KAPAMPANGAN LOCATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS: SYNCHRONIC AND DIACHRONIC CONNECTIONS*

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This paper examines two locative constructions in the Austronesian language Kapampangan: a genitive locative construction, in which the locative word is formally a possessed noun, and an oblique locative construction, in which the locative word is a preposition. The oblique construction has two variants, one in which a determiner precedes the noun (P + Det + NP) and one in which a determiner precedes the entire phrase (Det + P + NP). It is proposed that the genitive construction and the oblique construction are connected diachronically: the genitive construction is older, and the unusual variant of the oblique construction in which the determiner precedes the entire phrase arose diachronically as an intermediate stage between the genitive and oblique constructions. The existence of two variants of the oblique construction is thus a result of the evolution of Kapampangan locative words from nouns to prepositions.

1. Introduction

This study presents and investigates locative constructions in Kapampangan, one of the ten major languages spoken in the Philippines (Gonzalez 1998). People who speak Kapampangan make up 2.98 percent of the whole population (Gonzalez 1998). According to the Philippine census of 2000, 2,312,870 out of 76,332,470 people have Kapampangan as their mother tongue. Together with Sambali and Sinauna, Kapampangan belongs to the Central Luzon languages, a subgroup of the Austronesian language family. Data for this study was collected in two phases. The first phase came from in-class and out-of-class elicitations conducted for the LING 3400/7590 Field Methods course at the University of Manitoba in 2015–16. The second phase of data collection involved several one-on-one meetings between me and the consultant, particularly to solve the questions that arose while developing this research topic. All the data used in this paper is from the above two phases of elicitation.

Although there have been a few studies examining locatives in Austronesian languages (Bowden 1992, Reid and Liao 2004, Medeiros 2015), and one specifically targeting Kapampangan (Mirikitani 1972), the empirical picture of Kapampangan locatives is far from fully described in the literature. According to the data that I have gathered, prepositional relationships in Kapampangan can be expressed by the

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combination of a preposition and an oblique-case nominal in some cases. But they also can be conveyed by a genitive construction in which the preposition-like word is treated grammatically as a noun that is possessed by the following noun phrase. This variation in the structure of locatives raises two puzzles:

1) Why does the same set of locative words function as both prepositions and possessed nominals in the two different locative constructions?
2) In the oblique construction, where the locative relationship is expressed by a preposition that takes an oblique nominal phrase as its complement, an oblique determiner can appear either directly before the noun or before the entire PP. How can we understand this structural flexibility?

This study seeks to answer the above two questions, and, in the process, to provide a preliminary understanding of the overall Kapampangan locative system. The structure of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I show that Kapampangan uses both a genitive construction and an oblique prepositional construction to express location synchronically (cf. Medeiros 2015 for Eastern Polynesian), and I discuss two puzzles that arise with respect to the syntactic structures involved in these constructions. In section 3, I argue, based on an analysis of the synchronic constructions, that the prepositional construction appears to have developed diachronically from the genitive construction due to a change of the head of the locative phrase from a noun to a preposition. This proposal provides a solution to the two puzzles mentioned above.

2.   Synchronic locative construction

In the Kapampangan locative system, two alternative constructions exist: a genitive locative construction (Det.OBL + N + GEN + [Det.GEN + NP]]) and an oblique locative construction ([P + [Det + NP]] and [Det + P + NP]). This section describes and analyzes the oblique construction (§2.1) and the genitive construction (§2.2) and then identifies two puzzles that arise in the analysis of these constructions (§2.3).

2.1   Oblique locative construction

This section examines the Kapampangan oblique locative construction. First I present tests that indicate the locative word in this construction belongs to the category P rather than N (§2.1.1). I then show how locative phrases are constructed with oblique determiners and prepositions (§2.1.2) and why oblique determiners shouldn't be categorized as prepositions (§2.1.3).

2.1.1 Evidence for category P (not N)

Our data shows that locative words like *babo* 'top', *lalam* 'under', and *kilub* 'inside' appear not only the oblique (prepositional) locative construction, but also in the genitive

locative construction that will be discussed in section 2.2 below. This distribution means that these words can function grammatically as both prepositions and nouns depending on the syntactic context. This point is not self-evident, however, so at this point it is necessary to support this claim by diagnosing the categorical status of the locative word in an oblique construction before conducting an analysis of its phrasal structure.

The structure of phrases in which locative words occur provides information to determine the syntactic features of these items. As shown in (1)[1], the locative words *papunta* 'towards' and *lalam* 'under' are followed by a DP complement *keng pasbul* '(to) the door' and an NP complement *bubungan* 'roof' respectively. The fact that they can be immediately followed by a nominal is a clear indication that the locative words in these sentences should be classified as prepositions.

(1) a.   *i   wan m<e>glakad ya =ng [**papunta** [keng   pasbul]].
          PR.ABS Juan AV.PST.walk 3SA LK   [**towards** [DET.OBL door]]
          'Juan walked towards the door.' (DI14.43)

    b.   i   wan atsu   ya [keng   **lalam**   [bubungan].
          PR.ABS Juan be.at 3SA [DET.OBL **under**   [roof]]
          'Juan is under the roof.' (DI09.72)

An alternative analysis in which the locative words are possessed nouns would be problematic because in such cases, the morphosyntactically distinct genitive locative construction must be used instead of the oblique locative construction. This is exemplified in (2), where the locative phrase *keng gulut na ning puno* literally means 'at the back of the tree' or 'at the tree's behind'.

(2) *sasalikut   ya   [keng   **gulut**   na [ning   puno].
    hide   3SA   [DET.OBL **behind** 3SG [DET.GEN tree]
    'He is hiding behind a tree.' (LO15.7)

In the genitive construction in (2), the noun *puno* 'tree' is marked with genitive case when it accompanies the locative noun *gulut* 'back/behind'. But in the oblique construction in (1) above, the nouns *pasbul* 'door' and *bubungan* 'roof' are instead marked with oblique case. This difference in case assignment can be understood if we regard the locative word in the genitive construction in (2) as a noun, which requires an accompanying noun to be in the genitive case, while the locative words in the oblique construction in (1) are prepositions that select an oblique-case complement.

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[1] Abbreviations: ABS=absolutive, ACC=accusative, AV=actor voice, C=common, DET=determiner, DAT=dative, GEN=genitive, LK=linker, OBL=oblique, PL=plural, PR=proper/personal, PST=past, RED=reduplication, <x>=infix or internal change (-x-).

2.1.2 Oblique locative phrase structures

Oblique locative phrases in Kapampangan display three different basic templates, which are listed in (3). The first template, D~OBL~+NP, is an oblique nominal phrase marked by oblique case on the determiner, while the other two templates, I argue, are prepositional phrases that contain an oblique nominal phrase. Examples for each of the templates are given in (4).

(3)   a.   [D~OBL~+NP]

  b.   **P** + [D~OBL~+NP]

  c.   D~OBL~+ **P** + NP

(4)   a.   *i   Maria   lalakandi   [keng   dikut].
         C.ABS   Maria   RED.walk   [DET.OBL grass]
         'Maria is walking on the grass.' (LO13.11)

  b.   lalakandi   ya   [**papunta**   [keng   klasi].
         RED.walk   3SA   [**towards**   [DET.OBL classroom]]
         'He is walking into the classroom.' (LO13.28)

  c.   deng   anak   atsu   la   [keng   **kilub**   [klasi]].
         C.ABS.PL children be.at   3pA   [DET.OBL [**inside** classroom]]
         'He is walking into the classroom.' (LO13.20)

It should be noted that the three templates are not evenly distributed throughout the data: (4a) and (4b), in which the determiner immediately precedes the NP, have the most frequent occurrence. In this section I will focus the analysis on these two structures. I will return to the inverted order in (4c), in which the order of P and D is reversed, in section 3.3.

2.1.3 Status of oblique determiners

The most potentially controversial aspect of the structure of the oblique locative construction is the syntactic status of the morphologically oblique elements such as *keng* in (2b-c): is this a determiner, as I have been assuming, or could it instead be a preposition? The question is important because if such elements were prepositions, it would be difficult to claim that the locative words that they precede, such as *papunta* 'towards' and *kilub* 'inside' in (2b-c), are prepositions as well. In this section I exclude the possibility that oblique elements such as *keng* are prepositions. I then use two tests to establish that these elements are determiners.

Oblique elements are not P.   There are two clues from oblique DPs and NP ellipsis that show the strong syntactic similarities between oblique elements and prepositions. First, the contexts where oblique DPs appear are identical to the contexts where an overt preposition with an oblique DP can occur, as shown in (5a-b) for *(papalub) keng bale* 'to/ towards the house' and in (6a-b) for *(papunta) keng bunduk* 'to/onto the mountain'. This interchangeability demonstrates the similar functions of obliques and prepositions. At the same time, however, the overt prepositions in (5b) and (6b) convey a more specific directional meaning than in the non-prepositional equivalents.

(5) a.   *i   wan minta ya [keng   bale].
             PR.ABS Juan went 3SA [C.OBL   house]
             'Juan went to/in the house.' (C09.28-29)

     b.   i   pedru kinwa na la   reng   kartun bat   keng   kotsi
          PR.ABS Peter take 3SE 3PA C.ABS.PL box   from C.OBL car
          [**papalub** [keng   bale]].
          [**inside**   [C.OBL   house]]
          'Peter took the boxes from the car into the house.' (C11.34)

(6) a.   *i   la   mamulai la   [keng   bunduk].
             PR.ABS 3PA AV.run   3PA [C.OBL mountain]
             'They are running on the mountain.' (LO16.24)

     b.   i   la   mamulai la =ng [**papunta** [keng bunduk]].
          PR.ABS 3PA AV.run   3PA LK [**towards** [C.OBL mountain]]
          'They are running onto the mountain.' (LO16.25)

     The second similarity is that when a possessed noun is elided, its possessor is realized as an oblique DP, which can alternatively be substituted by a PP with an overt preposition. As exemplified in (7), *para kang maria* with the overt preposition *para* in (7b) conveys the same meaning as *kang maria* in (7a), again indicating an equivalency between preposition and oblique.

(7) a.   *ing almusal na   =ng   wan manyaman, ing [kang   maria]
             C.ABS   breakfast 3SG PR.GEN Juan delicious, C.ABS [PR.OBL Maria]
               manyaman murin.
               delicious   too
             'Juan's breakfast is delicious, Maria's is delicious too.' (LO10.24)

     b.   ing   almusal na   =ng   wan manyaman, ing [**para** [kang
          C.ABS breakfast 3Sg PR.GEN Juan delicious, C.ABS [for [PR.OBL
          maria]] manyaman murin.

maria]] delicious   too
'Juan's breakfast is delicious, Maria's is delicious too.' (LO10.24)

From a more theoretical perspective, oblique elements in locative structures in other languages have been analyzed as prepositions, which could provide support for the plausibility of drawing the same conclusion in Kapampangan. For instance, in German, spatial meanings can be expressed by both case and adposition forms (Asbury et al. 2006), as shown in (8) (from Asbury et al. 2006: 38). According to Asbury et al., two layers of prepositions are generated in such structures.

(8) a.   *auf   **den**   Berg.
             on   the.ACC mountain
             '**onto** the mountain.' (directional)

     b.   auf **dem**   Berg.
            on   the.DAT mountain
   '**on** the mountain.' (locative)

I argue, however, that despite the clear relationship between prepositions and obliques, there is no justification for categorizing Kapampangan oblique elements as prepositions. In the Kapampangan data, unlike in the German data in (8), the case on the oblique element does not change to reflect different spatial meanings. As shown in (9), oblique *keng* remains the same no matter whether it expresses location (9a) or direction (9b). Instead, the difference between the two spatial meanings is indicated by adding an overt preposition *papunta* in (9b). In these examples it cannot be said that oblique elements and prepositions share the same function of expressing spatial meanings, since the same oblique element is present in both examples. It is thus not convincing to categorize oblique elements and prepositions in the same syntactic group.

(9) a.   *ila mamulai la   [keng   bunduk].
             3pA AV.run   3pA [C.OBL mountain]
             'They are running **on** the mountain.' (LO16.24)

     b.   ila   mamulai la   =ng [**papunta** [keng bunduk]].
            3pA AV.run   3pA LK   [**towards** [C.OBL mountain]]
   'They are running **onto** the mountain.' (LO16.25)

Furthermore, if a prepositional analysis of oblique elements were pursued, the result would be an implausible semantics for the two layers of prepositions. This point is illustrated by the examples in (10) and the tree diagrams in (11). Let us assume, for the moment, that the oblique element *keng* truly were a preposition. In (10a), then, the preposition *keng* would take *lamesa* 'desk' as its DP complement, which is a syntactically plausible structure for a PP. In (10b), both *malapit* and *keng* would be prepositions, so the structure would involve two layers of PP structure, with *bale* 'house' as the DP complement of the second preposition *keng*.

(10) a.　　*ing　　libru atsu ya　[**keng**　[lamesa]].
　　　　　C.ABS　book be.at 3SA [**C.OBL** [desk]]
　　　　　'The book is on the desk.' (LO13.3)

　　b.　　ing　pidalanan　m<e>gwa　ya　=ng [**malapit**　[**keng**　　bale]].
　　　　　C.ABS　road　　　build　　3SA LK [**next.to**　[**C.OBL**　house]]
　　　　　'The road is built next to the house.' (LO16.1)
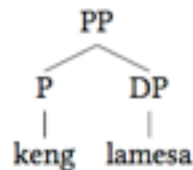
(11) a.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　b.
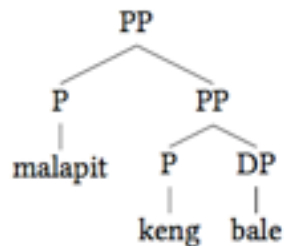
The structure in (11b) is problematic. Based on crosslinguistic data, Svenonius (2008) argues that whenever there are two layers of prepositions, the outer layer should indicate "Path'" and the inner layer should indicate "Place", with the structure [PathP [PlaceP [NP]]]. Here, however, *malapit keng bale* 'next to the house' only has the "Place" meaning: no path of motion is being expressed, only a location. Furthermore, in legitimate examples that correspond to English sentences involving two layers of prepositions, there appears to be a preference to use the genitive locative construction, as exemplified in (12).

(12)　　*i　　maria　　　　menibat ya　[keng　**lalam**　　na　[ning　tete]].
　　　　PR.ABS　maria　PST.come 3SA [C.OBL **under** 3SG　[C.GEN　　bridge]]
　　　　'Maria came from under the bridge.'(lit. 'the under of the bridge') (LO14.2)

Based on the above evidence, I conclude that oblique determiners such as *keng* should not be regarded as members of the category P. They do not encode specific spatial relationships and their interactions with clearly prepositional elements do not match with the crosslinguistic facts on multiple-layered PP structures.

Oblique elements are determiners. Rather than being prepositions, locative elements such as *keng* are best analyzed as determiners. The main function of a determiner is to co-occur with a noun in order to express a wide range of semantic contrasts. In contemporary work in formal syntax, the determiner is regarded as a head that projects a determiner phrase (DP) when it is combined with a noun (Crystal 2008: 140). In the templates in (7) above, all oblique determiners are followed by a noun to form an oblique DP (D_{OBL}+ NP); this oblique DP can occur on its own or it can function as the complement of a preposition (P + DP_{OBL}). Thus we regard obliques as determiners which are also the head of the DP[2].

Strong evidence that obliques are determiners rather than prepositions comes from the fact that an oblique can not co-occur with another determiner. If obliques like *keng* were prepositions, it ought to be possible for them to precede a DP that contains a determiner, as in (13). Here the "preposition" is the oblique element *keng* while the determiner is the common absolutive form *ing*.

(13) *kilut [PPkeng   [DPing   klasi]].
      [inside [PPDET.OBL [DPDET.ABS classroom]]
      (Intended: 'inside the classroom')

However, as indicated, such structures are not grammatical: *keng* and *ing* never appear together before nouns; more generally, oblique elements never co-occur with non-oblique determiners. The complementary distribution of *keng* and *ing* indicates that they belong to the same category, i.e. the category D.

2.2 Genitive locative construction

This section turns to the other major locative structure in Kapampangan: the genitive locative construction. This construction involves two nouns, the head and the dependent, which establish a possession relationship. This section first describes the genitive locative construction (§2.2.1). Then I present evidence to show that locative expressions in this construction belong to the category N rather than P (§2.2.2).

2.2.1 Kapampangan genitive structure

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[2] In the template in (3c), the oblique determiner is followed on the surface by a preposition, but I will argue below (§3.3) that *keng* is in fact underlyingly a component of the DP complement of the preposition and undergoes movement to the left edge of the PP.

Setting aside locatives for a moment, the word order of a normal genitive in Kapampangan is: (Det) + head N + genitive clitic + DP, as exemplified in (14).

(14) a.   *bale na   [=ng   wan].
            house 3sG [DET.GEN.PR Juan]
            'Juan's house.' (CZ03.13)

     b.   ta   =ng pirasu na [ning   tinape].
            PR.ABS LK   piece 3sG [DET.GEN.C bread]
            'that piece of bread.' (C04.9)

The genitive locative construction is in fact just a special use of this same ordinary genitive structure, as can be seen by comparing the non-locative examples in (14) with the locative example in (15). The locative genitive consists of an oblique determiner, a locative expression as the head noun, a genitive clitic, and finally a nominal phrase consisting of a genitive determiner and a noun. The locative relationship conveyed by a genitive construction is thus construed structurally as the relation between a possessor and a possessee.

(15) *i   juan atsu ya [keng   **lele** na   [ning   bunduk]].
     PR.ABS Juan be.at 3sA [DET.OBL **side** 3sG   [DET.GEN mountain]]
     'John is on the side of the mountain.'(DI16.25)

2.2.2 Evidence for category N (not P)

This section examines whether locative expressions in genitive locative construction belong to the category P or N, since it is not immediately clear whether the locative expression here is prepositional or nominal. On one hand, we know from the previous section that it is possible for locative expressions to be prepositions. However, the appearance of genitive case in this construction suggests that the locative expression should instead be considered as a noun. Under this analysis, the example in (15) would literally mean 'on the mountain's side'.

To investigate whether the locative expression here belongs to category N or category P, two tests were conducted. The tests were selected following Svenonius (2006), who provided tests to identify nouns and differentiate them from "Axial Parts", a category intermediate between N and P that includes elements such as English *front* in the expression *in **front** of*. The two tests used here are examining whether locative expressions can be pluralized and whether they can be modified by adjectives. If pluralization and modification are possible, it confirms that the locative elements are nouns rather than prepositions when they appear in the genitive case-marked construction.

The first test is illustrated in (16). As shown in these examples, *harap* 'front' can be accompanied by either the singular determiner *keng* or the plural determiner *kareng*. The ability to be pluralized is one of the main characteristics of nouns, indicating that *harap* belongs to the N category here.

(16) a. *tinikdo   la   [keng   **harap** da   [reng   bale]].
          stand   3pA [DET.OBL **front** 3pG [DET.GEN.PL house]]
          'They stood at the front of the houses.' (L01.10)

    b. tinikdo   la   [kareng   **harap** da   [reng   bale]].
          stand   3pA [DET.OBL.PL **front** 3pG [DET.GEN.PL house]]
          'They stood at the fronts of the houses.' (L01.9)

The adjectival modification test is illustrated in (17). As shown in (17b), the locative element *gulut* 'behind' can be modified by the adjective *marinut* 'dirty'.

(17) a. *ing gunting atsu ya [keng   **gulut** na   [ning   bag]].
          C.ABS scissor be.at 3sA [DET.OBL **behind** 3sG [DET.GEN   bag]]
          'The scissor is behind the back of the bag.' (DI09.27)

    b. ing   gunting atsu ya [keng   marinut **gulut** na   [ning   bag]].
          C.ABS scissor be.at 3sA [DET.OBL dirty   **behind** 3sG [DET.GEN   bag]]
          'The scissor is on the dirty back of the bag.' (L02.14)

The possibility of pluralization and adjectival modification, together with the fact that the syntactic structure is identical to that of an ordinary nominal possession structure, shows that locative words such as *harap* 'front' and *gulut* 'behind' in the genitive construction should be analyzed as nouns.

2.3   Two puzzles in the syntax of Kapampangan locatives

The synchronic status of the two locative constructions in Kapampangan presented above raises two observations regarding locative expressions and structures.

The first puzzle is that some locative terms can have two different functions, preposition and noun, when they appear in the two different locative constructions. As illustrated (18), the locative word *malapit* 'next to' function as prepositions in the oblique example (18a), but as a noun in genitive locative example (18b).

(18) a. *ing pidalanan m<e>gwa   ya =ng [**malapit** [keng   bale]].
          C.ABS road   PV.PST.build 3sA LK [**next.to** [DET.OBL house]]
          'The road is built next to the house.' (LO16.1)

b.   ing   pusa atsu ya [keng   **malapit** na   [ning   kartun]].
     C.ABS cat   be.at 3sA [DET.OBL **next.to** 3sG [DET.GEN box]]
     'The cat is next to the box.' (DI11.14)

malapit is not the only example of this dual functioning; all of the locative words listed in Table 1 pattern in this way. While it is not unusual for a particular word to have more than one function, the fact that it is a seemingly systematic property of Kapampangan locative words that they can function as both P and N motivates us to explore the grounds for this dual patterning.

Table 1: Locative expressions having two functions

Locatives	English meaning
babo	top
lalam	below/under
kilub	inside/into
gulut	behind
libutad	between/middle
lele	by/beside
harap	front
malapit	next to

The second point of interest involves the oblique locative construction, in which two different word orders may be used, as shown in (19) and (20). In a normal prepositional structure the determiner immediately precedes the noun (P+DP), but in (20) the determiner *keng* instead appears before P *babo*.

(19) *pepagulang ke   ing   bola [**patas**   [keng   bunduk]].
       AV.PST.roll   1sE >3sA C.ABS ball [**upward** [DET.OBL mountain]]
       'I rolled a ball up the hill.' (DI15.19)

(20) *mengabit ya =ng adwang bola [keng   **babo** [lamesa]].
       AV.PST.put   3sA LK   two   ball [DET.OBL **top**   [table]]
       'He/she put two balls on top of the table.' (C16.4)

Therefore, as shown in (20), differing from the normal PP structure, it seems like the DP *keng lamesa* 'the table' is interrupted by the preposition *babo* 'top', or *babo* 'top' is functioning as some sort of locative modifier within a larger DP *keng babo lamesa*. But both of these two structural analyses would involve a different synchronic grammatical structure from the typical oblique locative construction.

3   Diachronic analysis

The preceding section described the environments in which the two main locative constructions appear synchronically in Kapampangan. The two constructions are differentiated not only by their structural templates and different case marking patterns, but also by the syntactic functions of the locative words: the same locative words can be prepositional in the oblique locative construction but nominal in the genitive locative construction. This motivates us to explore the underlying reasons for this phenomenon.

This section is outlined as follows: section 3.1 discusses the evolutionary path of locative expressions based on the existing literature; section 3.2 proposes an explanation for the dual function of locative words in Kapampangan; section 3.3 provides an analysis of the existence of the distinct inverted structure D + P + NP; and 3.4 briefly sums up the two puzzles and their solutions.

3.1   Evolution of locative expressions

Svorou (1986) is the first study to propose an evolutionary path for locative expressions. In this path, locative expressions originate from lexical material in the form of a noun, and then move onward to a "possessed noun" used in genitive construction, followed by adverb and adposition stages, and then became bound affixes at the last stage. Heine(1989) also investigated the status of adpositions and found that spatial concepts in African languages evolve in a grammaticalization chain ranging from a concrete noun to a pure locative marker. While there is much literature addressing topics involving locative expressions, there are not many previous studies reporting on locative systems in the Austronesian languages. One such study, by Bowden (1992), establishes that locatives in Oceanic languages evolve from nouns and go through the stages of being head of genitive construction or adverbs before becoming adpositions. Therefore, the grammaticalization channels developed by Svorou (1986) and Heine (1989) and the fact that locatives can be the head of genitive construction as shown by Bowden (1992) contribute a solid theoretical foundation to the diachronic analysis in this section.

3.2   The puzzle: dual function of locative expressions

As presented in section 2.3, the nouns that occur in the genitive construction are the same lexical items that occur as prepositions in the prepositional construction. As shown in (21) and (22), the noun *malapit* 'next to' in the genitive construction (21) is the same as the preposition *malapit* 'next to' in the prepositional construction (22). This case does not only happen to one locative expression: other locatives like *kilub* 'inside', *lalam* 'under',

and *babo* 'top', etc., also change their functions depending on which construction they appear in.

(21) *ing   pusa atsu ya [keng   **malapit** na [ning   kartun]].
    C.ABS cat   be.at 3SA [DET.OBL **next.to** 3SG [DET.GEN box]]
    'The cat is next to the box.' (DI11.14)

(22) *ing   pidalanan m<e>gwa   ya =ng [PP**malapit** [keng   bale]].
    C.ABS road   PV.PST.build 3SA LK   [PP**next.to** [DET.OBL house]]
    'The road is built next to the house.' (LO16.1)

    In the literature review, we presented the grammaticalizaton channel (Bowden 1992, Svoron 1986, Heine 1989) indicating the evolutionary path of locative expressions. On the basis of this theoretical framework, nouns are the first stage from which specialized locative items evolve, while prepositions are a later stage. In this case, prepositions originate from nouns in genitive construction, adopting the same form as nouns.

    Convinced by the existence of the evolutionary path in African and Oceanic languages (Heine 1989, Bowden 1992), we hypothesize that the same process of locative evolution from N to P also took place in Kapampangan. Moreover, it is possible that this development happened only in certain contexts, with the result being a class of items that can be both P (the new function) and N (the original function), which is exactly the status of current locative terms. Therefore, the systematic dual function of locatives items is a result of a diachronic change, with the two locative constructions reflecting different diachronic stages. This hypothesis seems to be perfectly fit in explaining the question involving the occurrence of the dual function of locatives. The second puzzle (i.e. Det+P +NP word order) in the next section provides further evidence that this hypothesis is correct.

3.3   The puzzle: Det + P + NP order

The oblique (prepositional) locative construction in Kapampangan has two alternative phrase structures, as shown in section 2.1.2. These two main structures, Det+P+NP and P +Det+NP, have the same constituents, but different word orders, as illustrated in (23). The most typical structure of a prepositional phrase is for P to be followed by a DP, as in (23a), so it is peculiar in (23b) that the determiner instead appears before P.

(23) a.   *i   wan kinwa ya =ng kartun [**ibat** [<u>keng</u>   kotsi]].
          C.ABS Juan take   3SA LK box   [**from** [<u>DET.OBL</u> car]]
          'Juan took boxes from the car.' (LO16.28)

     b.   mengan ku [<u>keng</u>   **lalam** lamesa].
          PST.eat1SE   [<u>DET.OBL</u> **under** table]
   'I ate under the table.' (DI12.32)

To begin examining this phenomenon, we use the evolutionary path of locatives to provide insight into how the two distinct structures developed. First of all, structural templates of the three constructions that will be used to explore this puzzle are listed in (24). (24a) is the template for genitive locative constructions, and (24b) and (24c) are the oblique locative constructions. As we hypothesized in 3.2, the evolutionary path of locatives in Kapampangan is from N to P, a fact that suggests that the preposition construction in (24c) is new and the genitive construction in (24a) is the original locative construction.

(24) a.   Genitive: Det$_{OBL}$ + N + DP$_{GEN}$

      b.   Det-P: Det$_{OBL}$ + P + N

      c.   P-Det: P + [Det$_{OBL}$ + N]

Comparison of these three structures gives a hint that the unusual Det + P + NP order in (24b) may reflect an intermediate diachronic stage. In common with the prepositional structure in (24c), the structure in (24b) has a prepositional locative element and lacks genitive case marking. However, in common with (24a), the structure in (24b) has an initial determiner. The structure in (24b) thus shares properties of both the genitive locative construction and the canonical prepositional locative construction, which is what we would expect if (24b) reflected an intermediate diachronic stage between the two constructions.

The main difference between the alternative prepositional structures in (b) and (c) is the order of P and D. I propose that the Det + P + NP sequence in (b) is in fact, underlyingly, an ordinary P + DP prepositional phrase, with the surface inversion of P and D generated by the movement of the determiner to become the specifier of PP. This analysis is illustrated in (25): the underlying structure is *lalam* [$_{DP}$ *keng lamesa*], an ordinary PP (compare *malapit keng bale* in (26); the determiner *keng* then moves to the beginning of the phrase and becomes the specifier of preposition *lalam*.

(25) *keng lalam lamesa* 'under the table' (DI12.32)
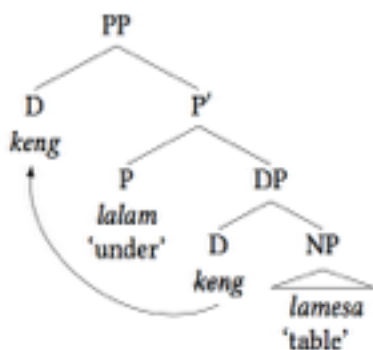
(26)   *malapit keng bale* 'next to the house' (LO16.1)
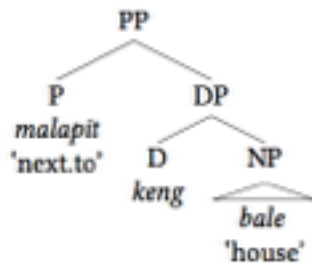
Under this analysis, the determiner *keng* in (25) in fact forms a DP with the noun *lamesa*, despite the fact that the two items are realized discontinuously. As support for this analysis, consider the ungrammatical locative phrase in (27), when a locative phrase begins with a determiner such as *keng* before the P, it is impossible to add another determiner before the noun. No such phrases occur in our corpus and they are rejected by the consultant as ungrammatical.

(27) *<u>keng</u>   lalam   <u>keng</u>   lamesa.
      DET.OBL   under   DET.OBL   table
      (Intended: 'under the table')

Normally a Kapampangan noun can always be immediately preceded by a determiner. The fact that it is not grammatical to add a determiner before *lamesa* in (27) indicates that D position next to *lamesa* is already filled. This follows if the D position is underlyingly occupied by *keng*, which appears in PP-initial position on the surface. (This argument is parallel to the standard generative explanation for why, in English, it is possible to say *<u>Can</u> you help me*? but not *<u>Can</u> you <u>can</u> help me*.)

The analysis above is a proposal about the synchronic status of how locative structures are constructed today in Kapampangan. The diachronic development of locatives in Kapampangan can give us insight into why the unusual discontinuous structure in (b) exists. I propose that it reflects an intermediate stage in the evolution of locative expressions from N to P. The (b) structure suggests that the first step in this evolution may have involved removing the genitive morphosyntax from the construction in (a). This would give us a mixed construction (b) that looks like a genitive in that it begins with a determiner, but also seems to be a prepositional phrase on the grounds that the complement is oblique rather than genitive. Considering that this kind of mixed construction would probably be unusual to learners, the next step was developed by moving the determiner into the complement nominal to make the complement a full-fledged oblique DP rather than a bare noun. This step brings us to the full-fledged prepositional construction in (c).

The mixed construction continues to be part of the language, since in a synchronic grammar it can be easily derived from (c) by the movement of Det, as illustrated in (25).

It was retained presumably as a variant of the prepositional construction to be used in order to emphasize or highlight the determiner, as proposed for similar instances of determiner movement in Swampy Cree by Reinholtz (1999).

In conclusion, the mixed construction (b) is best understood diachronically as an intermediate stage between the two more canonical locative constructions. This analysis not only explains the existence of the unusual mixed construction, but also provides strong confirming evidence in support of the proposed the diachronic change of Kapampangan locative expressions from nominal to prepositional.

3.4   Summing up

This section focused on solving two synchronic puzzles that appeared in the Kapampangan locative system from a diachronic view. The first puzzle concerns the co-occurrence of two grammatical functions of some locative terms. The second puzzle is the unusual locative word order of placing the determiner before the preposition. To clear up the puzzles, we apply the evolutionary path, i.e. grammaticalization channel, of locative expressions proposed by Svorou (1986) and Heine (1989) to Kapampangan.

To understand the first puzzle, we hypothesize that the same evolution process of locative expressions happened in Kapampangan, just as in African languages: locative terms in some contexts were grammaticalized from N to P. Regarding the second puzzle, we propose that the unusual Det + P + NP structure is an intermediate stage between the genitive construction Det + N + DP and the standard prepositional construction P + Det + NP. The unusual structure has something in common with both constructions. It is aligned with genitive construction by putting Det at the beginning of the structure, and at the same time it lines up prepositional phrases by using P as the head of the phrase and not N.

In conclusion, we have proposed that locative expressions in Kapampangan have evolved from nouns to prepositions diachronically, which has left some locative items with dual functions and has created a synchronic system in which locative phrases may appear in three distinct structures.

4   Conclusion

In this paper, I have presented and compared some alternative locative constructions in Kapampangan and have determined their synchronic and diachronic relationships. Synchronically, both genitive and oblique locative constructions can express spatial concepts, and the syntactic heads of these two constructions share the same form in some cases. Diachronically, the two oblique prepositional structures Det + P + NP and P + Det + NP appear to have evolved from the genitive locative structure, along with the development of a new syntactic function (P) for some locative elements. This study not only provides a preliminary analysis of locatives in Kapampangan, but also contributes insights that have the potential to be extended to investigations of locatives in other Austronesian languages.

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