Notes from the field: Lolak: Another moribund language of Indonesia, with supporting audio

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This paper consists of a short multimedia introduction to Lolak, a near-extinct Greater Central Philippine language traditionally spoken in three small communities on the island of Sulawesi in Indonesia. In addition to being one of the most underdocumented languages in the area, it is also spoken by one of the smallest native speaker populations in northern Sulawesi. Included in this overview are over 500 recordings of words and phrases pronounced by one of the oldest and most fluent speakers of the language, illustrating its phoneme system, grammatical subsets, and system of verbal affixation.

1. Introduction[1] Like the majority of the languages native to northeastern Sulawesi, most of the nine members of the Mongondow-Gorontalo branch of Greater Central Philippine languages (Blust 1991) are moribund and facing extinction by the end of this century. Ponosakan, with a speaker population in the single digits, is by far the most endangered member of the subgroup (Lobel 2015; 2016). Alarmingly, the Lolak language, 54 miles (87 kilometers) to the west, is currently in largely the same state as the near-extinct Ponosakan was three-quarters of a century ago:[2] moribund, spoken in only five small communities (and claiming a majority in only one), and under intense societal pressure from multiple neighboring and encroaching languages, first and foremost among which is Manado Malay. As such, Lolak will likely be as near to extinction in a generation or two as the Ponosakan language is today.

The Lolak language was traditionally spoken in three communities (or *desas*) of Lolak town: Lolak, Mongkoinit, and Motabang. Over the past decade, however, these three have been divided up into a total of six communities (Lolak being split into Lolak and Tombolango, and Mongkoinit into Mongkoinit, Mongkoinit Barat, and Dulangon), out of over twenty communities that compose Lolak town. Figure 1 illustrates the geography of this area locally and within Indonesia, and Table 1 presents audio samples of the indigenous names of the Lolak-speaking communities along with other place names mentioned in this section.
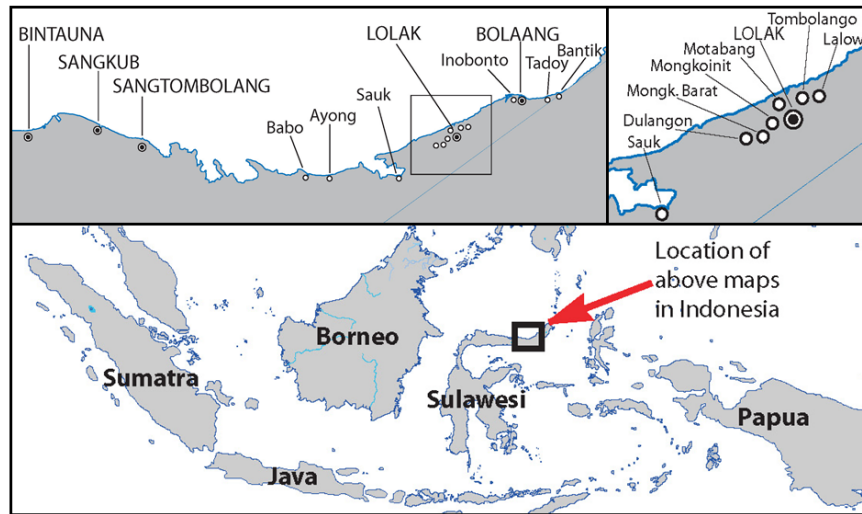

Figure 1. The location of Lolak in Northern Sulawesi

According to local estimates, out of the aforementioned six communities, only Mongkoinit has a large ethnic Lolak majority, with ethnic Lolak making up approximately 90% of its population (Roni Paputungan, pers. comm., 7/10/2016), with most exceptions being individuals who have married into the community (as opposed to entire migrant families). In Mongkoinit Barat, Lolak, Tombolango, and Motabang, no more than half of the current residents are ethnic Lolak, while Dulangon is 90% ethnic Sangir. When all is accounted for – including outsiders who now reside in these communities, ethnic Lolak young adults who can at best understand but not speak the language, and ethnic Lolak youth who can neither speak nor understand their ancestral language – the Lolak language is spoken to any degree by no more than half of the population of the five Lolak communities (excluding Dulangon). No more than ten percent of ethnic Lolaks can speak the language to any degree, and fewer than 50 individuals are fully fluent in the language (i.e., can speak it without obvious signs of language attrition due to the influence of Manado Malay and Indonesian).[3] Furthermore, in addition to being moribund throughout the entire area in which it is spoken, a recent series of deaths of elderly residents in the area has left

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[3]A decade ago, Wurm (2007) reported a similar number of Lolak speakers, but while the Ethnologue (Simon and Fennig 2017) lists Lolak as "nearly extinct", it reports a speaker population of 3,000, which is clearly the ethnic population, not the number of fluent speakers of the Lolak language.

Table 1. Names of Places, Languages, and Lolak clans, with audio examples

Audio	Lolak	IPA	English Gloss
	Lolak	/lolak/	'Lolak' (name of a Lolak-speaking community)
	Mongkoinis	/moŋkoinis/	'Mongkoinit' (name of a Lolak-speaking community)
	Motabang	/motabaŋ/	'Motabang' (name of a Lolak-speaking community)
	Tombolango'	/tombolaŋoʔ/	'Tombolango' (name of a Lolak-speaking community)
	Bintauna'	/bintaunaʔ/	'Bintauna' (name of nearby town and language)
	Bola'ang	/bolaʔaŋ/	'Bolaang' (name of neighboring town)
	Bolanga	/bolaŋa/	'Bolango' (name of neighboring language)
	Bolangita	/bolaŋita/	'Bolangitang' (name of nearby town and language)
	Monado	/monado/	'Manado' (name of provincial capital)
	Mongondo	/moŋondo/	'Mongondow' (name of neighboring language)
	Sanger	/saŋer/	'Sangir' (name of neighboring language)
	Damogalad	/damogalad/	'Damogalad' (surname of one of the two original Lolak families)
	Paputungan	/paputuŋan/	'Paputungan' (surname of one of the two original Lolak families)

the language with virtually no native speakers over the age of 80 who are still mentally and physically capable of contributing to the documentation and preservation of the Lolak language.[4]

According to the oldest residents of Lolak town, the ancestors of the Lolak-speaking population consisted primarily of members of the Paputungan and Damogalad clans (cf. Table 1) who in centuries past lived further inland, under the jurisdiction of the Bolaang Mongondow kingdom. Desiring to live in freedom, they migrated to the area of present-day Lolak town, which at the time was an unsettled wilderness located between the Bolaang Mongondow kingdom, which was based in Bolaang to the east, and the Pontoh kingdom, which was based in Bolangitang to the west. The first known mentions of the settlement and its language can be found in a pair of publications in the 1860s (Sneddon 1991:301), but the area remained under the jurisdiction

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[4]The second author, at 80 years old, is the oldest known speaker to be in adequate physical and mental health, and is locally revered as an expert in the Lolak language.

of Bolaang town until becoming an independent town in the late 1950s. Central Lolak in the 1940s had a small population of no more than a thousand residents, spread out across the communities of Lolak, Mongkoinit, and Motabang. Houses were relatively few and far between, and no passable roads existed from the Lolak-speaking area to the Mongondow-speaking areas to the east (around Bolaang town, cf. Figure 1) or to the Bolango-speaking (Sauk and Ayong villages) and Bintauna-speaking areas (Bintauna town, along with Sang Tombolang which was later split off from it) to the west. In fact, the Lolak-speaking communities were isolated enough that even in the decades after World War II, residents would walk the 40 to 50 kilometers through the hilly jungle to shop and conduct official business in the inland city of Kotamobagu (which was the capital of Bolaang Mongondow subprovince until 2010). Otherwise, all other travel and contact with neighboring languages was by boat, as most of these settlements are along or near the coast. Following Indonesian independence, a large-scale migration of Sangir speakers into this area ensued, further separating the natives of central Lolak from speakers of the nearest Mongondow-Gorontalo languages, in spite of the construction of better roads connecting Lolak to neighboring towns in the 1960s. Around the same time, just as in the rest of northeastern Sulawesi, Manado Malay rapidly replaced the local language in most contexts, including nowadays in communication between parents and their children and grandchildren under the age of 40 years old in most families. Furthermore, over the past decade, pressure on the language has only increased due to the 2011 transfer of the regency capital to Lolak from the neighboring city of Kotamobagu (which was reclassified as an unincorporated city within the province of Sulawesi Utara after the 2010 break-up of Bolaang Mongondow subprovince into several smaller *kabupaten* or "regencies"). As a result, a large new district government complex was constructed at the western edge of the community of Lalow, literally a five-minute walk from the eastern boundary of the Lolak-speaking area, Tombolango. Therefore, it can only be expected that the shift away from using the Lolak language in daily life will now be even further accelerated as more and more outsiders move into the area to live and work in close proximity to the regency capital.

The Lolak language is nowhere to be found in the 19th-century Dutch sources that contain wordlists and other lexical data for Ponosakan, Mongondow, and over a dozen other languages native to northeastern Sulawesi[5] (e.g., Jansen 1855; Niemann 1869, 1870; Koorders 1898; Stokhof 1983). In fact, Sneddon (1991:301) notes that other than a total of nine lexical examples in a couple of century-old Dutch publications, no Lolak data appeared in the literature until Usup (1986) and Sneddon & Usup (1986). To date, the most substantial body of Lolak data available consists of the 600 lexical items in Usup (1986) and the 200 lexical items in Merrifield & Salea (1996).[6] While an Indonesian-language grammar of Lolak was produced under the

[5]Languages represented in one or more Dutch-era surveys include all five Minahasan languages (Tonsea, Tondano, Tombulu, Tonsawang, and Tontemboan), four Sangiric languages (Sangir, Talaud, Bantik, and Ratahan), and six of the nine Mongondow-Gorontalo languages (with Lolak, Bintauna, and Suwawa absent).

[6]The current authors have compiled a lexical database of nearly 2,000 root words with over 10,000 affixed forms, and have made recordings of some 5,000 of these for an in-progress Lolak talking dictionary (Lobel

auspices of the Indonesian government (Danie et al. 1996), it is of only marginal use due to the plethora of misspellings, mistranscriptions, and other errors that plague nearly every page therein.

The position of Lolak within the Mongondow-Gorontalo subgroup is also unclear. The other eight members have been uncontroversially divided into a Mongondowic branch containing Mongondow and Ponosakan, and a Gorontalic branch containing the other six (e.g., Usup 1986). Lolak, on the other hand, was generally assumed to be more closely related to Mongondow (ibid.), but Sneddon (1991) presents a significant body of historical-comparative evidence supporting its placement within the Gorontalic branch to the west instead. Ultimately, Lolak neither resembles Mongondow and Ponosakan in retaining word-final /n/, nor patterns with the Gorontalic languages to the west, all of which lose word-final glottal stop, monophthongize all earlier vowel-glide sequences, and (with the exception of modern Buol at the western extreme[7]) add an epenthetic /o/ or /i/ after all remaining historically word-final consonants. Such issues are beyond the scope of this short sketch, the purpose of which is to provide a brief overview of the Lolak phoneme system, basic functor sets, and system of verbal conjugation, illustrated by accompanying audio samples, similar to Lobel's (2016) treatment of Ponosakan. However, in spite of the close linguistic relationship between Ponosakan and Lolak, these two languages have significantly different linguistic histories, resulting in a number of significant differences between them, including:

1. numerous differences throughout the various functor sets, including personal pronouns, demonstratives/deictics, case markers, negators, interrogatives, and adverbs of time;

2. considerable differences in the inventory of non-basic verb affixes;

3. different patterns in the formation of the count pronouns, including a typologically-rare five-number distinction found in Lolak and Mongondow, but not in Ponosakan or any of the other Mongondow-Gorontalo languages (Lobel 2011, 2013; Blust 2013; Smith 2017);

4. monophthongization of many, but not all, earlier diphthongs in Lolak;

5. no shifts affecting the voiced stops /b d g/ in Lolak;

6. differences in the distribution of /r h y/ (as reflexes of PAN *d and *z in word-initial and intervocalic positions, and of PAN *j in intervocalic position) in the two languages;

7. whereas Lolak has the same distribution of three allophones of /l/ as Mongondow ([l ɺ ɭ]), Ponosakan has only the single allophone [l] word-initially and

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& Paputungan, to appear), the first author's second such talking dictionary project, after Lobel et al. (2015) for the Ponosakan language.

[7]As noted in Sneddon & Usup (1986:417-418) and Sneddon (1991:308-309), the earlier presence of an epenthetic /o/ in at least some dialects of Buol is attested by a number of older sources, including Adriani & Kruijt (1914), the 1919 Holle list (Stokhof & Almanar 1983), and Barr, Barr & Salombe (1979).

intervocalically, except word-finally where it is realized as either vowel length or a velar or uvular lateral approximant (cf. Lobel 2015; 2016).

The data in this paper were collected between 2007 and 2017 from Ade Paputungan (b. 1937), N.T. Mokodompit (b. 1942), Koyokat Paputungan (b. 1957), and Roni Paputungan (b. 1960). Ade Paputungan is also the voice heard on the recordings, which were made between July 2016 and September 2017 in his home, for lack of any nearby recording studios or other more appropriate locations for recording archival material. The audio files (the originals of which are to be deposited with the University of Hawai'i's ScholarSpace archive) were recorded in 44.1khz 16-bit WAV format on a Zoom H-4 recorder using a Shure SM-94 microphone, and were edited on a Samsung laptop using Adobe Audition software. Words and phrases were recorded in their isolation form, and were selected for recording for this article from the authors' thousand-plus item lexical database, and several hundred pages of field notes compiled from over ten years of visits to the area.[8]

2. Phonology   Lolak has the same inventory of 16 consonants and five vowels (cf. Table 2) found in Ponosakan and most of the other Mongondow-Gorontalo languages (Lobel 2016), albeit with a somewhat different synchronic distribution. Two additional consonants, /ʤ/ and /c/, are found in loanwords from Indonesian and Manado Malay, including those indirectly borrowed from Portuguese and Dutch. The five-vowel system consists of the directly inherited /a/, /i/, and /u/, an /o/ reflex of Proto-Austronesian *ə, and the same non-etymological /e/ that is also found in the closely-related Mongondow and Ponosakan.

Table 2. The phoneme inventory of Lolak.

Consonants				Vowels	
p	t	k	ʔ	i	u
b	d	g		e	o
		s	h	a	
m	n	ŋ			
	l				
	r				
w	j				

Phonetically, Lolak exhibits the same allophonic variation of /l/ as found in Mongondow (but not in Ponosakan), with the retroflex lateral approximant [ɭ] adjacent to any combination of the vowels /a o u/ (whether word-initial, word-final, or intervocalic); the retroflex tap [ɽ] preceding /i/ or /e/ if not following another /i/ or /e/;

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and [l] occurring between any combination of /i/ and /e/, and word-finally after /i/. This allomorphic variation is synchronic, as the final consonant of *kokal* 'lower arm' remains a retroflex lateral approximant [ɭ] when followed by the 1st-person singular genitive *-u* ([ko.ka.ɭu] 'my arm') or the 3rd-person singular genitive *-ota* ([ko.ka.ɭo.ta] 'his/her arm'), but is realized as a retroflex tap [ɽ] when followed by the 2nd-person singular genitive *-imu* ([ko.ka.ɽi.mu] 'your arm', cf. Table 17 later in this paper). Table 3 illustrates the consonant phonemes of Lolak in word context.

Like Ponosakan and the other Mongondow-Gorontalo languages, Lolak does not allow geminate consonants, and prohibits consonant clusters other than seven combinations consisting of a stop or /s/ preceded by a homorganic nasal (/mb mp nd nt ns ŋg ŋk/). Vowel sequences are allowed, as are long vowels (cf. Table 4), the latter of which exist largely, albeit not exclusively, as a result of (1) the deletion of earlier morpheme-internal glottal stops, (2) the adaptation of monosyllabic borrowings, or (3) in some cases, the loss of /w/ in earlier /awa/ sequences.

These long vowels contrast with their short counterparts, as illustrated in Table 5. In the first pair, both *bula* 'moon, month' and *bulaa* 'gold' are monomorphemic, with the long vowel in the latter form resulting from the reduction of the earlier *-awa-sequence of PAN *bulawan to /aː/.[9] Similarly, both *ubi* 'sweet potato' and *gobii* 'night' are monosyllabic, but the long vowel in the latter is the result of the loss of the earlier glottal stop in PGCPh *gabiʔi < PAN *Rabiqi. In the third pair, the long vowel results from the suffixation of the Object Focus suffix *-o* (< PAN *ən) to the rootword *tako*, resulting in the long /oː/ in *takoo*.

2.1 Stress Similar to the other Mongondow-Gorontalo languages, stress is not contrastive in Lolak, in contrast to most of the core Central Philippine languages such as Tagalog, Cebuano, and Bikol. As can be observed in the audio files included throughout this paper, stress in Lolak regularly falls on the word-final syllable, even in Indonesian loanwords where it would be expected to fall on the penultimate syllable instead.[10]

2.2 Distribution of the glottal stop The glottal stop is phonemic in word-medial and word-final positions, illustrated for word-final position by the minimal pair *bali* 'change' vs. *bali'* 'happen, become' in Table 6. Table 6 also includes several non-minimal pairs demonstrating the contrast between uninterrupted vowel sequences, on the one hand, and sequences of vowels separated by a glottal stop. Note that in the first three such pairs, the forms with the glottal stop are historically bimorphemic (*kita'opat* < *kita '1INCL.NOM' + *opat 'four'; *ta'anda* < *ta 'demonstrative formative' + *onda 'interrogative base'; and *de'enda'* < *de(yu) 'no' + *onda 'interrogative base') while the forms without the glottal stop are monomorphemic. Finally, it is also

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[9]Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Malayo-Polynesian reconstructions in this paper are from Blust & Trussel (ongoing).

[10]Note that this stress pattern in Lolak is observable not only in words pronounced in isolation as in the recordings accompanying this paper, but also in regular speech, including in the recordings of spontaneous discourse mentioned in footnote 8.

Table 3. Consonant phonemes with audio examples

	#_			V_V			_#		
b	bembe'	/bembeʔ/	'goat'	uba	/uba/	'grey hair'	dodob	/dodob/	'chest'
d	dumuk	/dumuk/	'flood'	sidalom	/sidalom/	'liver'	pusod	/pusod/	'navel'
g	gusuk	/gusuk/	'rib'	dugu'	/duguʔ/	'blood'	bibig	/bibig/	'mouth'
h	hongit	/hoŋit/	'mosquito'	ahe	/ahe/	'chin, jaw'			
k	kulit	/kulit/	'skin'	aki	/aki/	'grandfather'	iyok	/ijok/	'armpit'
l	losung	/losuŋ/	'rice mortar'	bolay	/bolaj/	'monkey'	kokal	/kokal/	'lower arm'
	likud	/likud/	'back'	gale'	/galeʔ/	'shrimp'	mongail	/moŋail/	'fish (v.)'
				tile	/tile/	'foot'			
m	mata	/mata/	'eye'	lima	/lima/	'hand'	sohom	/sohom/	'ant'
n	natu	/natu/	'egg'	konuku	/konuku/	'fingernail'	kuwon	/kuwon/	'whatchamacallit'
ŋ	ngipo	/ŋipo/	'tooth'	bango'	/baŋoʔ/	'coconut'	lambung	/lambuŋ/	'shirt'
p	pahe'	/paheʔ/	'rice in field'	upa	/upa/	'hen'	unap	/unap/	'scale'
r	rubus	/rubus/	'boil (v.)'	surub	/surub/	'burn'	ondor	/ondor/	'skirt'
s	seya'	/sejaʔ/	'fish (n.)'	bosiyot	/bosijot/	'calf (of leg)'	pipis	/pipis/	'chick'
t	tigogo	/tigogo/	'throat'	pugita'	/pugitaʔ/	'octopus'	ugat	/ugat/	'vein'
w	walu	/walu/	'eight'	kawag	/kawag/	'crow'	karumbaw	/karumbaw/	'water buffalo'
j	yona'	/jonaʔ/	'mud'	koyonga	/kojoŋa/	'old (of objects)'	bobay	/bobaj/	'woman'
ʔ				togo'indop	/togoʔindop/	'dream'	dila'	/dilaʔ/	'tongue'
	Jawa'	/dʒawaʔ/	'Java'	meja	/medʒa/	'table'			
c				suwaca	/suwaca/	'weather'			

Table 4. Examples of long vowels, with audio examples

Lolak	IPA	English Gloss
baa	/baː/	'forehead'
peet	/peːt/	'cap'
sii'	/siːʔ/	'beside, next to'
boo'	/boːʔ/	'scent'
totuu	/totuː/	'true'

Table 5. Minimal pairs for vowel length, with audio examples

Lolak	IPA	English Gloss
bula	/bula/	'moon, month'
bulaa	/bulaː/	'gold'
ubi	/ubi/	'sweet potato'
gobii	/gobiː/	'night'
tako	/tako/	'steal' (OF.IMP)
takoo	/takoː/	'will steal' (OF.NPST)

important to note that in spite of being phonemic in word-final position, the word-final glottal stop of a root is deleted when suffixed, as illustrated by the pair *inabu'* 'dropped (OF.PST)' and *nabuo* 'drop (OF.NPST)' (never **nabu'o, even in careful speech) also in Table 6.

2.3 Metathesis of earlier *tV(CV)s sequences   Like Bintauna, Bolangitang-Kaidipang, and Bolango (as well as possibly Mongondow),[11] Lolak metathesizes /t/ and /s/ in words where /s/ would have otherwise been preceded by /t/ within the word (e.g., *mogasut* '100' < earlier *mo-gatus). This process is synchronic, however, evidenced by the fact that when morphological processes such as nasal substitution cause a word-initial /t/ not to surface, the /s/ remains in its original position, as illustrated by the affixed forms of the root *timpas 'sweep' in Table 7.

2.4 Alternation between /r/ and /h/   Similar to the variation between /r/ and /j/ reported by Blust (1983) in neighboring Mongondow, there is variation between /r/ and /h/ in certain roots in Lolak, sometimes with very nuanced differences in meaning between the /r/ forms and the /h/ forms, e.g. *moraru'* 'far' vs. *mohahu'* 'far (but nearer than *moraru*')' (cf. Table 8). It is important to note, however, that only a very small

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[11]Subsequent phonological innovations "obscure the evidence" of this shift in Mongondow (Sneddon 1991:308).

Table 6. Paired examples of glottal stop in Lolak, with audio examples

Lolak	IPA	English Gloss
bali	/bali/	'change'
bali'	/baliʔ/	'happen; become'
paod	/paod/	'thatch roof'
kita'opat	/kitaʔopat/	'the four of us (1INCL.FOUR.NOM)'
jaam	/ʤaːm/	'hour'
ta'anda	/taʔanda/	'which'
seen	/seːn/	'money, cent'
de'enda	/deʔenda/	'no'
takoo	/takoː/	'will steal' (OF.NPST)
o'o	/oʔo/	'yes'
inabu'	/inabuʔ/	'dropped' (OF.PST)
nabuo	/nabuo/	'will drop' (OF.NPST) (never **nabuʔo)

number of roots exhibit /r/ ~ /h/ variation, and therefore, the number of roots with /r/ and /h/ that do not exhibit allomorphic variation far exceeds the number of those that do, such as *mohakag* 'few' (never **morakag), *moruwis* 'sharp' (never **mohuwis), *uha* 'rain' (never **ura).

2.5 Distributional exceptions A number of phonological exceptions can be found in Lolak (cf. Table 9):

1. Word-final /n/, in spite of having been otherwise lost historically, is attested in the form *kuwon* 'whatchamacallit', as well as in certain relatively recent loan-words like *Isinin* 'Monday' (< Arabic) and *polopen* 'pen';

2. A morpheme-internal intervocalic /ʔ/ appears in the word *o'o* 'yes', despite having been otherwise lost historically;

3. The sequence /ow/, which was regularly shortened to /o/ historically, is attested in the word *siyow* 'nine', as well as in all derivations thereof (e.g., *siyow no pulu'* 'ninety', *nogisiyow* 'ninth', *kosiyow* 'nine times'; cf. §3.9).

3. Grammatical subsystems In recognition of the central importance of functors and other grammatical sets to the grammar of Philippine and Philippine-type languages (cf. McFarland 1974; Zorc 1977, 1978), this section contains an overview of these subsets, including personal pronouns, case markers, demonstrative pronouns,

Table 7. Examples of metathesis of /s/ and /t/, with audio examples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss	Underlying form	Note
simpat	/simpat/	'sweep it' (OF.IMP)	*timpas	never **timpas
simpatay	/simpataj/	'sweep it' (LF.IMP)	*timpas-ay	never **timpasay
simpato	/simpato/	'sweep' (OF.NPST)	*timpas-o	never **timpaso
sinimpat	/sinimpat/	'swept' (OF.PST)	*t<in>impas	never **tinimpas
sinimpata	/sinimpata/	'swept' (LF.PST)	*t<in>impas-a	never **tinimpasa
sosimpat	/sosimpat/	'broom'	*Co-timpas	never **totimpas
monimpas	/monimpas/	'sweep' (AF.NPST)	*moN- + *timpas	never **monimpat
ponimpas	/ponimpas/	'sweep with' (IF.NPST)	*poN- + *timpas	never **ponimpat
ponimpasa	ponimpasa	'sweep' (LOC.NPST)	*poN- + *timpas-a	never **ponimpata
pinonimpas	/pinonimpas/	'swept with' (IF.PST)	*pinoN- + *timpas	never **pinonimpat

Table 8. Examples of variation between /r/ and /h/, with audio examples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
moraru'	/moraruʔ/	'far'
mohahu'	/mohahuʔ/	'far (but nearer than moraru')'
gurangiya	/guraŋija/	'old person'
guhangiya	/guhaŋija/	'elder community member who possesses special knowledge'
nogogurang	/nogoguraŋ/	'old (of leaves)'
nogoguhang	/nogoguhaŋ/	'old (of people)'
moraat	/moraat/	'bad' (regular form)
mohaat	/mohaat/	'bad' (polite form)
korogos	/korogos/	'while'
kohogos	/kohogos/	'while'

Table 9. Examples of phonological exceptions, with audio examples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
Isinin	/isinin/	'Monday'
kuwon	/kuwon/	'whatchamacallit'
polopen	/polopen/	'pen'
o'o	/oʔo/	'yes'
siyow	/sijow/	'nine'

interrogatives, negators, adverbs of time, parts of the day, adverbial particles, conjunctions, numbers, and other quantifiers. These sets of data can be compared to the data presented for Ponosakan (Lobel 2016) and various other published descriptions of Philippine and Philippine-type languages.

3.1 Personal pronouns The pronominal system of Lolak, illustrated in Table 10, consists of the same three grammatical cases found in the majority of Philippine-type languages, most commonly referred to as "nominative", "genitive", and "oblique".[12]

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[12]While far from the only terms used to describe these categories, these three terms are among the most common to have been used in works on Philippine and Philippine-type languages by authors over the past half-century (e.g., McFarland 1976; Zorc 1977; Blood 1995; Huang et al. 1999; Kroeger 2005; Rubino 2005; Ross 2006; Himes 2007; Quakenbush & Ruch 2008; Robinson 2011; Lobel 2013; Blust 2015; Reid 2015). Note for example that Reid (2015:314) describes these three terms as "commonly accepted labels found in most linguistic materials on Philippine languages," while Quakenbush & Ruch (2008:214)

A set of quotative pronouns exists, based on the genitive pronouns prefixed by *ka-*, as illustrated in Table 11.[13]

It is noteworthy that along with Mongondow, Lolak appears to be among the few non-Oceanic Austronesian languages with a five-number pronominal system, which is typologically rare, especially among non-Oceanic members of the Austronesian family (cf. Lobel 2011, 2013; Blust 2013; Smith 2017).[14] The five pronominal numbers of Lolak, which occur equally in elicited and non-elicited data (as do Mongondow's five pronominal numbers and Ponosakan's four), contrast morphologically as follows:

- As can be observed from Table 12, there are three sets of pronominal bases: Set A (singular), Set B (numerical), and Set C (plural). With the exception of the first person bases in sets B and C, there is no overlap between these three sets of pronominal bases, and no one set of bases can be regularly derived from any other set.

- Of the pronominal sets taking the Set B (numerical) bases, the dual and trial pronouns differ morphologically from the count pronouns in the 1st-person exclusive and 2nd-person forms, as well as the 1st-person inclusive genitive and oblique forms, by the presence of a frozen *-n-*, illustrated in Table 13, which does not appear in any of the other pronoun forms.

- The dual is distinguished from the trial in that the dual contains as its number marker not the expected standalone word *do'iya* 'two', but instead, a unique formative *-diya ~ -deya* which does not otherwise occur in the language, as illustrated in Table 15. Note that the standalone *do'iya* 'two' cannot be substituted for the formative *-diya ~ -deya*, and as such, constructions such as **kami do'iya, **kita do'iya, **kamu do'iya, and **sara do'iya are ungrammatical in Lolak, as are their genitive and oblique counterparts.

Table 15 summarizes the differences in morphological marking between the singular, dual, trial, count, and plural pronouns.

Note that the count base is used whenever it is immediately followed by a number, regardless of the size of that number, while the plural pronouns are never followed by a number, but can be used pragmatically to refer to any number of referents over one. Thus, in practice, the two forms are largely interchangeable functionally, but never structurally, e.g., two individuals may be referred to as *saha* 'they (plural)' or, more specifically, *saradeya* 'the two of them (dual)', but never as **saha-deya, **saha do'iya or **sara.

As is the case with most of the /n/-initial functors in the Lolak language, the /n/-initial genitive pronouns have allomorphs without the initial /n/ when following a word ending in any consonant other than /ʔ/, /w/, or /j/, as illustrated in Tables 16

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comment that "[t]he labels Nominative, Genitive, and Oblique are used in a Philippinist tradition for ease of communication, without claiming that these markers do not perform a variety of functions."

[13]These quotative pronouns follow the same structure for the dual, trial, count, and plural forms as the genitive pronouns, and therefore, not all forms are illustrated in Table 11.

[14]The only other non-Oceanic members of the Austronesian family that are known to have a five-number system are the Kenyah languages of North-Central Borneo (Blust 2013; Smith 2017).

Table 10. Lolak personal pronouns, with audio examples

	NOM		GEN		OBL	
1SG	iyaku	/ijaku/	ku	/ku/	konako'	/konakoʔ/
2SG	iko	/iko/	nimu	/nimu/	konimu	/konimu/
3SG	ota	/ota/	nota	/nota/	konota	/konota/
1EXCL.DU	kamindiya	/kamindija/	namindiya	/namindija/	konamindiya	/konamindija/
1EXCL.TRI	kamintolu	/kamintolu/	namintolu	/namintolu/	konamintolu	/konamintolu/
1EXCL.CT	kami'opat	/kamiʔopat/	nami'opat	/namiʔopat/	konami'opat	/konamiʔopat/
1EXCL.PL	kami	/kami/	nami	/nami/	konami	/konami/
1INCL.DU	kitadiya	/kitadija/	natondiya	/natondija/	konatondiya	/konatondija/
1INCL.TRI	kitatolu	/kitatolu/	natontolu	/natontolu/	konatontolu	/konatontolu/
1INCL.CT	kita'opat	/kitaʔopat/	nato'opat	/natoʔopat/	konato'opat	/konatoʔopat/
1INCL.PL	kita	/kita/	nato	/nato/	konato	/konato/
2DU	kamundiya	/kamundija/	namundiya	/namundija/	konamundiya	/konamundija/
2TRI	kamuntolu	/kamuntolu/	namuntolu	/namuntolu/	konamuntolu	/konamuntolu/
2CT	kamu'opat	/kamuʔopat/	namu'opat	/namuʔopat/	konamu'opat	/konamuʔopat/
2PL	kamiyo	/kamijo/	namiyo	/namijo/	konamiyo	/konamijo/
3DU	saradeya	/saradeja/	naradeya	/naradeja/	konaradeya	/konaradeja/
3TRI	saratolu	/saratolu/	naratolu	/naratolu/	konaratolu	/konaratolu/
3CT	sara'opat	/saraʔopat/	nara'opat	/naraʔopat/	konara'opat	/konaraʔopat/
3PL	saha	/saha/	naha	/naha/	konaha	/konaha/

Table 11. Lolak quotative pronouns, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
kangku	/kaŋku/	'I said'
kanimu	/kanimu/	'you (SG) said'
kanta	/kanta/	'he/she said'
kanami	/kanami/	'we (EXCL.PL) said'
kanato	/kanato/	'we (INCL.PL) said'
kanamundiya	/kanamundija/	'the two of you said'
kanamiyo	/kanamijo/	'you (PL) said'
kanaradeya	/kanaradeja/	'the two of them said'
kanaha	/kanaha/	'they (PL) said'

Table 12. Sets of pronominal bases in Lolak

		Set A (SG)	Set B (NUMERICAL)	Set C (PL)
NOM	1st	iyaku	kami- (EXCL) kita- (INCL)	kami (EXCL) kita (INCL)
	2nd	iko	kamu-	kamiyo
	3rd	ota	sara-	saha
GEN	1st	ku	nami- (EXCL) nato- (INCL)	nami (EXCL) nato (INCL)
	2nd	nimu	namu-	namiyo
	3rd	nota	nara-	naha
OBL	1st	konako'	konami- (EXCL) konato- (INCL)	konami (EXCL) konato (INCL)
	2nd	konimu	konamu-	konamiyo
	3rd	konota	konara-	konaha

Table 13. Frozen linker *-n-* in certain pronouns

		DUAL	TRIAL	COUNT
1EXCL	NOM	kamindiya	kamintolu	kami'opat
	GEN	namindiya	namintolu	nami'opat
	OBL	konamindiya	konamintolu	konami'opat
1INCL	NOM	kitadiya	kitatolu	kita'opat
	GEN	natondiya	natontolu	nato'opat
	OBL	konatondiya	konatontolu	konato'opat
2PL	NOM	kamundiya	kamuntolu	kamu'opat
	GEN	namundiya	namuntolu	namu'opat
	OBL	konamundiya	konamuntolu	konamu'opat

Table 14. Forms of the number 'two' in Lolak

Type	Form	Lolak
Standalone	do'iya	do'iya 'two' tododo'iya 'two each'; 'two at a time'
Ordinal Number	-duwa	koduwa 'second' noginduwa 'second'
Pronominal Formative	-diya ~ -deya	kamindiya '1EXCL.DU.NOM' namindiya '1EXCL.DU.GEN' konamindiya '1EXCL.DU.OBL' kitadiya '1INCL.DU.NOM' natondiya '1INCL.DU.GEN' konatondiya '1INCL.DU.OBL' kamundiya '2DU.NOM' namundiya '2DU.GEN' konamundiya '2DU.OBL' saradeya '3DU.NOM' naradeya '3DU.GEN' konaradeya '3DU.OBL'

Table 15. Morphological contrasts between pronominal numbers

	SINGULAR	DUAL	TRIAL	COUNT	PLURAL
(1) Bases	Set A	Set B	Set B	Set B	Set C§
(2) Linker	—	-n-‡	-n-‡	—	—
(3) Special number formative	—	-diya ~ -deya	—	—	—

§Contrasting from Set B in the 2nd and 3rd persons

‡In all 1st-person and 2nd-person dual and trial forms, except for the 1st-person inclusive nominative forms (*kitadiya* '1INCL.DU.NOM' and *kitatolu* '1INCL.TRI.NOM')

and 17. Furthermore, as can also be observed in these two tables, the 1st-person genitive has three allomorphs. The first, *u* /u/, occurs following a word ending in a consonant other than /ʔ/, /w/, or /j/. A second allomorph, *ku* /ku/, occurs following most words ending in a vowel, even when that vowel derives from an earlier vowel-glide sequence, e.g., *ahe* 'chin, jaw' < PMP *qazay. However, following verbs that were historically *n-final, the allomorph *ngku* /ŋku/ appears instead of *u*. Note that the *ngku* allomorph never follows historically *n-final nouns (e.g., *ngipo ku* /ŋipo ku/ < *ŋipən=ku, never **ngipo 'ngku), but follows any historically *n-final verb, whether that *n was the final consonant of the root or of a suffix (e.g., both *kinaa 'ngku* /kinaa ŋku/ 'I ate it' and *kaano 'ngku* /kaano ŋku/ 'I'm going to eat it').

As can also be observed from Tables 16 and 17, the third-person genitive pronoun likewise has three allomorphs: *nota* /nota/ after vowel-final nouns, *nta* /nta/ after vowel-final verbs, and *'ota* /ota/ after all consonant-final words.

Table 16. Allomorphs of the genitive pronouns after various verb forms, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
pinomiya ku	/pinomija ku/	'I did it'
pinomiya nimu	/pinomija nimu/	'you did it'
pinomiya 'nta	/pinomija nta/	'he/she did it'
pinomiya nami	/pinomija nami/	'we (EXCL) did it'
pinomiya nato	/pinomija nato/	'we (INCL) did it'
pinomiya namundiya	/pinomija namundija/	'you (DUAL) did it'
pinomiya namiyo	/pinomija namijo/	'you (PL) did it'
pinomiya naradeya	/pinomija naradeja/	'they (DUAL) did it'
pinomiya naha	/pinomija naha/	'they (PL) did it'
surubo 'ngku	/surubo ŋku/	'I will burn it'
surubo nimu	/surubo nimu/	'you will burn it'
surubo 'nta	/surubo nta/	'he/she will burn it'
surubo nami	/surubo nami/	'we (EXCL) will burn it'
surubo nato	/surubo nato/	'we (INCL) will burn it'
surubo namundiya	/surubo namundija/	'you (DUAL) will burn it'
surubo namiyo	/surubo namijo/	'you (PL) will burn it'
surubo naradeya	/surubo naradeja/	'they (DUAL) will burn it'
surubo naha	/surubo naha/	'they (PL) will burn it'
sinurub 'u	/sinurub u/	'I burned it'
sinurub 'imu	/sinurub imu/	'you burned it'
sinurub 'ota	/sinurub ota/	'he/she burned it'
sinurub 'ami	/sinurub ami/	'we (EXCL) burned it'
sinurub 'ato	/sinurub ato/	'we (INCL) burned it'
sinurub 'amundiya	/sinurub amundija/	'you (DUAL) burned it'
sinurub 'amiyo	/sinurub amijo/	'you (PL) burned it'
sinurub 'aradeya	/sinurub aradeja/	'they (DUAL) burned it'
sinurub 'aha	/sinurub aha/	'they (PL) burned it'

Finally, note that when the *u* /u/ allomorph occurs after /w/-final words, the final /w/ of the first word is not pronounced, and the /u/ of the pronoun and the preceding

/a/ are pronounced as a series of two distinct vowels (e.g., *karumbaw u* /karumbaw u/ [ka.rum.ba.u]), cf. Table 17.

3.2 Case markers The Lolak case marker system marks the same grammatical contrasts commonly found in the majority of Philippine languages, including a contrast between nominative, genitive, and oblique forms, as illustrated in Table 18. As in virtually all Philippine and Philippine-type languages,[15] different case markers are used for common nouns as opposed to personal names, and a contrast is marked in the latter between singular ('John') and plural ('John and the others, John and his group'). However, as with the other Mongondow-Gorontalo languages, no mechanism exists for pluralizing common nouns other than the repetition of the noun or the addition of a quantifier such as *mo'anto'* 'many', *mohakag* 'few', *sopilik* 'few', *minsa* 'all', and *ko'insa* 'all' (cf. §3.9). Note that just as the initial /n/ of the genitive personal pronouns is lost following words ending in a consonant other than /ʔ/ or /j/ (cf. Tables 16 and 17 earlier), the same is true of the genitive case markers, as illustrated in Table 19.

3.3 Demonstrative pronouns As illustrated in Table 20, there are five sets of demonstratives in Lolak: Three sets corresponding to the three cases of pronouns and noun phrases (nominative, genitive, and oblique), another used for indicating the present location of a person or object ('is here' or 'is there'), and a fifth for describing the manner of doing something ('like this' or 'like that'). There are three points of deixis which are distinguished throughout the demonstratives, which parallel the three persons of the pronominal system. Note that the nominative and genitive demonstratives have both long forms and short forms, with the long forms containing an extra syllable *ta-*.

3.4 Interrogatives As illustrated in Table 21, Lolak has over a dozen interrogative words, formed from one of three bases: *-onu* (nine forms: *onungko, so'onu, nongonu, songonu, kosongonu,* and *pongonu*, plus the affixed verbal forms *mongonu, onuo,* and *inonu*), *onda* (four forms: *dodayanda, ko'onda, ta'anda,* and *nongo'onda*), or *-ko* (eight forms: *onungko, kiko, niko, koniko,* and *nongkoniko*, plus the plurals of the personal interrogatives, *say niko, nay niko,* and *konay niko*). Note that the personal interrogatives, *kiko, niko, koniko,* and *nongkoniko*, are formed with the personal case markers *ki, ni,* and *koni* listed in Table 18 earlier.

3.5 Negation There are five basic negators in Lolak, as illustrated in Table 22: *deyu', dika', disiyo', adii',* and *tatau*. However, *deyu'* combines with the particles *-do* and *-po* (cf. §3.7) and the base *-onda* (also mentioned in §3.4) to form five other compound negators: *de'enda, de'edo', de'edonda, de'epa',* and *de'epa'anda*.

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[15]Among the rare exceptions to this are the Manide, Inagta Alabat, and Umiray Dumaget languages on the large northern Philippine island of Luzon (Lobel 2010) and the Iraya language of the central Philippine island of Mindoro (Reid 2017).

Table 17. Allomorphs of the genitive pronouns after nouns, with audio samples

	ku '1SG.GEN'	*nimu* '2SG.GEN'	*nota* '3SG.GEN'
dila' 'tongue'	dila' ku /dilaʔ ku/	dila' nimu /dilaʔ nimu/	dila' nota /dilaʔ nota/
konuku 'fingernail'	konuku ku /konuku ku/	konuku nimu /konuku nimu/	konuku nota /konuku nota/
abe 'chin, jaw'	abe ku /ahe ku/	ahe nimu /ahe nimu/	ahe nota /ahe nota/
ngipo 'tooth'	ngipo ku /ŋipo ku/	ngipo nimu /ŋipo nimu/†	ngipo nota /ŋipo nota/†
bolay 'monkey'	bolay ku /bolaj ku/	bolay nimu /bolaj nimu/	bolay nota /bolaj nota/
karumbaw 'water buffalo'	karumba(w) 'u /karumbaw u/	karumbaw nimu /karumbaw nimu/	karumbaw nota /karumbaw nota/
dodob 'chest'	dodob 'u /dodob u/	dodob 'imu /dodob imu/	dodob 'ota /dodob ota/
pusod 'navel'	pusod 'u /pusod u/	pusod 'imu /pusod imu/	pusod 'ota /pusod ota/
bibig 'mouth'	bibig 'u /bibig u/	bibig 'imu /bibig imu/	bibig 'ota /bibig ota/
kokiyap 'eyelash'	kokiyap 'u /kokijap u/	kokiyap 'imu /kokijap imu/	kokiyap 'ota /kokijap ota/
kulit 'skin'	kulit 'u /kulit u/	kulit 'imu /kulit imu/	kulit 'ota /kulit ota/
gusuk 'rib'	gusuk 'u /gusuk u/	gusuk 'imu /gusuk imu/	gusuk 'ota /gusuk ota/
pipis 'chick'	pipis 'u /pipis u/	pipis 'imu /pipis imu/	pipis 'ota /pipis ota/
sidalom 'liver'	sidalom 'u /sidalom u/	sidalom 'imu /sidalom imu/	sidalom 'ota /sidalom ota/
polopen 'ball-point pen'	polopen 'u /polopen u/	polopen 'imu /polopen 'imu/	polopen 'ota /polopen ota/
kohibing 'eyebrow'	kohibing 'u /kohibiŋ u/	kohibing 'imu /kohibiŋ imu/	kohibing 'ota /kohibiŋ ota/
kokal 'lower arm'	kokal 'u /kokal u/	kokal 'imu /kokal imu/	kokal 'ota /kokal ota/
ondor 'skirt'	ondor 'u /ondor u/	ondor 'imu /ondor imu/	ondor 'ota /ondor ota/

Table 18. Lolak case markers, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
i	/i/	NOM
no	/no/	GEN
ko	/ko/	OBL
ki	/ki/	NOM.name.SG
ni	/ni/	GEN.name.SG
koni	/koni/	OBL.name.SG
say	/saj/	NOM.name.PL
nay	/naj/	GEN.name.PL
konay	/konaj/	OBL.name.PL

Table 19. Allomorphs of genitive case markers, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
pinomiya no momata	/pinomija no momata/	'was made by the person'
surubo no momata	/surubo no momata/	'will be burned by the person'
sinurub 'o momata	/sinurub o momata/	'was burned by the person'
pinomiya ni Jason	/pinomija ni ʤeson/	'was made by Jason'
surubo ni Jason	/surubo ni ʤeson/	'will be burned by Jason'
sinurub 'i Jason	/sinurub i ʤeson/	'was burned by Jason'
pinomiya nay Jason	/pinomija naj ʤeson/	'was made by Jason and the others'
surubo nay Jason	/surubo naj ʤeson/	'will be burned by Jason and the others'
sinurub 'ay Jason	/sinurub aj ʤeson/	'was burned by Jason and the others'

3.6 Adverbs of time   Lolak has a number of adverbs of time, matching the same general categories found in other Greater Central Philippine languages. Tables 23 and 24 illustrate the adverbs of time and parts of the day in Lolak, respectively.

Table 20. Lolak demonstratives/deictics, with audio samples

	NOM	GEN	OBL	PRESENT-LOCATION	MANNER
1SG (near speaker)	iya /ija/ ta'iya /taʔija/	no'iya /noʔija/ nota'iya /notaʔija/	ko'iya /koʔija/	iyawa /ijawa/	nongo'iya /noŋoʔija/
2SG (near addressee)	inyo /injo/ ta'inyo /taʔinjo/	no'inyo /noʁinjo/ nota'inyo /notaʔinjo/	ko'inyo /koʁinjo/	iyo /ijo/	nongo'inyo /noŋoʁinjo/
3SG (far from both)	ite /ite/ ta'ite /taʔite/	no'ite /noʔite/ nota'ite /notaʔite/	ko'ite /koʔite/	ituwa /ituwa/	nongo'ite /noŋoʔite/

Table 21. Lolak interrogatives, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
onungko	/onuŋko/	'what'
kiko	/kiko/	'who' (NOM)
say niko	/saj niko/	'who' (NOM.PL)
niko	/niko/	'who', 'whose' (GEN)
nay niko	/naj niko/	'who' (GEN.PL), 'whose' (GEN.PL)
koniko	/koniko/	'to/for whom' (OBL)
konay niko	/konaj niko/	'to/for whom' (OBL.PL)
nongkoniko	/noŋkoniko/	'from whom' (OBL)
dodayanda	/dodajanda/	'when' (PAST)
so'onu	/soʔonu/	'when' (NPST)
ko'onda	/koʔonda/	'where'
ta'anda	/taʔanda/	'which'
nongo'onda	/noŋoʔonda/	'how (MANNER)', 'how (CONDITION)'
nongonu	/noŋonu/	'why'
songonu	/soŋonu/	'how many', 'how much'
kosongonu	/kosoŋonu/	'how many times'
pongonu	/poŋonu/	'for what'
mongonu	/moŋonu/	'will do what'
onuwo	/onuwo/	'will do what to it'
inonu	/inonu/	'what was done to it'

3.7 Particles   Like other Philippine-type languages, Lolak has a variety of adverbial particles that are frequently used in order to add important meanings to a given clause (cf. Table 25). Among these are the six members of the seldom-discussed set of directional particles which are rare in western Malayo-Polynesian languages outside of the Mongondow-Gorontalo and Northern Cordilleran languages, the latter of which only mark a two-way distinction between venitive and andative (Santiago 2015): *may* 'venitive', *mako* 'andative', *monik* 'upward', *monog* 'downward', *muwik* 'uphill', and *munsog* 'seaward'.[16]   Note that as illustrated in Table 26, the particle *noma* has two allomorphs: an *n*-initial allomorph after vowel-final words, and an *n*-

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[16]The Ponosakan equivalents, which were inadvertently overlooked in Lobel's (2016) overview of Ponosakan, are *may* 'venitive', *makow* 'andative', *monik* 'upward', *monah* 'downward', *muwik* 'uphill', and *musah* 'seaward'.

Table 22. Lolak negators, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss	Notes
deyu'	/dejuʔ/	'no, not' (negates verbs or adjectives)	
de'enda	/deʔenda/	'no, not'	(< deyu' + -onda)
de'edo'	/deʔedoʔ/	'not anymore'	(< deyu' + -odo)
de'edonda	/deʔedonda/	'not anymore'	(< deyu' + -odo + -onda)
de'epa'	/deʔepaʔ/	'not yet'	(< deyu' + -opa)
de'epa'anda	/deʔepaʔanda/	'not yet'	(< deyu' + -opa + -onda)
dika'	/dikaʔ/	'don't' (negates commands)	
disiyo'	/disijoʔ/	'not' (negates nouns)	
adii'	/adiːʔ/	'I don't like', 'I don't want to'	
tatau	/tatau/	'I don't know'	

less allomorph following consonant-final words. Furthermore, the particles *do* and *pa* each have three allomorphs: *do* and *pa*, respectively, after vowel-final words, except when following words that historically ended in /n/, where these two particles surface as -*ndo* and -*mpa*, respectively; and -*odo* and -*opa*, respectively, after synchronically consonant-final words.

The /m/-initial particles *muni, may, mako, monik, monog, muwik,* and *munsog* also have two allomorphs each: one with the initial /m/, occurring after vowel-final words, and one without the initial /m/, occurring after consonant-final words, as illustrated for *muni* and *noma* in Table 27.

3.8 Conjunctions and other miscellaneous function words The conjunctions and subordinating conjunctions of Lolak are listed in Table 28, along with a number of other important function words.

3.9 Numbers and other quantifiers As demonstrated in Table 29, Lolak has a decimal system of counting in which the numbers from one to nine are monomorphemic, while 'ten' is formed by prefixing *mo-* to the base *pulu'* 'ten'. The numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed by *mopulu'* 'ten' followed by *gu* 'and' and the corresponding number from two to nine, although 'eleven' is *mopulu' gu minsa'* instead of the expected **mopulu' gu sobatu'. The multiples of ten, from twenty to ninety, are formed using the corresponding number from two to nine, followed by the linker *no* and the word *pulu'* 'ten'; e.g., *do'iya no pulu'* 'twenty', *siyow no pulu'* 'ninety'. Units beyond each multiple of ten are formed similarly to the numbers eleven to nineteen,

Table 23. Lolak adverbs of time, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
iluwana no kolabu	/iluwana no kolabu/	'the day before yesterday'
kolabu	/kolabu/	'yesterday'
ko'ina	/koʔina/	'earlier'
tako'ina	/takoʔina/	'earlier'
singga'iya	/siŋgaʔija/	'today'
ta'iya	/taʔija/	'today', 'now'
masa no'iya	/masa noʔija/	'nowadays', 'at present'
ba sopilikay	/ba sopilikaj/	'later'
moluwo	/moluwo/	'tomorrow'
so'uma'	/soʔumaʔ/	'the day after tomorrow'
kogobii	/kogobiː/	'last night'
sungkulo'ite	/suŋkuloʔite/	'in that past', 'way back when'
kolipod	/kolipod/	'in that past', 'way back when'
ba so'onuka	/ba soʔonuka/	'in the future'
saumay	/saumaj/	'in the future'

Table 24. Lolak parts of the day, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
bagusubu	/bagusubu/	'morning'
mutu no singgay	/mutu no siŋgaj/	'noon'
lolabu	/lolabu/	'afternoon'
gobii	/gobiː/	'night'
pongantog 'o gobii	/poŋantog o gobiː/	'midnight'
modiyug mobahag	/modijug mobahag/	'early morning'
singgay	/siŋgaj/	'day'

with *gu* plus the corresponding number from one to nine, e.g., *do'iya no pulu' gu minsa'* 'twenty-one'. Similar to the formation of 'ten', the number 'one hundred' is formed by prefixing *mo-* to the base *gasut* 'hundred'. The word 'one thousand', on the other hand, consists of the prefix *so-* 'one' and the root *ribu* 'thousand', and is analogous to the Indonesian form *seribu*, unlike forms in closely related languages,

Table 25. Lolak particles, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
do	/do/	'already, now; anymore'
pa	/pa/	'still; more; yet'
muna	/muna/	'first (before doing anything else)'
tonga'	/toŋaʔ/	'only, just'
ta'	/taʔ/	'only, just'
dongka	/doŋka/	'only (at this point in time)'
soka	/soka/	'surprise particle'
buwi	/buwi/	'again'
noma	/noma/	'also; once again'
basi'	/basiʔ/	'(not) very/too/that' (always preceded by a negator)
mani'	/maniʔ/	'it would be better if/to'
muni	/muni/	(softener)
dega'	/degaʔ/	'maybe'
may	/maj/	venitive particle (indicates movement towards the speaker)
mako	/mako/	andative particle (indicates movement away from the speaker)
monik	/monik/	(indicates movement in an upward direction)
monog	/monog/	(indicates movement in a downward direction)
muwik	/muwik/	(indicates movement towards the mountains)
munsog	/munsog/	(indicates movement towards the sea)

e.g., Ponosakan *mohiwu*, Mongondow *tongo ribu*. The multiples of a hundred and a thousand are formed in a similar way as the multiples of ten, using the appropriate number from two to nine, followed by the linker *no* and the word *gasut* 'hundred' or *ribu* 'thousand'; for example, *do'iya no gasut* 'two hundred', *do'iya no ribu* 'two thousand'. It should be pointed out that in the terms for forty, sixty, four hundred, six hundred, four thousand, and six thousand, the initial consonant of the linker *no* is always dropped, e.g., *opat 'o pulu'* 'forty', *onom 'o gasut* 'six hundred', etc. Note that before many nouns, 'one' is realized as a prefix *so-* instead of by the standalone *sobatu'*, e.g., *sotaas* 'one bag', *sopangke* 'one tree', *sodiminggu* 'one week', *sobula*

Table 26. Allomorphs of do, pa, and noma, with audio samples

	pinomiya 'did' (OF.PST)	surubo 'will burn' (OF.NPST)	sinurub 'burned' (OF.PST)
do	pinomiya do /pinomija do/	surubo 'ndo /surubo ndo/	sinurub 'odo /sinurub odo/
pa	pinomiya pa /pinomija pa/	surubo 'mpa /surubo mpa/	sinurub 'opa /sinurub opa/
noma	pinomiya noma /pinomija noma/	surubo noma /surubo noma/	sinurub 'oma /sinurub oma/

'one month', *sotaung* 'one year', and *sogalas* 'one glass'.[17] A number of other forms do not take this prefix, including *sobatu' momata* 'one person', never **somomata.

Table 27. Allomorphs of *noma* and *muni*, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
saratolu noma	/saratolu noma/	'the three of them, too'
sara'opat 'oma	/saraʔopat omɑ/	'the four of them, too'
sara'onom 'oma	/saraʔonom omɑ/	'the six of them, too'
saratolu muni	/saratolu muni/	'Oh, the three of them!'
sara'opat 'uni	/saraʔopat uni/	'Oh, the four of them!'

The ordinal numbers, listed in Table 30, generally consist of a *noging-* prefix attached to the cardinal numbers, except that the word for 'first' is *muna*, and the base for 'second' is *-duwa* instead of the standalone *do'iya*. A second set of ordinal numbers exists marked by the prefix *ko-*, as illustrated in Table 31, and can also be used in order to refer to the number of times that something has been done.

The distributional numbers, listed in Table 32, generally consist of a *tog-* prefix (whose final /g/ is lost on consonant-initial roots) plus reduplication of the first CV of the root, or of the /g/ of the prefix plus the initial vowel of the root for vowel-initial forms), except for the form corresponding to the number 'one', which is *songobatu'*. These distributional numbers are used to convey the quantity of an item that each of two or more individuals may take or receive (e.g., *tododo'iya* 'two each', *tototolu* 'three each'), as well as how many people will perform an action at a time (e.g., *tododo'iya* 'two at a time; two by two', *tototolu* 'three at a time; three by three').

Finally, Table 33 illustrates some other common quantifiers in Lolak.

3.10 Verb system Like the other Mongondow-Gorontalo and Greater Central Philippine languages, Lolak has a complex verbal system which encodes a variety of information through affixation. Similar in many details to the system illustrated by Lobel (2016) for Ponosakan, the verbal morphology of Lolak encodes such information as aspect, plurality, the phenomenon known as "focus" (or "voice"),[18] and a variety of semantic modes including abilitative/accidental, causative, and reciprocal. As these elements can co-occur, it is possible to form words of nine or more syllables (cf. Table 34), e.g., *pinokiporotolikuda* 'was ordered to place two things back-to-back' (p<in>oki-poro-tolikud-a, <PST>CAUS2-RCP-turn.backwards-LF), or

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[17]No audio recordings are available for these forms.

[18]The focus systems of Philippine and Philippine-type languages have been described by Blust (2013:55) as "complex systems of verbal affixation that allow a range of nominal arguments, including actor, patient, location, instrument and benefactor to be morphologically encoded as having a special relationship to the verb" and by Clayre (1996:53) as "a system of voice marking, by which a single nominal element in each verbal clause is morphologically marked for special prominence" in which "[t]he focused item in each clause is clearly indicated by the affixes on the verb and the case-markers of the nominal arguments."

Table 28. Lolak conjunctions and other function words, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
agu	/agu/	'and'
andeka	/andeka/	'or'
aka	/aka/	'if'
si	/si/	'because'
siba	/siba/	'so that'
umpaka	/umpaka/	'even if'
manangka'ite	/manaŋkaʔite/	'that's why'
eda	/eda/	'but,' 'however'
kapi	/kapi/	'more than'
bagu	/bagu/	'before,' 'only…so far'
taki	/taki/	'with'
sampe	/sampe/	'until'
kohogos	/kohogos/	'while'
ando	/ando/	'already' (marks past time)
ba	/ba/	'will' (marks future time)
o'o	/oʔo/	'yes'
ongka	/oŋka/	'there is,' 'has, have'
nongonda	/noŋonda/	'upon having, when, once'
molawa'	/molawaʔ/	'rarely'

pinokiporoginsahua 'was ordered to place two things facing each other' (p<in>oki-porog-insahu-a, <PST>CAUS2-RCP-face.forwards-LF). While many of the verbal affixes are similar between Lolak and Ponosakan, a key difference between the two is that final *-n was lost historically in Lolak, including in the Proto-Mongondow-Gorontalo suffixes *-on 'Object Focus' and *-an 'Location Focus,' which are realized in Lolak as -*o* and -*a*, respectively.

Lolak exhibits many of the same complexities also found in Ponosakan and the majority of other Philippine and Philippine-type languages. The basic nonpast Actor Focus is marked by three separate conjugations, depending on the root: *<um>* (e.g., *kumaa* 'bite into (AF.NPST)' < *kaa* 'eat'), which is realized as *<im>* if the first vowel of the root is /i/ (e.g., *limitu'* 'sit (AF.NPST)' < *litu'* 'sit'); *mog-* (e.g., *mogonat* 'stretch (AF.NPST)' < *onat* 'stretch'); and *moN-* (e.g., *mongaa* 'eat (AF.NPST)' < *kaa* 'eat'). The past form of the *<um>* conjugation is realized as an infix on most consonant-initial roots (e.g., *kinumaa* 'bit into (AF.PST)' < *kaa* 'eat') but as a combination of a prefix

Table 29. Lolak numbers, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
sobatu'	/sobatuʔ/	1
do'iya	/doʔija/	2
tolu	/tolu/	3
opat	/opat/	4
lima	/lima/	5
onom	/onom/	6
pitu	/pitu/	7
walu	/walu/	8
siyow	/sijow/	9
mopulu'	/mopuluʔ/	10
mopulu' gu minsa'	/mopuluʔ gu minsaʔ/	11
do'iya no pulu'	/doʔija no puluʔ/	20
do'iya no pulu' gu minsa'	/doʔija no puluʔ gu minsaʔ/	21
tolu no pulu'	/tolu no puluʔ/	30
opat 'o pulu'	/opat o puluʔ/	40
lima no pulu'	/lima no puluʔ/	50
onom 'o pulu'	/onom o puluʔ/	60
pitu no pulu'	/pitu no puluʔ/	70
walu no pulu'	/walu no puluʔ/	80
siyow no pulu'	/sijow no puluʔ/	90
mogasut	/mogasut/	100
do'iya no gasut	/doʔija no gasut/	200
opat 'o gasut	/opat o gasut/	400
onom 'o gasut	/onom o gasut/	600
soribu	/soribu/	1,000
do'iya no ribu	/doʔija no ribu/	2,000
opat 'o ribu	/opat o ribu/	4,000
onom 'o ribu	/onom o ribu/	6,000

and infix on roots beginning with /h/, /l/, or /r/ (e.g., *ilimitu'* 'sat (AF.PST)' < *litu'* 'sit', *ihiminde* 'looked (AF.PST)' > *hinde* 'look'; *irumondi'* 'turned black (AF.PST)' < *rondi'*

Table 30. Lolak ordinal numbers, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
muna	/muna/	'first'
noginduwa	/noginduwa/	'second'
nogintolu	/nogintolu/	'third'
noginggopat	/nogiŋgopat/	'fourth'
nogilima	/nogilima/	'fifth'
nogi'onom	/nogiʔonom/	'sixth'
nogipitu	/nogipitu/	'seventh'
nogiwalu	/nogiwalu/	'eighth'
nogisiyow	/nogisijow/	'ninth'
nogimpulu'	/nogimpuluʔ/	'tenth'

Table 31. Alternative ordinal numbers in Lolak, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
ko'insa	/koʔinsa/	'first'; 'once'
koduwa	/koduwa/	'second'; 'twice'
kotolu	/kotolu/	'third'; 'three times'
ko'opat	/koʔopat/	'fourth'; 'four times'
kolima	/kolima/	'fifth'; 'five times'
ko'onom	/koʔonom/	'sixth'; 'six times'
kopitu	/kopitu/	'seventh'; 'seven times'
kowalu	/kowalu/	'eighth'; 'eight times'
kosiyow	/kosijow/	'ninth'; 'nine times'
kopulu'	/kopuluʔ/	'tenth'; 'ten times'

'black'). In both the past and nonpast forms of the *<um>* conjugation, root-initial /b/, /p/, and /n/ are dropped, e.g., *umungkut* 'hunch over (AF.NPST)', *inumungkut* 'hunched over (AF.PST)' < *bungkut* 'hunch over'; *umuti* 'turn white (AF.NPST)', *inumuti* 'turned white (AF.PST)' < *puti* 'white'; and *umabu'* 'jump down (AF.NPST)', *inumabu'* 'jumped down (AF.PST)' < *nabu'* 'fall; drop something intentionally'. The past forms of *mog-* and *moN-* verbs are formed with the prefixes *nog-* and *noN-*, respectively (e.g., *nogonat* 'stretched (AF.PST)' and *nongaa* 'ate (AF.PST)'). Imperatives are formed with *pog-* for *mog-* verbs, *poN-* for *moN-* verbs, and by the unaffixed root

Table 32. Distributive numbers in Lolak, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
songobatu'	/soŋobatuʔ/	'one each'; 'one at a time'
tododo'iya	/tododoʔija/	'two each'; 'two at a time'
tototolu	/tototolu/	'three each'; 'three at a time'
togogopat	/togogopat/	'four each'; 'four at a time'
tololima	/tololima/	'five each'; five at a time'
togogonom	/togogonom/	'six each'; 'six at a time'
topopitu	/topopitu/	'seven each'; 'seven at a time'
towowalu	/towowalu/	'eight each'; 'eight at a time'
tososiyow	/tososijow/	'nine each'; 'nine at a time'
topopulu'	/topopuluʔ/	'ten each'; 'ten at a time'
togogasut	/togogasut/	'a hundred each'; 'a hundred at a time'

Table 33. Lolak quantifiers, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Gloss
mo'anto'	/moʔantoʔ/	'many'
mohakag	/mohakag/	'few'
sopilik	/sopilik/	'few'
ko'insa	/koʔinsa/	'all'
minsa	/minsa/	'all'

for *<um>* verbs (e.g., *Pogonat!* 'Stretch!', *Pongaa!* 'Eat!', *Litu'!* 'Sit down!'). A total of five focuses can be found in Lolak: Actor Focus (marked by the aforementioned *<um>*, *mog-*, or *moN-*), Object Focus (marked by *-o*), Location Focus (marked by *-a*), Secondary Object Focus[19] (marked by zero), and Instrument Focus (marked by *pog-* or *poN-*), as illustrated in Tables 35 and 36. The same two distinct causatives found in Ponosakan also exist in Lolak, labeled herein as "Causative-1" and "Causative-2". The simple causative, labeled herein as "Causative-1", marks actions in which one person causes an action to be performed by, or a condition to be implemented upon, a second person or entity. In contrast, the double causative, labeled "Causative-2",

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[19]"Secondary Object Focus" here refers to the fourth focus of Philippine and Philippine-type languages (also referred to elsewhere as the Benefactive or Theme Focus/Voice, among other labels) marked by a reflex of PMP *i-, which is reflected as zero in all of the Mongondow-Gorontalo languages. Note that the prefix *i-* in Lolak, Mongondow, Ponosakan, etc., is a reflex of the *ni-* prefix allomorph of PMP *<in> 'past aspect' with loss of the initial *n, and is therefore unrelated to PMP *i-.

Table 34. Some Lolak verb forms, with audio samples

Lolak	IPA	Morphemic Annotation	Gloss
pinokiporotolikuda	/pinokiporotolikuda/	p<in>oki-poro-tolikud-a	'ordered someone to place two things back-to-back' (LF.CAUS2.RCP.PST)
pinokiporoginsahua	/pinokiporoginsahua/	p<in>oki-porog-insahu-a	'ordered someone to place two things facing each other' (LF.CAUS2.RCP.PST)
kumaa	/kumaː/	k<um>aa	'bite into (AF.NPST)'
kinumaa	/kinumaː/	k<inum>aa	'bit into (AF.PST)'
kaa	/kaː/	kaa	'eat (OF.IMP)'
limitu'	/limituʔ/	l<im>itu'	'sit (AF.NPST)'
ilimitu'	/ilimituʔ/	i-l<im>itu'	'sat (AF.PST)'
litu'	/lituʔ/	litu'	'sit (AF.IMP)'
mogonat	/mogonat/	mog-onat	'stretch (AF.NPST)'
nogonat	/nogonat/	nog-onat	'stretched (AF.PST)'
pogonat	/pogonat/	pog-onat	'stretch (AF.IMP)'
onat	/onat/	onat	'stretch (OF.IMP)'
mongaa	/moŋaː/	moN-kaa	'eat (AF.NPST)'
nongaa	/nongaː/	noN-kaa	'eat (AF.PST)'
pongaa	/pongaː/	poN-kaa	'eat (AF.IMP)'
himinde	/himinde/	h<im>inde	'look (AF.NPST)'
ihiminde	/ihiminde/	i-h<im>inde	'looked (AF.PST)'
hinde	/hinde/	hinde	'look (AF.IMP)'
rumondi'	/rumondiʔ/	r<um>ondiʔ	'turn black (AF.NPST)'
irumondi' rondi' †	/irumondiʔ/ /rondiʔ/	i-r<um>ondiʔ rondiʔ	'turned black (AF.PST)' 'turn black (AF.IMP)'
umabu'	/umabuʔ/	n<um>abuʔ	'jump down (AF.NPST)'
inumabu'	/inumabuʔ/	n<inum>abuʔ	'jumped down (AF.PST)'
nabu'	/nabuʔ/	nabuʔ	'jump down (AF.IMP)'
umuti'	/umutiʔ/	p<um>utiʔ	'turn white (AF.NPST)'
inumuti' puti' †	/inumutiʔ/ /putiʔ/	p<inum>utiʔ putiʔ	'turned white (AF.PST)' 'turn white (AF.IMP)'
umungkut	/umuŋkut/	b<um>uŋkut	'hunch over (AF.NPST)'
inumungkut bungkut †	/inumuŋkut/ /buŋkut/	b<inum>uŋkut buŋkut	'hunched over (AF.PST)' 'hunch over (AF.IMP)'

† No audio recordings are available for these forms

Table 35. Basic Lolak verb morphology

		Actor Focus	Actor Focus mog-	Actor Focus moN-	Object Focus	Location Focus	Second. Object Focus	Instrument Focus
BASIC	NPST	<um>	mog-	moN-	-o	-a	Ø-	pog-, poN-
	PST	<inum>	nog-	noN-	<in>, i-	<in>...-a, i-...-a	<in>	pinog-, pinoN-
	IMP	Ø-	pog-	poN-	-Ø	-ay	Ø-	pog-, poN-
ABIL	NPST	moko-	=	=	ko-...-a	=	=	—
	PST	noko-	=	=	kino-...-a	=	=	—
PL	NPST	morog-	morog-	moroN-	soko-...-o	soko-...-a	soko-	—
	PST	norog-	norog-	noroN-	sinoko-	sinoko-...-a	sinoko-	—
	IMP	porog-	porog-	poroN-	soko-	soko-...-ay	soko-	—
PET	NPST	moki-	—	—	—	—	—	—
	PST	noki-	—	—	—	—	—	—
	IMP	poki-	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 36. Affixed forms of the root *kaa* 'eat', with audio samples

		Actor Focus	Object Focus	Location Focus	Secondary Object Focus
BASIC	NPST	mongaa /moŋaː/	kaano /kaːno/	pongaana /poŋaːna/	—
	PST	nongaa /noŋaː/	kinaa /kinaː/	pinongana /pinoŋaːna/	—
	IMP	pongaa /poŋaː/	kaa /kaː/	—	—
ABIL	NPST	mokokaa /mokokaː/	kokaana /kokaːna/	—	—
	PST	nokokaa /nokokaː/	kinokaana /kinokaːna/	—	—
CAUS1	NPST	mopokaa /mopokaː/	pokaano /pokaːno/	—	popokaa /popokaː/
	PST	nopokaa /nopokaː/	pinokaa /pinokaː/	—	pinopokaa /pinopokaː/
	IMP	—	pokaa /pokaː/	—	popokaa /popokaː/
CAUS1 ABIL	NPST	mokopokaa /mokopokaː/	kopokaana /kopokaːna/	—	kopokaana /kopokaːna/
	PST	nokopokaa /nokopokaː/	kinopokaana /kinopokaːna/	—	kinopokaana /kinopokaːna/
CAUS2	NPST	mokipokaa /mokipokaː/	—	pokikaana /pokikaːana/	pokikaa /pokikaː/
	PST	nokipokaa /nokipokaː/	—	pinokikaana /pinokikaːna/	pinokikaa /pinokikaː/
	PST	—	—	pokikaanay /pokikaːnaj/	pokikaa /pokikaː/
PL	NPST	mongongaa /moŋoŋaː/	sokokaano /sokokaːno/	—	—
	PST	nongongaa /noŋoŋaː/	sinokokaa /sinokokaː/	—	—
	IMP	pongongaa /poŋoŋaː/	sokokaa /sokokaː/	—	—
PL-CAUS1	NPST	—	sokopokaano /sokopokaːno/	—	—
	PST	—	sinokopokaa /sinokopokaː/	—	—
	IMP	—	sokopokaa /sokopokaː/	—	—
RECP	NPST	mosikaana /mosikaːna/	—	—	—
	PST	nosikaana /nosikaːna/	—	—	—
	IMP	posikaana /posikaːna/	—	—	—

Table 37. More Lolak verb morphology

		Actor Focus	Object Focus	Location Focus	Secondary Object Focus
CAUS1	NPST	mopo-	po-...-o	po-...-a	popo-
	PST	nopo-	pino-	pino-...-a	pinopo-
	IMP	—	po-	po-...-ay	popo-
CAUS1-ABIL	NPST	mokopo-	kopo-...-a	=	=
	PST	nokopo-	kinopo-...-a	=	=
CAUS2	NPST	mokipo-	—	poki-...-a	poki-
	PST	nokipo-	—	pinoki-...-a	pinoki-
	PAST	—	—	poki-...-ay	poki-
CAUSSTAT	NPST	mopoko-	poko-...-on	—	—
	PST	nopoko-	pinoko-	—	—
	PAST	—	poko-	—	—
CAUSSTAT-ABIL	NPST	mokopoko-	kopoko-...-a	=	=
	PST	nokopoko-	kinopoko-...-a	=	=
PL-CAUS1	NPST	—	sokopo-...-o	sokopo-...-a	sokopopo-
	PST	—	sinokopo-	sinokopo-...-a	sinokopopo-
	IMP	—	soko-	sokopo-...-ay	sokopopo-
RECP1	NPST	morog-	porog-...-o	poporog-...-a	—
	PST	norog-	pinorog-	pinoporog-...-a	—
	IMP	porog-	porog-	—	—
RECP1-ABIL	NPST	mokoporog-	koporog-...-a	—	—
	PST	nokoporog-	kinoporog-...-a	—	—
RECP2	NPST	mosi-...-a	—	—	—
	PST	nosi-...-a	—	—	—
	IMP	posi-...-a	—	—	—
RECP3	NPST	mo-CV-...-a	—	—	—
	PST	no-CV-...-a	—	—	—
	IMP	po-CV-...-a	—	—	—
CAUS2-RCP	NPST	mokiporog-	—	pokiporog-...-a	pokiporog-
	PST	nokiporog-	—	pinokiporog-...-a	pinokiporog-
	IMP	—	—	pokiporog-...-ay	pokiporog-
CAUS2-RCP-ABIL	NPST	—	—	kopokiporog-...-a	—
	PST	—	—	kinopokiporog-...-a	—
USE/WEAR	NPST	mogi-	pogi-...-o	pogi-...-a	—
	PST	nogi-	pinogi-	pinogi-...-a	—
	IMP	pogi-	pogi-	—	—
CAUS-USE	NPST	mokipogi-	—	pogi-...-a	—
	PST	nokipogi-	—	pinokipogi-...-a	—
	IMP	pokipogi-	—	pokipogi-...-ay	—
CAUS2-STAT	NPST	—	—	pokipoko-...-a	pokipoko-
	PST	—	—	pinokipoko-...-a	pinokipoko-
	IMP	—	—	pokipoko-...-ay	pokipoko-

marks an action in which one person causes a second person to cause an action to be performed by, or a condition to be implemented upon, a third person or entity. In the causative forms of *kaa* 'eat' in Table 35, the simple causative indicates that the agent is feeding another person, in contrast to the double causative which indicates that the agent is causing a second person to feed a third person. While a thorough discussion of the verb system is beyond the scope of this short sketch, Table 36 presents a nonexhaustive inventory of the conjugations of the root *kaa* 'eat', which can be compared with the forms of its Ponosakan cognate *ka'an* 'eat' presented in Lobel (2016).

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations not in the Leipzig Glossing Rules are used in this paper:

ABIL	abilitative/accidental mode
AF	actor focus
CAUS1	simple causative
CAUS2	double causative
CT	count form of pronouns
IF	instrument focus
LF	location focus
OF	object focus
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
PET	petitive mode
PGCPH	Proto-Greater Central Philippines
PMOGO	Proto-Mongondow-Gorontalo
PMP	Proto-Malayo-Polynesian
STAT	Stative
TRI	trial form of pronouns
USE	verbal mode conveying the use or wearing of something
†	indicates forms in tables without an accompanying audio recording.

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Ade Tatak Paputungan