A STUDY OF KAPAMPANGAN LEXICOGRAPHY

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1. The reality of a language comes to an individual usually through its words. It is not surprising that when the early navigators were exposed for the first time to different tongues, one of the first things they did was to compile a list of words. The inquisitive mind keen on observing differences as well as similarities led to the comparison of these words from different languages paving the way to the development of comparative linguistics. This came subsequent to word lists or vocabularies which were the forerunners of the dictionary.

It is usually the case that at least one of the speakers always gets fascinated by the words and their particular meanings. Probably it is man's constant inclination to organize his world that made him want to discover the world of words. Each native speaker is equipped with the meaning that each word stands for, so no special skill may seem necessary except maybe for interest and patience to make a compilation of these words. This explains the abundance of dictionaries relative to the low availability of grammar books.

1.1. Technically, the study of words and their meanings is called lexicology (Al-Kasimi 1977). It studies the recurrent patterns of semantic relationships and of any formal device by which they may be rendered (Weinreich 1962). Lexicography on the other hand, concentrates on the making of dictionaries. A dictionary is a book containing a selection of words usually arranged alphabetically with explanations on the meaning and other information concerning them, expressed in the same or another language (Al-Kasimi 1977).

We can thus attribute two meanings to lexicography; one, the actual writing of a dictionary and two, a study about dictionaries. One can draw a parallelism between lexicography and linguistics in the sense that linguistics is concerned with the study about languages and not necessarily how to speak specific languages. Linguistics fulfills the role of a metalanguage to the study of languages as lexicography does for dictionaries.

Interest in particular studies can be caused by many reasons. In the Indian tradition, interest in language study came about as a need to understand the widening gap between the written Vedic prayers and the spoken form of the language. This extraordinary concern was due to the belief that the efficacy of the prayers said was dependent on how faithful the rendition was to the original.

In a parallel way, lexicography in Europe started when the Indo-European system of morphological vowel alternation was not productive as a synchronic rule anymore and the forms that resulted from the pre-historical process were obscured by sound change difficulties (Zgusta 1971).

1.2. In the Philippines, the earliest record of lexicographical studies are vocabularies or glossaries between a Philippine language and Spanish. As a practical exercise, it did not seem to require professional training, apparently being easy and mechanical, except for some interest, patience and time. This observation is consistent with the state and quality of lexicographical studies.

Zgusta made the same observation that lexicographers hardly exchange methodical experience. In available studies, it has become obvious that dictionaries have

developed not as theoretical instruments but rather as practical tools, especially the early ones. This has contributed to the creation and growth of a gap between linguistic theory and lexicographical practice. Urdang (1963) writes;

> Since World War II, the illiterati seem to have selected the glossary as some sort of means of expression. A fair sampling of glossaries in any variety of fields, prepared by professors, public relations writers and a large assortment of non- professional books, reveal a high percentage of non-grammatical, inaccurate, superfluous drivel.

The need for a theory is expressed by Weinreich:

> It is disconcerting that a mountain of lexicographic practice such an unabridged dictionary of English should yield no more than a paragraph-sized molehill in theory.

> It is in view of this lack of theoretical considerations in Philippine lexicography that encouraged me to focus my study on Kapampangan lexicography.

2. Kapampangan lexicography in its present state is composed of ten Kapampangan dictionaries. There were ten (10) Kapampangan dictionaries available to me and I included them all for critical evaluation. These are:

a) Diego Bergaño. 1732 and 1860. Vocabulario de la lengua Pampanga en Romance.
b) Author unknown. Undated. Kapampangan-Tagalog-English vocabulary.
c) Antonio Brabo. 1875. Vade-Mecum Filipino. Español-Pampango.
d   Gavino Dimalanta. 18__. Vocabulario Pampango-Tagalog-Ingles.
e) Eligio Fernandez. 1876. Nuevo vocabulario; o, Manual de conversaciones en Español, Tagalog y Pampango.
f) Luther Parker. 1905. An English-Spanish-Pampango dictionary.
g) B. Manalili and J.P. Tamayo. 1964. English-Tagalog-Pampango dictionary.
h) Michael Forman. 1971. Kapampangan dictionary.
i) Ernesto Constantino. 1975. An English-Kapampangan dictionary.

2.1. The choice of criteria by which to evaluate dictionaries is dependent on a number of factors. The criteria by which to evaluate some English dictionaries, for example, cannot be used to evaluate the Kapampangan dictionaries above. Dictionaries such as Oxford, Random House, Heritage and Webster are products of very complex organizations and well-financed institutions. To compare them with the Kapampangan dictionaries and even with the Tagalog dictionaries with very limited resources would be unfair. Take the Oxford dictionary, for example, still considered by many to be the best dictionary of the English language. The Philological Society decided to start it in 1878, and it was finally finished in 1928 under the leadership of four editors.

Note that in Philippine dictionaries, there is usually one dictionary compiler responsible for its completion. Furthermore, financial support, if ever available, is very limited. And primarily because of the latter reason, the amount of data one can include is greatly reduced.

2.2. For these reasons, the criteria for evaluating Kapampangan dictionaries must be different. Inspite of these limitations, dictionaries in general can still be compared with regard to accuracy of meaning, systematic methodology and systematic incorporation of cultural meaning.

A dictionary has to be accurate in the sense that it contains the real meaning/s of the dictionary entry. Meaning is here defined as the sum total of all the recurrent general experience and knowledge the majority of the native speakers collectively have in con-

nection with a certain phonological shape.[1] Systematicity means that a dictionary must be methodical to show consistently and systematically the linguistic feature relevant to the needs of a dictionary user. Systemic incorporation of culture means that structurally cultural significance is embodied in the system. This third criterion is a consequence of the definition of meaning being culture based. Another common criterion is exhaustiveness or completeness, but this is always relative to the availability of resources. Thus, a more expensive dictionary will generally have more entries. However, one must always try to maximize output, and being systematic in the presentation can be a crucial factor. Even if it is true that a dictionary is never complete, considering the dynamic nature of language, a dictionary writer still tries to include all the possible entries. With these in mind, the following observations are made on the ten Kapampangan dictionaries.

2.3. With regard to methodology, the majority of the Kapampangan dictionaries are strongly influenced by the Spanish tradition as evident in the rules in orthography, terminology in the grammatical description and even the analysis. The structure of a Latin-based grammar is used as a model to describe and label the early Kapampangan dictionaries. Consequently, the representation of sounds is not phonetic, and this makes identification of the sounds difficult. The exceptions to these are Parker, Forman and Constantino, the latter two applying linguistic methodology.

It is worth noting the inclusion of Tagalog and/or English in Dimalanta (?), Fernandez (1876) and the undated-anonymous dictionary. This is an indication of the early dominance of these languages long before their status was officially established.

Most of these Kapampangan dictionaries make use of word- level translations as gloss, except for Bergano, which contains elaborate explanations and oftentimes examples.

2.3.1. One valuable role of dictionaries is the record they make of the phonological features used at one particular time. This is very important in the investigation of historical changes in the language at the phonological, grammatical, lexical and semantic levels. Therefore, the form posited to be older can be validated or invalidated with the dictionary entry as supporting evidence for the reconstructed form arrived at through the comparative method. Furthermore, an approximation of the date when the change occurred is possible.

A good example in Kapampangan phonology is the change of word final diphthongs to monophthongs. The existence of the word final diphthong is evident in Bergano 1732 and 1860, and the undated Kap-Tag-Eng dictionary.

Some examples are:

Bergaño (1732, 1860)	Kap-Tag-Eng (?)	Dimalanta (?)	Fernandez 1875	'gloss'
alingongao	alingongao	alingongo		echo; widespread rumor or news
atay	atay	ate		liver
sabao	sabao	sabo		broth
langao	langao	lango		fly
balisosao			balisoso	urinary problem

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[1]Some parts of this definition are taken from Suzuki, 1973. His definition states: The meaning of a word is the sum total of an individual's knowledge and experience connected with its phonological form.

In the undated and Bergaño's, both forms with and without the diphthongs are used with very rare occurrences of the diphthong in Brabo (1875). This, in my analysis, represents the transitional period leading to the complete loss of the word final diphthong.

As a whole, the existing Kapampangan dictionaries from 1732-1975 are inadequate on one of at least the first two criteria, and none of the ten dictionaries systematically explain cultural meaning. As this point, I shall present the significant features of my model of Kapampangan dictionary (1985) with 2,500 entries.

3. This dictionary as envisaged in the model, must contain existing Kapampangan words, present their meanings as they are used by native speakers and systematically incorporate relevant grammatical, semantic and cultural information. A dictionary user should therefore be able to locate a dictionary entry in the shortest time possible, have a good idea of how it can be used in the sentence, know its actual meaning and be aware of its cultural significance. To achieve this, the following features are incorporated in this dictionary:

3.1. The dictionary entry

Each dictionary entry has three (3) aspects, namely, grammatical, semantic and pragmatic (Newell 1986). The grammatical aspect tells the user how the entry is used in a sentence. In the case of a verb stem entry, the gloss includes the affixed verb inflected in the infinitive for both active and passive, or whichever is possible. The inflected form is favored to simplify the process of choosing the correct allomorph of the affix for a corresponding stem class. However, if the user wants a more substantive explanation of the grammar, he can consult the grammatical sketch which is intended to enumerate and describe the regular patterns relevant to the needs of a dictionary user. Some of these are: the phonemes of the language, writing system, phonological peculiarities, basic sentence types, regular morphophonemic changes and stem classification.

With regard to the incorporation of technical terms in the description of the dictionary entry, one can mention two kinds of dictionary compilers: The first is the language enthusiast who has no training in linguistics and whose tendency is to make use of popular or traditional but ambiguous terms. The second is the linguist-dictionary compiler who has the tendency to use technical terms and may overdo their use even when simple and more familiar terms are applicable.

In the model presented, it is considered important to hit a balance between practicality and accuracy of the label used.

The semantic aspect has three parts: the genus, criterial part, and the comment (Newell 1986). The genus part indicates the general group the entry is a member of; the criterial features limit reference to specific cases and the comment further supplements the meaning by way of application. As may be indicated in the gloss, the user is sometimes directed to use an appendix which gives a classification of items in a particular domain, the entry of which is a member. These enables the user to understand the meaning of the entry from a holistic point of view.[2]

Depending on the nature of his need, a dictionary user has two options. Like most users, he can go straight to the entry following the alphabetical listing or he can choose to supplement whatever is listed by using a grammatical sketch and the appendices.

The pragmatic aspect shows the relationship of the entry with the extralinguistic context in which it occurs. This is expressed as a usage label indicating the applicability

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[2]Len Newell's forthcoming Ifugao dictionary is a good example. He includes more than 20 appendices, some of which are: colors, parts of the house, kinship, and stages in rice planting.

of a word in a particular situation. However, for the sake of simplicity, a usage label is used here only to make the user fully aware of a possible negative connotation or association with respect to that entry.

3.2. Lexical domain number

One innovative feature of this dictionary model is the assignment of a domain number to all entries.

In all languages, there are words that form a lexical set under one domain. A general theme or idea relates these words to one another, thereby forming the group.

The division of the whole lexicon into domains reveals how the speakers linguistically parcel out the world and what distinctions are considered important and usually unique in that culture. The different domains with their respective sets of words are revealing of what aspect or features of the culture are highly differentiated.

The basis of classification used is Murdock's (1971) Outline of Cultural Materials. It is assumed in this study that culture is a system; it is ordered, and any aspect of culture, material and nonmaterial, can be situated systematically within a culture. The utilization of the domain classification can show how Kapampangan, through this dictionary with at least 2,500 entries, abounds in words relating to nature and man, kinship, and agriculture. This can be compared with the scarcity of terms for political behavior or military technology.

Murdock identifies 79 domains or major classifications. He numbers this with 2-digit numbers. The subclassifications under each are then numbered by adding unit numbers to the first two. Thus, Geography, is numbered 13 and the subdomains are numbered as such: 131 location, 132 climate, 133 topography and geology, 134 soil, 135 mineral resources, 136 fauna and 137 flora.

Some entries can be classified under more than one domain, BALING, 'smell of urine', for example. It can be classified under 151 sensation and perception, or 515 personal hygiene. This dictionary gives only one number, since Murdock's book provides an elaborate crossreferential system.

When an entry does not seem to fit in any of the subdomains, a domain of main classification may be chosen. This is when an entry has a two digit number.

3.3. Systems Correspondence Theory (SCT)

The other innovative feature of this dictionary model is the implicit incorporation of SCT.

In Kapampangan, certainly in all languages, there are words that exhibit semantic diversity or polysemy. This is a phenomenon in language wherein one word can have more than one meaning. One example is: Filipino *balimbing*. A dictionary by definition must account for all its meanings. Therefore, aside from the fruit, the gloss should include a description of a person with varying loyalties. The relationship between the fruit and the person can be explained through SCT. It is believed that with knowledge of SCT, one can maximize his potential ability to arrive at derived interpretations because the theory explains the very nature of the mechanism. A dictionary can enumerate meanings, but a theory can explain cases of polysemy even when heard for the first time within the same or a known culture.

This theory states that man makes use of already existing systems in his world in identifying, labelling and in general, comprehending his world. A constituent of an event is not seen individually but as a component of a system. A system is here defined as a network of parts which are coherently interacting as an orderly arrangement according to some common law. The mind filters information through these existing systems.

To the Kapampangan speaker, some systems that have been utilized to make corresponding meanings in a derived way are: the human body with emphasis on its parts and functions, the sensory system, plant life and day cycle.

System	Derived expression	
human body parts	tagyang ning payung	- ribs of the umbrella;[3] metal framework of umbrella
human body function	mabuktut ing pale	- palay is pregnant; palay is bearing fruit
sensory	magaspang a galo	- rough behavior; uncouth behavior
plant life	mamungang marok	- bear bad (fruit); have a bad result

The basic concept in this theory is physicalism. Physicalism assigns significant value to physical phenomena in affecting man's thinking and perception. Systems that are physically perceived and felt become a point of reference in understanding other systems. Man's consciousness is substantially influenced by physical reality. Physical reality is defined as that which can be perceived by the senses, namely, sight, smell, hearing, taste and touch. Through this concept, man comprehends the non-physical such as processes and events by associating physical features with them. Through this means, reference and description attain clarity and can yield an exaggerated effect.

A necessary consequence of physicalism is linearism. This concept says that the impenetrable nature of concrete objects necessitates that in such a group, one has to arrange the group members sequentially or in some kind of a linear formation. This concept is extended even to actions, events or abstractions in general. Life is not considered static but is always moving either forward, backward, downward, sideways or even in circles.

3.3.1. Based on these fundamental concepts, some inferences that can be made from the lexical analysis of derived expressions are:
a) the social status of a person can be quantified in terms of size or height as in *maragul a tau* 'big person: important person'
b) the complexity of a subject matter can be described in terms of depth as in *malalam a salita* 'deep language: difficult to understand due to profundity'
c) deterioration is perceived as going down: *manabu* 'fall; to be a failure'
d) familiarity can be distinguished in terms of distance: *marayu* 'far; indifferent'
e) the moral qualities of a person can be distinguished by the use of colors or height, as in: *maputi* 'white; morally good' vs *matuling* 'black; bad'
f) righteousness is pictured linearly; *katuliran* 'straight; one's rights'
g) state of mind or disposition can be described in terms of being dirty or not: *malinis (a isip)* 'clean; having good thoughts' vs *marinat (a isip)* 'dirty; unpleasant ideas'
h) an individual as affected by persuasion can be viewed in terms of penetrability as in *masyas* 'hard; difficult to convince' vs *malambut* 'soft; easy to convince'

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[3]The translation before the semi-colon is literal, followed by the free translation or actual description of the derived expression.

i) behavior is viewed in terms of texture as in *magaspang* 'rough to touch; unrefined manners' vs *mapinu* 'smooth to touch; refined manners'

3.3.2. The following is a diagram of Systems Correspondence Theory based on the culture of a Kapampangan native speaker.
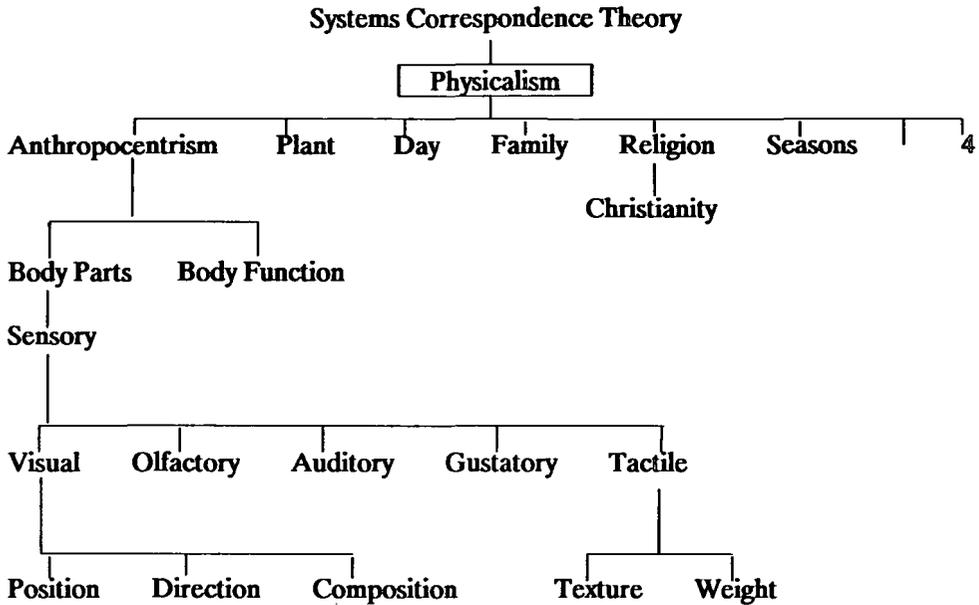
This theory is implicitly incorporated in my model dictionary in two ways. First, the theory is explained in the introductory part where the user is familiarized with the basic methodology used in the dictionary. Secondly, the presentation of the dictionary entry provides that the literal meaning is given first, and then followed by the derived meaning.

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[4]These unlabelled lines stand for other systems that a native speaker may choose to use, based on his own personal experiences.

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