware like the *celadons*, which litter archaeological sites in Porac, Lubao, Candaba, Guagua (all in Pampanga) and areas between Samal and Orani (in Bataan).

**TALAY**, is an old bell. It may not only refer to the old bells of early Kapampangan Catholics, since oriental bells had existed earlier than 1571. They may have been influenced by the bells of early Chinese or the early Muslims in Southeast Asia. This is supported by several bell terms listed in Bergaño's *Vocabulario*.

# CROCODILE WORDS



The reptilian monster filled our ancestors' lives and nightmares

By Robby Tantingco



LACLAC, "to snap with the teeth like a crocodile"



LAGUSO, "to bubble up noisily like a crocodile surfacing on the water"

Bergaño hints at how widespread crocodile infestation was in Pampanga in 1732. Modern-day Kapampangans could never imagine keeping a crocodile in their backyard but our ancestors lived with them the way we live today with carabaos and horses.

The Kapampangan word for crocodile is dápo; Bergaño writes that *trataravelos* (literally, "with protruding buttocks," probably a kind of river mammals or reptiles once thriving in Pampanga) were also known as dápo; the derivative *cararapoan* means the crocodile species (abstract); *madapo* is abundance of crocodiles; *maraporapo*, "almost like a crocodile;" *malarapo* (*anti yang dapó*), "crocodile-like."

Below is a list of Kapampangan words referring to crocodiles and the many ways the reptiles had insinuated themselves into the lives of the early Kapampangans; most of these words have disappeared because, well, crocodiles have also disappeared from our rivers and swamps a long time ago, although old folks in Candaba and Lubao will still tell you tales of encounters and

sightings, one as recently as 1972:

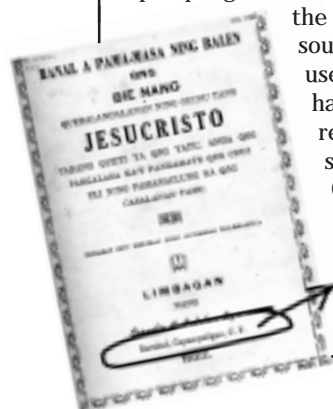
*Alabab*, noun, "the noise or sound made by crocodiles when they fight." Bergaño adds that Kapampangans at the time used the same word to mean "to snore," so we can conclude that the noise produced by two fighting crocodiles sounds like a man snoring. Bergaño further writes that *alabab* can refer to the sun or moon rising, as in *manalabab ya ing aldo* and *manalabab ya ing bulan*, i.e., "the sun is breaking out of the horizon" (at dawn) and "the moon is rising in the horizon" (at dusk), and he adds, "whether it is visible or not." Crocodiles probably made these noises as they broke out on the surface of the water, or maybe our ancestors merely heard the noises without actually seeing the reptiles, and then by extension used the same word to refer to the sun and moon surfacing on the horizon, or at least their observable brilliance. That our ancestors compared the crocodile with the sacred heavenly bodies is probably a hint at how much they respected and feared crocodiles.

## Capampangan or Pampanga?

From the earliest times until the mid-1900s, most Kapampangans referred to their province as Capampangan; it was the non-Kapampangans like the Spaniards, Americans and other Filipinos who called our province Pampanga. When the Spaniards founded the province on December 11, 1571, they named it La Pampanga to make the prehistoric name more Spanish-sounding and easier to pronounce. Fray Francisco Coronel, in his *Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Pampanga* (1621), used Pampanga in the title of his book but always referred to the place as Capangpangan. Early Kapampangans had the habit of adding the prefix *ca* and the suffix *an* to indicate abstraction or abundance of the thing referred to by the root word; thus, *capangpangan* means "abundance of pangpang (riverbanks)." Pangpang is sometimes pronounced pampang because it's easy on the tongue; thus, Pampanga probably began as Capangpangan which became Capampangan which became Pangpangga which became Pampanga. Note that Capampangán as name of territory is stressed on the last syllable, while Capampángan as name of language

is stressed on the third syllable. Books published as recently as the 1950s and 1960s still use Capampangan to refer to the province, e.g., "Melimbag qng Baculud, Capampangan" or "Melimbag qng Guagua, Kapampangan." (R.T)

Baculud, Capampañgan, C. F.







TUAD, "a crocodile attacking a boat from below and capsizing it." NGANIB, "danger from enemies, crocodiles, etc."



MISACMAT, "two crocodiles attacking or biting one another."  
ALABAB, "the noise or sound made by crocodiles when they fight."

Laguso, "to bubble up noisily, like a crocodile or a fish surfacing on the water." Its synonym is luase, "to make bubbling sounds, like fishes, crocodiles, etc." Our ancestors' term for the small bubbles produced by underwater crocodiles is pupug.

Taguso, "to splash the water by beating it with the hands, like children when bathing, or like the crocodile when it beats the water with its tail."

Lanam, "the smell of fish or crocodiles." The adjective is malanam which, according to Bergaño, is the opposite of

crocodiles even before actually spotting them.

Altó (diphthong altao), "to float, to come out." Iyang inaltauan na ning dapu, "the hole from which the crocodile came out."

Talaba, which of course means "oysters or shells for making lime." There's a phrase mentioned by Bergaño, manalaba ya gulut, which refers either to "a crocodile that has grown shells on its back," or to "a piece of wood standing in seawater that's encrusted with shells," maybe a

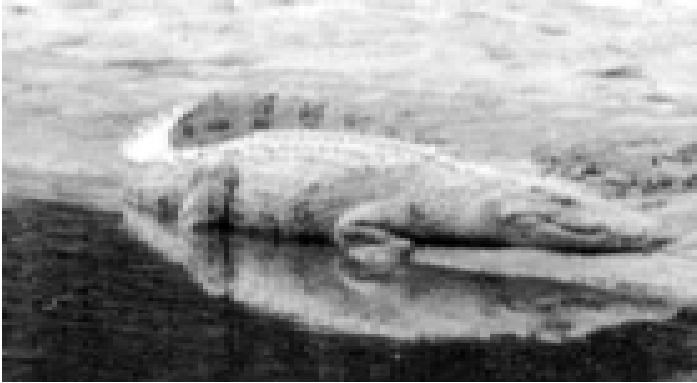
boat, a raft or a port.

Becut, "to pull up, like going upstairs or pulling the banca out of the river;" magbecut refers to "a crocodile which goes up to the shore to dry itself."

Sabpang, "to snap at, or seize the prey, or strike at it, like a crocodile or a dog, when they attack something and catch it with the mouth without letting it fall to the ground." Today Kapampangans say sagpang instead of the original sabpang, but it has retained its exclusive application to dogs (crocodiles having disappeared). You don't use this word to refer to bite of cats (which is ket, no pun intended!) or bite of pigs (which is sabsab).

Sicmat, a verb that may be considered a synonym of sabpang, although its emphasis is on "the speed with which the crocodile or the fish snaps at its food or bites its victim." Misacmat means two crocodiles attacking or biting at one another. Bergaño also writes that the word was an idiom for corrupt government officials: "It is said when the ministers of justice are all thieves" (could this be the origin of the latter-day term buwaya which refers to greedy public officials?) Bergaño further cites a phrase common among Kapampangans in the 1700s: Sicmat yang dalag, sicmat yang bundaqui, sicmat ne man ing paro! Which is loosely translated as, "Everyone is a sucker!"

Laclac, verb, 'snapping with the teeth,



MAGBECUT, "a crocodile which goes up to the shore to dry itself"



GUINABI, "broken or chipped, like the mouth of a crocodile; CABALUNGUS DAPU, "one who has the snout or jaw of a crocodile."



SUBA, "to navigate upstream or to go against the current, like a crocodile."

like a pig or a crocodile.'

Tulún, noun, refers to a "recollection" or an "imagination." The person to whom the vision presents itself is the catulunan or quetulanun, and from this we got the word catolonan, "a witch, or a hag, for she assumes the figure that first occurs to her, like that of a crocodile."

Tuad, noun, "a stake below the water." When it is used as a verb, says Bergaño, it means "a crocodile attacking a boat from below and capsizing it." Thus, the capsized boat is tiuaran.

Langab, verb, "to give chase and to attack," e.g., by a dog

or by a crocodile. Lengaban is one who is attacked thus. Nganib means "danger from enemies, crocodiles, etc."

Guinabi, "broken or chipped, like the mouth of a crocodile," from the root word gabí, "to break, or rend"

Cabalungus dapo, "one who has the snout or jaw of a crocodile" or "whose mouth is like the snout of a crocodile"

Caimanera, "a crocodile-shaped pan," which is probably large, because Bergaño compares it to a caua, or carajay, which is a large pan; obviously borrowed from the Spanish language, since "crocodile" in Spanish is caiman, which is where we got the English word cayman, a species of crocodile.

Quioua (pronounced kiowa), "a large hook for baiting crocodiles."

Suba, "to navigate upstream, against the current;" subasuba is "to keep going against the current, like a crocodile."

Bura, an interjection "used in driving away a crocodile, wild boar, etc." (R. Tangingco)

## CROCODILE MALEDICTIONS

Since the crocodile was the most ferocious and scary creature around (aside from the python), and since there were probably quite a number of terrible accidents involving being eaten alive by the river reptiles, the early Kapampangans used it to discipline their children and curse their enemies. Examples of Kapampangan maledictions inspired by the crocodile:

Quingua ning dapo! "a malediction or curse very commonly used" which means "May the crocodile get you!"

Liclac ning dapo! "May the crocodile gobble you up!"

Sumpa cung cuanan na cu ning dapo, "I swear even if the crocodile will come and get me."

Pisubasuba na ca ning malasulingsaba, "May you be seized by an agile crocodile." Malasulingsaba (literally, "like a banana shoot") was "a certain species of crocodile," known for its agility.



BAPU DAPU. The early Kapampangans revered as much as feared the river crocodile.



Not only did the early Kapampangans believe in destiny; they were acutely aware of fate's caprices which resulted in reversals of fortune. This belief helped them put their complete trust in God; it probably also gave them comfort to believe that the high and mighty would someday eat dust and conversely, the poor and downtrodden would soon get their just rewards.

The Kapampangan word for destiny is *calma*; it is a neutral word, i.e., neither good destiny nor bad destiny, although the adjective *macalma* means, according to Bergaño, "very fortunate, very happy." *Calmang mamoc*, on the other hand, means "adverse destiny" or "sad fate;" the adjective *mamoc* refers to "misfortunes that dog a person in life."

Kapampangans had a second word for destiny, *tumad*, "fortune, good or bad." The verb *atumaran* means someone "unexpectedly found his fortune." A third synonym would be *niô*, 'fortune,' which is the opposite of *bigû*, 'misfortune.' The verb forms are *manio*, *maninio*, *menio*, 'to find a fortune.'

And then there's *tanará*, an adjective describing a thing 'destined for a purpose,' e.g., *Ding salaping sisimpan na ning macatua tanará nong limos*, 'The money saved by the old man is destined for almsgiving.' Another example: *Ing tanará cong asaua*, 'The one I



# MIBATUIN STAR- CROSSED

Our fatalistic forefathers had words for all kinds of reversals of fortune

am destined to marry' or 'The woman I had in mind to marry.'

'Star-crossed' and 'written in the stars' are not exclusively Western concepts; the ancient Kapampangans had a word, *mibatuin* (literally, 'having the same stars'), 'those of the same destiny, or fate.'

The antidote to fatalism is *sungal*, 'to forestall, to know beforehand the evil that threatens, and this is the counterforce,' says Bergaño.

*Mulatmuti*, adjective, the Kapampangan word for reversal of fortune: *Mulatmuti yang tauo*, "A man who is now in the limelight, then, in the shadows; he is a master, then a servant; is now rich, then poor." No other local language has a similar word. A synonym is *yubing*, "once rich, now poor; strong and robust reduced to helplessness; one who is so happy becomes sad."

*Yuguing*, not quite like *yubing*, because it refers to a reversal of fortune of the intellectual kind: "one known to be wise is rejected or repudiated, thus losing his credibility." The early Kapampangans considered not just material wealth but wisdom, education and reputation equally good fortune, and their loss a tragic reversal.

*Mamoc*, "labors and misfortunes that dog a person's life;" *calmang mamoc* means "sad fate" or "adverse destiny;" a synonym is *pandig*; *mipandig* is "to become embattled with fate, like in exile or in prison;" *pangapandig*, "the suffering of such fate."

*alitut*, "the breathing of one sleeping quietly;" *Malitut yang matudtud*, "He sleeps quietly"



*tinap*, "to dream about something that happened;"  
*apaninap*, "what was dreamed about"

**mulatmuti**, "one who is now in the limelight, then, in the shadows; he is a master, then a servant; is now rich, then poor"



**yuguing**, reversal of fortune of the intellectual kind: "one known to be wise is rejected or repudiated, thus losing his credibility"



**yubing**, "once rich, now poor; strong and robust reduced to helplessness; one who is so happy becomes sad"



## To sleep, perchance to dream



The Kapampangan word for sleep, then and now, is *tudtud*, somewhat phonetically similar to the Tagalog *tulog*. *Matudtud* is “to sleep” and idiomatically, “to congeal, like oil, butter, lard.” *Patudturan* is “to put to sleep, like a child;” *paltudturan* is a “sleepy person.”

A synonym of *tudtud* is *nigla*: *Manigla ca?* “Are you asleep?” *Queniglan* is the

opposite of *quegisingan* (“awakened to”); *caniglan* is “the time when everybody is asleep, like at midnight. *Caniglan ding sablang tauo*, “In the greater silence of the night.”

The Kapampangan word for dream is *paninap*; its root word as found in Bergaño’s dictionary is *tinap*, a verb that means “to dream about something that happened.” *Apaninap* is “what was dreamed about, like obscenity,” Bergaño writes. “Also, to allege that he sees something in dreams, or interprets what appeared in dreams, as some warning or advice.” *Timpan* is “a kind of dream, some kind of imagination.” *E co timpantimpan man*, “It had not occurred to me, not even in my wildest dreams.”

*Taguimpan* is “the thing seen in a dream;” *panagimpan*, *penagimpan*, “that which was dreamt.”

## Bungang tudtud

Kapampangans have a graphic if strange way of describing dream: *bungang tudtud*, literally, “fruit of sleep.” Thus, a dreamless sleep is a fruitless, i.e., unproductive, sleep. Dreams are fruits to be plucked and savored and used for whatever purpose they may serve.

## balatbat: daydream

The Kapampangan word for “day-dream” is *balatbat*, a verb that means “to distract from what one is doing, as happens in the course of the day;” or “while one is writing or praying, he is distracted by imagination.” (Imagination in Kapampangan is *uaga*)

## ubingan-tudtud

*Ubingan a tudtud* is not a sleepy snake, as many people today think, but, according to Bergaño, “a species of small snakes, which are said to kill by causing sleep.”



# THE WITCHING HOUR



*Uplé* (could this be the origin of the surname *Ople*? Diphthong is *uplay*) means “bewitchment, enchantment;” *manuple* refers to “those who bewitch and enchant, like those who cause a dense smoke in order to steal.” *Taguibalug* is “a thing that deceives the eye, like a thing made to appear by white magic, or black magic.”

*Uclub*, or *ucluban* (like the Tagalog *matandang hukluban*), is “a witch, enchanter/enchantress, sorcerer and practitioner of black magic.” Another term for them is *ustuang*, “a sorcerer who they say comes out and glows at night.”

*Gaue* (diphthong, *gauay*), ‘to harm by witchcraft; to bewitch, like doing it by casting out *palay*.’

When a baby is stricken with a bad disposition after someone takes a fancy on him, he is said to suffer from *asúg* (*meyasug*). It is usually a bellyache, Bergaño writes, which could be caused “by the vapors emitted by the ground

(*alimum*).” He continues, “It is said that when one is afflicted with this by another, he is cured by rubbing on him the clothes of the one who somehow has ‘bewitched’ him.”

*Mantala*, “superstition;” *magmantala*, “to believe in such things;” *bantalâ*, *magbantala*, “to do something in the manner of the devil.”

*Pamalyan*, “vain observances, or superstitions;”

*mamalyan*, “the augurer or one who practices such things;” *pemalyan*, “the place, like a post of a house which has to be changed for having a snake, lest the owner of the house will die”

*Diuata*, “those that are taken for idols and false gods;” *magdiuata*, “to idolize, worship or venerate idols;” *pagdiuatan*, “the idol worshipped like God;” today we use *diuata* to mean “fairy” which is a European concept.

*Meyatû*, “one who is bereft of feeling or consciousness because the *anito* (spirits of the dead) have affected or possessed him.

*Tigbalang* (Tagalog *tikbalang*), “mountain elf that has grown into a giant, with hooves of horses;” *Anti yang eburnig balang*, “said of a man with gigantic proportions;” Bergaño cites a superstition that “a man who sees it first becomes mad.”

*Culam*, “witchcraft;” *magcuculam*, “witch”

*Lauis*, “the sign left by a witch in her

house to assure her return”

*Pugut*, “son of a witch,” “descendant of a Jew” or “one who comes from the Negro race;” verb means “one who attempts to get married, or is married, to a Negro man or woman;” *pemugutan*, “the children born from this union, outside matrimony”

*Sungal*, ‘to forestall, to know beforehand the evil that threatens, and this is the counterforce,’ says Bergaño. Our ancestors believed that if you told a witch *Sungal da ca!* ‘the bewitchment can no longer take effect.’ *Masungal* means ‘the power of bewitchment or of the witch becomes forestalled.’ (R. Tangingco)

## Galinguim,

“to tremble with fear on account of an impending harm; that which causes such fear and trembling, e.g., ghosts, spectre”







Kasaysayan

# CURSES AND MALEDICTIONS

Our ancestors also had a whole catalog of curses and maledictions, as evidenced in the following words:

Maburug ca sa (malediction for an ingrate), "May your body be covered with manges" or "May you lose your hair (for your ingratitude)."

Mapapâ ca sa (also for an ingrate, specifically for striking or hitting parents—the worst kind of ingratitude), "May you be disgraced," "May you suffer great failures or illnesses."

Mapas ca quing tubo, "May you stop growing" (said to a runaway child).

Mabtac na ca sa dongos queang ala cang bibilang, "May your stomach split open, since you have no control of yourself" (said to a glutton).

Tagcu, "to wish or desire that evil befall a person;" mapanagcu is "one cursing

with malice or bad will."

Sacdapul, "a grave malediction that means 'May you be consumed by fire' or 'May you turn into ashes' or 'May you vanish completely.'"

Dipan na ca ning alti, "May lightning strike you;" dipan is a conjugation of abpa, "to perch, or to spread its wings."

Malti, or mayalti na ca canian, "Let the lightning strike you now."

Mabungo, "to be stricken with the plague."

Melampong ca pug, "You are certain to be smashed."

Pisubasuba na ca ning malasulingsaba, "a malediction in which it is wished that he be seized by an agile crocodile (malasulingsaba, a species of crocodile)." (R. Tangingco)

## Thunder and lightning

The Kapampangan word for lightning is alti. A synonym is quildap, verb, "to flash." Quinildap ya mu, idiomatically, "One who did not stay long." Also, culdap, "a flash." Culdapculdap is "said of what passes before one's eyes with great brevity, like the lightning. Miné ya, queti quinildap ya mu, "He came here but left quickly." The Tagalog equivalent is kidlat. Thunder in Kapampangan is duldul.

## Payaral, not paaral

"To prevent dissonance and to make it easy to pronounce," wrote Fray Coronel in his 1621 grammar book, "y is added where there are two a." Thus, paamano becomes payamano, paaral payaral and paali payali. Coronel continued, "As we can see, they sound bad... because in this language, there is no h. And so in its place, we use y to fill in for it." Meanwhile, "when a noun or verb ends with a vowel and the next letter begins with a vowel, they are pronounced together as if they were one letter, the first vowel being eaten." Examples: ya ini becomes yeni, and ya ita becomes yeta.

## The many uses of ca

Fray Coronel in his 1621 grammar book enumerated the ways the prefix ca can alter or enhance the meaning of words:

- (a) "to raise the value of a thing to the highest degree, use ca and repeat the first syllable, or double the root." Examples:  
casampatsampatan ya - "he is dazzlingly handsome;  
she is beauty incarnate"  
cacayapcayapan - "the very embodiment of goodness"  
cauauacasan - "the very last one"
- (b) "to indicate reaching the height of what the root indicates"  
capalian na ngeni ning aldao - "the sun at its hottest"  
casicnangan mo na ngan - "this is your strongest"
- (c) "to indicate real nature"  
caparasan na ning lara ngenian - "pepper is hot by nature"
- (d) "to indicate time"  
cauran - "season of rain"  
calaldao - "dry season"  
catanam - "when people plant"
- (e) "to indicate action has been done"  
ya pa catipa na - "he has just come down"



# From palé to abiás to nási RICE in the life of the ancient Kapampangans



Kapampangans' intimacy with rice is revealed in the quantity of rice-related words

Annekaringlass

By Robby Tantingco



Pále (grain of rice)



Abiás (milled rice)



Nási (cooked rice)

Because rice is not an important part of the diet of Westerners, they have only one word for it; on the other hand, Asians have many different words describing in detail the grain's various configurations in various stages of planting, harvesting, processing, cooking and eating—in the same way, for example, that the Eskimos have not just one, but many words for ice. The following are found in Bergaño's dictionary:

#### PLANTING RICE

Pále (diphthong palay), noun, "the grain of rice;" as a verb, it means "to sow it;" pelayan, palayan, "the land or field sowed with pále grains;" mapále, "abun-

dance of pále;" capalayan, "a single grain;" pamále, pemále, "what is bartered or paid for with pále;" mipale, micapale, "to acquire or hold pále."

Carayum, "all kinds of pále except the lacatan;" carayum is "ordinary rice" while lacatan is "glutinous rice;" querayumanan, querayumnan, the place where the seed is sown; querayuman, "the seed sown." Another species of pále is paleragul.

Punlâ, "seeds sown together at the start, like pále, tobacco, lettuce, radish, to produce seedlings;" it also means "the seedling;" its verb form means "to sow the seeds together to produce seedlings."

Palsaquiti, or malsaquiti, "to work or

till the field;" palsaquitanan, "the field;" capalsaquiti, "the tillage, the plowing."

Bulagsac, "prodigal, spendthrift; to spread unsparingly the grains when sowing."

Sangut, "beard or awn of grains;" sangutan, "the pále that has it."

Paranúm is "canal, ditch or trench through which water passes to the field;" Paranum ca, "See to it that the water reaches the field."

Lauí, "dry period, famine, drought; the



**Punlâ**, "seeds sown together at the start, to produce seedlings"





**Sangut**,  
"beard or awn of  
a rice grain"

ricefield drying up due to lack of rain; Melauí cing pále, or Quelauián cu, "I lost my harvest" or "I suffered losses due to the drought." Quesalatan pále, "There was a shortage of pále;" micasalat, "imminence of famine."

Laun, "old crop, like rice or tobacco, that is not the crop of the current year."

Salbag, "to scatter, like in sowing grains, or throwing a certain fishing net."

Tagapále, "the weed that grows among the pále."



**Belita**, "small bundles or stacks of harvested rice which are later carried away to form a bigger stack"

Palbud, "to clear beforehand the field to improve harvest" or "the grass, cut or pulled out, then left to rot as fertilizer."

Buligã, "the clod of earth turned up by the plow;" it also means "one measure of land or field which is one braza or 36 square feet."

Bulag, "the plowshare choked by stones, fails to turn up the soil."

Talubu, "the pále about to bear spikes of grains."

Calisip, "pále about to bloom;" Calisipa, "still aborning," or "still abloomng."

Guigut, "the young soft grain of pále aborning;" its past-tense verb means "the grain of pále being hulled by the teeth."

Bait, "aborning, developing" as in Babait ning pále, "the grains of rice begin to appear on the stalks;" Iting domingong itinan iyan ibait ning pále, "This very

week the pále begins to show its grains;" Tunggal tunggal mibabait ing pále, "The grains are appearing one by one;" mibait, "to be born, like pále or a living thing;" pangabait, "birth."



**Bubud**, "to scatter pále to the hens"

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**Palagpag**, "to reap the pále"

Timmias, "remarkability, not having anything vain or empty, like a full grain or rice;" matimmias, "choice grain of rice or corn;" opposite is tuliapis, matuliapis, "pále which has empty grains."

#### HARVEST TIME

Palagpag, "to reap the pále, i.e., to harvest it, like we would say of the grapes, to gather vintage;" papalagpag, "the time of harvest;" ibat melagpag, "time after the harvest;" bayu malagpag, "the time before the harvest." More synonyms: palut, "to reap the pále" (pinalut is the harvested pále); pupul is "to harvest fruits."

Lauit, "sickle, or scythe;" malauit, "to reap or mow"

Atab, yatab, manatab, yumatab, "to cut the ears of grain at a certain age, and that is when they cut the spikes of grains for duman;" the noun atab or yatab is "a small knife with a special shape used for such cutting." Inataban or piyataban means "the field" or "the remaining grains." Magcanung ayatab mu queting banuang iti? "How much did you produce this year?"

Ulé (diphthong uláy),

"to pour in, like pále into a tambobo (granary), without sacks, but like laying it out loose."

Belita, "small bundles or stacks of harvested pále which are later carried away to form a bigger stack."

Caladcad, "a shovel used in heaping pále or garbage;" macaladcad, "to become heaped thus."

Aum, and its forms maaum, meum, maum, "the pále smelling fetid, due to having been harvested wet."

Secã, "shafts of pále, blades of grass, dead leaves usually found on the surface of water."

Bubud, "to scatter pále to the hens" or "to launch the lamo (bamboo raft) to transport the grains;" binubud, "the grains scattered;" biburan, or pibuburan, "the place where the grains have been scattered." Bergaño includes a verse popular during his time, or maybe quoted from a play now lost:

Ing magdalang pamudmud

Pacasaca nang curug

Baiang queya dururup

Ding patipating cuyug.

The one bringing the grains

Makes the intense dove's call

So that to him shall approach

The doves in droves.

#### PROCESSING THE GRAIN

Abias, "milled or unhulled rice; manabias, "to turn the pále into abias;" inabiasan, "pále ground or pounded into abias."

Tulung, or mitulung, "to alternately pound rice in a mortar."

Apa, "the hull of pále, or the chaff;" the verb form means "the grains do not mature, i.e., they are only hull without the laman (contents)."

Quisquis, "to husk the pále; to shake



**Ulé**, "to pour the pále into a tambobo (granary) without sacks, but like laying it out loose"



**Caladcad**, "a shovel used in heaping pále"

or thresh the pále, spike by spike, to make duman."

Darã, "to thresh pále with the feet;

pidaràn, "the place or the leftovers, like hay or stalks threshed of their grains."

Angli, "to toast the pále to unhull it;" inanglian, "the toasted grain."

Bitsé (diphthong, bitsay), "sifter for rice;" agagan, "sifter with fine holes;" agag, "to sift, like abias"

Guppup, "the chaff, left after threshing of pále, which are blown away by the wind during winnowing;" maguppup, "with much chaff."

Binglad, "broken grains of rice, left after pounding;" mabinglad, "to separate the small broken grains from the whole grains by sifting;" maninglad, "to pound into small pieces" and "the sifted grains;" bininglad, "the small pieces that have passed through the sifter;" cabinglaran, "one such little broken piece of grain;" agag, "to sift;"

agagan, “a sifter with fine holes or fine mesh;” piagagan, “what is sifted” or “what remains in the sifter.”

Luba, adjective, “mixture of broken grains and whole grains;” pinaua “refers only to broken grains.” The verb of luba means “to break or crush the grains, like in a pounding mortar (asung) or in a rice mill (guilingan).”

Galú, “colored stains or defects in the milled rice;” magalu, “abundance of grains in the rice that have such defects.”

Liglig, “to re-pound the raw rice because it was badly milled, pounding it repeatedly until it becomes white;” synonym is dasdas, “to re-pound the rice to make it whiter.”

Pasalinsing, “what is brought out to the



**Mitulung**, “to alternately pound rice in a mortar”



**Quisquis**, “to shake or thresh the pále”



**Darâ**, “to thresh pále with the feet”

or rinsed before cooking;” piunyan, “the washings.”

Tun, “to boil abias to make nasi;” pitunan, “the pot in which it is cooked;” tinun, “the abias that was cooked;” mitun, “the one who cooked it.”

N a s i , “cooked rice;” mánasi, “the one cooking it.”

C u r a n , “clay pot for cooking rice;”

made of bamboo or reed.”

A synonym is balusbus, “to winnow, by tilting a bilao downwards to allow the grains to fall so that the wind would blow away the chaff; mibalusbus is “the grain falling or slipping.”

Tingting, and its conjugations, tiningting, tiningtingan, “to sift, by separating the bigger grains from the minute ones, like of wheat or rice, or the lumpy flour from the fine one.”

Lunglung, “rice bin,” “granary,” or “bread basket;” salicap is “a wicker basket used for measuring rice or selling puto;” selicapan, “measured by the salicap;” gusi, “large china jar, containing about six to eight gantas.”

Gatang, “a chupa or dry measure among the natives: eight chupas make a ganta;” pati, “a ganta, a measure of capacity for grains, equivalent to five pints.”

Calus, “to strike off the excess in a measure of grains;” picalusan, “the place, or the excess that was strickled off.”

Salat, “a thing to which something is intermixed, like a ganta of lacatan (glutinous rice) to one cavan of carayum (ordinary rice).

**OVER THE FIRE**

Unyab, manunyab, “to wash or rinse the abias before cooking;” meunyab, inunyaban, “the rice that has been washed

balanga, on the other hand, is “a clay pot for cooking viands like fish or meat, but not rice.” A synonym is curam, “pot;” micuram means “those who cook food in one and the same pot.”

Palcuis, and its conjugations malcuis, milcuis, “to boil the rice;” mapalcuis, “your rice and my rice are boiled in the same pot.”

Abbuá, “the steam caused by the fire or heat, like honey, nasi”

Popo (diphthong popao), “the skim or scum of nasi, milk or wax:” its verb means “to remove the scum, by means of a sandoc (ladle).” A synonym is sagap, “to

skim the foam or scum when they make caramels” (but not applicable to rice).

Bangasi, “certain beverage or portion, made from toasted



**Galú**, “colored stains or defects in the milled



**Balusbus**, “to winnow by tilting a bilao downwards to allow the grains to fall so that the wind would blow away the chaff”



**Yapyap**, “to winnow rice with the igo, a flat-bottomed basket or tray made of bamboo or reed”

sun to dry, like rice for hulling or pounding, or anything upon which moisture has set it.”

Lubolubo, “bran;” a synonym is darac, “rice bran, which results from the dasdas; rice husks/hulls reduced to powder.” Another synonym is gaboc.

Sili, “to sift the rice clean, by separating the binglad and the darac.”

Tapong, “rice flour, or wheat flour;” tepungan, “the grains of rice or wheat”

Bulu, “fine powder of the pále that causes itching;” bulubuluan, “the person affected by this powder.”

Yapyap, “to winnow rice with the igo or bilao, “a flat-bottomed basket or tray



**Pasalinsing**, “what is brought out to the sun to dry, like rice for hulling or pounding ”





**Tapong**, "rice flour"



**Unyab**, "to wash or rinse the abias before cooking;" piunyaban, "the washings"



**Páti**, "a ganta, a measure of capacity for grains equivalent to five pints;" gatang is "a chupa or dry measure; 8 chupas is one páti"



**Curan**, "clay pot for cooking rice;" balanga is a "clay pot for cooking viands like fish or meat, but not rice"



kukie.net

**Alitungtung**, "burnt rice due to overcooking;" tutúng, "blackened or charred rice"

rice."

Lelut, "gruel;" lugao, nilugao, "rice gruel, rice paste"

Suman, "a filling of glutinous rice, or corn flour, wrapped around in leaves;" simanan, "the rice or corn flour;" panyuman, "the leaves as wrappers."

Angit, "a mixture of lacatan and sugar;" inangit, "the cooked mixture."

Quisa, "legumes or garden stuff, peas, kernels of corn, which they usually mix with rice in boiling it, to increase the quantity;" miquisa, "what is mixed with the grains."

The Tagalog word sangag, which we understand to mean "fried or toasted rice," means in Kapampangan "a certain mixture of salt and earth used to bring out the luster or sheen of gold;" the word we use to

day for fried rice is singlé, but it is not found in the Bergaño dictionary.

Alitungtung, "burnt rice due to overcooking;" m a l i t u n g t u n g , minalitungtung, "to smell burnt rice;" a synonym is tutúng, "to burn something

by overcooking until it becomes blackened or charred;" titungan, or titung, "that which is burned or charred;" matutúng, "overcooked or burnt rice;" another synonym is tangpus, "to be burned, reduced to blackness but not to ashes, and it is said of overcooked or overburned rice."

Gagto, "half-cooked, badly cooked." It can refer to other things: Magagto ya cabaluan, "He could hardly digest the discussion."

Langnis, "overcooked, burnt rice, or milk."

Alpa, "boiled food;" malalpa, "cooked rice that is very soft, because it has been cooked with too much water;" opposite of gagto, "cooked with not enough water." The word sacát or mesacát means "rice that is very soft due to putting in too much water in cooking it."

#### ON THE TABLE

Malmal, "to make rounded lumps, like what the natives do when they eat cooked rice;" camalmal, "a single lump;" samul is "to eat by taking food like rice by fistfuls."

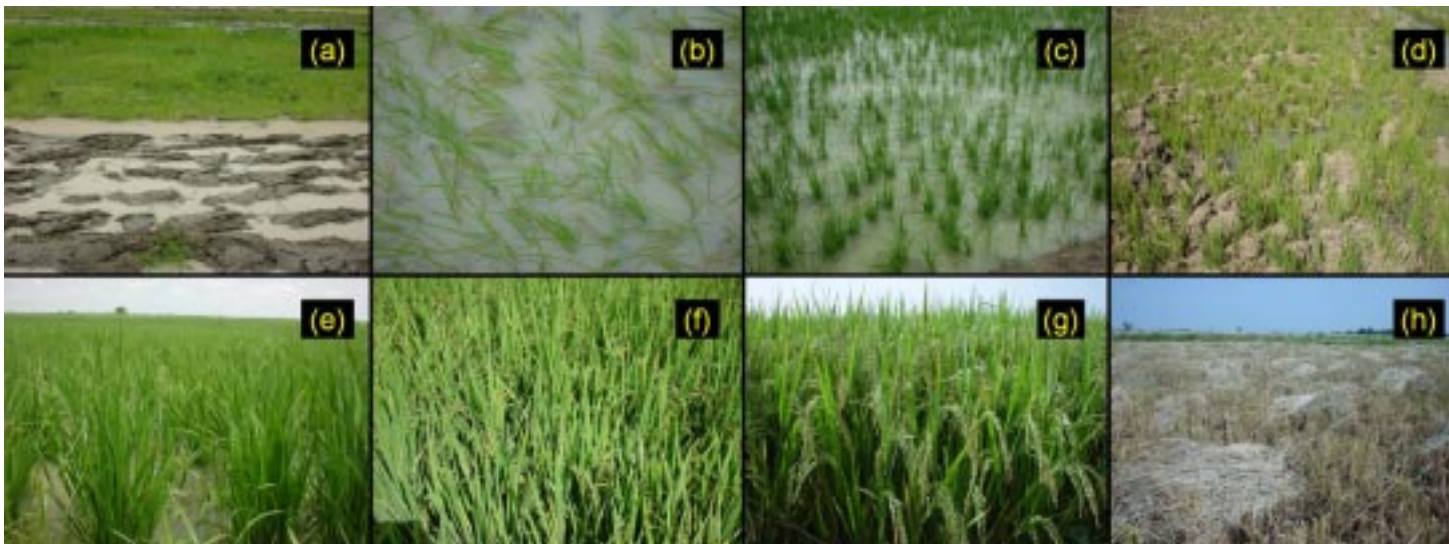
Anyan, or manyan, or yanyan, "to eat viands without rice, even if there is rice, because he does not like it;" synonym is anglab, "to eat meat or fish without rice;" the reason is "to be able to drink (liquor) more." Bergaño adds that Kapampangans got this from the Tagalogs "who eat without rice to engage longer in a drinking bout" and "to excite more their appetite." I think this is the origin of pulutan. A synonym is papác, "to eat viands without rice."

Langungus, "sound of an animal's teeth when it eats grains of pále."

Liguís, "to grind, to masticate, to knead to a fine mass, which ordinarily is the pupúl (rice powder), or moistened ground rice (tapung); similarly chocolate (cocoa) is ground and beaten to a mass, or leaves of certain herbs are masticated or ground to be used as panulo (poultice)." Obviously, in the absence of kneading equipment, our ancestors chewed rice, cocoa or herbs to make tapung and panulo.

Pupúl, "rice flour, which they uncture or rub on one's face or on another's face, in order not to have sunburn."

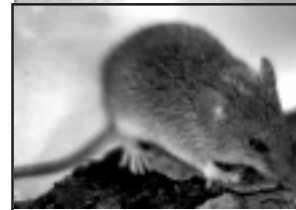
Mipinggan is "two eating from the same plate, but not rice;" mininggan, "to place something on a plate;" pipingganan, "plates used in serving, not those in reserve."



RICE STAGES: (a) pre-transplanting pasture in the background (PUNLA), ploughed field in the foreground (BULIGA); (b) recently transplanted rice; (c) tillering stage; (d) tillering stage, drained, with some pools and puddles remaining; (e) stem elongation stage (TALUBU); (f) reproductive phase (CALISIP, GUIGUT and BAIT); (g) ripening phase; (h) harvested (PALAGPAG)

## ANCIENT SCARECROWS

Ancient Kapampangans had their own versions of the scarecrow in the following words and methods: *aiai*, “a line of thin rattan or thin ropes to drive away the sparrows from the rice plants;” *culyo* (diphthong, *culyao*), “to shout to drive away birds in the rice field;” and *sandirit*, “an instrument or device that turns around with the wind, to drive away the sparrows from the field.”



## Rice mice

The *bulilit* is “a rat only a few days old;” it probably also applies to mice; in which case, it is the Kapampangan counterpart of the Tagalog *bubwit*. On the other hand, *balaga* is a “dumb species of rats that do not feed on the pále;” another meaning is “droplets sprayed by a heavy shower.”



## Round and round

The words *igo igoan*, *telaigo*, and *magtelaigo* refer to people forming a circle in the shape of the *igo*, like during a game, says Bergaño. The *igo* is the Kapampangan word for *bilao*, a flat-bottomed basket.

## Dayat, “irrigated ricefield”



## Dayat malat, “the sea”



*Dayat*, or *carayatan* means “irrigated ricefield;” *dayat malat* is “the sea.” Today many Kapampangans mistake *dayat* for *dagat*, which is the Tagalog word for “sea.” Some even say *dagat malat*. *Dayat* has many synonyms, e.g., *gaua*, “seeding field” and its verb *gaua* means “to clear the field by cutting the grass;” *danac*, adjective, “well irrigated,” e.g., *dayat a danac* (well irrigated field), which is the opposite of *dayat a laun* (field of old crop); *gubat*, “cleared land, plain meadow, flat field” and *cagubatan* is “a place of wide meadows;” opposite is *caqueuan*, “forest” or “to turn a plain field into a forest.” The Tagalog *gubat* (forest) is the complete opposite of the Kapampangan *gubat* (cleared land); how odd that Kapampangans today know only the Tagalog definition. A synonym of *gubat* is *gutad*, “meadow or field;” *cagutaran*, “wide fields.”

## The famous *duman*

*Duman* refers to “the grains of the glutinous rice nearing maturity, or about to mature;” *magduman*, “the rice grains arriving at that stage of development” or “to gather in such grains, to pound them to make *duman*.” The word *marumanduman* refers to rice when “it is already near the stage that it could be made into *duman*” while *dimanan* is used to mean “such grains pounded and made into *duman*.”



## *Binúlû, patupat*



The town of Porac is known for its *Binulu Festival*, during which the townspeople cook rice and viands in bamboos, canes or reeds. Bergaño defines *binulu*, or its root *bulû*, as “to cook rice or meat in a node-to-node piece of this cane or reed.” Some people claim this technique originated with the Negritoes, but the fact that the word is found in a Kapampangan dictionary probably indicates it was common among the early Kapampangans, too. But why would Kapampangans use canes and not pots to cook their food with?

Another ancient technique in cooking rice was the *patupat*, “a certain weave of palm leaves, into which they put rice and cook it by boiling.” Crisostomo Soto later immortalized this word when he wrote the hilarious short story *Miss Phatupats*.



## Popcorn and *balitug* circa 1732



The word *busa*, which Bergaño defines as “toasted glutinous rice; the grains are puffed,” is probably the ancient version of popcorn. In fact, Bergaño quotes a popular riddle for this: *Linusu ya ing dalaga, mebalag ya ing saya na* (“The maiden jumped, her skirt dropped”), referring to the way the grain jumps on the heated pan, discarding its husk. Our ancestors made “pop rice” (puffed rice) using a *yanga*, which was “a wide open-mouthed earthen vessel where rice is put to make it puffed.”

*Inya balu cu ne ta, nung lututuc ne ing yanga*—an adage, says Bergaño, “taking the metaphor of the bouncing sound in the *yanga*, i.e., when you hear the bouncing sound you know the rice is already *busa*” (applied to those who don’t believe a thing unless they see it with their own eyes).

Meanwhile, *bilitúg* is “toasted rice or corn kernels;” today we mispronounce it as *balitug*. *Bilitugan* is “the carajay or the pan.”

# COLOR MY WORLD

Kapampangan words for yellow, blue, green and red

By Robby Tangingco

History is often presented in black and white or sepia tones, but our ancestors probably had more color sense than we do today. Their costumes, festivals, churches



**TAYUM**, the indigo bush probably thrived in the Kapampangan region in ancient times because according to Spanish chroniclers, Kapampangans traded indigo which was used for dyeing blue

and houses were always a riot of colors because, well, that was the way of the common folk; they were unrestrained in their expressions, unlike modern people who temper their emotions and activities with fashionable subtlety and taste.

Thus, it came as no surprise that Bergaño’s dictionary contains now-for-gotten Kapampangan

words for colors. Examples:

**Papas**, “the color yellow;” *mapapas*, adjective; *ángè* (diphthong, *angay*), “yellow root, similar to saffron, used to color food.”

**Lutu**, “the color red;” *malutu*, adjective; *bangcuro*, “a bark used for dyeing things in red;” *bingcuruan*, “the thing dyed in red.” **Lino** is “a root used in dyeing, dark red in color.” **Lumpi** is “the bright color caused by *buyo*, betel leaf” (bright red); *malumpi*, “to become colored thus, like those who chew the betel leaf.”

**Bulanggo** (diphthong, *bulanggao*), “ruddy, reddish;” *bulanggo a buac*, “blond

like a Dutchman;” *bulanggo a mata*, “the (blue) eyes of a cat;” *mabulanggo*, “to become such.”

**Iro** (diphthong, *irao*), “blue” or “that which is given a blue dye,” or “the cock with blackish and white feathers;” *tayum* is “the bush or small tree from which the blue dye is produced;” the verb *tayum* is “to dye something in blue;” *teyuman* is “dyed in blue;” *meguing tayum*, “one who is bruised black and blue.”

**Aluntiag**, adjective, “green texture/fabric.”

**Calicam**, “flesh-colored;” Bergaño adds, “a rarely used” word.

**Cayumanggi**, adjective, “brownish, more brown (*moreno*) than fair-skinned;” sometimes spelled *komanggi*.

**Sugâ**, “blazing color;” *masugâ*, “flesh colored” or “living color.”

**Puyasio** (diphthong, *puyasiao*), “discol-

ored;” *manimuyasiao*, “to become discolored.”

**Putla**, “paleness;” *manimutla*, “to become pale;” *maputla*, “pale.”

**Laré** (diphthong, *laray*), “the ruddiness or color of health” or “the color or blush that appears on the face because of fear, shame/embarrassment;” *malaré*, “ruddy in appearance.” A synonym is *diua*, “ruddiness;” *mariaua*, “ruddy, or one who has a healthy glow for being sound, healthy and robust;” *alang diua na*, “he is pallid;” *mariaua ya*, “he has much to spend” (related to Tagalog *mariwasa*?).

**Puti**, “whiteness;” *caputian*, “where the white is more intense;” *miti*, “to bleach, to whitewash, to whiten;” *manimuti*, “to become pallid, and also said of clothes badly dyed which are again turning white or losing their dye.” The word *busilac* means “the whitest.”

**Tuling**, “blackness;” *matuling*, “black;” *manuling-nuling*, “somewhat black.” The word *pantis* means “the blackest.”

**Tugagas**, and its verb forms, *matugagas*, *metugagas*, “a thing becomes clean because its color has faded, or the stain has disappeared.” **E pangarauin mayap**, *pangatugagas papas*, “At its first washing, the color has faded.”

**Galatgat**, “to mix colors for effect, like green with blue;” *galalatgatan*, “a color mixed from various colors;” *galalatgatan daya*, *sipon* (it is said of human feces, *tacla*), “with traces of blood, mucous.”

**Lacâ**, “dyed with colors that are not so bright.”

**Tinâ**, adjective, “tinted, dyed darkly or black;” the verb *tinâ* is “to dye.”

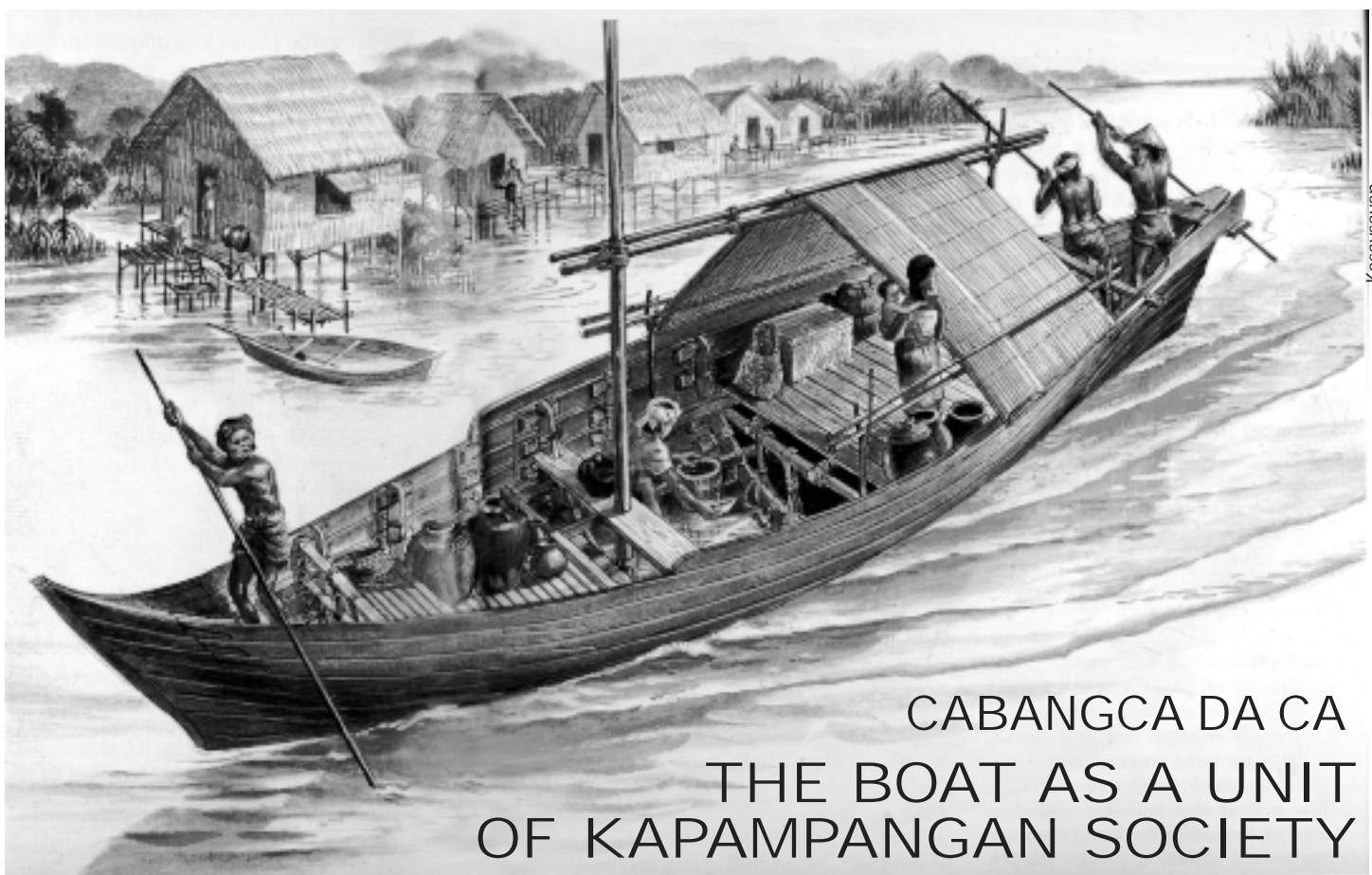
**Lilâ**, noun, “used for dyeing, tinting;” *lilan tayum*, “the different shades of blue.”

**Bulic**, “stained with white and red”

**Balantan**, “stain on a badly dyed object;” *mabalantan*, “clothes dyed in this manner.”

### Color-friendly plants

The common *balatung*, “mongo, a well known plant,” is “useful as medicine, or for washing colored clothes without fading the colors.” Today, no one remembers this technique of our ancestors. On the other hand, *balimbing*, a.k.a. *tarnate*, “a well known tree whose fruit and flowers are useful in medicine,” is also a mainstay in “dyer’s shops, and used as a stain remover for clothes.”



## CABANGCA DA CA THE BOAT AS A UNIT OF KAPAMPANGAN SOCIETY

Countless boat terms in the *Vocabulario* attest to the early Kapampangans' nature as river people

By Joel Pabustan Mallari

Early 18<sup>th</sup>-century boat culture

As frequently cited by scholars, Southeast Asia's long contact with the Arabs, Indians and the Chinese was principally by the sea; it is therefore inevitable that many nautical ideas and techniques were exchanged. Meanwhile, most research studies on early Philippine boat-building technology are limited to the Visayas and Muslim south, although ship-building and seafaring were no doubt established activities among the Kapampangans and Tagalogs living around Manila Bay. Historically, Luzon ships were observed in Timor and Malacca early in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and during the 1575 Limahong invasion, the Manila-Tondo royalty supplied ships fully manned and fully armed with mostly Kapampangan soldiers, for the Spanish defense. It was Antonio Pigafetta who noted that Manila, Timor and Malacca were the three points which formed a triangle that included all of insular Southeast

Asia. This was the century when the Malacca port became the most prominent island in the Southeast Asian maritime-trading sphere, with a semi-permanent settlement of 500 Luzon traders along with two or three of their ocean-going junks.

Early 18<sup>th</sup>-century Kapampangan vocabularies include *bangca* as a canoe or sampan, a general term referring to almost all kinds of boats in the Philippines. Other terms are *lamo*, a bamboo raft, used in crossing the river, riding or transporting rice seedlings; and *damulas*, a barge of logs or planks fastened with rattan. The small rowing-barge and its crew are called *tapác*. *Pangga* is a *banca*, or sampan; *bire* (diphthong *biray*) is "a kind of boat" and *biruc* is "a kind of a big boat or large ship." *Daung* refers to a ship, *maraungdaung*, short of *daungdaung*. The little *banca* that is carried and fastened to the side of ships were called *lunde*. They must have been the early versions of lifeboats.

*Barangge* (diphthong *baranggay*) is "a boat, whose passengers were the subjects of its captain, with him as their head." This is an edge-pegged plank boat constructed on a keel: the large ones are known in the Visayas as *bidok*, *biroko*, *bire* or *lapid*, all for carrying cargo. According to W.H. Scott, *biray* is a large vessel, also called *frigata* (frigate); therefore it probably includes the warships that the Spaniards called *caracoa*; *birok* [*biruk*] or *biroko* is a large, well made vessel; and *tapak* [*tapac*] as a plank-built boat with a dug-out keel, enlarged with *pinawd* (woven leaves of *Nypa fruticans* Wurmb.) washboards, used for trade. Fray Bergaño has also included *biniluc*, the boat gliding in the manner of a snake making turns through a winding river; *asna* is "to become full of or loaded with," like a boat. This term describes the general functions of boats as dynamic trading vessels in the archipelago. The boat or barge that is loaded is called *unda*, like

those who take/ride the rafts, or barges; thus the term *bayoc* may have been a common term; it means "to become bent downwards, like, the floor, the beam or rafters, gird, plank," like the *carang*, probably due to its loaded capacity. The *banca* with fastened bamboos to the sides is *quetigan*; and *guelagalan*, the insulated or waterproofed boat. A boat that is beached by strong winds, although not wrecked or capsized, is described as *bingbing* or *mibingbing*; it is described as *midunggul* when it is violently dashed, usually against another boat; it is said of the boat's *cascos* (the sides), not its *proas* (prows). The boat is *leyagan* when it is rigged with a sail; this also refers to the point of arrival, destination, or place of arrival, like *paglayagan*.

Boat-making tools, materials and processes

Among the boat-making tools, materials and processes mentioned in Bergaño are:

*darás*, *adze*; *pidarasan*, the



place (quarry) or the left over palacol, an axe

atác, an iron axe used for cutting; tigpas, the wood that is cut with a heavy stroke using a bolo, darás, palacol or atác like what a carpenter does.

dumaic (or dumauit), to construct ships; dinauit, the materials, or the instruments used

baul, a thing manufactured in a rough stage, like a banca or a wood carving, or a sculpture not yet perfected pabalatayan, the boat or the post, under which the props / rollers are placed.

calangdasal, a thing used to wedge, spur; it could be of wood, like those used to wedge or spur the banca when it is stored in the shed: it could be of stones;

magtucud, to use the cane, or prop used like in the construction of a ship

tindi, to make a counterweight, or counterpoise, like in a ship, so it will not overturn, or in a carriage, one at the front, and the other at the rear

manyugtung, to join one rope to another, or a plank to another, and also to add, or join, in a conversation to what is spoken/ said by another

Among the hardwoods used in shipyards mentioned in the Vocabulario are: calantas (Toona calantas Merr. and Rolfe Meliaceae), antipolo (Artocarpus sp. Moraceae) and tindalo (Crudia blancoi Rolfe Fabaceae).

galagala, to insulate with pitch, to close or to waterproof little openings or holes, like in a boat, or a wicker basket

dabulbul, to spurt, to jet, the water entering in great spurts, like in a hand-basket, or in a broken banca

limas, to bail out water from a boat, probably if the boat craft used is poorly insulated during the time it was undergo-

ing the insulation stage

lutus, the ship-worm, borer, which gnaws into the submerged timbers of ship, piers, wharves

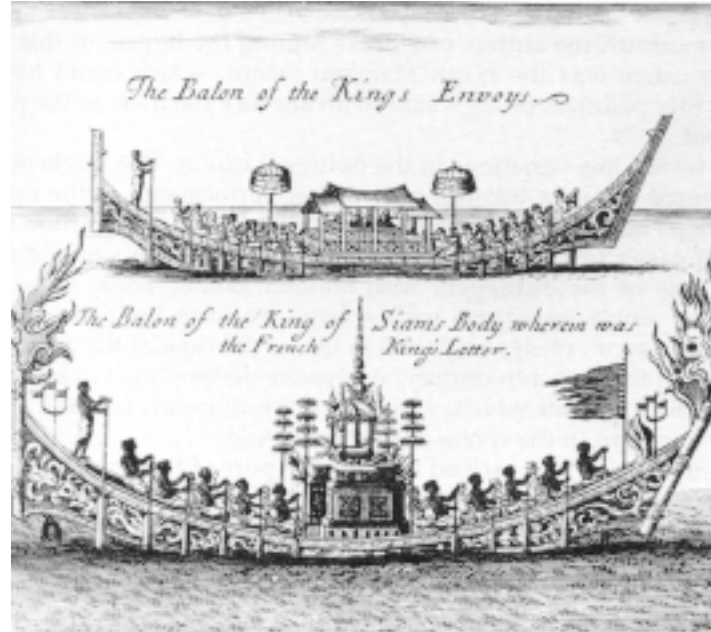
Banca parts, accessories and motifs

mulin, the stern, aft  
sumanða, the prow, because it is set against every

the prow of a banca sharp or pointed, like a jaw;" and, sepingan is the banca.

taluse (diphthong talusay), a thing that is smooth, plain, unobstructed, clear from the stern to the prow, from end to end  
tundatung, the edge on the stern, or on the prow

dalauo, a hole, including



Simon de la Loubère

13th century long-boats from Siam used for ceremonial purposes and war, decorated with the naga head at the prow; such designs were common throughout Southeast Asia, including the Kapampangan region

thing: it is derived from sumang, its verb form which means to control the prow, like the pilot guiding the ship with the rudder

nága, the figure that is placed on the prow or bow of a boat. Maquinaga, "it is fixed on the bow." This figure was popular in pre-14<sup>th</sup> century Southeast Asia; the boat had a detachable animal or dragon head and tail on its prows to symbolize the nága, the sacred snake which assured the fertility of the land. Related to this is the term saping, the jaws of an animal. Its verb form means "to make

holes or spaces between wooden planks

gasá, the side, the bulk or the thin wall of bancas. Magasá, if the banca appears very much above the water for lack of load  
layag, the sail, or to the sea voyage, which is to sail, or to navigate.

carang, the light awning; querangan, the banca, the bamboo

samil, covered shed of thatched paud [leave of sasa, Nypa fruticans Wurmb.] or covering

balongbalong, a shed like those of the bancas;

magbalongbalong, is to stay in it or reside in it; macabalongbalong, to be sheltered by it, which is typical of sea voyages that lasted days, even weeks.

catig, those bamboos fastened to the sides of a boat

aluc, the grapple hook of the anchor; also, to turn back the boat.

dait, the washboard; according to Fr. V. Samson, it is a nautical term which refers to a thin flank/board at the side of a boat/ship, adjusted to turn the wash of the sea; deitan, the ship or the banca having the washboard.

gaud, the oar, also known as picaucaual. Igaud mu, like llacad mo, row with intense-ness, earnestness; palgauran, the whole, or where the oar rests on its fulcrum

bagse, the short oar, or the paddle; bigsayan, the distance or the trip, used alone; pamamagse, the act of rowing; malabagse, back of a waist coat or jacket, and also the shoulder blade, because of its shape or form.

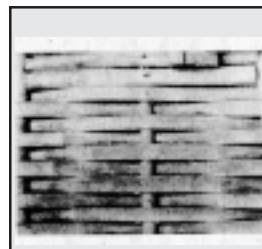
gaggaran, the bamboo tholes/ pair of pins of a native's banca, serving as the fulcrum for the oar;

atcan (also known as tiquin), the long bamboo pole struck against the bottom of the river; tatcan, tincan, tuncan, to propel a banca or lamo with this bamboo pole; itatcan, tincan, itcan, the bar or pole and the banca; tatcanan, tincanan, whereon it is struck, and held with a push to propel the banca.

atdac, tatdac, tindac, tundac, to stick or thrust a pole (atcan) against the land, bank / edge of the water (shoreline) in order to push or propel the banca away from the bank, or put a break to its speed to avoid a jerk as it touches ground.



*makipanungi*, "one who works for pay in stringing up tobacco leaves"



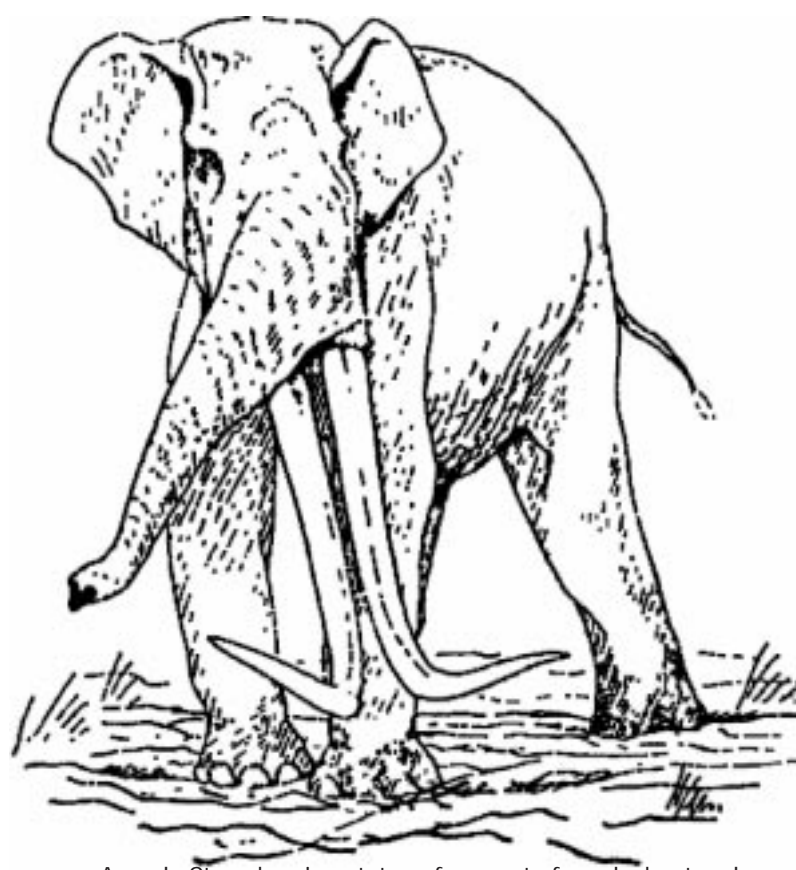
*saság*, "interwoven bamboo slats placed as fence along the road"

Salitang gag-dia

# ELEPHANTS IN PAMPANGA?!

Words that give a glimpse into the Kapampangans' Palaeolithic past and Madjapahit influences

By Joel Pabustan Mallari



A male Stegodon; insert, top, fragment of an elephant molar found in Bolinao, Pangasinan; and, a fossilized elephant molar unearthed in Cagayan Valley

R.C. Lucero



## 1. PALAEOOLITHIC LANGUAGE

Humanity has passed through three major evolutionary phases: hunter-gatherer, agricultural and technological. It is difficult to generalize on human lifestyles, as adaptation to the environment is a continual, cultural and learned process. Instead of genetic adaptation, cultural adaptation such as language has been important where physical changes were too small to consider or reliable data too scarce. How early Stone Age people spoke could be traceable to some words that were recorded in the not so distant past before they evolved over time.

Archaeologically, the lithic assemblages from Palaeolithic sites of Luzon include complex and sophisticated industries involving a variety of flaked tools, some blades and core tools. The earliest report of Palaeolithic finds was made by American anthropologist Henry Otley Beyer, who recovered flaked and core tools from an archaeological survey along the Rizal-Bulacan Boundary.

### Luzon Palaeolithic

The caves in Cagayan Valley (Northern Luzon) are rich with fossils and artifacts from the Pleistocene period. Middle and Upper Paleolithic flake and pebble artifacts from these caves have been dated up to 28,000 years ago. This lithic technology extended early into the Holocene Epoch. While the presence of modified and curated tools as well as use traces on some

of the artifacts indicate that Arubo was visited not just for raw material gathering and flint knapping but was a place where Paleolithic hunter-gatherers put up at least a temporary settlement. German archaeologist Dr. Alfred Pawlik of the UP Archaeological Studies Program suggests that this site - based on a rather conservative age estimation of the lithic findings - would be chronologically positioned in the Middle Pleistocene (700,000 - 500,000 designating of Lower Paleolithic culture characterized by skillfully made bifacial flint hand axes classified into early, middle and late Acheulean). This was about the same time the extinct megafauna with elephants, stegodon, giant turtle and rhinoceros would have accompanied the Paleolithic hunter-gatherers of Arubo. These species may have been represented by early local terms no longer used nowadays but which were recorded by Bergaño in the early 1700s: gag-dia for elephant and antipa for living things like tortoises, turtles and the bigger shells and stronger ones. The fact that not a single elephant survived in Luzon even during the early period of contact with the Spaniards may somehow prove the antiquity of these words.

### Lithic as bato

The technical term lithic refers to stones, while the 18<sup>th</sup> -century Kapampangan term for it is batu, which is still used today. Bergaño lists other related words: batobalani, "lodestone, magnet,"

bintal, "precious stone;" buli, or pamuli, "the flintstone or seashell," still common among the old mankukuran (potters) of Capalangan, Apalit and Gatbuca of Bulacan and are still used for the same purpose, i.e., to polish or to finish, and in their case to burnish their kuran, banga and balanga (all pots). Some stones are obviously recognized by their precious and semiprecious values such as casa, "false crystalline stones;" milinaolinao, "like a crystalline stone;" sanggauali, "fake stones for finger-rings, seldom used;" sulâ, "certain stones, with types including sulan bitin, sulan daguis;" and the still much used tauas, "alum, alum stone."

Another worth mentioning is buga, "a white and spongy stone." This word reveals the early Kapampangans' familiarity with volcanic activities as the stone (most likely pumice) is associated with the type spewed out by Mt. Pinatubo. Since buga also means "to throw" or "to cast," the association with the volcano is unmistakable, even if Kapampangans had never known until 1991 that they lived in the shadow of an active volcano. Other entries synonymous to the verb form of buga are baronga, "to throw stones," basibas, "an object thrown or flung, like a stone, rock, etc." and mipucul, "crashing against the other like the rocks."

### Discovery of Pyrotechnology

The Palaeolithic Age was also the time early man discovered the use of fire. Primitive pyrotechnology may have been discovered by striking or rubbing objects like hard stones or bamboo sticks as still practiced by the Aita tribes. Fire was used for cooking as well for lighting the cave and keeping it warm. In Bergaño's dictionary, mamapi, minapi, manapi mean "to cast fire, or cause sparks, like with a flint stone, or with the stroke of a hammer;" binalul, refers to "a flint for lighting fire." Bugbug and cacas mean "give a vigorous blow with a stone" and "to rub off against a stone," respectively. These are terms related to the prehistoric fire-making practice. The tungco, "trivet," a cooking implement composed of three stones, was



invented in the Neolithic Age.

Pampanga had many quarry sites as shown in such words as pagbatuan, and pipagbatuan, "place from where they gather (the stones), the quarry, stone pit;" tibag, "to destroy, or abrade gradually, like those quarrying for stones;" and pabitoca, "the stones and the dead leaves/rubbish placed in the interior of walls as fillings" (as in bitoca, "entrails"). This may have been related to the vitoca mentioned by Fray Juan Albarran in his Método as some sort of a mortar, used in mixing lime with pulp used as adhesive for cut stones in the construction of churches.

Other related words are buculbucul, "a road with tripping objects, like stones or lumps of earth;" tumpang, "to place one thing over another, one stone over another stone," while tumpuc means "a heap, a pile, an aggregate, a collection; active verb and its constructions, to heap, like stones, logs, etc.;" magbato, "one who deals on stones, gathering them, carting them away."

## 2. AN EMPIRE OF MADJAPAHIT CULTURE

The economic sphere of the Empire

Henry Otley Beyer notes that Java's Madjapahit Empire reached the archipelago in the 1300s. According to Forbes, the economic influence of the empire came to our shores about AD 1325 - 1405. On the other hand, Fr. Sitoy writes that a certain Rajah Ahmad established the Islamic principality of Mainila (now Manila) in AD 1258 with temporal power covering the Lü-sung area and the Visayas; he had vanquished one Rajah Avirjirkaya, of Mainila who "was supposed to be under the suzerainty of Madjapahit..." There is another account about a certain Prince Balagtas as the first ruler who established and consolidated a Kapampangan empire between AD 1335 and AD 1380. This prince was said to have come from the flourishing Madjapahit Empire from the south and came to "old Pampanga," purchasing lands from the original riverbank settlers as a first step in founding several key settlements in the Central Luzon and upper rim of Manila Bay.

The Kapampangan word gag-dia in all likelihood was borrowed from the Madjapahit Hindu belief system. Among the prominent icons of Hindu faith is Gadja, the elephant god. An artifact called Ganesha, made of andesite and dated 15<sup>th</sup> century, has been unearthed in East Java. The Hindu word Gaja literally means elephant, and connotatively means 'the origin' and 'the goal'; thus the elephant is a symbol of the beginning of existence and of the universe.

Historians speculate that the Philip-



A statue in Java of the Hindu elephant god Ganesha; gaja in Hindu means elephant, similar to the Kapampangan word for elephant, gag-dia

pinas came under the Sri Vijaya Empire in the 4<sup>th</sup> - 10<sup>th</sup> century. Then came the Madjapahit Empire, followed by the Islamic

**In the mid-1300s, Hindu ruler Prince Balagtas arrived from Borneo, bought properties and consolidated riverbank communities into one Kapampangan nation**

Sultanates of Malacca, who had converted from Hinduism to Islam in AD 1414, and of Borneo. The last Majapahit Hindu kings retreated to Bali about AD 1500.

**In the early 1400s, the sultanates of Malacca converted Hindu Kapampangans to Islam**

The Arabs started arriving in the 1400s, followed by the Europeans in the 1500s. The rulers of many of the islands were called Raja or Rajah—thus Rajah Suliman and Rajah Matanda of Mainila, and probably the rulers of the Pampanga riverbanks commu-

nities, such as "the brave youth from Macabebe" whom some historians call Tarik Soliman.

Influences from the Sanskrit language Linguistically, Fray Francisco Colin wrote about the similarity between the language of a certain tribe of Sumatrans and that of the early Kapampangans. In fact in the Laguna Copperplate Inscription, the oldest document ever found in the Philippines which dates back to at least AD 900, is said to have been written in old Javanese. According to Dutch Palaeographer, Antoon Postma, this document talks about the ruler of Tondo, Jayadewa, carried the Hindu title Senapati—a military commander who acted as a supreme judge of all the lords of nearby settlements along the old Angat River, once part of La Pampanga.

Another word that might have a Sanskrit origin is batala. This may be associated to the old Tagalog term bathala, "god," which Hindu scholars claim to have come from Sanskrit. In the Vocabulario, batala is defined as "a bird that brings an omen or augury," while magbatala are "those visited by the bird, e.g., in the house of those who believe in superstitions."

Other possibly Sanskrit words in Bergaño include turô, ari and ariyan.

Turô is a cognate of the Tagalog term guro (teacher) came from the Hindi/Punjab guru (teacher), from Sanskrit guru - "weighty, heavy, grave." The Kapampangan meaning is "to direct, to point out, to teach, or instruct."

The English word Aryan actually refers to people who speak the parent language of the Indo-European languages. In Nazism, Aryan is the Caucasian Gentile, especially the Nordic type, or one speaking one of the Indo-Iranian languages. Its etymological root is the Sanskrit arya, "noble." In Bergaño, a European, defines ari as "king;" mag-ari, "to reign over vassals, or the area;" pamag-ari, "the act of reigning;" panga ari, "the kingship;" maragul a panga ari, "great King;" aring maragul a cayarian, "king over a great kingdom;" Ariyan, "of royal blood;" and Ari arian, "a little king."

On the other hand, the term Hindu can be compared to the Kapampangan indû, "mother." Kapampangans place great value in their ethnicity as a people as determined by their land of origin or place of birth, their indûng tibuan or indûng ibatan. The term Hindu originates from the word sindhu, "river" specifically the great river Indus; hence the "region of Indus," which eventually extended across northern India. Similarly, the river called Kapampangan was the term that was eventually used to refer to the entire region.

Before the Second Vatican Council, up to the time of Pope Pius XII, Kapampangans prayed “Hallowed be thy name” in the vernacular as Pasamba mu ing lagyu mu and “Thy will be done” as Papamintu mu ing lub mu. After Vatican II, from the time of Pope John XXIII, Kapampangans rephrased the two verses and they now say Misamban ya ing lagyu mu and Mipamintuan ing lub mu.

The traditional pasamba and papamintu mean “Our Father, you are commanding us to hallow your name” and “You are commanding us to do your will,” respectively. The modern misamban and mipamintuan mean, respectively, “Our Father, we desire that your name be hallowed” and “We desire that your will be done.”

These two ways of relating to Yahweh correspond to the two Kapampangan concepts explained by Bergaño. The you-command-us viewpoint corresponds to the notion of ginu (lord, master, boss). The we-desire viewpoint corresponds to the notion of apu (parent, grandparent, ancestor).

#### APU

During the eighteenth century, and presumably earlier, Kapampangan children addressed their parents apo, a word of respect and endearment. The pleasant connotation of the word was such that, when a Spanish priest was passing by, the parents told their children “Apo, apo” to prevent them from being frightened.

People in Pampanga felt such an intense affection and strong loyalty to their ancestors (apu, nunu) that, deep in their heart, they felt that those ancestors were still around. Although their bodies were no longer there, their souls, known as anitos, continued to be with them. And they showed their deep devotion to them by offering them something, such as food, in a ritual known as maganito or manganito.

This custom, known as capanganitoan, does not have to be interpreted to mean that they considered the anitos as gods. Present-day Kapampangans communicate with Saint Joseph, for example, whose body has now presumably become dust but whose soul can still be reached, and they show their deep devotion to him by offering him flowers and lighting candles before his image while singing “Saint Joseph dear, we praise thee.”

In fact, Bergaño himself communicated with Saint Joseph by offering his book (the Grammar) to the Blessed Virgin and to him. Bergaño tells him: “My efforts would have a value only if they are accepted by thee. And under the canopy of thy protection, I hope to obtain the eternal happiness of

# ANCIENT Kapampangan THEOLOGY

Pre-historic pagan elements have found their way to modern-day Catholic prayers and rituals

By Fr. Edilberto V. Santos



Top, medieval painting of Christ's baptism depicts Yahweh inside a celestial globe of light; above, Egyptian Sun-God's eye

heaven.” And then Bergaño signs his name as “Friar Diego Bergaño, provincial, who adores and venerates thy majesty.” The Spanish original is clearer: Quien adora y reverencia t[u] m[ajestad], Fray Diego Bergaño, provincial.

#### ARI

Bergaño says that ari means “king.” But pre-Spanish Kapampangans did not have a king, and so they could not have meant this native word of theirs to be

“king.” Probably, ari originally meant “the sun,” as in the Tagalog term haring araw. And the sun was imagined to be wearing the rainbow as a loin-cloth (pinan-ari), the Tagalog bahag-hari. The Malay-speaking Sumatrans during the time of Bergaño and of his contemporary Kapampangans, considered the sun as the “eye” of the day (mata-ari).

A report of the Spaniards who first came into contact with the Kapampangans (in 1571) narrate that a Macabebe chieftain resisted the invading Spaniards by challenging them to a battle and by swearing by the sun: “May the sun sever my body in halves... if I ever become a friend of the Spaniards!” The implication here is that the sun was considered to be a superior being, with power over man. And it is probable that when he referred to the sun, he used the word ari.

While the eighteenth-century Malay-speaking people of Sumatra, some of whom were possibly descendants of Kapampangans who had migrated there earlier, were still using the word mata-ari, the eighteenth-century people of Pampanga had by then abbreviated it to ari. When they said ari, they meant “the sun.” That was until the Spaniards changed the meaning to “king.”

The following tables show what most probably happened:

English	day	sun	king
Kapampangan	aldao	ari	—
Tagalog	araw	hari	—
Spanish	dia	sol	rey

English	day	sun	king
Kapampangan	aldao	—	ari
Tagalog	araw	—	hari
Spanish	dia	sol	rey

English	day	sun	king
Kapampangan	aldao	aldao	ari
Tagalog	araw	araw	hari
Spanish	dia	sol	rey

#### APU ARI

Modern catechisms carry the figure of an eye to symbolize Yahweh, because Yahweh sees everything. The symbol reminds people of Yahweh.

Another symbol is the statue of Mary, Virgen de los Remedios. When Kapampangans of today look at the statue, they are reminded of the real Mary.

The same can probably be said of the Kapampangans of the distant past. When they looked at the sun (ari), they must have been reminded of their ancestors



(apu) who, being present in spirit, saw everything.

Just as in the consciousness of the 21<sup>st</sup>-century Kapampangans, the image of Mary in Baliti is inseparable from the historical Mary now in heaven body and soul, so in consciousness of the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Kapampangans (and the earlier ones), the sun was inseparable from the ancestors.

The image and Mary are identical. You crown the image, you crown Mary. The sun (ari) and the ancestors (apu) were identical. The Macabebe warrior swore by apu by swearing by the ari. Thus: Apu Ari.

**BA APU ARI**

“A great portent appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun.” (Revelation, 12:1)

How do you teach a people how to pray such prayer as “Hail Holy Queen” if they do not have the word “queen” in their language

because they have never had a queen in their life? Simple. The proto-Pavlovian Spanish Augustinian friars merely did what appears in the three tables below, similar to those given earlier:

English	day	sun	queen
Kapampangan	aldao	ari	—
Spanish	dia	sol	reina
Latin	dies	sol	regina

English	day	sun	queen
Kapampangan	aldao	—	ari
Spanish	dia	sol	reina
Latin	dies	sol	regina

English	Hail	Queen
Latin	Salve	Regina
Kapampangan	Ba	Apu Ari

So, the Latin Salve Regina became the Kapampangan Bapu Ari. And the maganito was ultimately Christianized into the post-Vatican-II love-offerings during the offertory procession.

**GINU**

According to the Vocabulario, where it is spelled Guino, this root word is remembered in Spanish as amo or señor, both of which refer to a lord, a master, a boss, whom you serve. This concept became the



Pre-eruption Mt. Pinatubo, home of Aeta (and Kapampangan?) god Apu Namalyari

Our ancestors honored their *anitos* as spirits of their dead, not worshipped them as gods

The ancient word *ari* (Tag. *hari*) meant the sun, not king, because king was a European concept

focus of attention of the natives of Pampanga when this province became part of the kingdom of Christ the King, Cristo Rey, and of the King of Spain, el rey de España. In their names, the Kapampangans rendered services to the cura parroco and to the gobernador-general, respectively.

The view of the priest as a “boss” to be served persists to this day in the way Kapampangans address him. The Latin Pater, the English Father, the Tagalog Padre, the Mexican Padrecito, the Spanish Padre, and the Ilocano Apu Padi—their Kapampangan equivalent is Among. Amo is “boss.” But, probably, it used to be

like the Ilocano Apo.

**MAL**

This Kapampangan root word, according to Bergaño, means “precious” or “great” or “expensive.” “Expensive” is not the focus of interest here.

While both “precious” and “great” refer to someone or something you stand in awe of, “precious” has the connotation of being dear to one’s heart, and “great” has the connotation of being highly revered. “Precious” is closer to the notion of apu and “great” is closer to the concept of ginu.

As mentioned earlier, apu was closely associated with the sun (ari), the eye of the day (aldao). So if the apu was precious, the ari and the aldao must have been also considered precious (mal). That gives us mal a ari or malayari or malyari. It also gives us mal a aldo or malayaldo or maleldo

The word maleldo was employed by the

missionaries to identify “Holy Week.” And the image of Jesus lying in the sepulcher came to be known as Apung Mamacalulu. The Kapampangans, of course, deep in their heart, must have been very happy to be able to continue the centuries-old tradition of worshipping Apu.

The other word—malyari—then became part of a compound word.

**APU NAMALYARI**

From as early as 1987, the present writer has been asking people belonging to different linguistic groups in the Philippines, including Zambals and Aetas, if they had a word malyari in their vocabulary. His conclusion thus far is that malyari is a word native to Pampanga.

Now if that is so, why do the Aetas call their god Apu Namalyari?

One wonders whether on a certain day in the distant past, Kapampangans told the Aetas: “Okay, from now on, your god will be called Apu Namalyari.” Or, who knows? Could it not have been the name of the one and only god of the Kapampangans themselves? Could the Baluga mentioned in the O Caca, O Caca not be the human kaban mentioned by Atin Ku Pung Singsing, where the singsing was kept? Sangkan keng sininup/King metung a kaban/Meuala ya iti/E ku kamalayan.

As this writer mentioned in an article first published in 1984, the first song (O

Caca, O Caca) speaks of the bow and arrow of the pre-Spanish times, while the second song (Atin Ku Pung Singsing), with its allusion to the cross (pikurus kung

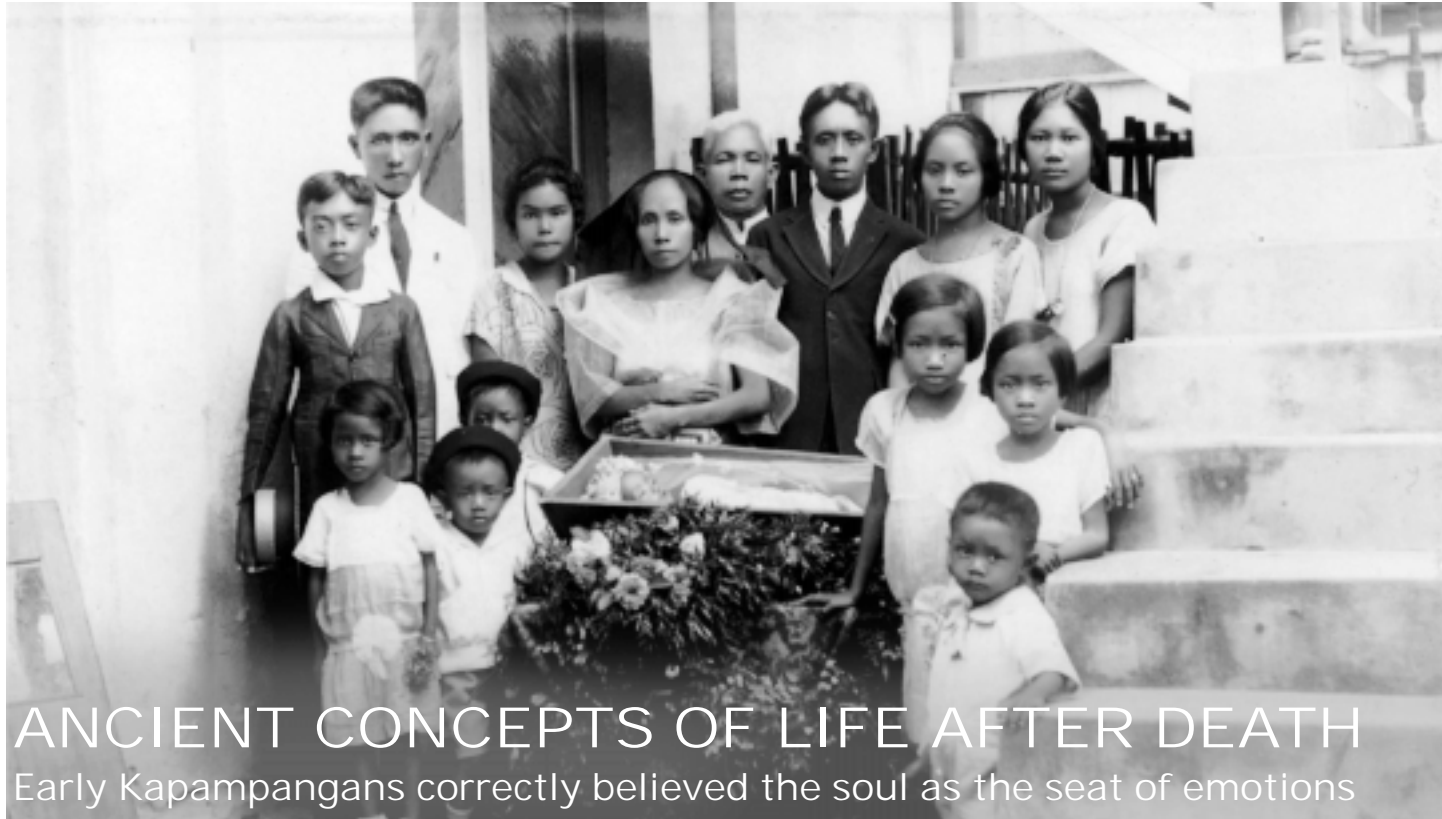
gamat) and the lamesa, speaks of the Spanish Period. Different lyrics, but the same melody. What does that imply?

This article is meant just to be just the tip of the iceberg. The iceberg itself will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *A l a y a* (Kapampangan Research Journal). It will be premised on the findings of the anthropologists

*Apu Namalyari* could have been the god not only of the Aetas but the ancient Kapampangans as well

Even the Virgin Mary was called *Apu Ari: Bapu Ari, Indung mapamakalulu, bie ampon yumu...* (Hail Holy Queen, Mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness...)

Charles J-H Macdonald and Fernando N. Zialcita and other professionals, and on the present writer’s interviews and surveys and personal experiences.



Alex Castro

## ANCIENT CONCEPTS OF LIFE AFTER DEATH

Early Kapampangans correctly believed the soul as the seat of emotions

All prehistoric tribes believed in an afterlife and in the human soul. From the Egyptians and the Maoris to the Incas and the Chinese, the early people imagined a world beyond earth and they accordingly devised vessels for the soul's journey to that world, such as sarcophagi, boats and jars.

What Kapampangan words referred to this ancient belief as recorded in Bergaño's dictionary?

Let's start with the most common term, *caladua* (originally spelled *calad-dua*, which means emphasis on the sound *d*), which Bergaño defines as "rational soul," i.e., the soul that appears as a ghost, "asking for Masses to be said for it." (*Pangaladuan* is the person "to whom the soul allegedly appears, causing fears, like with chains being dragged along.") This is the term used when one meant the soul as shaped like the body it once occupied; Bergaño says the word also applied to a living person who is "alleging or feigning that he is a soul from the other world or life," not unlike actors with ghostly make-up and costume. *Caladua* is what most people think the human soul is like—white, taking on the appearance of the deceased, and causing fear and terror.

But Bergaño ascribes a deeper meaning to *caladua*. Citing the phrase *malagnat ya caladua*, which meant "lovesickness," "restlessness of the heart," and "sadness of the lovesick," he understands the term to mean the person's emotional state, or the source of emotions, i.e., the falling in love makes the soul either ill or all excited (the "feverish soul").

There is another ancient word that's synonymous to *lagnat caladua*, and it is

*gulâ*, which Bergaño defines as "restlessness of the soul." The adjective *magulâ* means "painful, sad, restless, gaining something but misses another thing." In *gulâ*, restlessness is neither illness nor excitement as in *lagnat caladua*, but rather discontentment—not the casual dissatisfaction one feels when he does not get what he wants, but the deep, gnawing discontent one feels despite acquiring everything that he wants, a vexation of the spirit "which we mortals suffer and can only be assuaged by the infinite good," writes Bergaño, because "in this life, no one is contented with his lot." The Augustinian friar quotes from St. Augustine: "Our heart is restless, until it rests in God."

Our ancestors did believe in the duality of body and soul as well as in their interaction (the soul is *cayagum* with the body, i.e., mixed "like wine with oil," writes Bergaño). In death, however, the soul separated from—or rather discarded—the body, which then became useless. The Kapampangan word for mortal remains is *bugtuanan* (root word *bugtu*, "a thing broken or uprooted"), "the body from which the soul has departed," which was as useless as "the pitcher from which its handle, neck or ear has been broken off" or "the mouth from which the tongue has been pulled out." In other words, it is the soul that lends life, value and usefulness to the body.

Bergaño listed a synonym, *bangcala*, which means either "an empty pod or shell, like of cotton or kapok," or "a cadaver or corpse, for it lacks the soul, like the shell of a cotton pod lacks the raw cotton

"It is similar to *bangque* (diphthong

### *Anito* as spirit, not object

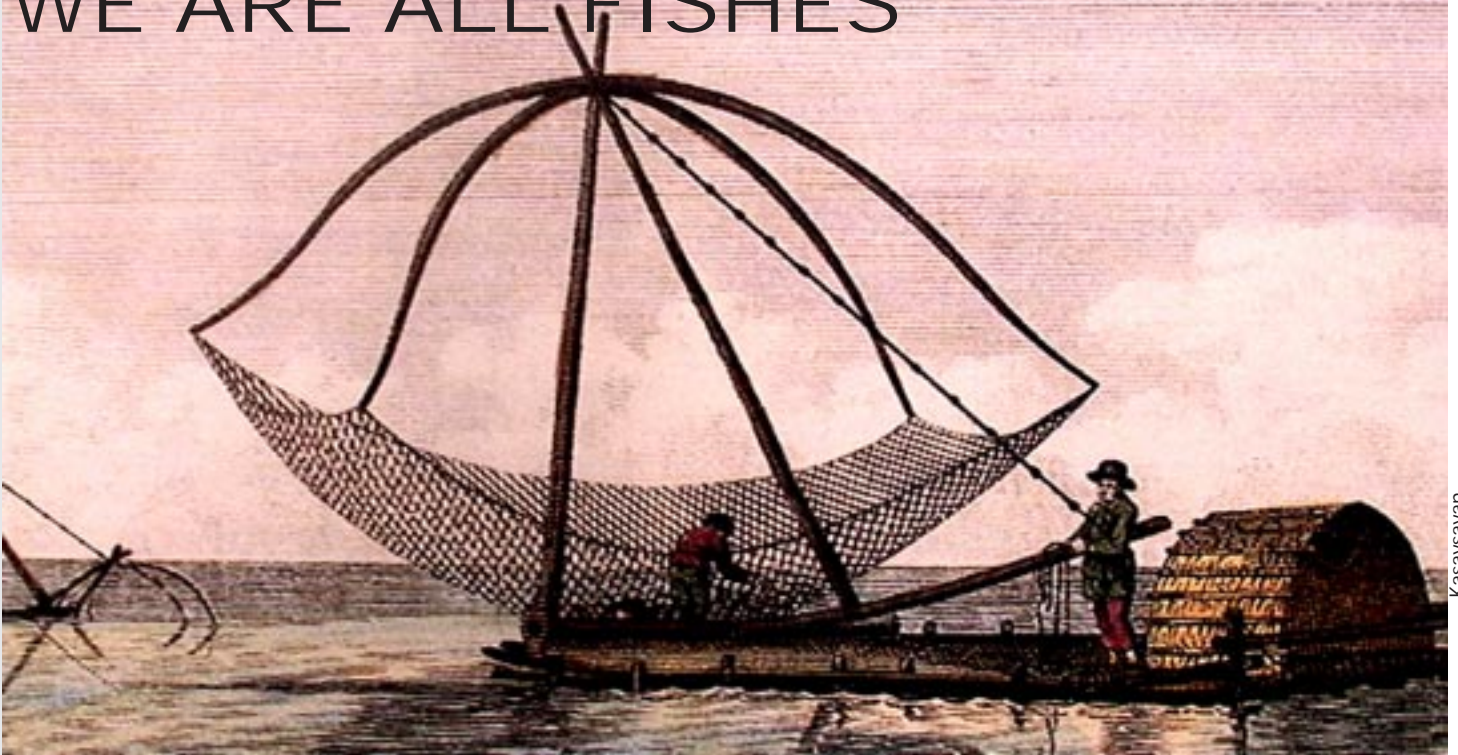
Bergaño defines *anito* as "soul of a *nunu* (ancestor)." Many people think *anitos* are the stone or wooden figurines representing the dead ancestors, but the early Kapampangans used the term to refer directly to their ancestors' souls instead of their carved representations. *Maganito* or *manganito* is "to make an offering to these souls;" *capanganituan*, "the practice of ancestor worship" which Bergaño describes as a form of *mantala* (superstition) and "an aberration that, thanks to God, has already diminished." Of all the medieval seafarers (Chinese, Europeans, Arabs, Hindus), it was the Spaniards who behaved like crusaders, imposing their religion on natives who already had religious beliefs and practices to begin with. For example, the ancient Chamorros (Guam) often dug up the bones of their dead ancestors and displayed them on a shrine where they could worship them. The Jesuits preached against the practice, sometimes destroying the altars and scattering the bones.

*bangcay*), also "corpse or cadaver" and more significantly, to *bangca*, "boat," because in prehistoric times, many tribes (including probably Kapampangans, as archaeological studies now being undertaken in Lubao tend to show) interred their dead by putting the cadaver on a boat and setting it out to the river or open sea.

(R. Tangingco)



# The wisdom of our ancestors 'THE WORLD IS A FISHPEN AND WE ARE ALL FISHES'



Kasaysayan

## Quotable quotes hidden in the ancient dictionary

Anggang mayumung tiguis  
malda lang capapanic;  
ing balang macatictic,  
nung e la paimburis.

In defining Kapampangan words, Bergaño often had to give whole sentences to show how the words could be used. He found it convenient to use proverbs that were popular during his time because these were naturally the first sentences that came to mind. Fortunately for us, these recorded sayings provide a glimpse into the collective wisdom of Kapampangans around that time (1732). The above quatrain could have been lost forever had Bergaño not written it down; because of it, we now know what the ancient Kapampangans thought and felt about certain things, and we can study how much or how little has changed since then.

For example, the above quatrain (who knows where Bergaño quoted it—a song, a play, oral tradition?) means “In times of prosperity, a man has many friends; in times of difficulty, friends abandon you.” Other examples:

ING E MU AYALDUC, E MU PAYALDUC. “Don’t ask others to swallow what you yourself cannot swallow.” The Kapampangan version of the Confucian golden rule, “Don’t do unto others what you don’t want others do unto you” and its Christian equivalent, “Do unto others what you want others do unto you,” but I find it more profound because it covers not just acts but practically anything—beliefs, principles, expectations. Beyond the literal “gulp,” alduc connotes what you can take, or what you can stand.

ING MEBIGLAN IBUG YANG MACATDAS QUING SUSUT. “Too much greed breaks the sack,” i.e., If you put into your bag more

than what it can bear, it will spill everything out. Thus: “Covet all, lose all.”

ITA NAMAN SABLANG TAUO ANTI TANG ASAN A MACABIYAI QUING BUNUAN QUETI QUING YATO. “All of mankind is like the fish kept alive in the fishpen of this world.” How uniquely Kapampangan this metaphor is, comparing people with fish and describing the world as a fishpen! It reminds me of the folk song Misan Cayaldauan in which river fishes like balulungi, itu, bangus, bundaqui, bia, licauc, sapsap, canduli, etc. are likened to government officials, soldiers and civil servants. Prof. Lino Dizon wrote an excellent article on this in a previous issue of Singing Magazine.

ALANG ATDU, ALANG ISIP. “No gall, no mind.” The person who has no guts also has no intelligence. Cowardice is stupidity.

ING CALMA, ALI QUING MANINGALMA, NUNE QUING MACALMA. “Fortune is not for those who seek it, but for the fortunate.” In other words, no need to look for your destiny, it will come to you if it’s meant for you. Bergaño defines calma as the neutral “fate” or “luck, whether good or bad” but the adjective macalma means “very fortunate, very lucky, very happy.” Calmang mamuc means “adverse destiny” or “sad fate.” The blessing Pacalma na ka ning Dios means “May God grant you good fortune” (and not “May God calm you down”).

NINU MAN ING MANAIS, BISA YANG MAQUICALIS. “He who hones his sword is ready to cross swords with another,” i.e., No one sharpens his sword unless he is preparing for war. Bergaño gives the rather superficial example that when you see an old

widower behaving younger than his age, it means he is looking forward to getting married again.

ING MATAS A MATALUCTUC, MASALDAC YA PANGABALDUG. "The higher the climb, the harder the fall."

ING MABABANG MAYAYABUT E NE MAN MANGA CUNLULUT. "The fruit that hangs low is most likely not yet ripe." Or, "Anything that is easy to reach is not worth it."

NANUYAMAN ING LAMÁT, PANGATANGQUIL NA, TUMULU YA. "No matter how small the crack, once it is touched, it will become a leak." Idiomatically, the slightest provocation will spark a violent reaction if there is already an existing crack or damage in the relationship.

MITAN CA, E CA MALAUS, SAPANG MASALUSU AGUS! "Slow down, fast-running brook, do not proceed!" It is an admonition to relax and take it easy. No wonder Kapampangans are known for their carefree attitude and their love for the good life.

NUN DING TALIRI NING TAUO E LA PARAPARA, METUNGYANG MAQUITLIRI, ILA PANG APARAPARA MO DING TAUONG MIALIUA LA PILUBLUBAN. "Even the fingers of a man are not equal, when only one person owns them; therefore you cannot make equals of men who have their own mind and will."

BELATAN DANGALAN ING CAPAGPARANGALAN. "Boastfulness is like goldplated lead," or "Boastfulness is like garbage in beautiful wrappings."

MAYAP ING MAMATULUS, ULING BIGLA TANG MACA PATULUS. Literally, "It's good to put a stake on the ground, for we might just make a hit;" tulus is an "object staked, pegged, sunk or nailed into the ground to mark property." Idiomatically, "Luck helps the courageous" or "It's better to take a chance than not do anything at all." Bergaño cites this very popular Kapampangan adage in his Prologue, when he admonishes his Spanish readers to take courage and overcome their worry that they will never understand the language.

QUING PITATACÁN CARIN YA AQUIT ING MATAPANG. "When metal meets metal, that's where you will find the brave one." To paraphrase it, bravery surfaces not in ordinary situations but, as Bergaño puts it, "in time of battle, or clash of swords, or in decisive moments."

NUNG NANUNG TIGTIG, IYANG IPALDAC. The conformists' dictum: "Dance to the beat of the music." Bergaño paraphrases it thus: "Follow the example of the King," i.e., obey all laws.

NINU MAN ING TATAGE, TAGEN YA. "He who makes others drink, should be made to drink, too." Tâge (diphthong tagay) was an ancient Kapampangan word that meant "a gulp of wine" or "the wine drunk by turns," and it is still very much used today in its original meaning. The proverb is an admonition to those who make people do things: they should be ready to do what they ask others to do. Or, "if you can dish it, you must be able to take it."

ALANG MININGGANG IBAT QUING LUB. "No one came out already wearing earrings." Or, "No one was born already dressed up and ready to go;" i.e., everything is acquired or learned, not hereditary. Speaking of tingga (earrings), Bergaño records a riddle from the 18<sup>th</sup> century: Ding culyauan adua mingatba la quing sanga ("Two orioles roosting on either side of the branch"); the

answer is, of course, earrings.

ALANG QUELIUAN YUNG PANTUG; NUNG E CAYU TIUPAN, E CO SUNGCAD. "You are no different from a bladder; unless you are blown, you do not expand." Bergaño describes this proverb as "a good metaphor for the indolence and negligence of the natives."

ALANG TIPAN A E MIRASNGAN, ALANG UTANG A E BAYARAN. "There is no agreement that will not be carried out, there is no debt that will not be paid." Everything will be settled in due time.

NUNG NU YA MABPANG TIPUL, CARIN YA MO MASANLUNG. The tipul is a long-legged bird "with a head like that of a goose," while the sanlung is a bird trap using loops of rattan, common in towns like Candaba and Mexico where migratory birds abound, then as now. This ancient Kapampangan adage is translated as "Where the tipul lands, there it will be caught." In other words, we are responsible for our own misfortune.

ING TAUNG MALUGUD CATUGPAN DE DING MALUCA. Bergaño defines tugpa as "fondness, taste, or natural inclination" while maluca means poor. The translation of this proverb is "A caring person is attractive to the poor." The poor and the needy always gravitate around a generous person.

E CA MAN TUTULAUC, BALU RA CANG MALPATOC. "You may not be crowing, but I know you're cackling." Pride manifests itself in ways other than boasting.

ITULSIC MU QING MATA NUNG ING AMANU NA'T E NE AQUIT. "Poke into his eye the thing he claims he can't find." This saying is used for people who have the irritating habit of "looking with their mouth, not with their eyes," i.e., instead of actively searching for the missing object, they let their mouths do the searching.

NUNG MITUNGCUL QUING TAU, ALANG ALIUA NUNE ING IRAYAS NE. If it's meant for someone, he cannot but fulfill it. Bergaño explains it better: "It should be his concern to finish it to the end. Or, if it is one's destiny, he has but to face it. If it is man's lot, he has to resign himself to it."

NUNG NINU ING MAPANUMIS, YA PIN ING MARUNGIS. The root word of mapanumis is umis, which means "fault" or "insult." Thus: "He who finds faults in others is himself dirty." It is a variation of Christ's rebuke, "He who is without sin shall cast the first stone." Bergaño puts it another way: "He who is contemptuous of others is himself contemptible" and "Each one betrays himself by what he says."

ANAC YA PA ING DUTUNG, BALU TA NENG LUMABUNG. "We can tell by the seedling what kind of tree it will become." Childhood determines the rest of your life.

NOCARIN MALUN MO, ALANG BIYAYAN ITO. "Where there are waves, no catfish can thrive," or, "The catfish cannot live in seawater." Bergaño interprets it as "Wherever you go, there is always work to be done."

NUNG E YA MIUTUC ING ANAC QUING MAYAP NGENING ANAC YA, LALU YANG MASULIT IYUTUC NUNG MARAGUL NEA. "If you do not bend the child while he is young, it will be harder to bend him when he is older."

(R. Tangingco)





**lutad,**

“effeminate actions, womanly manners, like the body, arms, voice; to a boy who plays the role of a woman, they say, llutad mu pa, ‘Make your voice sound more effeminate.’”



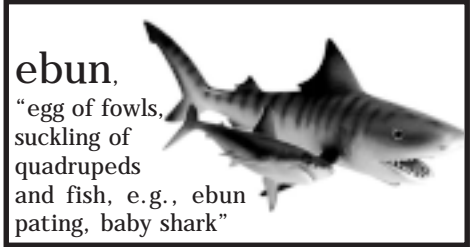
**lasona,** “onion”



**lipát,** “hailstone”



**sambulaut,** “to hold the leg; to do a leg-hold in wrestling”



**ebun,**  
“egg of fowls, suckling of quadrupeds and fish, e.g., ebun pating, baby shark”



**ligquig,**  
“to shiver after urinating”

## ANCIENT GADGETS AND GIZMOS

Bergaño’s dictionary recorded a list of indigenous tools and instruments some of which have since become extinct



CARANGCARANG, baby walker



AMUYAM, sponge



ASUNG, mortar; ALO, pestle



CAMPIL, suman wrapper

One of the first things the Spaniards (and later the Americans) noticed about the natives was their inordinate chewing of betel nut. Their gums and teeth were bright red, the chroniclers wrote, and they kept spitting on the ground. It was our ancestors’ version of chewing gum. They still do it in some parts of Pampanga; I recently visited a village in Candaba near the Pampanga-Bulacan border and discovered that practically everyone was into it, including little girls. I tried it, found it too spicy and promptly spat it out. They told me they loved it because it was maniaman (delicious) but I think it has addicting properties that gave them a kick and

a high.

I remember old folks going around with a pouch containing the paraphernalia needed to make the betel candy; the name of this pouch, as recorded by Bergaño, is palmaman. The ingredients and implements in it are collectively called maman, from the root word mamâ, a verb that means “to chew betel nut.” Ingredients include luyus, the betel palm nut; samat, the leaves from a vine of the same name, used as wrapper (magsamat, “to engage in selling betel leaves;” bugong is a bundle of samat leaves [or any other leaves]; a cabugong has five capit, one capit being the equivalent of five big leaves); âpî, lime (apian is to apply lime on the

betel leaf; palyapian is the container of the lime). Sapá is when “the betel leaf and nut are masticated together.” Lumpi is “the bright color caused by buyo (betel leaf) in the mouth;” it is actually the luyus or betel nut that causes the red color; Bergaño, who was unfamiliar with the nuances of the practice, refers to betel nut and samat leaves interchangeably.

By the way, Bergaño confirms the intoxicating properties of betel in his definition of the word ibe (diphthong ibay) as “intoxication due to chewing betel nut;” maibe, “to become giddy or faint from chewing betel nut.”

Aside from the tools used in making betel, the dictionary

describes other ancient gadgets used by the Kapampangans:

Carangcarang, “walkers; small carriages given to children when they are learning to walk;” from the root word carang, “awning of a banca.”

Carurû, “a stick used in rolling tobacco.”

Campil, “a wrapper made of leaves of the palm, used in making suman;” quinampil, “to weave it and place the suman in it.”

Parulang and latak, used by farmers in the field prior to planting; the former is “that log with which the fields are leveled and cleansed” while the latter is “the log with which they smoothen the field after combing it;” Bergaño writes that the two used to go together

until parulang was invented to do both tasks; a synonym of parulang is pagulung, which is the collective word for "certain implements, one that rolls to fling away the grass, and the other to level the soil, also by rolling over it."

Asung, "mortar;" alo, "pestle."

Bulús, "shuttle, a weaver's implement;" cabulus or cabulusan, "a roll or bolt of finished clothing material." Sarúl, "the plow;" sarul gamat, "hoe."

Pamugā, "spear, which is similar to those used to strike big fishes which, when caught, are retrieved with the rope attached to the spear; this is called a harpoon;" mamugā, "to fling the spear in this manner."

Pamugsoc, "bamboo pole or trellis that is placed for a vine to climb on it" (today it is called balag).

Pandipandi, "a pennant" or "a little flag at the top end of something."

Pangcul, "Fastening the dingding (wall) with rattan or bamboo strips."

Patung, "a bamboo drum."

Salbabala, "tools, materials, implements, preparations necessary for anything or trade."

Carayom, "needle, be it a pointed bamboo stick."

Alutactac, "the docket or stand for a lance, crozier or cane."

Catian, "weigher or balance" from the root word cati, "a unit of weight used in this land, which is 20 ounces; 10 cati is 1 chinanta (about 15 lbs); cati is also "a bird decoy for catching other birds."

Sandirit, "an instrument or device that turns around with the wind to drive around the sparrows from the field;" magsandirit, "one who moves while holding it with the hand, making it turn around, going around with it, like what boys do;" galunggang, "that part, from or around which the sandirit revolves."

Oút, "a cylindrical beam or large piece of timber that is open, to press out langis (coconut oil), like dungan, mill;"

## Our ancestors' CHEWING GUM

Just like most Southeast Asians, Kapampangans then and now chew betel nut primarily for stimulation--a great substitute for chewing gum, candy, opium and black coffee.



The betel palm tree (areca catechu) can grow up to 90 ft. tall, is native to Malaysia, the Philippines and Indonesia.



Natives chew betel nuts (luyus) mixed with betel leaves (samat) and lime (apī), collectively known as mamán



Palmaman (left) container used for storing betel nut, etc.; assorted cutters for removing husk of palm nuts

Chewing betel releases brightly colored keratin (lumpi). It contains a stimulant, arecoline, which affects the nervous system. Effects include constriction of the pupil, stimulation of various glands and vasodilation, similar to the effects of nicotine (ibe, intoxication from betel). Betel is also used to treat intestinal worm infestation.



verb is "to press or tighten with the salungquit, the lever."

Amuyam, "a sponge."

Palopalo, "a batlet used by laundrywomen to beat the clothes they are washing."

Angcup, "pincer" or "clamp for holding firm a thing in order to work on it;" mamangcup, "one who puts himself in a tight situation from which he cannot extricate himself."

Caling, "crossbar (bar across a door or window); a door latch; quelingan, macacaling, "the door becomes barred or latched."

Calo, "pulley, tackle (ropes and pulleys)."

Bangcuang, "a bag made of large leaves, manufactured in Laguna."

Culuung, "distiller in a tavern."

Bungal, "instrument in pulling out a tooth, like a dentist's forceps or pliers."

Palian, "the anvil."

Paldupan, "brazier; pan to hold coals; hearth; fire-pan."

Pat, "a chisel."

Darás, "an adze."

Dinauit, "the materials or instruments for constructing ships;" dauit, dumauit, "to construct ship;" daung, "ship."

Durul, "a rule, or a plummet, used as a piece of lead tied at the end of a string" for measuring; mandurul, "to measure with it" or "to take the straightness."

Abpang, "a small stick for measuring the nipa when it is being thatched or strung up on the roof;" and from this word we have cabpangan or cayabpangan, "a rule of conduct or habit."

Durútan, "the wheel used in making ropes, like that of a ropemaker."

Absac, "a tool for digging earth, like a small iron bar."

Alagas, "split bamboos used in making candles or scarf-foldings."

Panabal, "loom, or instrument for weaving."

Abubut, "a kind of pouch or case or small box with a covering made of bamboo or reeds; much in use."

Batobalani, "lodestone; magnet"

(R. Tangingco)



# THE PEOPLE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

The early Kapampangans interfaced quite frequently and intimately with their Tagalog, Zambal and Aita neighbors

By Joel Pabustan Mallari



Tagalog couple, 1590 (from Boxer Codex)



Zambal hunters, 1590 (from Boxer Codex)



Visayan couple, 1590 (from Boxer Codex)

Kasaysayan

A number of entries listed in the *Vocabulario* underscore the many acquaintances and interactions of the early Kapampangans with various groups of people, both in adjacent regions and overseas. These include Tagalogs, Visayans, Zambals and Aita people but surprisingly, no mention at all about Ilokanos and Pangalatoks.

## The Moros

Some word entries in Bergaño show the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Kapampangans' attitude towards Muslim foreigners:

saláng, "an external enemy, like the Moro, Negrito." Pisalandan, "the place of battle, the battlefield, the campaign."

salibabi, "to make one infuriated against many," or selibabian, "the many against whom one gets infuriated." Magsalibabi, "when there is already a rumble, in a rough battle of a few against others;" mipagsalibabi, "like Moros and Christians involved in a rumble."

Who were these "Moros"? Was it a catch-all word to mean all people coming from the south, like the Visayans? There's only one word entry in the *Vocabulario* that mentions the Visayans, mungmungan "a small bell of the land, like those of the Visayas." At the time of the Spanish Conquest in 1571, Kapampangans (as well as the other inhabitants) were classified according to religion as Indio (Indians, the Christian natives), Moros (Moors, Mohammedan natives, using the term from Spain), and Heathens (Gentiles) or Infidels, just like how the Spanish chroniclers described the

2000 Kapampangan warriors who challenged the Martin de Goiti-led Spanish soldiers at the Battle of Bangkusay. Thus, a Moro during Bergaño's time could have been anyone from a non-Christian Kapampangan (unlikely) to a non-Kapampangan from

The Kapampangans that the Spaniards found in 1571 were Muslims, but were probably not practicing Muslims, having been only recently converted from Hinduism and not entirely able to shake off their pagan ways

Mindanao (likely) or from a Muslim country like Malaysia or Indonesia (most likely).

## Negritos: The Mountain People

Bergaño uses the word Agta to refer to the Negritos from the Zambales mountains; another word he uses is Baluga (the black people of the mountains). Note this curious entry:

baling, "the odor of urine." Mabaling, "smelling much of urine." Also, cabalingan,

"the passage / pass that is more dangerous, like the way between San Miguel and Tarlac:

Iti iyan cabalingan, perhaps because it is prone to attacks by the Negritos who lie in ambush there, and it smells badly of

urine."

This description of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Negritos as bandits contrasts with modern-day Negritos who are shy, almost gentle people. Here's another word entry in Bergaño:

pacde (diphthong pacday), "the traits of the seed, from which it is known if it will turn out good or bad, like the grains of palay." Marauac a pacday, he has bad traits. In the way it is said metaphorically of a boy, Anac ya pa ing dutung, balu ta neng lumabung. The tree, while yet a seedling, we know it could grow into a verdant and sturdy one." Also, an active verb and its constructions, "to scare away, like a hunter scaring away the birds, or Negritos on the ambush, when they scream, or when one of them carelessly gives them away by giving out a shout..." Pipacdayan, "the scary place, like between Garlit and San Miguel, where ambushes often occur." Mipacday, like mipaticdao; micapacday, like micapaticdao."

Kapampangans' attitude towards Balugas can be seen in the following peculiar entries: buyo (diphthong buyao) and/or buyu. These two entries are defined separately as "to scare away birds or beasts;" binuyao, "to scream / howl while attacking, or even killing, like what the Negritos..." and "to become excited or agitated, like the townspeople." Icabuyu, "the cause, like the onslaught of the Negritos, or the reception of a Governor or the Archbishop..."

Another revealing word is culí, recorded

as follows:

cūculī, quinulī, culī, “to incline, or to tend to what comes to one by nature or heredity.” culīculī, “when little is known about one’s origin, v. g., to a Galician or a Vizcayan who has learned to speak the Castillian tongue perfectly, but makes slips or mispronounces words now and then, they would say about him, Culiculi mu rin ing panga Gallego na. He tends back to his Galician heritage / His being Galician shows up after all.” Manguli, menguli “a person, who, at some instance, reverts to his past. Note well the examples: a negrito who was reared as a Spaniard in a palace from his infancy, but later, in a moment of sumpong, returns to the mountains: Quinuli ing panga pugut na. His being a Negrito shows up after all. Occasionally they would say of Negritos who grew up among the Pampangos and were taught to eat at the dulang, macabular (suddenly) they begin to eat meals not at the table, but directly from the rice pot: Quinuli ing panga pugut da, because Negritos eat in this manner, i.e., their Negrito heritage is acting up...”

Bergaño’s phrase Quinuli ing panga pugut na graphically describes the Negrito’s “untamed” culture. This idea is further supported by another phrase, Sisiguing ing dayan pugut, ‘the negro lineage is showing.’ Other illustrations:

dangin, “spoils/booty in war, like war trophies; those of the Negritos are heads of their enemies...;”

labuyo, “non-domesticated cock, thriving wild in the forest,” a word also applied to people, “fierce, wild, savage, like the Negritos, and is commonly used of anybody who is not tamed, meek, or tractable;”

linga, lingalinga, and milingalinga, “one who walks staring with suspicion, or fear, like a Negrito who enters a town for the first time, or glances at the novelty of things around, like a villager in the City, or someone new in Salamanca.” Another entry is pamaguil, “a flaw, like a bad lineage/race, like the Negritos;” and saung, “a hovel, shanty, hut, like that of a poor negrito;”

magtagumpay, “to sing of, or celebrate a victory...” Gamba and Alaula refer to “the barbarous Negritos after they have cut off heads.”

Sambali: Mountain People’s Neighbors

The Agtas/Balugas and the Zambals interacted well in the mountains as evidenced by a word in Bergaño, balud, “a half-breed of Zambal and negrito; mountain people.” Bergaño calls them Sambali. The term balibag, which refers to “the bad pronunciation of a language, like a Zambal pronouncing the Pampango language,” indicates that in the interaction between the Sambalis and the Kapampangans, it was the Sambalis who tried to adapt to Kapampangan ways instead of the other



Agta hunters, 1846

way around, because, after all, it was the Sambalis who came down from the mountain into Kapampangan territory. .

In fashion, the following word entries are very revealing:

bitic, a garter similar to that of the dyed Bacay, bound around the legs to walk better; if you want to know more, ask / consult the Zambals;”

## The Tagalogs shared words, traditions and almost everything else with the Kapampangans

paniclang, “a dance music of the Zambals. Mag, to dance to that music;”

tubatub or tubutub, “palms, or rags, made into a head-gear / turban”. Magtubatub, “to use it, like a Zambal putting it on for the dance...”

It should be noted that the Sambali people, like the early Agtas/Balugas, also practiced beheading, which is why the verb form of this name meant “to behead a person.”

Tagalogs: Their love-hate relationship with Kapampangans

No other ethno-linguistic groups in the Philippines had more similarities and differences with each other than the next-door neighbors Tagalogs and Kapampangans. Consider these entries in the Vocabulario:

Fighting bouts and drinking sessions anyan, manyan, minyan, “to eat viands without rice, even if there is rice, because

he does not like it; anglab, purposely, in order to be able to drink more; they take it from the Tagalogs, who, to engage longer in a drinking bout, eat without rice, in this way excite more their appetite;”

dapuli, “two fighters who fall at the same time, and so no one comes out a victor. Manyapuli, one who makes a move to cause a draw in a fight which he could no longer win. Depulī, the opponent who is made to fall at the same time, so that he may not lose. Payrapuli, to let oneself fall, to cause a draw in a fight wherein he was not sure of winning...” Miragsa, “one who falls on a slippery road, as they call a Tagalog, because, it is said, a Pampango very rarely falls in such a manner. To one who was not able to deliver a great knockdown, they would tell him in jest, or would console him, Eca masucal a lub, dapulimo. Be thankful, it was just a draw.”

Affinity of language

auig, “something similar to another, or at par with another, like, the Pampango language and the Tagalog language, in those words that sound almost the same, like: Senhor in Portuguese and Senor in Spanish. Mamauig, minauig, mauig, that which equivalents with another, like Senhor to Senor, not vice versa. like one that equivalents another in essence, not an exact image (calupa), but having only some resemblance to the original, or the original, or the one to which it is alike; manauig, transitive; macayauig, is similar / having similarity...;”

itad, “to expand, or stretch, like starched clothes...iyitad, initad, yumitad, is said of one who speaks, or sings, or pronounces with a peculiar accent, or lilting tone of voice, like one coming from Burgos (Spain), ‘ave you eaten ‘arcóos bread? ‘Ave you drunk water from Bigaa? — of the Tagalogs. That is why they say of Pampangos, when they speak they are Maitadla (they speak with a lilt, with their peculiar accent) Maca, become expanded, elegant.”

mamiasa, memiasa, “v. g. one who speaks fluently the Kapampangan language, it is said very well: memiasaya casi ing dilana, his tongue has become adjusted to speak the language...;”

galasgas, “the fluency in talking or reading aloud; fast talker/ fast reader;”

garil, “describing the manner of speaking a language, like us, to children who do not yet speak their own language well. Magaril, to speak incorrectly, breaking the grammatical rules, or the idiomatic usages of a language. Cagarilan, this barbarity or uncivility in language;”

alipo manayun, “the inability to speak the language well...;”

saguiua, “raw, which is also said of those who do not speak the language well, or pronounce it well, because they could not digest it well ”



Bergaño on several occasions seems confused over whether Kapampangan words are Tagalog, or borrowed from Tagalog, or vice-versa, as seen in the following entries:

acala, “Tagalog word, to reckon or consider closely, to have an opinion about something...;”

aglaji, “Tagalog word, to tempt, to provoke;”

banhay, “Tagalog word;”

bijag, “to put in chains, to capture, a Tagalog word;”

bijira, “rare, v. g. *bijira lang banal*, *dapot e la bijira ding macasalanan*. *Bijirala ding e medila*, Rare are those who are not talkative: a Tagalog word used here;”

binticujul, “a species of small bananas, a Tagalog word;”

camtan, “seems to be Tagalog word, to achieve...”

manibangbayan, “a Tagalog word, adopted here, *menibangbayan*, said of one who is in a town where he is a stranger, of one who is outside his homeland, as an exile;”

pacundangan, “a Tagalog root. *Pacundangan*, towards whom one is polite;”

paritaan, “kitchen oil-lamp, with many tubes for wicks, a Tagalog word;”

pujonan, “capital, principal sum invested. *Magpujunan*, to have capital, or the principal investment, *pagpujonan*, that which. A Tagalog word, absorbed into the Pampango language;”

tag-gan, “a swordfish, in Tagalog. In Pampango, *Palas-san*;”

ulunan, “pillow. *Miulun*, the company of two laying their heads on one and the same pillow... It is derived from a Tagalog word, *ulo*, head.”

Bergaño likewise includes definitions in which he explicitly compares the two languages:

apsal, “a boil or an abscess..., *inapsalan*, that which is squeezed. ...*But quipsalanya*, without adding more, it remains numb, without any feeling like, in *meteya*, comes to be explained, that it remained insensitive / dead to the touch, like in the Tagalog, *capisanan*;”

arinasa, *arinandit*, *arinamo*, *arindit*, “all are different terms of one who desires to economize, or save a little more, v. g. If you see somebody who has already enough, selling trifles or trivialities, and you tell him, “so, you want to have something more”, he answers with any of these terms, “just a little more”; *Magarinasa*, *migarinasa* or *Magarimohan*, *migarimohan*, (Tagalog), in this way, he economizes or saves a little more. *Arimojanan*, the little things he regards / esteems much;”



Kapampangan couple painted by Damian Domingo

lual, “the wash area that Tagalogs call *the batalan*, because it is outside the house proper...;”

putla, “paleness. *Puputla*, that of

Bergaño describes the complexion of Kapampangan men as *malacalao* (uneven color) and that of Kapampangan women as *malinang* (radiantly beautiful)

*manimutla*, to become pale, like due to terror, shock, or scare. *Maputla*, or, *putlain* (Tagalog)...;”

basal, “the blacksmith forging whatever work...Tagalog, *banhay*: *Capitan basal*, actual head of the town;”

ilib, “a tall weed/grass; *cogon*, in Tagalog.”

Such distinctions have made some historians conclude that there were two distinct ethno-linguistic groups among the settlers around Manila Bay with a clear-cut boundary separating them. In reality, the Tagalogs and the Kapampangans were more like cousins (to use Nick Joaquin’s term) who intermingled, even intermarried, quite freely and frequently, resulting in mutual osmosis and a two-way mutation between their languages, belief systems, cultures,

etc. To give just one example, the Kapampangan *kabaldugan* is the same as the Tagalog *kahulugan*, the meaning of both of which radiates beyond the context of the English equivalent. And then there’s the general confusion over the three leaders of Tondo and Manila at the time of the Spanish Conquest, namely *Lakan Dula*, *Ladia* (or *Rajah*) *Matanda* and *Ladia Soliman* (the nephew of *Ladia Matanda*), who are thought to be Tagalog chieftains but judging by their names, were most likely Kapampangans, or at least partly Kapampangans. And then there’s “the brave youth from *Macabebe*,” who was close to *Lakan Dula* as gleaned from the historical account of his visit to the latter’s house in Tondo; some historians have named him *Tarik Soliman*, which has further worsened the confusion. Some linguistic experts have theorized that the Manila area had been originally settled by Kapampangans, until the Tagalogs migrated northward from western Visayas and displaced the Kapampangans a little farther

north, which explains the remnants of Kapampangan names and words in the Manila area.

Who were the original settlers in Pampanga?

One of the many problems encountered in the documentation of groups of peoples is the proper naming of each group. Some early Spanish chroniclers classified them according to their religious affiliations, some by their spatial distribution, skin color, etc. One example is an account of the Philippine Islands in 1618, in which the natives were lumped together as *Negrillos*, tawny, black, restless and warlike mountain Indians. In Bergaño’s *Vocabulario*, this description of the *Negrillos* points to at least 3 name entries: the *Agta*, the *Baluga* and the *Sambali* people. I believe these are three distinct, separate peoples. I can understand why Bergaño and the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Kapampangans mistook one for the other; they all descended from the same mountains west of Pampanga, and all had dark complexion. Actually, while some were indeed black (e.g., *Mag-Antsi*, *Mag-Indi* and *Abenlen*), many had skin that could be described only as sun-burned, just like the *Zambals* (specifically the *Sambal Tina*, *Ambala* and *Sambal Botolan*).

The early Spanish chronicler *Fray Gaspar de San Agustin* recounts battles fought with these mountain people in the mountains of Pampanga (presumably not the distant *Zambales* Mountains but the more interior mountains like *Mt. Arayat* and

the Balungao mountains); he, however, failed to distinguish which Negrito tribes they were. He also has some accounts of mountain tribes from Zambales staging invasions or raids into some Kapampangan communities in the lowlands, similar to those described by Bergaño to have occurred in the Garlit-San Miguel-Tarlac area.

Initially, during the early years of Spain's pacification campaign in the Pampanga area, Kapampangans were collectively classified as Moros, because they were observed not to eat pork. This observation was probably applicable only to those settlements on the southern coast and the riverside Moro communities in Lubao and Betis. Kapampangans living farther inland who had less access to sources of fish most

likely ate pork. Besides, the extent of the Kapampangans' conversion to Islam at that point in history is still debatable. The Kapampangans that the Spaniards found in 1571 were probably not practicing Muslims, having just been converted from Hinduism, not to mention the enduring pagan habits that were hard to shake off.

#### Kapampangans' true color

The Kapampangans in Bergaño's time were neither dark-skinned nor fair-complexioned, but a combination of both. By 1732, many of them had intermarried with the Chinese, the Spanish and with other ethno-linguistic tribes of various shades and hues to make them like what Bergaño describes as malacalao, "one with uneven color, like the native (indio)." I can imag-

ine Kapampangans' ruddy skin as a result of sunburn. Two other entries in the *Vocabulario* lends credence to this:

pupul, "rice flour, with which they rub on the face, in order not to have sunburned skin... Magpupul, reciprocal, to rub one's face with the rice flour;"

linang, "the beautiful complexion on the face or appearance of a woman... Malinang, radiantly beautiful."

The malacalao complexion is probably fair skin toasted by the hot sun (culimlim is "those who sunned themselves by walking or working under the sun"). Or, it might be the distinction between the hardworking Kapampangan fishermen and farmers and their sunblock-using women.



## KAPAMPANGANS AS HUNTERS

abang, "trap or snare used in catching fish;" abangan, "the place for catching fish" which is the origin of the word for waiting, since catching fish involves long waiting

calucub, "to set up a trap for the denas (bird); the trap looks like a very low hut for birds to roost in"

bitag, "trap for birds; to hang something for airing, like clothes on a line"

pangti, "dragnet; the fish caught or collected by such net"

bating, "a large net with which to catch wild boars or deer or carabao"

banlat, "cage for pigs; cage for loading a cow in a banca; when it has a trap door, it is used for catching wild pigs"

bangcat, "a small trap for catching fish"

baquicong, "a pen or trap for fish in grasslands as the flood wanes, or during the ebb and flow of tides"

bangat, "a trap used for hunting animals or fowl"

umang, "a snare, a noose, or a loop set up as a trap; a trap door; a beam across a stream to catch floating timber"

bunuan, "a pen for catching fish"

cutub, "a little fish pen"

bucatud, "a fishing basket/trap with a wide opening and a narrow end, from which the fish cannot go out"

saguilut, "a bow-knot; to ensnare"

apâ, "to go over to see if something has fallen into the trap"

apan, "a bait for fishing or for hunting"

parate, "trap or loop for birds, which boys carry on their hands;" verb, "to fasten it to the hand"

cati, or pangati, "the bird decoy for catching other birds"

palipo, "a loop trap, for catching ducks or other fowls and birds"

demon, "lair, crouch of hares or deer"

(R. Tangingco)

The early Kapampangans were by nature also hunters, as shown by this long list of indigenous words pertaining to hunting implements and techniques



# The Sangleys Among Us

Ancient Chinese traders coincided their annual trips to Luzon with the cycle of sea currents

By Joel Pabustan Mallari



A Chinese pancitero (peddler of cooked Chinese noodles)

Lozano

## Archaeological evidence

The start of trading within the archipelago might have taken place between AD 618 and AD 906, as shown by recovered Tang and Tang-type trade ceramics in coastal sites or riverbanks surrounding Manila Bay. Several sites proven to have had multiple episodes of habitation and phases of settlement yielded thousands of pieces of trade wares, ranging from the popular China porcelains to stone wares and even earthen wares and other trade items of metals, beads etc.. Sites are usually located along the major rivers of Pampanga (Porac, Guagua, Lubao, Candaba, among others) and the rest of Central Luzon. Evidences suggest that these various groups participated in the growing overseas trade especially with the early Chinese merchants of the Sung, Yuan and Ming periods, as reported by Henry Otley Beyer (1930s), Robert Fox (in the 1960s), and the current crop of archaeologists from the National Museum and the UP Archaeological Studies Program.

In AD 1349 Wang Ta-yuan, a traveler from Nanchiang, Kiangxi visited San-tao (probably the coast south of Cape Engaño), Ma-I, Min-to-lang (Mindanao), Ma-li-lu, Sulu (Sulu), and Pi-sho-ye (Visayas). Around this time also, the Philippine islands were being recognized and included in early Chinese maps. The following features ap-

pear in such maps: Yin-li which might be the island of Hermana Mayor off the coast of Zambales in western Central Luzon; Hai-cha-sü, presumably named after Haitan (sü means island) or Aëta; and Ma-li-lu believed to be Mainila (Manila).

Furthermore, Lü-sung area rose to prominence. The Chinese government officially acknowledged the assistance the

When the Spaniards massacred the Chinese near Intramuros, the survivors fled to Guagua and other Pampanga towns, which explains the glut of Chinese surnames in the province

people of the Lü-sung area had extended to Chinese naval forces pursuing pirates in the area. In this incident, early Kapampangan rulers sent aid in the form of a large boat full of soldiers. This was the period when the Philippine archipelago reached its highest levels of trade coinciding with the widest expansion of China's inter-ocean commerce. In fact, the Chinese government sent an imperial decree to Manila, confirming the rulers of Lü-sung

in their positions, as what is found in the Ming Shi records.

It was in the same year, after the tribute missions prospered, that a great Chinese fleet of more than 60 vessels and 27,000 people under the command of Admiral Cheng Ho (Zheng He) was said to have passed through the archipelago, visiting ports of Lingayen, Manila Bay, Mindoro and Sulu, again underscoring Luzon's economic importance to the Chinese government. In fact, a Chinese governor named Ko-ch'a-lao was appointed for the island of Luzon as noted by R.A.Skelton in his work, *Philippine Cartography*.

In AD 1408, another Lü-sung mission went to China bringing presents such as "small but very strong" horses, while the celestial Ming emperor reciprocated with gifts of seda (silks), strings of copper "cash," porcelain, etc. Chinese merchants likewise brought gifts to the "King of Lü-sung". Two more visits was made between 1410 and 1412 by the great Chinese fleet which visited once again the ports of Lingayen, Manila Bay, Mindoro before proceeding beyond the seas to southern India and the Persian Gulf.

The Chinese during the Spanish colonial period

Barely three years after the Spaniards came to Luzon in 1571, the Chinese pirate Limahong invaded Manila, was repelled by

Spanish soldiers backed by Kapampangan warriors. After the pirate fled to Pangasinan, the Spanish colonial government thought it wise to fortify Manila, once again relying on Kapampangans to bring in logs and construct what would eventually be known as Intramuros, the walled city. This was the beginning of the friendship between Pampanga and Spain that would last 300 years.

In 1603, during the suppression of the troublesome Chinese outside the city walls, the Spaniards massacred a good number of them; many of the Chinese survivors took the boat and paddled across the bay into the Pampanga River, and eventually settled in the communities along the river, especially Guagua. This is the reason the town became a hub of trade even to this day.

Several accounts in the Blair and Robertson volumes describe the Chinese merchants as sangley. Francisco de Sande's 1576 chronicles refer to the Chinese as Sangleyes, meaning "a people who come and go," referring to their habit of coming annually to these islands to trade - or as they say there, "the regular post".

Bergaño likewise mentions the Sangleys a lot. A curious entry in the Vocabulario is the term sanglay, a diphthong for sanglé, which means "to roast, or toast, like the cacao, corn kernels." This particular entry if further analyzed can be associated with the reputed culinary expertise of Chinese chefs, who always cook with a wok, or pan, which is what Kapampangans use in toasting or frying rice.

### The early Chinese in Pampanga

In addition, the Chinese colony or settlement was called as Parián. In fact the Parián in Manila is a small district first established on the south banks of the Pasig River. It contained some 200 shops and a population of about 2000 in the early years of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Interestingly, the term Parián does not appear in Bergaño although some other early dictionaries define it as the Tagalog word for marketplace, as Wil-

## Pampanga has two villages named Parian, both located near the river, one in Mexico and another in Arayat

liam Henry Scott notes. Surprisingly, there are at least two areas called Parian both in old town centers in Pampanga, one in Mexico and another in Arayat, also both located near the banks of the great Pampanga River.

But there is evidence that the Chinese had settled in Pampanga long before the massacre survivors did.

The earliest Chinese contact with the archipelago might have taken place during the period of the Chou Dynasty (3322 BP to 2247 BP or 1122 BC to 247 BC); around this time also, natives had inhabited the areas along the rim of Manila Bay in Lu-sung Island. These visiting Chinese eventually settled in the area, probably overrunning a number of rivermouth com-

munities as latent entrepôts, maybe even outnumbering some Kapampangan vil-lages. One entry in Bergaño's Vocabulario reads:

Menasanong sangley din uaua, menasalang mematay, menasalang mebatbat. "Abounding, swarming, the mouths of the rivers are overrunning with Chinese..."

The Chinese' settling pattern is also described in another entry in Bergaño:

tambac, "a small lot or area for a buyal (accretion)... to place stakes, or piles around, afterwards fill the staked area with soil, like what the sangleys (Chinese) do along the bank of the river close to their houses, forming a terrace, or accretion to their lot..." Timbacan, "the accretion, buyal, or the house, or the place."

Based on the above, it would seem that the Chinese started to squat temporarily along the coastal areas and major rivermouths of the province. This is historically accurate, since the arrival of Chinese in the Philippines by junks was done annually, following the yearly cycle of water current. In the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, they started moving farther inland, establishing permanent trading venues just like what happened in Guagua. Thus in the 18th century, these Chinese settlers figured in mercantile activities as evidenced by archaeological finds.

Thus their survival was heavily dependent to the way they transacted their goods and interacted with the islanders. Bergaño hints at various Chinese modes



The Chinese Chamber of Commerce was organized in the Philippines in 1904



of behavior, reputation (or notoriety) and traits in the following entries:

pibiasnan, "one who learns to deceive like a sangley deceiving an indio (native) in his deals...;"

nõisi, "facial gesture in general, like the false smiles of the sangleyes (chinamen)...;"

mapagtubû, "like the sangley (the Chinese merchant/usurer) who extracts extreme profits, or interests."

banso (diphth. bansao), "unfinished, done half-way, deficient, not well executed, like the work of the sanglay (a job, a task)."

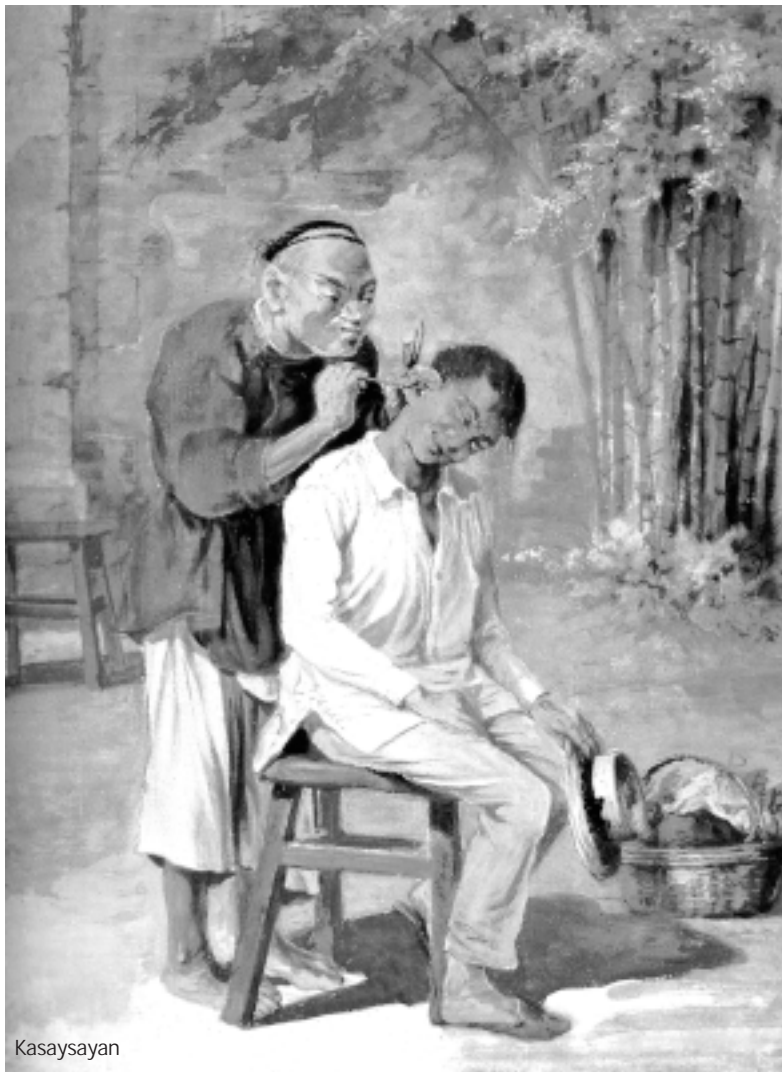
We do not know if this negative description of the Chinese is an accurate reflection of the Kapampangans' attitude towards them, or if it is merely a Spanish friar's prejudice, especially when one considers the long-standing trade relations between the two people. Nevertheless, the Kapampangan word cupit probably says it all: it means both slit, as in cupit ya mata, "the eyes of a Chinese, or the eyes of an infant," and cheat, as in cupitan me ing sucli, "pocket some from the change."

Chinese crafts and products

Not all the Chinese who came to the Philippines could be classified as Sangleys, or traders and merchants. For one thing, the population pressure in China forced them to migrate and settle in the Philippines, claiming some lands along banks and coastal areas. Many of these squatters peddled their services and practiced their arts and crafts acquired from back home, like ceramic making. Bergaño mentions a palis sangley, described as a small pointed brush used in making little dots on a dish or platter. Most of the porcelains and light-colored stone wares littering archaeological sites in the Kapampangan Region have designs obviously done through the application of pigments by brush. In fact, several oral traditions in the old coastal area of Lubao maintain that there were once old Chinese ceramic makers in the area.

Bergaño describes other Kapampangan word entries in his dictionary which pertain to Chinese craftsmanship and products:

balibagong sangley which is cultivated and very small. From this one or other va-



Kasaysayan

Chinese barbers also cleaned their customers' ears as extra service

rieties, they produce rope;

palatpat sangley, a certain fruit originating /imported from China (in the Vocabulario, palapat is a certain wild tree growing in salty water);

lucman, a Chinese orange, can it be

The trade ceramics unearthed in archaeological sites-- did they come from China, or were they just made here by locals who copied or who had been trained by Chinese migrants?

the pongcan that we now know or the lukban-type known to the Tagalogs?

pisî, Chinese thread;

sangqui, anise/aniseed imported from China.

gaboc, porcelain or china jar with a cover/lid;

guguling, a china jar, medium size;

gusi, large china jar, containing about six to eight gantas;

maratapayan, is a tapayan, a large china jar, but smaller than a tapayan, a large earthen jar, containing about 11 gallons of liquid;

tuitui, a large china jar; and,

tupag, a small china jar, in the form of an earthen jar.

These entries confirm much of the archaeological analysis made in Pampanga and the rest of the archaeological areas in the Philippines: the Sangleys did not only trade porcelain and stoneware jars, they made and designed earthen wares here and probably transferred the skill to natives.

Moreover, some of the related activities and or ideas being associated to china jars at that time can be gleaned from other entries in the Vocabulario:

balut, "fodder / grass with tangled roots, alias luyaluya. Active verb and its constructions, to bundle or fasten with cords, like the casangcapan... like an earthen jar or china jar, macabalut ya, if it has such cords or fastenings while

being transported...;"

canao' canaoya, "he is at ease in a large room or cell, or like a single candy in a big china jar;"

gabi, "a broken object, like a broken china jar;"

gab-bon, "meaning not only what we call lodo, mud, but also what we call tierra (soil, earth, ground), like what the plow turns up, or where they plant, or what they put in the flower pots: all these are Gab-bon..." Magab-bon "... to stuff up with clay, to soil something with mud, or apply clay to stuff up the bottom of a vat of sugar, or a china jar instead of with bitumen or brea..."

Among these miscellaneous entries, some hints on how these early forms of vessels were transported and considered the many use of these wares not only by the Sangleys but also by the early Kapampangans had paved way in making these articles highly demanded domestically and commercially; and how the Sangleys made their dramatic entry in the Kapampangan culture even before the Spanish came in the Philippines.

# Amánung Sisuan or Indung Tibuán? WHAT DEFINES THE KAPAMPANGAN

According to our ancestors, it was neither language nor territory

By Robby Tantingco

I have always thought that it is the Kapampangan language that defines our being Kapampangan, because it is what unites us, it is what sets us apart from the other ethno-linguistic groups in the archipelago, and it is what makes us unique in the whole wide world. We even have a unique term for our native language: amanung sisuan (literally “suckled word”) which means “the language that nourishes us.” No other tribe thinks of their mother tongue that way.

Bergaño defines amánu as “word” and mangamánu as “to speak,” and that is just about all he says in the short entry. Apparently, the term amanung sisuan had not been coined yet during his time, nor had the concept of language as a unifying agent among Kapampangans already been thought of.

According to scholars, Kapampangan language is more related to the languages of Northern Philippines (Ilocos, Pangasinan, the Cordillera) than to those in the south (Tagalog, Visayas). The earliest Tagalogs originated in the Eastern Visayas, moved north and displaced the Kapampangans from the Manila area, which explains the vestigial presence of the Kapampangan Solimans and Lakandulas there, as well as the mutual borrowing of words in the areas where the Tagalogs pushed away the Kapampangans.

Our ancestors’ ancestors were probably also migrants from another island where some form of Kapampangan was spoken. Or, they were indigenous to this part of Luzon, their territory constantly shifting and shrinking due to internal migration and the creation of new provinces by the colonial government. Which brings us to another concept and word, tubû (“grown, like wheat or palay,” Bergaño writes). Kapampangans refer to their land of birth as tibuán, a variation of tubû.

Bergaño gives an example: E cu tubu queti, “I was not born here” or “I did not grow up here” or “I am not a native of this place.” But again, as in his entry in amanu, he does not mention the phrase many Kapampangans today use, indung tibuán, “motherland.” This can only mean that the ancient Kapampangans did not consider the territory as the thing that defined or unified them as a people.

The Spaniards often referred to Pampanga and other regions as individual, separate “nations.” The word nation was probably used not in the same context as we use it today, but rather as a derivative of the Latin word for birth, from which we got the words native and nativity.

Today we call our province as our Indung Capampangan (“Mother Pampanga”) and our language as our Amanung Sisuan (“The Language that Breastfed Us”), thus unifying the metaphor but adding to the confusion: so which is our mother, the land or the language?

Such confusion happens because land-as-mother, language-as-mother concepts are probably only of 20<sup>th</sup> century provenance; our ancestors had a different way of reckoning what united us as a people.

Bergaño indicates that during his time, Kapampangans be-

lieved they had a common bloodline, that is, they all descended from the same ancestors. Bergaño has recorded the word misangdayâ (or micarayâ, from the root word dayâ or “blood”), which means “having the same blood” and “they are all Pampangos.” Kadayâ da ka or Carayâ ra ca, Bergaño writes, when spoken by one Kapampangan to another, meant “We are of the same blood even if we are not relatives, which is the same as saying, we are of one nation.” Misangdayâ ca ta meant “You are my countryman.”

Obviously this was prevalent during the time because Bergaño goes on and on with more examples. He associates blood with nationhood: “You are proud,” he writes, “pablasang dayâ cang Capampangan (for you belong to the Pampango nation).”

In those days, even if you spoke Kapampangan, or even if you lived in Pampanga, you were not considered Kapampangan if you did not have Kapampangan blood, i.e., if you did not

directly descend from Kapampangan ancestors.

Of course in those days people lived in smaller communities and had a good memory of their ancestors. Families were either Gatbontons or Magats or Macapagals or Pamintuans or Lumanlans or Salalilas or other Kapampangan-sounding names, and they lived in tight tribal clusters. However, two develop-

ments resulted in Kapampangans progressively losing track of their indigenous ancestries: first, when Spanish Gov. Gen. Narciso Claveria decreed the change of surnames across the colony in 1849, and second, when married women started using their husbands’ surnames and dropping their own.

Today you are considered a Kapampangan if you speak Kapampangan (amanu), if you have been born in Pampanga or have lived here (tubû), and lastly, if at least one of your parents is Kapampangan—but Kapampangan parentage does not necessarily give you Kapampangan blood, because your parents may have also been considered Kapampangan only because they can speak Kapampangan or they have lived in Pampanga, and not because they have an ancient lineage.

To determine the dayâ factor, one has to trace it all the way to the ancestors, which is today almost impossible except for a few families that have re-

tained their ancient surnames, or those that can prove it through genealogical research.

Finally, the Tagalog equivalent sandugo, which early Kapampangans borrowed and which Bergaño has also recorded, has a weaker connotation in its Kapampangan context. It means “friends, whose friendship was forged with the drinking of some drops of each other’s blood,” i.e., acquired consanguinity, as opposed to inherited consanguinity that misangdaya implies. Also, while misangdaya implies kinship, sandugo is merely friendship, as shallow as “those who walk with one hand on the shoulders of another,” Bergaño says. In this sense, the Kapampangan equivalent of the Tagalog sandugo is sangguro, also recorded in Bergaño’s dictionary.

“You are proud, *pablasang dayâ cang Capampangan* (for you belong to the Pampango nation).”

“We are of the same blood even if we are not relatives, which is the same as saying, we are of one nation.”

*Misangdayâ ca ta* meant “You are my countryman.”



# Ymalan capangpangan EARLY FASHIONISTAS

The only time our ancestors dressed up was when they went to war

By Robby Tantingco

A few years ago, the country's top fashion guru Patis Tesoro, whose maiden name is Pamintuan (of Angeles City), asked me to give her historical notes on which to base a Kapampangan costume. In our discussion, we agreed that Kapampangans should have an official costume which they can wear during cultural shows and formal occasions, the way we now use the terno and the barong. Despite the paucity of information, Patis was able to design a culturally accurate pair of costumes (for men and women) which we consequently published in the *Singsing Magazine*.

Since then, we have retrieved more data on ancient Kapampangan modes of dressing, mainly from the Bergaño dictionary. By the time the Spanish friar wrote the dictionary in 1732, European fashion had influenced our ancestors' fashion but there were still enough indigenous elements that hint at what our ancestors' ancestors wore long before the colonizers came. Fray Coronel in his *Arte y Reglas* (1621) used the phrase *ymalan Capangpangan* to mean "dress used by the Kapampangans" or "dress made in Pampanga."

The Kapampangan word *tingquis*, or *catingquisan* shows the thin line between war and fashion, that is, the only time our ancestors dressed up was when they went to war; fashion probably originated with battle outfits. *Tingquis* is "the disposition of a well-armed man;" *matingquis*, "one taking his machete, girds his belt, tucks up his sleeves, goes out in a rush, acting a la Xerxes, ready to do battle." *Matingquis a lalaqui*, "a man armed to the teeth;" Bergaño adds that "the word is also used regarding a well-dressed person."

The word *tanca* means "ready for any eventuality, e.g., a soldier armed to the teeth." *Macatangca ya* is "to be ready" and "to be in complete apparel." *Macagani ya* is "to prepare to go out," while *Macagayac ya* is "to have everything ready."



Torso armours and helmet made from carabao hornplates and leather, typical among Muslim leaders in the Philippines during colonial times. Pampanga was populated by Muslims when the Spaniards came in 1571 (Photo: Museo Naval and Servicio Historico Militar). Below, a variety of Philippine hats during Spanish times, printed by Justiniano Asuncion.



## BREASTPLATES

*Baluti* means "breastplate;" *magbaluti*, "to wear a breastplate;" the phrase *Cuta ra ca't baluti* idiomatically means "You are my defender." Other archival documents show that such breastplates, used in battle, were made from animal hide, usually carabao and deer, which roamed the foothills of Pinatubo and

Arayat.

A *calai* is "a weapon for defence, like a breastplate, including the one made of leather," while a *calasag* is "a round shield, cuirass, breastplate and backplate; the armour."

## HEADGEARS

The early Kapampangans were also fond of headgear. Kinds of ancient headgear include: the *turung*, "a cone-shaped headgear made of nipa" (*magturung*, "to use it;" *tirungan*, "covered by it"); the *tubatub*, or *tubutub*, "palms or rags made into a headgear or turban" (*magtubatub*, "to use it, like a Zambal putting it on for the dance"); and the *lacial*, "padded ring for carrying

loads on the head; also that ring of woven bamboo on which the pots and jars are placed."

Other headgears are the *bungbung*, "a short mantilla or head covering for women;" the *talucbung*, "a small mantilla, smaller than a *bungbung*;" and the *talicbung*, "covering, or shawl, veil, like that of a chalice, or head;" The ancient Kapampangan word for mantilla is *pandong*.

## SHIRTS

*Barô*, "shirt or dress, but not adjusted like the close-fitted jacket which is sleeveless;" also, "the religious habit;" *cabaruan*, "material enough for one *baro*;" *pangabaro*, "the style of the *baro*."

*Balindang*, a large-sleeved dress.

*Sabing*, or *sabingsabing*, "said of one who does not roll up his sleeves when doing something, and his sleeves keep touching or falling on what he is doing."

## SHAWLS, WRAP-AROUNDS

*Balabal*, "a kind of clothing or piece of garment worn like a stole, which used to be worn, and today used only by creole women when they come out in white on Easter Sunday;" *magbalabal* is "to wear diagonally, like a cape" *Itang ulas a belabalan cu nandin*, "The blanket I used as a cape a while ago."

*Sacbali*, "shawl or kerchief draped over the shoulders, like a stole;" *sicbali*,



Kapampangan india (left) and Kapampangan indio (right) as painted by early 19th century artist Damian Domingo

tremity of a tapis, which is its edge, that falls up to the buttocks, opposite of salucsucan." Cabubus is the material from which tapis is made; "catapisan, "material enough for one tapis;" sabulsabul, "said of a woman when she walks the street making a noise with her tapis."

Sinaguitlong, "the texture of a cloth." Sinuyud, "a certain weave." Buat, "a certain cloth embroidered in the loom, which is no longer in use; its design is inlaid and raised over the field or scope of the cloth."



## Pinán, pinanári

Bajag is a "loincloth or loin covering;" it is probably borrowed from the Tagalog bahag. The Kapampangan word for loincloth is really pinán; and from this, the word pinanari, i. e., pinan ning Ari (literally, "the King's loincloth"), which is the Kapampangan word for rainbow (same as the Tagalog bahag-hari, or bahag ng hari).



"the child carried over the shoulders, with his feet dangling in front"

Cutun, close-fitting jacket; verb is "to fold or plait dresses;" past tense is quitun

Tacucu, "a kind of cape, usually made of nipa, used as protection against rain; its neckline is provided with a cord, with which to tie it around the neck and shoulders."

Pacaling, "medal-like objects that boys attach to their belts of sashes."

### SKIRTS

Suddia, "the pointed end of a skirt (of women)," or "the pointed end of the ancient tunic worn by men." Palda, the word used today to mean skirt, actually meant "the handle of any tool or implement" in those days.

Untun, "girdle, which serves as a pouch/pocket; it is worn only by women, and it is not visible, because it is under the tapis."

Tapis, "upper petticoat; outer garment worn by women around the waist." Bingculan is "the front edge of a tapis," while salimpat is "the ex-

Pisabulsabul me yang tapis mu, e mu yang galang ngeta dinam? "You go swishing your tapis, but for all I know, you only borrowed it!" Magbisaclat is "to open legs modestly, gathering up the tapis in a way to allow others to pass between them like in some games they play; the word applies to girls because boys do not wear the tapis;"

### WEAVES, MATERIALS

Usi (jusi) is entered in the Bergaño dictionary as "silk that is crude;" tapis a usi was "used often" in those days, writes Bergaño.

Balangamas is "a kind of weave or texture" but "they no longer make such a weave."

Punut, "fabric or clothing produced from coconut fibers."

**Tacucu**, "a cape made of nipa, to protect against rain"



**Lacal**, "padded ring for carrying loads on the head"



**Balabal**, "piece of garment worn diagonally, like a stole"



**Suddia**, "the pointed end of the ancient tunic worn by men"





# MOON CHANTS, COW-DUNG BONFIRES, ONION SMOKE AND OTHER ANCIENT ODDITIES

And then there's the herb that the ferocious Macabebes probably ingested before they faced the enemy



**Sugapa**, “a species of the climbing plant which the blacks use to make themselves run berserk when they fight, because anyone who eats it, they say, will rather die than retreat.”

The quaint practices of the ancient Kapampangans that the Spanish conquistadores observed in late 1500s survived until mid-1700, the time Bergaño sat down and wrote his dictionary. The following entries in the dictionary hint at these prehistoric practices:

Saguinanun, “a chant to the moon;” Bergaño writes that “such a chant is no longer in use” even in the 1700s, and only the word survived at that time.

Tagulele, “the chant of lamentation during a person’s funeral or burial, relating to the bravery and valour of the deceased.” A synonym is sambitan, “to lament, mourn

the dead, recounting his valor, bravery, prowess in battle).” Chanting was very much a part of the early Kapampangans’ daily life; today the only vestige left is our propensity for chanting the pasyon which some people believe is the Kapampangan epic (like Lamang of the Ilocanos) supplanted with the Biblical salvation story. If one were to extract all the Christian elements from the pasyon, my theory is that the narrative thread that will remain is the ancient pagan epic of the Kapampangans.

Upung, “that ceremony performed by those who come on the third day to the house

of the deceased.”

Landa, “a cape for mourning.”

Balungbung, “to sleep in the mountains” by putting up a dalungdung (hut) “as shelter from the elements.” Apparently our ancestors went up to the mountains (Arayat and the foothills of Pinatubo) from time to time to escape from floods and typhoons.

Sugapa, “a species of the climbing plant which the blacks use to make themselves run berserk when they fight, because anyone who eats it, they say, will rather die than retreat.” Bergaño adds, “I think it is opium” but this is unlikely because ingested opium has the opposite effect. He continues, “If they see someone running amok, even if he does so only because he is drunk, they say Maqui sugapa ya.” There are many accounts of Kapampangan soldiers, particularly the dreaded Macabebes, who “fight like wild beasts, even gnawing at the enemies’ bayonets.” I wonder if they helped themselves to this vine prior to going to battle?

Calangcang, “something noisy tied to a dog’s tail.” Today this onomato-

poeic word can be applied to tin cans and other objects tied to a moving vehicle to create noise on New Year’s Eve; aso aso is a “dog collar with small bells”.

Binan, “wooden beam or post, to which the chains of a slave are attached in order to prevent his escape.”

Binano, “a small dart which, when it pierces, cannot be retrieved anymore.”

Cubacub, “a certain game, no longer in use.”

Bulingbuling, the three days before Ash Wednesday when the Mardi Gras was celebrated. In other countries, they had celebrations only on the day before the start of Lent, i.e., Tuesday before Ash Wednesday (Mardi is Martes, Tuesday); the early Kapampangans started the rev-



**Calangcang**, “something noisy tied to a dog’s tail”

elry on Sunday, probably right after the Mass, all the way to Tuesday, for a total of three days; these three days of merriment were the bulingbuling, from the verb buling, "to stain oneself with blackening matter during the Mardi Gras;" bilingan is "the person so painted." The word ampulas, verb, means "to smear with pitch."

Calapayan, "a kind of bier with shafts made of bamboo, on which they carry the dead;" langcayan, "a bier or litter on which they carry the dead, or a load of soil."

Malangque (diphthong, malangcay), "dead bodies keep on piling up, like during a war."

Nasâ, "the dying of all in a family" or "massacre" as in menasa lang mete; also widespread death of vegetation due to a typhoon; mecanasa, "one who has killed or caught a large number of fish" and Pepacanasa



**Dapug**, "bonfire of cow dung, to drive away mosquitoes or clear a yard or field"

**Magdapug**, "to lie asleep on the ashes left behind by the bonfire, like what the Balugas do"

nong icuanan detang usa quetang bunduc a ita, "He killed a great number of deer in that mountain." In defining another word, sasâ, Bergaño returns once more to nasâ, and he further expounds on it by giving these interesting examples: Menasa nong sangley ding uaua, and Menasa lang memate, and Menasa lang mebatbat, "The mouths of riv-



**Buling**, "to stain oneself with blackening matter during the Mardi Gras"

**Bulingbuling**, the three days of merriment, before Ash Wednesday when the Mardi Gras was celebrated

ers are swarming with Chinese (were these the Chinese who had fled from Manila to escape the massacre?), and "The dead are all over the place," and "Most have been scourged."

Mulang dano, "the waters of the first rains." The fact that our ancestors had a word for the season's first downpour shows that they marked the event and probably celebrated it as sacred.

Dapug, "bonfire of cow dung, to drive away mosquitoes or clear a yard or field;" magdapug means either to make such a bonfire, or "to lie asleep on the ashes left behind by the bonfire, like what the Balugas do."

Libad, which today refers to the fluvial procession in river towns in Pampanga, originally meant "a man dancing with a woman, or around a woman." It was also used to mean "birds fluttering around each other." How the word came to mean river procession may be explained by the practice of dancing the kuraldal (indigenous Kapampangan dance) on the boats participating in the river procession.

Buyu, "to become excited or agitated, like the townspeople during an onslaught of Negritos." The original terrorists were the Negritos (probably the head-hunting Zambals) who descended from the mountains from time to time to raid terror-stricken communities. On the other

hand, buyo (diphthong buyao) means "to scream or howl like what the Negritos do when they attack or kill."

Sambali, "a Zambal;" when used as a verb, it means "to behead;" pisambalian, "the place of beheading;" magsambali, "to speak the Zambal language."

Paniclang, "dance music of the Zambals;" bitic, "a garter bound around the legs to walk better," and then Bergaño adds, "if you want to know more, consult the Zambals." Obviously, even if the Zambals were dreaded headhunters, Kapampangans had normal interaction with them.

Tagumpe, "to sing of or celebrate a victory" like what "the barbarous Negritos (do) after they have cut off heads."

Lauc, "to mix or mingle;" macalauc, "to become mixed, like a Moor among Christians;" leucan, "the group in which he is mixed." The word is related to the Tagalog lahok.

Lauis, "sign or mark left along the way, e.g., on trees,

or a mariner's cross, to avoid being lost upon returning."

Magmanoc, "to take the augury of the bird batala;" our ancestors considered the batala (kingfisher) a sacred bird whose presence or absence was an omen of something good or bad; some say that the word Bathala (the God of prehistoric natives) came from batala.

Ari, "the king" or "the vassals" or "the area, or property;" pamag-ari, "the act of reigning;" panga ari, "the king-ship;" aring maragul a cayarian, "king over a great kingdom;" ariyan, "of royal blood;" ari arian, "a little king." (By 1732 our ancestors no longer had royalty, only re-



**Libad**, "a man dancing with a woman, or around a woman"

sidual memory of their own ancestors' system of government. The Aetas nearby, however, continued to be ruled by a king until the 20<sup>th</sup> century.)

Naga, "that figure that is placed on the prow or bow of a boat;" it is the figure of the head of the mythical serpent, very common in ancient Southeast Asian nations.

Payang, a competition among



**Sambali**, "a Zambal;" when used as a verb, it means "to behead"





**Magmanoc**, “to take the augury of the bird batala (kingfisher),” considered a sacred bird

early Kapampangans “to see who can shoot arrows the farthest.”

Papasali or pipisali, “common sewer, common garbage dump.”

Pu, “a polite word which we hear often, but we speak less.” Considering that it was already endangered in 1732, this term of respect not only endured but has thrived.

Siac, “certain soothsayers that come from Borneo.” Siac a mangabiasa, “wise soothsayers. That is how Pampangos call persons who know or reveal occult things.”

Sidduan, “place of honor; in the church; it is the area around the altar;” the verb sinidduan is “to honor someone with a seat in such a place.” In those days, wealthy



**Naga**, “that figure that is placed on the prow or bow of a boat,” which is the head of the mythical serpent

and powerful people in the parish were given pews and kneelers while the rest of the parishioners stood, knelt or squatted on the bare floor of the church throughout the Mass.

Siolan, “an ancient small flask or bottle.”

Gayang, “an ancient lance;” gueyangan, “one pierced with such a lance.”

Ngean, “antiquity; ancient times.”

Samulâ, “an ancient artifact, used by people in ancient times, like certain finishes, or styles of plates;” tapac a lalic,

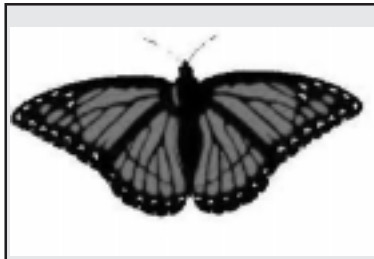
“said of antique plates, with a certain kind of finish and color” (t a p a c , “ l a r g e plate;” lalic, “ l a t h e wheel”); suic, “a small porcelain plate, which serves as a salt pan, or saucer for mustard.”

Alumalum, “a ball game played by boys.”

Asad, “laid out, like flowers, branches or leaves in the form of a carpet;” inasaran, the place where such a thing is done.

Talubang, “butterfly;” magtalubang is “to play the guessing game of the very cunning ‘Who killed him?’ The game bulaclacan, played during a wake, involved men and women playing butterflies and flowers. This is a Kapampangan tradition that has survived in the barrios.

Namás, “the practice of giving to the parents of the prospective bride;” panamás, “that which was given;” duru, “the dowry which the prospective groom offers to his bride.”



**Talubang**, “butterfly”

**Bulaclacan**, a game played during a wake, with men and women playing butterflies and flowers

Tandoc, “a cupping glass, or a sucker made of animal horn, with which blood is sucked;” an ancient medical procedure.

Magapí, “to light a fire under the house while a woman is giving birth.”

Asap, “to fumigate with the peelings of onions, e.g., the sick who suffers a relapse, or a woman who has just given birth.”

Taquitaqui, “a thing spoken of in riddle, enigma, adage.”

Tauac, “a quack healer of snakebites, said to have powers over

snakes, like the quack healers of rabid persons.” Bergaña is obviously intrigued by these practitioners. He writes that they “cured snakebites by sucking

the venom and spitting it out. I have read from a serious author that the saliva of the man is an antidote to the venom of the snake; they say he could handle the snakes, and I do not know what power is that.” There are still such healers, called medico, in villages around Mt. Arayat; I have met a medico who specialized in fractures and sprains; his method involved whacking a snake with a stick, apparently to fracture it, and then following the injured reptile as it allegedly searched for a weed called dikut ubingan (“snake grass”) against which the snake would rub itself to cure the fracture. This grass is what the medico would use to heal his patients.

Tumbalic, “to put something in reverse” and Bergaña gives this example: “like the penmanship going up-

wards” which hints at the pre-Spanish vertical script of Kapampangans (kulitan), which had survived even in the latter part of the Spanish period.

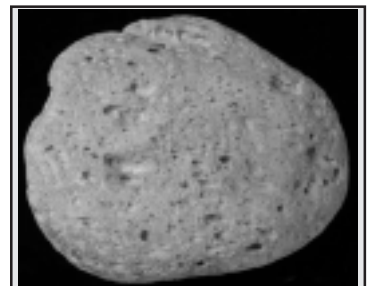
Bugâ, “a white and spongy stone,” most likely pumice, the kind of volcanic rock spewed by Mount Pinatubo in its latest eruption. The name also connotes the act of spewing out, which is an indication that our ancestors knew, or had a memory, that Pinatubo was an active volcano.

Buyun, “tidal wave, deadly great waves;” guno (diphthong, gunao), maguno, “to be devastated, inundated, like an islet that is overrun by the sea;” if our ancestors had a word for tidal waves and tsunamis, it means they experienced them.

(R. Tantingco)



**Gayang**, “an ancient lance”



**Bugâ**, “a white and spongy stone;” volcanic pumice



**Buyun**, “deadly great waves”



# LOVE STRUCK

The World of 1896 (Ateneo/Bookmark)

Ancient words for first love, true love, secret love, endless love, loss of love

While the Tagalog language can boast of such good-sounding phrases as *Mahal kita* and *Iniibig kita*, the most that the Kapampangan language can produce are the pale *Calugurán da ca* and the dull *Buri da ca*. However, a quick check of Bergaño's old dictionary reveals that our ancestors were more romantic than we think; they also had words that showed their keen understanding of the nuances of love.

Let's start with the common term *buri*. In defining *buri*, Bergaño differentiates it from *bisa* by saying that "*bisa* means liking with affection" while "*buri* means mere liking it." Yet he contradicts himself when he goes on to define the forms and conjugations of *buri* to mean exactly what *bisa* means: *pangaburi* is "affection or love;" *micaburi* is "those agreeing to love or marry one another;" *casangburi* and *maquisangburi* refer to what a lover does to convince "the parents who are opposed to his falling in love or to his marriage;" *mamuri* is "one who is already falling in love, or struggling with his many loves, like at the age of 14;" *buriburian* is "the lukewarmly loved;" *manyaliburi* is "one who likes or wants, whether it is right or wrong;" *paburi* is "one who lets to be loved, one who seeks to be liked;" and the word continues to mutate into *paburian* (diphthong, *paburen*), "one who is neglected or let alone" as in *Paburian yo ya*, "Leave her alone," and *Mipaburian na*, referring to "the work that is begun, is neglected."

On the other hand, Bergaño's definition of *bisa* tends to lean towards "mere

liking" rather than "liking with affection." As examples, he translates *Bisa ca?* into "Do you like?" and *Bisa co* into "I like." The unusual word *bisanbisan*, no longer used today, means "to feel a liking," and he illustrates this with the following example: "I ask Antonio in the presence of Juan, if he likes Maria, and Juan remarks, *Bisanbisan mo ya mo?* That is, 'Do you doubt about that now?'"

And then the friar gives his own personal insight on love which may perhaps explain this seeming confusion between *buri* and *bisa*: "Love for a woman starts with liking her and ends up with wanting her."

## CALUGURAN DA CA VS. BURI DA CA

Meanwhile, *lugud* means "passion, affection, tending to be compassion." The early Kapampangans did not seem to use this word in a romantic sense. *Malugud* is "one who has passion, affection, compassion, or like piety," while *calugurán* or *quelugurán* is "the one loved in this manner." In 1621, Fray Coronel in his Kapampangan grammar book *Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Pampanga*, recorded the phrase *Caluguran da ca* to mean "You are beloved of me." The next forms of *lugud* take on a negative shade: *malugúd* is "illicit lover" and Bergaño adds, "solely said of the woman," while *micálugud* refers to "the two illicit lovers." "The woman," Bergaño goes on, "is *máquicalugud*, by way of identifying/introducing her; the man is *maquicalugúd* when referred to as one who maintains a mistress. *Cacálugud*, or *Cálugud*, refers to any of the two."

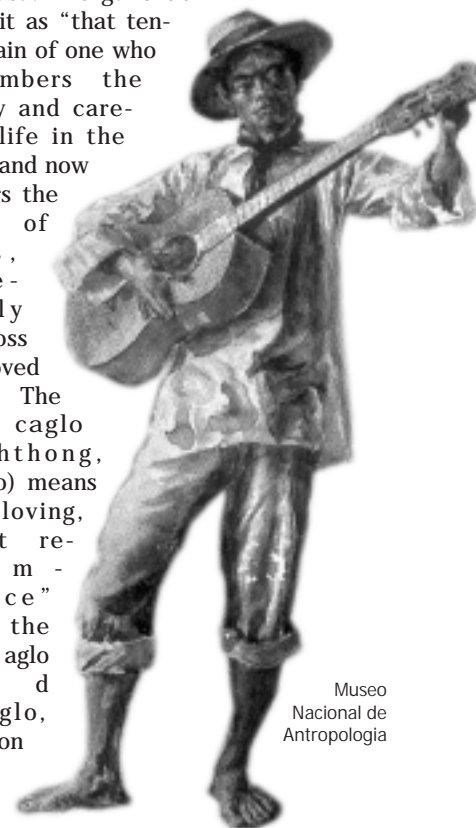
It is clear that Kapampangan lovers in

those days never said *Caluguran da ca* because of the bad connotation; rather, they used the more romantic *Buri da ca*.

The early Kapampangans used the word *guinut* ("to go slowly, to proceed little by little") to describe how they fell in love, one small step at a time: *mipaguinut* refers to "those who are secretly in love."

## HEARTACHE, LOVESICKNESS

The Kapampangan word for nostalgia and heartache is *palliasa*, and its verb, *maliiasa*. Bergaño defines it as "that tender pain of one who remembers the happy and care-free life in the past, and now suffers the pain of loss, especially the loss of a loved one." The word *caglo* (diphthong, *caglao*) means "a loving, sweet remembrance" from the words *aglo* and *mániglo*, "to won



Museo Nacional de Antropología



der at.”

But there are more Kapampangan words for lovesickness:

Yauis is an adjective that means “distressed, becoming thin or weak due to pining for love.” Icayauis and macayauis refer to the cause of this feeling, while cayauisan is the “tender suffering, like one who has fallen in love or is in love.” Note the difference between malliasa which is pain over a lost love, and yauis which is pain over love that is not yet yours.

Salbat, on the other hand, is “anguish, grief, affliction, borne of love;” pigsalbat, “the motive, which is the absence of a loved one.”

Bitquil is “anguish of heart, contrition, heavy sorrow;” bitqui is “to despair due to sadness.”

Another synonym is simi, “sadness;” malsimi, “to become saddened” or “to rue with loving anxiety, like the absence of a loved one, or by an injury or insult he does not deserve.”

Antac is defined in the dictionary as the female organ, but it also means “the pain of anguished love” as in pangantac.

#### THE BEST WORD FOR LOVE

The best term for lovesickness—and for love—a m o n g Kapampangans, is sinta (whether the Tagalogs borrowed it from us, or we borrowed it from them, no one knows for sure), which means the “love that always carries with it that

pain and anxiety to enjoy one’s beloved, and imbibe that intrinsic desire to be with her.” Sinta cu, “my love;” sinta na, “his love.” Sinta ra ca sang aquit, “How I love to see you.” Malsinta, milsinta, “to love, to fall in love, to feel the love, to desire the loved one.” Pilsinta, “the motive;” pilsintan, “the object of feelings.” Ing palsintan cu queca, “What I desire of you” or “The feelings I have for you.”

Mipalsinta, “with one another, like lovers” or “to be desirous to see one another, to be with one another.” (As an aside, Bergaño writes that the term mipalsinta applied not just to lovers but to “two contenders or valiant persons.”) Capalsintan, “love, yearning, desire for the beloved.”

The word calucu means “flame,” and inevitably it was used to describe love: micacalucu, “one who is overcome by ardent love as in Micacalucu ya puso.”

Busal quen pangisnaua (literally, “the core of breath”) means the essence of living; Bergaño says that the phrase applied to “one who is madly in love, or very impatient with his loved one.” A variation would be Busal quen lub co, “core of my being.”

The early Kapampangans used the word liag, “a word of great endearment and tenderness” (like the Tagalog liyag) but Bergaño does not seem to quite know what exactly it meant. Maliliag and meliag, he writes, were “said of a thing which is the object of fascination, that is, because he desires it more.” He goes on to explain it lengthily, and it seems to me that liag can be applied to a variety of situations but the thread that runs across these applications is “desire.”

The word irug (Tagalog irog, “beloved”) has a different meaning in Kapampangan; it means “anything that would incite a sick person to eat, by giving him food that he used to be fond of, in order to awaken his taste for food.”

Cuyug, “inseparable partner, like a pair of doves;” “the one who always tags along.” Micuyug, “with a companion, like consorting one another;” cacuyug, “one who has a partner.”

Pamaugui, ‘a thing which a man in love gives to the girl he is courting.’ The word panagano, rarely used even in the 1700s, means ‘a dedication.’

Tandic, a verb referring to the way a cock behaves around a hen, also applied

to a man “who is about to fall in love” and is “beginning to woo or court a lady.”

Lolo (diphthong, lolao), or maglolo, “to court, to woo a damsel”

Balintatauo, noun, “darling of the eye” (I suppose “apple of the eye” but of course Kapampangans in 1732 had no idea what an apple was).

Mipagdiuata, “the beloved worshipped or adored by a lover;” from the root word diuata, “idols and false gods.” Bergaño comments, “Thank God, they are not aware that this could be a superstition!”

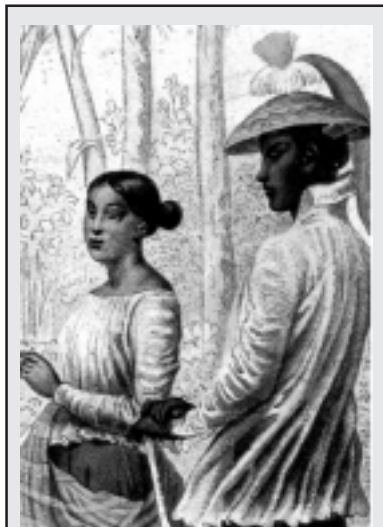
#### TRUE LOVE

How did the early Kapampangans define true love? The answer lies in the most unexpected word, tadtad, an adjective that means “minced, diced, cut into small pieces” which is the root of tiddad, a known Kapampangan dish. Bergaño records this rather morbid but eloquent illustration of what a Kapampangan would do for love: Tadtaran da cu man, ing catadtad a mitalandang, iyang maquiasaua queya! “They may cut me into small pieces, but one of these little pieces is enough to marry her!”

(R. Tangingco)



**Sinta**, “love that always carries with it that pain and anxiety to enjoy one’s beloved”



**Tadtaran da cu man, ing catadtad a mitalandang, iyang maquiasaua queya!** “They may cut me into small pieces, but one of these little pieces is enough to marry her!”

## How dare she

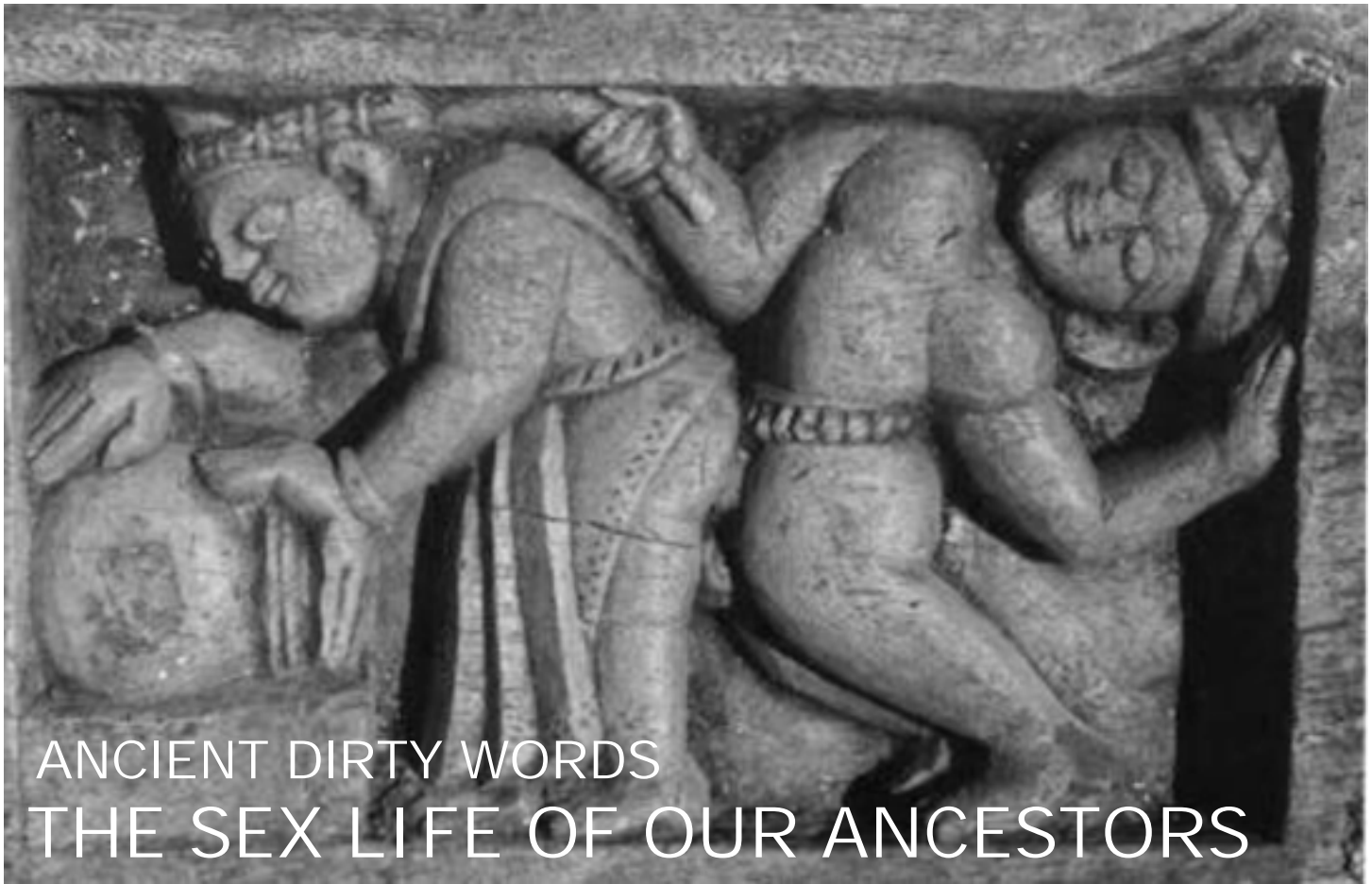
The inequality of the sexes in Bergaño’s time is evident in these two word entries:

When a man left a woman, the woman was expected to fall into pieces. In defining the word duláng (“to search for gold”), Bergaño cites this sentence: Ing lugud mu cacu nucu uari pagdulangan ngeni? “Where shall I go now to look for your love? says a woman wailing over her deceased husband.”

But when it’s the other way around and a woman left her man, instead of falling into pieces, the man coined a word for such a wife: bulandal.

## Divorce, circa 1732

Our ancestors practiced divorce, as seen in the following words: cauala, “to become divorced or separated, like married couples, or illicit partners and friends;” mialalé, or micualalé, “to decide to separate, because there is an impediment to the marriage, or because they want to break off their illicit relationship; cauani, “to separate, like a married couple or illicit company” from the root word uani, “absence.” E uauani, “He is always within sight.”



# ANCIENT DIRTY WORDS THE SEX LIFE OF OUR ANCESTORS

...and they dared to speak to unspeakable

By Robby Tantingco

Prior to the arrival of Catholic Spaniards and even until the early years of colonization, Kapampangans had had a healthy regard for sex; they considered it a normal human activity, imputed no malice to it, and indulged in it as frequently and as naturally as they indulged in eating and drinking, since it gave them so much sensual pleasure



Cave drawing, probably the oldest depiction of sex

and, well, there was nothing much to do during those days aside from work.

And because sex was not a taboo subject, ancient Kapampangans developed a rich vocabulary of sex words. Today, we avoid it during dinner and decent conversation; we talk about it only at bedtime, and when we do, we talk only in whisper, with matching blush. Sex words are “bad words,” and children are taught “not to say bad words,” and when they do, they are

punished. No wonder our once colorful Kapampangan language has dulled and our once rich vocabulary has shrunk.

Thank God, Bergaño recorded these ancient Kapampangan sex words and phrases in his dictionary before Christianity (Catholics during the Spanish Period and especially the more prudish Protestants during the American Period) began sweeping them under the rug. It took a Spanish friar (of all people) to scientifically collect them, describe their meanings and applications (the way Dr. Kinsey would do centuries later), and preserve them so that today we can rediscover them and celebrate the richness of our amanung sisuan. (In several instances the friar warns his readers—his fellow Spanish Augustinians—that a word is obscene, but it is obscene only to him and not to Kapampangans.)

### FEMALE ORGAN

The Kapampangan word for woman is babai, and from this, binabai, “effeminate;” magbabai, “dress like a woman” or “to take a



Ancient erotic sculptures at the Hindu temple in Khajuraho in Madhya Pradesh, designed not for sexual titillation but to promote fertility.



woman's role in a stage play;" magbabayi, "to womanize;" mangaludgud, "adulterer; pababayi, "one who needs a woman, who may help him."

Antac, noun, "the female organ referred to in a very obscene manner." A synonym is puqui, also mentioned in Bergaño's dictionary, although he adds that it was "not mentioned in polite society."

Tingguil, noun, "a part of the private parts of a woman." Bergaño warns, "an extremely obscene word." A form of it, matingguil, which means "the abundance of it" is, Bergaño writes, "a great insult" especially "to a black woman." Ancient Kapampangans also had a word for clitoris: tuca.

Utáng, noun, "nipple, teat, the tip of the breast."

**MALE ORGAN**

Meanwhile, the Kapampangan word for man is lalaqui, and from this we have the words linalaqui, "a manly woman; tomboyish;" calalaqui, "male genitals;" magcalalaqui, "to become a remarkable, notable man;" pagcalalaquinan, "to dare the manhood of another;" quelalaquinan, "all men, collectively, the male population" or "manliness" or "the family of the groom;" maglalaqui, "a woman playing a man's role in a stage play" or "a woman who dresses like a man."

Tauing, a variation of tauil (verb, "to dangle, like the tail of an ass'), means "to dangle" but specifically in reference "to the private parts of males."

Guilt, noun, frenum of the penis, i.e., the tissue under the penis glans that controls its movement

Tungtung, noun, "the top end, the pinnacle, like that of a bell tower... tip of a finger, or of the tongue, or of the nose." Another meaning in Bergaño: "the prepuce;" i.e., either the foreskin of the penis or the fold over the end of the clitoris.

Tularac, verb, "to become lifted, or raised, like the tail of a horse" or "an erect penis." Example: Macatularac ya, i.e., "It is raised," or "It is erect."

The modern-day word for penis, bútu, is also in Bergaño's dictionary; its euphemism is calalaqui. Butubutu is the clapper of the bell, maybe because it dangles like the male organ. Titi, the other popular term for penis today, is entered in the dictionary but its meaning is "to liquefy lard and to fry something in it." Pititian (chicharron) is thus called because it undergoes the process of titi.

Tuli, adjective, "circumcised" and Bergaño adds, "according to the bad practice of the land." He says that uncircumcised natives were "prevalent throughout the islands;" the few who availed themselves of the practice probably used what is still known today as batakan, an extremely simple and

unhygienic procedure involving only a razor blade and a wooden plank; before undergoing it, boys must bathe in the nearest river or brook supposedly to lower their body temperature and slow down bleeding, and chew guava leaves and then spew the spittle on the wound to anesthize it, which is probably why Bergaño described this folksy practice as "bad."

Siput, adjective, "uncircumcised." Bergaño said it was "prevalent in the islands" at the time. Today the common term for it is suput, probably a corruption of siput



**Ayut**, "to copulate," "to have sex"

**Atdac**, "the thrust of the erect male organ"

although I find it more descriptive.

**COITUS**

Ayut, verb, "to copulate, to have sex." This was the term the ancient Kapampangans used; it was roughly the equivalent of the F word; they didn't have any euphemism for it like "making love" or "sleeping with."

Catauan, "the body;" mipangatauan, two persons in a sexual act; Y Francisca pangatauanan ne ning asaua na, "Francisca is being made love to by her husband."

Atdac, verb, "to thrust a pole against the riverbank in order to push the boat away from the shore, or break its speed as it touches ground." That's the first meaning. Bergaño records another meaning: "the thrust of the erect male organ," and lists the conjugations, tacdac, tindac, tundac, which are different from the other conjugations of the same word: itatdac, tindac, itdac (referring to the more innocent first definition).

Quinnyud, verb, "to move the belly" as in "copulating;" the repeated forward thrusts of beasts and men during the sexual activity.

Batu, verb, the root word of maquipagbabatu, which signifies "access, with a sexual connotation." The original meaning refers to a mother rocking a child on her stretched legs.

Tacál, verb, "a male animal covering (i.e., copulating with) a female animal." Bergaño specifies the word refers only to animals. Past tense is tecal. To use it in a sentence: Patacal me ing asu mu keng asu ku, i.e., "Let your dog be

**Tungtung**, noun, "the top end, the pinnacle, like that of a bell tower... tip of a finger, or of the tongue, or of the nose." Another meaning in Bergaño: "the prepuce;" i.e., either the foreskin of the penis or the fold over the end of the clitoris.



Ancient mural painting of man with oversized penis, found in Pompeii



Ancient Egyptian erotica

**Bulasisi**, noun, the glans (head) of the penis; magbulasisi is "to masturbate oneself or another" although literally, it means "to push back the prepuce (foreskin) of the penis."

bred by my dog."

**FOREPLAY, SEDUCTION**

Lipuro, verb, "to touch lightly the nipples." Bergaño adds "like a sucking child" but the word really referred to "grown-ups but not innocently."

Sabó susu, literally, "breast soup," a rather graphic term for milk from the breast; caglasan, "a nursing mother who feels the surge of milk in her breasts," from the root word aglas, "exhilaration."

Guna, noun, "love potion, or love charm." Guinan is the person (man or woman) thus charmed; maguna, verb, to

become charmed.

Libi, "lust, lasciviousness, lewdness;" malibi, "lustful, lascivious;" paglibian, "the object of lust;" mipaglibi, "to arouse each other." Ali iyan picuyug ing lub yu yang mayap, nun e ing calibian yu, "It is not your goodwill that has bound you as friends, but your lust." A synonym is liud, "itching in the mouth, caused by eating gandum;" maliud is "one who has lust, although it does not sound as obscene as malibi." Another synonym is gatal. "If a mother who gets angry with her daughter who sinned, says, Intang nung mingatal ca, e micudcuran cabibi..." ("If the itching was so strong, why didn't you just scratch it with a clam shell?"), "she is really very angry!"

Culasâ, magculasâ, "to be resolute in sinning with a woman, with great gratification over the sin."

Linggaso is the



**Tiup**, "to blow"



**Bulditan**, "to sodomize"



**Lalac**, "to open the legs to allow something to pass through between them"



**Lipuro**, "to touch lightly the nipples"

Kapampangan word for seduce; Bergaño

defines it as "to molest, to rouse or incite to passion and lust someone who is innocent." Past tense is lininggaso.

Limbayung, nude "half-body downwards," i.e., the opposite of topless; the verb is maglimbayung, to strip oneself "from waist down." The Tagalog word for limbayung is hubo, while topless is hubad; thus, we have the phrase hubo't hubad which means totally nude.

Magbâbi, migbâbi, "incestuous persons;" cababian, "debauchery" and "bestiality."

Landi, noun, "immodesty, debauchery," opposite of datna (modesty); it specifically refers to women (malandi or

talandi; immodest men, on the other hand, are talasa); mipagtalasa, mipaglandi, making immodest approaches. Bergaño considered "pinching, pulling the ear" as examples of immodest acts. Also, cayocayo, "the shaking of the shoulders by women of loose conduct, when they walk swaying their arms backwards as if on hinges or are disjointed." The adjective latud describes "a woman who, while walking, goes twisting her body with gestures that are less modest;" maglatud, "to walk that way." Caliqui is "to titillate." Amuyut is "to attract, to charm, as in attracting a woman."

Bilac is "to spread the legs;" bilacbilac is "to skip or jump with open legs, like an

immodest girl;" a synonym is bicang, "to spread the legs or to open an oyster;" another synonym is lalac, "to open the legs to allow something to pass through between them." Bergaño records this saying: Ing b a b a i n g mamulang ala yang pasalacan caring sablang

lalaqui, "A coarse woman does not let any man escape her wiles."

Macayapâg, "placed on the table, like food," but it can also mean "a prostitute who is available to any comer, i.e., offering herself for whoring;" mânâbang, "one who waits to solicit; idiomatically, a prostitute offering her services to passersby."

#### MASTURBATION, WET DREAMS

Alung, verb, the root word of pialung, to amuse self, to play with a toy or "with one's private parts." Mialung is "to play with another, amusing each other, romping together."

Bulasisi, noun, the glans (head) of the penis; magbulasisi is "to masturbate oneself or another" although literally, it means "to push back the prepuce (foreskin) of the penis."

A synonym is burat, a verb whose past tense is mirat or birat, "to tuck up, not the clothes, but the skin of the penis, like what immodest boys do to uncover the glans (head). Magburat, "doing it on oneself."

Bait, verb, is the root word for all the terms that refer to birth, including babait ya ing pâle ("the rice grain is beginning to appear on the rice stalks") and ing atian a beitan ku ("the womb from which I came"). Then Bergaño lists the next meaning: "what issues forth or is discharged from the genitals" and cabaitan and

quebaitan, which means birthday today, actually meant "one who has nocturnal emission" (in today's parlance, a wet dream). The friar defines apaninap as "what was dreamed about, like an obscenity."

Banis, noun, "semen;" synonym is cupal, "the ejaculated semen; it is a dirty word." It was (and still is) very insulting to say, Cupal mo ("Your semen"). Mibanisan, which Bergaño wrote was "a dirty word that is rarely heard" (even in 1732), meant one who was either injected or stained with sperm.

Tulari and tulasuc are synonyms meaning "to spurt" but the difference is that tulari specifies that the liquid is spurting because it comes through a narrow passage, like urine through the urethra or wine through a small pipe; its closest synonym is tulabut, "to spurt with force, like water from a syringe, or from a sausage stuffer" (tulatulabut is "lack of modesty or disrespectful conduct of women"). The words were probably also used to indicate ejaculation.

#### SODOMY, ORAL SEX

Buldit, noun, buttocks, or the bottom of anything. The verbs binuldit, bilditan, bildit mean "to sodomize."

Tiup, verb, "to blow through a pipe, or reed, or the wind." Tiupan is "a cylinder through which air is blown." Bergaño does not ascribe any sexual connotation to this word, but I think it's where the word tiupa ("give a blowjob") came from; it could also have been directly borrowed from the Spanish chupar (to blow) because the indigenous term is labul. But how ironic that the only occasion I still hear this ancient word used is the Holy Mass ("ing tiup ning trumpeta"). By the way, trumpeta is also a borrowed word; the original Kapampangan word for trumpet is pacacac, defined by Bergaño as "a trumpet made from a large seashell."

Utút, verb, "to suckle the finger"—among children, quite an innocent thing to do; among adults, it's quite another story.

#### GENITAL DISORDERS

Bugal, a vaginal tumor; buglan is "a woman with such an ailment."

Sapat, noun, "filthiness, like that of dirt gathered on the folds or wrinkles of the neck or armpit." Today the word we often use is kibal. The adjective form, sapatan, refers only to women (probably because dirty men were an ordinary sight), e.g., sapatan a batal, "neck full of dirt;" sapatan a kilikili, "armpit full of dirt." Bergaño gives a third example: sapatan a yantac which he wrote he wouldn't dare say because "it is an obscene word, a very insulting remark." (I also will not translate it here for the same reason.)

Bugoc, "rotten egg," or "a man who is impotent;" baug, "sterile, man or woman."



# ANCIENT CUSS WORDS

Then as now, Kapampangans used graphic sex terms to insult

The Kapampangan term for “dirty words” is *panimalang*. These are not the sex words per se, but sex words specifically meant to insult another person. Examples:

*Antacnindumo!* (*antac ning indu mo*) is still used today in the corrupted forms *taknaydamo* and *taksyapumo*, respectively referring to your mother’s and grandmother’s private parts.

*Tumbungnibpamo!* (*tumbung ning ibpa mo*) and *Tumbungnindamo!* (*tumbung ning inda mo*), respectively referring to your father’s behind and your mother’s behind; *tumbung* means “anus” (while the more acceptable *buldit* is the general area of buttocks).

*Bugalnindumo!* (*bugal ning indu mo*), referring to your mother’s vaginal tumor; *manibugal* is “one who says these words” and *panigbulan* is one “to whom these words are spoken.”

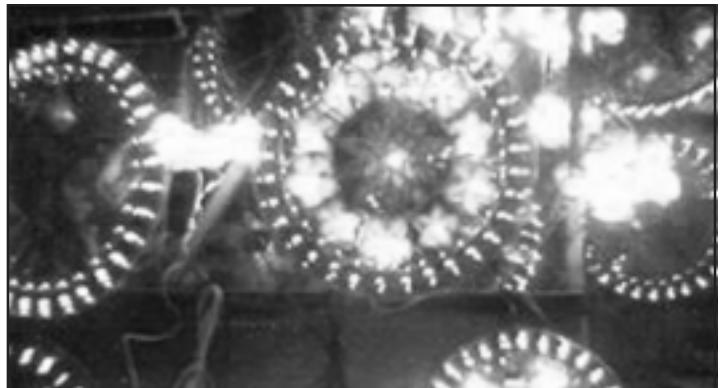
*Malanding patacal!* According

to US-based Ernie Turla, this is still used in his hometown Lubao; it is extremely insulting because it redundantly combines *malandi* (immodest) and *patacal* (whore) probably for emphasis; *tacal* is also used only for copulating animals, never persons. (R. Tangingco)



## Quiping (Tagalog *kiping*)

Quiping, “pancakes made brittle on a frying pan.” *Meguing quiping*, “said of a very brittle or fragile object, like a dry leaf, etc.” This is the same word used by the Tagalogs in the Pahiyas Festival in Lucban, Quezon for their brittle leaf-shaped decorations, made of ground rice.



## Capis

Capis, “seashells;” its verb form means “to gather them from the sea.” *Capisan*, *quepisan*, “the window panels sashed with processed seashells.” While it can be argued that the *capis* (today spelled *capiz*) may have been imported from other regions and merely processed here in Pampanga, the fact that the early Kapampangans had a word of their own for gathering the shells from the sea, plus the fact that some Pampanga towns are coastal or are very close to the sea (Macabebe, Sasmuan and Lubao), indicate that there used to be a *capis* industry in Pampanga. The *capis* lanterns which are so popular today and which people say we merely adopted from other regions, may have Kapampangan roots after all.

Although Pampanga was a bastion of Spanish colonial power, many indigenous Kapampangan surnames were not hispanized and have remained intact to this day—proof of the Kapampangans' intense patriotism and respect for their ancestors' legacy.

In 1849, Governor Narciso Claveria issued a decree urging all Filipinos to drop their native surnames and adopt Spanish surnames, based on a list prepared by the colonial government (Agoncillo, 1977). Unlike most other ethno-linguistic groups, Kapampangans opted to retain their indigenous surnames.

Long before the Spaniards came, Kapampangans chose names and later surnames that represented the person's or family's values, traits and experiences.

Bergaño's *Vocabulario* has included words that served as basis for some of these indigenous Kapampangan names/surnames. Their definitions or descriptions can be best understood using the following semantic approaches:

**Specialization and Generalization** Many surnames that have general meanings started as names of specific things.

**Examples:** Bituin or Batuin (n. star), Tala (n. morning star), Sese (n. pet), Bondoc (n. mountain), Basi (n. wine), Lulu (n. race), Bulaon (n. Molave), Manasan (n. fisherman), Apalit (n. narra), Lubao (n. river), Impun (n. trunk), Tulud (n. sprout), Bagang (n. molar), Palad (n. palm), Lara (n. pepper), Bulan (n. moon), Isip (n. mind).

**Radiation** The surname does not change its form but radiates variety of meanings when used. Examples: Bungad is used as noun (gate, opening, frontage, facade), as verb (to begin, to commence, to peep out, to blur) and adjective (croaky). Bulus or Bolos is used as a noun (flood, torrent) and verb (to scatter, to put into, to pour) and adjective (awful).

**Adulteration** A letter in the surname is manipulated, altered, or conceptualized so that by association, it takes on a flavor or style. Examples: Binuya (v. cultivated) to Viuya; Calasan (v. to remove, to detach) to Calasang, Bulan (n. moon) to

# ANCIENT KAPAMPANGAN SURNAMES

Dr. Rodrigo M. Sicat

Buan; Bilitug (n. fried corn seed) to Vitug; Lugay (v. to spread or hang loosely) to Luge; Pinlac (v. to whole sale) to Nacpil; Munag (n. light) to Nunag, Canlas (v. to found, succeed in office) to Lacsan, Lacsan (n. bundle) to Lacson; Magsaysay (v. to raise something) or Magsese to Manese.

**Figurative Extensions** Surnames are used in a figurative speech to extend meaning. Examples: Magat (n. noble title), Dula (n. table or throne), Gatdula (n. man with prominent stature), Lacandula (patriarchal head), Panlaqui (n. male role or status), Laquindanum (n. sea warrior), Maniago (n. powerful or persistent person), Lacanlale (n. noble man), Magdangal (n. man of honor), Soliman (n. resilient seed, i.e. bravery, boldness), Sicatuna or Sicat (n. rays of the sun, radiance), Datu (n. chieftain, rajah), Macabulus (n. liberty, freedom fighter), Simbulan (n. emblem), Punsalan (n. pioneer), Balabal (n. shawl), Galamay (n. members), Duya (n. cradle, hammock), Canlas (n. founder).

## Etymology

The etymology of indigenous Kapampangan surnames also presents the ancient history of the names with reference to the nature, origin and semantics vis-à-vis the identity of the Kapampangans. Other than those already presented, the cultural nature of the Kapampangans is reflected on what they do.

Examples of related surnames that involve the hunting prowess of the people include Mangubat (v. to hunt), Salenga (salay, sale - v. to search birds' nest), Sabat (v. to obstruct something), Sagmit (v. to seize something), Calapan (v. to look for, to search), Maun (v. to dig), Timbol (v. to harvest nest or

hunt birds in the grass field), Sangalang (v. to break a branch or stem), Sanggalang (v. to cover something, i.e. to bait wild pig or fowl).

Sample surnames that express the farming characteristics of the people include Manese (v. to raise or prepare something), Sese (v. to take care), Suba (v. to go up), Danan (v. to bring something, to remember), Dampil (v. to cultivate, to prepare the land).

Surnames that express carpentry or wood-carving skills of the people include Anloague (n. carpenter), Bulaon (n. molave), Apalit (narra), Impun (n. trunk), Lapid (v. to lop), Larin (v. to fix), Magbag (v. to detach), Manlapat (v. to measure).

The culinary prowess of Kapampangans is found in these surnames: Tamayo (v. to make precise), Payumo (v. to sweeten), Yumul (adj. sweet), Calara (adj. peppery), Manipon (v. to gather), Maniti (v. to fry), Mangilit (v. to slice), Manalac (v. to strain), Manapsal (v. to extract).

Examples of surnames that demonstrate the aesthetic predisposition of Kapampangans are Singian (sangi - v. to comb neatly), Lugay (v. to spread loosely), Maticas (adj. smart), Malagu (adj. beautiful), Masanting (adj. handsome), Mutuc (v. to crown), Quiambao (quiambay, kimbe - v. to sway), Guilas (adj. smart), Lalic (adv. well shaped), Lalu (adj. more), Mamucud (adj. rarest).

The virtues of the Kapampangans are also reflected in these sample

surnames: Tapang (adj. bravery), Tiglao (adj. prosperous, v. to continue), Sangil (adj. cruelty, i.e. bravery, boldness), Galingan (adj. smart), Bagsic (adj. ferocious), Sagad (Adv. extremely).

Their spirituality is also observed in the following surnames: Maglalang (n. Creator), Guina (n. God), Sambat (v. to adore, to worship), Pamintuan (v. to obey), Mamangun (v. to raise), Tayag (v. to lift, to raise), Pangilinan (v. to observe, to abstain), Masanque (adj. earnest, pure), Susi (n. key), Tala (n. star), Saplala (v. to succeed), Magpayo (n. counselor), Patawaran (v. to forgive), Langit (n. heaven, sky), Mallari (adj. possible), and Mayap (adj. good) among others.

## OTHER EXAMPLES

Sabile, "to stop over (at some port, or while doing an errand)"  
 Sagum, "to mix drinks"  
 Pinlac, "to buy wholesale"  
 Abad, "a little bleeding or slight wound"  
 Dué, "to crave, to desire"  
 Ibe, "to become intoxicated from chewing betel nut"  
 Yanga, "earthen vessel to puff rice in"  
 Babao, "wood from mangrove"  
 Tulabut, "to spurt"  
 Viray (or Biray), "kind of boat"  
 Canlas, "to succeed in office"  
 Calma, "luck, fate"  
 Cano, "to make allegations"  
 Aldaba, "crossbar that secures door or window"  
 Sanggalang, "to disobey"  
 Simbulan, "shone upon"  
 Suba, "to navigate upstream, or against the wind"  
 Iral, "actual presence, personal attendance or care"  
 Laus, "a hole or fissure that passes from one side to the other;" idiomatically, laus a sinta, laus a lungcut, laus quing puso, "heartfelt love, heartfelt sorrow"  
 Tayag, "to lift"  
 Talangpas, "steep banks"  
 Bacay, "ambush, waylay;" also, "hand-basket for fishing"  
 Abat, "to accost"  
 Cubacub, "a certain game, no longer in use"  
 Saplala, "praise"  
 Pilapil, "clearing of fields for sowing"



# FAMILY TIES

Because they kept track even of distant relations in their extended families, our ancestors had terms for every branch, twig and leaf in their family trees

By Robby Tangingco

Like all Filipinos, Kapampangans value family relationships, try to extend the circle of relatives as much as they can, and will do anything, risk everything, including job, marriage, friends and personal happiness, to protect their family and their family's honor. The concept of *kadaya* (consanguinity) as the basis for defining the Kapampangan, emanates from the premise that all Kapampangans descended from the same family tree and therefore share the same bloodline.

The following words show that ancient Kapampangans extended their family ties not only horizontally but also vertically, i.e., they tried to connect not only to the most distant relatives but also to the earliest ones :

## ASCENDANTS, DESCENDANTS

Nunu, "grandfather or grandmother;" *nunung sepupunan*, "immediate grandparents;" *nunung tud*, "great grandparents;" *nunung talampacan*, "great great grandparents;" *canunununuan*, "forefathers." The common term today for grandparent is *apo* (or *apu*); the early Kapampangans used this word, according to Bergaño, as "a word of respect and tenderness in addressing a father, or a mother, or a grandparent." Priests and other adult strangers were also called *apo* to reassure an intimidated child "that he may not be afraid."

*Apú*, or *apó* (stressed on the last syllable), is the Kapampangan word for "grandchild;" *apúng sepupunan*, "the child of a son or daughter;" *apúng tud*, "great grandson; the son of my grandson;" *apúng talampacan*, "great great grandson; son of my great grandson;" *apúng cucu*, "the son of my great great grandson." Bergaño explains that these terms applied to both male and female grandchildren.

*Capusû*, "children of the same mother," from the root word *pusû*, "groin, belly."

A synonym is *cayatian*, "those coming from the same womb."

*Palipi* is "descendant;" *pamalipian*, "from whom one descends;" *capalipian*, "the lineage." A synonym of *palipi* is *suli*, "banana shoot" but idiomatically, "descendant, starting with the son downwards;" *manyuli*, "to have a son." Our ancestors also used *suli* as a term of endearment for their sons: *Iya ing suli cu.* Meanwhile, *maquisuli* means "to be close to someone, like a son to his mother or a wife to her husband, like the *suli* of a banana plant."

## PARENTS, STEP-PARENTS

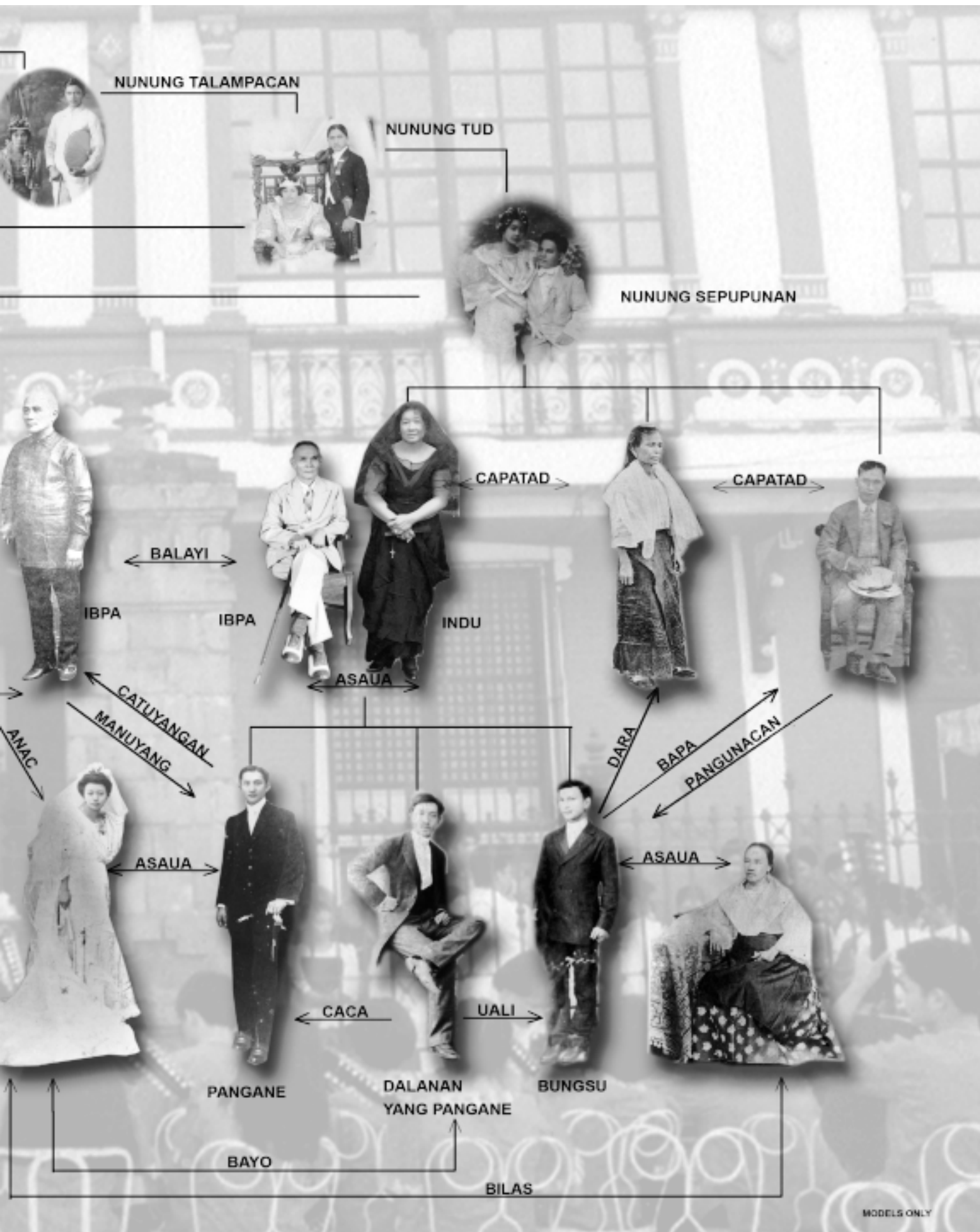
*Ibpa*, "father;" Bergaño writes that *ibpa* "is also a term of endearment;" *paibpa*, "to be called a father." *Paibpan da cu*, "They call me Father" (Fray Bergaño obviously referring to himself). *Mi-ibpa* is "father and son (or child)."

*Indu*, "mother;" *mi-indu*, mother and child; *cainduan*, "those of one birth, born at one time, like a litter of pigs;" *gaindu* or *tagaindu*, "the prolific female animal, the egg-layer;" a synonym of *indu* is *inda*, "mother, called with endearment." Fray Francisco Coronel, OSA, in his *Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Pampanga* (1621), writes that "*ynda* is never followed by a pronoun, but *yndo* is." Example: *Cang yndo co*, "To my mother" but never *Cang ynda co*.

*Bapa*, "uncle" or "stepfather," although "sometimes it is only a word of

CANUNUNUNUAN





MODELS ONLY



endearment, in the manner of *ibpa*," i.e., you can call any older man 'Uncle.' Acung maquibapa queya, uling pangunacan na cu, "I call him Uncle because I am his nephew."

Dara, "aunt" or "stepmother;" midara, "an aunt and her niece."

Asaua, "a husband or a wife;" ipangasaua, "the dowry;" pangasauan, "the girl he is getting married to;" miasaua, "the married couple;" paquiasaua, "to give in marriage;" mamiasaua, "the officiating priest." Maquipus is "concubine, or kept woman," from the root word *ipus*, "to attend to with care." Obviously, men got concubines primarily to have someone look after them; they were no better than our maids (whom we also call *ipus* or *maquipus*) today.

#### CHILDREN, ALL KINDS OF THEM

Anac, "a son or daughter, an infant or a small boy;" manganac, "to have a child, to give birth;" panganac, "the begotten, the one born;" panganacan, "the place where one is born;" pipanganacan, "place of birth" or "the placenta;" palanacan, "the uterus." Maquipanganac is "one of the two living in concubinage." A synonym of *anac* is *sulul*, "a sprout; a son; an offspring."

Pangáne (diphthong, *panganay*), "the firstborn;" Mangane la, "said of a couple becoming parents for the first time."

Dalánan yang pangáne, "the one who follows the firstborn; the second-born child."

Bungsu, or *bungso*, "strictly speaking, the youngest child, or the youngest among siblings;" but it could also mean "any little child whom the speaker calls *bungsu* out of endearment."

Inacan, or *inanacan*, "adopted child."

Inanac, "godchild."

Anac sulip, "illegitimate child."

Bitô, "son of an unfaithful wife, attributed as her husband's."

Capusû, "children of the same mother," from the root word *pusû*, "groin, belly;" *pupusû*, "to tuck up something on the belly" or "to receive something or somebody with affection;" *pusunan*, "that which is received thus;" *mamusun*, "pregnant woman;" *pemusun*, "the child that is in the womb." A synonym of *capusû* is *catatian*, "those coming from the same womb."

Maiqui, "spoiled child," from the root word *iqui*, "the train of a (mother's) skirt."

Anac a bayung tubu, "a child in early adolescence" and "the so-called younger generation;" *maguintauo*, "to be considered a grown-up man;" *maquitaotauo*, "a young boy who is involving himself in matters for grown-up men;" *matautauo*, "one who is a little mentally retarded."

Nucan, 'nephew;' *pangunacan*, 'nephew, son of your brother, or of a cousin;' it also means 'a stepson or stepchild.'

#### SIBLINGS

Capatad, "brother;" micapatad, "two who are brothers." Maquicapatad ca quing santa cofradia, "Join the holy brotherhood or confraternity." Patad is "to cut." Caputul is also used to mean the same thing.

Caca, "older sibling, as he is called or addressed by younger brothers and sisters." Bergaño adds, "It is also a word of respect to any older person."

Uali, "younger brother;" also "a word of endearment;" mialian, "one who could no longer be a uali, because another has been born after him."

#### IN-LAWS

Catuyangan, "parents-in-law" (Tagalog *biyanan*); also applied to "the siblings and cousins of the parents-in-law;" its verb form means "to become a son-in-law to the parent's of one's spouse" or "to become parents-in-law of the spouse of a son or daughter." Micatuyangan is "affinity between parent(s)-in-law and the son/daughter-in-law." Today we mispronounce it as *catuwangan*.

Bayó (diphthong, *bayao*), "brother-in-law or sister-in-law;" Mibayó ca ta, "We are brothers-in-law."

Manuyang, "son-in-law or daughter-in-law;" *menuyangan*, "one taken in as a son-in-law."

Baláyi, "reciprocal name for parents of a married couple;" *cabalayi*, "one of them;" *mibalayi*, "one corresponding to his or her counterpart;" *balaynan*, *belaynan*, "one taking another as a co-parent-in-law" through the marriage of their children;

*ipamalayi*, "the person proposed for a marriage, be he the *baintauo* (young man), be she the *dalaga* (young woman); *maquipamalayi*, "one who joins the party in discussing or seeking the hand of the bride formally from her parents, or arranging for the coming marriage"

*Bilas*, "in-laws, the spouses of two brothers or sisters;" *mibilas*, "those who are thus related;" *bilasan*, "one taken such, by marriage."

Canayúnan, "distant relative." Canayunan cu ya, "He is my distant relative" (literally, "We are congruent in terms of blood") from the root word, *nayún*, "agreeable, coordinated, congruent."

Dayi, "relative; of the same lineage;" *mirayi*, "two belonging to the same generation or lineage;" *dayi yang arian*, "he is of royal lineage;" *dayi yang mapia*, "he is of noble lineage." A synonym of *dayi* is *capun*, "relative;" *capuncapunan* is "distant relative" (Coronel, 1621). *Pisan* is "cousin" while *pisanpisanan* is "distant cousin."

The phrase *E la misicamoangan* means "people who hardly know their relatives, because their parents never bothered to inform them about their lineage."

*Inanac*, "godchild"  
*Inanacan*, "adopted child"  
*Anac sulip*, "illegitimate child"  
*Bitô*, "son of an unfaithful wife"

*Catuyangan*, "parents-in-law," today mispronounced as "*catuwangan*;"  
*Baláyi*, "reciprocal name for parents of a married couple;"  
*Balaynan*, "one taking another as a co-parent-in-law"

*Maquipus*, "kept woman;"  
*Dalanan pangane*, "second-born child"

## Pluralizing *anac*

To indicate plurality of offspring, Fray Coronel (1621) showed how: by merely duplicating the first syllable of the word. Thus, *Di Pedro ylang mianac*, "Pedro and his son (or child)" becomes *Di Pedro ylang miayanac* (or *miaanac*), "Pedro and his sons (or children)."





Teuagan, "godfather;" today mispronounced as tegauan

## THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING GODPARENT

*Kumare, kumpadre* -- co-parents shared responsibility and spiritual affinity with the parents

It seems that the ancient Kapampangans took godparenting very seriously, as shown by the following words:

Tauag, "to call" but the adjective form teuagan means "a godfather;" maneuagan, "to seek a patron for anything;" mipaneuagan, "I stand as a witness in your wedding today, tomorrow you will do the same for me;" mitauagan, "those who call each other by the title of

The early Church institutionalized godparenting to ensure the spiritual/material welfare of the child in case of parents' death or abandonment (which was common)

godparenthood;" patauagan, "the spiritual affinity between a child's parents and his godparent." Note that today the word teuagan has been corrupted to tegauan. The "spiritual affinity" has also been replaced by the distasteful practice of getting as many as 10 pairs of godparents based not on any affinity but on the godparents' wealth, power or reputation.

Micasampaga, "contracting affinity between parents and godparents;" maquisampaga or maquicasampaga, "those entering into such an affinity;" casampagan, "one of those who are in such an affinity."

Micádalayap, "said of two becoming compadres, or the acquiring of spiritual relationship between the father and the godfather of a child;" dalayap is the lemon fruit; similarly, micádalandan, "the spiritual affinity among the parents and the godparents of a child;" dalandan is the orange fruit.

Misapá, "mutual relationship between

parents and godparents;" sapá is "chewing betel nut and leaf," thus misapa indicates the bond forged when parents and godparents chewed betel together, maybe even exchanged chewed betel, like the practice of drinking from one cup containing each other's blood.

Macatinape, "the relationship between parents and godparents" (shades of the Judeo-Christian practice of "breaking bread together").

Micalatic, "the spiritual affinity between a child's parents and his godparent(s);" from the root word latic, "coconut oil."

Samác, "partner in a contract, or tenancy, or baptism, confirmation or wedding;" samacan, "the compadre, co-godfather;" misamac, "the father and the godfather;" pisamacan, "the godchild;" casamac is "tenant."



Micalatic, "the spiritual affinity between a child's parents and his godparents." Latic means coconut oil.

## Symbols of godparenting



Micasampaga, "contracting affinity between parents and godparents." Sampaga means flower



Micadalayap, "said of two becoming compadres, or the acquiring of spiritual relationship between the father and the godfather of a child." Dalayap is the lemon fruit.



Misapá, "mutual relationship between parents and godparents." Sapá is "chewing betel nut and leaf."



Micatinape, "the relationship between a child's parents and godparents." Tinape is bread.





# BODY LANGUAGE

Below is a list of Kapampangan terms for body parts. Most of them have survived, probably because of usage (the human body being most accessible and constant). There are some surprises, though:

Buntoc, "head;" mabuntoc, "literally, a big-headed person."

Bican, "the skull;" it also means "coconut shell;" pibibicanan, "empty coconut shell."

Buac, "hair;" tutug, "bald; hairless;" ical, "curly hair; not kinky like that of a Negro;" magical, "to curl the hair purposely by making braids, plaits or ringlets;" iniclán, inical, "the hair thus curled."

Bumbunan, "the top of the head;" pulupulu, "the crown, or vortex-like formation of the hair, off-center towards the back of the head;" pulupuluan, "one who has such a formation." Pulupuluan mu ya is "to look for such formations on the hair of a horse, ox or carabao, as basis for good or bad harvest, and good fortune or bad fortune to the owner."

Tungdun, "nape; back part of the neck;" tingdunan, "that which is held at the nape;" matundun, "proud, stiff-necked, one who does not bow or nod;" mamatungdun, "one who sows discord."

Canuan, "the forehead;" macanuan, "prominent forehead" or "wide forehead;" culutun, "wrinkles, like those on the forehead, eyebrows;" butlig, "pimples."

Malingmingan, "the temples; sides of the head."

Pisngi, "cheek, that which is below the temple." Mamisngi, "said of the monkey when it inflates that past filling it with the food he eats, storing it there, and does not immediately gulp it down; idiomatically, "one who puts something in the pocket secretly."

Mata, "eyes;" mamata, memata, "to come and see; to discover with own eyes." Mamamatacan bina, mamatanacan da! "What a great observer you are!" Matan, metan, amatan, "that which was seen." E la pa mimata, "They have not yet opened their eyes, like newborn kittens." Luâ,



"tears;" mangâle, "tears running down, falling down."

Quile (diphthong, quilai), "eyebrow."

Talucab mata, "eyelids."

Irap, "eyelashes."

Arong, or arung, "the nose, or the snout of a beast;" arung arung, "the nose-like notch made on a log so that it can hauled or dragged;" palpad, or palpad a arung, "flat-nosed;" pilpil a arung, "flattened nostrils, i.e., narrow nostrils."

Paling, "cheek and jaw;" tampaling, or tumpaling, "a slap on the cheek."

Alimpuyu, "mole;" alimpuyuan, "marked with moles."

Asboc, "the mouth;" bunganga, "mouth, only when referred to in disdain or anger;" mabunganga, "one who talks loudly, who opens his mouth too much."

Balungus, "the border of the lips;" bitas a balungus, "missing front teeth" or "one who cannot keep secrets, or cannot keep his mouth shut;" magatal a balungus, "foul-mouthed;" simpac, "a cleft mouth;" sima, "to shut up; to close the mouth or the lips;" synonyms are ticum and icum.

Labî, "lip;" malabi, "thick-lipped."

Ipan, "teeth;" miipanan, "the child teething;" bungi, "toothless, lacking teeth,

notched, hare-lipped or with a clogged nose;" bungal is limited to "toothless."

Bagang, "the molars."

Guilaguid, "the gums."

Dila, "tongue;" madila, "talkative;" manilâ, "to lick;" alual, "to clean the mouth with the tongue, like when some food remains between the molars;" uaua, "saliva;" babas, "drivel, spittle;" mauaua, "abundance of saliva."

Gumi, "beard or moustache;" magumi, "one who has a full beard;" maningumi, "one who shaves off his beard or moustache with a razor, or by pulling each hair out with one's fingers;" malabulung labung, "beard that pricks."

Babâ, "the chin, not the beard."

Balugbug, "ears;" pingul, "earlobe; the soft lower part of the ear;" mapingul, "with large earlobes;" talinga, or pingui, "one with flabby ears."

Tilauo, "the epiglottis;" matilauo, "said of one who shouts or cries out loudly;" related to the Tagalog tilaok.

Ngalangala, "the palate close to the epiglottis."

Bátal, "the neck." Masipag a batal, "great eater." Meguin alaua batal, "voracious eater, because alaua is that net at the end of a pole for plucking fruits from branches, or drawing fish from a pen." Batálan, "to count how many mouths to feed." Cabu, "beating of the vein on the neck;" also, "to feel the heartbeats between the chest and the throat."

Almunan, "oesophagus" from the root word almun, "to swallow" (alduc is "to drink"); related to the Tagalog lalamunan.

Bagâ, "lungs."

Pagó (diphthong, pagao), "shoulder, shoulders;" mapagó, "endowed with strong shoulders."

Balicat, or baligat, "the clavicle or bone from the shoulder to the chest." Today we carelessly use the word balicat to mean shoulder.

Quiliquili, "armpit;" "one who strings up fishes (their gills likened to armpits);" quiliquian, "the fishes strung up;" "said of dikes or dams opened or rerouted to an alley or gutter."



Sico, "elbow;" masico, "abundant;" misisicuan, "elbowing one another." Mexico town, formerly called Masico, probably got its name from the Kapampangan word for abundant.

Camauo, "the fist, or hand closed tightly," opposite of palad, "open hand; palm of the hand;" Ninung quinamauo quetang dalaga? Uling mecamo ya. "Who laid his hand on the maiden? Because she has been violated."

Taliri, "finger;" taliringbitis, "toes;" taliring libutad, "the middle finger;" tindaragul, "the index finger, or thumb of the hand" or "the big toe of the foot."

Tagguiang, "rib;" panagguiangan, "bone-thin; ribs are showing."

Susu, "breasts;" sisuan, "the milk," "the breasts" or "the mother." Macasusu, "suckling on the breast;" pasusu, "to let to suckle;" pasuasan, "the one allowed to suckle." Poning susu, "the side." Ding sablang ilug mipacasusu la quing dayatmalat, literally "All rivers suckle at the sea," but to be more accurate, they empty into the sea. When the cigar we are smoking is loosely rolled, we say, Anti catang sususu quing e ta indang tauo (literally, "It's like we are suckling from someone who is not our mother").

Pusú, "the heart."

Culuung, "the torso;" the real meaning is "barrel for distilling liquor in a tavern" but since the human torso has the same form as a barrel (hence, the term "barrel-chested"), the term applied to the torso as well.

Atian, "belly; bosom;" mayatian, "pot-bellied."

Dungus, "stomach; its exterior part is called malatulud bangcal."

Pusad, "navel" or "umbilical cord."

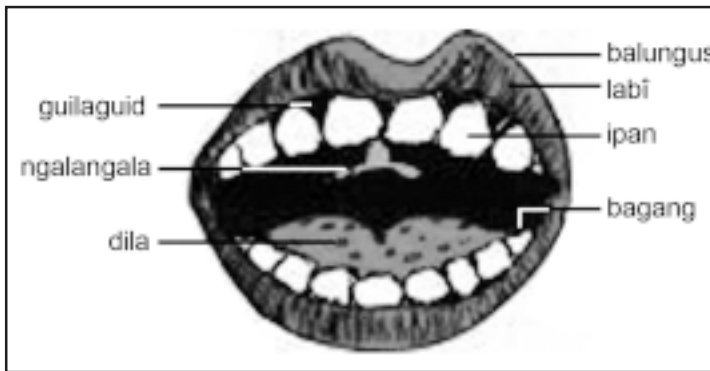
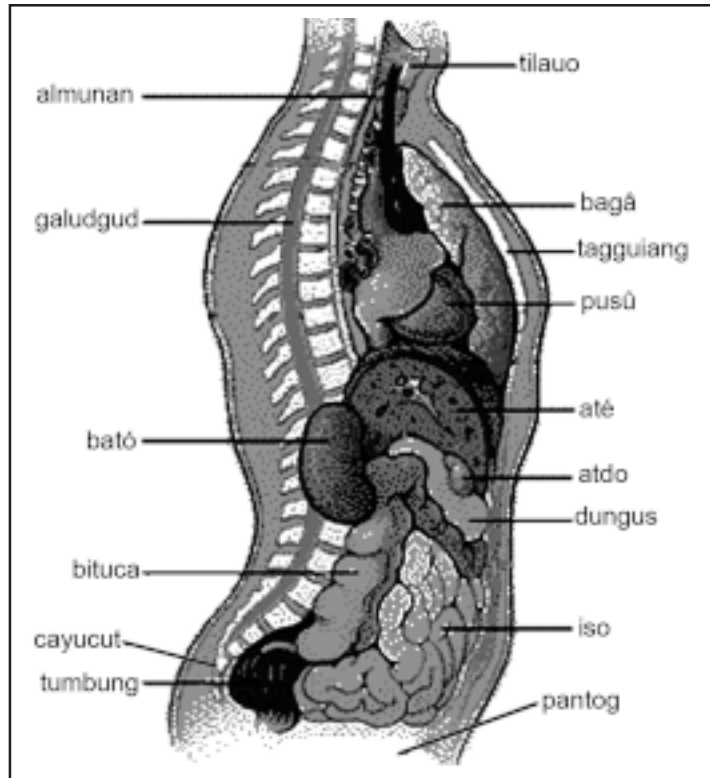
Bituca, "large intestines;" iso (diphthong, isao), "small intestines;" pabituca is "to put stones, dry leaves and other rubbish inside a wall as fillings."

Até (diphthong, atay), "the liver" or "the center of a pongso, or vat for solid sugar."

Bató, "the kidneys."

Sepupunan, "lap, or bosom" from the root word sapupu, "to hold on the lap."

Labut, "the paunch, the belly that con-



tains the excrement."

Pusu, "groin, belly;" mapusu, "one with a protruding or prominent belly;" pemusun, "the child that is in the womb."

Atdo, "the gall; bile."

Pantog, "bladder."

Auac, or auacan, "waist;" inauacan, "the one embraced at the waist" (probably related to the Tagalog words hawak and hawakan, 'to hold'); matinauac, "slender waistline; like a lady wearing a corset."

Butul, "a bone" or "a seed;" verb, "to take out the bones by removing the meat;" mabutul, "bony; lean" and "also a species of banana."

Galudgud, "the backbone;" galudguran, "protruding backbone, like that of some horses, so sharp that it can cause chafing to the rider's buttocks."

Cayucut, "the end of the spinal column at the buttocks."

Buldit, "buttocks" or "anus;" tumbung, "orifice, anus; a dirty word" but Bergaño explains "the word itself is not bad, but the way or motive in saying it is

bad."

Singit, "the groin, the part next to the thigh; the joint of the hip and the belly;" also, "the notch of an arrow."

Ita, "the inner side of the thigh, up to the groin;" "the outer or opposite side is papaluan" (where one is spanked). Pun ning ita is the point the thigh begins at groin area.

Bútu, "the male sex organ;" the euphemism is calalaqui; butubutu is "the clapper of a bell."

Puqui, "the female sex organ, a dirty word, not mentioned in polite society;" synonym is antac, "the female organ referred to in a very, very obscene manner."

Báyag, "testicles;" bayag cambing, "a well known herb;" mabayag, "endowed with large testicles" or "hernious;" bayagan, "to grip or seize at the testicles, as in a fight."

Puad, "the thigh, the upper part of the leg."

Tud, "the knee, or knees."

Lulud, "the shin;" malulud, "to be injured at the shin."

Butit, "calves of the legs."

Bucungbucung, "ankle;" malabulacac, "the ankle or the kneecaps" (because they are shaped like the bulacos, or fruit of the gugu vine).

Dan, "the part of a leg that is above the heel, serves as a support for the whole leg."

Bitis, "feet."

Talampacan, "the sole of the foot;" talimpucan, "one who is not sure-footed, who easily slips or slides;" bissuang, "fissures or cracks in the feet."

Bubung talampacan (literally, the roof of the sole), "the heel or instep"

Catat, "skin;" catátan, "to skin, to flay;" quinátat or quetátan, "the animal that is flayed or skinned;" the common term balát applies to bark, peeling, husk, etc. as well as to the skin; balatán means a thing that has a thick layer or bark, i.e., "if the bark is too thick, reaching close to the core, it is not a good material for the asias (house post); mabalat, "to be lashed with a leather whip;" belatán, "one who is lashed with a leather whip."

Lamad, "the thin film between the thick skin and the flesh;" also amad, "the thin film under the skin (all of us have it);" amaran, inamaran, "the flesh from which it is removed."

Laman, "flesh."

(R. Tangingco)



# A catalogue of diseases and deformities

Some ailments have more terms than others, which means they were more common

By Robby Tangingco

People today live under the threat of a pandemic, always grappling with rapidly mutating strains of virus and increasingly resistant forms of cancer, and from time to time succumbing to outbreaks of cholera, tuberculosis, influenza, dengue fever, malaria, pneumonia and a whole catalogue of diseases.

But this is nothing compared to the multitude of illnesses that ravaged entire populations and caused untold suffering on the lives of our ancestors. Because there were no hospitals and pharmacies, even simple fevers could lead to fatal complications. Which was why our ancestors kept tab of ailments, symptoms and remedies. Bergaño recorded many of them (one could tell by the number and variety of terms which diseases were prevalent at the time): Talamtam, “the intestines bubbling up, or

making a stir, like in a stomach ache.”

Talam, or talamtalam, “to suffer an upset stomach, when there are signs of vomiting.” Micalpac a lura, “one who spits a lot due to an upset stomach.”

Taguilid, “diarrhea; loose bowel movement;” managuilid, “to suffer diarrhea, with blood (dysentery) or without blood;” magdaguis, magdaraguis, “one who has severe diarrhea or dysentery.”

Magbulus, “to have diarrhea;” bulus, “to pass wind with bellows (loose bowel movement);” lapipit, “sound that accompanies an involuntary evacuation” (Lalapitpit ya buldit).

Sasal, “to hurry to go out;” masasasal, “like a baby which is about to be born” or “when you feel the pressure of the bowels.” Sasasalan na cu, “I am in a hurry to go to the privy!”

Tilis, “excrement that comes out violently, in semi-liquid form, or in spurts;” mitilisan, “like the underwear or drawers.”

Atut, “fart;” palatut, “one who farts easily or frequently;” mipalatut, “spontaneous farting.”

Culunyayan, “swelling of the lymph glands, dry ones, including those in the neck;” manguluinyayan, “the appearance of a swollen lymph gland.”

Tulúc, “a certain ailment of the ears;” tulúcan, “one afflicted with such”

Buclo (diphthong, buclao), “goiter;” buclauan, “a person with goiter.”

Baiqui, “mumps;” baiquian, mibayquian, “to have the mumps”

Bulán, “stained or marked with white spots on the feet or hands, caused by the sickness called bugsuc; mibulanan, “to be afflicted with them or with bugsuc.”



Bugus, "scarred from little itches; in Candaba there are many who have these scars: Bugus la asbuc ("They have scarred mouths")."

Bucoco (diphthong, bucocao), "malignant abscess, tumor;" bucocauan, "one who has such an abscess;" mengabucocauan, "one afflicted with many abscesses."

Bayâ, "abscess, large boil or furuncle;" bayán, "one who has it;" mabayâ, "sore, swollen;" Pangabayán cung binâ, "I feel sore all over."

Sayô, "pus, corrupted matter, or blood oozing from a wound;" nana, "pus;" verb, "to drip or drop from the infected part;" nanán, "one who has nana" or "the laceration that has nana."

Tigsa, "a boil, furuncle."

Apsal, "to squeeze, e.g., a boil or an abscess."

Nacnac, "to putrefy, to rot, to decay; the abscess or the wound becoming swollen, opened or ripened;" panacnacan, "cause it to swell or to spread."

Pio, "gout, rotting abscess;" mipiyuan, or mangapio, "if one has them in many parts of the body."

Gatal, "an infectious disease, incurable, in which the body is afflicted with putrefying pustules or tumors;" Bergaña adds, "I do not know if it is leprosy or malignant tumors;" gatlan, "a person who has this disease; if it's a horse, it's bucucan;" magatal a sboc, "one who talks too much."

Cuyamcuyam, "astir, like worms in a festering wound."

Tunga, "ingrowing nail, or a whitlow."

Aua, manaua, "to infect;" mengaua, "to become infected with another's disease;" cauauan, "that which is infectious,



**Buclo**, "goiter"

like measles, smallpox, ringworms or bad habits;" micaua, "those who infect one another, e.g., you infect me with your ringworms, I infect you with my mange."

Inâ, "debility;" mainâ, "to become weak."

Landang, "indisposition

of the body." Malandang landang cu, "I am somewhat indisposed."

Bungad, "sniffing, like one with nasal congestion."

Laguclaguc, "to sip or sap the mucous like what children are used to doing."

Galungung, "the chill that precedes a fever."

Lagnat, "fever;" alibub, "burning feeling;" malibub, "one who has such feeling of extreme heat;" galucguc, "fever chills; to shake with tertian fever;" ligquig, "trembling due to fear, or cold, or after urinating."

Balisbisan, "one with profuse flow of perspiration."

Senat, "indisposition of the body." Today we use the word to mean "a little fever." Sick people lay on a dáse (diphthong, dasay), "palm mat;" iráse, "to use it as bedding;" Irase me ing salunan, "Lay the sick down on the mat."

Benat, "relapse;" mabenat, "one who is recovering from his sickness suffers a relapse;" it can also mean "to fumigate the sick person who has a relapse."

Meguintalamurî, "a person who has red eyes due to lack of sleep;" bugo, "swelling of the eyes due to too much crying."

Balisaso (diphthong, balisasao), "a urinary trouble or ailment;" balisasauan, "one with such an ailment."

Mabayag, "one with hernia."

Bugal, "a certain sickness of the female genitals;" buglan, "a woman with such an ailment."

Bucul, "a cyst, or wart;" buculan, "one who has it."

Bulanbulan, "said of one who gets sick in the head every month, which may be migraine."

Lango, "headache, or indisposition, or pain in the head;" malango, "to suffer a headache."

Liyu, "swirling in the head, vertigo, dizziness;" maliyu, "to faint, to swoon;" talacaliyu, "one who gets dizzy often;" a synonym is liping, or maliping, "swooning of the head, causing the afflicted to break in cold sweat, like due to hunger."

Siguig, "to pass out, or faint, like an old man, or like one who suffered a fall, becomes unconscious, but is revived later."

Langib, "scab on wounds."

Bulutung, "smallpox;" bulutungan, "one who has smallpox" or "one who is pock-marked or scarred by smallpox."

Butlig, "pimples;" butligan, "one who has pimples;" synonym is daliuauat (pronounced daliwawat), "pimples that come out on the face;" daliuauatan, "one who has them;" icadaliuauat, or macadaliuauat, "the cause of pimples, like wine."

Today the word has been corrupted to daliyauat, probably influenced by the Tagalog taghiyawat.

Cutil, "mole; wart."

Galugu, "warts, corns;" mangagaluguan, "one afflicted with many warts."

Lipac, "corn; callousness on the hands and feet;" lipacan, full of corns on the hands or feet;" lipacan a balungus (literally, mouth covered with corns), "talkative fellow."

Gutli, "scab; skin disease;" gutlian, "one who has scabies."

Agad, "smarting, painful irritation of the armpit, caused by minute particles or a sore."

Tagube (diphthong, tagubay), "welt, bruise, allergies, swellings, due to abundance, or heat of the blood;" mitaguben, or mangatagube, "to have them."

Buni, "ringworm;" buning manoc, "the ordinary kind;" buning balictad, "the festering kind;" sicat, "to become full, like a body with ringworms." Sisicat buning catauan, "The body is covered with ringworms."

Bungal, "toothless;" also, "one with broken nails, hooves, like a horse."

Bungi, "toothless, lacking teeth, notched, hare-lipped, or with a clogged nose."

Sungal, "toothless;" sumungal, "to pull the tooth."

Batulalangan, "shortsighted; one who can hardly see at twilight or nightfall;" mibatulalanganan, "to suffer from shortsightedness."

Bilig, "cloudiness of the eye (cataract);" biligan, "one who has this white spot in the eye(s)."

Pulá, "shortness of vision." Mapula ya mata, "He has weak eyesight."

Uram, or uramuram, "to blink, like one who has sore eyes, or is half-asleep or not yet fully awake."

Talamuri, "a bird with red eyes;" maging talamuri, "a person who has red eyes due to lack of sleep."

Mabutiti, "to become poisoned by the butiti (a poisonous fish, not tadpoles); its



**Bucoco**, "malignant abscess or tumor;"

**Bayâ**, "large boil or furuncle;"

**Tigsa**, "a boil or furuncle"



**Cuyamcuyam**, "astir, like worms in a festering wound"

antidote is the evos (buri leaves), or its paste."

Butad, "swollen, due to coldness or a congested vein or artery."

Bulati, "earthworm, or those inside the body;" bulatian, "one who has them."

Culapad, "intestinal worms (amoeba);" culapdan, "one who has them;" cuyam, "astir, like worms."

Cumad, "louse," plural, lice; Bergaño lists the Kapampangán terms for the stages in the life of a louse: *lias*, then *cumad*, then *culisap*, and finally, the full-grown *cuto*.

Tuma, "body lice, not head lice;" probably Bergaño is referring to crab lice, or pubic lice; *mituman*, "to be infested with these lice."

Laso, "blisters inside the mouth (fever blisters);" *milasuan*, "to have them."

Liud, "itching in the mouth, caused by eating the *gandus*."

Langutngut, "gnashing of teeth, like one who grinds the teeth while sleeping, and more so if it is a native who is doing it;" *pilalalangutngutan*, "against whom one gnashes his teeth."

Linyu, "tingling pain in the teeth;"

*Manlinyu cu talampacan*, "I feel a tingling pain in my sole (because I walk barefoot)."

*Liman*, or *mangaliman*, "longing for something, like the fancies of a concubine woman," like *pamita*, or *mamita*, "to crave or hanker, like one who, being sick and has no appetite, is asked if there is anything he craves for."

*Lunas*, a small wild bush, known

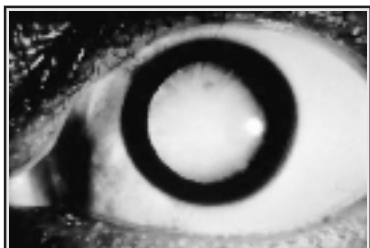


**Cuto**, "head lice;" life stages of the *cuto*: *lias*, then *cumad*, then *culisap*, and finally the full-grown *cuto*



**Tuma**, "body lice, or crab lice or pubic lice"

to be bitter; they say it is an antidote to poison, venom;" thus, "any antidote against any kind of pain or sickness is called



**Bilig**, "cloudiness of the eye (cataract)"

*lunas*."

*Luné* (diphthong, *lunay*), or *maglunelune*, "to become soft, feeble, like the body of a tall and flaccid person."

*Yagang*, "enfeebled;" *mayagang*, "to become feeble,

weakened."

*Yagquin*, "lean, thin;" *managquin*, "to become reduced to bony thin;" a synonym is *yayat*.

*Matictic*, "one dried or grown thin by sickness;" *uling tinictic ne ning saquit*, "because the illness has drained him."

*Sauanin*, "a serious ailment, like that of the heart."

*Yacyac*, "a swollen spleen; to become jaundiced;" *yacyacan*, "a person afflicted thus."

*Quicquan*, "aborted fetus;" *maquicquan*, "to have a miscarriage."

*Atuc*, "to cry in great anger like when a child cries and seems to cease breathing."

*Sicut*, "hiccup;" *siguc*, "hiccup, caused by crying;" *sigucsiguc*, "to suffer hiccups."

*Sigam*, "cough, the sound of clearing the throat" or "to cough because of sickness;" *sigamsigam*, "coughing like an asthmatic, or as in consumptive, or one with a congested chest;" *misisigaman*, "coughing to one another, like two friends coughing signals to one another."

*Tatalibatab ku uaua*, "when spittle abounds in the mouth due to an upset stomach;" *talibatab* is "bat."

*Tugo* (diphthong, *tugao*), "innocent; without use of reason;" the other half of the comic pair *Pugo* at *Tugo* took his name from this word.

*Uban*, "gray hairs;" *ubnan*, "gray haired."

*Dusdus*, "a certain disease of the scalp;" *cabulbul cang acbag*, "you have thin hair; you are *calvo*, bald" (*acbag* is "a bird with sparse feathers").

*Calicubac*, "dandruff; scabby crust of the head;" a synonym is *caligag*.

*Lipugdong*, "chubby;" *malipugdong*, "to become chubby;" a synonym is *liputo*, "chubbiness."



**Bungal**, "toothless"



**Bungi**, "harelipped"

*Lubad*, "the fatness of the belly, which lean people do not have;" *malubad*, "the abundance of fat;" *bilbil*, "flabbiness;" *linoac*, "flabby fat on the body of a man or a pig."

*Busung*, "swelling or cyst in the belly, like that of a dropsical, or that of a woman who does not menstruate;" *mabusung*, "to become afflicted with such swelling of the belly;" *icabusung*, "the cause of the enlargement of the belly which, *pampangos say*, is *ingratitude*;" *talabusung*, "voracious, glutton, idle."

*Lipunga*, "itches on the legs, caused by overexposure to walking through water;"

*talacapanlipunga*, "one prone to this condition."

*Pasul*, *mapasul*, "to be exhausted or short of breath due to sickness."

*Taún*, "a sickness of infants (of blood and fever);" *taon*, "a certain ailment;" *maquitaon*, "to have it."

*Tigab*, "belching, eructation;" *tigabtigab*, "to belch, to eructate, said of infants who throw up because they have had too much milk."

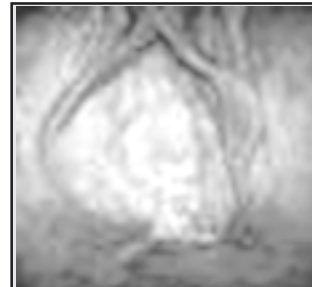
*Tubab*, or *tubad*, "half-deaf;" *maquicaturan*, "he is hard of hearing."

*Calaca*, "to snore; to rasp at the throat, like the dying, the asthmatic;" *alacac*, "snoring."

*Sigasig*, "the labored breathing of an asthmatic;" *sigasigasig*, "to breathe with difficulty;" *málisus ya inaua*, "one who breathes rapidly, due to fatigue" (*alisus* is

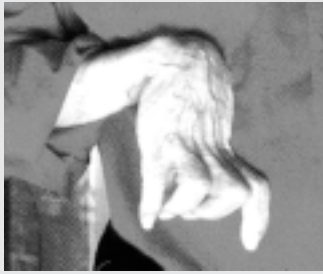


**Mabayag**, "one with hernia"



**Bugal**, "a certain illness of the female genitals"





**Quimo**, “claw-hand; crooked fingers”

**Pingcuc**, “the inward crooking of the hands from the wrists;”

**Quiquim**, “claw-hand or maimed hand”

**Pingco**, “a hand bent inwards at the wrist”

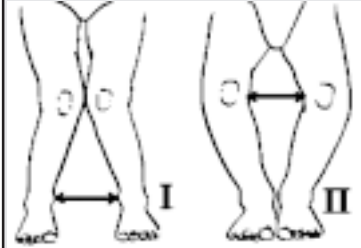
**Mangucung**, “claw-hand, the tendons or nerves having shrunk”



**Bucut**, “hunchbacked”

**Isuad**, “to walk with chest out, buttocks towards the rear or back, like the cafre”

**Paccuid**, “to walk like a person with a broken hip or spine”



**Piqui**, “knocking knees”

**Dacclong**, “bow-legged”



**Lubad**, “the fatness of the belly, which lean people do not have”

backed, one-eyed or cross-eyed (duling), or lame.

**Bucut**, “hunchbacked, humpbacked, crooked.”

**Quimo** (diphthong, quimao), “claw-

foot.”

**Lumpu**, “an im-paired or stunted object, like an animal or plant.”

Bergaño quotes a popular saying at the time, Lumpu ca, acu ing dagul, spoken by one who jumped over another. It means “There! You will no longer grow tall, but I will!” Today the word means “paralytic.”

**Simpac**, “a cleft mouth;” simpac is the past tense of aspac (“to break”).

**Mamanta dila**, “one who has a bad pronunciation;” “one who stammers, stutters, lisps, etc.”

**Ngongo** (diphthong, ngongao), “a sick person trying to speak with clenched teeth, when he could no longer speak.”

**Pipi**, “mute, dumb.”

**Talinga**, “one with flabby ears.”

**Ducduc**, “said of people whose head is so close to the shoulders, thus appearing to be without a neck, like an Asturian;” ducut, “stooped, bent, like one who carries a burden on his back.”

**Gutul**, “contusion from an inflicted blow; a bump on the head;” magutul, “to get a bump or to become contused.”

“whirlwind”).

**Paccuid**, or paccuid-paccuid, “to walk like a person with a broken hip or spine.”

**Isuad**, “to walk with chest out, buttocks towards the rear or back, like the cafre.”

**Baug**, “swelling or bruise of the skin or weal caused by a blow, not by whipping;” mabaug, “to become swollen;” also, “sterile man or woman;” bugoc, “impotent man.”

**Iyngalo**, “to agonize to death.”

**Palyi**, “frequently urinating; habitual bed-wetter,” from the root word iyi, “urine;” miyi, mimiyi, “to urinate.”

**Nauang**, “deformity, ugliness;” manauang, “to become ugly, deformed.”

**Umis**, “a defect, like being hunch-

hand, crooked fingers.”

**Pingcuc**, “the inward crooking of the hands from the wrists.”

**Quiquim**, “claw-hand, or maimed hand;” maquiquim, “to become maimed.”

**Pingco** (diphthong, pingcao), “crooked leg” or “a hand bent inwards at the wrist;” pingcopingco, “one who moves or walks this way.”

**Cucung**, “to shrink;” mangucung, “claw-hand, the tendons or nerves having shrunk.”

**Singcul**, “maimed in the arm; twisted arm.”

**Dacclong**, “bow-legged;” patintica, “to stand on one foot like the crane;” magtintica, “to hop in this manner, on one

## The versatile *TAUO*

**Tauo**, “man, human being, male or female; the human race; mankind;” also “people” as in Nanu lang tauo reti, “What kind of people are these?” **Tauo la Menila**, “They are people from Manila.”

**Catauo**, “an individual”

**Cataungtauo**, “lone, solely one person”

**Matauotauo**, “one who is a little retarded mentally” or “one who frequents a place” as in Matauotauo ya queti Baculud, “one who is frequently staying in Bacolor” or “one who is a prospective resident in Bacolor”

**Maquitauotauo**, “a young boy who involves himself in matters for grown-ups”

**Maguintauo**, “to be considered as a grown-up man” (today we say baintau which is a corruption of bayung tau, “new person” but the term’s provenance is most likely contemporary since our ancestors used the term maging tau)

**Patauo**, “to watch over”

**Metauo**, “the one left behind to watch over”

**Papagtauo**, “one who is made to stay in the house”

**Catauoan**, quetauoan, “qualities of the human species” as in Ing maili quetauoan, “To laugh is human” and Ing mababalatong quetauoan, “To err is human.”

**Pangatauo**, “being, state, lineage, human nature”

**Tauó** (stressed in last syllable) is “a dinner given by a homeowner”

**Magtauó**, “the homeowner who invites others for dinner”

**Tumauó**, “one preparing dinner for many guests”

**Tauán**, teuán, “the guests;” pigtauán, “those invited to dinner”

**Matauó**, “abundance of dinner;” matauo, “abundance of guests”

**Tauo** also means “to light a fire”

**Macatauo**, “being lighted”

**Matauo**, “abundance of flames”

**Emitauo**, “not flammable”

# PROTO-LANGUAGES of the early Kapampangans

Evidence from plant and animal names suggests the true origins of the Kapampangan language

By Joel P. Mallari

The Kapampangan language as we know it may have evolved from at least two proto-Kapampangan languages. This phenomenon is not unique to Kapampangan; many other Philippine languages evolve, mutate and merge as a result of the adaptive character of usage brought about by cultural development. Sociolinguist Dr. Edward Finegan defines the condition as physical and social distance enabling speakers of particular varieties to distinguish themselves from speakers of other varieties; being so close in contact and in frequent communication they tend to foster linguistic uniformity. These include trade and exchange activities, influence of belief system, etc.

Records show that Early 18<sup>th</sup>-century Kapampangan words may not all be that different from the last centuries of Pre-hispanic Period. Apparently language shifting and borrowing of usable vocabularies was not as fast as it is today, due to distances between communities, and lack of transportation and communication. Thus in the *Vocabulario*, one finds a multiplicity of synonyms especially in the field of botany, proof that communities which were hardly in touch with one another had separately coined their own different words for the same things. Examples: *banaba* and *mitla*, the same *Lagerstroemia speciosa* (L.) Pers. Lythraceae. Moreover, the *Vocabulario* includes an entry of the *Donax cannaeformis*, which is known in Kapampangan as *bamban* or the *banaban* plant of the Dumagats.

The word *mitla* is common in Central and Northwest Pampanga, but not in the low-lying southern towns as well as along the Tarlac-Pampanga boundary. *Banaba* is more generic and known all over the country while *mitla* is basically known only to Kapampangans, who value it for its leaves' medicinal properties and its red fruits.

Another example is *purac* and *pandan*, two names of the same plant. The old Kapampangan term *purac* can be compared to the Ilokano's *porak* tree, *Toona calantas* Merr. and Rolfe Meliaceae. Among the Aita (Mag-Aanchi group) living on the eastern slopes of Mt. Pinatubo, this plant name is known as either a tree or a rattan specie. This can become more complicated when plants bearing the name *kalantas* (or *calantas*) in several Philippine



Pandan lalaki, also known as purac



Banaba, also known as mitla

languages (Bisayan-Panay, Chavacano, Samal, Tagbanua, Hanunuo, Pangasinan, Sambali, Tagalog and Maguindanao) are enumerated and when examined further,

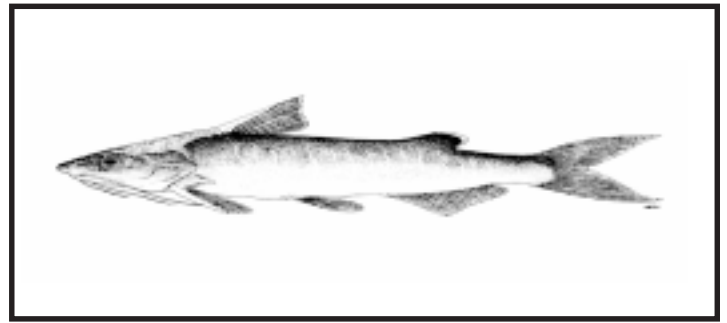
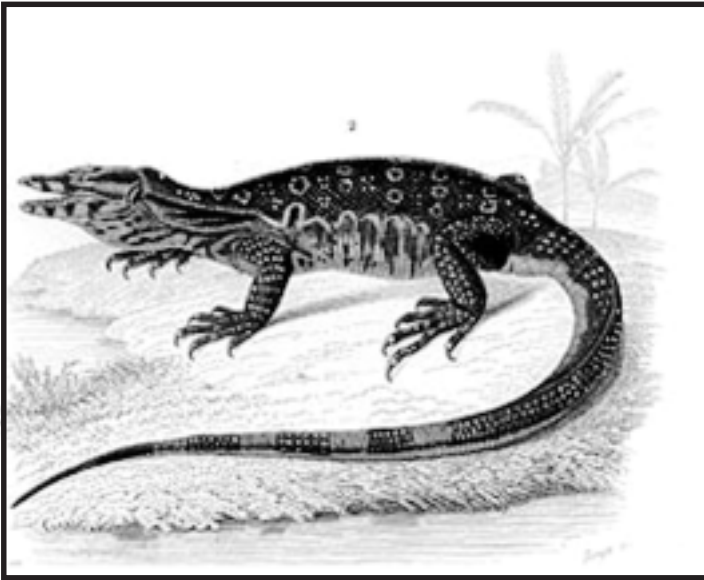
all species fall under the big family of Meliaceae. Ethnographical studies done among the old boat makers in the southern edge of Pampanga (*Betis*, *Guagua*, *Sasmuan*) and in eastern Bataan (from *Orani* to *Abucay*) identify *kalantas* as the *Toona calantas* Merr. and Rolfe which, old folks point out, used to be one of the most favored materials for making of traditional canoe-type boats. This specie was once sourced from the foothills of *Zambales*.

Going back to the main argument, old *manûlu* (Kapampangan folk medicine man) identify *purac* as *pandan lalaki*, which is yet another specie of *Pandanus*. It is used as tea for kidney and liver problems. Meanwhile, the ordinary *pandan* (sometimes called *pandan babai*) is more commonly found on the dining table as flavoring for native drinks (*buko-pandan*) and rice. In other words, the *purac* plant listed by *Bergaño* may be a generic term referring to both *pandan lalaki* and *pandan babai*, and definitely not the *kalantas* tree. In fact he also includes in his vocabulary collection a separate entry for *calantas* as a fragrant wood, similar to *tindalo* (most likely of the *Fabaceae* family) or even *cedar* (most species of which belong to the *Meliaceae* family). He even adds that this *calantas* tree is first-class wood mistaken by some as *tindalo*, and by others as *cedar*, because of the fragrance exuded by its wood. But he also cites that in truth, it is neither of the two, which also makes recognition even harder. This might have been one of the many types of *sandalwoods* (*sandanâ*?) exported by the *Lû-sung* (early people of *Manila Bay* area) vessels overseas like *Timor* in AD 1522.

Moreover, *Bergaño* notes that Kapampangans already knew *calantas* as a useful wood for boat-building due to its durability. The fact that the old village of *Porac* also has within its jurisdiction an old *barrio* named *Calantas* supports the matter of identity.

Another botanical term with multiple recognitions is the vernacular for "flower" as *bulaklak* and *sampaga*. Among present-day Kapampangans, *bulaklak* and *sampaga* mean the same thing. However, *sampaga* is usually applied to flowers of most monocotyledons like *atbu* (*Saccha-*





Left, barag (monitor lizard) also known as banias among Kapampangans; above, canduli, a.k.a. tabangongo

rum sp., sugarcane) and dikot (reeds and grasses) and used mostly by Kapampangans in southern and northwest towns of Pampanga up to southern Tarlac, while bulaklak is usually heard among the people of central Pampanga going to the Bulacan area (San Simon, Candaba, Apalit to San Miguel and Calumpit) and is associated with ornamental and non-fruit bearing trees found common in the region, the colorful petal-producing types, unlike sampaga which is simple, drab and tiny blooms of atbu and dikot species.

This distinction is not limited to plant names, but applies to animals as well. Examples: tabangongo and kanduli, two names for the same fish, the Arius species of catfish; the banias and the barag,

in reality be referring to two varieties of the monitor lizard, the common *Varanus salvator* or the little-known, endangered water lizard *Hydrosaurus pustulosus*. They look almost exactly alike; only their respective habitats differentiate them.

Dialectical nuances like stress and intonation are also worth researching. Examples of these are bayabas and biabas, "guava (of *Psidium guajava* L.);" talampunay and salampunay, "a certain herb/grass, *Datura metel* (L.)," the former also a part of the Tagalog and Bikolano vocabularies. Also: abiac and bigac, "a suckling pig, a newly born pig."

In defining the word auig (Tagalog hawig, "similar to another, or at par with another"), Bergaño cites the linguistic

convergences between Kapampangan and Tagalog as evidenced by the abovementioned pairings.

Thus there are at least two groups of early proto-Kapampangan language speakers that settled in the greater area of the Kapampangan region, one of whom might be closely associated with the Sinaunang Tagalog, or the Old Tagalog (as described by linguists Bro. Andrew Gonzales, FSC and Jose Villa Panganiban), and the other might be one of the groups carrying a transitional language like the Sambals and the Pangalatoks of western Luzon area and the Tagbanuas of Palawan. Dr. Finegan has noted that earlier types of languages, like the alleged proto-Kapampangan languages, tend to become alike due to interaction. The two types of Kapampangan speakers were in the process of unifying their languages when Fray Bergaño came in contact with them and recorded them in his dictionary.

## Pampanga snakes

Pampanga, being forested and swampy, harbored all sorts of snakes, then and now. The early Kapampangans could tell them apart; Bergaño could only record their names and probably had no time or opportunity to catch and describe each one of them:

camamalu, or camulalo, "a very deadly species of snakes"

macaulo, "a species of snake which is deadly venomous, and can live both on land and in the water;" the term is probably derived from a coiled snake resembling the number 8 (ualo)

canlalamat, "a venomous snake"

ubingan tuttud, "a snake whose bite induces sleep"

calabucab, "a water snake, a non-venomous one"

bitin, a boa (dumb snake), usually a very big one, so large that coiling on a branch, they say it could seize and lift up a deer; and from this the verb 'to hang someone or something with a rope, cord or string,' is derived"

camandag, "venom;" camandagan, "venomous" and also "a weapon tipped with poison"

caro, "the poison taking effect, like the venom of a snakebite" (RT)



Mario Lutz



Dennis Demond

Top, camamalu (Philippine cobra); bottom, bitin (python)

# Linunggian Ancient terms for crustaceans and mollusks

The coastal and river communities of Pampanga had a whole catalog of edible crabs and shells

By Joel Pabustan Mallari

Fray Diego Bergaño in his *Vocabulario dela Lengua Pampango en Romance* enters the word *linunggian* to mean “crabs, etc. that are sought after.” I collected related words from other pages of the 1732 dictionary to get a more specific listing of these crustaceans and mollusks that our ancestors gathered from the sea and the rivers. Among them:

*cabibi*, mussels, shells of mussels for producing lime.

*calangcalangan*, small shellfish, or mussels, much smaller than the *cabibi*.

*capis*, seashells.

*parus*, mussels, shellfish.

*sigay* (*sige*), a known shellfish.

*sulib*, mussels, a species of shell-fish.

*talabá*, oysters, shells for making lime.

*calantipay* (*calantipe*), species of oysters.

*susú*, snails.

*Susú* types include *susungtuto*; *susunpapa*, long spiral snails, eaten by ducks, and *balibid* a snail of the long variety, with spiraling shells.

Crabs include *ayama* or *ema*. *Alimasag*, the sea crabs; *damucu*, a species of little black crabs; *talangca*, certain species of small crabs; and, *pacut*, to a small crab-like crustacean; a smaller *talangca*, “and they come up on land in swarms.” Among the *parao* (shrimps) are *ac-cla*, “a species of prawn / shrimp, that gives a cracking sound with its shells;” *dipil*, “a species of shrimps;” and *ulang*, “prawns, large shrimps.”

The dictionary even includes some body parts:

*salucab*, covering, like the top shell of an oyster.

*talucab*, a covering, like the shell of a crab.

*laucab susû*, the shells of snails.

*mitalucab*, the two shells of a mussel, oyster, etc.

*galamáy* (*galamé*), the legs of the crab.

*sipit*, claws, like that of the crab.

Other words in the dictionary which are related to these species are: *pamuli*, which is either a piece of stone or fine shell used in burnishing pots; larger shells are *pacacac*, “trumpet.” The game of *sungca* involves *sigay* (small shells); *misungca* is

“to play the game with a companion;” related to this is *misigay*, “to play with their shells, like boys.”

Other related words are: *sucab*, “to pry open oyster shells, clams, mussels, large oysters,” while *pisucaban* are “the leftovers, or the emptied shells (also the place);” *balicocao*, “to bind around, to wind around, like *balibad*, “the place where, and also, where there are turns or bends, as in a river with many bends.” *Macabalibid*, “to be in the shape of a *balibid*, snail with a spiral shell or shape.”

The habitats of these species include *lunggi*, “a den under the ground like that of crabs.” Catching implements include *binтол*, “a net used for catching crabs;” *salap*, “a net shaped like a pouch, used for fishing, like shrimps, *bundalag* (small fish or fingerlings).”

Some of the associated functions are *bicang*, “to divide, to break open the shells, like that of oysters, or to spread the legs apart;” *cac-cla*, *quinla*, *cunla*, “to shout/cry out loudly.” *Mamalibid*, *memalibid*, “to gather or look for *balibid*; it is also said of rapid current in the river that swirls or spirals in the manner of the *balibid* snail.” *Capisan*, *quepisan*, the window panels sashed with processed seashells.

*Manalaba ya gulut*, “said of the crocodile that has grown shells on its back, or of wood standing in the sea water, encrusted with shells;” while *Talucab mata* refers to the eyelids. *Pingnit yang susô*: he is pock-marked with smallpox which literally means “passed over by snails.” Another is *antian menusû*, “one who obtains a thing with great facility.” *Menusû ya casi*, “it was like he was only gathering snails;” *Menusû ya taliri*, “the fingers are creased (wrinkled), after being in the water too long.”

*Sagap* is “to skim the foam/scum of the syrup when they make caramels, and from this, to remove the particles of sand from the water, or other things, like crabs that are caught in this manner.” *Sampilung* is “to fasten the hands behind, as though he were a crab.” *Magsipit*, “to use the pinners, etc.,” and *meguinpacut*, is exaggerating the size of a crowd into a multitude.



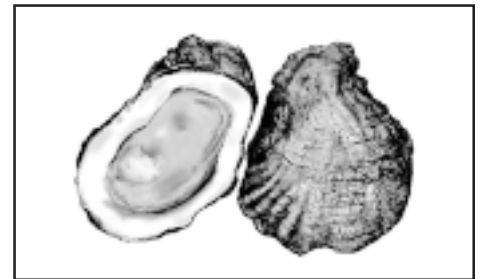
AYAMA, or EMA, crab



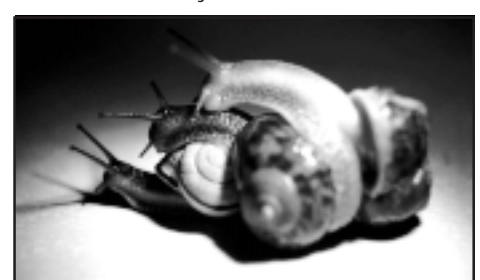
TALANGCA, DAMUCU or PACUT, all species of small crabs



SULIB, mussels



CALANTIFE, oyster



SUSUNGTUTU, edible snail



SUSUNPAPA, or BALIBID, spiral snail

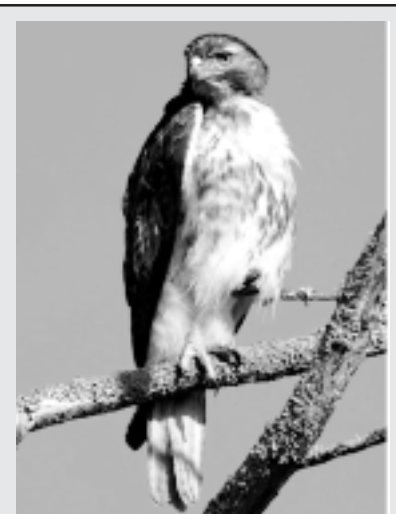




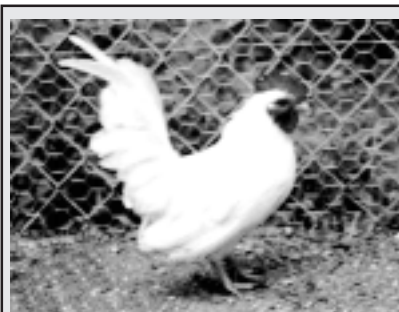
**limpasut**, or pating,  
“shark”  
**ebon pating**,  
“spotted dog-fish, or small shark”



**panilan**, “honeycomb, honeybee”  
**pulut panilan**, “honey”  
**laba**, “hive”  
**calabang putiocan**, “beehive”  
**calabang áne**, “termites’ colony”  
**aniguan**, “a species of bee”  
**pulut aniguan**, “its honey”



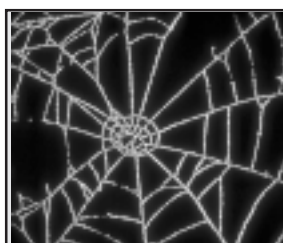
**balaue**, “hawk or falcon;  
any bird of prey”



**bulus**, “a rooster that is  
entirely white”



**talangtalang**,  
“goldfish”



**batanglaua**,  
“spiderweb”



**patilictilic**, “a little  
bird, known here in Pampanga”

## The many uses of UANG

The syllable uang is a recurring suffix in Bergaño. Words possessing uang are generally associated with space, sound and transformation.

As empty space, filler of empty space

auang, the hollow of a window

ad-duang, to extend the hand to give or receive something

busuang or bis-suang, fissures of cracks in the feet; bis-suangan, one who has such cracks;

cauáng, a thing broken apart, like having a crack, or a joint not well fitted; picauangan, picauang, the things separated from each; sauáng, an opening, a hole, or window, like that of a broken dingding, or the space between two trees.

Meanwhile, al-lua is a sandbar or mouth of the river; or a passageway. Luang, not found in Bergaño, refers to space; maluang usually refers wide space. Sauang variously refers to the vastness of space, loftiness of heights or even the richness of elements in a given confined context.

suang, the ear-rings; pasuang, the ear-ring or the tiny short stick, or a silk thread, which is worn in order to prevent the holes from closing. Pasuangan, on whom the earring is worn, e.g., a little girl, or on an old woman;

As identifier of sound

alimbuang, a sharp cry; malimbuang one who cries sharply, like, because of robbers; alimbuangan, one to whom he is crying sharply, asking for help;

alintuang, noise / sound of quarrelling, malintuang and its constructions, to make a noise while quarreling;

ouang, sound/noise, like the murmur of a strong wind, or of a great crowd of people, or the ripple of water among rocks, which is heard from afar. Mouang ing angin, etc.

I assume that this identifier of sound is linked on the following entries (as the common way of driving away animals is by creating loud sound):

ab-buang, to drive away the beasts, to scare away the birds; and, uanguang, to chase away something with a stick, or a cloth, like hens, mosquitoes. Uanguanđan, that which, also the place, like the curtains, bed canopy.

As transformation, deformation

calauang, the rust of iron, or fatty substance on the surface of the water, or dross on the surface of teeth;

nauang, deformity, ugliness, material and formal

Asuang vs. bauang, etc.

asuang, believed to be a man who anoints his body with oil and then flies, and on coming upon a pregnant woman pulls out the fetus in her womb and takes it away; it seems to be a bogey for children, or a legendary monster.

bauang, garlic

ustuang, a sorcerer. They say that he glows at night / comes out at night; and,

uang, the beetle that thrives on palms. It is black, and has small horns. It resounds, or buzzes when it flies. They say it is a cantharid...  
(Joel P. Mallari)

timpo, "a sitting posture of a woman, folding her legs towards one side"  
 sila, "man sitting with crossed legs"

yagang, "enfeebled, grown weak"  
 yagyag, "to animate, revive"

matdas, "to explode, to burst out, but referring to the container;" e.g., "Mitdas ya ing bukul"  
 mandas, "to explode, to burst out, referring to the contents;" e.g., "Mindas ya ing nana."

unun, "to shake a container in order to make more room"  
 unyun, "to compress the contents of a container in order to make more room"

ungsul, "to pierce, or run through, with the horns of a bull"  
 ulus, "to pierce, or run through, with steel or iron"

salibabi, "to infuriate one person against many"  
 lumlum, "to infuriate many against one person"

patnugut, "to accompany out of courtesy, like attending a funeral, or assisting someone to the stairs or door"  
 patnube, "to assist someone beyond the door, like up to a quarter of a league"

patpat, "round"  
 parisukat, "square"

lindas, "to turn or swerve to avoid someone, like a bill collector"  
 lindo, "to go round and round, to avoid someone"

pun, "beginning, top"  
 sepu, "end, bottom"

salapong, "a thing that forks, like the tongue of an iguana;" salapungan, "a place that ends with a split;" Salupungan ca rila inyapin meririla ca, "You have a forked

# THEY COME IN PAIRS

The difference between *biga* and *ulap*, *talindata* and *talindiquing*, *terac* and *indac*, *amog* and *ambun*, etc.



TIMPO, woman crossing legs



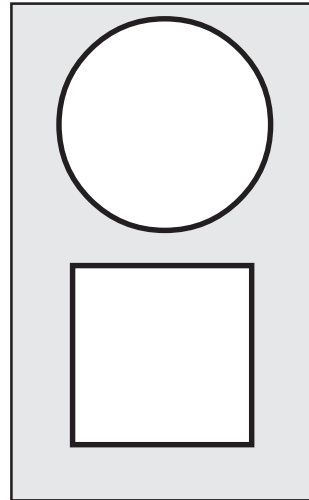
SILA, man crossing legs



INDAC, woman dancing



TERAC, man dancing



PATPAT, circle  
 PARISUCAT, square

tupad, "even"  
 gansal, "odd"

terac, "to dance (done by a man)"  
 indac, "to dance (done by a woman)"

sicut, "hiccup"  
 siguc, "hiccup, caused by crying"  
 sigma, "cough, to clear the throat"

tampaling, "slap on the cheek"  
 tampi, "a tap on the buttocks, or other parts of the body"

salang, "to examine, to probe, like the tongue pricked by a spine"  
 salauay, "to examine, to probe, like inserting finger in a newborn baby's mouth to see check for clotted blood"

amog, "dampness on stone or wood; moist, humid, damp"  
 ambun, "morning dew; falling dew"

biga, "cloud"  
 ulap, "mist, drizzle"  
 alapaap, "the space between the earth and the sky"

maquiua, "stag, male deer"  
 maibi, "doe, female deer"

pauo, "turtle, sea turtle"  
 pauican, "freshwater tortoise, mountain tortoise"

Alipup, "hot vapor exuded by the body"

busuc, "vapor of the soil, or of the body; alipup is only body heat, while busuc is like smoke emanating from the body"  
 alimum, "the vapor exuding from the ground after a sudden downpour during dry season;" mialimuman, "one who inhales such vapor, or one who is affected by the sultriness of the weather"

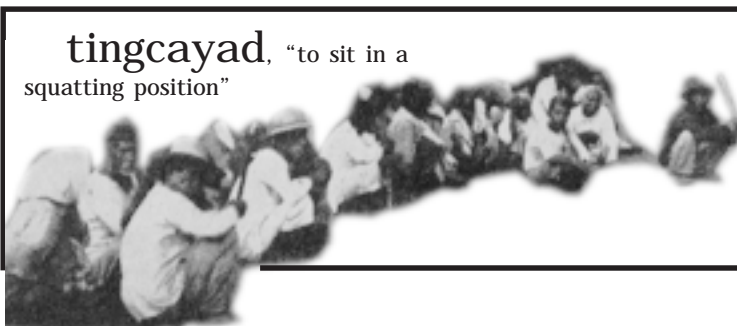
(R. Tangingco)

tongue, that is why you engage in double-talk"

salápi, "a thing divided into two, like two fingers coming from one stub;" misalápi, "like when two roads or two rivers merge into one;" idiomatically, "to become related either by marriage or by a claim"

talindata, "to lie face up"  
 talindiquing, "to turn to one side"

tingcayad, "to sit in a squatting position"



tibabayat, "a pregnant woman close to giving birth; a woman in the last stage of pregnancy"





# EARLY KAPAMPANGAN MONETARY SYSTEM

The biggest monetary denomination of the early Kapampangans, which is their point of reference in counting their money, is the *toston*, also called *salaping metung*



1 SPANISH PESO

1 Peso = 2 Tostones/Salapi  
 \*one *toston* is *salaping metung*, probably equivalent to 50 cents; Ilocanos still call 50 cents *salapi*



1 Toston/Salapi = 2 Binting  
 \* *dos reales de plata*



1 Binting = 2 Reales/Sicapat  
 \*1 peso is made up of 8 reales; 3 reales is called *athung bajagi*



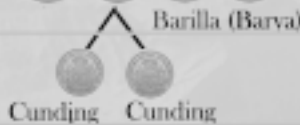
1 Real/Sicapat = 2 Sicaualo  
 \* *medio real de plata*



1 Sicaualo = 6 Barillas



1 Barilla = 2 Cunding



1 Cunding = 2 Calatios  
 \* *calatio* is also called *cuartillo*



# ANCIENT KAPAMPANGAN NUMERALS

Our ancestors had words for thousands, hundred thousands, millions

By Robby Tantingco

Fray Coronel recorded the following numerals in his 1621 grammar book:

isa	one
adua	two
atlu	three
apat	four
lima	five
anam	six
pitu	seven
ualu	eight
siam	nine
pulu	ten

Note: isa is used only in counting; its adjective is metung as in metung a tauo (“one man”); the adjective of pulu is apulu as in apulung biabas (“ten guavas”).

labingmetung	eleven
labingadua	twelve
labingatlu	thirteen, etc.

aduang pulu	twenty
mecatlung metung	twenty-one
mecatlung adua	twenty-two, etc.

Note: We use mecatlu in mecatlung metung, mecatlung adua, etc. to mean 21, 22, etc. because it means it is leading towards 30. (There is no mecadua because numbers before 20 use the prefix labing.) Bergaño says in his own grammar book, “they also do it in the Spanish way;” thus, adduang pulu ampon metung, 21... until siam a pulu ampon siam, 99. When the exact number is not specified, and is only indicated as more or less, the early Kapampangans said mecatlu or mecatlung pulu (the equivalent of beinte y tantos, “twentysomething”), mecapat or mecapat pulu (“thirtysomething”), mecatlung dalam (200 something), etc. or simply, aduang pulu nung pilan (20 plus), atlung pulu nung pilan (30 plus), pitung dalam nung pilan (700 plus), limang libu nung pilan (5000 plus), etc.

atlung pulu	thirty
mecatpat metung	thirty-one
apat a pulu	forty
mecalimang metung	forty-one
limang pulu	fifty
mecanam metung	fifty-one, etc.
mecarinalan metung	ninety-one, etc.

Note: In counting between hundreds, thousands, hundred thousands, etc., our ancestors used two particles, lalu (more) and lauit (over) interchangeably.

dinalan	100
lalung dalam metung	101, or
lauit dalam metung	101
lalung dalam labing metung	111
lauit dalam ampong mecasiam atlu	183

aduang dalam	200
atlung dalam mecatlung anam	326
libu	1000
lauit (lalung) libu dinalan	1100
lauit (lalung) libu limang dalam	1500
lauit libu pitung dalam mecapat anam	1736
lauit libu ualung dalam mecanam metung	1851
aduang libu	2000
lauit aduang libu ampong anam	2006
lauit aduang libu aduang pulu	2020
lacsas	10,000
lalung lacsang libu	11,000
aduang lacsas	20,000
lauit aduang lacsas mecapitung atlu	20,063
lauit aduang lacsas metung libu	21,000
lauit aduang lacsas aduang libu	22,000
lauit atlung lacsas siam a dalam	
mecatlung atlu	30,923
lauit atlung lacsas metung a libu	31,000
lauit limang lacsas pitung libu dinalan	57,100
lalung siam a lacsas limang libu aduang	
dalam mecapat apat	95,234
gatus	100,000
aduang gatus	200,000
lauit aduang gatus limang lacsas	250,000
lauit siam a gatus aduang lacsas apat a	
libu aduang dalam mecanam pitu	924,257
sangyuta	1,000,000
catacata	cannot be counted anymore

Note: While Coronel uses lacsas for 10,000, Bergaño uses it for 100,000 and does not use gatus.

misan	once
macaladua	twice
macatlu	thrice
macapapat	four times
macalilima	five times
macananam	six times
macauaualo	eight times
macasisiam	nine times
macapupulu	10 times
macalalabing metung	11 times
macaladuang pulu	20 times
macaririnalan	100 times
macaladuang dalam	200 times
macalilibu	1000 times

Note: When the verb is in the past tense, the prefix maca follows the tense and becomes meca, e.g., Mecaladua cu mine carin, “I went there two times.” If it is in the passive voice, maca becomes paca, e.g., Pacaladua na cu pañumpan, “He cursed me twice.”

caunan	first
cadua	second



catlu  
capulu  
caduangpulu

tunggaltunggal  
tiduatidua  
titlutitlu  
tiapatapat  
tialimalima

third  
tenth  
twentieth

one by one  
two by two  
three by three  
four by four  
five by five

piduan  
pidaruan  
pitluan  
pipatan

capitnga  
sicutlu  
sicapat  
sicalima  
sicapulu

divide  
divide by two  
divide by three  
divide by four

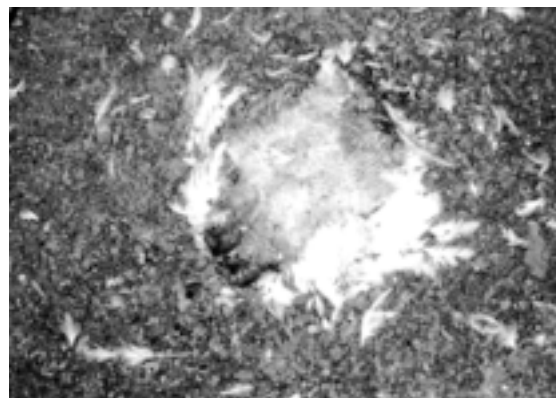
one-half  
one-third  
one-fourth  
one-fifth  
one-tenth, etc.

# NUANCES OF SCENTS AND ODORS

Surrounded by decay and putrefaction of all kinds,  
our ancestors developed a hypersensitivity to odors

Kasaysayan





They just died there, and they lay there: unburied corpses and carcasses littered the Kapampangan landscape, which filled the air with stomach-turning odors

Quite expectedly, the early Kapampangans had an acute sense of smell, for the foul as much as for the sweet. Their environment was filled with scents of flowers and leaves and the cool mountain air and fresh breeze from the sea, as well as with odors from putrefying carcasses and spoiled food and other unburied wastes of our ancestors' primitive ways. No wonder their vocabulary is filled with graphic descriptions of these sensations. Examples from the Bergaño dictionary:

#### DECOMPOSING CORPSES

Buluc, "odor, as of a dead dog;" mabuluc, "fetid;" mabuluc a asbuc, "fetid mouth."

Batâ, "odor of decaying meat or flesh;" mabatâ, "odorous;" babatâ, matâ, metâ, mangamatâ, "the things decaying, like slices of meat."

Mangal, "bad odor; stench, like a decomposing corpse."

Limama, "nausea;" malimama, "to be nauseated by a dirty thing;" diri, "nausea, loathsomeness, turning up the nose at an open wound, or a decaying thing, like a corpse;" mangadiri, "to loath, to become nauseated;" macadiri, "the cause of the loathsomeness."

Tilac, "to retch;" tilactilac, "the turn-

ing of the stomach that induces vomiting."

Salirangdang, "to wrinkle the nose due to nausea or loathsomeness."

Sangó, "to smell a fragrance or odor." E pasango, "That odor is intolerable," and the Spanish friar could not help adding,

"And much more if it is the odor of hell!"

Salimosom, "to exude a stench or odor;" salimotmot, "the same, but not said of flowers."

#### TOILETS (OR THEIR ABSENCE)

Bánga (diphthong, bangay), "odor of excrement; mabange, "smelling of excrement."

Laris, "the smell of a privy for people, or of a coop for chicken;" malaris, "odorous privy or coop."

Baling, "odor of urine;" mabalíng, "smelling of urine;" malíng, "to smell of urine;" cabalingan, quebalingan, "to be overcome by smell of urine;" Cabalingan, "a route or passage, like the road between San Miguel and Tarlac, which is dangerous because it is prone to attacks by Negritos who lie in ambush there, and it smells badly of urine."

Camaso, "stringent odor of urine."

Angsad, "body odor; smell of the underarm;" masangsad, mingsad, quinangsad, "one who exudes such an odor;" icangsad, quingsad, "the cause of such odor, like an

ailment or sickness."

Lanam, "smell of fish and crocodiles;" malanam, "smell of fish after some time they have been caught."

#### SPOILED FOOD

Aum, "the pále smelling fetid, having been harvested wet."

Umuc, "odor of dampness, like pále rotten by moisture;" maumuc, mumumuc, uumuc, "To smell rotten, to emit this kind of odor"

Bangnas, "putrid, acrid, sour smell, smell of spoiled food or milk;" Mabangnas na cu inaua, "I am starved (literally, "My breath has become foul");" micabangnasbangnas, "to make the puto (bread) rise (because

the process of producing yeast produces an acidic smell)."

Bantut, "strong stench;" bangtut, "odor of stagnant water;" quebangtutan, "the person affected by such odor;" pangabangtut, "the process of becoming odorous."

Langtut, "smell of acrid water;" malangtut, "to become acrid."

Anta, "rancidness, a strong, unpleasant smell, like butter or salted meat;" maanta, "what smells rancid."

Lantong, "a thing badly salted, exhuding a bad smell, like buro;" malantong, "to smell bad" but idiomatically it means "a flatterer;" maglantong, "to say flatteries." Today, the connotation of the word is "flirtatious."

Laris, "the smell of a privy for people, or of a coop for chicken;"

Angsad, "smell of the underarm; body odor"

#### FRAGRANCE

Banglu, "sweet scent, fragrance;" mabanglu, "fragrant;" magcabanglu, "a vain woman, who wears scents to smell good."

Samio, "smell, fragrance, as of flowers;" masamyó, "abundance of what we call transcending fragrance;" synonyms are sanganga, sangalangal and salingalangal.

Sandanâ, "a fragrant stick or wood."

(R. Tantingco)



The Kapampangan language is onomatopoeic, i.e., spelling mimics the actual sound that a word refers to. The English language does this, too, in words such as meow, hiss, bark, boom, snarl, etc., but it does not come close to the Kapampangan language in terms of the frequency of onomatopoeic words.

It probably means that our ancestors did not bother anymore to coin new words and instead merely repeated the very sounds they heard, and it also means that they were quite sensitive to the cacophony of sounds that filled their world at the time when there were no electronic gadgets and vehicular traffic to drown out the million different sounds coming from the forests, the swamps, the vast fields and the open skies, and all the creatures therein. Examples:

**PIGS, RATS**

**Gocgoc**, “to grunt like a hog;” **ngicngic**, “to grunt like a pig at the time it is usually given food;” **ngusngus**, “the pig chewing sugar cane or rice grains;” **liba**, “to take large gulps, to make a sound in the mouth like pigs when they are feeding, and people who eat in the same manner, like masticating buyo (betel).”

**Ican**, or **ecan**, “that is how they call for the pigs;” **iyo**, interjection used “to drive away the pigs.” In those days, pigs (the black variety, since the light ones were introduced only during the American Period) were usually not put in a pen but allowed to roam for food.

**Langusngus**, “the sound of the teeth of a beast when it eats rice grains;” **langubngub**, “the sound of the teeth chewing something hard like vizcocho, caramelo.”

**Langut** is “to chew or masticate food;”

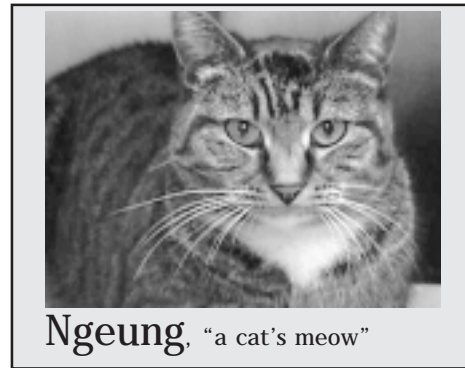
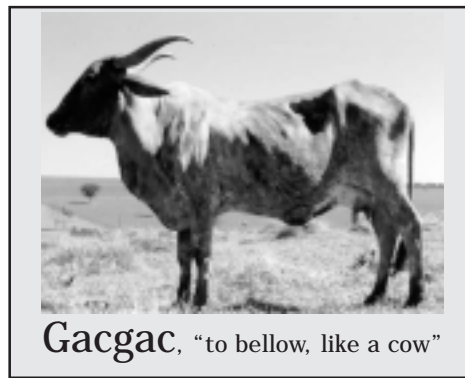


**Gocgoc**, “to grunt like a hog”  
**Ngicngic**, “to grunt like a pig at the time it is usually given food”  
**Ngusngus**, “the pig chewing sugarcane or rice grains”  
**Liba**, “to take large gulps, like pigs do”  
**Ican**, “how they call for the pigs”  
**Iyo**, “how they drive away the pigs”

# ONOMATOPOEIC LANGUAGE HEARD LOUD AND CLEAR

A cacophony of sounds filled the world of our ancestors

By Robby Tangingco



**langutlangut** is “to go ruminating.”

**Ngatngat**, “sound of rat gnawing something; also one who bites his fingernails, like a melancholic person, or out of habit.”

**Catiquí**, “to imitate the squeaking of rats or the quacking of ducks;” it also means, “to cause one to laugh by tickling him;” synonym is **caliqui**, **queliquian**, “to titillate” (related to **quiliquili**, **armpits**, where one is usually tickled)

**DOGS, CATS**

**Caung**, “to bark;” **alulung**, “the howling or barking of a dog;” **taúl** (Tagalog **tahol**), which we use today to mean a dog’s barking, actually meant “to call in a loud voice;” **cancang**, “to growl, like a dog when it is driven away harshly.”

**Tata**, “to call out the dog by saying **tatatá**, like we say in Spanish, **tototo**. The ancient saying **Ing asu man, tatatan ya mu** referred to the complaint of a person who had been reprimanded for missing an event: “Even dogs come when called; I would have come if only I was notified.” **Bergaño** hints that the word **táta** or **tatang** (father) may have originated from this word (**Itata cu** instead of **Ibpa cu**).

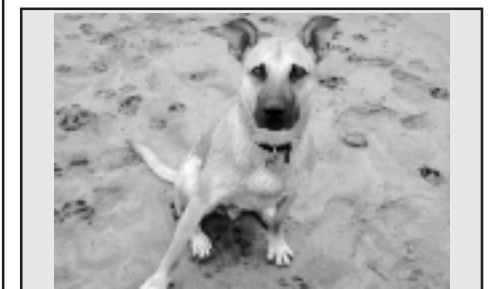
**Ngeung**, “a cat’s meow;” **ngumeung**, “to meow;” **ngeungan**, “against whom the cat meows, like at one who is eating.”

**Uacuac**, “to caw, to cackle,” from the word **auac**, “a crow.”

**BIRDS, FOWLS**

**Gacgac**, “to bellow” or “to bay” or “to croak;” **migacgacan**, “like a cow here mooing at a cow there;” **gagâ**, “to quarrel, to chirp, to howl, not as **strog** as **gacgac**.”

**Siac**, “the cry, chirping of a chick or an insect;” **siúc**, “chirping of birds, the twitter of birds;” **Sisiuc ing bengi**, “the sounds of the night, like at midnight.” **Siuc**



**Caung**, “to bark”  
**Alulung**, “the howling or barking of a dog”  
**Taúl**, originally, “to call in a loud voice;” today it refers to dogs  
**Cancang**, “to growl like a dog when it is driven away harshly”  
**Tata**, “to call out the dog by saying **tatatá**”



**Patoc**, “the cackling of hens (after laying an egg)”

**Cucuc**, “the cackling of hens when they have their chicks”

**Curúc**, “sound made repeatedly to call the chickens”

is also said of “the swish of the rattan cane when swayed or is used in whipping;” thus, Pasiucan mu ya, “Swing it.”

Bio, interjection or word “for driving away birds.”

Patóc, papatoc, malpatoc, “the cackling of hens (after laying an egg), crowing of a rooster;” patoc patoc, idiomatically, “one who comes and goes alone to his work.”

Cucuc, “cackling of hens, not when they have just finished laying an egg, which is malpatoc, but when they have their chicks;” quicucan, “the chicks.”

Curúc, “sound made repeatedly to call the chickens/hens”

Culyo (diphthong, culyao), “to shout, like making bubuyo (scarecrow?) in the rice fields;” quilyaan, “the birds driven away by shouting.”

#### WEEPING AND GNASHING

Ngilngil, “poutings of a child about to cry”

Ngongo (diphthong, ngongao), “to speak with clenched teeth, as when a sick person can no longer speak;” today the word refers to a person with a cleft palate or harelip; a second meaning of ngongo is “to mash the food for children who have no teeth yet.”

Ngulangul, “weeping and screaming at a funeral or burial, or because of lashing/



**Taloto**, “resonance, like that of a bell or trumpet”



**Siac**, “chirping of an insect or a chick”



**Dabulbul**, “the spot through which the water spurts” or “the wind blowing in great gusts, producing a sound like that of a very heavy shower”



**Sabalbal**, “sound of flowing water”

whipping.”

Galanggang, “to wail, cry loudly;” Bergaño added it applied to condemned prisoners; guelangangan, “to whom one wails, like the judge.”

Langutngut, “gnashing/gritting of the teeth, like during sleep, and more so if it is a native who does this” and “one who grits



**Galé**, “tone or range of the voice like in solmizing or voice practice”



**Siuc**, interjection “for driving away birds”

**Bio**, interjection “for driving away birds”

**Culyo**, “to shout in the rice fields to drive away the birds”

his teeth due to intense pain.”

Lapitpit, “the sound which accompanies involuntary evacuation (as in diarrhea), or the sound made with the lips in simulation.”

Pusio (diphthong, pusiao), “high pitch;” Anti yang pusiawan, “one who speaks in a high pitch, like a woman, or a castrated man/eunuch.”

Malinguing, or alinguing, “to moan or grumble while being whipped or while in pain.”

Alingit, “one who asks for something, whispering quietly, in order not to be heard by his father who is present;” malingit, minalingit, “one who mumbles unintelligible words while asleep.”

Alacac, “snoring; sound made by one in sleep;” mamalacac, “to snore.”

Alitut, “the breathing of one sleeping quietly;” Malitut yang matudtud, “He breathes heavily during sleep.”

Langas, “sound of something caught between the teeth, like a grain of sand in the food that one is chewing;” milalangas, “one gnashing his teeth when he is angry or annoyed.”

#### SOUNDS OF THUNDER, BATTLE

Acbúng, “thunderclap, report or sound of a firearm.”

Acasing, cacacsing, memacsing, “the sound of clashing swords, or of lightning



**Tilbag**, “big loud voice, and low, like that of a bassoon and tenor”



when it strikes, also of falling coins."

Calansing, "clang or sound of clashing swords, and of anything that produces such sound;" calangcang, "something noisy tied to to a dog's tail."

Cubug, cubugcubug, "a loud thudding sound, like that of a troop of cavalry."

Caling, "clink, or sound of coins." Alayang pacaling or E caling a bursa, "Nothing clinks in his pocket."

Cac-cla, quinla, cunla, "to shout, cry out loud" from the root word ac-cla, "a shrimp or prawn that gives a crackling sound with its shell;" on the other hand, ac-clis, quinlis, cunlis is "a cry, not as loud as ac-cla."

Actog, "the sound of a blow on the head, or of a clock when it strikes the hour, or when one strikes a blow."

Alingongo, aligogo, malingongo (diphthong, alingongao), "an echo, or distant sound, like a bell or shouts of a crowd;" alungenge (diphthong, alungengay), "a distant echo, weaker than alingongo;" malungenge is "said of a bedridden person who is no longer conscious of what he is saying"

Alintuang, "noise or sound of quarrelling;" malintuang, "to make a noise while quarrelling."

Ouang, "sound/noise, like the murmur of a strong wind, or of a great crowd of people, or the ripple of the water among rocks, which is heard from afar." Maouang ing angin, "The wind is noisy."

Curúg, and curugcurug, "the noise caused by galloping horses, or when children romp in the room of the convent if the flooring is made of wood."

Unggac unggac, "a dying person gasping for air;" tunggac, "to gasp for air" or "to give one's last breath; to give a gasp, even that of a fish;" tunggac tunggac, "gasping for air, as if wanting to rise, with the mouth open."

Alingongong, "murmur, whisper."

Altoc, mamaltoc, "sound of crackling knuckles." Paltocan mo ding daliri mu, "Make your knuckles crackle;" paltoc refers both to "crackling the knuckles" and "cracking the whip."

Alpit, "sound of a hard slap, or a rap with knuckles;" mamalpit, "to sound thus, like the strike of a door latch or the trigger of a shotgun."

#### WATER SOUNDS

Alpuc, "sound of the water, like during rowing with an oar, or when fish appear on the water's surface, flapping their tails, without jumping out of the water."

Sabalbal, "sound caused by the flow of water."

Alpac, mamalpac, "to cause a crashing sound, like a book that drops on the floor, or rushing of water." Bergaño speci-



**Ngilngil,**  
"poutings of a child about to cry"



**Ngulangul,**  
"weeping during a funeral"



**Lapitpit,**  
"sound of one having diarrhea"



**Acbúng,**  
"thunderclap or sound of firearm"



**Cubug,**  
"sound of a troop of cavalry"



**Paltoc,** "to crack the whip"



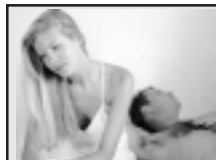
**Alintuang,**  
"noise of quarrelling"



**Ngongo,** "to speak with clenched teeth"



**Galanggang,**  
"to wail after a judge's decision"



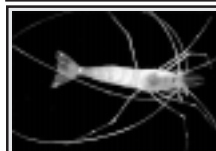
**Alacac,**  
"to snore"



**Ouang,**  
"murmur of strong wind"



**Curúg,** "sound of galloping horses"



**Acla,** "crackling of a shrimp's shell"



**Tunggac,** "to give one's last breath"

fies that "what causes the noise is not something solid like stone."

Dabulbul, "wind blowing in great gusts, producing a sound like that of a very heavy shower;" also, "the spot through which the water spurts."

Sweet melodies

Galé (diphthong, galay), "tone or range of the voice, like in solmizing or voice practice;" the verb form means "to sing in this manner; to chant;" migagale, idiomatically, "to 'sing' or reveal secrets; pagale, "the bait that is moved in little jerking motions on the surface of the water, like the little beats made for one going over the notes in solfeggio."

Tingid, "the sweetness of the melody of the voice. And since the voice inspires the one attracted to it, it also speaks on the part of the listener, his being inspired thus;" matinigid "describes both the quality of the voice and the attentiveness of the listener"

Alibungbung, "resounding loudly, as from a bell or a drum;" taloto (diphthong, talotao), "resonance, like that of a bell or trumpet;" mataloto, "very high resonance."

Tilbag, "big loud voice, and low, like that of a bassoon and tenor; matilbag, "to possess such a voice;" tanling, matanling, "the voice of a soprano or treble" (today corrupted to matarling); salingsing, "voice of a soprano."

#### DISSONANCE

Angla, "to make a clucking sound with the tongue when displeased with what is heard" (tch tch or tsk tsk).

Atling, "shrillness; shrill sound;" mangatlingan, "momentary deafness caused by a shrill sound, like bells;" atni, catni, matni, "shrill;" pacatnian, "to produce a good sound;" Matni ya buntuc, "He has a sharp mind."

Lagpac, "crashing sound of any falling part of an object;" lagmac, "fall of the whole;" for example, the whole house collapsing is lagmac; only one room collapsing is lagpac.

Bacting, which today means "out of tune," actually meant "a small bell."

Calug, "sound of a thing inside a hollow object, like a rotten egg, or piedra de Aguila, or the grain of the hazel nut."

Calit, "sound of a bed creaking, or a table, chair squeaking, or a dog walking" Calugcug, "to roar or to bellow, said of the intestines when famished."

Culus, "swishing sound, like that of silk or taffeta clothes" or "the sound of deer making their way through tall grasses."

Amius, "snorting sound of beasts;" mamius, "to snort."

Ulingid, "a thing heard distinctly," whether it is "said from afar, or said softly."

# BREAKING THE LAW, CIRCA 1732

Catalogue of crimes and misdemeanors shows we never heed the lessons of history



MEBULBUL, “the poor who are overcome by the rich, who have more plumes.”

Wirgman (1857)

Words revealing our ancestors' shadier characteristics and how much of these are still reflected in contemporary society:

Ulúc, “incitement, incentive, like money given to an assassin, or to a woman in order that she may fall;” yuyut, “to inveigle with mischievous lies, or stratagem, in order that one may fall materially or formally;” mamayuyut, “the devil, the world and the flesh, or a swindler.”

Paslang is a verb in Tagalog which means “to kill,” but in Kapampangan it's an adjective that means “daring, bold, audacious” usually to describe someone “who takes things belonging to others without permission.” The word capaslangan, which Bergaño says is unique to Kapampangans, specifically referred to corruption of those in authority, either “the Superior who, in exchange for such and such, takes what belongs to his vassal or subject” or “one who acts or behaves unworthy of his state or position.”

## BRIBERY

Cabid, “to draw to one's self,” applies

to one who accepts bribes, like “a judge who discriminates or is biased in his judgment, by condemning one who deserves justice.” Ing E Mangabiran, the title of a now defunct Kapampangan newspaper, means “The Impartial One” (mangabiran is a conjugation of cabid and mangabid). The verb form of irug (“a thing that incites the appetite”) means “to offer a thing that would move the will of a person, like bribe to a judge.”

Baliccuit (or baliuit), adjective, and balicuitan, noun, “a perverse person, dishonest, double-faced, double-dealing.” A synonym is suquib.

Mebulbul, “the poor who are overcome by the rich, who have more ‘plumes’”

When one takes over a position, either to succeed or to replace or substitute, the verb used is canlas, i.e., “to follow, succeed, change in office, or exchange office; or the incoming official;” micanlas is to exchange positions with another.

## TAX EVASION, SLAVERY

Corruption went beyond public offi-

cial, infecting also the citizens. Tax evaders, for instance, were already common then; a word was used to describe their shenanigans: patngali, to hide from someone, like a bill collector, and to ask someone to deny his whereabouts: Magpatngali ya ing pengari co, “My parent says that he is not in the house.” It comes from the root word ali, adverb of negation; payali, “to deny;”

Alipsusu, “scheming of the poor” to pay off debts. Bergaño illustrates it thus: “Here he is under pressure to pay a debt, there he pawns his hat to buy a shirt” or, in other words, “to cover a hole here, he opens another hole there.” This word actually speaks well of the poor, showing the creative ways they resorted to in order to honor their word, in contrast to the blatant ways of the rich and powerful to steal money.

Bayad, today quite an innocent word but in Bergaño's time in Pampanga its meaning was limited to buying of slaves and payment of debts. Beyaranan da cang alipan, “I paid you with a slave;” mibayad,



to sell the slave; pibayad, the slave who is bought; pibayaranan, to whom the slave is sold. Salapi (money), Bergaño wrote, was not the only mode of payment; one "rare way of paying" was "with sufferings," which I suppose meant doing works of servitude.

Balata, "a kind of mourning, carried on until vengeance is exacted." One can surmise that the source of grief is a crime or injustice done to the victim, and that neither the departed nor the bereaved could achieve peace until retribution occurred.

Belan, "gloating over someone else's misfortune;" pabelan is "one who is happy about a bad incident, saying, 'That serves you right,' or a parent telling his child, 'I am happy that this has happened to you.'"

#### SUBVERSION, INSURRECTION

Laban, verb, "to resist," and then Bergaño adds, "including a statute or law." Even in the 1700s, Kapampangans probably already had a reputation for rebelliousness against the established order, as shown by the series of revolts that they staged throughout history, contrary to the common notion that Kapampangans were chummy with the colonizers. They were, to borrow from Bergaño, malaban ("abundance of resistance"). The synonyms lingo and lilo both mean "to commit treason, like an assassin, or ambusher; to betray, like Judas;" meanwhile, sanggalang means "to disobey" while salangasang is more than disobeying, it is "to contradict." Tinggasi, on the other hand, is "to challenge."



MALABAN, "abundance of resistance"

The opposite of laban is usig, the Kapampangan concept of conformity, "to go with the current, or the wind's direction, to follow without contradiction the wish of another person." Example: Yusig mu ing lub mu quing caburian ning asawa mu, or caring siping mu, "Go along with the will of your spouse" or "with the will of your neighbors."

Campi, "a faction, or party;" quinampi, "to form or join such a faction/party;" mangampi, "a judge who takes the side of those who could bribe him with more money or of those who have more supporters, protectors, patrons."

Samo, "to leave one's party to join the opposing party, like the Angels who followed Lucifer" or "like one following the Jesuit school of thought, turns to and adopts the Thomistic camp." Today we call it turncoatism.

Gungung, migungung, "to gather in noise and confusion, as in a riot or in an

insurrection or uprising;" pigugungan, "the reason for the uprising."

#### PLUNDER, BREACH OF CONTRACT

Samsam, "plunder, spoliation, robbery with violence;" also "spoils of war." The verb sanac means "to despoil another of what he possesses without authority;" senacan. "the thing taken away with such violence;" mangasanac, "the poor from whom it was seized in a biased manner." Masanacsanac ya queya ing dayat a daraptan na, "The land he was tilling has been seized from him."

Tiueue, verb, is "to deceive," while matiuueue is "to become deceived in any contract or agreement." It's a kind of deception that results in irreparable damage. Bergaño gives this rather long-winded illustration: "You obtained from me five thousand pesos for you to take in this galleon trip; you did not make the trip, neither did you notify me of your failure to take the trip; the galleon has departed and you return the money to me when I no longer have any one else I could ask to carry them for me." A synonym is tubebe, "the deceived one in an agreement, like a dalaga." The verb pangunac or mangunac means "to repudiate or regret a flaw or inequality belatedly discovered in a contract."

Sandali, "to impute, to put blame on another, exculpating oneself;" misandalianan or mipanyandali, "to blame one another."

(R. Tantingco)

## Lumac, saul and abuse of authority

Lumac, "defeat," but unlike the superficial saul, also "defeat," lumac is beyond material or physical defeat; Bergaño defines it as "to defeat, to overcome, to overrule, like a superior insisting his own opinion, although the subject, or inferior, has his reasons." Today, we say E ca pasaul quing tucusu, which is correct, because saul, according to the friar, applies to both physical and spiritual defeat, but the better, stronger phrase, according to Bergaño, would be E ca pailumac quing diablos, because lumac is strictly spiritual defeat.

## Racial discrimination



Pamaguil, "blemish, flaw, like a bad lineage/race." Mamaguil means "to be biased against such a race, breed, lineage;" i.e., to discriminate. Bergaño mentions the Negritos as the object of such racial prejudice during those times. Thus, the brown-skinned Kapampangans who were discriminated against by the white-skinned Spaniards, were themselves discriminating against the black-skinned Negritos.

Pugut, "son of a witch," but it also refers to "descendant of a Jew" (probably a subjective addition by Bergaño, since the early Kapampangans did not know what a Jew was) or "one who comes from the Negro race;" verb means "one who attempts to get married, or is married, to a Negro man or woman;" pemugutan, "the children born from this union, outside matrimony."

## Atin Ku Pung Singsing



Atin cu pung singsing/ Metung yang timpucan.... There is debate on whether the popular Kapampangan folk song *Atin Ku Pung Singsing* is prehistoric or colonial in origin. Some say the lyrics metaphorically refer to a lost culture; Dr. Albina Peczon Fernandez of UP theorizes that the phrase *mikrus kung gamat babo ning lamesa* alludes to the ancient Hindu practice of violently crossing arms to break glass bracelets as a sign of extreme grief. Others argue that the very words *krus* and *lamesa* are European derivatives; but then again, these may just have been supplanted on much older, now-lost lyrics. The theory of Prof. Felipe de Leon, also of UP, is that the song, or at least its melody, is most likely of 18<sup>th</sup> century provenance because the beat is similar to that of Spanish and Mexican folk songs of the same genre. In his 1732 dictionary, Bergaño defines *tampoc* as “that little circle or ring on which the stone is encrusted, as in a finger-ring.” He also records the phrase *singsing a timpucan*, “a ring encrusted with a stone.” The friar may or may not be referring to a folk song already popular at the time. (The literal meaning of *tampoc* is actually “the hole or crown that remains when the fruit is removed from the *tangcay*, or stem.”) (RT)

# Kapampangan words for PEACE, CHARITY, FRIENDSHIP

No need to borrow Tagalog words because our language already has them

Ancient Kapampangans lived constantly with war, disease, ruthless pagan practices and the ravages of ignorance and destitution, and yet they knew what serenity was, and understood the highest Christian values of charity, forgiveness, reconciliation and friendship, as evidenced by some beautiful Kapampangan words found in the 1732 dictionary. Today we have forgotten these ancient terms and instead use the word such as *kapayapan*, borrowed from the Tagalog *kapayapaan*, as if our language is not rich enough to have its own words for them.

### PEACE

The closest Kapampangan equivalent of the English word “peace” is *paum*; Bergaño defines *mipaum* as “at peace with one another.” *Manipaum* is “peacemaker” and *pamipaum* is “concord,” or peace treaty. Its closest synonym is *aga*, adjective, “tranquil;” its verb form, *miaga*, means “to place oneself at peace” while its noun, *pamiaga*, means “the peace” or “peaceful relations.”

Another synonym is *alam*, the root of such words as *calam*, “generosity, liberality;” *malam*, “generous, liberal;” *melam*, “one who was not generous before, has now become generous;” *magcalam*, “to become generous, to extend generosity;” and *mialam*, “to make peace with another.”

### CHARITY

*Samal*, adjective, said of a person “who works or acts with earnestness, determination and efficiency;” *semal*, “the affection with which a charitable person cleans a nauseous patient, or a son cleans his nauseous father,” and Bergaño says the word applied even to “mortal enemies.” *Samal ya lub*, “one who loves most tenderly, like St. Peter when he said ‘Even if I have to die with you, I shall not disown you.’”

### FRIENDSHIP

*Cási*, which is the original

Kapampangan word for “friend” (not *cáluguran*); *cacasi ku ya* (*Cacasi ke*), “He is my friend” or “He is a friend to me.” *Micasi*, “two persons binding each other in friendship.” *Maquicasi*, “one who wishes to enter into a friendship.” *Ipaquicasi mu ku kang Pedro*, “Make me a friend of Pedro” or “Help me befriend Pedro.” The derivative *manggasi* means “one who procures a friendship that is licit or illicit;” it could also mean “to court a woman.” *Panggasian*, “a man sought in friendship,

or a woman sought in courtship.”

Another word, *calilip*, means “an old friend, an experienced and trustworthy friend.”

The opposite of *casi* is *cauala* (*magcauala*, *migcauala*, *mipagcauala*), “to become divorced, or separated, like married couples, illicit partners, or friends;” and also *micalula*, “two friends who broke their friendship,” from the root word *lula*, “gloom.”

*Sap*, or *Sapni*, means “camaraderie of partners, companions, friends.” It refers to “a companion who helps.” *Isap mu ing upaya mu cacu, nung isap ning Dios*: “Help me with your power, if God wills it.” *Masasap* is “abundance” as in *Masasap mu la sinta*, “You love them exceedingly.”

### RECONCILIATION

Our ancestors understood the relationship between humility and forgiveness, as shown in the word *sut*, “to humble oneself; to reconcile oneself by going before the presence of the one to whom he humbles himself.” Example: *Isut mu ku kang ibpa ku*, “Reconcile me with my father” or “Take me to the arms/embrace of my father.” The contemporary word *sitâ* (to call attention or to reprimand) probably came from the past tense of *sut*, which is *sitán*.

The word *upaya* is sometimes used today as “forgiveness” as in *Panupaya me i koya mu*, “Forgive your brother” or “Show understanding towards your brother.” The original meaning of *upaya* is “power, authority” as in *mayupayang tutu* (“almighty, all-powerful”). Thus, *Panupaya me i koya mu* actually means “Use your power to favor your brother,” that is, by forgiving him, or enabling him, or condoning something he did. The mutual *mipánupáyâ* means bearing with each other. (R. Tangingco)

## Servants as friends

Kapampangans may have kept slaves and servants as was customary during those times, but they did not treat them as such; instead, they were considered not just as members of the family but more significantly, as friends. Consider the following words:

*sap* or *sapni*, which means “camaraderie of partners, companions, friends” also applies, according to Bergaño, to the camaraderie “even of a servant to a master;” when a servant becomes his master’s constant companion, inevitably such a congenial relationship develops between them, although the roles of servant and master remain

*aniani*, which means “reverence towards a superior,” also means, according to Bergaño, reverence of “the superior towards his subjects.” It speaks well of our culture to have coined a word for the respect that the high and mighty have for the little people.



# Terms of endearment and reverence

Ancient Kapampangans used *Pan* the way ancient Hebrews used *Bar*

People tend to romanticize the past, imagining it to be a time and place of great beauty, genteel living, and serenity. We would be closer to truth if we describe the past as “the years of living dangerously,” because behind those innocent faces in dainty costumes on sepia photographs, our ancestors went through really tough times. They dealt with constant wars, raids and ambushes by savage headhunters, and swarms of locusts, flies and mosquitoes, and had no electricity, no hospitals, no gas stoves, no cars and, worst of all, no toothpaste and soap! But despite these unbearable miseries, ancient Kapampangans were peace-loving as well as gentle, respectful and cultured, as the following words from Bergaño’s dictionary indicate:



Capitan or gobernadorcillo, the village chief

Taguri, a noun that Bergaño defines as “a tender word and very loving appellation of mothers for their children, calling them seraphs, sons, even when they

are as ugly as the night... (and) when they wish them to become what they call them.” The word still exists today, but it means, simply, “to be known as” (as in mitagurian yang pekabiasa, “he is considered the best”) but its original meaning was a term of endearment.

On the other hand, bansag is “title, surname, appellation, good or bad, by which somebody is called or named to identify him or tell where he was born.” Bergaño explains that Kapampangans ordinarily did not have surnames, except the firstborn son who was called Pan Pedro or Pan Juan depending on his father’s first name (the way the Biblical Hebrews called the son of Jonas as Bar Jonas), and also except the village chief, who used his position

title as surname (e.g., Pablóng Capitan). Galang, “honor, respect, veneration, reverence like that which is due to God, to one’s parents, elders, superiors.” Ibpang

Igagalang, Reverend Father; Cagalanggalang a Ibpa, My Most Reverend Father (the early Kapampangans addressed their priest as Ibpa, not Padre, like they did their biological father). Magalang means “respectful,” but it is unlikely that Magalang town got its name from this adjective; the other meaning of galang is “bracelet” and “a clamp, clasp, bond;” mag galang means “to wear a bracelet.” Galang galang are biscuits in the form of bracelets, still made in a few towns in Pampanga.

Aniani, “reverence towards superiors... reverential fear or respect, opposite of mabása (at ease).”

Carurungan is the “deference one gives to a respectable person;” pigcarurungan, “the person treated with respect.”

A related word is alala, which means courtesy, i.e., “to give attention or show deference, like one who does not like to take a seat before someone greater than he is takes his.” Mayalala is “very attentive,” which shows that our ancestors thought paying attention was a form of courtesy.

Mangdarapusa, “to esteem something not of much value, but of much importance.” (R. Tantingco)

# Terms of excellence

‘Contest’ probably should be *liclican*, not *ligligan*

Sampat, “beauty in general;” casampatan, “the beauty of a thing at its peak” or “the greater perfection;” masampat, “to become beautiful, to attain beauty or to come to the possession of beauty.”

Mambang, “an object of great excellence, said of angels and saints, goddesses and divine deities, like Venus;” used as a hyperbole, as poets were wont to do, for women.

Pauit means “excellence” and alang capauit means “nothing compares to his/her excellence or sublimity.”

Sandiquil also means “to excel in something, as in sculpture.”

Liclic, verb, “to surpass in competence, or in comparison with others, like a horse with better pace or an edifice with greater beauty;” liniclic is “one who excels in writing, debating, running, etc.” I am beginning to wonder if we should use liclican instead of ligligan for “contest or

competition” like we do today; Bergaño defines liglig as “to repound the raw rice because it is badly milled” and “to give someone much to do and to give him no choice but to do them.” Probably the original word for contest was liclican and succeeding generations merely corrupted it to ligligan.

Sita means “eloquent in prose, verse or rhetorics.”

Galasgas is “fluency in talking or reading aloud; fast talker/fast reader” as in Magalasang ya ing anac iti, “This child is brilliant” or “This child speaks fluently.”

Micudta, “one who invents, or composes verses or a literary work;” but it has a negative connotation: picudta, “that which is made up, like a lie” and micudta, “a great inventor, but of falsities.”

Patlalo, “to not be contented with merely like the other (which is pattiao), but to be more than he is, i.e., to excel him.”

# Adobu or arobo? Baculud or Bacolor?

Kapampangans often used (and still do) r for d and vice versa in words like arobo (adobo), arua (adua), sinabur (sinabud, “sown fields”), ranun (danun, “early”), rase (dase, “palm mat”), maranum (madanum, “watery”), Bacolor (Bacolod). According to Fray Coronel’s 1621 grammar book, the nickname of girls named Maria was Dia. It is probably because the language hardly had the r sound, as shown by the fact that s immediately follows q in the Bergaño dictionary. (The missing h sound, on the other hand, is probably influenced by the Spanish language, which does not have it either.) They also pronounce o as u, especially at the last syllable; this is probably due to the Kapampangans’ peculiar practice of dropping their voice at the end of a word. Examples: Masantul (for Masantol), canacu (canaco), amanu (amano), Pedru (Pedro), Santus (Santos), Baculud (for Bacolod).

# The reputation of Kapampangans in the 1700s

*Quepangpanganan* means not only 'translated to Kapampangan language,' but also 'having acquired the traits of a Kapampangan'



Kapampangans knew how to have fun even in the most difficult times

Kasaysayan



The men were better cooks than the women

Kapampangans have always been known for their pride, vanity, feeling of superiority, grooming, culinary talents, artistry, *dugong aso* (which can mean too much loyalty or too little), loud voice, entrepreneurial skills, carefree attitude, love for the good life. Bergaño may have inadvertently recorded in his *Vocabulario* what Kapampangans were known for in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century—traits or at least public perceptions that may or may not have survived to this day.

The long list of word entries pertaining to grooming and physical appearance tells us how much Kapampangans (especially the men) valued how they looked even in those days:

*unte*, "to groom or oil the hair of another"

*tinuac*, "slender waistline, like a lady wearing a corset"

*ticdi*, "manly figure, gentlemanly deportment, the mettle of a man"

*ticmus*, "a thing that tapers into a sharp point at the tip;" *maticmus*, "a man

with a good figure;" opposite is *punguc*

*tingquis*, "the disposition of a well-armed man;" *matingquis*, "one taking his machete, girds his belt, tucks up his sleeves, goes out in a rush, acting a la Xerxes, ready to do battle; also a well-dressed person"

*aticas*, "good looks, good form of a man, like size, waist, figure, shape of the legs and

calves of the legs"

*iring*, "elegance, graceful bearing"

*ouican*, "neat, delicate, like a work of art, or a body"

*galé*, "a vain woman, who wears a gala dress of finery outside its proper occasion or use"

*santing*, "handsomeness, good appearance of men and other things which are not feminine"

Kapampangans carried themselves very well that they would never allow themselves to be seen losing their poise. In defining the word *dapuli*, "two fighters who fall at the same time," or "to fall by accident," Bergaño writes, "midapuli, like *miragsa*, means one who falls on a slippery road, as they call a Tagalog, because, it is said, a Pampango very very rarely falls in such a manner."

Bergaño also observes that Kapampangans always insisted on accuracy. Defining the word *tambis*, which means "to hit a target that is moving, but only grazing it," he says generally "it is enough" but not for the Kapampangans: "The Pampango

would say, 'No, you did not hit it, you only grazed it: *E me tiran, atambisan mea mu.*'"

Another character trait that Bergaño describes as common to Kapampangans was their cerebration. In a rather lengthy definition of the word *isip* ('intellect, reason, sense of justice, mind, thought'), he lists its many forms and applications. "*Maquiisip ca*, 'Give the reason;' *Paquiisipan mu* refers to the one who has to render an account," writes Bergaño, and then adds, "This is typically Pampango. If they say, *Umie can isip* (in Spanish it means to give a copy, transcription or summary), it is a common expression of the poor. They say, *Coanan meng isip*, 'Get his opinion, or delve into his thoughts (in today's parlance, 'Pick his brain')."

The friar also writes that Kapampangans were known for their peculiar speech. In the word entry *itad*, "to stretch," he illustrates how our ancestors spoke: *Maitad la*, 'They speak with a lilt, with their peculiar accent.'

There is one word entry that gives an extreme description of a fun-loving Kapampangan: *tamasa*, which means "carefree, spoiled; fond of going to banquets, getting food for free; he would stop at nothing just to be there."

(R. Tangingco)





# KAPAMPANGAN BRAVERY AND PRIDE

By Fr. Edilberto Santos



The dreaded Macabebes

In his discussion of the words PAQUI and PABLASA, Bergaño hints at the reputation of Kapampangans at the time, as well as

that of Tagalogs and other nationalities. Note that he considers bravery and pride as traits common to Kapampangans and Spaniards, underscoring their kinship:

PAQUI indio ya, sagan ya, "Being an indio, he is weak (flojo)." PAQUI capanpangan ya, magmatang ya, "Being a Kapampangan, he is brave (valiente)." PAQUI Tagalog ya, nun e talaralit, talaterac ya, "Being a Tagalog, if he is not fond of singing (cantarin), he is fond of dancing (danzarin)." (Bergaño, Arte, Chapter 15, Section 2)

Sagan ya, PABLASANG indio ya, "He is weak, because he is an indio." Talaterac ya, PABLASANG Tagalog ya, "He is fond of dancing, because he is a Tagalog." Matapang ya, PABLASANG Castila ya, "He is brave, because he is a Spaniard." Palainum ya, PABLASANG Tudesco ya, "He is fond of drinking, because he is a German." (Bergaño, Arte, Chapter 15, Section 2)

If they see a Spanish mestizo put on airs, they say cucul ing quecastilana or quecastilana ita, the way we say Galician [gallegada], quecagallegoan. About the Vizcayan who is stubborn, quecavizcainoan, Vizcayan trait [vizcainada]. And so, quecapangpanganan [pampangada], the pride of the Kapampangan [altivez de pampang]. (Bergaño, Arte, Chapter 10, Section 3)



**taui**, "one who sells his jewelry or plantation at a lower price, out of necessity, or in order to have money for gambling"



**angab**, "open-mouthed, like a birdling being fed by a parent bird, or an infant waiting to suck his mother's breast;" macangab, "those waiting for the arrival of food they have been looking forward to eat"



**caba**, "food taken on a platter or in a basket, like those donated to a convent, or taken to the convent on Holy Thursday for feeding the poor"



**peeca**, "interjection of detestation, growing intense if uttered, accompanied by spitting"



Discovering Philippine Art in Spain

CHASTITY, COMPASSION, HONOR, ETC.

# KAPAMPANGAN TRAITS NOW LOST AND FORGOTTEN

Our ancestors even had a word for championing the downtrodden

Bergaño’s dictionary contains words that reflect what the Kapampangans in 1732 held near and dear and what they upheld as virtues. Modern-day Kapampangans seem to be so preoccupied with material prosperity, appearances and the pursuit of the good life that we have disconnected ourselves from the spiritual wealth that our ancestors have invested and passed on as legacy to future generations. Consider the following words:

Busal, literally, “the core of a tree, the center of a thing.” Kapampangans used (and still use) this term to refer to the opposite of what is outside, i.e., “if the bark is hard, the inside is soft... if the outside is bad, the inside is good.” Macabusal la qng lub cu reng anac cu, “My children are the core of my being.” When used with pangisnaua (“breath”), busal takes on another shade of meaning: Busal cong

pangisnaua ding anac cu, “My children are the reason for living;” busal queng pangisnaua is spoken by someone “who is madly in love.”

*maglualu* means “to go out in defense of the helpless, the destitute, the unprotected”

Dulug, or carulugan, “the center of each thing, from where it inclines, or towards which it has greater propensity to go.” Bergaño gives this example: Ing tauong mababa lub, carulugan ne ning mayap, dapot ing matas a lub, carulugan ne ning calmang marauac. (“Good things visit the humble, but ill fortune goes to the proud”). Nun nanung carulugan ning tauo, tio mo carin ing lub na (“Where your treasure is, there also is your heart”).

Lualu, one of those remarkable terms our ancestors had, probably unique to Kapampangans; it refers to the virtue of championing the defenseless; maglualu

means “to go out in defense of the helpless, the destitute, unprotected.”

Dínè (diphthong dinay), a word whose shades of meaning range from “bashfulness” to “embarrassment” to “shame.” Even in those days, Kapampangans valued their appearance as well as their reputation. Ala kang marine (“You have no shame”) was more than a description; it was a curse, and a Kapampangan would feel very insulted when told that. Bergaño also made a fine distinction on the sentence Picarine que ibpa cu, “I learned something about my father of which I am ashamed” which is not quite the same as “I am ashamed of my father” for which the friar records no term, as if to say that Kapampangans would be ashamed of what their parents did, but never of what their parents were.

Aua, verb, “to infect” which is usually applied to communicable diseases, but Bergaño cites another application, i.e.,





Alex Castro

## Magdarámè as surrogate Christs

Penitents are a common sight in Pampanga during Holy Week. They either flagellate themselves with a whip, or crawl on dirt, or carry a cross, or—most extreme of all—get nailed on the cross. The Kapampangan word for them is *magdarámè*, from the root word *dáme*, “to voluntarily take part in someone else’s situation or predicament.” *Icang demayan cu quing lasa*, “I condoled with you in your suffering,” which is more than offering words of condolences, but actually participating in the suffering in order to ease the pain. Thus, the original purpose of penitents in mutilating themselves on Good Friday goes beyond mere imitation of

Christ; it is a form of fellowship (fellow sufferer), a mystical relationship in which the penitent, believing that Christ still suffers every Good Friday, offers to alleviate His suffering by imposing on himself, or approximating, or at least taking a piece of, Christ’s suffering. Today, we see hundreds of Kapampangan men and boys (and sometimes women) go through the motions of physical penitence for tourism purposes; a few do it for slightly more noble reasons, like carrying on a family tradition, or asking for favors, or thanking God for favors already granted, but nothing like the original concept.

when a father committed a crime of *lese majesté* (against honor), his crime would infect his children (*penaua na la*). The friar mentions “the law that punishes them for the crime of the father is also *manaua*, it includes them or affects them, too.”

A related word is *saclong*, “to pay for another, like village chiefs for their *cabangcas* (constituents) or, more clearly, like Christ, who was made to suffer on account of our sins/guilt;” this verb is what one does when he takes the punishment meant for another or pays the debt not his own.

*Tua*, “age, antiquity, coming of age.” The early Kapampangans valued age and respected their elders, the way we still do today, to some extent. Bergaño recognizes this by including all the possible nuances of the word. *Matua* is “old” and “mature;” *macatua* is “the elder, the venerable old man;” *Tutua ne isip* is “His mind/judgment is becoming mature;” *quetuan* refers to “attributes of an old man, excelling in age.” The sentences *Mitua ca ta, cuma cang api* and *Mitua tamu, acu munang minum* require the younger person to give deference to the older one: “Go get the fire” and “I will drink first.” Bergaño lists more nuances, but I will just mention this last one: *magmatua*, “one who exercises the role of age, to him everyone pays attention, without him nothing is decided.”

*Samanta*, adverb, “while there is opportunity,” e.g., *Samantang panaun, dapat tang dapat a mayap*, “While we have the time, we should do acts of kindness.” *Samantang macatipon la*, “While they are gathered (it is the opportune time to do what you want to do).” The clause *Sasamanta la* (“They take advantage of the situation”) is probably the origin of, or is at least related to, the Tagalog words *samantala* (“meanwhile”) and *sinamantala*

(“take advantage;” the Tagalogs even borrowed the Kapampangan pronoun *la*, “they”).

*Calaro*, when used with the negative *ali* (or *e*), means “virgin” or “chaste.” *Ali ya calaro ing pekasalan ku*, “The one I mar-

*saclong*, “to pay for another, like village chiefs for their *cabangca* (constituents)”

ried is a virgin.”

*Paniti*, or *capanitian*, “abstinence;” *maniti*, “to abstain;” *capanitian quing anti carin*, “abstinence from the like,” i.e., “chastity”

*Puri*, “praise, glory, honor” as well as “virginity, inasmuch as its loss connotes loss of honor;” opposite is *libac*, “vituperation, reproach, backbiting;” *sirâ* is “to destroy or cause a loss of something, including vir-

*maquibangca*, “since you are on the same boat with us, you may as well be of one body with us;” or, “enjoy not only our company, but share also our ideas.”

ginity or honor, destroyed by slander, backbiting or gossip.”

*Tiuala*, adjective and verb, “trusting; to trust.” The word *paniuala* came from *tiuala*; it means not only mere belief (Tagalog *paniwala*), but also faith and credibility. *Paniualan da ka*, “I have faith in you” or “I believe in you,” which is beyond

“I believe you” (Tagalog *Pinaniniwalaan kita*). The exact opposite is *tiueue* (diphthong *tiueuay*), which Bergaño defines as “to deceive” but it’s a kind of deception that causes damage which one cannot repair anymore. The friar gives a somewhat lengthy, convoluted example: “You obtained from me five thousand pesos for you to take in this galleon trip; you did not make the trip, neither did you notify me about your failure to take the trip; the galleon has departed, and you return the money to me, when I no longer have any one else whom I could ask to carry them for me.”

A synonym of *tiuala* would be *arâ*, verb, “to put trust in something” or “to rely on something.” *Nung e ku mangara king lub mung mayap, e ku sa pepatad sulat keka*, “If I did not believe in your good will, I would not have asked you to carry my letter.” But there’s another entry in the Bergaño dictionary, *ará*, which means “to disrespect” or “to show no appreciation” as in *Mará yang pari!* “Disrespectful priest!” (for refusing a gift given by a native). A synonym with a religious connotation is *salpantaya*, “to believe in, to trust;” *casalpantayanan* (the word preferred in the liturgy) means “faith, belief in revealed religion, the trust in God.”

*Timaua*, adjective, “free, that is, one who can do what he wants to do unless hindered, impeded by force or by law.” Bergaño adds that “in this sense, even a slave is free, as when the master is not there; or a prisoner, because he is free from obligations common to normal citizens.” *Timaua lub* means “free from anxiety” while *lub a timaua* means “free will.” A synonym is *cabus*, “to free, or to become free” but this word is also used to mean “to pass,” e.g., *Cacabus na ing panaun*, “The time is passing,” or *Quebusan ta na*

ing balayan Betis, “We have already passed through the town of Betis” and Quebusan ta na ing capanganiban, “We have already passed the danger zone.”

Dámè (diphthong damay), a Kapampangan word that’s more or less the same as the Tagalog damay, which shows the Filipinos’ basic trait of taking part in someone else’s situation or predicament, but Bergaño’s dictionary has more insightful definitions and descriptions: “one who voluntarily participates in a task, or one who is made to share, e.g., They punish Pablo, so Irame re y Pedro, “Pedro is made to share in the punishment” for Pablo. The friar gives another example: “If a friend is worried, he is told by way of consoling him, Irame co queca ing anggag atiu caco, pati biye co (“I shall share with you all that I have, including my life”).” He goes on to cite other nuances of the word: Icing demayan co quing lasa (“I condoled with you in your suffering”) and Ing lasa iyang dame co queya

(“It is the suffering that I shall share with him”). The sharing, says Bergaño, was “either in the bad alone, or in the good and the bad, but not in the good alone. There is no adequate equivalent in Spanish to this word.”

Tambaya (or Tangbayan), “to coop-

*magmatua*, “one who exercises the role of age; to him everyone pays attention, without him nothing is decided”

erate,” like parts of the body in perfect coordination during the performance of a task, or like citizens of the republic doing their respective roles in society.

Maquibanga, “since you are on the same boat with us, you may as well be of

one body with us;” or, “enjoy not only our company, but share also our ideas.”

Arinasa, “one who economizes, continues saving a little more;” magarinasa, “to economize and save some more;” synonyms are arinandit, arindit and arinamo.

Pungpung, either “congratulations” or “chastisement for bringing bad news, and reward for bringing good news.” This is the Kapampangan equivalent of the saying “shooting down the messenger” like one who tells the news that the galleon has sunk and he is instead given 50 lashes; also applied to taking the blame for the wrongdoing of another.

Guli, “obstacle, impediment;” Biye a alang guliguli, “Life free from anxiety”—what all Kapampangans then and now want most. The word nuan means “blessed, blest, or true blessedness (happy, fortunate), because Manaua ya bie (“His life has become easy, relaxed”); canunuanan, “most blest.”

(R. Tantingco)

## Kasanting ta yata ngeni?

A peculiar feature of the language is the use of the pronoun cata or ta (“you and I”) even when referring exclusively to “I” or exclusively to “you.” A Kapampangan would say to a man he meets on the street, “Atin cata yatang lakad ngeni, abe?” which means “I see that you (not we) are going somewhere, friend?” Or, when confessing to a priest, “Maralas catang micasala” which means “I (not we) sinned often.” Fray Francisco Coronel already observed this in 1621 and recorded it in his book *Arte y Reglas de la Lengua Pampanga*. It is probably an expression of the speaker’s desire to be close to, or intimate with, the one spoken to, or the speaker taking the listener in confidence.

## Ini and iti

Kapampangans today use ini and iti, queni and queti interchangeably, but Fray Coronel in 1621 already explained the difference: queni is used when those to whom the speaker speaks are not located in the speaker’s place; queti is when both the speaker and those spoken to are all in the same place. Example: queti (not queni) sulip, “here on earth,” a phrase from the Lord’s Prayer. Queti is used because, writes Fray Coronel, “God is everywhere” (not in distant heaven). Another example: Ume ca queni (abbreviated into Mequeni), “Come here.” It is wrong to say Ume ca queti because the listener is still being asked to join the speaker.

## Linguistic flourish

According to Fray Coronel, certain words or syllables are sometimes added to root words for no apparent reason. “It is just a flourish with no other connotation,” he wrote. Examples: iti, itinan; aldao, cayaldoanan; bengi, cabengian. Kapampangans today, especially public speakers, extend their words this way to make their speech sound more poetic. Fray Coronel also noted the practice of sandwiching a noun between two demonstrative pronouns, e.g., queting pamigaganacang iti (“this remembrance”). He called the redundancy “a style that adds flourish and elegance to the sentence” with no other practical usefulness.



## Magpauo: reverse psychology

There’s a very old word which was borrowed from an even older folk tale: pauo, “turtle;” magpauo, “to say the contrary.” Bergaño writes that the word magpauo originated in the ancient fable *Ang Matsing at ang Pagong* (in Tagalog) or *Ing Matsin ampon ing Pauo* (in Kapampangan), i.e., *The Monkey and the Turtle*, popularized by Jose Rizal when he translated it into English and made an illustrated comics out of it. In the story, the two animals got into a fight and tried to bluff and outsmart each other, with the Turtle emerging as the winner after an irate Monkey made him choose between two penalties and the Turtle, using reverse psychology, told him the exact opposite of what he really meant. “So now,” Bergaño writes, “anyone who asks for the opposite of what he wants, or says that he does not like the thing that he particularly desires in order that it will eventually be given to him (through reverse psychology), is said to be Magpauo ya.” (By the way, magpauo-pauo is “to swim like a turtle.”)





To ward off the ravages of Black Death (bubonic plague) during medieval times, German penitents scourged themselves as they walked in procession. This practice was brought to Mexico and later, the Philippines.

# THE ORIGINS OF FLAGELLATION IN PAMPANGA

This unique Kapampangan Lenten tradition was probably influenced by medieval European, Mexican and Hindu practices



By Robby Tangingco

The most festive celebration in the Kapampangan Region is not Christmas; it is, ironically, the Holy Week.

From Palm Sunday to Easter Sunday, every town, barangay and sitio in the province explodes with frenetic activities: every roadturn has a puni (makeshift chapel) where pasyon chanters, flagellants and kibitzers converge all day and night. Massive traffic chokes streets and highways on Maundy Thursday during the visita iglesia, and parishes outdo each other with the best decorated monumento for the exposed Blessed



Sacrament and with fabulously decorated carrozas bearing even more fabulously dressed santos. In plazas and distant villages, all kinds of penitents (cross-bearers, back-whippers and road crawlers) attract roadside crowds.

And on Good Friday, all roads lead to crucifixion sites all over the province: San Pedro Cutud and Sta. Lucia in San Fernando, Madapdap Resettlement in Mabalacat, Telapayung in Arayat, Batasan in Candaba.

The Spaniards and later the Americans had already reported witnessing such practices even in colonial times. Where did Kapampangans get this practice?

Apparently, from medieval Europe. When bubonic plague was killing millions across Europe, a group of men in Germany formed a religious sect which required them to inflict physical suffering on themselves to save them from the ravages of the epidemic. According to medieval historian

Jean de Vanette, the German penitents “stripped to their waist, gathered in large groups and marched in procession as they beat upon their backs with weighted scourges, rejoicing as they did so in loud voices and singing hymns about the life of Christ, from the Nativity to His Passion (the forerunner of the pasyon?).”

Another medieval historian, Jean Froissant, wrote, “They flogged their shoulders and arms with iron points; many foolish women caught the blood and smeared it on their eyes, believing it to be miraculous blood.”

The concept of self-flagellation was eventually brought to Mexico, where the morbid European practice was dressed up with colorful Latin American cultural nuances. The similarities between the Kapampangan semana santa and the Mexican semana santa indicate that we acquired practice directly from Mexico and indirectly



# HOLY WEEK PRACTICES COMPARED

## IN MEXICO (CENTRAL AMERICA) IN PAMPANGA



Palm Sunday in Mexico



Palm Sunday (Domingo de Palaspas) in Angeles City



Cenaculo in Mexico



Sinakulu in Brgy. San Pedro Cutud, City of San Fernando



Penitent in Mexico strapped to a horizontal beam (patibulum) made of bundled-up cactus canes



Magdaramé in Mabalacat carrying customized wooden crosses





Hooded, barefoot women penitents in Mexico



Paso de penitente in many parts of the country, including Pampanga

Cuaresma



Crucifixion of penitents in Mexico



Crucifixion in Telapayung, Arayat



Burning of Los Judas effigy in Mexico on Easter Sunday morning, accompanied by singing and dancing



Ceremonial exploding of Judas effigy (pakbung hudas) in Minalin, also an Easter Sunday morning.



from Europe.

Both Kapampangan and Mexican penitents are hooded and bare-foot; one type of penitents has a large log (the patibulum or the horizontal beam of the cross) strapped on their shoulders and outstretched arms; in Pampanga it is usually a wooden post or a banana trunk, while in Mexico it is bundled-up cactus canes. Kapampangan penitents have a long single rope tied around their body, from the legs up to their thighs and torso and arms and around the neck; Mexican penitents have tightly bound ropes around their waist over a long, full black skirt.

Both are accompanied by friends and relatives, who watch for their safety and attend to their needs. In Mexico, they have bare-foot women penitents whose wrists are shackled to their ankles, the chains heard dragging on cobblestone, like during the dark days of the Spanish Inquisition. Old folks in some Pampanga town say this used to be done during the First Friday procession.

In the early days of colonization, the Spaniards tried but failed to completely eradicate our ancestors' prehistoric pagan, Muslim and Hindu practices; so what the friars did was adopt the practice and supplant the pagan idol with a Christian saint, or replace the reason for celebration with a Christian feast day. Examples are the kuraldal of Sasmuan, the sanjuanero of Macabebe and the libad of Apalit. Self-flagellation may also have been practiced by the early Kapampangans as an influence of Hinduism (before they were converted to Islam prior to the Spanish Conquest); the friars probably substituted this Hindu practice with the similar European/Mexican model in order to Christianize it.

Among the Hindu population in



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Self-flagellation is also practiced in Hindu countries all over Asia, most spectacularly in Singapore during the Thaipusam Festival. Held during full moon in January or February, the bloody festival is actually a purification rite, just like the penitensya of Kapampangans, who bleed themselves on Good Friday to wash away their sins. Such similarities with Hindu traditions raise the possibility that flagellation was already practiced in the archipelago before the Spaniards came.

Singapore, the Thaipusam Festival (held during full moon in January or February) is a purification rite (like the Kapampangan panata) in which penitents pierce their bodies (usually their bare backs but sometimes their cheeks and ears) with large metal frames called kavadis, using a horrific array of skewers, hooks and spikes. They are also followed by supporters who continuously beat drums and chant to keep the penitents' morale up. They start their grue-

some procession from a temple (the Sri Srinivasa Perumal) and end at another temple (the Sri Thandayuthapani), which is similar to the practice of Kapampangan penitents who sometimes begin their procession in a chapel (bisita or puni) and usually end in another chapel.

More research is needed to determine the similar elements between the Hindu and Kapampangan practices.





**Pulanggus** (pulanggus), “to wrap with a cloth, or ropes, like the penitents who go around town, wrapped around with ropes”



Alex Castro

**Bidbid**, “to tie around, coiling a rope like tying the penitents to the crossbars they are carrying;” binidbid, “the rope used thus”

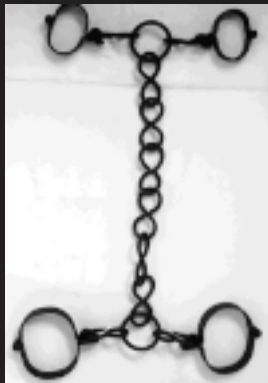


**Balibad**, “to tie around the face, like the face covering of penitents during Holy Week”

# Instruments of torture



**SAPI**, cowhide for flogging



**BACSO**, manacle or handcuff



**PANGO**, the stocks for prisoners



**BINAN**, post to which a slave's chains are attached



**BICTI**, to hang

Sapí, “cowhide for flogging;” verb, “to flog with it.”

Bacso (diphthong, bacsao), “manacle, handcuff” or “bracelet;” magbacso, “to put it on.”

Palucâ, “stick, rod, truncheon, club;” verb is “to whip or beat with a stick.”

Pango (diphthong, pangao), “the

stocks (for punishment);” verb, “to place in stocks.”

Talicala, “chain;” tanicala today.

Binan, “wooden beam or post, to which the chains of a slave are attached in order to prevent his escape.”

Panabad, “knife used to make a slight wound for bleeding,” derived from abad,

“a little bleeding;” today the word refers to the gadget used by penitents to bleed their backs prior to self-flagellation.

The verb bicti (mispronounced today as bigti) means “to choke or strangle another by squeezing around his neck with your hands or rope/cord;” magbicti, “to kill oneself by looping rope around neck.”



## Holy Guardian Angel in Kapampangan

Even in the 1700s, Kapampangans had had a devotion to the holy angels, as shown in these entries in the *Vocabulario*:

Angel a Talaingat, the Guardian Angel, patron of Holy Angel University and titular patron saint of Angeles City; today Kapampangans use the Spanish terms San Angelo and Los Angeles Custodios; Bergaño gives the phrase *Tenuran ning Angel a Talaingat*, “Watched over by the Guardian Angel,” from the root

word *tanud*. In defining the word *cuyug*, a noun that means “inseparable partner,” Bergaño gives another phrase, *Angel a cucuyugcuyug*, which “describes well a Guardian Angel, like *cayabeyabe*.”

By the way, Bergaño has recorded another title of Our Lady, in Kapampangan, which is hardly used these days: *Timbulan ding Malulumud*, literally, “buoy for the drowning.”

And the word for manger is *lalabangan*, “manger; feeding place for animals;” many Kapampangans still borrow the Tagalog word *sabsaban* to refer to the Nativity site.

(RT)



**Talangdang**, “to be thrown off, like the drops of blood being deflected from the discipline of the penitents”



**Abad**, “a little bleeding or a slight wound;” “to cause a slight wound;” panabad, “the instrument; knife”



Alex Castro

**Panás, mapanás**, “to become pale, dejected, like scourging oneself, or scourged by another”



Alex Castro

**Limbon**, “procession;” “to walk along a route, like along a street, or from one end to the other;” linimbon, “what is paraded through the streets, like a flagellant”

# CORRECTION, PLEASE

Bergaño has taken us back to the words in their original forms, before the centuries altered them

Auo, or cauo, “thirst;” mauo, “thirsty;” notice how we mispronounce them today as aua, caua and maua.

Uias or uyas, “to wash;” manuias, “to wash oneself;” we mispronounce these words today as uwas and manuwas or manós.

Libad, today referring to a religious procession on water, like what they do in Apalit, Sasmuan and Macabebe, is defined in Bergaño’s dictionary as “a man dancing with or around a woman” or “birds fluttering around each other.” I think the fluvial processions had men dancing (the kuraldal) on the boats, like they still do today; eventually the word libad applied not just to the dancers during the procession but to the entire procession. (Incidentally, kuraldal, which does not appear in the dictionary, may have been derived from cural, “grime or dirt on the face or body” or curul, “brave and invincible warrior who runs away or retreats,” i.e., if the dance was part of the ancient moro moro performance of batalla or battle between Moors and Christians.)

Payungpayungan is our word for mushroom today, but our ancestors used the term

payungdaguis (literally, “a mouse’s umbrella”).

Pamamupul, the word we use for harvest, has its root in pupul, “to gather or harvest fruits;” it does not refer to harvesting grains; our ancestors used the word palagpag, “to

*Pupul*, “to gather or harvest fruits;” it does not refer to harvesting grains; our ancestors used *palagpag* to mean harvesting rice.

reap the pále, like we would say of the grapes, to gather vintage;” papalagpag, “the time of harvest.”

Putó (diphthong, putao), “a thing short of measure, like a dress, cord, rope, wood; less than or farther from where it should reach;” today it has been corrupted to kutó.

Saclolo, which today

*Pindang*, “dried beef or venison;” the word refers to the thin, long slices of meat, not to the processing or curing of meat.

means help, originally had a more specific meaning: “” to lift up, using the arms, like lifting a sick person, or a wounded fellow soldier, in order to help him ford a river or cross a stream.”

Ulimao, similar to the Tagalog halimaw (monster), meant “lion.” Galdia is “elephant.” Both words are found in Bergaño’s Kapampangan dictionary. Although there is a slight possibility that the early Kapampangans may have had

visual contact with elephants (fossils of which have been unearthed in the Cagayan Valley), surely the same thing could not be said of lions. The most plausible explanation is that lions (and maybe elephants) were attractions in the circuses (shipped from Europe) that regularly came to town.

Calicubac, “dandruff,” mispronounced today as

balicubac.

Salapsap, “prick, tine, thorn or arrow that pierces superficially between the skin and the flesh, in such a way that it is still visible for it has not penetrated or pierced

deeply;” corrupted today as salubsub.

Alangalang today means “for the sake of,” as in Alangalang cang Pedro. However, in the past it meant “You don’t think” or “Don’t tell me” as in Alangalang quing biasa ca cacu, “You don’t suppose you are more intelligent than I am, do you?” Bergaño concludes it has no equivalent in the Spanish language; today Kapampangans use alangan naman which is borrowed from Tagalog.

Anino (diphthong, aninao), “shadow” but it can also mean “image reflected in the mirror or on the water; what is perceived in the manner of aninag, but with greater clarity.”

Pindang, “dried beef, jerked beef; by substitution, it is venison.” Bergaño clarifies that it is called thus “not because it is salted, but because it is sliced extensively in thin long pieces;” thus, even “the pieces of cloth torn lengthwise are also called pindang.”

Alubebe (diphthong, alubebay), which we use to mean the dark, salty fish sauce, actually referred to the “small fish, like small sardines” used in making the sauce. Thus, strictly speaking,



alubebe is not the sauce, but the fish in it.

Sangag, "a certain mixture of salt and earth used to bring out the luster of gold;" the Tagalog sangag is sanglé in Kapampangan, "to roast, to toast, like the cacao or corn kernels" which, by the way, is different from the English fried rice, which is fried, not toasted.

Anyaya, to invite (in Tagalog); in Kapampangan, it means "to betray;" agcat is Kapampangan for invite.

Bicti, not bigti, "to choke or strangle another by squeezing around his neck with your hands or rope/cord; magbicti," to kill oneself by looping rope around neck."

Alamag, "mold, moldiness due to humidity;" mialamagan, "to become moldy;" today we use amag, which is a Tagalog word.

Bagua, "spider;" balebagua, "spiderweb;" today, babagua.

Bangil, "tusk or canine tooth of a wild boar;" today, pangil.

Catiqui, "to cause one to laugh by tickling him;" yet Kapampangans today keep using the Tagalog word kiliti.

Batis, "stream, brook" but it also means "the place (not water) through which the brook runs" and "the path or trail where deer, carabaos usually trod" as in batis usa.

Bidso, "almost, nearly;" today, mispronounced as bigsu, sometimes digsu..

Bilutug, "toasted rice or corn kernels;" today, balitug.

Danglé (diphthong, danglay), "to clear a field of grass or remove the sucals or overgrowth;" and from this the word maranglé or meranglé, "cleared field" although today it means ricefield.

Duyi, "spine of fish" or "fishbone;" today, mispronounced as dui or duwi.

Uagni, "to raise a great cry of victory;" today we use the Tagalog word wagi.

Gubat, "a cleared

land," or "plain meadow," or "flat field" but not forest, as we understand the word today; cagubatan, "place of wide meadows."

Gamut, which we understand to mean medicine, originally meant "herb used in witchcraft;" guemutan, "to bewitch" or "to harm by witchcraft."

Ebon, "egg of fowls" but it also meant "suckling of quadrupeds like cows, sheep, etc."

I y i , "urine;" today, it has become imi, and the reason we now say mi, mimi and mini is that the verb forms of iyi are miyi, mimiyi, and miniyi; we simply dropped the last syllable.

M a l â , "miracle," magmalâ, "to work wonders" and "to make miracles;" today we borrow the Tagalog himala.

P a n g s a , "the sitting of fowls or birds on their eggs to hatch them;" pipangsan, "the shells left over by the hatching;" lukub today.

Pitnga, "to cut in the middle, to make two halves;" capitnga, "the half, or the middle;" today we say pitna because it is not as difficult to pronounce as pitnga. Capitngan bengi, "midnight;" today, we say capitangan bengi, which is worse than capitngan bengi because capitngan does not make sense.

Silimsilim, "the time of Angelus; dusk, twilight;" sisilim today.

Siput, "uncircumcised;" sput today.

Sumbia, "a swinging cradle or hammock, where they place a child, instead of the usual cradle;" duyan today.

Taila, "lullaby;" tumaila is the verb form, "to sing a lullaby;" today, however, they use tumaila as a noun.

Talicala, "chain;" tanicala today.

Tanling, "voice of a soprano or treble;" today, they say tarling.

Teuagan, "godfather," from the root word tauag; maneuagan (manewagan), "to seek a patron;" today, it is mispronounced as tegauan (and manegawan).

Taul, "to call in a loud voice;" today it refers to a dog's bark.

T e r a c , "dance" but Bergaño is quick to add that both the noun and the verb forms applied only to men; the reference to the traditional Kapampangan dance kuraldal is shown in Bergaño's ex-

planation that terac was done for health and during fiesta; in kuraldal held during town fiestas in Pampanga, men dancers outnumber women dancers, and they shout "Puera sakit!" (Away with ailments!) when they dance. Talaterac is "a fine dancer, male dancer."

Tugut, which today means "stop" or "desist" (Patugut ka!), meant "to loosen what is tight" and idiomatically, "to condescend" and "to concede

what is being asked for" as in Tumugut e ya ume queti? "Why not let him come here?" Surely he will come, for he needs it.

Tulong, "to alternate, or to perform by turns, like to alternate in pounding rice in a mortar, or pounding iron works in a smith's shop." Pitulongtung deng bitbat or inamanuan, "They took turns in whipping him, or advising him." Today the Tagalogs use this word to apply to helping in general.

Tunggaldit, "a little for each one;" this is a compound of two words, tunggal (one) and dit (little), which is a synonym of ditac; tunggalan mong dit, "give each one a little piece;" today we say tunggalditac, and we never use dit anymore.

Ulap, which we use today to mean cloud, actually referred to "mist" or "drizzle;" the old Kapampangan word for cloud is bigâ (which is also the word used for "some wide leaves used for itching;" bigâ, on the other hand, is "a plant whose leaves are useful for medicine"; Mabiga, the name of a barangay in Mabalacat, means "proliferation of biga plants" and not "a cloudy or foggy place" as many people think); lastly, alapaap which is a synonym of ulap in Tagalog, means in Kapampangan "the space between the sky and the earth."

Timbabalac, "a species of lizards;" today mispronounced as trebalac.

Timba, "a bombo or wooden pole used as an implement for drawing water out of a well" and not the pail attached to it, as we say today.

Tione (diphthong, tionay), "a sliver or thorn that remains within the skin or flesh;" today we use the word salubsub; the tool we use to remove a tione is a tiane (nipper).

Paritaan, "kitchen oil-lamp, with many tubes for wicks;" a Tagalog word, Bergaño adds; today we short-cut it to paritan.

(R. Tantingco)



ALANG ILANG, now known as ilang-ilang



PALTOCOS; today suecos



DALIUAUAT (pronounced daliwawat), pimple, now pronounced as daliyawat

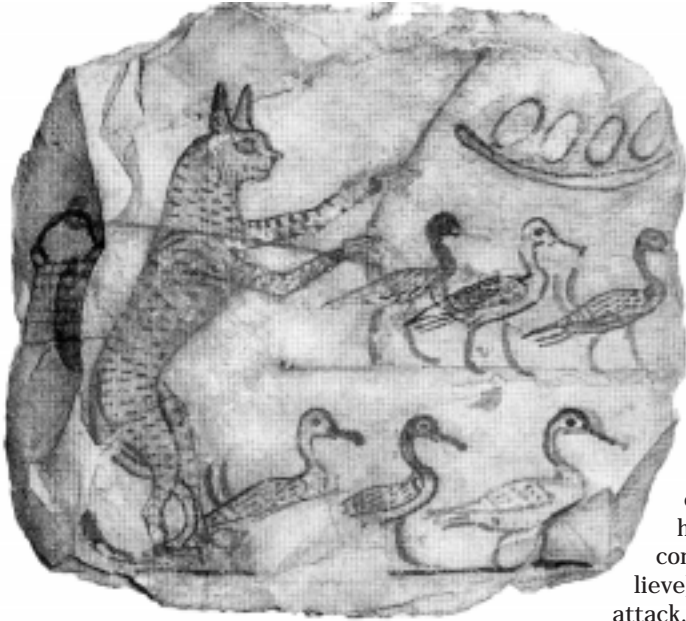


ABIAC, newly born pig, known as bigac today

# ANACPUSĀ

## The cat in the life of early Kapampangans

By Joel Pabustan Mallari



The cat has long played a role in religion and witchcraft. The Egyptians had a cat-headed goddess, named Bast. Thousands of cat mummies have been discovered in Egypt. Kapampangans metaphorically refer to the “temperature” of a dead person as *marimla ia pa quing arung ning pūsā*, literally “colder than a cat’s nose.”

Black cats have long been regarded as having occult powers especially among early riverside civilizations. The Kapampangan phrase *matuling a pūsā* alludes to a popular superstition about a black cat that crosses someone’s path as a harbinger of bad luck. Likewise, the black cat is a familiar figure in nursery rhymes and children’s stories.

In Hindu religion the cat is regarded as a sacred animal, and if it is killed one has to atone for the act by offering the gold image of a cat.

In the Philippines, cat meat is never eaten although there is persistent talk (probably an urban legend) about unscrupulous Chinese cooks using cat meat for *siopao*; Kapampangans are said to be able to tell the difference because cat meat allegedly stings the tongue.

Another Kapampangan superstition involving cats is the belief that a wailing cat at night is actually the voice of an unbaptized dead child.

The greatest concentration of cats species is in southeastern Asia where there may be as many as seven species living together in one area. Some of the entries listed in Bergaño’s *Vocabulario* are *diris*, musk cat or civet cat; *lamiran*, the mountain cat; *musang*, a civet cat; and *pusang layas*, the stray cat.

Some derivatives also noted in the *Vocabulario* are: *dirisan*, *diniris*, “to shock the cat to extract the perfume of the musk/civet.” Idiomatically, *Dirisan da ca*—the implied meaning is easily understood. *Lamiran* may have some connection with the contemporary Kapampangan word *lamaran*, meaning greedy charac-

ter and *limiran*, which is the impolite way of acquiring something like getting food not intended for him/her. The cat *musang*, *Viverra tangalunga* may have influenced the word *mangusang*, having an asthma attack, since common folk believed (and still believe) that cat’s fur triggers asthma attack. The word *sinḍasing* means a cat puffing or snorting; it also means to breathe heavily through the nostrils, which may be a derivative of *singā sinḍā*, that is, to sway, to lilt like one who is very tired, and of *sunḍa* (or, *sunḍa sunḍa*), gasp or pant, like one who has run a very long distance).

*Pusang layas* is equivalent to the *pusang-gala* of the Tagalogs, which idiomatically means an “untamed” personality and the visiting upland people like the Agta from Zambales.

W. Marsden, in his 1966 book, *The History of Sumatra* reports the existence of a wild cat in Sumatra, the *musang*. According to Fr. Edilberto Santos, as recently as the 1940s, old people in Pampanga still called the attention of a child whose face was dirty by saying: “*Lupa kang musang*” (You look like a *musang*). At present the more frequently used is the adjective *mamusing* (dirty), presumably a derivation of the other word. Another is the phrase “*lupa kang muskun*” (idiomatically, having a dirty face). At present, cats especially the domesticated ones project a clean image, in the *Vocabulario*, “*bulanggao a mata*” pertains to the eyes of a cat (blue eyes). Moreover, Fr. Santos, quotes that

“...it was to the *musang* that old Kapampangans referred when, during the 1940s, they mentioned the *pusa lampung* (cat from *Lampung*) to crying children to threaten them; “You better stop your tantrums, or the cat from *Lampung* will come and get you.” (*Eka tuknang? Oyan na ing pusa lampung, sigi.*)”

While in the *Vocabulario*, *lampung* was defined otherwise, that is “to break plates by a blow/smash, or other tiles in a hearth”. Marsden also pointed that *Lampung* is the name of a region and one of the ethno-linguistic groups in Sumatra. Fr. Santos further notes that *maglampung* means the act by which a male cat and a female cat cry together, usually at night, obviously as part of the mating process. Some old folks also believe that when such

cats perform this noisy ritual, there’s most likely a pregnant woman living in the vicinity. Today, *makipaglampungan* is derogatorily used to refer to persons, in particular women, in the act of flirtation and other sexual activities frowned upon by decent society.

*Pūsāng mamusing, mangdarapusa*

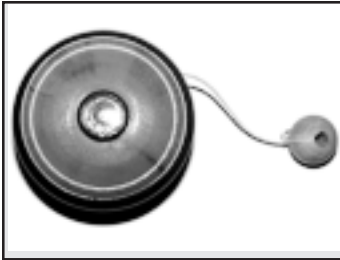
The perfect supply side economics involve the farmers who want their grain intact, rodents (mentioned in the *Vocabulario* as *daguis* and the days-old *bulilit*) which desire the grain, and cats which desire the rodents. Cats have simply discovered an ecological niche for themselves, a steady source of food, and affection from their human company. In fact, it is still a common belief among old Kapampangan folks that the occupants of a house will have an unexpected visitor if they see their pet cat sitting near or beside the front door, or “*manimu ia*,” that is, cleaning its face and body with its paws.

Fr. Bergaño also cites examples of human behavior associated with cats: *onyat*, to unfold like an animal stretching out its body, like what cats and dogs do; *bangay*, to fight, to snarl; a dog fighting another dog, or a cat; *cúnlaui*, to climb up by gripping at an object, like a cat burglar, or one gripping at branches to climb up; *sanḍit*, concupiscence, violent/strong natural appetite, and it comes from covetousness, like that natural tendency/instinct of cat to run after a mouse; *simao*, to go prying, like a boy, where there are candies, or the cat, where there is stew, in order to get some; *tanḍay*, to carry away something with the mouth, like a wolf, dog, cat. Although *sinḍasing* is defined as the puffing or snorting of a cat, it can be compared to the presently used Kapampangan term *saingsing*, meaning deep sigh of pain. Bergaño even records an old saying “*Nanan me man ing pusa, suclab ya lalam dulang*,” literally, “No matter what you do to the cat, it always crawls under the *dulang* (low table of the natives),” referring to the natural attachment of the Kapampangans to their *gabun* (soil, earth, as native land). He also mentions a positive association of cat to human personality like *mitindag*, which means “like the eyes of a cat” from the root word *tindag*, a noun for brilliancy. One word entry in the *Vocabulario* which I suspect has a connection to cats’ culture is *mangdarapusa*, defined as “to esteem something not of much value, but of much importance.”

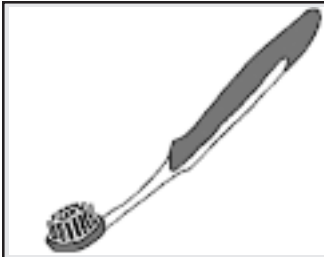


# ANCIENT TERMS, MODERN THINGS

Use of the Kapampangan language should no longer be confined to poetry but should be expanded to the rest of our daily lives



**Yoyo**, “to swing to and fro;” “to rock, like a hammock;” “it also means nipa palms which are close to producing tuba which is taken from the young leaves or shoots of the sasa.”



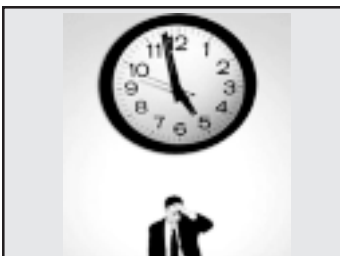
**Sipan**, “a small brush for the teeth, made from the husk of luyos (betel palm);”  
**Suguigui**, “to rub or scrub the teeth to clean them”



**Gugû**, “a certain root used in washing the head/hair;”  
**Gugus**, “to rub the head of another person, like in bathing”



**Pánínga**, “toothpick”



**Sipít**, “pressure, like pressure on workers to work even on a holiday, which calls for great haste;” today’s overtime

**Tagulaling**, “allowance or extra pay”



**Sumungal**, “to pull the teeth;” from the root word sungal, “toothless”

I recently learned that the favorite American toy, yoyo, was actually of Filipino origin. I think Kapampangans have a right to lay claim to it, on the basis of a word entry in Bergaño’s 1732 dictionary. The adjective yoyo is “said of nipa palms which are close to producing tuba, which is taken from the young leaves or shoots of the sasa.” The verb yoyo, Bergaño continues, means “to swing to and fro” or “to rock, like a hammock”—which is exactly the movement of a yoyo!

And that other favorite toy of Kapampangans, then and now, the top, is called pasí, while magpasi means “to play with a top.”

Other ancient words that resonate with the modern times:

Suguigui, “to rub or scrub teeth to clean them;” sipan, “a small brush for the teeth, made from the husk of luyos (betel palm).”

Gugû, “a certain root used in washing the head/hair;” this was our ancestors’ version of shampoo; obviously they practiced good grooming despite meager resources; guiguan, “one whose hair is washed by another.” Gugus means “to rub the head of another person, like in bathing.”

Alaga, “to assign a price on a thing sold;” mialaga, “to raise the price, like the merchandise from the night Parian the following day;” obviously, even our ancestors had midnight sales outside the city walls, among the Chinese merchants. Today many Kapampangans mispronounced alaga as ulaga.

Panínga, “toothpick,” from the root word tinga, “particles of meat caught between the teeth.”

Salibabi, “to make one infuriated against many” while

lumlum is “to set many against one;” magsalibabi, “to rumble, like Moros and Christians” or, in today’s setting, like fraternities.

Sipít, “pressure, like pressure on workers to work even on a holiday, which calls for great haste;” today, it’s called overtime.

Sumungal, “to pull the teeth,” from the root word sungal, “toothless;” sinungal, “the person from whom the teeth were pulled out.” I suppose if there were professional dentists at the time they would be called not dentistas but mánungal.

For lawyers, this word would be useful: sungco, “a thing cited before the court.” Capilan ing sungco na? “When is his arraignment?” Nanung sungco na? “What is he cited for?” And for judges: timtim, “to weigh carefully;” matimtiman is “one who has this quality.”

Talatátag, “the master of ceremonies,” from the root word tátag, “to order, to command, to put in order, to make ordinances, to enact laws;” different from tatág, “firmness” as in Matatág yang lalaqui, “He is a firm man.”

Bubu, “the clown or comedian in a stage play;” lid-dio, “to jest, to make a practical joke.”

Words useful for restaurateurs: sagúm, “to mix drinks, e.g., liquor and beverages, or one wine with another kind of wine;” different from lauc, “to make a mixture, like water with wine,” and from sauaua (pronounced sawawa), “to become mixed, like water and wine.” The word dulut means “desserts” and magdulut is “to assist at the table, like servers (waiters), or like the church sexton, who is standing by while the Padre is eating his meal, in case there is some-



**Alipit**, “to afflict or torture in order to make one admit or declare,” which the military and the insurgents still do today



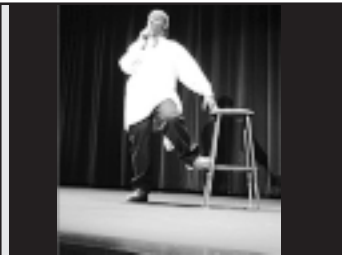
**Paraluman**,  
“a mariner’s compass”



**Milipit**, “to press, like when there are so many people watching a stage play;” today we call it standing room only (SRO)



**Pupul**, “rice flour, which they rub on the face in order not to have sunburned skin;” today’s sunblock lotion



**Bubu**, “the clown or comedian in a stage play;”  
**Lid-dio**, “to jest, to make a practical joke”



**Suban**, “the boiling water and the steam that spreads in a small room;” the modern-day sauna bath



**Sagúm**, “to mix drinks, e.g., liquor and beverages, or one wine with another kind of wine;” different from lauc and sauaua (pronounced sawawa) which both mean “to mix water with wine”



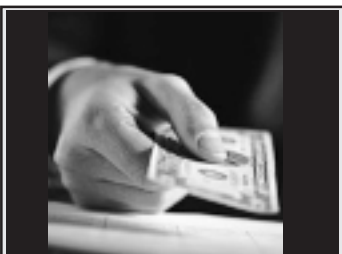
**Yubyub**, “to put sausage, camote, etc., over ember;” today we call this barbecue



**Dulut**, “desserts”  
**Magdulut**, “to assists at the table, like servers (waiters)”



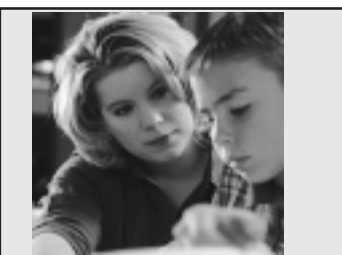
**Tindayag**, “to hang or display something where all could see it, like merchandise in a store;” probably the origin of the word tindahan



**Galal**, “tip” or “what is given as an extra for work done...in the form of food or extra money”  
**Salap**, “bonus, given besides the usual pay or the payment agreed upon ”



**Putal**, “to take a little piece, to pinch off a little piece by hand, like in eating a certain dish of chicken, or like in picking up some piece of appetizer;” today it’s called finger-food



**Iral**, “to tutor;” the noun means “actual presence, personal attendance or care”



**Talatátag**, “the master of ceremonies”

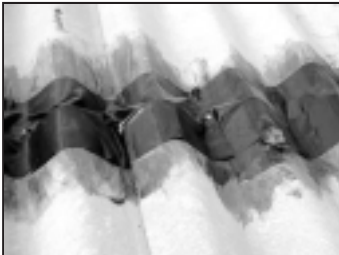




**Bagat**, “what is given as a parting gift to the principal guest, as a token of appreciation,” usually “taken from the food that he has partaken with the rest;” today’s take-out



**Tulus labuad**, “landmark or property marker;” today known as mojon



**Galagala**, “waterproofing,” using oil from the fruit of a tree known as balucanag; “to insulate with pitch or bitumen; to waterproof little holes, like on a boat or wicker basket;” today’s Vulcaseal



**Biguas**, “to make designs on wood;” mabiguas is “to become carved or designed on;” cabiguasan, “the individual carving;” pibiguasan, “the place for carving” or “the shavings”



**Sulam**, “needlework like blankets, albs and bed covers;” silaman, “that which is done with needle and thread;” embroidery, lacework; sulad, “the fashion, the finish, the spun”



**Dudugarug**, “the movement of the pendulum of a clock”



**Duláng**, “to search for gold by scouring or washing away the sand, or by diligently sifting it with water;” pagdulangan, “the gold, or the place for gold-panning”

thing on the table that the priest would like to be served or brought to him.” Galal is the “tip” or “what is given as an extra for work done... in the form of food or extra money,” while salap is a “bonus, given besides the usual pay or the payment agreed upon, like what is given as a gift or a sign of goodwill;” mamasalap, “one who gives by way of mamasalamat, token of gratitude.”

Tagè (diphthong, tagay), “to engage in group drinking wine by turns, like in a drinking bout;” talatagè, “one who pours the drinks, like a waiter at a party.”

Iral, “to tutor;” the noun means “actual presence, personal attendance or care.”

Pipagbatuan, “quarry; the place where they gather stone,” from the root word bató, “stone;” magbato is “one who deals on stones, gathering them, carting them away.” Betuan is “a work of stones, like a house built of stones.”

Tagulaling, “allowance” or “extra pay” or “bequest to a son.” Bergaño gave this example: “I hire somebody to work on three cabalitas, for which I have to pay him, and I give him besides five measures more, out of my goodwill; these are tagulaling.”

Tulus labuad, “landmark” or “boundary” or “property markers.”

Baliuas, “merchandise;” magbaliuas, “to engage in buying and selling.”

Galagala, “waterproofing,” using oil from the fruit of a tree known as balucanag; “to insulate with pitch or bitumen; to waterproof little holes, like on a boat or wicker basket;” guelagala, “that which is waterproofed;” the modern-day Vulcaseal.

Banli, “to dip in boiling water, like a lemon or some other sour fruit, to tenderize it and extract juice easily;” today the term we use is blanche.

Busa, “toasted glutinous rice; the grains are puffed;” misa, the verb form. Bergaño further says that the grains

jumped off the pan as they puffed—the original popcorn! On the other hand, bilutúg (today’s balitug) is “toasted rice or corn kernels” minus the puffing.

Lalip, “to slice bread or other things for fritters.”

Bagat, “what is given as a parting gift to the principal guest, as token of appreciation,” usually “taken from the food that he has partaken with the rest;” our ancestors’ version of take-out.

Big-guas, or biguas, “to make designs on wood;” mabig-guas, “to become carved or designed on;” cabig-guasan, “the individual carving;” pibig-guasan, “the place for carving” or “the shavings.” Even the woodcarvers of Betis probably don’t know this Kapampangan word.

Sulam, “needlework, like blankets, albs and bed covers;” silaman, “that which is done with needle and thread;” embroidery, lacework; sulad, “the fashion, the finish, the spun;” sildan, silaran or sinulad, “that is what they call the cotton that is spun into thread.”

Ducduc, “to beat clothes in laundry, striking them in an up-and-down motion in the wash tub.”

Dugarug, “to shoot at a fruit as we do with a sling-shot;” dudugarug, “movement of the pendulum of a clock.”

Parulang, “that instrument that revolves when storing the fodder;” or “that log with which the fields are leveled and cleansed;” from the word manyulang, “to spin the wheel, or make a wheel rotate” whose root word is dulang, which mean both “a low table for dining, about one foot high” and “to roll.” Parulangan refers to “the fish caught after a pond has been drained through the use of a waterwheel.” When tires were invented centuries later, we borrowed this term to describe them; today it has been corrupted to parugang.

On the other hand, duláng (stressed on the second syllable) means “to search for gold by scouring or washing



**Lapas**, “cut short or lacking some piece, like ears, from which the piece was cut off;” *lepas*, “that which was cut off, like an ear”



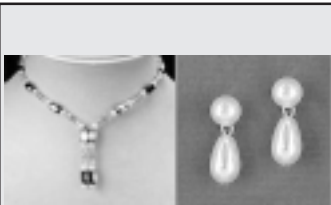
**Lambangan**, “rice dispenser” or “the receptacle or vessel intended for putting in it the cleaned rice to be used for cooking”



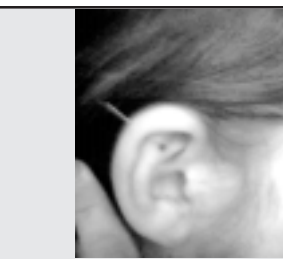
**Langolango**, “water closet, or privy;” “porter’s lodge”



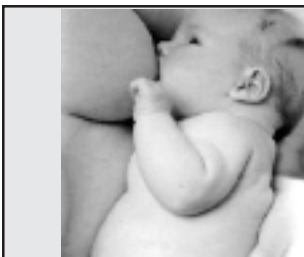
**Laslas**, “to slash open the belly of a pregnant woman;” i.e., caesarian operation



**Sacal batal**, “necklace;”  
**Suang**, “earrings;” also *tingga*  
**Galang**, “bracelet”



**Pasuang**, “the tiny short stick, or a silk thread, which is worn to prevent the holes from closing,” prior to wearing earrings



**Iui**, (pronounced *iwi*) “to suckle, like a surrogate mother or a wet nurse”

away the sand, or by diligently sifting it with water;” *pagdulangan*, “the gold” or “the place for gold-panning.” Obviously there was (is) gold in Pampanga. Prof. Lino Dizon, in a previous article in *Singsing*, quoted the renowned French traveler Jean Mallat (he visited Pampanga in the 1840s) as saying that the Gogo (Gugu) River in San Fernando got its name from a plant “whose use facilitates the washing of gold sand.” Other words that hint at Kapampangans’ familiarity with gold and gold products: *peac*, “gold ingots or bars;” *pinuru*, “a certain finish or make of gold, like trinkets or small necklaces;” *calumbigas*, “a gold figurine;” *camagui*, “a golden figure;” *calupcup*, “to encase or plate in gold;” *panica*, “fake gold, rarely used;” *calambigas*, “a gold figurine, rarely used;” Bergaño adds that it is the male organ (or at least in the shape of the male organ) of a boar; *calupcup*, “to encase or to plate in gold, or silver;” “to cover with a lining, like a *pelota*;” *macacalupcup*, “plated.”

*Lapiting*, “a hard-headed boy who refuses the command to go to school.”

*Lapas*, “cut short, or lacking some piece, like ears, from which a piece was cut off;” *lepas*, “that which was cut off, like an ear.”

*Lambangan*, “rice dispenser” or “the receptacle or vessel intended for putting in it the cleaned rice to be used for cooking.”

*Lampacan*, “vessel with water so ants could not climb up.”

*Langolango*, “water closet, or privy; porter’s lodge.”

*Laslas*, “to slash open the belly of a pregnant woman,” i.e., caesarian operation.

*Paraluman*, “a mariner’s compass.”

*Salamin mata*, “eyeglasses.”

*Pupul*, “rice flour, which they uncture or rub on the face in order not to have sunburned skin;” today’s sunblock lotion.

*Sacal batal*, “necklace;” *basical* is “an antique necklace” and also “dog collar;” *cabascalan*, “the gold sufficient for one necklace.”

*Galang*, “bracelet;” *maggalang*, “to wear a bracelet;” *galanggalang*, “biscuits in the form of bracelets.”

*Suang*, “earrings;” *magsuang*, “to wear them;” *pasuang*, “the tiny short stick, or a silk thread, which is worn to prevent the holes from closing;” *tingga*, “all that is used as ornaments hanging from the lobes of the ears, like drop-earrings.” Idiomatically, *Meningga ya* refers to “a tree that bears fruits, which hang like earrings.” Bergaño even cites the ancient riddle *Ding culyauan adua mingatba la quing sanga*, “Two orioles roosting on either side of the branch,” and the ancient saying *Alang mininggang ibat quing lub* (literally, “No one came out from inside already wearing earrings”), “No one was born learned.”

*Singsing*, “finger ring;” *palsingsingan*, “the ring finger;” *pasingsing*, “to trim the wick of a lamp” (synonym is *tingting*); *capuput*, “a certain finish or form of finger rings, which are in vogue currently;” *sanggauali*, “fake stones for finger rings, seldom used.”

*Mamacasaut*, “one who goes renting a house, because he does not have his own;” *pamacasaut*, “the house that one leaves and rents out to one who would stay;” *misangsilid*, “those who stay in one room or apartment,” i.e., roommates or co-boarders.

*Sintac*, “a game with stones (jackstones), that is, with five stones;” *sumintac*, “to play the game” and Bergaño proceeds to describe it: “If you have already forgotten how, it is played by propelling upwards one stone while trying to pick up one stone, then catch the propelled one.”

*Suban*, “the boiling water and the steam that spreads in a small room;” from the root word *sub*, which means boiling water and steam;” the modern-day *sauna bath*.

*Pun balā*, or *manibalā*, “the head of government” or





**Pun balâ**, “the head of government”  
**Pun mamalen**, “the alcalde, the town officials”



**Uté**, (diphthong, utay) “to buy or sell in small amounts;” “to retail;” in some regions, retail sale is called utay-utay or ukay-ukay



**Tangi**, “properties acquired during marriage”



**Tanguilo**, “a piece of paper or flat stick with which the anus is wiped of the excrement”



**Mánucluan**, “one who builds a house on other people’s land,” i.e. squatter



**Misangsilid**, “those who stay in one room or apartment;” i.e., roommates or co-boarders



**Sintac**, “a game with stones (jackstones), that is, with five stones”

“the incumbent head-judge in a court of justice;” panibalan, “those governed who are under his care.”

Pun mamalen, “the alcalde, the town officials.”

lui (pronounced iwi), “to suckle, like a surrogate mother or a wet nurse.”

Yubyub, “to put over ember, like a sausage, a camote, etc.” Today we say barbecue.

Betu is “a species of cane from which a stick or arrow is made.” This is probably why some people think that the Kapampangan delicacy betute derived its name from this word; however, since betute is stuffed frog (not barbecued frog), the most likely origin of the word is betutay, a word still used in Nueva Ecija which means “stuffed.”

Kapampangans, then and now, are known for their entrepreneurial abilities, as gleaned from these words: dagang, “to buy wholesale;” pinlac, also “to buy wholesale;” tauté, “to buy by retail;” mitauté, “to sell by retail;” uté (diphthong, utay), “to buy or sell in small amounts; to retail.” (In some regions retail sale is called ukay ukay and utay utay.) The word duru is “to allure by displaying merchandise, by laying them out, like what some merchants do when they go from house to house;” lacô, “to go about the streets selling and hawking different kinds of wares, oil, vinegar, etc.” The synonym, magbangyaga, “peddler, hawker” comes from the root word bangyaga, which does not mean foreigner (the Tagalog banyaga), but “merchandise of little amount, like coconuts, betel nuts, betel leaves.” Tindayag means “to hang or display something where all could see it, like merchandise in a store” (probably where we got the word tindahan).

Lisû, “to rehearse, like Christmas carols, or a stage play.”

Panayon, “one who has access to some Superior, knowing well what he wants, he gives him his support all

the time;” in today’s parlance, a bootlicker.

Pilo, “pretext; fake excuse, in order not to work;” magpilo, “to fake an excuse”

Putal, “to take a little piece, to pinch off a little piece by hand, like in eating a certain dish of chicken, or like in picking up some piece of appetizer;” today it’s called finger-food.

Tubâ, “liquor or sap from the palms;” alac sasâ, “wine made from the sap of sasâ.” Another meaning of tuba is “a small fruit with which to daze (intoxicate) the fish;” its verb form means “to throw such fruits to the fish;” tinuban, “the fish that are caught thus;” tungga, “to steal the sap or tuba of the nipa (palms)”

Silâ, magsilâ, “to be seated with crossed legs.”

Tanguilo, “a piece of paper or flat stick with which the anus is wiped of the excrement;” today it’s called toilet paper, and it comes in many colors and qualities; its verb is tanguiluan, which, Bergaño writes, “I would not like to be done for me.”

Tangi, “properties acquired during marriage; conjugal properties;” there is no Kapampangan word for prenuptial agreement.

Mánucluan, “one who builds a house on other people’s land,” i.e., squatter; pátuclu, “the town chief who gave lands to till to his constituents, free of charge.”

Ubad, “tax paid to the owner of a land for the right to hunt, or to cut trees.”

Alipit, “to afflict or torture, in order to make one admit or declare,” which the military still does today.

Milipit, “to press, like when there are so many people watching a stage play;” today, we call it standing room only.

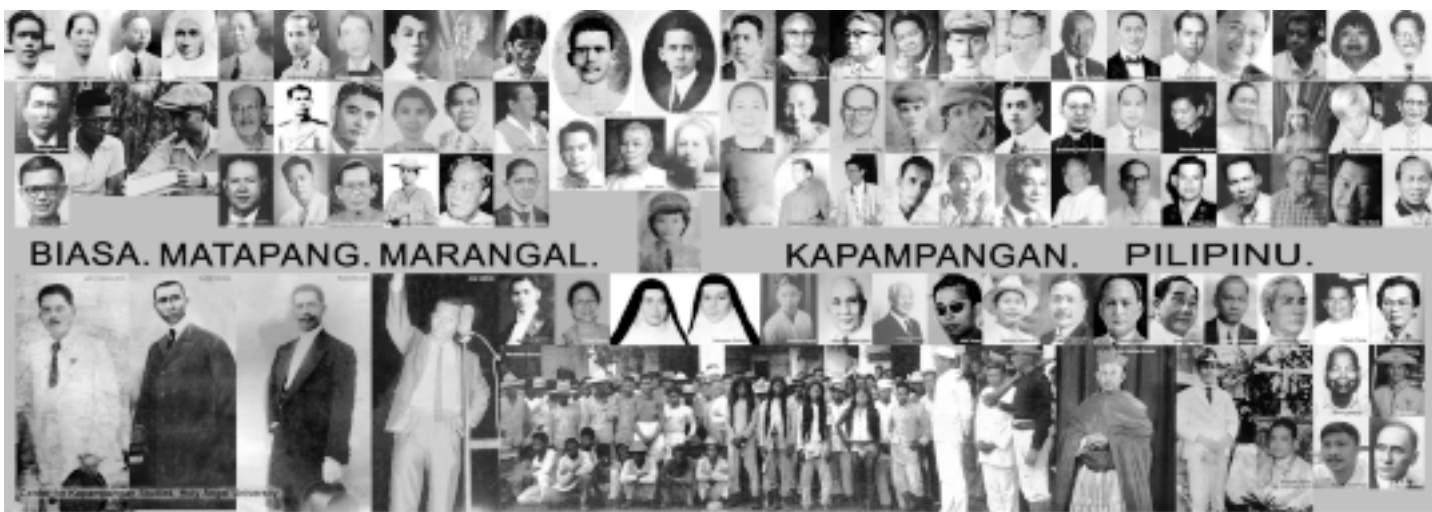
Tambac, “to place stakes or piles around, and afterwards fill the staked area with soil, like what the sangleys (Chinese) do along the bank of the river close to their houses, forming a terrace;” today we call this reclaimed area.

(R. Tangingco)



Karing karelang Meulila:  
 Darame kami pu king lungkut a penilas na kekayu ning kamatayan  
 a sinamsam king maulaga nang bie ning kekayung lawit a kaanak.  
 Li gaya karing Meangubi e!

Mutus la pu,  
 Center for Kapampangan Studies Staff  
 and the Holy Angel University Community



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For inquiries, suggestions and comments,  
 call (045) 888-8691 loc. 1311, or 0918 941 8599 or  
 fax at (045)888-2514, or email at [rptmt@yahoo.com](mailto:rptmt@yahoo.com).  
 Visit website at [www.hau.edu.ph/kcenter](http://www.hau.edu.ph/kcenter).

CENTER STAFF: Robby Tangingco (Director), Erlinda Cruz (Cultural Activities Coordinator), Joel Mallari (Archaeologist/Researcher), Anton Prima (Translator/Researcher), Sheila Laxamana (Events Organizer/Administrative Staff), Ana Marie Vergara (Computer Graphics Artist/Researcher), Arwin Paul Lingat (Church Heritage Researcher),

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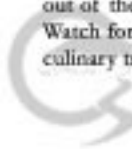
To entomologists, they're called  
*Neocurtilla hexadactyla*.

To some people in the Philippines,  
they're simply

# food.



Pampanga food has always been known for its delicate sweets and recipes with French-sounding names and haute cuisine that's fit for royalty. However, the other side of Kapampangan culinary fare is the exotic and the unique--from the noxious-looking *bwu* (fermented rice that has often been likened to cat's vomit), to *berute* (stuffed frog) and *kamaru* (mole cricket). This contradiction is the result of the cycle of feast and famine in Pampanga: while the province is naturally rich and its people favored by the colonizers, its history has had painful episodes of hunger and destruction, caused by revolts, conscriptions, floods and volcanic eruptions--which made Kapampangans create dishes out of the ugliest creatures and the unlikeliest ingredients. Watch for our book on the amazing Kapampangan culinary traditions.

 **Center for Kapampangan Studies**