An Introduction to the Kapampángan Language

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Kapampángan is an Austronesian language spoken in *Indûng Kapampángan*, the Kapampángan homeland, located in the northern island of Luzon in the Philippines, by the ethnic group known as *Bangsâng Kapampángan* (Kapampángan people). Kapampángan is often affectionately called by them as *Amánung Sísuan* ~ the 'language suckled from the mother's breast'. It is also written as Capampángan.

Kapampángan also has a written script called *Kulitan* or *Súlat Kapampángan*. It is an Indic script written vertically from right to left (Pangilinan, 2012).

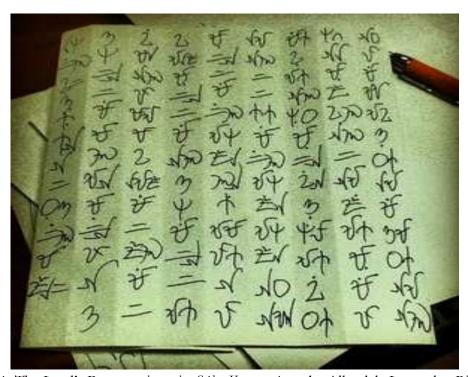


Fig. 1. The Lord's Prayer written in Súlat Kapampángan by Allandale Lumanlan Rivera

Indûng Kapampángan, the Kapampángan homeland, is located in the northern island of Luzon in the Philippines. Its heartland is the province of Pampanga, radiating to the southern half of Tarlac, and the border towns in Bataan, Nueva Ecija and Bulacan.



Bangsâng Kapampángan is the 7th largest ethnic group in the Philippines, numbering less than 2 million in a total population of 98 million according to the year 2000 survey of the National Statistics Office.

The Eight Major Languages of the	Total Population in the Year 2000
Philippines	(National Statistics Office)
Tagalog	28,000,000
Cebuano	21,000,000
Ilocano	9,200,000
Hiligaynon	8,100,000
Bicol	2,600,000
Waray	2,500,000
Kapampangan	1,900,00
Pangasinan	1,200,000

In 1649, the Spanish king granted Bangsâng Kapampángan (*Nazión Pampanga*) autonomy and exempted them from paying tribute for all eternity after helping Spain defeat the Dutch in a series of naval battles in the Far East. They were treated favourably (San Agustin, 1699 and Diaz, 1745) and their leaders were allowed to join the lower Spanish aristocracy (Santiago, 1990). The Kapampangans lost their autonomy when the United States took over the Philippines from Spain in 1899.



The Kapampangan language has two major dialects (Foreman, 1971). The existence of the Upland and Lowland (Delta) varieties coincide with the basic geography of Indûng Kapampángan (Gaillard, 2002, 2012 & 2013).

There may be more than just two varieties of Kapampangan as evidenced in the dialect study of Kapampangan by Anicia del Corro (1984 & 1988) where a number of Kapampangan towns, particularly in the Pinak region of Candaba and the 2 Kapampangan communities of Bataan, exhibit unique lexicon, phonology and even morphology.

Kapampángan is a predicate-initial language, like other Philippine languages. The predicate is followed by pronouns and/or adverbs and then optionally followed by one or more noun phrases (Kitano & Pangilinan, 2013).

PREDICATE = pronoun(s)/adverbial {NP} {NP}...

Nominal Predicate:

- 1. **Méstra** ya i Bayang.

 teacher = ABS.3SG PN Bayang (Maria)

 Bayang is a teacher.
- 2. **Méstra** ya. teacher = ABS.3SG
 She is a teacher.

Adjectival Predicate:

3. Matsura la ren.

ugly = ABS.3PL ABS.those (medial)

Those are ugly.

4. Matsura la.

ugly = ABS.3PL

They are ugly.

Verbal Predicate:

5. Mámangan ku.

eat.IMPF.AV = ABS.1SG

I am eating.

6. Mámangan kung manuk.

eat.IMPF.AV = ABS.1SG =LK chicken

I am eating chicken.

7. **Kakanan ke ing manuk.** eat.IMPF.PV= ERG.1SG+ABS.3SG DET.SPEC.SG chicken

I am eating the chicken.

NB: **ke** is a fusion of **ku** [ERG.1SG] + **ya** [ABS.3SG]

Double Cross-Referent Pronoun (Del Corro, 1988)

Fused Enclitic (Mithun, 1994)

Fused Pronoun (Kitano, 2008)

8. Kakanan ke.

eat.IMPF.PV= ERG.1SG+ABS.3SG

I am eating it.

Kapampángan verbs have two forms according to Kitano (2008), agent focus and patient focus.

Agent Focus:

kan 'to eat'

mangan [future] | mámangan [present] | méngan [past]

9. **Mámangan** kung manuk.
eat.IMPF.AV = ABS.1SG =LK chicken
I am eating chicken

básâ 'to read'

mamásâ [future] | mámásâ [present] | mémásâ [past]

10. **Mámásâ kung libru.**reading ABS.1SG =LK book
I am reading a book.

Patient Focus:

kan 'to eat'

kanan [future] | kakanan [present] | péngan [past]

11. **Kakanan ke ing manuk.** eat.IMPF.PV= ERG.1SG+ABS.3SG DET.SPEC.SG chicken I am eating the chicken.

básâ 'to read'

básan [future] | bábásan [present] | binásâ [past]

12. **Bábásan ke ing libru.** reading ERG.1SG(ku)+ABS.3SG(ya) DET.SPEC.SG book I am reading the book.

Verb Conjugation

		FUTURE	PRESENT	PAST
kan	Agent Focus	mangan	mámangan	méngan
'to eat'	Patient Focus	kanan	kakanan	péngan
básâ	Agent Focus	mamásâ	mámásâ	mémásâ
'to read'	Patient Focus	básan	babásan	binásâ
dílû	Agent Focus	mandílû	mándílû	méndílû
'to bathe'	Patient Focus	diluan	didiluan	dinílû
inum	Agent Focus	minum	míminum	mínum
'to drink'	Patient Focus	inuman	ínuman	ínum
pulayî	Agent Focus	mamulayî	mámulayî	mémulayî
'to run'	Patient Focus	pulayan	pupulayan	pílayan

Nouns into Verbs

Like other Philippine languages, nouns can become verbs in Kapampángan.

Eng. (n.) text (SMS)

Kapampangan	13.	Tetext		nákung		Rob	ert
		[v]-['text']	ERG.3SC	G+ABS.1	SG=LK	Rob	ert
		Robert is tex	ting me.				
Tagalog	14.	Tinetext	ako		ni	Robe	ert
		[v]-['text']	ABS.1SG	PN.G	EN.SG	Robe	e r t
		Robert is tex	ting me.				
Cebuano	15.	Gatext	sa	ákô	S	i	Robert
		[v]-['text']	DET AI	BS.1SG	PN.AB	S.SG	Robert
		Robert is tex	ting me.				

Eng. (n.) gun | Kpm. baril

- 16. **Bérilan** neng Gavrilo i Franz.

 PV[v]-['gun'] ERG.3SG(na)+ABS.3SG(ya)=LK Gavrilo PN.ABS.SG Franz
 Gavrilo shot Franz.
- 17. **Bérilan** ne.

 PV[v]-['gun'] ERG.3SG(na)+ABS.3SG(ya)

 He shot him.
- 18. **Mémaril ya i Gavrilo.**AV[v]-['gun'] ABS.3SG PN.ABS.SG Gavrilo
 Gavrilo fired his gun (Gavrilo shot somebody/something).
- 19. **Mémaril** ya.

 AV[v]-['gun'] ABS.3SG

 He fired his gun (He shot somebody/something).

Kapampángan seem to be more liberal in converting nouns into verbs as compared to Tagalog and other Philippine languages.

Eng. (n.) fur; feathers | Kpm. bulbul (n.) | Tag. balahibo

- Kpm. 20. **Bulbulbulan** ne ing manuk. [v]-['feather'] ERG.3SG+ABS.3SG DET.SPEC.SG chicken He is dressing the chicken.
- Tagalog 21. **Tinatanggal niya ang balahibo ng manok.** removing ERG.3SG DET.ABS.SG feather LK chicken He is dressing the chicken.
- Unusual 22. Binabalahibuhan* niya ang manok.
 in [v]-['feather'] ERG.3SG DET.ABS chicken
 Tagalog He is dressing the chicken.

Eng. (n.) telephone | Kpm. talépanu

23. Tátalépanu ya i Mike.

AV[v]-['telephone'] ABS.3SG PN.ABS.SG Mike Mike is using the telephone.

24. Tátalépanu ya.

AV[v]-['telephone'] ABS.3SG He is using the telephone.

25. Tatalépanuan neng Mike i Robert.

PV[v]-['telephone'] ERG.3SG(na)+ABS.3SG(ya)=LK Mike PN.ABS.SG Robert Mike is calling Robert (on the telephone).

26. Tatalépanuan ne.

PV[v]-['telephone'] ERG.3SG(na)+ABS.3SG(ya) He is calling him (on the telephone).

Nouns into Verbs

NOUN	Focus	Future	Present	Past
talépanu	Agent	tálepanu	tátalépanu	ménalépanu
'telephone'	Patient	talépanuan	tatalépanuan	telépanuan
bulbul	Agent	mamulbul	mámulbul	mémulbul
'fur; feather'	Patient	bulbulan	bubulbulan	bilbúlan
taléte	Agent	manaléte	mánaléte	ménaléte
'small bridge'	Patient	taléten	tataléten	teléten
buntuk	Agent	mamuntuk	mámuntuk	mémuntuk
'head'	Patient	buntukan	bubuntukan	bintúkan
text	Agent	mag-text	mág-text	mig-text
'SMS'	Patient	text	tetext	tinext

Kapampángan also seem to have no problem in turning adjectives into verbs. Is this possible in other Philippine languages? It has been observed that a native Kapampángan speaker can be spotted even if he is speaking Tagalog the moment he verbalizes an adjective.

Eng. (adj.) ugly | Kpm. matsúra, tsúra, súra | Tag. pangit

- Kpm. 27. Sinúra ne ing gagáwan ku. [v]-['ugly'] ERG.3SG+ABS.3SG DET.SPEC.SG doing my He ruined my work.
- Tag. 28. Ginawa niyang pangit ang ginagawa ko. made ERG.3SG=LK ugly DET.ABS doing my He ruined my work.
 - 29. **Pinangitan* niya ang ginagawa ko.** [v]-['ugly'] ERG.3SG DET.ABS doing my He ruined my work.

NB: **Pinangitan** 'to uglify', from the Tagalog adjective **pangit** 'ugly' is a verb created by native Kapampangan speakers who speak Tagalog. A number of native Tagalog speakers that I have interviewed do not use it and find it very awkward and foreign.

More examples:

Kpm. (adj.) lagû | Eng. beautiful; Kpm. (adj.) dagul | Eng. big

- 30. **Lágû** ya pa. AV[v]-['beautiful'] ABS.3SG still She will become more beautiful.
- 31. **Lágû** ya pa i Maria.

 AV[v]-['beautiful'] ABS.3SG still PN.ABS.SG Maria

 Maria will become more beautiful.
- 32. **Lágû** ya pa i Maria pótang méragul ya.

 AV[v]-['beautiful'] ABS.3SG still PN.ABS.SG Maria later=LK AV[v]-['big'] ABS.3SG

 Maria will become more beautiful when she grow up.

33. Lágû ya pa i Maria pótang méragul ne.

AV[v]-['beautiful'] ABS.3SG still PN.ABS.SG Maria later=LK AV[v]-['big'] already(na)+ABS.3SG(ya) Maria will become more beautiful when she grows up.

Adjectives into Verbs

Adjective	Focus	Future	Present	Past
santing	Agent	sumanting	sásanting	mésanting
'handsome'	Patient	santingan	sasantingan	sintíngan
lagû	Agent	lágû	lálagû	mélagû
'beautiful'	Patient	ilagû	lalagû	légû
súra	Agent	sumúra	súsura	mesúra
ʻugly'	Patient	súran	susúran	sinúra
dagul	Agent	dágul	dáragul	méragul
ʻbigʻ	Patient	dagúl	daragúl	dégul
latî	Agent	látî	lálatî	mélatî
'small'	Patient	ilatî	lalatî	létî

Kapampángan has two words for 'want' ~ Burî and Bísâ

Foreigners who learned to speak Kapampangan always fail to differentiate these. Kapampangans themselves cannot explain why there are two ways of expressing want. Kitano Hiroaki (pers.comm., 2012) noticed that the two have different focus and therefore uses different pronouns, while Shiohara Asako (pers.comm., 2014) noticed that **burî** is transitive while **bísâ** is intransitive.

- 34. **Burî** keng kanan ing manuk. want(PV) ERG.1SG(ku)+ABS.3SG(ya)=LK eat (patient focus) DET chicken I want to eat the chicken.
- 35. **Bísâ** kung mángan manuk.
 want(AV) ABS.1SG(ku)=LK eat (agent focus) chicken
 I want to eat chicken.

Since Tagalog uses only the Spanish word *gusto* to express 'want', Kapampangan children who grew up speaking Tagalog now only uses the word **burî** when they speak Kapampangan, which is naturally ungrammatical.

Correct form:

36. **Bísâ** kung mángan manuk. want(AV) ABS.1SG(ku)=LK eat (agent focus) chicken I want to eat chicken.

Wrong form:

* 37. Burî kung mángan manuk.

want(PV) ABS.1SG(ku)=LK eat (agent focus) chicken

I want to eat chicken.

Double Marking in Kapampangan (Kitano, 2008):

Kapampangan 36. **Mabié ya.** alive ABS.3SG

37. **Mabié** ya i Mike. double alive ABS.3SG PN.ABS.SG Mike marking

Tagalog 38. **Buhay siya.** alive ABS.3SG

39. **Buhay si Mike.** alive PN.ABS.SG Mike

* 40. **Buhay siya si Mike.** not possible alive ABS.3SG PN.ABS.SG Mike

English 41. **He is alive.**

42. Mike is alive.

* 43. He Mike is alive.

not possible

The **double cross-referent pronouns** are a unique feature of the Kapampangan language and 'central to the study of Kapampangan grammar' (Del Corro, 1988). Mithun (1994) referred to these as fused enclitics while Kitano (2008) referred to them as fused pronouns.

Kapampangan: I am eating the chicken.

44. **Kakanan** <u>ke</u> ing manuk.

eat.IMPF.PV **ERG.1SG(ku)+ABS.3SG(ya)** DET.SPEC.SG chicken

Tagalog: I am eating the chicken.

45. **Kinakain** <u>ko</u> ang manok. eat.IMPF.PV ERG.1SG DET.SPEC.SG chicken

Basic Kapampangan Pronouns

Prepared by Mithun (1994) and modified by Kitano (2008)

Absolutive	Ergative	Oblique	
ku	ku	kanáku, káku	1 st person singular [1SG]
ka	mu	kéka	2 nd person singular [2SG]
ya	na	kaya	3 rd person singular [3SG]
kata	ta	kékata	1 st person dual inclusive [1DU.INC.]
katámu, támu, tá	támu, tá	kékatámu	1 st person plural inclusive [1PL.INC.]
kami, ke	mi	kékami, kéke	1 st person plural exclusive [1PL.EXCL.]
kayu, ko	yu	kékayu, kéko	2 nd person plural [2PL]
la	da [ra]	karéla	3 rd person plural [3PL]

Most Common Fused Pronoun Combination

Double Cross-Referent Pronouns (Del Corro, 1988), Fused Enclitics (Mithun, 1994), Fused Pronouns (Kitano, 2008)

	+ [ABS.3SG] ya	+ [ABS.3PL] la
[ERG.1SG] ku	ke, kya	ko, kula
[ERG.2SG] mu	me, mya	mo, mula
[ERG.3SG] na	ne, nya	no, nala
[ERG.1DU.INC] ta	te, tya	to, tala
[ERG.1PL.INC] támu	táya	tála
[ERG. 1PL.EX] mi	mya, miya	mila
[ERG. 2PL] yu	ye, ya	yo, yula
[ERG. 3PL] da/ra	de/re, dya/rya	do/ro, dala/rala

More Fused Pronoun Combinations

	+ ABSOLU		
	ku	1SG	muku
mu	ka	2SG	
ERG.2SG	ya	3SG	me
	kata	1DU	
	katámu, támu, tá	1PL.EXCL	
	kami, ke	1PL.INCL	mukami, muké
	kayu, ko	2PL	
	la	3PL	mula, mo

More Fused Pronoun Combinations

	+ ABSOLU		
	ku	1SG	náku
na	ka	2SG	naka
ERG.3SG	ya	3SG	ne, nyá
	kata	1DU	nakata
	katámu, támu, tá	1PL.EXCL	nakatámu
	kami, ke	1PL.INCL	nakami, naké
	kayu, ko	2PL	nakayu, nako
	la	3PL	nala, no

More Fused Pronoun Combinations

	+ ABSOLU		
	ku	1SG	dáku
da	ka	2SG	daka
ERG.3PL	ya	3SG	de, dyá
	kata	1DU	dakata
	katámu, támu, tá	1PL.EXCL	dakatámu
	kami, ke	1PL.INCL	dakami, daké
	kayu, ko	2PL	dakayu, dako
	la	3PL	dala, do

	More Fused Pronoun Combinations						
	+ ABSOLU	TIVE					
	ku	1SG	yuku				
3711	ka	2SG					
yu ERG.2PL	ya	3SG	ye				
	kata	1DU					
	katámu, támu, tá	1PL.EXCL					
	kami, ke	1PL.INCL	yukami, yuké				
	kayu, ko	2PL					
	la	3PL	yula, yo				

Fusing Pronouns and adverbs is also another unique feature of the Kapampangan language. This phenomenon was noted by Mithun (1994) and a couple of examples were given by Kitano (2006).

- 46. É ke péngan ing manuk.

 NEG ERG.1SG(ku)+ABS.3SG(ya) ate DET.SPEC.SG chicken
 I did not eat the chicken.
- 47. É ku néman péngan ing manuk.

 NEG ERG.1SG already(na)=ABS.3SG(ya)=also(man) ate DET.SPEC.SG chicken
 I did not eat the chicken. (If you think I did)
- 48. É ku némû péngan ing manuk.

 NEG ERG.1SG already(na)=ABS.3SG(ya)=only(mû) ate DET.SPEC.SG chicken
 I just did not eat the chicken.

Inclusivity & Exclusivity in Kapampangan

How do you say "WE" in Kapampangan? (Kitano, 2008)

ERGATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE	
mi	kami, ke	1PL.EXCL

49. **Ibpâ** mi

Father ERG.1PL.(exclusive)

Our father (not yours)

ERGATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE	
támu, tá	katámu, támu, tá	[1PL.INCL]

50. **Ibpâ** támu

Father ERG.1PL.(inclusive)

Our father (yours too)

ERGATIVE	ABSOLUTIVE	
ta	kata	[1DU.INCL]

51. **Ibpâ** ta

Father ERG.1DUAL(inclusive)

Our father (You and I)

Inclusive and Exclusive in Kapampangan Demonstratives

This unique feature of the Kapampángan language does not seem to appear in the studies made by del Corro, Mithun or Kitano, although Kitano onced asked me about it in 2008.

singular	plural	absolute		
ini	déni Demonstrative Proximal [exclusive]			
iti	déti	Demonstrative Proximal [inclusive]		

52. Ballpen ke ini.

Ballpen ERG.1SG(ku)+ABS.3SG(ya) this (exclusive)

This is my ballpen.

53. Ballpen ko réni.

Ballpen ERG.1SG(ku)+ABS.3PL(la) these (exclusive)

These are my ballpens.

singul	ar plural	absolute	
ini	déni	Demonstrative Proximal [exclusive]	
iti	déti	Demonstrative Proximal [inclusive]	

54. Ballpen te iti.

Ballpen ERG.1DU.INC(ta)+ABS.3SG(ya) this (inclusive)

This is iur ballpen.

55. Ballpen to réti.

Ballpen ERG.1DU.INC(ta)+ABS.3PL(la) these (inclusive)

These are our ballpens.

Inclusive and Exclusive in Adverb of Place

This unique feature of the Kapampángan language also does not seem to appear in the studies made by del Corro, Mithun and Kitano.

Kapampangan Locative Adverbs

Prepared with the assistance of Umeda Ryo in May and in July 2014

kéni	'here' ~ proximal (exclusive) 'here' ~ proximal (inclusive)	
kéti		
kéyan, kén	'there' ~ mesiodistal (near addressee)	
kéta	'there' ~ distal (far from both speaker and addressee)	
karin	'there' ~ distal (remote and hardly visible/invisible)	

keni (here [exclusive]) versus keti (here [inclusive])

56. Makalukluk ku kéni.

sitting ABS.1SG here (exclusive)

I am sitting here. (You are not.)

57. Makalukluk kata kéti.

sitting ABS.1DU.INC here (inclusive)

[You and I] are sitting here.

58. Makalukluk tá kéti.

sitting ABS.1PL.INC here (inclusive)

We (all of us) are sitting here.

Kapampángan Demonstrative Identifiers

Diesel (1999) referred to the following as demonstrative identifiers. Prepared with the assistance of Umeda Ryo in July 2014.

PRESENTING	OFFERING	
áini	óini	'here' ~ proximal (exclusive)
áiti*	óiti*	'here' ~ proximal (inclusive)
áyan	óyan	'there' ~ mesiodistal (near addressee)
áita	óita	'there' ~ distal (far from both speaker and addressee)
áita karin	óita karin	'there' ~ distal (remote and hardly visible/invisible)

NB: In **áiti**, the object being presented is owned or shared by both speaker and addressee. If it is a person, it is someone related to both. In **óiti**, the speaker will also partake/take a share in the object being offered to the addressee.

Kapampángan Demonstratives

Prepared through the assistance of Umeda Ryo in May 2014

Abs	olutive	Ergative		Obl	ique		
ini	déni	níni	daréni	kaníni	karéni	Proximal (exclusive)
iti	déti	níti	daréti	kaníti karéti		Proximal (i	inclusive)
yan	dén,	nián	darén,	kanián	nián karén, Mesiod		1
	déyan		darián		karián		
ita	déta	níta	daréta	kaníta	karéta	karéta Distal (Visible)	
ita	détang	nítang	darétang	kanítang	karétang	Distal	(Beyond
karin	karin	karin	karin	karin	karin	visibility)	

Kapampángan Determiners

Initially from Mithun (1999) and later modified by Pangilinan & Kitano (2012)

		Absolutive	Ergative	Oblique
common nouns	SG	ing, =ng	ning	king
	PL	ding/ring deng/ reng	ring, reng	karing
personal names	SG	i	=ng	kang
	PL	di/ri	ri	kari

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