Transitivity and Pronominal Clitic Order  
in Kapampangan*

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In Kapampangan, pronominal marking is almost always obligatory, and the order of clitic pronouns is strictly the ergative followed by the absolutive, when both pronouns are present. This paper discusses some issues of transitivity associated with pronominal marking. Clauses with two core arguments show various degrees of transitivity. There are constructions with two core arguments whose predicates are semantically far from transitive (expressing ‘relations’, not ‘actions’), and thus low in transitivity. This paper gives an analysis of such ‘low transitivity’ predicates. Low transitivity predicates also show a kind of ‘mismatch’ between morphology and semantics, and this paper gives some examples of the mismatch from other languages. Finally, some implications of fixed clitic order in Kapampangan are suggested.

* I am grateful to Mike Pangilinan and Dave Nepomuceno for providing me with rich data and valuable insights. This research is supported in part by a grant-in-aid for scientific research from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (No. 17520257).