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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 City 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.

An introduction to the basic clause structure of Kapampangan is in order. Kapampangan is, like other Philippine languages, a predicate-initial language. The predicate is followed by pronouns and/or adverbs, then optionally followed by one or more NPs. First, let us take a look at nominal predicate clauses. A simple Kapampangan clause consists of a predicate and a pronoun.

- (1) [nominal predicate]¹
Mestra ya.
teacher ABS.3SG
'She is a teacher.'

The pronoun *ya* is coreferential with the full NP *i Maria* below. In such cases, both the pronoun and the full NP are required. (In this paper, determiners for absolutive arguments are glossed SPEC (=specific), since it is considered that the main function is to indicate specificity.)

- (2) [nominal predicate]
Mestra ya i Maria.
teacher ABS.3SG DET.SPEC.SG Maria.
'Maria is a teacher.'

Next, let us look at adjectival predicate clauses. Again, the pronoun *la* is coreferential with the demonstrative nominal *ren*.

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¹ The following abbreviations are employed: ABS-absolutive, AV-actor voice, CAUS-causative, CONT-contemplated, DEM-demonstrative, ERG-ergative, EXIST-existential, IMPF-imperfective, INCL-inclusive, LK-linker, NEG-negative, OBL-oblique, PERF-perfective, PL-plural, PV-patient voice, SG-singular, SPEC-specific, 1-first person, 2-second person, 3-third person

(3) [adjectival predicate]
Matsura la ren.
 ugly ABS.3PL DEM.ABS.PL.medial (= ‘those’)
 ‘Those are ugly.’

(4) [adjectival predicate]
Matsura la.
 ugly ABS.3PL
 ‘They are ugly.’

Finally, here are verbal predicate clauses. The next two clauses exhibit actor voice predicate.

(5) [verbal predicate]
Mamangan ya.
 eat. IMPF.AV ABS.3SG
 ‘He/She is eating.’

Typically, actor voice clauses are “intransitive”, but in Philippine-type languages they can take a “object-like” argument, as seen below (*manuk* is linked by the linker =*ng*, and typically indefinite or non-specific).

(6) [verbal predicate]
Mamangan ya=ng manuk.
 eat. IMPF.AV ABS.3SG=LK chicken
 ‘He/She is eating chicken.’

In patient voice clauses, two core arguments, the ergative and the absolutive, are present. In the next example, two pronouns are fused (*na + ya > ne*). Hereafter, fused morphemes are combined with the plus (+) sign..

(7) [verbal predicate]
Kakanan ne.
 eat. IMPF.PV ERG.3SG+ABS.3SG
 ‘He/She is eating it.’

(8) [verbal predicate]
Kakanan ne ing manuk.
 eat. IMPF.PV ERG.3SG+ABS.3SG DET.SPEC.SG chicken
 ‘He/She is eating the chicken.’

Patient voice clauses can have two core argument full NPs. In natural conversation, though, clauses having two full NPs are rare, such as the one below. The ergative NP headed by the determiner *ning* is followed by the absolutive NP headed by *ing*.

(9) *Tatagalan ne ning asu ing pusa.*
 chase. IMPF.PV ERG.3SG+ABS.3SG DET.ERG.SG dog DET.SPEC.SG cat
 ‘The dog is chasing the cat.’

- (10) *Tatagalan ne.*
 chase.IMPF.PV ERG.3SG+ABS.3SG
 ‘He/She/It is chasing him/her/it.’

The next example shows the oblique phrase *king ilog*.

- (11) *Kinawe ya king ilog.*
 swm.PERF.AV ABS.3SG DET.OBL.SG river
 ‘He/She swam in the river.’

This oblique phrase may be replaced by a demonstrative adverb, as shown below.

- (12) *Kinawe ya karin.*
 swm.PERF.AV ABS.3SG DEM.OBL.distal (= ‘there’)
 ‘He/She swam there.’

2. What is *Pámanakmul Amánu*?

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

Here are some examples. The square brackets, [], indicate the position where some element is omitted. Corresponding positions in English translation are also marked with [].

In the next example, the oblique determiner *king* (‘in, on, at, to’ etc.) has been ‘swallowed’:

- (13) *Makatuknang ya [] ciudad.*
 live ABS.3SG city
 He lives in the city.

The absolutive determiner *ing*, which, in this example, functions as a complementizer, has been ‘swallowed’:

- (14) *Burí na [] mámangan kilual.*
 like ERG.3SG eat.IMPF.AV outside
 He likes eating out.

The 3rd person singular absolutive pronoun *ya* has been ‘swallowed’:

- (15) *E [] mipapatudtud.*
 NEG can.sleep
 [He] can’t sleep.

The phenomenon of word swallowing seems impossible in other Philippine languages such as Tagalog. For example, in Tagalog, the oblique determiner *sa* cannot be omitted:

- (16) *Nakatira siya sa ciudad.*
 live ABS.3SG DET.OBL city
 ‘He lives **in** the city.’

- (17) *Pumasok siya sa kuwarto.*
 enter.PERF ABS.3SG DET.OBL room
 ‘He went **into** the room.’
- (18) *Tutuloy ako sa palengke.*
 go.forward.CONT ABS.1SG DET.OBL market
 ‘I will head straight **to** the market.’

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 determiners *king* (singular) and *karing* (plural).

2.1. Oblique determiners in Kapampangan

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, represented 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. Omission of the oblique determiners

The omission of the oblique determiner *king* (and its variants) 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 in our classification are **transitive motion verbs**. We report some of the results of Pangilinan and Kitano 2012 in the next subsections.

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, Magalang and the surrounding communities.

- (19) *Atiu ya [] iskuela.*
 EXIST ABS.3SG [] school
 ‘He is [at] school.’

- (20) *Makatuknang ya [] ciudad.*
 live ABS.3SG city
 ‘He lives in the city.’

2.2.2. Action locative verbs

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

King and *karing* are also no longer heard in these cases.

- (21) *Taglus ku [] palengki.*
 go.ahead.CONT ABS.1SG market
 ‘I will head straight [to] the market.’
- (22) *Línub ya [] cuarto.*
 go.in.PERF ABS.3SG room
 ‘He went [into] the room.’
- (23) *Línual ya [] balé.*
 go.out.PERF ABS.3SG house
 ‘He went [out of] the house.’
- (24) *Lumábas ku [] pisamban.*
 pass.PERF ABS.1SG church
 ‘I will pass [by] the church.’
- (25) *Linípat la [] sumángid a balén.*
 move.PERF ABS.3PL next LK house
 ‘They moved [to] next town.’
- (26) *Dátang ya [] Agóstu.*
 come.CONT ABS.3SG August
 ‘He will arrive [in] 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.

- (27) *Likuan nó [] bancu ding pera.*
 leave.PERF ERG.3SG+ABS.3PL bank DET.SPEC.PL money
 ‘He left the money [at] the bank.’
- (28) *Pantunan mé i Tátang mu [] dálan.*
 look.for.CONT ERG.2SG+ABS.3SG DET.SPEC.SG father ERG.2SG road
 ‘Look for your father [on] the road.’
- (29) *Mámagus ing danum [] ílug.*
 flow.IMPF DET.SPEC.SG water river
 ‘The water flows [in] the river.’

- (30) *Inugse na ing basúra [] lípat balé.*
 throw.PERF ERG.3SG DET.SPEC.SG garbage neighboring house
 ‘He threw the garbage [to] the neighboring house.’

2.2.4. When oblique determiners must be present

We point out that there are cases where oblique determiners must be used. For example, if the receiver of something in an event is a person or the like, the oblique determiner (*king*, *karing*) must be present, as shown in the examples below.

- (31) *Binié nó king matua*
 give.PERF ERG.3SG+ABS.3PL DET.OBL.SG old (person)
détang péra.
 DEM.ABS.PL.distal-LK money
 ‘He gave the money to the old man.’
- (32) *Pepakán nó karing ának*
 CAUS.PERF-eat ERG.3SG+ABS.3PL DET.OBL.PL child
détang candy.
 DEM.ABS.PL.distal-LK candy
 ‘He let the children eat the candy.’
- (33) *Meniad yang direksion king pulis.*
 ask.PERF ABS.3SG=LK direction DET.OBL.SG police
 ‘He asked the police for some directions.’
- (34) *Binálik nó king driver*
 return.PERF ERG.3SG+ABS.3PL DET.OBL.SG driver
détang sóbrang suklí.
 DEM.ABS.PL.distal-LK excess=LK change
 ‘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 the demotion of a constituent from oblique argument to adjunct. Humans (receivers of something) are usually central to the event, so it is unlikely that a human argument demotes to an adjunct. In contrast, a 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 modern 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’s) grandparents as he remembers them. The consultants in Castrillo 1955 included leading citizens of two towns in Pampanga, i.e., 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 *talugígî* and commonly as *pasakâlî* 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).

Futuro perfecto.		
Yo habré sembrado.	Maca pag tanim acó.	Macatanámca.
Tú habrás sembrado.	Maca pag tanim ca.	Macatanámca.
El habrá sembrado.	Maca pag tanim siya.	Macatanámya.
Nosotros habrémos sembrado.	Maca pag tanim tayo ó caní.	Macatanámntanu
Vosotros habréis sembrado.	Maca pag tanim cayó.	Macatanámcaya.
Ellos habrán sembrado.	Maca pag tanim silá.	Macatanámta.

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. This is probably either (a) because the phenomenon does not occur among the story tellers, or (b) because this was a 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 proficient 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. In the conversation, Castrillo, who was a director of the Bureau of Lands at the time, was asking questions of Manansala, who was an attorney of the same bureau. The topic is Attorney Manansala's recent trip to the United States, where he observed recent trends in land management. 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 indicates 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 part of the conversational flow in detail (exx. 35-38).

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 (35 a-i). In the following, the square brackets, [], indicate that the swallowing of *king* occurred (i.e., *king* omitted) in the actual conversation. Castrillo's original glosses and free translations are modified by the present authors.

(35) [Manansala]

- a) *Kaybátku* [] *Washington pépapuntalándaku* *Boston*
 after-ERG.1SG *Washington* CAUS.PERF-go-ERG.3PL-ABS.1SG *Boston*
pára *mágoberbá karing* *Torrens System of Titles.*
 in.order.to observe.IMPF DET.OBL.PL *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* [] *Salt Lake City;*
 from there go.PERF-ABS.1SG *Salt Lake City*
kéta maygítku sigúrunq atlúng domínggu.
 there more-ERG.1SG maybe-LK three-LK week
 'From there I went to Salt Lake City; there I stayed for almost three weeks.'
- c) *Kaybátna níta* *mintáku*
 after-ERG.3SG DEM.ERG.SG.distal go.PERF-ABS.1SG
 [] *Cheyenne, Wyoming.*
Cheyenne, Wyoming
 'After that, I went to Cheyenne, Wyoming.'
- d) *Kaybát ning parumínggu karín pépabalíandaku*
 after DET.ERG.SG one.week there CAUS.PERF-return-ERG.3PL-ABS.1SG
 [] *Washington.*
Washington
 'After a stay of one week, I was asked to return to Washington.'
- e) *Ínyang atínnakung maygít adwáng búlan karín*
 when there-already-ERG.1SG-LK more two-LK month there
pépapuntándakunamán [] *Baltimore.*
 CAUS.PERF-go-ERG.3PL-ABS.1SG-again *Baltimore*
 'When I was there for almost two months, I was again asked to go to Baltimore.'
- f) *Ínyang kái mi:báliknákunamán* [] *Washington*
 when return.PERF-already-ABS.1SG-again *Washington*
manibát [] *Baltimore.*
 from *Baltimore*
 'When ah, I again returned from Baltimore to Washington.'
- g) *Kaybát karín tíkyanko* *ing kanákung*
 after there follow.PERF-ERG.1SG+ABS.3PL DET.SPEC.SG OBL.1SG-LK
prográm at mintánakunamán [] *Los Angeles.*
 program and go.PERF-already-ABS.1SG-again *Los Angeles*
 'Then, I followed my program and I went this time to Los Angeles.'

- h) *Atínkung* *adwáng* *domínggu* *karín, kaybát karin*
 EXIST-ABS.1SG-LK two-LK week there after there
mintánakuman [] *San Francisco.*
 go.PERF-already-ABS.1SG-also San Francisco
 ‘I stayed there for two weeks, then I went to San Francisco.’
- i) *Mapilánmung aldó* *kaníta, ning* *22* *de* *enéro,*
 some-only-LK day then DET.ERG.SG 22 of January
li:nákadnáku *papuntá* *kéti* [] *Ménila.*
 walk.PERF-already-ABS.1SG going here here Manila
 ‘Some day after that, the 22 of January, I left for Manila.’

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

(36) [Castrillo]

Dakálka *í:kit* ***king*** *pamálakmu* *a* *makakáyap*
 many-ABS.2SGsee.PERF DET.OBL.SG opinion-ERG.2SG LK can.do.good
king *opisínatámu* *kéti* [] *Ménila?*
 DET.OBL.SG office-ERG.1PL.INCL here Manila
 ‘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. Yet in the same sentence, Manansala has omitted the linker *a* as well as the determiners *ing* and *king*, indicated by curly brackets below.

(37) [Manansala]

A, *dakál,* *láluna* {*ing*} *karélang* *sistéma* {*a*}
 ah many more DET.SPEC.SG OBL.3PL-LK (=their) system LK
pámamye *Public Lands* *ampóng* *makanánurang*
 giving Public Lands and-LK how-ERG.3PL-LK
palakáran *ding* *karélang* *opisína* *karín* ***king***
 manage DET.SPEC.PL OBL.3PL-LK office there DET.OBL.SG
Washington *itáng* *ámanwandáng*
 Washington DEM.ABS.SG.distal-LK known-ERG.3PL-LK
Bureau of Land Management, *gagamítandeng* *kómpletaménte*
 Bureau of Land Management use.IMPf-ERG.3PL-ABS.3SG completely
ing *decentralization* *deng* *magpróses* *application,*
 DET.SPEC.SG decentralization DET.SPEC.PL process application
 {*a*} *ámanwandá* [] *karélang* *area offices.*
 LK known-ERG.3PL OBL.3PL-LK 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 their area offices.’

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

- (38) [Castrillo, several exchanges later, after (37)]
O, inyang atikakarín [] Washington,
 oh when EXIST-ABS.2SG-there Washington
mípuntáka king FOA?
 can.go.PERF-ABS.2SG DET.OBL.SG 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 *king* before 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 (such as a devil). Below some examples are given from some of the folktales.

- (39) [Juan and the Devil]
Mé:sayaya i Swán úling báluna
 become.happy.PERF-ABS.3SG DET.SPEC.SG Juan because know-ERG.3SG
máskinanu adwánda ring táu king demónyu
 even.anything ask-ERG.3PL DET.ERG.PL people from devil
ibyéna.
 give.IMPF-ERG.3SG
 ‘Juan became happy because he knew that anything the people ask **for** the devil, he gives.’

- (40) [Juan in the mountain of Sinukwan]
King sépuna ning kwéba atíng mayákit a masálâ.
 in other.end DET.ERG.SG cave EXIST seen LK bright
 ‘**In** the other end of the cave there was seen something bright.’

- (41) [Handsome Juan]
Ináwsnané namán lungúb i Swán at
 call.PERF-ERG.3SG-already+ABS.3SG again enter DET.SPEC.SG Juan and
kí:tangna nung nánu ing bastún a makatáli
 ask.PERF-ERG.3SG if what DET.SPEC.SG cane LK tied
king kayáng bátal.
 around OBL.3SG-LK neck
 ‘Juan was called again to enter and he was asked why there is a cane tied **around** his neck.’

- (42) [Handsome Juan]
Manibát king aldó itá éno mí:lako
 from day DEM.ABS.SG.distal NEG-already+ABS.3PL remove.PERF

pángasaya i Swán ampó i Maryá.
 happiness DET.SPEC.SG Juan and DET.SPEC.SG Maria
 ‘From that day on, Juan and Maria did not remove happiness (=they lived happily).’

We also observe the following, which relate to the semantic notions of definiteness and referentiality. First, the 3rd person pronoun *na* drops when *N2* of the *N1 na ning N2* (‘N1 of N2’) phrase is not definite nor referential.

(43) *King lele [] ning bunduk ating dakal a*
 DET.OBL.SG side DET.ERG.SG mountain EXIST many LK
tanaman.
 plant
 ‘At the foot of mountain there are a lot of plants.’ (invented example)

Second, the oblique determiner *king* drops when *N2* of the *N1 king N2* (‘N2 of/in/on/at N2’) phrase is not definite nor referential. The term for the phenomenon we are discussing, ‘word swallowing’, is an example.

(44) *pámanakmul [] amánu*
 swallowing word
 ‘swallowing of words’

In this subsection, we have seen that the word swallowing is predominantly semantically motivated.

5. Conclusion

In Pangilinan and Kitano 2012, we tried to elucidate when the determiner *king* is “swallowed”, and when it is not “swallowed”, using a list of verbs and the native speaker’s intuition. In 2012, we suggest that the word swallowing is not observed to occur among speakers aged 70 years and above. This may be a too strong statement, and it may be true that speakers differ as to how often they “swallow” words.

In the present study, with the 1950s data available, our research interest is, “how was the word swallowing more than half a century ago?” We found that, in the 1950s, the word swallowing was already observed, at least with place names.

In addition, in the present study, we used the native speaker’s intuition again, but not with a list of verbs, but with spoken language data. As a result, we are now aware of much wider contexts in which the word swallowing is possible.

Place names deserve special mention. In the 1950s, the phenomenon of word swallowing already started, at least the swallowing of *king* before place names seems to be common.

Finally, we also pointed out that definiteness or referentiality plays a crucial role for the use of *king*.

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