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MICHAEL L. FORMAN

**KAPAMPANGAN
GRAMMAR
NOTES**

KAPAMPANGAN GRAMMAR NOTES

PALI LANGUAGE TEXTS: PHILIPPINES
(Pacific and Asian Linguistics Institute)

Howard P. McKaughan

Editor

KAPAMPANGAN GRAMMAR NOTES

by

Michael L. Forman

University of Hawaii Press
Honolulu 1971



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Open Access ISBNs:

9780824878979 (PDF)

9780824878986 (EPUB)

This version created: 20 May, 2019

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PREFACE

These notes form a part of a series on Kapampangan. The other two are A Kapampangan Dictionary by Forman and Speaking Kapampangan by Leatrice T. Mirikitani. These in turn are part of a larger series on Philippine languages, all developed under a Peace Corps Contract (PC 25-1507) at the University of Hawaii under the editorship of the undersigned.

It is the hope of the author of this text and the editor of the series that these notes will encourage many to learn Kapampangan and become interested in its grammatical structure.

Howard P. McKaughan
Editor

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. THE SPEECH COMMUNITY

Kapampangan, also known as Pampango, Pampangan and Pampangueño, is an Austronesian language of the Philippine type, spoken by some 900,000 people living in the central plain of Luzon, the Republic of the Philippines. The center of this speech community is the Province of Pampanga but Kapampangan is also spoken beyond the province's political boundaries. A substantial portion of the Province of Tarlac consists of Kapampangan speaking communities, and small portions of Nueva Ecija, Bulacan, and Bataan are likewise Kapampangan. In addition, of course, there are scattered enclaves elsewhere—in Manila (e.g. "barrio Kapampangan" in Paco), in Mindanao, in Honolulu, etc.).

1.1.1 Multilingualism

In the Kapampangan speech community it is still possible to find many speakers who are essentially monolingual. The more common case, however, (at least in my limited experience) was that of various degrees of bilingualism and multilingualism. While I encountered no one with a speaking ability in Spanish, I feel certain such people exist. The vast majority of my friends and acquaintances were trilingual, speaking Kapampangan and Tagalog very skillfully and English quite well indeed or at least to some extent.

There was a noticeable difference in age levels. Teenagers seem to be quite strongly affected by Tagalog. While the adults (thirty years of age and older) speak Tagalog quite well, it does not seem to have the influence on their Kapampangan speech that it is having on the Kapampangan of the teenage group. The older barrio folk frequently comment on the "poor quality" of the teenagers' Kapampangan. (What was most noticeable to me was the latter group's unfamiliarity with lexical items from Kapampangan, substituting in their place English and Tagalog.)

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By the time children reach the fourth grade, they speak Tagalog well enough to converse comfortably with newcomers in that language. The preference for Tagalog over English in this context is substantial.

1.1.2 Mass Media

No doubt the mass media is a prime mover in this developing multilingual situation. While one hears Kapampangan constantly from the barrio people, at the same time he is deluged with Tagalog at a loud volume from ubiquitous radios and even television sets. English on the radio or television is quite secondary, and Kapampangan is limited to perhaps less than one hour a day on radio.

Informants in their forties have indicated to me that the Japanese occupation marked a turning point in the Kapampangan openness to speaking Tagalog. (This merits further investigation.)

Reading material in Kapampangan is limited largely to religious pamphlets and prayer books (and now some elementary school readers). Adult reading matter is either in Tagalog or English: magazines are most in evidence; newspapers to a lesser extent.

1.2 LOCALIZED VARIETIES OF KAPAMPANGAN

Dialect surveying remains a task to be undertaken; preliminary information indicates the existence of two major dialects, following roughly the Rio Grande and the political district divisions of the province. In the western dialect, final -ay has frequently changed to -e, final -aw to -o, and some instances of -ayu- to -o-. Furthermore, there are minor differences of intonation (which seem to follow the rivers) and of lexicon (barrio by barrio). But none of these variations seems to prevent a high degree of mutual intelligibility.

1.3 DATA FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study is based upon data gathered during approximately six months (October, 1968 to April, 1969) in the town of Bacolor, more properly, Villa de Bacolor, and especially in that portion of barrio Cabalantian (Bacolor), which is between the school and the chapel.

Bacolor was selected as the site for this study in part because of its attractiveness as a place to reside but particularly because of its reputation as the "Athens of Pampanga". For centuries, Bacolor has been the first home of the best known Kapampangan writers, and this fact, no doubt, contributed to its selection for earlier linguistic studies. The two most substantial studies on the Kapampangan language to date, those of Bergaño and of Parker, were done in Bacolor.

1.4 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My family and I were made to feel quite at home in Bacolor by the late Mayor Ricardo Rodriguez and his family and then Acting Mayor Blanco, school officials especially Mr. Florencio B. David, relatives and friends of my wife in the Abello and Lazatin families, friends from my days as a Peace Corps volunteer especially in the Liongson and Navarro families, and most particularly by the people of Cabalantian: the barrio officials particularly Captain Pascual Miranda and secretary Rosendo Razon and our neighbors of the Miranda, Olalia, and David families. In Hawaii, the family of Godofredo Turla has contributed much to my understanding of the system of Kapampangan. We would also like to acknowledge our contacts with Peace Corps volunteers in the Kapampangan area, which were always stimulating.

1.5 EARLIER STUDIES OF THE KAPAMPANGAN LANGUAGE

The most important studies of the Kapampangan language are those of a dictionary and of a grammar by the Augustinian friar Diego Bergaño: Vocabulario de la Lengua Pampanga en Romance (1732, reprinted 1860), and Arte de la Lengua Pampanga (1736, reprinted 1916). Next in importance is the English-Spanish-Pampango dictionary prepared in 1905 by Luther

1 INTRODUCTION

Parker with the assistance of Modesto Joaquin and Juan (Crisostomo?) Soto. Other dictionaries (word lists) were prepared early during the American occupation but these are not of the same quality as the Bergaño work. More recently, a few works which are smaller in scope have appeared: the detailed Ph.D. dissertation of C. T. Clardy on Pampango phonology, a University of the Philippines master's thesis on Pampango syntax by Castrillo, V. Gamboa-Mendoza's Phonological Peculiarities of Pampangan, an Ateneo master's thesis by vonHeiland, and the work of E. Constantino of the University of the Philippines which touches on Kapampangan.

1.6 KAPAMPANGAN LITERATURE

For summary descriptions of Kapampangan literature the interested reader is referred to three survey studies: Juan S. Aguas, Juan Crisostomo Soto and Pampangan Drama (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1963); Alejandrino Q. Perez, "The Pampango Folklore: proverbs, riddles, folksongs" and Alfredo Panizo, O. P. and Rodolfo V. Cortez, "Introduction to the Pampango Theater" in Unitas, March 1968, Vol. 4 #1.

Today in Pampanga it is quite difficult for the ordinary language learner to come upon written materials in Kapampangan. The only exception to this is religious literature. The Catholics have numerous leaflets; the Jehovah's Witnesses have regular pamphlets as well as a few translated religious books, and the Philippine Bible Society makes available a translation of both the Old and New Testaments.

It is still possible to obtain copies of metrical romances known as kuríru but to do so I found I had to go early in the morning to towns which were celebrating fiestas and canvas the vendors near the main church. Titles of the kurírus I obtained are: Pugut Negro, Doce Pares, Conde Irlos, Juan Tiñoso, Ding Aduang Micaluguran y Tuto at y Malaram, and Principe Igmedio at Princesa Cloriana.

There are at least seven elementary school readers published by the Bureau of Public Schools as well as one other (1953) adult education reader. Examples in this study have been drawn liberally from these readers as they provide less complex sentences than most of my tape-recorded texts. Other scattered samples of Kapampangan writing are available in the

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San Fernando municipal library and the Pampanga Provincial Library. These include a book of stories, essays and poems by Belarmino P. Navarro, Casapungul a Batuin, and a collection of town histories with essays on customs and collections of folklore, written by teachers in the Bureau of Public Schools (fragments of some of which are written in Kapampangan).

Newspapers: There is said to be a bimonthly newspaper called The Voice which is published in San Fernando and which contains Kapampangan articles but I have been unable to see a copy. In the 1920's and 1930's a number of periodicals were published: Ing Catala, Ing Katipunan, Ing Katiwala, Ing Cabbling, Catimawan, Timbañgan, Ing Capampañgan (cf. David, Manuel H. (ed.), Pampanga Directory, Manila: V. V. Santos, 1933, Vol. I), but they are now defunct and back issues are not readily available.

2 PHONOLOGY and ORTHOGRAPHY: the Kapampangan articulatory targets as discreet, contrasting units of sound.

2.1 THE FLOW OF SPEECH

In the ordinary speech of every language, “words” are run together. An American hearing Kapampangan for the first time, and a Kapampangan hearing American English for the first time (any speaker of language X hearing language Y for the first few times) hears a blur of continuous sound. The speech signal is a continuous signal; it is broken now and then by sentences but broken far fewer times than, for example, spaces break up the stream of words being typed or written. One task for the beginner is to learn to hear recurrences of segments of sound in the speech signal. This is partly facilitated but also partly hindered by the fact that anyone who already knows how to speak one language has already successfully accomplished a similar task. The principles are the same for all languages, but the details of the answers for the first language inevitably affect, and sometimes muddle our guessing about the next.

Even before one begins to segment this flow of sound, he can listen to its flow, to the melody and rhythm of the flow. One thing that an American who aims at learning Kapampangan should notice in the beginning (and constantly remind himself of thereafter) is a difference in the rhythms of English and Kapampangan. English is a language with stressed-time rhythm. That means that a fifty-syllable utterance with ten stressed syllables will be pronounced just as fast as a fifteen-syllable utterance with ten stressed syllables. The number of stressed syllables determines the length of time it will take to say the utterance. Kapampangan, on the other hand, is a language with syllable-timed rhythm. Every syllable, stressed or not, is given the same amount of time. The number of syllables determines the time it

takes for one to say a given utterance. The tendency that one has is to transfer the rhythm of his mother tongue to the new target language. Applying the American English stress-timed rhythm to Kapampangan is clearly deviant; it will annoy a native listener and will impede the flow of communication. It is well worth the extra effort to pay careful attention to this feature of the sound of Kapampangan from the beginning. And here, as well as with respect to the other features in the Kapampangan system of sounds, the beginner will do well to keep in mind the following: for the first month, maybe longer, you must “feel funny” speaking Kapampangan. If you feel too comfortable with the sounds, you are likely substituting American English habits of producing speech sounds, and by and large then you must be speaking incorrectly. The more “unnatural” it seems to you, the more likely you are beginning to “sound like a native”.

2.2 SEGMENTING THE FLOW

Now we begin segmenting that continuous stream of speech. Our subject matter is what the layman is prone to think of as the letters of the language. Kapampangan indeed has letters, but this refers to the fact that the language is written with various alphabetic orthography (sometimes, though this was not always the case) which will be discussed in the latter portion of this chapter (cf. 2.4). Now we are’ talking about the SOUNDS of the language and the patterned way these sounds are used. It is important to remember the distinction between the written and the spoken language. Many Kapampangans you will want to talk to (including people highly literate in English) are not accustomed to writing Kapampangan. You will find that not all speakers agree on how to write a word even though they may be in complete agreement on how to say it.

2.2.1 The Phonemes

At least nineteen and probably no more than twenty-five sounds (bundles of sound features) stand as contrasting units in the Kapampangan sound system. These are the five vowels (i, e, a, o, u), two semivowels (y, w), eleven to thirteen consonants (p, t, k, b, d, g, q, m, n, ŋ, s, l, r) and possibly three to five more for some speakers (h, č, ĵ, f, v), and a contrastive

2 PHONOLOGY and ORTHOGRAPHY

feature which is either vowel length or strong stress. In addition to these phonemes, certain sound features of pitch and juncture serve in intonation contours in distinguishing some utterances.

Chart I. The Vowels

i		u
e		o
	a	

Chart II. The Consonants

p	t	k	q
b	d	g	
	(č)		
	(j)		
m	n	ŋ	
	(f)		(h)
	(v)		
	l		
	r		

w	y		1

2.2.11 The Vowels

There are five vowels (i, e, a, o, u) which stand as contrasting units of vocalic sound in Kapampangan speech. The relative position of the tongue—front, central, or back—is the most clearly contrasting dimension. /i/ (front/, /a/ (central), and /u/ (back) always contrast:

gápis '(a kind of banana)': gápas 'cut': gápus 'binder, fetters, chain'

kiskís 'friction': kaskás 'rub, scratch, grate': kuskús 'commotion'

siksík 'crowding in': saksák 'stab, pierce': suksúk 'thorns, spines'

kilín 'mane (of a horse)': kaláŋ 'stove, place where the cooking fire is kept' and kálaŋ '(a kind of mollusc)': kúluŋ 'jailed, trapped'

The other contrasting dimension, height of tongue, is less clearly contrastive, perhaps the result of more recent changes in the language. With some lexical items it is contrastive; with others it is noncontrastive and conditioned by position in the utterance, /i/ (high) and /e/ (low) may contrast or may stand as alternants in the same word; so too, /u/ (high) and /o/ (low). Speakers differ considerably on their use of tongue height; most likely this reflects varying degrees of exposure to other languages.

2.2.11.1 *Front Vowels*

/i/ is a high front vowel (with variations in pronunciation which cover a range approximately that between English eek!—hit), for example, qípít ‘pinch’, tiltíl ‘dip’, biníq ‘seed’.

/e/ is a midfront vowel (low in contrast to high /i/). It may be seen to contrast with /i/ in pairs or near pairs like the following:

anté ‘where?’: antí ‘like’

béŋi ‘night’: biŋíq ‘seed’

búle ‘a kind of vegetable’: búli ‘polish, burnish’

de ‘they-it’: di ‘X and others’

éran ‘stairs, ladder’: írap ‘eyelash’

keng: king (grammatical markers)

két ‘bite’: kít ‘see’

me ‘you-it’: mi ‘ours’

Other occurrences of lower front vocalic sounds [e] are treated as instances of /i/ where there is no contrast:

buláti, buláte ‘earthworm’

iní, iné ‘this’

ŋéni, ŋéne ‘now’

This is sometimes true of [e] from Spanish:

piru, pero ‘but’

písu, péso ‘a monetary unit’

But elsewhere [e] and [i] from Spanish contrast:

mísa ‘mass’: mésa ‘table’

Frequently the /e/ in word final position is related to an underlying /-ay/, as:

qábe ‘friend’

kayabáyan ‘friendship’

This is not limited in all cases to final /e/; see for instance téte, Tagalog taytay.

2.2.11.2 Central Vowel

/a/ is a relatively low central vowel, somewhat like the English vowel in ah, father, bother, hot. It has one important variant, a more centralized [ə] (as the unstressed sound of organ or the vowel of cut, but). This variant occurs noncontrastively with [a], so the two are considered a single unit /a/. At the present state of analysis I am unable to give the pattern of complementary distribution and urge the learner to make every effort to learn to use the [ə] appropriately.

Early in my field work I had the strong tendency (as a result of working on Tagalog, Cebuano, and Zamboangueño) to pronounce [a] where my ears told me [ə]. I had taken this to be English hearing habits intruding on the Kapampangan sounds. Soon, however, I realized that this was incorrect, as friends criticizing my Kapampangan speech would comment that I could sound like a native if only I would “toughen up” that [a], i.e., say [ə]: /wá/: [wé] ‘yes’

/lálam/: [láləm] ‘below’

/namán/: [nəmén] ‘also, in turn’

2.2.11.3 Back Vowels

The back vowels are /u/ and /o/. They contrast only in a very few of the pairs which I have observed thus far:

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lásu 'ribbon': láso 'melt, digest'

ménus 'lacking, mínus': menos (menqos?) 'washed'

púta 'whore': póta 'later'

támu 'we (inclusive)': támo (of. Gamboa/Bergaño) 'a gingerlike root'

and probably in the grammatical morphemes,

-ku 'I': -ko 'you (plural)'

-yu 'yours (plural)': -yo 'you (plural) -them'

/u/ is a high back vowel with a range of variation (compare /i/) from quite high, relative to English, as in uy! 'wowiee!' to quite low, a sound like English [ow] in boat: [nakú, nakó] 'mamma mia!'

[páro, páru] 'shrimp'

[púto, pútul] 'a kind of ricecake delicacy'

There is some tendency for the /u/ in final syllables to be lowered to [o]: [lúmut, lúmot] 'moss, seaweed'.

/o/ is a midback vowel (low in contrast to /u/) which occurs in loanwords such as rósas 'pink', bóto, bótu 'vote' [contrast: bútuq, búto 'penis' (Bergaño butú), (Gamboa butù = bútuq)] as well as in words which are apparently more native, for example, póta 'later.' Also, final/-o/may reflect an under-lying/-aw/as: aldó 'day': kayaldawánan 'anniversary'

dálo 'unexpected visitor': pindaláwan 'visited, dropped in on (someone)'

maláso 'edible; melting': lasáwan 'melt; digest something'

2.2.12 The Consonants

In my analysis of the sound system of Kapampangan, as it stands at present, there are sixteen (eighteen for a small group of speakers) consonantal sound segments in contrasting relation to one another. The contrasting relation is definitely proven for eleven of these. Twelve are listed (p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, ŋ, s, l, r).² For the other sounds (č, j, h, q, w, y, f, v),

the relationship of contrast versus complementation within the sound system remains unproven, thus doubtful, even though phonetically clear in certain utterances. [f] and [v] are probably the least widely used—only by the best speakers of English (or Spanish?). Generally [f] is an alternant for /p/ and [v] for /b/. /č/ and /ǰ/, while phonetically quite distinct from [ts, ty, tiy] and [dy, diy] alternate, for many speakers, with those as combinations of contrasting units. [h] and [q] are quite lenis in articulation, very difficult to hear in rapid speech. Ultimately the determination of their status, as well as that of [w] and [y] (vowels, consonants, semivowels?) will depend on discovery of contrasting minimal pairs or a more adequate theory of syllabicity than I have at this stage. The problems are in part related to the fact of considerable intralanguage variation and the relative scarcity of standardizing influences.

2.2.12.1 *The Oral Stops*

There are six contrasting oral stops, three voiceless /p, t, k/ and three voiced /b, d, g/, each being respectively bilabial, dental and velar. In initial position the oral stops are unaspirated or only slightly aspirated. Medially the labial and velar stops sometimes occur as slit fricatives /b/: [β], /k/: [x], /g/: [ɣ].

Examples of the oral stops:

/p/, /b/: initial pábo ‘turkey’: bábo ‘upstairs’

medial abá ‘(exclamation)’: apá ‘rice bran’

babái ‘woman’

bábiq ‘pig’

medial cluster

qablás ‘dress (v.)’

qapqáp ‘(an expensive fish)’

final

atáb ‘tide, high tide’: atáp ‘roof, peak of a roof’

lúb ‘inside’

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máyap ‘good’

/t/, /d/: initial

dalá ‘carry’

tálaq ‘bright star, planet’

tánke ‘stem’

dáse ‘mat’

medial

atád ‘escort’

edád ‘age; a female nickname from Natividad’

matílus ‘sharp, pointed’

madiló ‘yellow’

medial cluster

adwá ‘two’

atdúq ‘bile’

duldúl ‘thunder’: tultúl ‘light one cigar from another’

final

lápat ‘exact fit, adjusted’: lápad ‘width’

lúmut ‘moss’: lúmud ‘drown’

malutút ‘ripe, matured fruit’: malulúd ‘barked (shins)’

/k/, /g/: initial

kimúq ‘clumsy, unaccustomed’

ginú ‘lord, master’

medial

ága ‘friendly’

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agád ‘immediately’

ágiq ‘spider web’

káku ‘mine’

áku ‘I’

medial cluster

agkát ‘summon, signal’

suksúk ‘thorn’

final

ábak ‘morning’

ambág ‘contribute’

tiktík ‘drain off liquid’

tigtíg ‘play music’

2.2.12.2 The Glottal Stop

This is a significant sound particularly in word final position: dára ‘aunt’: dáraq ‘thresh’

kukú ‘finger or toe nail’: kukúq ‘cough’ The articulation of the glottal stop in initial and medial positions is quite lenis although it may be heard especially in slow, careful (somewhat exaggerated, uncommon) speech: qapqáp ‘(a kind of fish)’, síp^hqun ‘nasal mucus’, magqóbra ‘work’, magqalmusál ‘breakfast’, meqatáke ‘had an attack, was attacked’.

In rapid, everyday speech (at least to this outsider’s ear) the glottal stop in these positions disappears or is articulated as a feature of syllabic structure but does not occur as a stop. In word formation the glottal stop alternates with /y/ and /w/; more will be said about this below (2.3.4).

2.2.12.3 The Affricates

There are two affricates, a voiceless alveopalatal affricate /č/ and a voiced alveopalatal affricate /ǰ/. The contrastive unitary status of these sounds is still somewhat in doubt; they may pos-

sibly be clusters of /t/ plus /s/ or /y/ and of /d/ plus /y/. In word formation (cf. 2.3), the sounds often result from such combinations.

Examples of the affricates:

<u>initial</u>	čá 'tea' čéke 'check' čésa 'a kind of fruit' čokarán 'gangmate' j́ánan 'give, lend' j́is 'ten' j́ós 'God'
<u>medial</u>	ačán 'stomach' ačáq 'throw' ačáta 'a large bedpan' aǰáran 'grater, scraper (coconut)'
<u>final</u>	(no observed occurrences)

2.2.12.4 *The Nasals.*

There are three nasal stops: a labial /m/, a dental /n/ and a velar /ŋ/.

Examples of the nasals:

<u>initial</u>	máp 'good' me 'you-it' ménus 'lacking' na 'his; already, now' ne 'is it not?' ne 'he-it' ŋa 'indeed, definitely' ŋéni 'now'
<u>medial</u>	namán 'in turn' nánan 'what happened?' na-ŋán 'now+all' báŋaŋ 'a hardwood'
<u>medial cluster</u>	amlát 'legend' anyáya 'invite'

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damdám 'hear, feel, sense'
nandín 'a while ago'
naɲnáj 'barbecue'

final pin 'indeed'
sím 'corrugated iron sheet'
siɲsíɲ 'ring'

The nasals also play a complex role in word formation; this will be discussed below (cf. 2.3.6).

2.2.12.5 *The Fricatives*

One fricative, a voiceless postdental or alveopalatal spirant /s/, is clearly a significant unit of sound in all varieties of Kapampangan. A variant of /s/, somewhat palatalized [š] occurs before /y/ and /iy/. (Cf. 2.2.12.3 for discussion of [č] which may be analyzed as either /ts/ or /ty/.)

Examples of /s/:

initial síping 'near, draw near'
suáq, swáq 'pomelo'
syáno '(a male name)'

medial akásya 'acacia (tree)'
asáwa 'spouse'
suksúk 'thorn'

final kaskás 'grate, rub, scratch'

The other fricative sounds remain somewhat problematical. Voiced and voiceless labiodental fricatives [v] and [f] have been observed, but in environments which are limited such as in names and foreign vocabulary and then only when produced by certain types of speakers. These then may be treated as variants of the corresponding labial stops /b/ and /p/. Indeed, for many speakers there appears to be no contrast: [david] = [dabíd] 'David'.

An unvoiced glottal spirant [h] has been observed. It is widely believed in the Philippines that "Kapampangan has no h"; this popular opinion creates some complications in the analysis of the sound. In slow eliciting informants delete it. [h] has been observed in words such as the following.

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<u>initial</u>	hámbug 'boast' hapihápi 'have a good time' hápon 'Japanese' hardín 'garden' henerál 'general' hépi 'chief' husé 'Jose'
<u>medial</u>	bahála 'responsibility, supervisor' banáhaw '(name of a mountain)' lihím 'secret' puhúnan 'capitol' tahádaq '(a kind of candy)'

medial before suffix -an

kaláhan 'reel'
muláhan 'yard area'
pwersáhan 'force'
tindáhan 'store'

medial cluster

ánghelis 'Angeles (city)'
bírhén 'virgin'
kahinhínán 'honesty, integrity'

<u>final</u>	báh '(an exclamation)' katíh 'tide, water level'
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With the possible exception of the instances in medial clusters, all of these occurrences of [h] may be observed to vary with occurrences of [q] or with the absence of a consonantal sound in that position (but with a syllable boundary present). I expect that the variation here has social significance but further research will be required on this and similar problems.

2.2.12.6 The Laterals

There are two lateral sounds which are significant units in the system of sound contrasts. These are /l/ and /r/.

Examples of /l/:

<u>initial</u>	lálám 'beneath' lítid 'tendon'
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	lugál 'place'
<u>medial</u>	aláq 'none' alíq 'not' rílis 'rails, tracks'
<u>medial clusters</u>	kuldás 'get down off' kuliglíg 'cicada'
<u>final</u>	almusál 'breakfast' kulkúl 'dig' lugál 'place'

/r/ is a lateral flap (cf. 2.3.7, discussion below on /r/ for /d/ in word formation).

Examples of /r/:

<u>initial</u>	rádyu 'radio' regálu 'gift' reklámo 'complaint' reló 'clock, watch' rílis 'track, rail' ripórt 'report, appear to receive assignment' (mag-riport) rósas 'pink'
<u>medial</u>	maríne 'shamed' maririyá 'envious'
<u>final</u>	(rarely, in foreign loans) as kobradór 'tell collector'

In a few cases (a limited number of new borrowings?) /r/ and /l/ alternate freely: selmón, a sermón 'scold'. For some speakers /l/ occurs as an alternant of larger sequences of sound, as in [ileksyún]=[inʒeksyún] 'injection, shot, inoculation'.

2.2.13 The Semivowels

There are two semivowels /y/ and /w/ which may alternately be considered to be instances of /i/ and /u/ occurring as non-peaks or nuclei of syllables. The semivowels play a complex role in word formation (cf. 2.3.2, 2.3.3, 2.3.4).

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Examples of /y/:

<u>initial</u>	yélu 'ice' yéru 'iron'
<u>medial</u>	amyám 'cold season' anyáya 'invite' líyas 'lice eggs, small lice' mayiyílo 'shading' mayuyút 'tumbling'
<u>final</u>	(rare) Duráy '(a girl's name)' pétsay 'Chinese lettuce'

Examples of /w/:

<u>initial</u>	walú 'eight' wánan 'right side' wés 'judge'
<u>cluster</u>	bwák 'head hair': swáq 'pomelo'
<u>medial</u>	líwas 'exchange places'
<u>final</u>	(rare) banáhaw 'Mount Banahaw' paksíw '(a dish of food)' syópaw 'Chinese hamburger' táw (= táu) 'person'

2.2.2 Suprasegmental Features

In addition to the segmental features of sound discussed above, certain concomitant features of sound serve to further distinguish meanings of utterances. These are intonation and its components of pitch level, juncture, and terminal contours (which operate at the level of utterances, phrases, and clauses) and also stress (or vowel length) which sometimes functions to distinguish lexical units.

Examples of contrast by stress:

ápiq 'lime': apíq 'fire'

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báko ‘mangrove’: bakó ‘red heron’
kámaruq ‘cricket’: kamarúq ‘fist’
mámaq ‘mister’: mamáq ‘chew betel’
páliq ‘heat’: palíq ‘drops of urine’
púlis ‘wipe’: pulís ‘police’
salábat ‘interrupt’: salabát ‘(a drink)’
táu ‘person’: taú ‘feast’

2.3 SOUNDS CHANGED IN WORD FORMATION

2.3.1 Stress Shift

Stress may shift to left or right to indicate a difference between nominal and verbal use [compare English pérmít (noun): permít (verb), cónstruct (noun): constrúct (verb)].

Examples of stress shift:

dápat ‘should, ought to’: dapát ‘deed, concern, business’
dápug ‘trash pile: dapúg ‘gather, burn trash’
tátag ‘organize’: tatág ‘firm’

In word formation such as when one word is derived from another by affixation, stress may shift to the left in some cases, to the right in others.

Examples of stress shift to the right:

ábe: abáyan ‘accompany’
aldó: kayaldawánan ‘day: anniversary’
dálo: daláwan ‘visit’
dátaṅ: datáṅan ‘arrive’
láso: lasáwan ‘melt, digest’

Examples of stress shift to the left:

imúq: ímwan ‘wash’

lakó: lákwan 'leave'

luksúq: lúksuan 'jump'

2.3.2 Vowel Loss

As the final example in the section above illustrates, some vowels are lost in certain instances of word formation: lakó: lákwan 'leave', dakúp: dákpan 'catch'. Some vowels become nonsyllabics: sábi: sabyán 'say', tukíq: tukyán 'accompany', abú: abwán 'ash', tuksúq: tukswán 'tease'.

2.3.3 Regular Alternation between Roots and Derived Forms

Many roots ending in -e have that -e represented by -ay before suffixes. Similarly a final -o in a root often appears as -aw when the root is suffixed.

Examples of final -e represented as -ay:

ábe: abáyan 'accompany'

biyé 'life': biyáyan 'nursery'

dáme 'sympathize': kadamáyan 'one in sympathy'

túne 'true': katunáyan 'truth'

Examples of final -o represented as -aw:

laktó: laktáwan 'skip, omit'

láso: lasáwan 'melt, digest'

The same type of change historically may be seen in comparing Tagalog taytay 'bridge' with Kapampangan téte 'bridge'.

2.3.4 /q/ becomes /y, w/

Roots with glottal stop in initial position may have the initial /q/ become /y/ after a prefix which ends in a vowel or in attribute phrases linked by + a +: roots which have a final glottal stop will have that /q/ represented as /w/ before a suffix

Examples of /q/ becoming /y, w/:

bíruq: biruwán

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díluq: diluwán

súguq: pisuguwán

qábak: máyap+a+yábak

qaliwá: miyaliwá

2.3.5 Assimilation

/m/, /n/, and /ŋ/ occur as variants, respectively, of /p/ or /b/, /t/ or /d/, and /k/ or /g/ when the base word which they begin is preceded by a prefix ending in a nasal.

Examples of assimilation:

balbás 'beard': mámalbás 'shave'

payát 'thin': mámáyat 'grow thin'

damdám 'sense': panamdám 'feelings'

tiwaláq 'belief': mániwaláq 'believe'

gambulán: maṅambúl 'cultivate plants'

kutáŋ 'question': maṅutáŋ 'ask'

2.3.6 /s/ and /d/ become /y/

When preceded by the repetitive or distributive prefixes maṅ- or paṅ- or mapaṅ-, an /s/ or /d/ as initial consonant of the word base changes to /y/.

Examples with prefix maṅ-:

dakáp 'seize': manyakáp 'robber'

sábal: manyábal 'bump'

salítaq: manyalítaq 'speak'

sése: manyése 'tend, care for, adopt'

sikwákuq 'pipe': manyikwákuq 'smoke a pipe'

Examples with prefix paṅ-:

danúm 'water': panyanúman 'for irrigating'

dapát 'deed': panyapát 'for doing'

dinát ‘dirt’: panyinát ‘for dirtying’
 suksúk ‘thorn’: panyuksúk ‘piercing tool’
 sungkít ‘hook’: panyungkít ‘hooking pole’

Examples with prefix mapañ-:

saṅkán ‘excuse’: mapanyaṅkán ‘full of excuses’
 sáup ‘help’: mapanyáup ‘helpful’

2.3.7 /d/ becomes /r/

/d/ becomes /r/ between vowels. This is not always the case, nor does every instance of VrV reflect an underlying /d/, for example, dúdudúl ‘it is thundering’ and Mariya ‘Mary’. However, the initial /d/ of many word bases becomes /r/ after a prefix which ends in a vowel or in clauses after a preceding word which ends in a vowel.

dagúl ‘big’: dáragúl ‘grow big’ (also: dádagúl)
 dakál ‘many’: marakál ‘many’ (also: madakál)
 dímla ‘cold’: marímla ‘cold’ (but: dídímla)

Similarly, in certain grammatical markers and pronouns:

da : ra	‘they’ (pronouns)
de : re	
do : ro	

di: ri (special plural case marking particle)

ding: ring (plural case marking particle)

In a few cases, /d/ and /r/ vary freely within a given lexical item, as in kumbidá, kumbirá ‘invite.’

2.3.8 Geminate consonants at word boundaries

When enclitic words are suffixed to words which end in the same sound with which the enclitic begins, the preceding vowel is lengthened and only one consonant is articulated.

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Examples:

kayápan + na becomes kayapá'na

aná� + ke becomes aná'ke

dakál + la becomes daká'la

kinasál + la becomes kinasá'la

2.4 WRITING SYSTEMS FOR KAPAMPANGAN

Kapampangan writing today is mainly restricted to private correspondance. The casual outsider visiting the Kapampangan-speaking area is likely to see nothing in writing beyond a few public signs.

in the streets

(1) Bawal ing mugse basura queni.

Multa P5 o suculan.

'Throwing garbage here is prohibited. 5 peso fine or jail.'

(2) Bawal ing mimi queti.

'Urinating here is forbidden.'

at church

(1) Eco misusulud imalan a "sleeveless" qng pamakinabang.

'Don't wear sleeveless dresses to Communion.'

on vehicle

(1) Distancia koy.

'(Keep your) distance, brother.'

(2) Pot-pot bayo lusot.

'Toot-toot before you (pass and) cut in.'

There are, of course, religious, literary, and educational publications available to the serious student (cf. 1.6). Regardless of whether he reads written Kapampangan or not, writing systems are an important concern of the learner because he will have to write Kapampangan himself in order to have study records.

In the course of such writing, the learner will quickly discover that some Kapampangans have very strong opinions about how the “real” Kapampangan is supposed to be written. In certain ways this “true” writing system fails to serve the needs of a foreign learner, so it is helpful to know a bit of the history of writing in Pampanga. Three orthographic systems may be delineated: the syllabary derived from India, the alphabetic writing introduced by the Spanish, and the revision of the alphabetic system inspired by Tagalog.

2.4.1 The Kapampangan Syllabary

Early Spanish explorers in the Philippines reported widespread literacy. Numerous Filipino groups wrote their languages using similar syllabaries,³ the origin of which has been traced to India. Traces of such syllabaries are widespread throughout Southeast Asia, and the paths by which syllabaries came to the Philippine Archipelago (directly from the Asian mainland? from Java via Borneo, via Celebes and the Moluccas?) are a subject of some scholarly debate.

Sinibaldo de Mas, a Spanish diplomat, has provided us with a record of a Kapampangan syllabary.⁴ Many contemporary Kapampangans are unaware of the historical existence of this syllabary, but it survived much of the period of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines.

As early as 1610 the Spaniards had introduced printing to the Pampanga area. According to Henson, a Kapampangan named Antonio Bamba was printing with type in Bacolor as early as 1618. It is probable that by this time the Spanish friars were already adapting the Spanish alphabet (which had come to them from the Latins) for use in Kapampangan.

2.4.2 The Spanish Orthographies

As the Spanish friars introduced Christianity, they brought along with them the tools of western learning. The Gospel was preached in the native’s language; this required that the friars learn that language. Rather than learn from the natives to use the existing syllabic orthography, the friars found it convenient and simple to write Kapampangan using the same conventions as had been established for Spanish. Thus, for example, initial velar stops before high vowels are written qu, gu, but c and g before low vowels. These conventions became the con-

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ventions for Kapampangan when catechisms were printed, and later when literary, academic, and news writings were published.

The schools and the literary artists had solidified these conventions as tradition by the time the Americans took sovereignty over the Islands from the Spaniards. Thus, at the beginning of the twentieth century, Luther Parker, one of the leaders of the American educational efforts in Pampanga, accepted the Spanish orthography for this English-Spanish-Pampango dictionary and probably lent American prestige to the Spanish orthography.

This writing tradition is part of the background of literate adult Kapampangans today. Despite the fact that the Spanish orthography is, historically, the second writing system for Kapampangan, many adult speakers today accept only the friars' orthography as "true" and feel quite strongly that Kapampangan written any other way is not "true" Kapampangan.

Why is this section entitled orthographies rather than orthography? It is not clear that one system rather than a number of similar but partially different systems developed by different friars was established as the traditional form of writing Kapampangan. Variations exist; the question is whether they are variations within a single system or reflections of different systems all founded on Spanish orthography. Thus one finds Capampangan, Capangpangan, Capañgpañgan, Capangpanñgan. Similar variety is found with other sound/letter correspondences.

The velar nasal is one particular source of difficulty for the foreigner learning Kapampangan. The sound /ŋ/ contrasts with the combination of sounds /ŋg/, yet in the Spanish-based Kapampangan orthography one finds the written ng symbolizing /ŋ/ sometimes but /ŋg/ elsewhere: manga for /maŋga/ or pampango for /pampaŋgo/. Occasionally a final written n represents spoken /ŋ/. This is a separate problem; it reflects a mistake in hearing where the Spanish writer's hearing of the Kapampangan word was affected by the sound system of his native language.

Other difficulties involve vowels and diphthongs (for example, ibat but caybat vs. yampang, ilutu), the presence or absence of stress and the glottal stop, and the variety of representations for /h/. ju reflects /w/ as in Juan /wán/, jueting

/wéting/ but *j* reflects /h/ or syllable boundary as in lijim /lihím, liím/. /g/ is written gu in the environment of preceding *i, e*; and written g before a, u, o, but in a word like virgen the written g represents the sound /h/: /bírhen/. These, however, are predictable variations, certainly less complex than the systems of sound/letter correspondences in English.

2.4.3 The Tagalog-based Orthography

As part of his critical study of Spanish effects on the Philippines and as a small part of his contributions to Philippine nationalism, Jose Rizal devised a new orthography for Tagalog, blending both the pre-Spanish syllabary with the Roman alphabet. Later the Institute of National Language adapted this orthography; it has become the common way of writing Tagalog and as such has influenced the writing of other Philippine languages. When the Bureau of Public Schools published the new set of Kapampangan readers around 1965, the orthography selected was this national orthography. At the beginning of the readers credit for adapting this orthography to Kapampangan is given to Jose Villa Panganiban (director of the Institute of National Language), to the late Zoilo M. Hilario and to Amado M. Yuzon (both public officials and well-known Pampango poets).

An adult reader published by the Bureau of Public Schools in 1953 was written in what appears to be a compromise between the Spanish and the national orthographies. For example, the word /báge/ appears as bague as well as bage. Similarly there is a noticeable wavering back and forth between Spanish *j* and Tagalog h, as in konsejal but biahe. In at least one instance we find a blend of the two: Spanish jueting is printed as hueting (/wéting/ 'a gambling game'). Elsewhere in the text we find ektaria 'hectare' but hacienda 'hacienda' and homisted 'homestead', as well as three representations of the same lexeme: jalus, halus, alus 'nearly, most'.

The 1965 adaptation of the national orthography to Kapampangan has ironed out many of these inconsistencies but unfortunately it introduces a few of its own, particularly with respect to the representation of vowels and vowel-semivowel combinations. Thus we find piyalung and kikiyak but Dalia and Reyna; kuwa, kuwanan, lakuwan, ibuwat but kwayan and tatabwan.

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It was startling to discover in a second grade reader that the orthography shifts from a consistent representation of /e/ and /i/ to a more phonetic representation, sometimes given the allophonic lowered vowel [e] or [ɪ] for /i/ as e, in those environments (clause or utterance final) where indeed it occurs in speech (cf. 2.21.11). Thus ngeni sometimes is written ngene. But this sound alternation is completely automatic and predictable and thus need not be represented in the orthography.

The orthography used in this grammar follows the national orthography in the main. Ours differs in treating the glottal stop and stress as separate phenomena. It also differs somewhat on treatment of vowels and semivowels, but it is felt that the differences all make it easier for the foreign learner to come eventually to using Kapampangan as the Kapampangans themselves do.

3 GRAMMAR

In the preceding section we were concerned with segmenting the flow of sound of Kapampangan speech into distinctive sounds that could be represented by letters. Now in section three and hereafter we shall be concerned with the higher levels of Kapampangan structure—the various chunks of sound in Kapampangan which recur with the same meanings. These chunks include the unit most English speakers think of most immediately, the word. But the concept word is not so easy to pin down, once you think about it seriously—and the cross-language task we have at hand makes this even more complicated. For in Kapampangan as in other languages, there are meaningful chunks which are smaller than words and there are meaningful chunks which are bigger—sometimes much bigger—than words. Those smaller than words we call morphemes (prefixes, suffixes, infixes, and certain other chunks to be introduced). Above the word size we shall be concerned with such units with meaning or meanings as phrases, clauses, and sentences.

At the beginning, the meaningful chunks will seem to be obscured in that same blur we discussed in Section 2. But as with the significant sounds, one can overcome this by zeroing in on some particle and listening intently for its recurrence.

3.1 THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PARTICLE ING

The grammatical feature I would suggest a learner single out first for his selective listening is ING /iŋ/, a very important relational particle. ING is only one of a closed set of case-marking particles, relational particles which mark noun phrases for case (and also for number as well as a distinction between common and personal). It is enough at this stage that you know that ING has a particularly important function in a very large number of Kapampangan sentences. It is a feature of Philippine languages that one relational particle act as a sort of pivot or hinge for the major segments of very many sentences. In Tagalog and Cebuano this pivot particle is ANG; in Kapampangan it is ING. What precedes this pivot particle is the

predicate, or the comment—what the speaker is telling his listeners about his topic. The pivot and the phrase it marks is the subject—or, since “subject” can be a confusing term, the topic of his comment(s), the piece of his discourse that he is focused on, that he is talking about.

Not every utterance you hear, of course, will contain an instance of ING. A number of sentences, those where the focused element is a named person, will have the personal version of the ING relational particle, I /i/. I is the personal name noun phrase marker equivalent of ING. But that is not the whole story. There will also be utterances that will reach your ears which contain neither ING nor I.

Examples.

Swérte ya. ‘He is lucky.’

O wá. ‘Oh, yes.’

Swérte ya pá pin. ‘He is still lucky indeed.’

Bákit? ‘Why?’

Tabálu. ‘I don’t know.’

Atí ka pala kén. ‘So, you were there.’

Alí ku. ‘No I wasn’t. /Not me.’

O, nínu itá? ‘Well, who was that?’

These are examples of sentences you will hear which have no instance of ING or I—at least not in any form you would yet recognize. Actually the first, third, sixth, seventh, and eighth have forms (ya, ka, ku, itá) which stand as substitutes for ING focused noun phrases. This will be discussed below (3.3). The second, fourth and fifth are very common sentences with respect to frequency of occurrence, but are sentences which we class as grammatically minor because of their construction type.

In addition to sentences which have no ING or a disguised ING, you will also discover sentences which apparently violate our generalization about ING by having more than one occurrence of ING. Examples of this sort follow.

Ing káku, yápin ing atíng bulúng. ‘Mine is the one that has leaves.’

Ing kéka ing makiyamút. ‘Yours is the one with roots.’

Ing méstro ing mintá. ‘The teacher was the one who went.’

Ému wári bálu ing iní talagá ing kanákung pituknangan.
‘Perhaps you don’t know that this is really where I live.’

Éne pepákit ing íya talagáng tátácut ya. ‘He didn’t let it show that he himself was very frightened.’

At first sight these examples with their recurrences of ING within single sentences may appear to destroy the usefulness of our generalization about the role of ING as a grammatical signal of the pivot point, the hinge which binds topic and comment together. Might these sentences be multihinged? Actually, deeper examination—perhaps you can even see it already in the complexity of the English glosses—reveals that each of these sentences is composed of more than one sentence. The larger sentence can be seen to contain another sentence embedded in it as a clause or phrase. Thus the sentence Ing méstro ing mintá, ‘The teacher is the one who went’, may be seen as composed of two conjoined sentences: [Pisasábian ta ing méstro, ‘We’re talking about the teacher’] + [Mintá ya ing méstro, ‘The teacher went’], or [Mintá ya ing méstro, ‘The teacher went’] + [Pisasábia ta ing mintá, ‘We’re talking about the one who went’].

Similarly the sentences with indirect quotations or with relative clauses after verbs of communicating or knowing may be seen as actually composed of conjoined sentences: [É ne pepákit yán, ‘He didn’t let that show’] + [Talagáng tátácut ya/Talagá yang tátácut, ‘He is/was really very frightened’]. In this case as in the previously discussed pairs of sentences, there is always a common factor; here, yán ‘that’ stands for the same thing as the whole second sentence.

Other investigators of Philippine languages have treated sentences like the one exemplified below as of a separate type, which they call the topic or emphasized noun phrase sentence—I believe they may as well be considered simply another sort of embedded sentence like those above. Consider the example:

Ing mikibándi, ambaganáneng péra ing pisámban. ‘As for the wealthy man/owner, he gave money to the church.’

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Contrary, perhaps, to the expectations of a native speaker of English, the “subject” of the main part of this sentence is not he, the owner. (This is why we earlier cautioned the reader about the ambiguities of the term “subject”.) If one has followed the argument so far, carefully, he will have noted the ING of this sentence and correctly concluded that ing pisámбан, the church, is what the speaker is talking about in the main part of the sentence. That is, someone gave something (did something) to the church, not to any other. The church is what we are asked to focus on. But how about the other occurrence of ING, ing mikibáнди? Is this not as focused? Yes, our attention is called to the owner too; but in a special way—for the intonation contour, here indicated by the comma, clearly marks this segment off from the rest of the utterance. This segment, with its distinctive contour of intonation, has been called an emphasized noun phrase, a special topic—and this seems correct. But it may not go far enough. I would like to suggest that this construction is comparable to the sentences discussed above: the emphasized noun phrase may be treated as an embedded part of the bigger sentence. Then we posit something like the following: [Ambaganáneng péra ing pisámбан, ‘The church was given money by him’] + [Gínawá ya ing mikibáнди, ‘The owner did (it)’]. The elements held in common by the two sentential pieces are the act and the doer; the doer is -na- ‘by him’ and ing mikibáнди ‘the owner’ and the act is in the two verbs gínawá ‘did something’ and ambagán ‘contribute to’.

ING, it has already been mentioned above, has another representation I /i/ which occurs when the noun phrase it is marking is a personal name. In addition to this, there are manifestations of this unit which reflect plurality: RING or DING for the common noun phrases and RI or DI for plural personal names. ING and its other manifestations are but one part of a closed set of important grammatical markers. The whole set of these will be discussed below (3.2.1) but before we go on, we had best look at the grammatical units which they mark, the NOUN PHRASE.

3.2 NOUN PHRASE

Noun phrases in Kapampangan consist of one or more words, at least one of which is a noun or nominal. These are endocentric constructions—that is, one of the elements (if there

is more than one) is the center or head of the construction; the whole phrase occurs in all those places where the head can occur and various comparable expansions of this phrase, some bigger and some smaller, can all occur in the language distributed in the same contexts as the head. There are single-centered noun phrases, serial noun phrases, case-marked noun phrases (the type we have been beginning to discuss above), referent, time, and locative noun phrases.

Examples of these types are given below. Single-centered noun phrase (with head underlined):

aduáng pámialúngan ning anák ku ‘my child’s two toys’

tátang nang wán ‘Juan’s father’

anák ku ‘my child’

táu ‘man/person’

The general pattern here is an unaffixed noun root (táu, anák) or a derived noun (pámialúngan ‘toy’: piálung ‘play’) preceded optionally by a number qualifier (aduá ‘two’) and/or followed by other noun phrases or noun phrase substitutes marked for attributional relationship to the head. The optional additions are referred to as expansions of the head. The degree of possible expansion is considerable—the constraints or limitations have not yet been ascertained but no doubt they correlate with general limitations on memory or the like. A few samples of longer expansions on the basic single-centered noun phrase are included below.

iníng ibié kung istória kéka Míke ‘this story I am going to give to you, Mike’

métung a lugál a éra makáing sadyáng pupuntalán bébe na ning dágat ‘a place, which they are not used to going to, near the sea’

itáng dalungdúng na nitáng balé malatí para manikuá kang lílung ‘that lean-to sort of little house where you can get shade’

pámangán da a dinínan dáku pá ‘their food of which they still gave some to me’

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Serial noun phrases. Some of the serial noun phrases are appositional and may be considered double-centered, though we prefer to analyze them as compound single; other serial noun phrases consist of a string of single-centered noun phrase constructions, perhaps limited to the psychologically magic number seven, and optionally grammatically marked for serial linkage with one or more of the coordinating particles (at, atsaka, patí, ampó, o). Examples follow.

téte kunkúrdyas ‘Concordias bridge’

presidénti Márkus ‘President Marcos’

béynte síngku míl ‘twenty-five thousand’

apúlu líbo ‘ten thousand’

asín, báwang ampong aslám ‘salt, garlic and vinegar’

píndang bábi, píndang damúlag, píndang kabáyu, o píndang usá
‘treated pork, carabao meat, horsemeat or venison’

swérti atsaka kwálta ‘luck and money’

malagú pati mabiása ‘beautiful and also smart’

3.2.1 Case-marked Noun Phrases

The expression of case relations in Kapampangan is executed through a coordination of form of the verb (in those clauses with verbal predications) and the marking of various noun phrases. The most important of these markings we have begun to discuss above, the ING marked phrases. Another marking of noun phrases has already appeared in the examples given on pages 49 and 50: nang wán, ning anak ku, ning dágat.

The case-marking particles are a subset of the set of grammatical marking particles (see 3.2.1). The complete subset is as follows:

common singular

ing

ning, neng

king, keng

common plural

ring, ding/reng, deng

deng, reng/daring, dareng

karing, kareng

personal singular

i

nang, neng

personal plural

di, ri

dari

kang

kari

At the present stage of analysis, only tentative statements about the distribution patterns of e-i variations can be made. Ring and ding apparently vary freely with reng and deng; no difference of meaning has been found. It is clear, on the other hand, that ning/neng/nang and king-keng are not freely substitutable for one another. Ning and nang are clearly separated by the common-personal distinction. Neng however occurs with both persons and common nouns. To the extent that a consistent difference can be identified, and I am not yet certain of this, neng apparently indicates specificity, definiteness in contrast to indefinite, vague or non-specific ning. So too king and keng, with keng the specific marker and king the non-specific marker. The difference between king and keng may further have something to do with a contrast dimension which sets location (king) against instrument, referent, indirect object (keng). Thus:

Bandá king mabalákat ing búnduk aráyat. 'Mt. Arayat is on the way to Mabalacat.'

Pináluq ke keng dútung. 'I hit him with a wooden club.'

3.2.2 NING Case

NING marked noun phrases (I use NING as a cover term for [ning, nang, neng] as ING was used for [ing, i, ding, di]) occur as attributes to noun heads in single-centered noun phrase constructions, as agents in verbal clauses where the agent is not the focused element (e.g., when the goal or direct object is the item in focus, or when the location is the item in focus— examples one and two below), or in certain special coordination cases or in the emphasized descriptive construction. The phrase under discussion is underlined in both the Kapampangan and the English gloss.

Examples:

agent

Kinuá neng almá ing kamisóla bábo ning lamésa. 'Alma got the dress from under the table.'

referent

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Kebitánan neng alám-bre ing pasbúl. ‘The door was where someone hung the wire.’

attributive constructions

pámialúngan ning wáli ku ‘my little brother’s toy’

léle ning pisám-ban ‘side of the church’

síping nang átsing edád ‘beside Atsing Edad/Atsing Edad’s com-panion’

special coordinate

kamí ning wáli ku ‘we, including my little brother but excluding you’

Sáli kamí ning maníka ku. ‘My doll and I will go,’

emphatic descriptive

Kaú nang danúm ning kabáyu! ‘How thirsty the horse was for water!’

Kasantíng na ning gayák king dálan! ‘How beautiful the decora-tions in the street are!’

Kátas mu! ‘You’re so tall!’

3.2.3 KING Case

The king marked noun phrases cover a wide variety of case usages, ranging along what seems almost to be a continuum rather than a set of discrete classes. The case-like functions of this continuum may be labeled: time, location, direction, indirect object, beneficiary, recipient, referent, source, instrument, possessor and one of two things compared. The examples presented below are arranged in sequence in a manner which follows the sequence of labels here.

Magbálik kamé king únyu. ‘We will come back in June.’

Itá ing pilalában mi king aldóqaldó. ‘That’s what we struggle over in the confines of a day (every day).’

I nóra, tínípa ya king múla. ‘As for Nora, she went down into the yard.’

Ábilí ke pin palá king búlsa ku. ‘Oh yeah, I guess I happened to put it in my pocket.’

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Bánda king mabalákat ing búnduk aráyat. 'Mt. Arayat is on the way to Mabalacat.'

Ipaník mu la kang imá mu. 'Take them up to your mother.'

Tínukí ya i mário kang indang báyang. 'Mario took (something) to Indang Bayang.'

Ene pepákit karing ának. 'She didn't show it to the children.'

Binyé ne ing buntúk ampong bátal king makibalé. 'He gave the head and neck to the owner of the house.'

Patye éya mulíq, pátagál de king ásu. 'If he doesn't go home, they'll sic the dog on him.'

Ing papalambát king tabáq yá ing papasyás king ébun. 'What softens the lard hardens the egg.'

Deng aswáng, tátácut la keng kurús. 'As for aswangs, they're afraid of the cross.'

Tabálu kéka. 'It's up to you/You decide.' (Lit. "I don't know to you."—which is used in Filipino English.)

Melutungtúng na ing yéru king páliq. 'The iron became brittle in the heat.' (because of..?)

Sínáwa ne king tambúl. 'He got tired of the drum.'

King kayáng katakáwan, i suán, péngan na ngán. 'In his greediness, that Juan, he ate it all up.'

Mákatúla ya king susúlud na. 'He looks funny (because of) what he's wearing.'

Binyé neng Bóy ing kéndi keng gámat na. 'Boy gave the candy with his hand.'

Pinálu ke keng dútung. 'I beat him with a piece of wood.'

ing makisése káku 'the one who takes care of me'

Kang lítu ya kanú ing maragúl. 'They say Lito has the big one.'

Magastús ing píkabúrian ken pusitára uling dakál a táu. 'The normal (preferred) way is very expensive compared to eloping because of the many people.'

Masákit ing Kapampágan keng Tagálog. 'Kapampangan is harder than Tagalog.'

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3.2.4 ING Case

As we have already begun to see above (pp. 43-46), ing case noun phrases are the topic or focused subject elements in sentences. Whether a particular predication is actor focused, object or goal focused, recipient or beneficiary focused, instrument focused, or location focused, or reason focused depends on the concord of form of the verbal predicate and the noun phrase which is marked with ing (= i, di, ri, ding, ring, deng, reng).

Examples.

Nukarín ya i bertíng? 'Where is Berting?'

Komángging kaligátan i máya. 'Maia is just the right shade of brown (skin color).'

Manikuá lang tugák di pépe. 'Pepe and his friends are (trying to) catch frogs.'

Ikuá meng danúm i tátang. 'Get some water for Father.'

Pénget neng óli i jád. 'Holy gave Judd a bite (of something).'

Salikútan me ing klásit. 'Hide yourself in the closet.'

Iaduáng me kayá ing básu. 'Hand him the glass.'

Póta masíra ing bángkaq. 'The canoe might get damaged.'

Patdán me ing sulúq. 'Put out the light.'

Magkánu ing akákit mu king kilúb ning aldóqaldó? 'How much are you able to earn in a day?'

There may be more than one ing-marked noun phrase in a single sentence. (See discussion in Section 3.1.) Sometimes this indicates an emphasized noun phrase (the first element of such sentences, clearly delineated by a sustained intonation contour); then we may say that an identificational sentence is embedded in our main sentence; these usually translate into English as: 'as for so-and-so, ...'

A second type of sentence with more than one ing-marked noun phrase is the sentence whose main predicator is a verb such as sábi 'say', kutáng 'ask', bálu 'know', ísip 'think', pákit 'show, display', and so forth. Then both the agent and the object of the sentence (in English terms) may be marked with ing.

The element said, thought asked, known, shown, etc. is an embedded sentence and the whole unit is introduced by ing. Sometimes ing is replaced here by nung.

Examples.

Neng mísan áiistóriya da ka kareng kakláse ku ing íkayú, maganaká kayú. ‘Sometimes I have occasion to tell my classmates that you were good people.’

Ákalingwán nátaq ing é mu wári báluq. ‘Maybe he has now forgotten that you probably don’t know.’

This ing occasionally occurs as king; the king forms occur most frequently in texts from speakers who live in the eastern towns of Pampanga, and likely marks a regional dialect difference.

Íkit ku king atín kung kasíping a táung malatíq. ‘I saw that I had a small person beside me.’

3.3 PRONOUNS

There is a closed subset of special words which occur distributed in the same manner as noun phrases, which do not take derivational affixes, but which are inflected for person, number and case. We refer to this set of words generally as noun-phrase substitutes, or more simply, as pronouns. There are two divisions of pronouns which correspond to the common and personal dimensions of the case-marking particles. These are the common pronouns and the personal pronouns. Personal pronouns have long and short forms. Common pronouns may be further subdivided into locational and non-locational deictics. Both have a four way distinction on a dimension of distance from speaker and addressee. They differ in that the non-locational deictics may be inflected for case but the locational deictics have only one case form.

3.3.1 Personal Pronouns, ING Case, Short Form

<u>limited</u>		<u>unlimited</u>
<u>number</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>number</u>
ku	+speaker, -addressee	kamí, ké
kata	+speaker, +addressee	támu

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ka	-speaker, +addressee	kayú, kó
ya	-speaker, -addressee	la

3.3.2 Personal Pronouns, ING Case, Long Form

<u>limited</u> <u>number</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>unlimited</u> <u>number</u>
qáku	+speaker, -addressee	qíkamí, qiké
qíkata	+speaker, +addressee	qítámu
qíka	-speaker, +addressee	qíkayú, qikó
qíya, yá	-speaker, -addressee	qíla

The long form pronouns occur as single-centered predicates in certain non-verbal clauses and also as emphasized noun phrase topics or embedded sentences standing first in a sentence and having a distinctive intonational contour. The short form pronouns occur elsewhere. Examples of long form pronouns:

Íka ing táung labuád? 'Are you the supernatural being?'

Íka ing bálaq. 'You be the one to decide.'

Ikayú, atín kayúng upayang mas lábis kekamí. 'As for you, you have a power greater than ours.'

Áku, é ku buriq. 'As for me, I don't like it.'

É ne pepákit ing íya, talagáng tátákut ya. 'He didn't let it show that he was really afraid.'

3.3.3 NING Case Personal Pronouns

<u>limited</u> <u>number</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>unlimited</u> <u>number</u>
ku	+speaker, -addressee	mi
ta	+speaker, +addressee	tá
mu	-speaker, +addressee	yu
na	-speaker, -addressee	da, ra

3.3.4 KING Case Personal Pronouns

<u>limited</u> <u>number</u>	<u>meaning</u>	<u>unlimited</u> <u>number</u>
kanáku, káku	+speaker, -addressee	kékamí, kéké
kékata	+speaker, +addressee	kékatámu
kéka	-speaker, +addressee	kékayú, kékó

kayá -speaker, -addressee karéla

Aside from these basic forms there also occur three types of portmanteau modifications of pronouns which occur in strings of pronouns and also one modification made of the third person pronoun in particular existential environments. (See 4.2.1 for discussion of the existentials.) Examples of these varieties are given below.

3.3.5 Special Forms of Personal Pronouns

(1) Existential Third Person Special Forms, yu and lu:

I bertíng, anta yú? 'How about Berting, where is he?'

Atíyu kéta bábo. 'He's over there, downstairs.'

Nukarín la reng kayábe mu? Alálu. 'Where are your companions? They aren't here.'

(2) -E Portmanteaus which consist of a ning pronoun + ya:

Ináus ke. 'I called him.'

Awsán me. '(You) call him.'

Ináus ne. 'She called him.'

Ináus miya. 'We (excl.) called him.'

Awsán táya. 'Let's call him.'

Awsán ye. 'You call him.'

Ináus de. 'They called him.'

There is another form for these -e portmanteaus. This second form occurs in questions and has kya instead of ke, mya instead of me, nya instead of ne, tya instead of te, ya or nyu instead of ye, and dya instead of de.

Itukí tyá? 'Shall we accompany him?' Some of this portmanteauing of pronouns also occurs with lexical particles (see 6.1, 6.2 below, on adjunct clusters). Thus the third person singular pronoun may interact with the lexical particle na 'now, already', also producing nya.

Sáyang yá. 'Too bad for him (something will happen).'

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contrasting with:

Sáyáng nya. ‘Too bad about him (something happened).’

(3) -O Portmanteaus which consist of a ning pronoun + la ± lexical particle na:

No for na+la; do, ro for da, ra+la; yo for yu+la; to for tá+la are common; mo for mu+la and ko for ku+la also occur but seem less common. Under some circumstances not yet fully identified this portmanteauing seems to be cancelled out, does not occur. I suspect the difference has to do with the presence or absence of underlying lexical particles, particularly na and naman, as is the case above with the -e portmanteauing.

Tinotó ra no ring padwás dari tátang pépe king plaísdan.
‘Tatang Pepe and companions were watching their fishing poles in the fishpond.’

Tinotó ra la naman ding padwás dari mário at trining. ‘Mario and Trining were watching their poles too.’

Ibíliyu no ring kwáyan. ‘Put those bamboos down now.’

Nukarín yo kinwá réni? ‘Where did you get those?’ in contrast with:

Nukarín yu na la kasí kinwá déni? ‘Because (I want you to tell me again) where did you get those?’

3.3.6 Common Pronouns

Common noun phrases may be replaced by common pronouns. There are two types of common pronouns (as mentioned above, 3.3): the locational and the non-locational. The term “locational” is not an entirely happy term, for common pronouns all have a four way space dimension: near speaker, near speaker and addressee, near addressee, and distant from both speaker and addressee. The difference between the sets is that one type is inflected for case and substitutes for common noun phrases in ing, ning or king cases; the other is not inflected for case—or perhaps more accurately—is a special location or direction case form of the deictic pronoun and substitutes for location or direction phrases (see 3.4 below).

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3.3.7 The Common Deictic Pronouns

The following chart lists the pronouns which are common and deictic.

COMMON AND DEICTIC

distance to speaker (s), addressee (a)		special ¹ existential		ing		ning		king		locative
		l.n.	u.n. ²	l.n.	u.n.	l.n.	u.n.	l.n.	u.n.	
+s,	-a	oití	oréti	ití	déti réti	nití	daréti	kaníti	karéti	kéti
+s,	+a	oiní	oréni	iní	déni réni	niní	daréni	kaníni	karéni	kéni
-s,	+a	oitá	oréta	itá	déta réta	nitá	daréta	kaníta	karéta	kéta, kén, ³ kyán
-s,	-a	oyán	oryán	iyán	diyán riyán dén, rén	niyán	daryán darén	kanyán	karyán karén	karín

1 There are alternate forms *awtí*, *awní*, *awtá*, *awyán*, *aréti*, *aréni*, *aréta*, *aryán* which are probably local dialect variants.

2 l.n. = limited number (singular); u.n. = unlimited number (plural).

3 The variation over *kéta*, *kén* and *kyán* is not yet well understood, but it appears to parallel the personal pronoun portmanteauing in the presence of various underlying lexical particle adjuncts.

3.3.8 Special Common Pronouns

In addition to the common pronouns presented above, there are a few other unaffixable words in Kapampangan which may be taken as pronouns. There is a word *ngéni* 'now' whose distribution parallels the time noun phrases and part of whose shape *-eni* parallels the +speaker, +addressee common pronoun shapes (and this collocation of meanings *here*, *now* is fitting) —but the parallelism ends there. There are no time pronouns for the other three areas of the distance of speaker, addressee, other dimension. Compare, however, the use of *kanyán* as 'now'.

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Besides these, there is also a subset of interrogative pronouns: nánu ‘what’, nínu ‘who’, kanínu ‘whose’, nukarín or nú and antá or anté ‘where’ (antá, anté is limited to reference to moveable objects), kapilán ‘when’, manánu and makanánu ‘how’, bákit, obát, ót ‘why’, magkánu ‘how much’, pilán ‘how many’, isánu or insánu ‘which’; nánu and panánu may also be used as a proverb. These interrogatives will be discussed further in the section on interrogative sentences (4.1).

3.3.9 Indefinite Substitutes

There are also the following indefinite common pronouns: ninunínu ‘who (plural)—everybody’ and nínuman ‘whosoever’; nanunánu ‘all sorts of things’ and nánuman ‘whatsoever’; kapilánman ‘whenever’. Examples of common deictic pronouns follow.

Yámuq itá. ‘That is the one.’

Nukarín yo kínwa réni? ‘Where did you get these?’

Nínu naman déni? ‘Who are these people?’

Éla asán dén. ‘Those aren’t fish.’

Nánu la rétang makabálut papíl? ‘What are those things wrapped in paper?’

Isábit tála pu king “christmas trée” riyán? ‘Shall we hang those on the Christmas tree, sir?’

Iníng lúbid a iní, mas makába ya késa kéta. ‘As for this rope here, it’s longer than that one.’

Makanánu kung mulíq kaníni? ‘How can I go home like this?’

Ing magdalá kaníti i Pondíng Miránda. ‘The bearer of this is Pongding Miranda.’

Kaníta naman migmúla ing qíngge king dálan. ‘That’s the same way the noise in the street started.’

Makó na ka kanyán? ‘Are you leaving now (like that)?’

Nánu ing dáptan mu karéni? ‘What will you do with these?’

Magtál kata námuq karéta. ‘We (two) will just harvest those.’

Oiní i tátang ku. ‘This one here (in a photo) is my father.’

Oréni ring maní. ‘Here are the peanuts.’

Oréta na ring músikus. ‘There are the musicians.’

Oryán na. ‘There they are now.’

Kéni ta tipúnan ing pibalátan tang maní. ‘Here is where we (should) throw away our peanut shells.’

Nánumang ásaup mu kén, pásalamátan ku. ‘Whatever help you can give him, I thank you for it.’

Qíka, Nóra, maglínis ka kéti balé. ‘As for you, Nora, clean up here in the house.’

Ding aliwá puq, ibát la kéti. ‘As for the others, sir, they are from here.’

Muntá kang agád kéta kayá. ‘You go right away to his/her place.’

Malínis at makasalílung ing karín. ‘The (place) there is clean and shady.’

3.4 REFERENT, TIME, AND LOCATIVE NOUN PHRASES

Briefly in the introduction to this section on noun phrases (3.2) we mentioned the existence of other types of noun phrases, and in passing while describing the set of pronouns, some of these have come to our attention again. These need to be discussed further. There are three types: the referent phrases, the locative phrases, and the time phrases. Referent noun phrases are similar to king case noun phrases— indeed many of them contain the king marker—but they differ somewhat in possessing a relator or introducer along with an axis (the noun head of the phrase). This type of phrase functions in sentences as referent, instrument or means, reason, or sometimes direction, when the focused relation of ing phrase and verb does not command such roles. The relators are listed below and a few sentence examples follow. Further analysis may show some of these relators to be nouns or verbs (e.g., ínggil, úli, léle, bánda).

para, para king, para kang ‘for, on behalf of’

túngkul, túngkul king, túngkul kang ‘because of’

úli na, king úli na ‘for the reason that, because of’

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ánga, ánga na king 'up to, until'

bánda king 'going towards'

imbés ke 'instead of, in place of' (alt. ambus?)

léle, léle ning 'beside, at the side of'

Ing sinsíl, para bákál ya o para batú; ing pát, para dútung. 'The sinsíl is a chisel for iron or stone; the pát is a chisel for wood.'

Sasadyá re ri mis púno at ding ának ing kwártu ra para king daratáng a paskú. 'Miss Puno and her pupils are preparing their room for the coming Easter.'

Time Noun Phrases. A time phrase consists of a non-ing-marked common noun phrase with a time word as noun head, and optionally includes ning-marked single-centered noun phrase expansions. It may consist minimally of a simple unmarked time word. Some time phrases consist of a ka-prefixed word plus ning phrase or unactualized verbal clause.

Examples.

ngéni 'now'

nandín 'a little while ago'

búkas ning ábak 'tomorrow morning'

kabúd nyang dintáng 'as soon as he has arrived'

kaibát magqúgtu 'right after eating lunch'

Enakósaq paburén kapilán man. 'May you not be neglected, ever/at any time.'

ganing-aldó 'at the break of dawn'

alas-trés 'at three o'clock'

Locative Noun Phrase. The locative noun phrase consists of a noun head plus locative introducer ki- or ke- or of a locative pronoun with optional expansion which consists of a king noun phrase, an unmarked noun phrase, or of a noun expansion linked to the locative pronoun by -ng.

Examples.

kilúb 'inside'

kiluál ‘outside’
 kéta king bákud ‘there on the fence’
 kéning súput ‘here in the paper bag’
 kéti balé ‘here in the house’
 kéni sampernánu ‘here in San Fernando’
 kéta lálam ning tanáman ‘there under the tree’

3.5 ATTRIBUTIVE PHRASES

3.5.1 Linked Attributive Phrases

We have already had a glimpse into attributive constructions above (page 54) when we discussed the various ning case constructions. Indeed the use of a ning case construction to modify a noun head is a very frequently occurring pattern for forming attributive relationships. There are two major devices for stating an attributive relationship: marked juxtaposition and unmarked juxtaposition. The markers of attributive relationship are two (and perhaps a third): a and -ng. Their occurrence is patterned according to a phonological conditioning rule: a occurs after a head word which ends in a consonant, -ng occurs after a head word which ends in a vowel. Occasionally both linkers occur together. This may be a function of slow speech or of overt editing controls superimposed on interrupted fast speech.

Examples.

maganakng laláki ‘a good man’
 masantng a balé ‘an attractive house’
 malagng dalága ‘beautiful girl’ [malagú + -ng + dalága]
 máyap ayábak ‘good morning’ [máyap + a + qábak ?... ayábak]
 máyap a gatpanápun ‘good afternoon’
 máyap a béngi ‘good evening’

Examples of -ng + a.

itng táung a ití ‘this man right here’

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deng marakál a táung arén ‘those many people there’

It may turn out on further analysis that all of these types involve the special existential pronouns and that the -a which occurs in these constructions is actually a part of the pronoun and not a linker of attribution.

3.5.2 Unlinked Attributive Phrases

A number of phrases have been found to have attribution-like relation, but have the forms of two juxtaposed elements with no overt relator particle. These compare otherwise to linked attributive constructions.

Examples.

asán dágat ‘deep-sea fish’

kúral damúlag ‘carabao corral’

ing búnduk aráyat ‘Mt. Arayat’ [double-centered NP?]

muláhan gúle ‘vegetable garden’

léle dágat ‘edge of the sea’

Compare these to: dalágang búkid ‘a kind of catfish’ [dalágang + búkid]. These might possibly be considered compounded nouns. But this escape does not seem possible for the following.

aldó ning kebaítan qosé risál ‘Jose Rizal’s birthday’

king kasumángid múla ‘in the next yard’

3.5.3 Splitting of Attribute and Head

In certain constructions an attributive word may be separated from its head by a pronoun-adjunct cluster (see 6.1, 6.2). In the example below, a number (anám ‘six’) stands in attributive relation to the head noun bánwa ‘year’. Numbers usually take the first position in such constructions. But now here the second position is filled not by the head noun, but by an adjunct cluster of pronoun and lexical particle.

Anám na ké bánwa miasáwa. ‘We’ve been married six years now.’

3.5.4 Complex Attributive Phrases

An attributive phrase can be considerably more than simply two nouns or noun and descriptive linked by an attributive relator. Head words may be linked in attribution to whole embedded sentences; when this is the case, the linker is a.

Examples.

kanítang minúnang panaún a mabié ya pa ‘way back a long time ago when he was still alive’

In this example, the headword is a noun, panaún ‘time’, and the first two words, kaníta and minúna, are pronoun and verbal descriptives linked regularly with -ng; what follows panaún is an embedded sentence mabié ya pa ‘he is still alive’ linked to the headword by the particle a.

Similarly:

pialúngan a é pupulaí ‘a game with no running’ Here the head word pialúngan ‘game’ is linked by the marker a to the verbal clause é pupulaí ‘not running’.

3.6 VERB PHRASES

The verb phrase plays a particularly important role in Philippine languages generally—no less so in Kapampangan. A verb phrase may function as a complete sentence: Mumurán. ‘It is raining.’ But the bulk of our discussion of the role of verbs in Kapampangan best fits within the discussion of clause and sentence level constructions. Here we will limit the discussion to a few constructions with verbs which are found at the phrase level. These include two-verb constructions where one verb complements another, and constructions which consist of verb plus descriptive qualifier, usually of manner or time. There is a third type which includes a noun complement: these are stative verbs or adjectives plus a noun which functions as a referential qualifier.

3.6.1 Two-Verb Phrases

There is a special subset of verb or verb-like words (called “pseudo-verbs” by Bowen for Tagalog), identified formally by the severe restrictions on or absence of cooccurring affixes, in-

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cluding kailáŋgan 'need', dápat and súkat 'should', bísa 'want', burí 'like', malyári 'possible' which take second regular verbs as complements.

É ko bísang maniwálaq. 'I don't want to believe (it).'

É ne buríng dínan. 'She doesn't want to give (something).'

kunwári palakwán 'pretend to leave (someone)'

dápat muntá 'ought to go'

Other verb phrases with two verbs regularly occur when the first of the two is a verb like sáup 'help', súbuk 'try' or túruq 'teach'.

Pasáup kang magdalá keng séli mu. 'Have (someone) help you carry what you bought.'

Subuknán teng pagqanán ing tibí. 'Let's try to turn the TV on.'

Áturú mu lang manyalítang kapampáŋgan? 'Could you teach them to speak Kapampangan?'

Perhaps the verbs of saying, asking, thinking and the like might be discussed here, but I have chosen to consider them embedded sentences functioning as noun phrases and so they are discussed later in the paper.

Another type of two-verb phrase, however, is appropriately considered here. This is the construction which consists of two verbs, one of which functions to qualify the other in referent or manner. The example below may be compared to those in the noun complement section and the section on descriptive complements of manner which follow.

Púpulaí lang meník di Pás at Tés. 'Tes, Paz and companions ran going up/went up running.'

3.6.2 Three-Verb Phrases

An expansion to include three verbs in a phrase is possible: kailáŋgan bísang magáral 'need to want to study'.

3.6.3 Noun Complements in Verb Phrases

Alongside the regular occurrence of linked objects of actor-focused verbs (4.3.1) such as magsalítang tagálog ‘to speak Tagalog’ there are also verbs with unmarked nominal complements which indicate a location or direction or a referent, as in the examples below. These are generally statements of characteristics.

Dudurót katá qútak. ‘We are confused [lit. whirling we (with respect to our) brains].’

Pakasalbág la buák. ‘They have their hair hanging loose.’

Makúnyat la balát. ‘They are thick-skinned.’

Mapáli ya buntúk. ‘He is hot-headed.’

Mépákúya buldít. ‘He got the seat of his pants caught on a nail.’

Mesúgat ka buntúk. ‘You were wounded in the head.’

Míras ya bánua. ‘He will reach the sky/heaven.’

Digsú nya meté. ‘He was close to death.’

3.6.4 Complements of Manner

Verb phrases occur with descriptive complements of manner. The verb may be either transitive or intransitive and the descriptive complement may precede or follow.

Examples of Complements of Manner.

Migísing lang maránun. ‘They woke up early.’

Masalusú yang mulaí. ‘He runs swiftly.’

Mabilís lang magsalítaq. ‘They talk rapidly.’

Qagadqagád yang minúkyat. ‘He climbed straightaway.’

Áintíndian nong talagá. ‘They really understand (it).’

Balíkar dong pasibáyu deng ténam da. ‘They went back again to the ones they planted.’

É me ipusít makanyán. ‘Don’t squeeze it like that.’

Maglákad lang makanyán. ‘They walk like that.’

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3.6.5 Emphasized Verb Phrase

The role of a verb in a clause may be intensified by repeating it with a pronoun and -ng linker between the two verb forms.

Lálabít kang lálabít. 'You really do blabber.'

mangán nang mangán 'eat and eat/stuff oneself'

paintún neng paintún 'search and search for something'

3.6.6 Verb Phrase Substitutes

There is a pro-verb, nánu, which occurs inflected for tense and focus (as well as for other verbal affixes such as pa- 'cause').

Nánánu ka? 'What are you doing?'

Nínánu ka? 'What did you do?'

Menánu ka? 'What happened to you?'

Makanánu ka? 'How are you?/How (will) you (do it)?'

The negative alí occurs as a substitute for a verb phrase; otherwise an overt verb phrase is negated with preposed é-.

Mintáka? 'Did you go?'

Alí ku. 'No, I didn't (go).'

Éku mintá. 'I didn't go.'

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4.1 GENERAL

Kapampangan, possibly like all other languages, has bipartite constructions which we can call predications (topic and comment or subject and predicate— although the English-speaking student must not assume that his English-derived conceptions of subject and predicate will serve him in explaining the structure of the Kapampangan constructions). There are at least two major types of Kapampangan predications: verbal predications and non-verbal predications. Both types occur alone as simple sentences or in various combinations with other predications in complex sentences. In the latter case we refer to the component predications as clauses. A clause, then, may be a simple sentence or a component of a complex sentence.

Sentences are further distinguishable as ordinary declarative, imperative, interrogative. Each of these types may be negative or not negative.

Examples.

simple declarative: Makó ná ku. 'I'm going to leave now.'

negative: É na ku mámakó. 'I'm not leaving now.'

simple imperative: Mangán tá na. 'Let's eat.'

negative: É ka makó. 'Don't leave.'

simple interrogative: Nú ka muntá? 'Where are you going (to go)?'

negative: É na ka magbálik? 'Aren't you going to come back?'

4.2 NON-VERBAL PREDICATIONS

Non-verbal predications—distinguished, as the label implies, by the non-occurrence of verbs as the centers of the predicates—may be described as existential, identificational, or

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descriptive. Within the types called existential and descriptive there are possible sub-classes of possession, location and referent.

4.2.1 Existential Predicates

Existential predicates are distinguished by the occurrence of atí(n) or its negative counterpart aláq. There are two major functions: indication of presence (BE: exist in space) or possession (HAVE—a kind of existence in space). The former (intransitive) is signaled by atí or by its negative aláq with the special pronoun forms yu or lu (cf. section 3.3.5) if third person. The latter (transitive?) is signaled by atín or aláq and the regular short pronoun forms plus the -ng linker. In interrogative sentences, nukarín/nú or antá/anté ‘where’ substitute for atí.

Examples of BE:

Anté i Tátang? ‘Where is Father?’

Atí ne i Imáq. ‘Mother is here now.’

Atí na yú? ‘Is she/he here now?’

Atí yu ngéni king múla. ‘She/he’s here now in the yard.’

Alá yu. ‘She/he’s not here.’

Examples of HAVE:

Atín yang baróng tagálog. ‘He has a barong Tagalog.’

Alá ya pang sapátus. ‘He doesn’t have shoes yet.’

I Jún, alá ya pang asáwa. ‘As for Jun(ior), he has no wife yet.’

Atín la pung sirá ring ópu. ‘The opu plants have some damage (d parts), sir.’

Alá kamí. ‘We have none.’

Other HAVE Constructions.

There are two other HAVE constructions: mika-signals one of these and the other is very much like descriptive non-verbal predicates to be discussed below.

Mikaqápat ta paláng pésus. ‘To our surprise we have four pesos.’

Métung man aláng makipányu. 'None of them has a handkerchief.'

The second of these two HAVE constructions should be compared to the atin construction discussed above. This differs in the occurrence of a descriptive in the position otherwise occupied by atin and in absence of the -ng linker. It may also be compared to the noun-complemented descriptive predications described below (pages 92, 93).

Dakál ya bié i Juán. 'Juan has many lives.' (i.e., There are many stories about the life of Juan.)

4.2.2 Identificational Predicates

Another type of non-verbal predication occurs with the meaning BE; constructions of the form: Noun Phrase + Noun Phrase are identificational. In this construction the second noun phrase is always an ing-marked noun phrase or its substitute; the first noun phrase may or may not be ing-marked depending on whether it is specific in meaning (ing-marked) or general and indefinite or unspecific (non-marked).

Kang Kármén ing maníka. 'The doll is Carmen's/is with Carmen.'

Ing kang Kármén ing maníka. 'The doll is the one Carmen has.'

This construction type differs from the atí marked construction with respect to function: the identificational predication has a durative characteristic meaning while, the atí construction implies a specific time/ place.

Identificational predicates may be pronouns (see 3.3). In interrogative sentences with identificational predication nánu 'what' and i(n)sánu 'which' occur as predicates.

Negative identificational predicates have aliwáq 'other' or the preclitic negative é- 'not' as the first element of the predicate; otherwise, alíq substitutes for the whole predicate.

Examples of identificational predicates:

Kutséru ya i Mandóng. 'Mandong is a rig-driver.'

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Kusinéra ya i Ríta. 'Rita is a cook/kitchen manager/runs a restaurant.'

Ing kapitán (ya) i Paskwál. 'Pascual is the (barrio) captain.'

Detang aliwá reng dáráyaq. 'The ones bleeding were those others.'

Íka i Mariáng Sinukuán? 'Are you Maria Sinukuan?'

Alí ku. 'I am not.'

É ku Mariáng Sinukuán. 'I'm not Maria Sinukuan.'

Aliwayáku i Mariáng Sinukuán. 'I'm not Maria Sinukuan—Someone other than me is Maria Sinukuan.'

Áku i Mariáng Makíling. 'I am Maria Makiling.'

Yámu itá. 'That one is him.'

Nínu naman déni? 'And who are these?'

Áku námu ing aláng árakáp a tugák. 'I'm the only one who wasn't able to catch a frog.'

I(n)sánu ing kéka? 'Which one is yours?'

Nánu la rétang makabálut papél? 'What are those things wrapped in paper?'

Ságin la? 'Are they bananas?'

Alí la. 'No, they're not.'

É la asán dén. 'Those are not fish.'

É ya tugák ing king súput. 'The thing in the sack is not a frog.'

The reader will have noticed the range of negative answers that are possible with the identificational type of non-verbal predication. One of these negative constructions deserves special attention since it can prove particularly confusing to an American learner. This is the negative with aliwá. Aliwá in some of its occurrences is a special non-negative pronoun much as English uses 'other'. Certain other occurrences, however, like the eighth in the set of examples above, can correspond to a negative sentence in English.

Obát pu lálákad la ring balé ampon tanáman?

Aliwá ring balé ampon tanáman ding lálákad. Ing lálákad ing sásakén tang trén. ‘Why are the houses and trees moving, sir? It’s not the houses and trees that are moving (it’s something else). What is moving is the train we are riding.’

4.2.3 Identificational-Descriptive Predicates

Some non-verbal predicates exist which seem to overlap the existential-identificational types described above and the purely descriptive types to be described below. These may be subdivided into a referent-identificational type (subject is used for or on something), a locational descriptive with deictic meaning, and a possessional-locational type. The reader may find it useful to check back to the section on king-marked noun phrases.

Referent-identificational examples:

Para dútung ya ing pát. ‘The pat (chisel) is for use on wood.’

Pagnánu ití? ‘What’s this for?’

Bangkúd, pamútot kwáyan. ‘A “bangkud” is a tool for cutting bamboo.’

In the third example it may be that pamútot should be considered an instrument-focused verb (4.3.4). Locational descriptive examples:

Oitá ing balé ra. ‘Their house is that one there.’

Oréni na ring tiket. ‘These are the tickets here now.’

Nukarín ya ing kapatád mu? ‘Where/which one here (e.g., in a photograph) is your sibling?’

Oiní ing kapatád ku. ‘This one here is my sibling.’

Possessive-Locational examples:

Kékayú la pu rén? ‘Are those yours, sir?’

Káku ití. ‘This one is mine/is for me.’

Kang Lítu ya kanu ing maragúl. ‘The big one is said to be Lito’s.’

King ísip námu kayág itá. ‘That is probably just in his head/thoughts.’

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Kéta king múla ring anak. 'The children are out there in the yard.'

4.2.4 Descriptive Predicates of Quality and Quantity

A very common type of sentence is the construction composed of a descriptive full word (adjective) as predicate center followed by an ing-marked noun phrase as subject. Descriptives are commonly marked with the prefix ma- (or one of the related prefixes: me-, manga-, menga-). Other descriptives are unaffixed. Numbers are a subset of these. Some descriptives take a nominal complement of reference and some descriptives allow comparative and superlative constructions.

Descriptive predicates are negated like verbal predicates and are inflected for tense as well as number. As there appears to be no clear formal difference between descriptives and many stative or nominalized verbs, it may be that as analysis proceeds we will have to treat descriptive predicates as verbal predicates or perhaps as predicates intermediate to the verbal and non-verbal ones. (See 3.6.4—where some descriptives have already been treated as verbs.)

Examples of unaffixed descriptives as predicates:

Tutú puq ing sasábian da? 'Is what they're saying true, sir?'

É tutú itá. 'That's not true.'

Lutú no ring pútu? 'Are the rice cakes cooked now?'

Bastús itáng sébian na kéka. 'What he said to you was rude.'

Sáyáng itá. 'It's too bad (about) that.'

Tibak-tibák ya ing úrud na. 'His haircut is sort of uneven.'

Examples of ma- descriptive predicates:

Maganaká ya i Pondíng. 'Ponding is (a) good (person).'

Mátua náku. 'I'm old now.'

Malagnát ya ing anak. 'The child is feverish.'

Malambút ya ing ulunán na ning anak. 'The child's pillow is soft.'

Maqásu ya ing balé ra. 'Their house has plenty of dogs.'

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Malangó ing karín uling marinát. ‘There are plenty of flies there because it’s dirty.’

Obát malungkút ká? ‘Why are you sad?’

Manóng itáng géwa na. ‘What he did was improper.’

Masípag ya i Lína. ‘Lina is hard-working.’

Mapagsélos kung talagá ngéni. ‘I’m really jealous now.’

Examples of ma- descriptive predicates with past tense:

Meburá itáng sinúlat ku nandín. ‘That thing I wrote a while ago was erased.’

Mesiás itáng linútu na. ‘What she cooked has hardened now.’

Melasébu no rétang sampáluk ku. ‘My tamarind fruits have become partly ripe.’

Melulút no rétang manggá. ‘Those mangoes have become ripe.’

Melukúng ya itáng plástik. ‘The piece of plastic got curved.’

Mebagsík ne itáng ásu ku. ‘My dog has become fierce.’

Examples of ma- descriptives with number and number plus tense:

Mangatáko langán deng táung dén. ‘Those people there are all greedy.’

Mangatarám lading gagamítan dang kampít. ‘The knives they are using are sharp.’

Mangabarúg ya kang tátang na. ‘He keeps getting whipped by his father.’

Mengalutú ya iniang pékisábián ke. ‘He reddened when I spoke to him.’

Mengalilyú la ulíng éla mámangán maski nánu. ‘They got dizzy because they didn’t eat anything.’

Mengalálam la ding sápaq kéní. ‘The brooks get deep here.’

Examples of ma- descriptives with descriptive, noun or verb complements of reference (see 3.6.4):

Mepagál kung ústu. ‘I got really tired.’

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Meína neng talagá ngéni. 'He has grown very weak now.'

Mengabsí na kayúng méngan? 'Did you get filled up from eating?''

Mesúya ku kétang péngan kung asán. 'I got fed up with that fish I was eating.'

Metúla ku kétang sinábi na. 'I was pleased by what he said.'

Melágad ku ípan. 'I came to have few(er) teeth.'

Madagúl ya busbús ing sáku. 'The sack has a big hole.'

Examples of maka- stative descriptive predicates:

Makatamád ya ing aldó ngéni. 'The day today makes (one) lazy.'

Makaputlág ing aslám. 'Vinegar makes (you) pale.'

Makasóra ing sinábi na kanáku. 'What he said to me is annoying.'

Makasantíng ing mibáblas mung mibáblas. 'Always changing your clothes makes (you) nice.'

Makakáyap ing bubulásan. 'Being scolded makes one good.'

Makabáwal ing pámpalímbag aláng kapaintulútan. 'Printing without permission is prohibited.'

Makasalikút nó ngan. 'They're all hidden.'

Makasitingpríti la ngéni. 'They're sitting pretty now.'

4.2.5 Comparative and Superlative Constructions in

Descriptive Predication

There are basically two different types of comparative constructions: one in which two NPs are predicated as equally possessing a quality, and the other where X is said to be of a certain quality more so than Y. In the former case the descriptive base is prefixed with mising- and both NPs are ing-marked. In the latter type X is ing-marked, the basic descriptive, with or without mas, occurs first, and Y is king-marked, with or without kesa. Examples:

Magastús ing píkabúrian keng pusitára. 'The preferred way is more expensive than eloping.'

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Masákit ing Kapampágan keng Tagálog. ‘Kapampangan is more difficult than Tagalog.’

Iníng lúbid a iní, mas makábaq kesa kéta. ‘This rope here, it’s longer than that one.’

Atín yang upáya mas lábis kekayú. ‘He has a power greater than yours.’

Misingawíg lang Talíq ampo i Séni. ‘Taliq and Zeny have the same appearance.’

Misingragúl lang Sálóng ampo pa i Midíng. ‘Salong and Miding are equally big.’

A third type of comparative construction seems to function like the mising- construction to mean that X and Y are judged to be characterized by some feature or quality to the same degree. The form of the construction differs, however; the descriptive base is prefixed by kasing-, one NP is ing-marked, and the other is ning-marked. Perhaps this construction is related to the emphatic descriptive construction described below (4.9)

Kasingtíbe ne ning balé mi ing karéla. ‘Their house is just as sturdy as ours.’

Kasinglatí neng Ernáni i Juliéta. ‘Julieta is just as small as Ernani.’

Kasingkaklák neng Bári i Máyk. ‘Mike is just as hard-of-hearing as Barry.’

Kasingtápang neng Róni i Risál. ‘Rizal is just as brave as Ronnie.’

I Glénn, kasingsíkan neng Társan. ‘As for Glenn, he’s just as strong as Tarzan.’

Ing batuín, kasingsála ne ning aldó. ‘The star(s) are just as bright as the sun.’

4.2.6 Superlative Descriptive Predications

Superlative descriptive predications are very similar to comparative constructions. They differ in including díliq or ngán and they may or may not have the descriptive base prefixed with péka-.

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Malagú yang tutúq i María kéko ngán. 'Maria is truly the prettiest of you all.'

Pékamaragúl yang díliq i Témyong. 'Temyong is the biggest.'

Pékamángye yang díliq i Davíd. 'David is the noisiest.'

Pékamalabít yang díliq i Mérli karéla. 'Merli is the most talkative among them.'

I Kínday, yápin ing pékamalugúd díliq. 'Kinday is the one who is most loveable.'

Ing apalyáq, yápin ing pékamapaít kareng gúle. 'The ampalaya, that is the bitterest of the vegetables.'

Ing sampagíta, yápin ing pékamabanglú kareng sampága. 'The sampaguita, that is the most fragrant of the flowers.'

Ing balé ra, yápin ing pékamalínis kéti báryu Kabalántian. 'As for their house, it's the cleanest here in barrio Cabalantian.'

Ing pékamaláwut kareng pinalán kung lugál yápin ing Olónggapu. 'The furthest of all the places I've gone is Olongapo.'

4.2.7 Emphatic Descriptive Predicates

There are two different emphatic descriptive constructions: one is like the simple descriptive predications except that the descriptive form occurs twice in the predicate phrase, the two forms linked together by a pronoun and the -ng linker; the other consists of a ka- prefixed descriptive form plus a ning-marked noun phrase.

Mapáli yang mapáli king maranglé. 'It's very hot in the field(s).'

Malatí yang malatí ing balé mi. 'Our house is very small.'

Mapagál neng mapagál. 'He is very tired now.'

Karánup ku ná. 'How hungry I am now!'

Katáko na kasí. 'Because he's so greedy!'

Kapormalán mu namán. 'Well, you're so very formal!'

Kanyáman ning makadúyan. 'How delightful to be in a hammock!'

Kasantíng ning mamiálung kéti. 'How nice to play here!'

Kaú nang danúm ning kabáyu. 'How thirsty for water the horse is!'

Obát katúlíd mo Máya? 'Why are you (standing) so straight, Maia?'

Obát kayúmu na níni? 'Why is this so sweet?'

4.2.8 Number

The cardinal numbers, which also occur as nouns (unaffixed as simple nouns: atlú 'three' or affixed: pa-t-atlú 'ceremony three days after death') or as verbs (maggápat 'to be in one's fourth year of doing or being something'), occur as the centers of descriptive-identificational phrases. For calendar dates and for prices Spanish or English numbers are usually used. Some measurements are also Spanish: dós por dós '2x2—lumber'. There are a number of sub-types of ordinal numbers which also occur as descriptive predicates. Cardinal numbers:

métung	'one'	anám	'six'
adwá	'two'	pitú	'seven'
atlú	'three'	walú	'eight'
ápat	'four'	siám	'nine'
limá	'five'	apúlu	'ten'

Ordinal numbers:

priméru/porméru/pulméru	'first'
kakadwáq	'second'
(i) katlú	'third'
(i) kápat	'fourth'
ikalimá	'fifth'
ikaqanám	'sixth'
ikapitú	'seventh'
ikawalú	'eighth'
ikasiám	'ninth'
ikapúluq	'tenth'

Ordinal numbers used to refer to offspring in order of birth: pangáne 'first born', pangalawáq/pangadwáq 'second born', pangatlú 'third born'.... These may be examples of the influence of Tagalog on contemporary Kapampangan. Dalawá and pangalawá are Tagalog forms as opposed to Kapampangan adwá, pangadwá.

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Time numbers:

bánuang sikadwá	'two years ago'
bánuang sikatlú	'three years ago'
makadwá	'two days from now' or 'two days past'
nakadwá	'two days ago'

Manner numbers: numbers of units, repetitions, price per unit:

—	tungal-túngal	'one by one'
tidwá	tidwa-tidwá	'two by two'
titló	titlo-titló	'three by three'
tiaqápat	tiaqapatqápat	'four by four' or 'four each'
tialimá	—	'five by five' or 'five each'
tiaanám		'six by six', 'six each'
tiapitú		'seven by seven', 'seven each'
tiawalú		'eight by eight', 'eight each'
tiasíam		'nine by nine', 'nine each'
tiapúlu		'ten by ten', 'ten each'
Tiamagkánu?		'How much per unit?'

4.3 VERBAL PREDICATIONS

Many Kapampangan sentences have a verb as center of the predication. A verb is a full word which is inflected for tense (yet to unfold, unfolding and unfolded—which is somewhat different from the English categories of tense); it may be a verb form containing modal elements such as accidental or non-volitional, abilitative, causative, distributive-repetitive-continual, or reciprocal. These verbal predications involve the assertion of a particular relationship between the verb phrase which is center of the predicate and the various co-occurring noun phrases.

The major types of verbal predication are action-agent, action-goal, action-beneficiary, and action-location or action-referent. (This is a tentative classification—further analytic work may lead to lumping or splitting some of these types; if anything, the chances of needing more classes are much greater than that of needing fewer.) Verbal predications with a causative verb often involve two agents or an agent for the causing and a second agent for the ancillary action (recipient or referent of the causing but actor in the caused action). These

relations are signaled in a coordinated manner by the affix or affixes of the verb and by the case-marking particles of the cooccurring noun phrases.

4.3.1 Action-Actor Predication

Predication where the relation focused on is that of actor and action is marked in the verb by the occurrence of mag- (yet to unfold: mag-; unfolding: mág-; unfolded: mig-/meg-), or magpa- (with tenses as for mag-); similarly magka- and magpaka-; -um- or a simple unaffixed verb root (in this sub-set, the unfolding tense is marked by CV reduplication and the unfolded tense by CínV-); or by m- or man-. The tense forms of m- and man- are rather complicated at first glance: some take a vowel change, usually u ?i or a ?e; others take min- in the unfolded tense and a reduplicated form in the unfolding. When the root begins with a labial (p, b, m), the unfolding tense may show mam- (mim-, mum-) where the second m replaces the first sound of the root; if the root begins with a dental or alveolar sound (t, d, n, s), the unfolding tense occurs marked with man- where this n replaces the first sound of the root. Similarly roots with velar sounds in the initial position of the root replace that by ng.

In the actor-action predication the agent or actor is the noun phrase marked with ing. The predication may be transitive or intransitive (as judged by the English meaning—this is an unsatisfactory criterion but it will have to do for now). If a goal is expressed usually it is indefinite, non-specific or locational in meaning, and is marked with king; it may be definite or specific, and then is marked with keng.

Examples of the action-actor predication:

mag-

Maglímbun la reng kabáryu na. 'His barrio mates are walking in/forming a procession.'

Magbrék katá. 'Let's you and I take a break.'

Miglipák ya ing Kanóq. 'The American got blisters.'

Magqobrá ya kanú ing anák da. 'Their child is working, it is said.'

Magkantá ka keng aráp ning mikrópono. 'Sing in front of the microphone.'

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Mágtéybal muq ing dalága. 'The young lady is just sitting at the table/being a wallflower.'

Migsalúd ka palá king girípu. 'So, you took a bath at the (outdoor) faucet.'

Magsupápí la reng táu kėti. 'The people here are collaborating.'

Magmanéu yang jíp. 'He drives a jeep.'

Máglawé ku reng kwéntong Kapampáangan. 'I'm searching for Kapampangan stories.'

Máglukás lang páldas. 'They are wearing mourning clothes.'

Magnangnáng kung bulíg? 'Shall I spit some mudfish?'

Mánigáral ya i Míke. 'Mike is studying.'

Mánigáral yang Kapampáangan i Míke. 'Mike is studying Kapampangan.'

Ménigáral ya i Míke Kapampáangan. 'Mike was studying Kapampangan.'

(Note that English words when borrowed and used as verbs—brék 'take a break', téybal 'be a wallflower', dyáket 'wear a jacket', etc.—regularly take mag-.) Examples of other roots which take mag- (only a small selection): sadiá, pasyál, sándal, qumpisá, lugmá, qaláhas, sinélas, láláng, lamiús, kunwári, bulákbul, lóku, lípat, qenéru, ányu, labláb, banáyad, bába, suéto. qaluági, bastús, basúra, báyu, qintíndi, másid, lusúb, línis, depósiu, burarúl, bastún, dúyan, qalmusál....

magka-

Magkasákit ku pa kėti. 'I'm still having difficulty here.'

Migkasákit yang minúkyat king bundúk. 'He had a hard time climbing (on) the mountain.'

Migkámali ku. 'I made a mistake.'

Other roots which occur with magka-: lutu, lub, ...

magpa-

Obát la mágpalmús? 'Why are they begging?' Other roots with magpa-: lípás, dúrut, tuyóq, gátuq, tálan, báya, ...

magpaka-

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Ót magpakatulíng ká? 'Why are you trying to darken yourself?'

Other roots with magpaka-: bayáni, laláki, báyat, ...

-um-

Numánu ka? 'What will you do?'

Nánánu ka? 'What are you doing?'

Nínánu ka? 'What did you do?'

Lumuál kami. 'We're going out.'

É ka bísa lumuál? 'Don't you want to go out?'

Lúluál i Máya. 'Maia is going out.'

Sumábong katá keng dumínggo. 'Let's go to the cockfight on Sunday.'

É la sásábong. 'They don't go cockfighting.'

Tumérak kayúng María. 'Dance with Maria.'

Biása na ká mang tumérak. 'You do too know how to dance.'

Ing mísis ku, burí ne tétéрак. 'My wife, she likes dancing.'

Sumúlat ka keng kákung nótbuk. 'Write in my notebook.'

Kumá kang bóla. 'Get a ball.'

Kákuá yang bóla. 'He is getting a ball.'

Kínguá/Kínanguá yang bóla. 'He got a ball.'

Kumá kung métung kéka. 'I'll get one from you.'

Gumámit kang béto. 'Use Veto.'

É na ka gumámit súngkit. 'Don't use a pole-hook now.'

Other roots with -um-: tíman, lungúb (lúb), láwe, sáka, súlud, sáup, lában, dúrut, gáping, lusúb, kupás, línis, líno, liksí, dítak, díne, lábis, dánup, dáyaq, káyap, lapó, katmóq, ...

Note that some roots may take either mag- or -um-; when this is the case, usually there is a difference in meaning, as in lungúb 'enter', maglúb 'go in uninvited'.

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There is a subset of verb roots which occur very much like the -um- verbs described above, with the difference that they do not occur with the infix -um-. Rather, they occur in their bare root forms where the -um- verbs show the infix. The unfolding tense shows CV reduplication and the unfolded tense has CínV̄.

Examples.

Ganáp ka keng útus na ning Ápung Ginú. 'Obey God's command.'

(gáganáp, gínanáp)

Sáli kang serbésa. 'Buy some beer.'

Sásalí yang serbésa i Andíng. 'Andy is buying some beer.'

Sínalí yang serbésa i Témyong. 'Temyong bought beer.'

Púpúpul lang suáq. 'They are picking pomelo.'

É ko sásalábat. 'Don't interrupt.'

É ka sísíndíq? 'Don't you smoke?'

Sísípun ya i Rodél. 'Rodel has a cold/is sniffing.' 'Rodel's nose is dripping.'

Súsúngkít lang biábas. 'They are hooking down guavas.'

Sásagakgák ya i Máya. 'Maia is sobbing.'

Sínulú lang asán nábéngi. 'They went torch-fishing last night.'

Masayá lang tátanam reng bátaq ampo ing bápa ra. 'The children and their father/uncle are happily planting.'

Other roots: tákut, talakád, tadtád, telekuád, tuklú, líbut, sugál, talíp, túknang, típa, pakpák, kawániq,....

M- and Man-

Bisá yang minúm. 'He wants to drink.'

É na ka míminúm médikul? 'Don't you take (drink) Medicol?'

Mémiúm kang kapé. 'You drank coffee.'

Mílaí yang masalúsu. 'He ran swiftly.'

Mintá ya Meníla. 'She went to Manila.'

Mánintún yang málan a masantíng. 'She is looking for a pretty dress.'

Mínqanggá lang álas dósi. 'They went on up to two o'clock.'

É ka mámalís neng béngi. 'Don't sweep at night.'

É ka sáq mángalínguan, póta atí na ká king Hawáii. 'Please don't forget (e.g., us) later when you are in Hawaii.'

Mángadí la. 'They are praying.'

Manambág ya i Tátang keng ágúman. 'Father will contribute to the association.'

Mamalíta ka keng lugál a íkit mu. 'Tell about the place you saw.'

Bisá ku sánang manqúpang balé. 'I would like to rent a house.'

Mandám kung gitára. 'I will borrow a guitar.'

É ku maniwála kayá. 'I don't believe (in) him.'

Malyári kung mángutáng? 'May I ask a question?'

Mémipí ku nápun. 'I did the wash yesterday.'

Mémilád kung pále. 'I dried some rice.'

The m- and man- subset of verb roots must be further subclassed according to the form of the tenses. Compare the sets below.

mukyát: múmukyát: mínukyát (ukyát 'climb')

múna: múmúna: mínúna (úna 'one, first')

míq: mímíq: míníq (íq 'urine')

míngat: mímíngat: míníngat (íngat 'guard')

See also úgse, ambág, akmúl, ábe, ulí, arkilá and many others. There are some roots which have sets of forms with and without m-, which informants say "are the same"; perhaps there is some meaningful difference (likely in the aspect area—possibly durative vs. punctual).

bié: bíbié: binié 'give'

mié: mímié: mínié/mémié 'give'

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Some roots are very similar to the above but differ in the unfolded tense.

makó: mámakó: mékó 'depart'

minúm: míminúm/máninúm: méminúm (inúm 'drink')

mimuáq: mímimuáq: mémuáq 'be angry'

See also muntá: mintá 'go' and mulaí: milái 'run', which are like the set discussed below in having roots which begin with a labial (puntá, pulaí), but differ from those in the abbreviated unfolded tense.

There are a number of verb roots beginning with vowels (or glottal catch followed by a vowel) which have unfolded tense forms with men-: amúy, ík, úyab, íntun, -yád, -ábu, ...

Examples of m- replacing p or b in the root.

mámuát: mémuát (buát 'lift')

mámilád: mémilád (bilád 'dry in the sun')

mámuklát: mémuklát (buklát 'open')

mámáyad: mémáyad (báyad 'pay')

mámalái: mémalái (balái 'kin by marriage')

mámigláq: mémigláq (bigláq 'fish net')

mámalíta: mémalíta (balíta 'news')

mámaléngki: mémaléngki (paléngki 'market')

mámutút: mémutút/mínutút (putút 'cut')

mámiálung: mémiálung (piálung 'play')

mámipíq: mémipíq (pipíq 'laundry')

mámukpúk: mémukpúk (pukpúk 'tap, hit')

mámalís: mémalís (palís 'sweep')

Examples of m- replacing t, (d), or s in the root.

mánáko: ménáko (tákaw- 'steal, be greedy')

mániwála: méniwála (tiwála 'believe')

máanalíp: ménalíp (talíp 'peel')

mánúlid: ménúlid (túlid ‘straight, go down a row’)

mánábat: ménábat (sábat ‘block, stop up’)

But in contrast to these, note mándalúm: míndalúm and mándílu: míndílu. There are a number of other roots beginning with s which have the s replaced by y after man-: sabún, sikuáku, saklúb, súman, sése, súkaq, salikút, sámbut, ... In some cases where the common actor-action form of the verb is a CV type, as sábi and sáliq, then the, man- form with s replaced by y has a durative-continual-regular meaning. But this aspect does not seem to carry through in the roots given above.

Íka, manyábi ka? ‘How about you, are you the sort that talks out?’

Mínyalí ya i Imáq. ‘Mother went shopping.’

There are at least a few roots beginning with d which have the d replaced by y: dákap: mányakáp, dátang: mányátang, dútung: mányutung.

Other actor-action predications include verb centers with stems having reciprocal or abilitative aspect.

Malyári kung makisaké? ‘May I ride with you?’

Makipámalíta ka kang María keng situasyón, Meníla. ‘Talk with Maria about the situation in Manila.’

I Séni, makipagáral ya mu kang Lús. ‘Seny is studying with Lus.’

Makidáme ya kareng mélakuán keng karélang kálungkútan. ‘He is offering condolences to those left behind in their time of sadness.’

Mákapaglútu ná ku. ‘I know how/am able to cook now.’

4.3.2 Action-Goal Predication

Whenever the goal of a transitive predication is definite, this focused relation is used. Such predications where the focus is on the relationship of action and goal (action and thing affected, or verb and direct object) are signaled by the occurrence of an -an or i-as affix of the verb center of the predicate plus ing as the case-marking particle of the noun phrase expressing the goal.

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If an agent is expressed, its noun phrase is marked by ning. King-marked noun phrases often cooccur, generally with the construction meaning location or instrument.

Since there are also -an and i-affixed verbs which occur in other predication types (beneficiary, instrumental, locative, referential, discussed below), it is sometimes difficult to determine unambiguously that a particular predication is action-goal focused rather than action-beneficiary or action-location. Considerable lexical-semantic-syntactic analysis remains to be done on the classification of verb roots. Affixes, meaning, and cooccurrence of various marked and unmarked noun phrases all must be considered.

Goal-focused predication with -an

Ikatán me ing basán. 'Braid the rag.'

Pupulán mo reng suáq. 'Harvest the pomelos.'

Patdán me ing rádio. 'Turn off the radio.'

É ku pinermihán itá. 'I didn't approve that.'

Pugúngan me ing langgótsi. 'Hold the sack shut.'

Púpuntukán ne ing luklúkan. 'He is carrying the chair on his head.'

Sebatán de ing dálan. 'They barricaded the road.'

Sakmalán me ing pále. 'Grab a handful of the rice.'

Sebulán ne ing ébun. 'She scrambled the egg.'

Sisián na ing pámanáko na. 'He will regret his stealing.'

Tutuksuán do reng ának. 'They are teasing the children.'

Unyabán me ing abyás. 'Swish the rice in the water.'

Úman da ká. 'I'm going to kiss you.'

Sindulán ne ing búko. 'He poked the young coconut down with a pole.'

Tikmán ku na. 'I've already tasted it.'

Weldingán me. 'Weld it.'

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There are differences in the unfolded tense forms which allow the subclassing of -an goal-focused verbs. In some the -an is retained in the unfolded tense forms, but in others it disappears. Cross-cutting this classification is another: some roots show the unfolded tense with a vowel change in the root (usually u ? i and a ? e), others do not.

	- <u>an</u> absent	- <u>an</u> present
no vowel change	list A	list B
vowel change	list C	list D

Explanation for the groupings in the following lists.

- (A) áus, agtál, andám, íngat, ispóil, páud, buát, bié, bíli, katát, dúkit, táliq, gámus, sóga, ...
- (B) ablás, álbe, absáng, árunq, átian, úrud, alíla, ...
- (C) búklat, gawáq, dalá, tukíq, túruq, taimtím, tadtád, sáli, kutáng, ...
- (D) bastús, báyard, busbús, kumbirá, bágut, balába, bálík, banté, baríl, kúlam, kaglíq, dángál, dagdág,.

A few sentence examples

Ináus ne i Títa. 'He called Tita.'

Binuát neng Kínday ing salíkap. 'Kinday lifted the basket.'

Inakmúl ne ing bútul. 'He swallowed the seed.'

Inalilán de. 'They changed it.'

Inalbén yé pu ing sarswéla nábéngi? 'Did you watch the zarzuela last night, sir?'

Kiniákán neng Dígu ing méte nang ásu. 'Digu cried about his dog that died.'

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Bíklat neng David ing áwang. 'David opened the window.'

Séli ku iní. 'I bought this.'

Géwa ye púq? 'Did you make it, sir?'

Deng áne, bísbusán de ing balé. 'The termites, they made holes in the house.'

Béwalán ke i Són keng pámangaáli na. 'I put (Cora)son under a prohibition about her laughing.'

Kímbirán da kayú. 'You were invited by them.'

Goal-focused predication with *i-*

Iqílig me ing kwáyan bándang wanán. 'Bend the bamboo towards the right.'

Iqalbug mu reng málan. 'Starch the clothes.'

Irasyún ku ing gátas a ití kang Lorén. 'I will deliver this milk to Loren.'

Ilagá mu reng ébun. 'Boil the eggs.'

Isará me ing pasbúl. 'Close the door.'

Itáis me ing paláng. 'Sharpen the bolo.'

Ibilí me reng manggá keng púlut. 'Put the mangoes into the syrup.'

Ibuklát me ing líbru mu. 'Open your book.'

Itiltíl me ing asán keng aslám. 'Dip the fish into the vinegar.'

4.3.3 Action-Beneficiary Predication

The action-beneficiary type of predication is distinguished by the cooccurrence of *i-*, pan- or pag-prefixed verb with two noun phrases referring to persons and (optionally) a referential object which is unmarked or marked by ning. The ing-marked noun phrase indicates the beneficiary of the action. There may be a king-marked noun phrase; if there is, it usually means location.

There are some reduced action-beneficiary predications where either one of the central noun phrases is omitted when very clear from context or is expressed in a portmanteau pronoun (3.3.5). The last example below illustrates this.

I- form action-beneficiary predications

Ikuá meng danúm i Lús. 'Get some water for Lus.'

Kinguá neng danúm ning anák i Ináng. 'A child got water for Mother.'

Ákuá keng danúm i Tátang. 'I was able to get water for Father.'

Igawá mu kung báruq. 'Make a dress/shirt for me.'

Géwá neng báruq i Ináng na. 'She made a dress for her mother.'

Isalí mu kung tinápe. 'Buy some bread for me.'

Isalí meng báruq i Krísti. 'Buy a dress for Christie.' Séli neng báruq i Krísti. 'He bought a dress for Christie.'

[See pan- forms for panyalíq.]

Similarly: dákap, kêt, ísip, gilíq,...

Ipabusbús me balugbúg i Juliéta. 'Pierce Julieta's ears for her.'

Pan- forms

Panyád mu kung abyás keng síping tang balé. 'Ask our neighbor(s) for some rice for me.'

Pényád neng abyás i Ináng keng síping dang balé. 'He asked their neighbor(s) for some rice for Mother.'

Pányáwad neng pabór Mike i Shéila kang Ináng mu. 'Mike is asking a favor of your mother for Sheila.'

Pényáwad neng pabór Mike i Shéila kang Ináng mu. 'Mike asked a favor of your mother for Sheila.'

Pányakáp neng Kítong tuláng ing wáli na. 'Kitong is catching a dragonfly for his younger brother.'

Pínyakáp neng Kítong tuláng ing wáli na. 'Kitong caught a dragonfly for his younger brother.'

Pandamán mu kung suklé, Néna. 'Lend me a comb, Nena.'

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Panandám me ing kاكلáse mung isúlud keng kapatád mu. 'Ask your sister to lend a dress to your classmate.'

Pánandám keng isúlud ing wáli ku. 'I am borrowing a dress for my younger sister.'

Pénandám ne ing kاكلáse neng isúlud keng kapatád na. 'She borrowed a dress from her sister for her classmate.'

Pányalí na kang diáriu ning laláki. 'The man is buying a newspaper for you.'

Pínyalí da kamíng libró. 'They bought book(s) for us.'

Pag- forms

Pagdalá nong sampágang Pedrítu ding maístra. 'Pedrito will bring flowers for (to?) the teachers.'

Pegtimplá neng kapé. 'Someone made coffee for him.'

4.3.4 Other Verbal Predications

There are a number of other types of verbal predication which, like the types discussed above, signal relationships between subjects and predicates by marking the verb center with certain affixes and the cooccurring noun phrases with marking particles. There are predications with -an or i- marking the verb where the noun phrase marked by ing is the location or the direction or the referent of the action of the verb. Examples.

Kakabitán yeng alámbre ing pasbúl. 'The door is where someone is hanging the wire.'

Kébitánan neng alámbre ing pasbúl. 'The door is where someone hung the wire.'

Salikután me ing klóset. 'Hide in the closet.'

Sébitán keng midálya ing anák ku. 'I pinned a medal on my child.'

Kéwanian neng Pédru ing asáwa na. 'Pedro was separated from his wife.'

Kulapán me ing wáli mu. 'Pick the lice from your younger sibling's head.'

Lakwán me i Néne. 'Go away from Nene.'

Balikán dong pasibáyu deng ténám da. 'They will go back again to their plants.'

I Suán, pinalán ne misan ayaldó i Pédro dápot é ne dísan. 'Suan, he went back to Pedro another day, but he didn't reach him.'

Kutnán me i Néne nung malyári ne ikuáq. 'Ask Nene if she can catch it.'

Kutnán me i Juán nung atín yang pála. 'Ask Juan if he has a shovel.'

Kitnán ne. 'He was asked.'

Turuánán meng káwe i Kóya. 'Teach Koya to swim.'

There is a set of verbal predications which functions very much like this, distinguished by the occurrence of pi- or pipan- or pipag-. Some roots plus these prefixes form words which mean places where an action takes place; other roots with these affixes mean 'a thing so affected' or 'an instrument'. The resulting predications are difficult to distinguish from descriptive equational sentences and it is not clear that the predicates are not nominal forms. Indeed, in many cases these sentences do not appear to be transitive in the ordinary sense but rather appear to be more accurately describable as stative.

Pikuanán neng báru yán. 'That is a place to get dresses.'

Ing lugar a pikuanán nang Mariáng ulunán, mátas yá. 'The place where Maria got the pillow was high.'

Pipányawáran táyang abyás ing páriq. 'We got rice from the priest.'

Pipágkabitán yang lúbid iní. 'This is a place to fix (attach) ropes.'

There are a number of roots with pag- or pan- and with i- which, in coordination with an ing-marked noun phrase, signal a predication type whose construction meaning is instrumental.

É ne pigpárti ing málan. 'The dress is not for parties.'

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Pénatád ke ing kótse. 'I used the car to fetch someone.'

Ibáyad mu réning péra. 'Use the money to pay.'

Iqabísu me iníng súlat. 'Take this letter as a warning.'

There are other roots which combine with an *i*-prefix and an ing-marked noun phrase to form a predication the meaning of which is more referential than benefactive; the ing-marked noun phrase is the referent or recipient of the action.

Idalúm neng Córa i Oscár. 'Cora will complain against Oscar.'

Délum da lá reng ménáko. 'They filed a complaint against the robbers.'

Ibalasúsu me ing papél. 'Shape the paper into a cone.'

Ilákad mu deng papélis ku. 'Expedite my papers.'

Ibilís mu né ing jíp mu. 'Speed up your jeep.'

A number of these have directional meaning:

Iké mu deng maní keng balasúsu para kayá. 'Put the peanuts into the cone for him.'

María, ikutkút mu na iníng bitúka ning bábiq king múla. 'Maria, bury this pig intestine in the yard.'

4.4 STATIVE. PREDICATIONS WITH MI- AND KA-

There is a basic stative type construction marked by either mi- or ka- (mi—an, ka—an.) and an ing-marked noun phrase, the construction meaning of which is that the referent of the ing phrase is predicated to be in a certain state. In most cases the root of the predicate center requires either mi- or ka-. For a few roots such as tákut there is overlap and then a difference in meaning, ka- usually being causative. These constructions should be compared to the maka- stative constructions discussed under non-verbal predications (4.2). For some roots the mi- affixed forms are inflected for number (singular, dual, plural). Mi- and ka- combine to indicate relationships.

Obát kátakútan ye ing timbabálak? 'Why does the lizard frighten you?'

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É ka maingé, póta mítakútan yá. 'Don't make noise, or later he'll be frightened.'

Atín kung métung a kápaté. 'There is one person I fight with.'

Adúa lang mípaté. 'They two fight each other.'

Atlú lang míapaté. 'They three fight one another.'

Compare kapatád, táta, índa, bápa, dára and other kin terms or terms for other relationships.

Mípatánan ya king pún ning manggá. 'He was struck at (by) the mango tree.'

Bísa kang míbarílan katá? 'Do you want me to shoot you?'

Mirínan dinát ing málan makasáble. 'The clothes hanging up got dirt on them.'

Miabuán ye ing bábiq. 'The pig got ashes on it.'

Íka ing mísasakítan. 'You are the one who will suffer.'

Istúng milamnán ka, sínulapó ka. 'When you are filled up, you fly away.'

Mialbugán kamí king Maliualúq. 'We were in Maliualu when sunset came.'

Míarálan ka king amánu ning Diós. 'You are schooled in the word of God.'

See also: kumbirá, agyáp, álun, ambún, absáng, bánlik, búkul, bugtúng, búlad, kandút, dalíg, dalyáwat, gúlis, istáka, tágal, súlat, kamuáq, urán, sípun, dás, dín-, taltál, tulduq, búlung, kutáng, lúmut, láway,...

Kébengían ya keng dалан. 'He was "benighted" on the road.'

Káyabyáyan da ká. 'We give and get from you.'

Kátubásan deng kamátis nung é me agád agtalán. 'The tomatoes will get overripe if you don't pick them right away.'

Kédagúlan ne ing imálan na. 'He got too big for his clothes.'

4.5 KA- MARKED VERBS IN THE RECENT-COMPLETION PREDICATION

A number of verbs are affixed with ka- or a combination of ka- with various forms of doubling or reduplication. Others take the form kaibat plus the infinitive or unfolded action form of the verb. The resulting predications have the meaning 'just recently completed'.

Karatángratáng mi páq. 'We just arrived.'

I Ríta, kapanganákpanganák na páq. 'Rita just gave birth.'

I Imáq, kapuntápuntá na pá Meníla. 'Mother just went to Manila.'

Katigtigtigtíg na páng masantíng a kánta ing rádio. 'The radio just finished playing a nice song.'

Kabáwalbáwal na kanáku. 'I was just told I wasn't allowed to do it.'

Kabilíbili ku keng librú ku, kinuá ne. 'I just put down my book and he took it.'

Kapangápangalínguan mi páq. 'We have just forgotten each other.'

Kakétkét na pá ning ásu. 'He was just bitten by a dog.'

Kagísangísan na pá ning katól. 'The mosquito killer just got used up.'

Ding ának, kapagápagáral da páng lisyún. 'The children just finished studying the lesson.'

Katudtúdtudtúd na pang Títa kaníni. 'Tita had just finished sleeping then.'

Kaibatibát ku pang míninúm. 'I just came from drinking.'

Kaibatibát na páng migísing Míke. 'Mike just woke up.'

Kaibatibát kung méngan. 'I just finished eating.'

Kaibatibát ke pang biníruq. 'I just finished teasing him.'

5 MINOR SENTENCES

The minor sentence types may be divided into the following subtypes: weather, greetings, simple questions, curses, and other exclamations. Generally they are single words or phrases and do not have the bipartite subject-predicate construction of the major sentence types.

Weather

Dúduldúl ya. 'It's thundering.'

Múmurán ya. 'It's raining.'

Lílintík ya. 'It's showering.'

Greetings

Dios púq. (literally: God, sir. a greeting used to announce one's presence at the door or gate of someone's home)

Máyap ayábak. 'Good morning.'

Máyap a béngi puq. 'Good evening, sir/ma'am.'

Máyap a gatpanápun puq. 'Good afternoon, sir.'

Kumustá abé? 'How are you, friend?'

Simple questions

Bákit? 'Why?'

Kapilán man? 'Then when?'

Nínu? 'Who?'

Magkánu? 'How much?'

Curses

5 MINOR SENTENCES

Dipáningaltí. 'May lightning strike you.'

Púta. 'Whore.'

Other exclamations

Súsmariyosép. 'Jesus, Mary and Joseph.'

Nakú. 'Mother of mine.'

Aráy. 'Ouch.'

Arú. 'Wow/hey.'

Perhaps the simple existential sentences belong here also.

Atín. 'There is.'

Aláq. 'There's none.'

Alíq. 'It's not.'

And the affirmations

Wá. 'Yes.'

Ópúq. 'Yes, sir.'

6 SENTENCE EXPANSIONS: Clause Adjuncts and Adjunct Clauses

6.1 GENERAL

Adjuncts are optional or structurally dispensable constituents of the sentence. Adjuncts may be considered according to form (clauses, phrases, words) or according to function (adjuncts of time, of place, of purpose, of manner, of result, of condition, ...). We have already encountered a number of adjunct types in the various time and manner words scattered throughout our examples. In many cases, king-phrases (See 3.2.3 and 3.4) are adjuncts. The descriptive predicates (4.2.3) and the verb complements of manner (3.6.4) convey similar meanings but are different in that they are not optional.

Two major types of adjuncts remain to be discussed: lexical particles, which are adjuncts within clauses, and subordinate clauses, which are clause adjuncts to main or nuclear clauses.

6.2 LEXICAL PARTICLES

There is a relatively closed set of particles—not full words but not grammatical particles or markers, not occurring except as optional constituents of phrases or clauses—which add a qualifying component to the sentence. The most common of the lexical particles are na, pa, man, pin, palá, kanú, saq or sána, (y)áta, kayáq, wári, rugú, muq, galáng. There is some tendency, especially on the part of the younger speakers (e.g., teenagers) to admit other lexical particles from Tagalog: ba, rin, daw. Kayáq and (y)áta may be of this latter type.

The lexical particles syntactically are attracted to negative elements and they cluster phonologically with them. They also cluster with pronouns and in such clusters occur after the first full-word constituent of a clause.

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The meanings they add can best be illustrated by contrasting them in a few stable frames.

Wá. 'Yes.'

Wá pin. 'Yes indeed/really/for sure.'

Wa palá. 'Oh yes, that's right, isn't it?' (i.e., I forgot, just remembered, was reminded)

Wa galáng.]
Wa yátaq.] 'Yes, maybe.'

Wa kanú. 'Yes, so they say.'

Wa sána. 'Yes, I hope so.'

Wa rugú. 'Yes [+ sympathy or humility].'

Ala pá. 'None yet/Still none.'

Ala ná. 'No more/None now.'

Alí pa. 'Not yet.'

Ali pá muq. 'Not just yet.'

Bálu mu ná. 'You know now/already.'

Bálu mu sána. 'I hope you know/wish you knew.'

Bálu mu wári. 'You probably know.'

Bálu mu kanú. 'You know, or so they say.'

Bálu mu palá. 'So, you know, do you?'

[Note: The mu which follows bálu above is the pronoun, not muq 'only, just'.]

The lexical particles, as shown in the last two sets of examples, may occur in certain string combinations. The maximum number of lexical particles in such a string seen to date is four. The order of these particles in such a string is not free, but conforms to ranks something like the following:

		muq	kanu	ragu
na	pa	pin	yata	sana
		man	pala	kayaq
			galang	

wari

Thus we find, for example:

Alá pá muq.

Alá pin rugú.

Alá na pín rugú.

Ala pá kanú.

Ali na pá mu sána.

Wá pin palá.

There are a few other particles which occur like the lexical particles described above, but which also occur as clause introducers: agád, kabúd, and kasí.

6.3 COORDINATED, SUBORDINATED AND EMBEDDED CLAUSES

Complex sentences are composed of more than one clause. Either one clause is embedded into another by having a clause fill the position of the axis of a case-marked phrase, or two clauses are related by juxtaposition and/or by relator particles or introducers which are either coordinating or subordinating. These relator-introducer particles follow.

agyang	kabud	ngem
ambus	kasi	oneng
anyaq	ke	pang (pag?)
angga	dapot	pati
at	inya	patce
at-saka	inyang	pero
ba	istung	pota
bala	maski	u/o
balang	neng	si
ban	nune	uling
bayu	nung	ustung
kabang		

Examples of embedded sentences

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Kítang na nung (makó ka). 'He asked if you will leave.'

Kítang na nung (núkarín ka múnata). 'He asked where you are going.'

É me ákutnán ing anák nung (nánu ing másakit na). 'You won't be able to ask the child what hurts him.'

É ra man ásábi king (kabésang Andrés, migkúlang ya king anák nang Ernéstó). 'They didn't happen to say that Chief Andres had failed to do something for his child, Ernesto.'

Sinábi nang Márkus king (ing anák nang dalága, míras ya bánua). 'What Marcos said was that his daughter would reach heaven.'

Masayá lang masayá ring aduá king (áarakáp dang tugák). 'The two were very happy that they were able to catch a frog.'

Máyap na ing (mákasáup ka kang María). 'It's good that you will be able to help Maria.'

Máyap mu naman yán, ban kaníta ábálu na ing (itámu, táu támung atíng kapanamdáman at pámisip). 'Well, at least it's good for the fact that from it he finds out that we are people who have feelings and thoughts.'

É ne pépákit ing (íya, talagáng tátákut ya). 'He didn't let it show that he himself was very frightened.'

Examples of coordinated and subordinated clauses

Masantíng at abé me palá i Sélso. 'It's good that you will accompany Celso.'

É ka saq ikamuáq at bénging disóras. 'Hopefully you won't be angered that it is late at night.'

Pabukál mu la at saka mu la bilád, síkan la. 'Boil them and dry them in the sun and they will become strong.'

I Suán, pintalán ne mísan ayaldó i Pédro dápot é ne dísan. 'Suan one day went to Pedro but didn't get to him.'

Burí ra kang paglapakán oneng é ra ká agyúq uling maragúl ka. 'They would like to beat you up, but they can't overcome you because you are big.'

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Agyang makanánu, uling ákit na na ing balén. 'It didn't matter how, just so long as he saw the town.'

Mintá ya pala kėti ba yang mabiásang Kapampáangan. 'So, he came here in order that he would become skilled in Kapampangan.'

Istung mimuá ka, kudkurán me ing buák ba kang é mainíp. 'If you should get angry, scratch your head so you won't lose your temper.'

Kabud sabián ku ing "úp", ibuát ye ing balé. 'As soon as I say "up", lift the house.'

Alá yang bitís inya masaltúsu yang káwe. 'It has no feet, that's why it swims swiftly.'

A, inyá pala danúpan ná ku. 'Oh, so that's why I'm hungry now.'

É ke áluksuán ing bákud inya gínápang na kú muq. 'I couldn't jump over the fence, that's why I just crawled through.'

7 CONCLUSION (Note the last example above.)

Some of you learners of Kapampangan will be able to jump higher than I could, and some perhaps not so high. But if—incomplete as it is—this book’s description of how Kapampangan speakers organize what they say helps you to crawl through the fence and do some communicating on the other side, my efforts and those of the good people who have helped me will have been rewarded.

King pámagсалítang dakál,
laltó ing kabalatúngan.

If you talk a lot, your errors
will be shown.

oneng

but

Ing ásung makabaluktúk bútul
man, é makápúlut.

A curled-up dog can’t find
any bones,

at

and

Ing mápangútang king dálan é
malíli, kapilán man.

The man who asks his way
will never get lost.

NOTES

2 PHONOLOGY and ORTHOGRAPHY

1. The dotted line is drawn to indicate the borderline (semi-vowel and semiconsonant) nature of /w/ and /y/.
2. There is a problem with the set **l**, **r**, **d**: **l** and **r** contrast but **d** alternates (not altogether freely) with either.
3. A few of these syllabaries remain in use—among the Hanunoo of Mindoro, for instance.
4. See Informe sobre el estado de filipinas en 1842 by Sini-baldo de Mas, Madrid 1843. and compare Mariano A. Henson, The Province of Pampanga and Its Towns (A. D. 1300-1965). Fourth Revised Edition. p. 169.