

# Motivations for PÁMANAKMUL AMÁNU 'word swallowing' in Kapampangan

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## 1. Introduction

Kapampangan is a Philippine language spoken mainly in the province of Pampanga and Southern Tarlac, as well as in some parts of Bataan, Bulacan and Nueva Ecija. In Kapampangan, the phenomenon whereby determiners, pronouns, and linkers are being omitted, or 'swallowed' is known as *Pámanakmul Amánu* 'word swallowing' (Pangilinan and Kitano 2012).

In this study, we compare the Kapampangan language in the 1950s with the present-day Kapampangan, focusing on the word swallowing. We use recorded spoken data of the 1950s, and the spoken variety of Angeles as representing the present-day language (one of the authors' native language). We intend to show what contexts the word swallowing occurs in, by examining the data different from the one we used in our 2012 study (Pangilinan and Kitano 2012).

## 2. What is *Pámanakmul Amánu*?

The term *Pámanakmul Amánu* 'word swallowing' was coined by old Kapampangan speakers. It means that determiners, linkers, pronouns and other parts of speech are being 'swallowed' or omitted by younger speakers.

In our 2012 study, we examined the word swallowing observed in conversations in Angeles City and the surrounding communities for the past 15 years.

It has been observed among Kapampangan speakers aged 60 years and below. Speakers aged 60-70 years old are inconsistent with their word swallowing. It does not occur among speakers aged 70 years and above. We reported that, although the word swallowing is observed in other word classes, the most evident and consistent word often dropped is the oblique determiner *king* (singular) and *karing* (plural) which is equivalent to the English 'to, for, in, on, at' etc.

### 2.1. Omission of the oblique determiner *king* (and its variants)

Kapampangan has a 3-way case-marking system: (a) absolutive (or nominative), represented by the determiner *ing*; (b) ergative (or genitive), represented by *ning*; (c) oblique, by *king*. Determiner forms are summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Kapampangan determiners

		ABSOLUTIVE	ERGATIVE	OBLIQUE
Common nouns	SG	<i>ing, =ng</i>	<i>ning</i>	<i>king, keng</i>
	PL	<i>ding/ring, deng/reng</i>	<i>ring, reng</i>	<i>karing</i>
Personal names	SG	<i>i</i>	<i>=ng</i>	<i>kang</i>
	PL	<i>di/ri</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>kari</i>

### 2.2. Examples of *king* omission

Here are some examples. [ ] is the position where *king* is omitted. Corresponding positions in English translation are also marked with [ ].

- (1) Makatuknang ya [ ] ciudad.  
'He lives [in] the city.'
- (2) Línub ya [ ] cuarto.

- 'He went [inside] the room.'
- (3) Taglus ku [ ] palengki.  
'I will head straight [to] the market.'

This phenomenon is impossible in other Philippine languages such as Tagalog. In Tagalog, the oblique determiner *sa* cannot be omitted:

- (4) Nakatira siya [sa] ciudad.  
'He lives [in] the city.'
- (5) Pumasok siya [sa] kuwarto.  
'He went [inside] the room.'
- (6) Tutuloy ako [sa] palengke.  
'I will head straight [to] the market.'

The omission of the oblique determiner *king* is strongly associated with the semantics of verbs. In Pangilinan and Kitano 2012, we mainly looked at the verbs that involve the oblique case. Two types of verbs, **intransitive** and **transitive**, are distinguished. Intransitive verbs are further divided into two: **stative locative verbs** and **action locative verbs**. Transitive verbs are called **transitive motion verbs** in this presentation.

#### 2.2.1. Stative locative verbs

Examples: 'dwell, stay, be in/at' (e.g. 'He dwells in the city.')

*king* and *karing* have completely disappeared in these cases. One practically never hears them in any of the conversations in Angeles City, Magalang and the surrounding communities.

- (7) Makatuknang ya [ ] ciudad.  
'He lives [ ] city.'
- (8) Atiu [ ] pisamban.  
'He is [ ] church.'
- (9) Atiu ya [ ] iskuela.  
'He is [ ] school.'

#### 2.2.2. Action locative verbs

Examples: 'come, go, run, walk' (e.g. 'He came to the park.')

*king* and *karing* is also no longer heard in these cases.

- (10) Taglus ku [ ] palengki.  
'I will head straight [ ] the market.'
- (11) Línub ya [ ] cuarto.  
'He went [ ] the room.'
- (12) Línual ya [ ] balé.  
'He went [ ] the house.'
- (13) Lumábas ku [ ] pisamban.  
'I will pass [ ] the church.'
- (14) Linípat la [ ] sumángid a balén.  
'They moved [ ] next town.'
- (15) Dátang ya [ ] Agóstu.  
'He will arrive [ ] August.'

#### 2.2.3. Transitive motion verbs

Verbs in this category may include the following (cf. Levin 1993), but the list is not exhaustive: Give Verbs, Push/Pull Verbs, Throw Verbs, Send Verbs, Slide Verbs, Bring/Take Verbs, Carry Verbs, Drive Verbs, Chase Verbs, Accompany Verbs, Meander Verbs.

- (16) Likuan nó [ ] bancu ding pera.  
'He left the money [ ] the bank.'
- (17) Pantunan mé i Tátang mu [ ] dálan.  
'Look for your father [ ] the road.'
- (18) Mámagus ing danum[ ] ílug.  
'The water flows [ ] the river.'
- (19) Inugse na ing basúra [ ] lípat balé.  
'He threw the garbage [ ] the neighboring house.'
- (20) Mitagálan la [ ] dálan déning ásu ampóng púsâ.  
'The cats and dogs chased each other [ ] the streets.'

2.2.4. *King* must be present (i.e., the receiver of something is a person and the like)

- (21) Binié nó **king** matua détang péra.  
'He gave the money to the old man.'
- (22) Pepakán nó **karing** ának détang candy.  
'He let the children eat the candy.'
- (23) Meniad yang direksiun **king** pulis.  
'He asked the police for some directions.'
- (24) Binálik nó **king** driver détang sóbrang suklí.  
'He returned the excess change to driver.'

There are many other cases where the *king* omission seems optional. We also think that there are some other factors that may affect the appearance of *king*.

In Pangilinan and Kitano 2012, we explain that the omission of *king* may be regarded as a demotion of a constituent from oblique argument to adjunct. Persons (receivers of something) are usually central to the event, so it is unlikely that a human argument demotes to an adjunct. In contrast, non-human (oblique) argument can often demote to an adjunct.

### 3. Texts in the present study

In this study, we examined the use of determiners and pronouns in the data of spoken variety collected and transcribed in the 1950s (24 narratives and 1 conversation, attached in Castrillo 1955). Castrillo (Maria Luisa Y.) 1955 is an M.A. thesis dealing with Kapampangan syntax, and one of the earliest linguistic studies of Kapampangan. These texts were gathered to serve as basis for her morphosyntactic study.

The folktales are narrated in the spoken language of one of the authors' (Pangilinan) grandparents as he remembers them. The consultants included leading citizens of two towns in Pampanga, San Fernando and Mexico. Many of them were born in the late 1890s and early 1900s and were already in their late 50s and early 60s at the time of the interview. The constant repetition of the characters' names in every sentence of some of the stories (sometimes more than once in a sentence) rather than the use of pronouns was a common story-telling device at that time. Its purpose is to keep the listener focused on the character in the narration. Today, such device is considered annoying and dragging. Some of the stories also have long winded sentences that are considered dragging by modern standards. Known formally as *talugígi* and commonly as *pasakáli* or *pasalásalingkû* ('many curves and turns'), these long winded sentences are another story-telling device used to set the mood or hold the listener's attention.

One striking feature of the transcription is the orthography used. Although it uses the modern indigenized Súlat Wáwâ orthography (Pangilinan 2006), it retained the necessary diacritical

marks that recent writers tend to neglect, as well as attaching pronouns to the verbs in the archaic written fashion that can be found in the texts of the Kapampangan *Pasión* or the epic chanting of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ during Holy Week. This archaic form of attaching the pronouns to verbs also appear in Fernandez 1876 (Fig. 1 below), which clearly distinguishes Kapampangan (3rd column) from Tagalog (2nd column).

<b>Futuro perfecto.</b>		
Yo habré sembrado.	Maca pag tanim acó.	Macatanámca.
Tú habrás sembrado.	Maca pag tanim ca.	Macatanámca.
Él habrá sembrado.	Maca pag tanim siya.	Macatanámya.
Nosotros habrémos sembrado.	Maca pag tanim tayo ó camí.	Macatanámtauu.
Vosotros habréis sembrado.	Maca pag tanim cayó.	Macatanámcayu.
Ellos habrán sembrado.	Maca pag tanim silá.	Macatanámila.

Sirve tambien para el futuro de subjuntivo.

Figure 1. excerpt from Fernandez 1876: 45

#### 4. Findings

Word swallowing does not occur in any of the folktales. Either the phenomenon does not occur among the respondents or this was the result of editing. Castrillo 1955 states that the folktales were manually recorded (i.e., written down by hand) and checked to see if they follow Kapampangan pronunciation and punctuation, by native speakers. This means that the transcriptions for the folktales may have been edited. Since written Kapampangan remain conservative to date, the sentences could have been edited to suit a more standard format. But since each story teller has a peculiar style of narration as evidenced by the examples, the editing may have been minimal and the transcription faithful to the recording.

##### 4.1. Conversation

The early recorded evidence of the phenomenon of word swallowing occurs in the conversation between Zoilo Castrillo (Maria Luisa's father), who was 56 years old at that time, and a younger man by the name Alejo Manansala. Castrillo called Manansala *aling*, a now archaic form of address to one's juniors. It is derived from the word *uáli* 'younger sibling'. This clearly indicated that Manansala was Castrillo's junior. Castrillo 1955 states that a tape recorder was used to record this conversation to give the conversationalists the chance to talk in the most natural way. Let us examine the conversational flow in detail (exx. 25-28).

The phenomenon of word swallowing in the conversation was initiated by Alejo Manansala where he kept omitting the determiner *king* right before every place name in all the 9 sentences of his long narration (25 a-i). In the following, the { } brackets indicate the word swallowing occurred in the actual conversation.

(25) Manansala

- a) Kaybátku { **king** } Washington pépauntalándaku Boston pára mágobsorbá karing Torrens System of Titles.  
'After staying in Washington, I was asked to go to Boston in order to observe the Torrens System of Title.'
- b) Manibát karín, mintáku { **king** } Salt Lake City; kéta maygítku sigúrunng atlúng domínggu.  
'From there I went to Salt Lake City; there I stayed for almost one week.'
- c) Kaybátna níta mintáku { **king** } Cheyenne, Wyoming.  
'After this, I went to Cheyenne, Wyoming.'

- d) Kaybát ning parumínggu karín pépabalíkandaku {**king**} Washington.  
'After a stay of one week, I was asked to return to Washington.'
- e) Ínyang atínnakung maygít adwáng búlan karín pépapuntándakunamán {**king**} Baltimore.  
'When I was there for almost two months, I was again asked to go to Baltimore.'
- f) Ínyang kái mi:báliknákunamán {**king**} Washington manibát {**king**} Baltimore.  
'When ah, I again returned from Baltimore to Washington.'
- g) Kaybát karín tíkyanko ing kanákung prográm at mintánakunamán {**king**} Los Angeles.  
'Then, I followed my program and I went this time to Los Angeles.'
- h) Atíngkung adwáng domínggu karín, kaybát karin mintánakuman {**king**} San Francisco.  
'I stayed there for two weeks, then I went to San Francisco.'
- i) Mapilánmung aldó kaníta, ning 22 de enéro, li:nákadnáku papuntá kėti {**king**} Ménila.  
'Some day after that, the 22 of February, I left for Manila.'

Zoilo Castrillo retained the determiner *king* where it is now normally omitted but likewise omitted it before a place name.

(26) Castrillo

Dakálka í:kit **king** pamálakmu a makakáyap **king** opisínatámu kėti {**king**} Ménila?  
'In your opinion, did you see many things that can help our office here in Manila?'

That the determiner *king* is not necessarily omitted before place names can be evidenced in one of Manansala's sentence where he retained it:

(27) Manansala

A, dakál, láluna {**ing**} karélang sistéma {**a**} pámamye Public Lands ampóng makanánurong palakáran ding karélang opisína karín **king** Washington itáng ámanwandáng Bureau of Land Management, gagamítandeng kómpletaménte ing decentralization deng magpróses application, {**a**} ámanwandá {**king**} karelang area offices.

'Many, especially their system of giving Public Lands and how they operate their offices there in Washington; what is known as the Bureau of Land Management; they use completely the decentralization in the processing of applications, in the area offices.'

Yet in the same sentence above, Manansala has omitted the linker *a* several times as well as the determiners *ing* and *king*.

Interestingly, Castrillo omits the determiner *king* before one place name but retains it before another within the same sentence:

(28) Castrillo, after several exchanges after (27)

O, ínyang atíkakarín {**king**} Washington, mípuntáka **king** FOA?  
'When you were in Washington, did you go to the FOA?'

In the succeeding sentences throughout the conversation, Castrillo and Manansala randomly omits and retains the determiner *king* as they talk on. In the 1950s, the phenomenon of word swallowing existed, at least the swallowing of place names seems to be common.

## 4.2. Folktales

The folktales were manually recorded and checked by native speakers, so it is difficult to see if there was actually the word swallowing when they were narrated. However, it is still possible to judge if determiners and other words are omissible or not. We found that, among other things, **definiteness** or **referentiality** plays a crucial role for the word swallowing.

For example, there are instances where the determiner *king* must be retained. Most typically, when the NP of the *king* NP phrase is a person (or the like).

- (29) [Juan and the Devil]  
 Mé:sayaya i Swán úling báluna máskinanu adwánda ring táu **king demónyu** ibyéna.  
 ‘Juan became happy because he knew that anything the people ask **for the devil**, he gives.’
- (30) [Juan in the mountain of Sinukwan]  
**King sépuna ning kwéba** atíng mayákit a masálâ.  
 ‘**In the other end of the cave** there was seen something bright.’
- (31) [Handsome Juan]  
 Ináwsnané namán lungúb i Swán at kí:tangna nung nánu ing bastún a makatáli **king kayáng bátal**.  
 ‘Juan was called again to enter and he was asked **about his cane**.’
- (32) [Handsome Juan]  
 Manibát **king aldó itá** éno mí:lako pángasaya i Swán ampó i Maryá.  
 ‘**From that day** on, Juan and Maria lived happily.’

We also observe the following, which relate to the semantic notions of definiteness and referentiality.

- (33) The 3rd person pronoun *na* drops when *N2* of the *N1 na ning N2* (‘N1 of N2’) phrase is not definite nor referential.
- (34) The oblique determiner *king* drops when *N2* of the *N1 king N2* (‘N2 of/in/on/at N2’) phrase is not definite nor referential.

So far, we have seen that the word swallowing is predominantly semantically motivated.

## 5. Conclusion

### References

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