

〈特集「受動表現」「アスペクト」〉

## Passives and Aspects in Kapampangan パンパンガ語の受動表現とアスペクト表現

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**要旨:** 本稿は、語研論集 14 号 (2009) と 15 号 (2010) 所収の調査票にもとづいて収集したパンパンガ語 (オーストロネシア語, フィリピン) の受動表現とアスペクト表現に関する記述的資料を提供するものである。

**Abstract:** This article presents descriptive data on aspect constructions in Kapampangan, an Austronesian language in the Philippines. The data was collected through the questionnaires “Passives” and “Aspects” designed in *Journal of the Institute of Language Research* 14, 2009 and 15, 2010.

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### 1. Introduction

This paper is a report of passive and aspect constructions in Kapampangan, an Austronesian language mainly spoken in the Pampanga province in the Philippines. The passive section is elicited using a translation method, but the aspect sections are investigated with pre-prepared contexts in Appendix A. All data comes from a Kapampangan speaker in his 30's who grew up in San Fernando in the Pampanga province in the Philippines. All examples are written in the Kapampangan orthography followed by a morphological analysis and interlinear glosses.

### 2. Passives in Kapampangan

The basic passive form is shown in (1). No unique verb form is available for the passive construction. In (1a), the passive sentence takes the same form as the active word order (verb – subject – object). The agent voice is required to use the *neng* morpheme (1b). When *i Juan* is fronted a resumptive pronoun *ne* remains (1c). As shown in (1d), the sentence requires an overt subject. In (1e), the ME- prefix is used the resumptive pronoun *ya* is used. The *ya* form is a reduced form of *iya*, which is required in (1e).



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(1) Basic Passive [Item 1-1]

a. *Tiran neng Juan i Maria.*

tud-an neng Juan i Maria  
 hit-PST AC Juan TOP Maria  
 ‘Maria was hit by Juan.’ (lit. Juan hit Maria)

b. \**Tiran ng Juan i Maria*

tud-an ng Juan i Maria  
 hit-PST NG<sup>1</sup> Juan TOP Maria

c. *I Juan tiran ne i Maria.*

i Juan<sup>2</sup> tud-an ne<sup>3</sup> i Maria  
 AC Juan<sub>j</sub> hit-PST he<sub>j</sub> TOP Maria  
 ‘JUAN hit Maria’ (lit. It is Juan who hit Maria)

d. \**Tiran i Maria.*

tud-an i Maria  
 hit-PST TOP Maria

e. *Meturan ya i Maria.*

me-tud-an ya<sub>j</sub> i Maria<sub>j</sub>  
 ME-hit-PST 3SG TOP Maria  
 ‘Maria was hit.’

The patient theme of the sentences in (2) is an inalienable noun. The verb is followed by the agent which is followed by the theme *ing bitis ng Maria* ‘Maria’s foot’. When the stepping action is not intentional, the past tense is *a-* marked (2a), whereas when the action is intentional, the verb is *e-*marked (2b). When the subject is dropped, and the action was unintentional ME-prefix is used (2c). The unintentionality is marked with the *a-* prefix as in (2d).

(2) Inalienable head noun [Item 1-2]

a. *Adamusak neng Juan ing bitis ng Maria.*

a-damusak neng Juan ing bitis ng Maria  
 PST-be.steps.on AC Juan ING foot of Maria  
 ‘Maria’s foot was stepped on by Juan.’ (not intentional)

b. *Demusak neng Juan ing bitis ng Maria.*

d<e>musak neng Juan ing bitis ng Maria  
 <PST>-be.steps.on AC Juan ING foot of Maria  
 ‘Maria’s foot was stepped on by Juan.’ (intentional)

<sup>1</sup> When the gloss of a morpheme is not known, the phonological form in capital letters is used in lieu of a gloss.

<sup>2</sup> A subscript letter next to a word indicates co-referential relationship.

<sup>3</sup> Kapampangan has many fused pronouns (portmanteau morpheme), and *ne* comes from the fusion of *na* ‘3SG.NING.GEN’ + *ya* ‘3SG.ING’ (cf. Forman 1971a, b). We thank a reviewer for drawing our attention to these fused forms. We refer readers to Forman (1971: 39-42) for detailed descriptions of these morphemes.

c. *Medamusak ya ing bitis ng Maria.*

me-damusak ya<sub>j</sub> ing bitis<sub>j</sub> ng Maria  
 ME-be.stepped.on 3sg ING foot of Maria  
 ‘Maria’s foot was stepped on.’ (unintentional)

d. *Adamusak de ing bitis ng Maria.*

a-damusak de ing bitis ng Maria  
 PST-be.stepped.on someone ING foot of Maria  
 ‘Maria’s foot was stepped on.’ (unintentionally)

In (3), the object is an alienable noun *pitaka* ‘wallet’. The verb is *e-* marked (3a) or *me-* marked (3b). The sentence in (3c) has the possessor of the object in the sentence-initial position, which is followed by a resumptive pronoun. The *na* pronoun is required (3d). The example in (3e) does not have the agent of the stealing action. The patient voice noun *i Maria* can also be fronted (3f).

(3) Alienable head noun [Item 1-3]

a. *Penako neng Juan ing pitaka ng Maria.*

p<e>nako neng Juan ing pitaka ng Maria  
 <PST>be.stolen AC Juan ING wallet of Maria  
 ‘Maria’s wallet was stolen by Juan.’

b. *Mepanako ya ing pitaka ng Maria.*

me-panako ya<sub>j</sub> ing pitaka<sub>j</sub> ng Maria  
 ME-be.stolen 3SG ING wallet of Maria  
 ‘Maria’s wallet was stolen.’

c. *I Maria penakawan neng Juan ing pitaka na.*

i Maria<sub>j</sub> p<e>nako-awan neng Juan ing pitaka na<sub>j</sub>  
 TOP Maria <pst>be.stolen AC Juan ING wallet 3SG  
 ‘Maria had her wallet stolen by Juan.’

d. *\*I Maria penakawan neng Juan ing pitaka.*

i Maria p<e>nako-awan neng Juan ing pitaka  
 TOP Maria <pst>be.stolen AC Juan ING wallet

e. *Kepanakawan yang pitaka i Maria.*

ke-panako-awan yang pitaka i Maria  
 KE-be.stolen-AWAN YANG wallet TOP Maria  
 ‘Maria had her wallet stolen.’

f. *I Maria kepanakawan yang pitaka.*

i Maria ke-panako-awan yang pitaka  
 TOP Maria KE-be.stolen-AWAN YANG wallet

The verb *kyak* ‘to cry’ cannot be passivized as in (4a). The *ya* pronoun is coreferenced with *bingut* ‘baby’ in (4b) and (4c).

(4) Intransitive [Item 1-4]

a. *Nabengi, ing bingut kinyak ya kanaku. Anya e ku bitasang mipatutud.*

nabengi, ing bingut<sub>j</sub> k<in>yak ya<sub>j</sub> kanaku anya e ku bitasa-ng mipa-tutud  
 last.night TOP baby <PST>cry 3SG to.me so NEG I at.all-of MIPA-sleep  
 ‘Last night, the baby was cried to me (meaning ‘the baby cried). So, I couldn’t sleep at all.’

b. *ing bingut kinyak ya*

ing bingut<sub>j</sub> k<in>yak ya<sub>j</sub>  
 TOP baby <PST>cry 3SG  
 ‘the baby cried’

c. *Nabengi, kinyak ya ing bingut.*

nabengi, ki-n-yak ya<sub>j</sub> ing bingut<sub>j</sub>  
 last.night <PST>cry 3SG TOP baby  
 ‘Last night, the baby cried.’

In examples with an action that does not always express the agent, the agent is marked with *ng* (5a) or *i* (5b). The agent can be dropped as in (5c). When the theme is ING marked, it must be coreferenced with a post-verbal pronoun *ya* (5d).

(5) new building [Item 1-5]

a. *Bayung bale ing telakad ng Juan.*

bayu-ng bale<sub>j</sub> ing<sub>j</sub> t-e-lakad ng Juan  
 new-NG house ING <PST>be.built AC Juan  
 ‘A new house was built by Juan.’

b. *I Juan ing menalakad keng bayung bale.*

i Juan ing mena-lakad keng bayu-ng bale  
 AC Juan who MENA-built KENG new-NG house  
 ‘It was Juan who built the new house.’

c. *Bayung bale ing mitalakad.*

bayu-ng bale<sub>j</sub> ing<sub>j</sub> mi-talakad  
 new-NG house ING <pst>be.built  
 ‘A new house was built.’

d. *Ing bayung bale mitalakad ya.*

[ing bayu-ng bale]<sub>j</sub> mi-talakad ya<sub>j</sub>  
 ING new-NG house <pst>be.built 3SG  
 ‘A new house was built.’

Examples in (6) show various examples that are used to describe that a language is spoken in a place. The subject has a word order with ING-final (6a) or ING-initial (6b). The progressive meaning is expressed with reduplication (6c) and (6d), and the preposition *da* ‘in’ is optional. The subject noun can be preceded and followed by ING as in (6e).

(6) General agent [Item 1-6]

a. *French ing salita da keng Canada.*

French<sub>j</sub> ing<sub>j</sub> salita da keng Canada  
 French ING language in OBL Canada  
 ‘French is a language in Canada.’

b. *Ing French ing salita da keng Canada.*

ing<sub>j</sub> French<sub>j</sub> salita da keng Canada  
 ING French language in OBL Canada  
 ‘French is a language in Canada.’

c. *French ing sasalitan da keng Canada.*

French<sub>j</sub> ing<sub>j</sub> sa-salita-n da keng Canada  
 French ING RED-be.spoken-N in OBL Canada  
 ‘French is being spoken in Canada.’

d. *French ing sasalitan keng Canada.* [*da* is optional]

French<sub>j</sub> ing<sub>j</sub> sa-salita-n keng Canada  
 French ING SA-be.spoken-N OBL Canada  
 ‘French is being spoken in Canada.’

e. *Ing French ing sasalitan da keng Canada.*

ing French<sub>j</sub> ing<sub>j</sub> sa-salita-n da keng Canada  
 ING French ING SA-be.spoken-N in OBL Canada  
 ‘French is being spoken in Canada.’

The *e-* prefix marks the past tense with an overt agent (7a), which is replaced by the *me-* prefix in (7b).

(7)[Item 1-7]

a. *Penako neng Juan ing pitaka.*

pe-nako neng Juan ing pitaka  
 PST-be.stolen AC Juan TOP wallet  
 ‘The wallet was stolen by Juan.’

b. *Mepanako ya ing pitaka.*

me-panako ya<sub>j</sub> ing pitaka<sub>j</sub>  
 PST-be.stolen 3SG TOP wallet  
 ‘The wallet was stolen.’

In (8), the passive-like meaning is expressed with the prefix /-in-/ in (8a), or with the *maka-* prefix as in (8b). In (8a), *ne* ‘someone’ indicates the agent. When the agent is covert as in (8b), *ya* is coreferenced with *litratu*.

(8)[Item 1-8]

a. *Sinabit ne ing litratu keng pader.*

s-in-abit ne ing litratu keng pader  
 <PST>be.hung 3SG ING picture OBL wall  
 ‘A picture is hung on the wall by someone.’

b. *Makasabit ya ing litratu keng pader.*

maka-sabit      yaj    ing    litratu<sub>j</sub>    keng    pader  
 MAKa-be.hung    3SG    ING    picture    OBL    wall  
 ‘A picture is hung on the wall.’

In (9a), the emotion verb shows the use of patient voice for Juan, who is loved by Maria. The canonical word order is verb-subject-object as in (9b). When the agent voice is absent, *de* morpheme is required.

(9) Emotion verb [Item 1-9]

a. *I Juan kaluguran neng Maria.*

i      Juan    ka-luguran    neng    Maria  
 TOP    Juan    KA-love      AC      Maria  
 ‘Juan is loved by Maria.’ (lit. It is Juan whom Maria loves.)

b. *Kaluguran neng Maria i Juan.*

ka-luguran    neng    Maria    i      Juan  
 KA-love      AC      Maria    TOP    Juan  
 ‘Maria loves Juan’

c. *Kaluguran de i Juan.*

ka-luguran    de            i      Juan  
 KA-love      someone    TOP    Juan  
 ‘Juan is loved.’ (lit. somebody loves Juan)

The examples in (10) are formed with the verb *sabyan* ‘to tell’. In (10a), the verb has an infix *-i-* and the suffix *-an*, and the verb in (10b) has the infix *-e-* as well as the suffix *-an*.

(10) Message verb [Item 1-10]

a. *Sibyanan neng Juan i Maria “kaluguran da ka”.*

s-i-byan-an    neng    Juan    i      Maria    “ka-luguran    da    ka”  
 <I>tell-AN    AC      Juan    TOP    Maria    KA-lover    you    I  
 ‘Maria is told (or said) “I love you” by Juan.’

b. *Sebyanan de i Maria.*

s-e-byan-an      de            i      Maria  
 <PST>be.told-AN    someone    TOP    Maria  
 ‘Maria is told.’

In (11), passives in biclausal sentences are described. In (11a), the patient voice *Juan* in the main clause is indicated with the *ne* in the coordinated clause. In (11b), the agent who called *Juan* is expressed with *de*, and *ne* refers to *Juan* in the coordinated clause. The active sentence in (11c) shows that *ne* is coreferenced with the patient voice *i Maria* of the coordinated clause.

(11) Biclausal sentences [Item 1-10a, b]

a. *I Juan inawus neng Maria, at ngeni atyu (ne) king kwartu ng Maria.*

i Juan<sub>j</sub> in-awus neng Maria, at ngeni atyu ne<sub>j</sub> king kwartu ng Maria  
 TOP Juan<sub>j</sub> PST-call AC Maria and now be.present 3SG<sub>i</sub> OBL room of Maria  
 ‘Juan was called by Maria, and is in Maria’s room now.’

b. *Inawus de i Juan, at ngeni atyu (ne) king kwartu ng Maria.*

in-awus de i Juan<sub>j</sub> at ngeni atyu ne<sub>j</sub> king kwartu ng Maria  
 PST-call someone TOP Juan<sub>j</sub> and now be.present 3SG<sub>i</sub> OBL room of Maria  
 ‘Juan was called, and is in Maria’s room now.’

c. *Inawus neng Juan i Maria, at ngeni atyu (ne) i Maria keng kwartu ng Juan.*

in-awus neng Juan i Maria at ngeni atyu ne<sub>j</sub> i Maria<sub>j</sub> keng kwartu ng  
 PST-call AC Juan TOP Maria and now be.present 3SG TOP Maria OBL room of  
 Juan  
 Juan

‘Juan called Maria, and Maria is in Juan’s room now.’ [Item 1-10b]

**3. Aspect construction with the intransitive verb**

The aspects of Kapampangan are elicited in this section. The subject of the intransitive verb is in the patient voice (12a), and the perfect meaning is expressed with the infix *-in-* ‘already’. The same construction in (12b) is used for the common noun subject.

(12) [Item 2-1]

a. [Situation: Maria has arrived]

*Dinatang ne i Maria.*

d<in>atang ne<sub>j</sub> i Maria<sub>j</sub>  
 <PERF>come 3SG TOP Maria  
 ‘Maria already came.’

b. [Situation: That person has arrived]

*Dinatang ne itang tau.*

d<in>atang ne<sub>j</sub> ita-ng tau<sub>j</sub>  
 <PERF>come 3SG that person  
 ‘That person already came.’

When a sentence describes the beginning of a yet-to-be-completed event as in (13), the *pa-* prefix is used.

(13) [Item 2-2]

a. [Situation: Maria has not yet arrived]

*Paratang ne i Maria.*

pa-datang ne<sub>j</sub> i Maria<sub>j</sub>  
 PA-come 3SG TOP Maria  
 ‘Maria has already been heading (this way).’

- b. [Situation: ‘That person has not yet arrived’]

*Paratang ne itang tau.*

pa-datang ne<sub>j</sub> ita-ng tau<sub>j</sub>

PA-come 3SG that-of person

‘That person has already been coming.’

When the focus of the sentence is the action of the subject, the negative sentence uses the reduplicative prefix as in (14a). The prefix *ra-* cannot be used as in (14b). When the subject is a phrase as in (14c), the negative morpheme *e* is followed by a resumptive pronoun *ya*.

- (14) [Item 2-3]

- a. [Situation: Maria’s action is the focus of the sentence’ ]

*E pa daratang i Maria.*

e pa da-datang i Maria

NEG yet RED-come TOP Maria

‘Maria hasn’t not been coming yet.’

- b. \**E pa daratang ne i Maria.*

e pa da-ra-tang ne<sub>j</sub> i Maria<sub>j</sub>

NEG yet <RA>come 3SG TOP Maria

- c. [Situation: ‘That person’s action is the focus of the sentence.’]

*E (ya) pa daratang itang tau.*

e ya<sub>j</sub> pa da-datang [ita-ng tau]<sub>j</sub>

NEG 3SG yet red-come that-of person

‘That person hasn’t been coming yet.’

In (15), the focus of the sentence is that the subject has not yet arrived. The verb uses the infix *-in-* and the negative morpheme is followed by the *ya* pronoun.

- (15) [Item 2-4]

- a. [Situation: Maria’s non-arrival is the focus of the sentence]

*E (ya) pa dinatang i Maria.*

e ya<sub>j</sub> pa d-in-atang i Maria<sub>j</sub>

NEG 3SG yet <IN>come TOP Maria

‘Maria hasn’t come yet.’

- b. [Situation: ‘That person’s non-arrival is the focus of the sentence’]

*E (ya) pa dinatang itang tau.*

e ya<sub>j</sub> pa d-in-atang ita-ng tau<sub>j</sub>

NEG 3SG yet <IN>come that-of person

‘That person hasn’t come yet.’

The future construction in Kapampangan is formed with the prefix *pa-* as in (16). The verb is followed by the pronoun *ne* that is coreferenced with the subject.

(16) [Item 2-5]

a. *Paratang ne i Maria.*

pa-datang ne<sub>j</sub> i Maria<sub>j</sub>

PA-come 3SG TOP Maria

‘Maria will come soon.’

b. *Paratang ne itang tau.*

pa-datang ne<sub>j</sub> ita-ng tau<sub>j</sub>

PA-come 3SG that-of person

‘That person will come soon.’

The vocative form has the *-in-* infix on the verb, which is followed by the *ne* pronoun as in (17a). This *ne* pronoun is required in this context as shown in (17b).

(17) [Item 2-6]

a. *O! Dinatang ne i Maria!*

o d-in-atang ne<sub>j</sub> i Maria<sub>j</sub>

oh <IN>come 3SG TOP Maria

‘Maria has come!’

b. *\*Dinatang i Maria!*

d-in-atang i Maria<sub>j</sub>

<IN>come TOP Maria

The past event is also described with the *-in-* infix as in (18a). The sentence has a post-verbal *ya* morpheme, coreferenced with *Maria*. The absence of *ya* makes the sentence unacceptable as in (18b).

(18) [Item 2-7]

a. *Dinatang ya i Maria napun.*

d-in-atang ya<sub>j</sub> i Maria<sub>j</sub> napun

<IN>come 3SG.NEG TOP Maria yesterday

‘Maria came yesterday.’

b. *\*Dinatang i Maria napun.*

d-in-atang i Maria napun

<IN>come TOP Maria yesterday

The negative form in (19) shows that pronoun is placed between the negative morpheme *e* and the verb *dinatang*.

(19) [Item 2-8]

*E (ya) dinatang i Maria napun.*

e ya<sub>j</sub> d-in-atang i Maria<sub>j</sub> napun

NEG 3SG.NEG <IN>come TOP Maria yesterday

‘Maria didn’t come yesterday.’

#### 4. Aspect construction with the transitive verb

In this section, various events involving the eating of an apple are elicited. The verb *mangan* ‘eat’ is used in this sentence. The completion of the action in the past takes the *pe-* prefix and the perfect *ne* in (20).

(20) [Item 2-9]

*Pengan ku ne itang mansanas.*

pe-(ma)kan ku ne ita-ng mansanas

PST-eat 1SG already that-of apple

‘I already ate that (apple).’

When (20) is negated as in (21), the sentence begins with the negative *e*. Note that the pronoun referring to the subject appears immediately after the negative morpheme in (21a). The word *pa* ‘yet’ is optional as shown in (21b).

(21) [Item 2-10]

a. *E ke pa pengan itang mansanas.*

e ke pa pe-(ma)kan ita-ng mansanas

NEG 1SG yet PST-eat that-of apple

‘I haven’t eaten that apple yet.’

b. *E ke kanan itang mansanas.*

e ke ka-(ma)kan ita-ng mansanas

NEG 1SG FUT-eat that-of apple

‘I won’t eat that apple.’

A progressive event in (22) shows that the progressive prefix *kaka-* on the verb.

(22) [Item 2-11]

*Kakanan ne ngeni itang mansanas.*

kaka-(ma)kan ne<sub>j</sub> ngeni ita<sub>j</sub>-ng mansanas

PROG-eat 3SG now that-of apple

‘He’s eating that apple just now.’

#### 5. Aspect construction with the stative verb

The stative verb *buklat* ‘open’ is used in the sentences in this section. The stative verb describes the event with the *maka-* prefix in the present (23a) and the past (23b).

(23) [Item 2-12]

a. *Makabuklat ya ing awang.*

maka-buklat ya<sub>j</sub> ing awang<sub>j</sub>

MAKA-open 3SG ING window

‘The window is open.’

b. *Makabuklat ya ing awang.*

maka-buklat ya<sub>j</sub> ing awang<sub>j</sub>  
MAKA-open 3SG ING window  
'The window was open.'

In (24), the sentences show passive constructions with the stative verb *buklat* 'open'. The *-i-* infix is used with verb to indicate the event being caused by someone else.

(24) [Item 2-12]

a. *Biklat de ing awang.*

b-i-uklat de ing awang  
<I>open someone ING window  
'The window is opened.'

b. *Biklat de ing awang.*

b-i-uklat de ing awang  
<I>open someone ING window  
'The window was opened.'

## 6. Habitual aspect

The habitual aspect in Kapampangan is expressed using the *mán-* prefix as in (25). The morpheme *kung* is a complex pronoun.

(25) [Item 2-13]

*Mamasa kung dyaryu kada abak.*  
mán-basa kung dyaryu kada abak  
MAN-read 1SG newspaper every morning  
'I read the newspaper every morning.'

Expressing the resemblance between a parent and a child is done with an infinitive form of the verb *kalupa* 'look like'. The habitual prefix *mán-* in (26b) and the progressive reduplication (26c) result in unacceptable sentences.

(26) [Item 2-14]

a. *Kalupa me i ima mu.*

kalupa me i ima mu  
look.like 2SG TOP mother 2SG.POSS  
'You look like your mother'

b. \**Mangalupa me i ima mu.*

manga-kalupa me i ima mu  
MANGA-look.like 2SG TOP mother 2SG.POSS

c. \**Kakalupa me i ima mu.*

ka-kalupa me i ima mu  
 RED-look.like 2SG TOP mother 2SG.POSS

When a natural phenomenon in (27) is elicited, the verb takes the progressive form by reduplicating the first CV.

(27) [Item 2-22]

*Dudurut ya ing yatu keng aldo.*

du-durut ya<sub>j</sub> ing yatu<sub>j</sub> keng aldo  
 RED-go.around 3SG ING earth OBL sun  
 ‘The earth goes around the sun.’

For a habit that occurred in the past, Kapampangan uses the prefix *mun-* as in (28a). The present form with reduplication is in (28b) and (28c).

(28) [Item 2-15]

a. *Mumunta ku iskwela aldo-aldo.*

mun-punta ku iskwela aldo-aldo  
 MUN-go 1SG school day-day  
 ‘I used to go to school every day (back then).’

b. *Pupunta ku iskwela aldo-aldo.*

pu-punta ku iskwela aldo-aldo  
 PROG-go 1SG school day-day  
 ‘I am going to school every day.’

c. *Pupunta ku iskwela aldo-aldo, pero e ku mumunta iskwela aldo-aldo kanita.*

pu-punta ku iskwela aldo-aldo, pero e ku mu-munta iskwela aldo-aldo kanita  
 PROG-go 1SG school day-day but NEG 1SG PROG-go school day-day back.then  
 ‘I am going to school every day, but I didn’t use to go to school every day back then.’

## 7. Other aspect expressions

When experiences of visiting a place is expressed, Kapampangan uses the *mi-* prefix as in (29).

(29) [Item 2-16]

*Minta naku Baguio.*

mi-(pu)nta naku Baguio  
 MI-go 1SG Baguio  
 ‘I have been to Baguio.’

The sudden movement of a bus in (30) is expressed with the *mam-* prefix that indicates the beginning of an event. The consultant mentioned that Kapampangan does not have an adverb ‘finally’; instead, Kapampangan speakers use *osimap* ‘good thing’.

(30) [Item 2-17]

*Mamandar ne ing bus.*

mam-andar ne ing bus

<start>move already ING bus

‘Finally, the bus began moving.’

The example in (31) is a situation where the sleeping event continued in the past and in the past only. The verb takes the *me-* prefix.

(31) Item 2-18]

*Metudtud ya patingapun napun.*

me-tudtud ya patingapun napun

PST-sleep 3SG all.day yesterday

‘She slept all day yesterday.’

In (32), the aspect is about trying a new event of eating. The verb takes the infix *-i-* and the suffix *-an*.

(32) Item 2-19]

*Sibukan keng tikman.*

s-i-ubuk-an keng tikman

<I>eat<AN> it a.bit

‘I tried eating it a bit.’ (*i... an* ‘try...’)

The example in (33) shows the completion of the distributing of items to recipients. The verb takes the *pen-* prefix. Note that the morpheme *no* is equivalent to *nala*.

(33) [Item 2-20]

*Pemye no ngan karela.*

pen-biye no ngan karela

PST-give 3PL all everyone

‘He gave them to everyone.’

The hortative in Kapampangan takes the infinitive form as in (34).

(34) [Item 2-21]

*Mako tana!*

mako tana

go us

‘Let’s go!’

In (35), an event of that may occur in the near future or may have occurred beforehand is described. Kapampangan expresses both (35a) and (35b) with the *mi-* prefix.

(35) [Item 2-23, 24]

a. [Situation: almost falling down due to a storm]

*Mibagsak ne itang tanaman.*

mi-bagsak ne ita-ng tanaman

MI-topple already that-of tree

‘That tree is about to topple.’

b. [Situation: almost falling down due to a curb]

*Maybug nakung mitapiluk.*

maybug nakung mi-tapiluk

almost I MI-trip

‘I was almost about to trip.’

The future event in (36) is expressed with the *ma-* prefix in the main clause. The verb in the subordinate clause is in the infinitive form.

(36) [Item 2-25]

*Marakal ke bisita bukas, anya sali kung tinape.*

ma-dakal ke bisita bukas anya sali kung tinape

MA-to.have.many we guest tomorrow so buy OBL bread

We will have guests tomorrow, so I will buy some bread.

In (37), the speaker was in Baguio when s/he purchased a bag. The sentence uses the *A-* prefix in the main clause and the *MI-* prefix in the subordinate clause. In (38), the purchasing event occurred prior to a trip to Baguio. Two differences are observed: (i) the example (37) uses *anyang* ‘when’, and the example (38) uses *bayu* ‘before’, and (ii) the subject pronoun of the subordinate clause is post-verbal in (37), but pre-verbal in (38).

(37) [Item 2-26]

[Situation: I was in Baguio]

*Asali ke ing bag a ini anyang minta ku Baguio.*

a-sali ke ing bag a ini anyang mi-punta ku Baguio

PST-buy 1SG ING bag A this when PST-go 1SG Baguio

‘I (had) bought this bag when I went to Baguio.’

(38) [Item 2-27]

[Situation: before going to Baguio]

*Asali ke ing bag a ini bayu ku minta Baguio.*

a-sali ke ing bag a ini bayu ku mi-punta Baguio

PST-buy 1SG ING bag A this before 1SG PST-go Baguio

‘I (had) bought this bag before going to Baguio.’

In (39), the factive verb *balu* ‘to know’ is in the infinitive form, but the subordinate verb is expressed with the *a-* prefix.

(39) [Item 2-28]

*Balu ku asali ne ining bag a ini kening palengki.*

balu ku a-sali ne ini-ng bag a ini kening palengki.

know 1SG PST-buy 3SG this-of bag A this in.this market

‘I knew he (had) bought this bag in this market.’

## 8. Conclusion

The passive and aspect constructions in Kapampangan are elicited and described in this paper. Kapampangan speakers often tell that Kapampangan does not have a passive, but we observe that verbal prefixes/infixes vary depend on the construction. Similar patterns of verbal prefixes in aspect constructions are also reported.

## Appendix A. Contexts used during the elicitation sessions.

Each situation in this appendix was used to elicit items that appear in the main text.

### Contexts *for situations 2-1 to 2-8*

*Tom and Mark are organizing a meeting preparing for a conference. Mark has been in communication with everyone who is involved, including Maria.*

#### Situation 2-1

(Mark saw that Maria arrived but went to the bathroom).

Tom: I need to check some data with Maria. Did he arrive?

Mark: Yes, **Maria already came**.

Tom: I forgot the name of the assistant. Did the person arrive?

Mark: Oh, I forgot his name too. Yes, **that person already came**.

#### Situation 2-2

(Mark was texting with everyone, and Mark knew that everyone was on their way to the meeting)

Tom: I need to check some data with Maria. Is she on her way?

Mark: No, **Maria has already been coming**.

Tom: I forgot the name of the assistant. Is the person on her way?

Mark: Oh, I forgot his name too. Yes, **that person has already been coming**.

#### Situation 2-3

(Mark was texting with everyone, and Mark knew that everyone was still at home)

Tom: I need to check some data with Maria. Did he arrive?

Mark: No, **Maria has not been coming yet**.

Tom: I forgot the name of the assistant. Did the person arrive?

Mark: Oh, I forgot his name too. Yes, **that person has not been coming yet**.

#### Situation 2-4

(Mark has just arrived at a meeting place. He saw that only Tom was there)

Tom: I need to check some data with Maria. Did he arrive?

Mark: No, **Maria has not come yet**.

Tom: I forgot the name of the assistant. Did the person arrive?

Mark: Oh, I forgot his name too. Yes, **that person has not come yet**.

### Situation 2-5

(Mark was texting with everyone, and Mark knew that everyone will arrive within 5 minutes)

Tom: I need to check some data with Maria. Did he arrive?

Mark: No, but **Maria will come soon**.

Tom: I forgot the name of the assistant. Did the person arrive?

Mark: Oh, I forgot his name too. Yes, **that person will come soon**.

### Situation 2-6

(Mark and Tom just saw Maria entering the meeting room)

Tom and Mark: (Oh!) **Maria has come!**

### Situation 2-7

(Mark and Maria were at the meeting venue to discuss various issues the day before, but Tom was not there).

Tom: Is the preparation over? I asked Maria to finalize everything yesterday. Did he come?

Mark: Yes, **Maria came yesterday**.

### Situation 2-8

(Mark was at the meeting venue to check the preparation the day before, but Tom and Maria was not there).

Tom: Is the preparation over? I asked Maria to help you yesterday. Did he come?

Mark: No, **Maria didn't come yesterday**.

### Situation 2-9

You bought one delicious looking apple. Your brother was together when you bought it. When your brother was at work, you ate it. Your brother after work asks about the apple.

Brother: Where is the apple you bought?

You: **I already ate that apple**.

### Situation 2-10

You bought one delicious looking apple. Your brother was together when you bought it. Your brother went to the shop, and you joined him later. Your brother after work asks about the apple.

Brother: Did you eat the apple?

You: No, **I haven't eaten that apple yet**.

Brother: Will you eat the apple later today?

You: No, **I won't eat that apple**.

### Situation 2-11

You bought one delicious looking apple. You brought it home and put it on the dining table. Then you went for work. Your mother saw that your brother took the apple and started eating it. When you returned from work, you did not see the apple. You ask your mother.

You: Where is the apple I bought earlier? Did my brother take it?

Mother: Yes, **he's eating that apple just now.**

### Situation for 2-12

On a cold day, you and Mark arrived in the office, which was cold. Then you saw a window open. You tell Mark:

You: **The window is open.**

Then, Tom arrives, and he wonders why it is so cold in the office. You tell Tom:

You: **The window was open.**

After closing the window, all of you go out to get some breakfast. When you return to the office, the office was again cold. You again saw the window is open. You tell Mark and Tom:

You: **The window is opened.**

(passive form because the window cannot be opened by itself)

After that Juan comes in and asks, why the office is so cold. You tell Juan:

You: **The window was opened.**

### Situation for 2-13

Your friend asks where you get most recent news (not knowing that you read newspaper). You reply:

You: **I read the newspaper every morning.**

### Situation for 2-14

You met your niece after 3 years, and you see that she looks like your sister, so you say:

You: **You look like your mother.**

### Situation for 2-15

You are a senior student at a college, and you go to school 3 days a week. Your younger brother asks what your schedule was during the freshman year.

Brother: How was your class schedule during your first year at the college?

You: **I used to go to school every day.**

### Situation for 2-16

People are talking about their vacation in Baguio, and asks you whether you have been there. So you respond:

You: Yes, **I have been to Baguio.**

### Situation for 2-17

From your building, you and your mother saw that there was a long traffic jam on the highway, including a bus with your brother. Your mother had to go inside, and after a while you see the traffic started moving. You tell your mother:

You: **Finally, the bus began moving.**

### Situation for 2-18

Your sister went to a week-long overseas trip, and she is not good at sleeping on an airplane. She returned on a Friday. When you met a friend on the Sunday, she asks how your sister was doing after the trip. You respond:

You: **She slept all day yesterday.**

### Situation for 2-19

You are visiting some distant relatives for the first time, and they serve you local delicacies (for example, a grasshopper). However, you have never eaten it. Later that night, your sister who knew about this custom asked:

Sister: I know they serve local delicacies. How was it?

You: **I tried eating it a bit.**

### Situation for 2-20

Tom received a gift of a box of pens (20 of them). When you heard about it from Susan, you wonder whether Tom still has some pens. You ask Susan:

You: Does Tom still have some pens to spare?

Susan: No. **He gave them to everyone.**

### Situation for 2-21

In lunchtime, and your friend asks whether you want to eat yet. You tell your friend:

You: **Let's go!**

### Situation for 2-22

In a science class, the teacher is explaining about the relationship between the earth and the sun, and he says:

Teacher: **The earth goes around the sun.**

### Situation for 2-23

A severe storm is passing through, and you see from your window that a tree on the street is bent so much that it may fall down soon. You tell your mother:

You: Mom, mom. **That tree is about to topple.**

### Situation for 2-24

You were reading Instagram post while walking on the street, but then a curb suddenly appeared, and you almost fell. That evening, you tell your brother.

You: I should stop looking at my phone while walking. **I was almost about to trip.**

(note: 'to trip' means 'to fall')

**Situation for 2-25**

You meet your neighbor at the local supermarket. She asks what you are here for:

You: **We will have guests tomorrow, so I will buy some bread.**

**Situation for 2-26**

You went to Baguio and found a nice bag, which you bought. A couple of days later, your friend asks where you got the bag from. You respond:

You: **I (had) bought this bag when I went to Baguio.**

**Situation for 2-27**

Your friend knows that you go to many business trips. Just recently, you went to Manila, Baguio and Bacolod. Between Manila and Baguio, you bought a new bag, which your friend did not know about. When you meet your friend after your Bacolod trip, the friend asks:

Friend: You are always on the go. When did you buy a bag?

You: **I (had) bought this bag before going to Baguio.**

**Situation for 2-28**

Tom bought a bag at a famous market in town. When you met Tom, you noticed the bag, but you did not ask where Tom bought the bag. A couple of days later, you were browsing items at that market with Susan, and you noticed the same kind of bag there. So, you tell Susan:

You: **I knew he (had) bought this bag in this market.**

### Abbreviations

1SG, 2PL, ...:	Person and Number	PROG:	Progressive
AC:	Agent case	PST:	Past
FUT:	Future	RED:	Reduplicant
NEG:	Negative marker	TOP:	Topic
OBL:	Oblique		

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