

Notes from the Field: Ponosakan: The Sounds of a Silently Dying Language of Indonesia, with Supporting Audio

Jason William Lobel

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Ponosakan is a near-extinct Greater Central Philippine language spoken on the large central Indonesian island of Sulawesi. Little has appeared in the literature about the language, which now has only four fully fluent speakers, ranging in age from 70 to 92 years old. The purpose of this paper is to present a brief introduction to the language, including its phoneme system and grammatical subsystems. Accompanying this paper are over 300 audio recordings, to give the world an opportunity to hear a language that is rarely spoken even in its traditional home.

1. Introduction¹ Ponosakan,² a Greater Central Philippine language (Blust 1991) of the Mongondow-Gorontalo branch, was traditionally spoken in the town of Belang near the northeastern tip of the large central Indonesian island of Sulawesi (see Figure 1). At present, with only four speakers left who are fully fluent in the language,³ it has the smallest speaker population on the island of Sulawesi (Blust 2013:81) and one of the five smallest speaker populations in the Philippine subgroup (Blust 2013:58).

At least as early as 1682 (Dunnebie 1949:237), Dutch explorers recorded the presence of the Ponosakans in the town of Belang, where they were once a feared, locally-powerful tribe. However, by the end of the first quarter of the 20th century, one outside observer had already noted that the Ponosakan language was “at present already disappearing” (Adriani 1925:135). According to the recollections of the elderly Ponosakans themselves, only a minority of children were still learning Ponosakan at home in the 1930s, and by the 1950s, that number had become virtually zero. Furthermore, even at the onset of World War II, a full half of the town’s

¹Very special thanks are due to the elderly Ponosakans who over the past decade have shared with me many of the precious few occasions on which their language has been spoken: Ibrahim Tona, Kader Tawo, Asri Abraham, Karim Umbo, Salim Tora (d. 2010), and Sanun Puili (d. 2012). Special thanks are also due to the many people who have assisted me during my field trips to Sulawesi Utara, especially Yunus Tondais, Jantje Lomboan, Juddy Mandak, Ade Paputungan, Biling Paputungan, Halik Gobel, Alisa Hetio, the late Abang Hatam and Hj. Hunggu T. Usup, their families, and the faculty, staff, and students of Universitas Klabat, Universitas Kotamobagu Dumoga, and Universitas Sam Ratulangi. The author also gratefully acknowledges the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Science Foundation from August 2015 to July 2017 (Documenting Endangered Language grants FN-230224-15 and FN-249649-16). Helpful comments from two anonymous reviewers assisted in the revision of this paper. Any errors and misrepresentations in this paper are my responsibility alone.

²Note that audio recordings for the Ponosakan forms not included in the tables in the body of the paper can be found in Appendix A.

³Unfortunately, the Ethnologue (Lewis et al. 2015) still cites a 1981 population statistic of 3,000 for Ponosakan.

estimated population of 2,000 residents was reportedly composed of immigrants from various Indonesian towns and islands, as well as Arab and Chinese storeowners. Based on this information, published speaker counts for more recent decades—3,000 at the beginning of the 1980s (Sneddon 1983) and 2,000 a decade later (Noorduyn 1991)—appear to have been drastically overestimated.⁴ Regardless, when the current author first arrived in Belang in 2007, it was already exceedingly difficult to find fluent speakers, whose population by then was probably already in the single digits. Nearly a decade later, there are only four fluent speakers remaining, all of whom are over the age of 70, with the oldest and most competent being 92 years old. Still, just four funerals from extinction, virtually no attention has been paid to this language since the mid-1980s (cf. Karisoh-Najoan 1982; Usup 1984, 1986), other than the current author's fieldwork. In the meantime, the language has been dying a silent death, since other than the periods of time when this author is actively conducting fieldwork in Belang, the four remaining speakers of Ponosakan rarely meet for any substantial period of time in any given month. As a result, the Ponosakan language hardly even qualifies as still being 'spoken,' regardless of its survival in the minds of these four elderly individuals whose command of the language is still remarkably vibrant when given a reason to speak it.

Very little has appeared in the literature about the Ponosakan language, and what has been published has been limited to individual lexical items in various comparative studies (Karisoh-Najoan 1982; Usup 1984, 1986; Sneddon & Usup 1986; Sneddon 1989, 1991; Lobel 2011, 2013) and geographical surveys (Jansen 1855; Niemann 1869, 1870; Koorders 1898; Merrifield & Salea 1996). A government-sanctioned Indonesian-language sketch of Ponosakan phonology was also published (Danie et al. 1983), but it is highly problematic as it treats Ponosakan phonology as if it could be derived from Indonesian. The current author, however, has been working on a series of articles (Lobel 2015, 2016a) as well as a grammar sketch (Lobel 2016b), a dictionary (Lobel 2016c) and a text collection (Lobel 2016d).⁵ At present, with the limited time remaining considering the ages of the remaining speakers, it seems highly unlikely that this language will be the subject of any further work by other linguists before it becomes extinct, especially since any meaningful fieldwork on Ponosakan requires not only a thorough background in Philippine and Philippine-type languages,

⁴This appears to be the case because, if (1) Ponosakan speakers indeed accounted for only half of the estimated 2,000 residents of Belang in the 1940s, and (2) those were the last years that children were learning the language, then it is virtually impossible that the speaker population could have tripled over the next thirty or so years. As such, it seems more likely that the figures in Sneddon (1983) and Noorduyn (1991) were both either based on unconfirmed reports by locals, or estimates of the population of ethnic Ponosakans, regardless of whether they could speak the language or not.

⁵The current body of documentation consists of over 50 hours of audio recordings, over half of which have been transcribed and are being translated into English. The recordings have been archived at the University of Hawai'i Kaipuleohone Digital Language Archive, and consist mostly of spontaneously-produced primary texts covering a variety of genre and subject matter, including (i) individual personal narratives; (ii) local history; (iii) instructional narratives on various topics (including agriculture, fishing, animal husbandry, hut building, and food preparation); (iv) descriptions of local customs, beliefs, games, and activities; (v) descriptions of religious beliefs and activities; (vi) natural, spontaneous conversations; and (vii) songs.

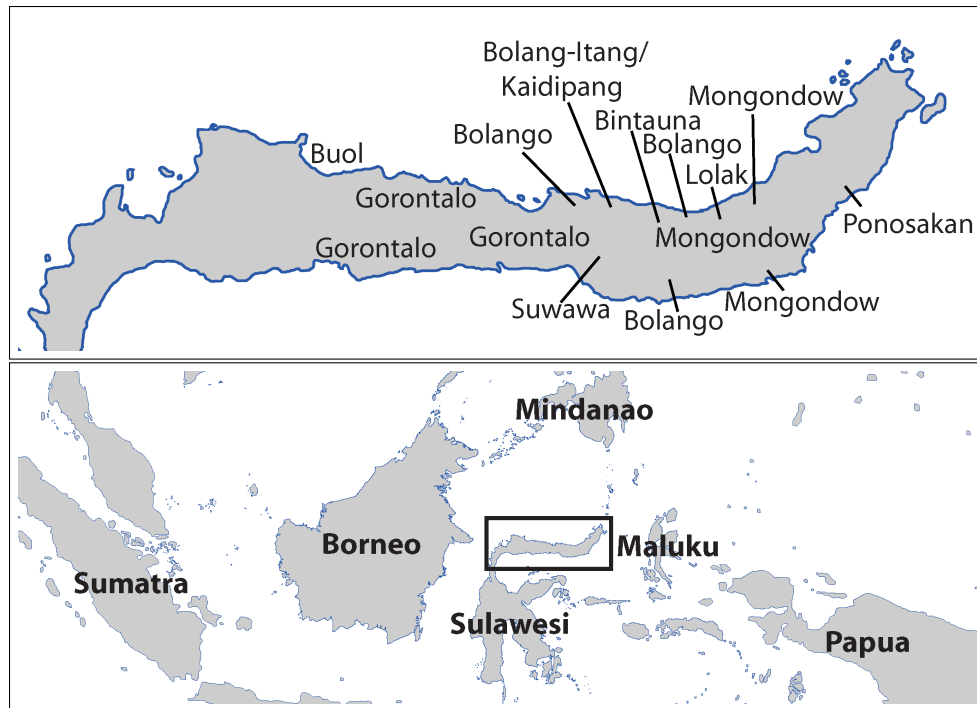


Figure 1. The location of Ponosakan in Sulawesi and Indonesia

but also a solid command of both Indonesian and the local lingua franca Manado Malay.

The intent of this paper is to present a brief overview of the Ponosakan phoneme system and basic functor subsets—the importance of which has been discussed by McFarland (1974), Zorc (1977, 1978), and Lobel (2013), among others—accompanied by audio examples so that readers may not only read but also hear the sounds of this seldom-spoken, near-extinct language. The data are from Ibrahim Tona (b. 1924), who is currently the oldest surviving Ponosakan speaker, and whose command of the language is the best of any of the surviving speakers, especially in terms of lexicon and complex verb morphology. Mr. Tona is also the voice heard on the recordings, which were made in late 2014 and 2015. As there are no recording studios in or near the town of Belang and Mr. Tona could not travel to the provincial capital of Manado due to his advanced age, it was necessary to make the audio recordings in his house during quiet times of the day (usually when the daily hours-long power outages silenced the televisions and stereo systems). As such, the occasional chicken, hammer, or motorcycle may be heard in the background, although the utmost care was taken to re-record items if distracting noises had been noticed during the recording process. The audio files were recorded in 44.1kHz 16-bit WAV format on a Zoom H-4 recorder using a Shure SM-81 microphone, and were edited on a Samsung laptop using Adobe Audition software. Words and phrases were specially chosen for recording for this description from the author's 2,400-item Ponosakan lexical database, approximately

500 pages of field notes, and over 50 hours of primary language texts, and were recorded in isolation in their citation form. A short text is also included as Appendix C. The original recordings are to be deposited with ScholarSpace.

2. Phonology As illustrated in Tables 1 and 2, Ponosakan has 16 consonants (plus /ɕ/ in loanwords) and five vowels. The consonant inventory is identical to that of many Philippine languages, and the five-vowel system is largely unremarkable save for the /o/ reflex of Proto-Austronesian *ə and the non-etymological /e/ which is also found in the closely-related Mongondow.

Table 1. The phoneme inventory of Ponosakan

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

Like the other Mongondow-Gorontalo languages, Ponosakan does not allow geminate consonants and prohibits consonant clusters other than those consisting of a stop or /s/ preceded by a homorganic nasal (/mb mp nd nt ns ŋg ŋk/). However, vowel sequences are allowed, as are word-final long vowels which are the phonetic realizations of underlying word-final /h/ or /l/.

Table 2. Consonant phonemes with audio examples

Phoneme	#_	Audio	V_V	Audio	_#	Audio
b	buloy /buloj/ 'spouse'		—		—	
d	dalan /dalan/ 'path'		—		—	
g	gotup /gotup/ 'thunder'		—		—	
h	humping /humpiŋ/ 'frying pan'		duhu' /duhu?/ 'blood'		tindoh /tindoh/ 'stand'	

Continued on next page

Table 2 – Continued from previous page

Phoneme	#_	Audio	V_V	Audio	_#	Audio
k		konuku /konuku/ 'fingernail'	tukar /tukar/ 'ladder'			iyoyak /ijojak/ 'shook'
l		lambung /lambun/ 'shirt'	olat /olat/ 'wait'			tuntul /tuntul/ 'language'
m		meyong /mejoŋ/ 'cat'	gamut /gamut/ 'root'			ininum /ininum/ 'drank'
n		natu /natu/ 'egg'	dunuk /dunuk/ 'flood'			ohotan /ohotan/ 'waist'
ŋ		ngiyus /ŋijus/ 'mucus'	bongit /boŋit/ 'moon'			molowong /molowoŋ/ 'bury'
p		pusor /pusor/ 'navel'	sapu /sapu/ 'caress'			atop /atop/ 'roof'
r		rubuson /rubuson/ 'boil'	dorow /dorow/ 'chest'			palar /palar/ 'palm'
s		sanga /saŋa/ 'branch'	asu /asu/ 'dog'			ipus /ipus/ 'tail'
t		ti'ol /ti'ol/ 'foot'	litu' /litu'/?/ 'sit'			ga'at /ga'at/ 'deduct'
w		wasoy /wasoj/ 'steel'	tawaku' /tawaku'/?/ 'tobacco'			intaw /intaw/ 'person'
j		yahat /jahat/ 'sea'	ayokan /ajokan/ 'kiss'			anoy /anoj/ 'termite'
ʔ		utas /utas/ 'sibling'	da'un /da'un/ 'leaf'			olu' /olu'/?/ 'dew'

Continued on next page

Table 2 – Continued from previous page

Phoneme	#_	Audio	V_V	Audio	_#	Audio
ɕ	juma'at /ɕumaʔat/ 'Friday'		meja /medʒa/ 'table'		—	

As in other Mongondow-Gorontalo languages, stress is not contrastive in Ponosakan, and regularly falls on word-final syllables, with a few unpredictable exceptions where it falls on the penultimate syllable, e.g., *si'ene* [si'ʔene] 'who'.

3. Grammatical subsystems This section will illustrate the various sets of functors in Ponosakan: personal pronouns, case markers, demonstrative pronouns, interrogatives, negators, adverbs of time (including parts of the day and days of the week), particles, conjunctions, and numbers.

3.1 Personal pronouns Ponosakan has three sets of pronouns, marking the nominative, genitive, and oblique cases, as illustrated in Table 3. The post-positioned genitive pronouns are used to express possession, but unlike many other Philippine languages, the oblique set is never used in this function in Ponosakan.

Table 3. Ponosakan personal pronouns, with audio examples

Number	NOM	Audio	GEN	Audio	OBL	Audio
1SG	aku'oy /akuʔoj/		ku /ku/ nako' /nakoʔ/		konako' /konakoʔ/	
2SG	ikow /ikow/		mu /mu/ nimu /nimu/		konimu /konimu/	
3SG	siya /sija/		niya /nija/ iya /ija/		koniya /koniya/	

Continued on next page

Table 3 – Continued from previous page

Number	NOM	Audio	GEN	Audio	OBL	Audio
1EX.DUAL	kamiruwa /kamiruwa/		namiruwa /namiruwa/		kon- amiruwa /kon- amiruwa/	
1EX.TRIAL	kamitolu /kami- tolu/		namitolu /nami- tolu/		konami- tolu /konami- tolu/	
1EX.PL	kami /kami/		nami /nami/		konami /konami/	
1IN.DUAL	kitaruwa /ki- taruwa/		naton- duwa /naton- duwa/		konaton- duwa /konaton- duwa/	
1IN.TRIAL	kitatolu /kitatolu/		natontolu /naton- tolu/		konaton- tolu /konaton- tolu/	
1IN.PL	kita /kita/		naton /naton/		konaton /konaton/	
2DUAL	kamu- ruwa /kamu- ruwa/		namu- ruwa /namu- ruwa/		konamu- ruwa /konamu- ruwa/	
2TRIAL	kamutolu /kamu- tolu/		namutolu /namu- tolu/		konamu- tolu /konamu- tolu/	
2PL	mo'ikow /moʔikow/		monimu /monimu/		komon- imu /komon- imu/	
3DUAL	siyaruwa /sijaruwa/		niyaruwa /ni- jaruwa/		koni- yaruwa /koni- jaruwa/	

Continued on next page

Table 3 – Continued from previous page

Number	NOM	Audio	GEN	Audio	OBL	Audio
3 TRIAL	siyatolu /sijatolu/		niyatolu /nijatolu/		koniya- tolu /konija- tolu/	
3 PL	mosiya /mosija/		moniya /monija/		komoniya /komonija/	

Note that the 3SG.GEN form has two allomorphs: *niya* after words ending in a vowel, semivowel, glottal stop, or /l/, and as *iya* after words ending in all other consonants, as illustrated in Table 4.

Table 4. Allomorphs of the third-person genitive pronoun, with audio samples

Allomorph	Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
<i>niya</i>		loleya niya	/loleja niya/	‘his/her ear’
		ulu niya	/ulu niya/	‘his/her head’
		ayoy niya	/ajoj niya/	‘his/her chin’
		dila’ niya	/dilaʔ niya/	‘his/her tongue’
		ti’ol niya	/tiʔol niya/	‘his/her foot’
<i>iya</i>		biwih’iya	/biwih ija/	‘his/her mouth’
		lambung’iya	/lambuŋ ija/	‘his/her shirt’
		pohos’iya	/pohos ija/	‘his/her face’
		kulit’iya	/kulit ija/	‘his/her skin’
		aak’iya	/a:k ija/	‘his/her body’
		inalap’iya	/inalap ija/	‘he/she got’

Note that the genitive pronouns (except *ku* and *mu*) are used as the bases of the quotative pronouns, which are listed in Table 5.

3.2 Case markers Like most other Philippine and Philippine-type languages, Ponosakan has a system of case markers which mark case on common nouns and personal names. For personal names, a contrast is marked between singular (‘Jason’) and plural (‘Jason and the others, Jason and his group’). No similar contrast exists for common nouns, which can only be pluralized by repeating the noun or by adding a quantifier

Table 5. Ponosakan quotative pronouns, with audio samples

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
	kumanakoʻ	/kumanakoʔ/	‘I said’
	kumanimu	/kumanimu/	‘you (SG) said’
	kumaniya	/kumanija/	‘he/she said’
	kumanami	/kumanami/	‘we (EXCL.PL) said’
	kumanaton	/kumanaton/	‘we (INCL.PL) said’
	kumanamuruwa	/kumanamuruwa/	‘the two of you said’
	kumamonimu	/kumamonimu/	‘you (PL) said’
	kumaniyaruwa	/kumanijaruwa/	‘the two of them said’
	kumamoniya	/kumamonija/	‘they (PL) said’

such as *mowahong* ‘many,’ *sokoyu* ‘few,’ or *kominsan* ‘all.’ Table 6 illustrates the case markers of Ponosakan.

Table 6. Ponosakan case markers, with audio samples

	Common Nouns	Audio	Personal Names (SG)	Audio	Personal Names (PL)	Audio
Nominative	in /in/		si /si/		say /saj/	
Genitive	in /in/		i /i/		nay /naj/	
Oblique	kon /kon/		ki /ki/		konay /konaj/	

3.3 Demonstrative pronouns As with the personal pronouns and case markers, the demonstrative pronouns also have a three-way contrast between nominative, genitive, and oblique case-marked forms, as illustrated in Table 7. There is also a set of manner deictics, expressing the meanings ‘like this’ and ‘like that.’ Each set of demonstrative pronouns has three possible points of deixis, corresponding to the first-person, second-person, and third-person personal pronouns, although the manner set only contains two contrasting forms.

3.4 Interrogatives Ponosakan has a wide variety of interrogative words, most of which are formed from one of three bases (*onu*, *onda*, or *-ene*), as illustrated in Table 8.

3.5 Negation Table 9 illustrates the negators of Ponosakan.

Table 7. Ponosakan demonstratives/deictics, with audio samples

	NOM	Audio	GEN	Audio	OBL	Audio	Manner	Audio
1SG (near speaker)	tana'a		kon		kona'a		nana'a	
	/tanaʔa/		tana'a		/kon- aʔa/		/nanaʔa/	
	na'a							
	/naʔa/							
2SG (near ad- dressee)	taniyon		kon		koniyon		naniyon	
	/tanijon/		taniyon		/koni- jon/		/nani- jon/	
	niyon							
	/nijon/							
3SG (far from both)	tain		kon tain		ko- makota		—	
	/tain/		/kon tain/		/ko- makota/			
	takota		kon					
	/takota/		takota					
			/kon takota/					

Table 8. Ponosakan interrogatives, with audio samples

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
	onu	/onu/	‘what’
	si’ene	/siʔene/	‘who’ (NOM.SG)
	say’ene	/sajʔene/	‘who’ (NOM.PL)
	i’ene	/iʔene/	‘who’ (GEN.SG)
	nay’ene	/najʔene/	‘who’ (GEN.PL)
	ki’ene	/kiʔene/	‘to/for whom’ (OBL.SG)
	kongki’ene	/koŋkiʔene/	‘to/for whom’ (OBL.SG)
	konay’ene	/konajʔene/	‘to/for whom’ (OBL.PL)
	mo’onu	/moʔonu/	‘when’
	ko’onda	/koʔonda/	‘where’
	onda	/onda/	‘where (after verbs)’
	ta’onda	/taʔonda/	‘which’
	na’onda	/naʔonda/	‘how (manner),’ ‘how (condition)’
	oyo	/oyo/	‘why’
	mongonu	/moŋonu/	‘why’
	songonu	/soŋonu/	‘how many,’ ‘how much’
	kosongonu	/kosoŋonu/	‘how many times’

Table 9. Ponosakan negators, with audio samples

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
	deya’	/dejaʔ/	‘no, not’ (negates verbs or adjectives)
	dika	/dika/	‘don’t!’ (negates commands)
	di’iman	/diʔiman/	‘not’ (negates nouns)
	deya’ wi’	/dejaʔ wiʔ/	‘none’ (negates existence or present location)
	doi’	/doiʔ/	‘I don’t like it’; ‘I don’t want to’
	ta’awe	/taʔawe/	‘I don’t know’

3.6 Adverbs of Time Tables 10, 11, and 12 illustrate the adverbs of time, parts of the day, and days of the week in Ponosakan.

Table 10. Ponosakan adverbs of time, with audio samples

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
	kowolos	/kowolos/	‘the day before yesterday’
	kolawung	/kolawuŋ/	‘yesterday’
	nainta	/nainta/	‘earlier’
	sona’a	/sonaʔa/	‘today,’ ‘now’
	tana’a	/tanaʔa/	‘today,’ ‘now’
	sokoyu’ may	/sokojuʔ maj/	‘later’
	ikolom	/ikolom/	‘tomorrow’
	so’uma’	/soʔumaʔ/	‘the day after tomorrow’
	kohowi’i	/kohowiʔi/	‘last night’
	ko’onuka	/koʔonuka/	‘in that past,’ ‘way back when’

Table 11. Ponosakan parts of the day, with audio samples

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
	mo’ulop	/moʔulop/	‘morning’
	singamutu	/siŋamutu/	‘noon’
	bawa’ in singkay	/bawaʔ in siŋkaj/	‘afternoon’
	gowi’i	/gowiʔi/	‘night’
	hu’ak in gowi’i	/huʔak in gowiʔi/	‘midnight’
	moriyuh (in) singkay	/moriʝu in siŋkaj/	‘early morning’
	singkay	/siŋkaj/	‘day’

3.7 Particles Like other Philippine-type languages, Ponosakan has a variety of adverbial particles that add various meanings to a phrase in which they are used. Table 13 illustrates these adverbial particles.

Note that the particle *ron* has three allomorphs: *ron* after vowel-final words, *don* after glottal-final words, and *on* after words ending in all other consonants, as illustrated in Table 14.

Table 12. Ponosakan days of the week, with audio samples

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
	Isinin	/isinin/	‘Monday’
	Salasa	/salasa/	‘Tuesday’
	Araba’a	/arabaʔa/	‘Wednesday’
	Hamis	/hamis/	‘Thursday’
	Juma’at	/dʒumaʔat/	‘Friday’
	Saptu	/saptu/	‘Saturday’
	Diminggu	/dimingu/	‘Sunday’

Table 13. Ponosakan particles, with audio samples († indicates forms without an accompanying audio recording)

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
	ron	/ron/	‘already, now; anymore’
	don	/don/	‘already, now; anymore’
	on†	/on/	‘already, now; anymore’
	pa	/pa/	(1) ‘still; more; yet’ (2) ‘first (before doing anything else)’
	rete’	/reteʔ/	‘only, just’
	dete’	/deteʔ/	‘only, just’
	roka	/roka/	‘only (at this point in time)’
	doka	/doka/	‘only (at this point in time)’
	uwat	/uwat/	‘again’
	uli’	/uliʔ/	‘again’
	roman	/roman/	‘once again’
	doman†	/doman/	‘once again’
	muna	/muna/	‘first (before doing anything else)’

3.8 Conjunctions and other miscellaneous function words Table 15 lists the conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions, and other miscellaneous function words of Ponosakan.

Table 14. Allomorphs of *ron*, with audio samples

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
<i>ron</i>	dohuwa ron	/dohuwa ron/	'two already'
	mowuwi ron	/mowuwi ron/	'go home already'
<i>don</i>	sowatu' don	/sowatuʔ don/	'one already'
<i>on</i>	ponga'an'on	/poŋaʔan on/	'eat now'
	norais'on	/norais on/	'all gone already'
	notiyuh'on	/notijuh on/	'slept already'
	opat'on	/opat on/	'four already'
	onom'on	/onom on/	'six already'
	inalap'on	/inalap on/	'got already'
	nongail'on	/noŋail on/	'fished already'

Table 15. Ponosakan conjunctions, etc., with audio samples

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
	bo	/bo/	'and'
	mongo	/moŋo/	'if'
	tin	/tin/	'because'
	timba'	/timbaʔ/	'so that'
	umpaka	/umpaka/	'even if'
	piyaka	/pijaka/	'even if'
	ande	/ande/	'or'
	kara'	/karaʔ/	'but,' 'however'
	wali'	/waliʔ/	'can'
	polas	/polas/	'directly'
	takin	/takin/	'with'
	sampe	/sampe/	'until'
	koyohos	/kojohos/	'while'
	timbangan	/timbangan/	'it's as if', 'it seems'
	iwoh	/iwoh/	'wants to,' 'would like to'
	ho'o	/hoʔo/	'yes'
	ayu'on	/ajuʔon/	'there is,' 'has'

3.9 Numbers Like the vast majority of Austronesian languages, Ponosakan has a decimal system of counting in which the numbers from one to nine are monomorphemic. The numbers ‘ten,’ ‘one hundred,’ and ‘one thousand’ are formed by prefixing *mo-* to the corresponding unit (*pulu* ‘ten,’ *hatus* ‘hundred,’ *hiwu* ‘thousand’): *mopulu* ‘ten,’ *mohatus* ‘one hundred,’ *mohiwu* ‘one thousand.’ The numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed by *mopulu* ‘ten’ followed by *bo* ‘and’ and the corresponding number from one to nine, e.g., *mopulu bo sowatu* ‘eleven’ (lit., ‘ten and one’).

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’; for example, *dohuwa no pulu* ‘twenty,’ *siyow no pulu* ‘ninety.’ Units beyond each multiple of ten are formed with *bo* ‘and’ and the corresponding number from one to nine, e.g., *dohuwa no pulu bo sowatu* ‘twenty-one.’

The multiples of a hundred and a thousand are formed in a similar way to the multiples of ten, using the appropriate number from two to nine, followed by the linker *no* and the word *hatus* ‘hundred’ or *hiwu* ‘thousand’; for example, *dohuwa no hatus* ‘200,’ *dohuwa no hiwu* ‘2,000.’

Finally, note that in the terms for 40, 400, 4,000, and 4,000,000, the initial consonant of the linker *no* is always dropped, e.g., *opat’o pulu* ‘40,’ *opat’o hatus* ‘400,’ *opat’o hiwu* ‘4,000,’ and *opat’o juta* ‘4,000,000.’

Table 16 illustrates the numbers of Ponosakan.

Table 16. Ponosakan numbers, with audio samples

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
	sowatu’	/sowatuʔ/	1
	dohuwa	/dohuwa/	2
	tolu	/tolu/	3
	opat	/opat/	4
	lima	/lima/	5
	onom	/onom/	6
	pitu	/pitu/	7
	walu	/walu/	8
	siyow	/siyow/	9
	mopulu’	/mopuluʔ/	10
	mopulu’ bo sowatu’	/mopuluʔ bo sowatuʔ/	11
	dohuwa no pulu’	/dohuwa no puluʔ/	20

Continued on next page

Table 16 – Continued from previous page

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
	dohuwa no pulu' bo sowatu'	/dohuwa no pulu? bo sowatu?/	21
	tolu no pulu'	/tolu no pulu?/	30
	opat'o pulu'	/opat o pulu?/	40
	lima no pulu'	/lima no pulu?/	50
	onom no pulu'	/onom no pulu?/	60
	pitu no pulu'	/pitu no pulu?/	70
	walu no pulu'	/walu no pulu?/	80
	siyow no pulu'	/sijow no pulu?/	90
	mohatus	/mohatus/	100
	dohuwa no hatas	/dohuwa no hatas/	200
	tolu no hatas	/tolu no hatas/	300
	opat'o hatas	/opat o hatas/	400
	onom no hatas	/onom no hatas/	600
	mohiwu	/mohiwu/	1,000
	dohuwa no hiwu	/dohuwa no hiwu/	2,000
	tolu no hiwu	/tolu no hiwu/	3,000
	opat'o hiwu	/opat o hiwu/	4,000
	onom no hiwu	/onom no hiwu/	6,000
	tolu no juta	/tolu no dʒuta/	3,000,000
	opat'o juta	/opat o dʒuta/	4,000,000

When the number 'one' is followed by a noun, the prefix *sino-* is used instead of the independent word *sowatu*, e.g., *sinopangkoy* 'one tree.' This *sino-* prefix also marks a handful of other meanings, including *sinowotak* 'half,' *sinopuruwa* 'other,' and *sinohohi* 'different.' Table 17 lists some of these forms with corresponding audio files.

A separate set of ordinal numbers exists, e.g., *muna* 'first,' *koruwa* 'second,' *kotolu* 'third,' and *ko'opat* 'fourth,' as shown in Table 18.

3.10 Verb system Like all other Greater Central Philippine languages, Ponosakan has an elaborate system of verbal affixation encoding a variety of information, in-

Table 17. Some Ponosakan forms with sino- ‘one’, with audio samples

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
	sinopangkoy	/sinopaŋkoj/	‘one tree’
	sinowotak	/sinowotak/	‘half’
	sinopuruwa	/sinopuruwa/	‘other’
	sinohohi’	/sinohohi?/	‘different’

Table 18. Some Ponosakan ordinal numbers, with audio samples

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
	muna	/muna/	‘first’
	koruwa	/koruwa/	‘second’
	kotolu	/kotolu/	‘third’
	ko’opat	/koʔopat/	‘fourth’

cluding tense-aspect, plurality of actors, transitivity, the Philippine-type phenomenon widely known as ‘focus’ or ‘voice,’ and a variety of semantic modes including abilative/accidental, causative, and reciprocal. Due to the co-occurrence of affixes marking various types of information, words of at least nine syllables are attested in the data (e.g., *pinokipohotolikuran* ‘ordered someone to place two things back-to-back’ (p<in>oki-poho-tolikor-an, <PST> CAUS2-RECP-turn-backwards-LF)). This system is far too complicated to be dealt with in any appreciable amount of detail in this short sketch, and is the subject of a forthcoming paper on this topic (Lobel 2016a); however, a small amount of its complexity can be observed in the affixed forms of the root *ka’an* ‘eat’ as presented in Table 19, with example sentences for most of these forms included in Appendix B. Like many other Philippine and Philippine-type languages, there are three separate conjugations marking the basic Actor Focus, depending on the root: <um> (e.g., *tumindoh* ‘stand (AF.NPST)’ < *tindoh* ‘stand’), *moh* (e.g., *mohator* ‘escort (AF.NPST)’ < *ator* ‘escort’), and *moN* (e.g., *monga’an* ‘eat (AF.NPST)’ < *ka’an* ‘eat’). The past form of the <um> conjugation is realized as an infix on most consonant-initial roots (e.g., *tinimindoh* ‘stood (AF.PST)’ < *tindoh* ‘stand’) but as a combination of a prefix and infix on roots beginning with /l/, /r/, or /j/ (e.g., *ilimitu* ‘sat (AF.PST)’ < *litu* ‘sit’). Two distinct causatives exist in Ponosakan, labeled herein as ‘Causative-1’ and ‘Causative-2.’ In the former, which is the simple causative, one person causes an action to be performed by, or a condition to be implemented upon, a second person or entity. In the ‘Causative-2’ or double causative, on the other hand, 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 examples in Table 19 below, the simple causative of ‘eat’ indicates that the agent is feeding another person,

whereas the double causative indicates that the agent is causing a second person to feed a third person.

Table 19. Some affixed forms of the root *ka'an* 'eat', with audio samples

		Actor Focus	Audio	Object focus	Audio	Location Focus	Audio	Secondary Object Focus	Audio
Basic	NPST		monga'an /moŋaʔan/	ka'anon /kaʔanon/		ponga'anan /poŋaʔanan/		—	
	PST		nonga'an /noŋaʔan/	kina'an /kinaʔan/		pinonga'anan /pinonŋaʔanan/		—	
	IMP		ponga'an /poŋaʔan/	ka'an /kaʔan/		—		—	
Abilitative	NPST		mokoka'an /mokoʔaʔan/	koka'anan /kokoʔanan/		—		—	
	PST		nokoka'an /nokokoʔan/	kinoka'anan /ki- nokoʔanan/		—		—	
Causative-1	NPST		mopoka'an /mopoʔaʔan/	poka'anon /poʔaʔanon/		popoka'anan /popoʔaʔanan/		poka'an /poʔaʔan/	
	PST		nopoka'an /nopoʔaʔan/	pinoka'an /pinoʔaʔan/		pinopoka'anan† /pinopoʔaʔanan/		pinoka'an /pinoʔaʔan/	
	IMP		—	poka'an /poʔaʔan/		—		poka'an /poʔaʔan/	
Caus-1 Abil	NPST		mokopoka'an /mokoʔoʔaʔan/	kopoka'anan /kopoʔoʔanan/		—		kopoka'anan /kopoʔoʔanan/	
	PST		nokopoka'an /nokopoʔoʔan/	kinopoka'anan /kinopoʔoʔanan/		—		kinopoka'anan /kinopoʔoʔanan/	
Causative-2	NPST		mokika'an /mokoʔikaʔan/	—		pokika'anan /poʔoʔikaʔanan/		pokika'an /poʔoʔikaʔan/	
			mokipoka'an /mokoʔipoʔaʔan/	—		—		pokipoka'an† /poʔoʔipoʔaʔan/	
	PST		nokika'an /nokikoʔaʔan/	—		pinokika'anan /pinoʔoʔikaʔanan/		pinokika'an /pinoʔoʔikaʔan/	
			nokipoka'an /nokipoʔaʔan/	—		—		pinokipoka'an /pinoʔoʔipoʔaʔan/	

Continued on next page

Table 19 – Continued from previous page

		Actor Focus	Audio	Object focus	Audio	Location Focus	Audio	Secondary Object Focus	Audio
Plural	PAST	—		—		pokika'anay /pokikaʔanaj/		pokika'an /pokikaʔan/	
	NPST	mon- gonga'an /moŋoŋaʔan/		koka'anon /kokaʔanon/		—		—	
	PST	non- gonga'an /noŋoŋaʔan/		kinoka'an /kinokaʔan/		—		—	
	IMP	—		koka'an /kokaʔan/		—		—	

Abbreviations

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

AF	actor focus
CAUS2	double causative
LF	location focus
OF	object focus
OF2	secondary object focus

References

- Adriani, N. 1925. De Minahasische talen. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 81. 134–164.
- Blust, Robert A. 1991. The Greater Central Philippines hypothesis. *Oceanic Linguistics* 30(1). 73–129.
- Blust, Robert A. 2013. *The Austronesian languages*. Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics.
- Danie, J. Akun, F. Rogi Warouw, A. B. G. Rattu & G. Karim Bachmid. 1983. *Fonologi Bahasa Ponosakan*. Manado, Indonesia: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, IKIP Manado.
- Dunnebie, W. 1949. Over de Vorsten van Bolaang Mongondow. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 105. 219–274.
- Jansen, A. J. F. 1855. Vergelijken woordenlijst van talen en dialekten in de Residentie Menado. *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 4. 521–548. <https://books.google.com/books?id=yD1BAQAAMAAJ&pg=PA521-v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- Kariso-Najoan, J. A. 1982. *Rekonstruksi fonem Proto Mongondow-Ponosakan*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Koorders, Sijfert H. 1898. *Verslag eener botanische dienstreis door de Minahassa, tevens eerste overzicht der flora van Noord-Oost-Celebes uit een wetenschappelijk en praktisch oogpunt* (Mededeelingen van's Lands Plantentuin 19). Batavia: G. Kolff. <https://books.google.com/books?id=tFUYAAAAYAAJ>.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fennig (eds). 2015. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, 18th edn. Dallas: SIL International. <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- Lobel, Jason W. 2011. Pronominal number in Mongondow-Gorontalo. *Oceanic Linguistics* 50(2). 543–550.
- Lobel, Jason W. 2013. Philippine and North Bornean languages: Issues in description, subgrouping, and reconstruction. University of Hawai'i PhD dissertation.
- Lobel, Jason W. 2015. Ponosakan: A dying language of Northern Sulawesi. *Oceanic Linguistics* 54(2). 396–435.
- Lobel, Jason W. 2016a. Ponosakan Verbs. Unpublished manuscript. 30 pgs.
- Lobel, Jason W. 2016b. Ponosakan Sketch Grammar. Unpublished manuscript. 108 pgs.
- Lobel, Jason W. 2016c. Ponosakan-English Dictionary. Unpublished manuscript. 110 pgs.
- Lobel, Jason W. 2016d. Ponosakan Text Collection. Unpublished manuscript. 524 pgs.
- McFarland, Curtis D. 1974. The dialects of the Bikol area. Yale University PhD dissertation.

- Merrifield, Scott & Martinus Salea. 1996. *North Sulawesi language survey* (Summer Institute of Linguistics publications in sociolinguistics 1). Dallas: SIL International.
- Niemann, G. K. 1869. Mededeelingen omtrent de Alfoersche taal van Noord-Oost-Celebes. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 16. 205–252, 399–446. <https://books.google.com/books?id=dTIFAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA205-v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- Niemann, G. K. 1870. Mededeelingen omtrent de Alfoersche taal van Noord-Oost-Celebes. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 17. 69–120, 195–209. <https://books.google.com/books?id=lvIAAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA69-v=onepage&q&f=false>.
- Noorduyn, J. 1991. *A critical survey of studies on the languages of Sulawesi* (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Bibliographic Series 18). Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Sneddon, James N. 1983. Northern Celebes (Sulawesi), map 4. In Stephen A. Wurm and Shirô Hattori (eds.), *Language atlas of the Pacific area, part 2: Japan area, Taiwan (Formosa), Philippines, mainland and insular South-East Asia* (Pacific Linguistics C-67). Canberra: The Australian Academy of the Humanities in collaboration with the Japan Academy.
- Sneddon, James N. 1989. The North Sulawesi subgroups: in search of higher level connections. In James N. Sneddon (ed.), *Studies in Sulawesi linguistics, part 1* (NUSA: Linguistic Studies of Indonesian and Other Languages in Indonesia 31), 83–107. Jakarta: Badan Penyelenggara Seri Nusa, Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya.
- Sneddon, James N. 1991. The position of Lolak. In Ray Harlow (ed.), *VICAL 2: Western Austronesian and Contact Languages: Papers from the Fifth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, 299–318. Auckland: Linguistic Society of New Zealand.
- Sneddon, James N. & Hunggu Tadjuddin Usup. 1986. Shared sound changes in the Gorontalic language group: Implications for subgrouping. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 142. 407–426.
- Usup, Hunggu Tadjuddin. 1984. *Rekonstruksi fonologi bahasa Proto-Gorontalo-Mongondow laporan penelitian*. Jakarta: Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan.
- Usup, Hunggu Tadjuddin. 1986. *Rekonstruksi Protobahasa Gorontalo-Mongondow*. University of Indonesia PhD dissertation.
- Zorc, R. David. 1977. *The Bisayan dialects of the Philippines: Subgrouping and reconstruction*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Zorc, R. David. 1978. Functor analysis: A method of quantifying function words for comparing and classifying languages. In Wolfgang Wölck & Paul L. Garvin (eds.), *Papers from the fifth LACUS forum*, 510–521. Columbia, SC: Hornbeam Press.

Appendix A: Additional Ponosakan items mentioned in this paper**Table 20.** Additional Ponosakan items, with audio samples

Audio	Ponosakan	IPA	English Gloss
	Ponosakan	/ponosakan/	‘Ponosakan’ (name of language and ethnolinguistic group)
	Belang	/belanj/	‘Belang’ (name of town)
	mowahong	/mowahonj/	‘many’
	sokoyu’	/sokoju?/	‘few’
	kominsan	/kominsan/	‘all’
	pinokipohotolikuran	/pinokipohotolikuran/	‘ordered someone to place two things back-to-back’
	tumindoh	/tumindoh/	‘stand (AF.NPST)’
	mohator	/mohator/	‘escort (AF.NPST)’
	monga’an	/moŋaʔan/	‘eat (AF.NPST)’
	tinimindoh	/tinimindoh/	‘stood (AF.PST)’
	tindoh	/tindoh/	‘stand (AF.IMP)’
	ilimitu’	/ilimitu?/	‘sat (AF.PST)’
	litu’	/litu?/	‘sit (AF.IMP)’

Appendix B: Sentence examples for verb forms from Table 19**Table 21.** Examples from Table 19

Verb from Table 19	Example sentence	Audio
ka’an	Ka’an in suwap in taniyon! /kaʔan in suwap in tanijon/ ‘Eat those vegetables!’	
ka’anon	Ka’anon ku pa. /kaʔanon ku pa/ ‘I’m still going to eat it.’	
kina’an	Kina’an ku ron. /kinaʔan ku ron/ ‘I already ate it.’	

Continued on next page

Table 21 – Continued from previous page

Verb from Table 19	Example sentence	Audio
kinoka'an	Kinoka'an monimu kominsan. /kinokaʔan monimu kominsan/ 'You (PL) ate all of them.'	
kinoka'anan	Kinoka'anan in puya'. /kinokaʔanan in pujaʔ/ 'The child accidentally ate it.' (or 'The child was able to eat it.')	
kinokoka'anan	Kinokoka'anan moniya kominsan. /kinokokaʔanan monija kominsan/ 'They were able to eat all of them.'	
kinopoka'anan (OF)	Deya' kinopoka'anan ku mosiya tin deya' ko roit. /dejaʔ kinopokaʔanan ku mosija tin dejaʔ ko roit/ 'I wasn't able to feed them because I didn't have the money.'	
kinopoka'anan (OF2)	Kinopoka'anan mu koniya in kombiloy? /kinopokaʔanan mu konija in kombiloj/ 'Were you able to feed him the mango?'	
koka'anan	Kama' koka'anan in puya'. /kamaʔ kokaʔanan in pujaʔ/ 'The child might accidentally eat it.'	
koka'anon	Koka'anon nami kominsan. /kokaʔanon nami kominsan/ 'We're going to eat all of them.'	
kokoka'anan	Kokoka'anan mu kominsan in tana'a? /kokokaʔanan mu kominsan in tanaʔa/ 'Are you going to be able to eat all of these?'	
kopoka'anan (OF)	Kopoka'anan ku mosiya ikolom mongo ayu'on doit. /kopokaʔanan ku mosija ikolom mojo ajuʔon doit/ 'I'll be able to feed them tomorrow if I have the money.'	
kopoka'anan (OF2)	Kama' kopoka'anan ku koniya ikolom kombiloy. /kamaʔ kopokaʔanan ku konija ikolom kombiloj/ 'Maybe I'll be able to feed him the mango.'	

Continued on next page

Table 21 – Continued from previous page

Verb from Table 19	Example sentence	Audio
mokipoka'an	Si'ene intain mokipoka'an konimu kon puya'? /si?ene intain mokipoka?an konimu kon puja?/ 'Who's going to have you feed the child?'	
mokoka'an	Ikolom pa aku'oy mokoka'an. /ikolom pa aku?oj mokoka?an/ 'I won't be able to eat until tomorrow.'	
mokopoka'an	Aku'oy deya' mokopoka'an tin deya' ko roit. /aku?oj deja? mokopoka?an tin deja? ko roit/ 'I won't be able to feed people because I don't have the money.'	
monga'an	Monga'an aku'oy sokoyu' may. /moŋa?an aku?oj sokoju? maj/ 'I'm going to eat later.'	
mongonga'an	Mongonga'an kami kominsan sokoyu' may. /moŋoŋa?an kami kominsan sokoju? maj/ 'We're going to eat later.'	
mopoka'an	Ikow intain mopoka'an konako'? /ikow intain mopoka?an konako?/ 'Are you the one who's going to feed me?'	
nokipoka'an	Si'ene intain nokipoka'an konimu kon puya'? /si?ene intain nokipoka?an konimu kon puja?/ 'Who ordered you to feed the child?'	
nokoka'an	Deya' pa nokoka'an aku'oy. /deja? pa nokoka?an aku?oj/ 'I haven't been able to eat yet.'	
nokopoka'an	Aku'oy roka tain deya' nokopoka'an komoniya. /aku?oj roka tain deja? nokopoka?an komonija/ 'I'm the only one who wasn't able to feed them.'	
nonga'an	Nonga'an aku'oy nainta. /noŋa?an aku?oj nainta/ 'I ate earlier.'	
nongonga'an	Nongonga'an kominsan mosiya. /noŋoŋa?an kominsan mosija/ 'All of them ate.'	

Continued on next page

Table 21 – Continued from previous page

Verb from Table 19	Example sentence	Audio
nopoka'an	Si'ene intain nopoka'an konimu komakota? /si?ene intain nopoka?an konimu komakota/ 'Who fed you there?'	
pinoka'an (OF)	Pinoka'an mu ron siya. /pinoka?an mu ron sija/ 'I already fed him.'	
poka'an (OF2)	Onu intain poka'an mu konako? /onu intain poka?an mu konako?/ 'What are you going to feed me?'	
poka'anon	Poka'anon mu pa aku'oy? /poka?anon mu pa aku?oj/ 'Are you still going to feed me?'	
pokika'an	Tana'a pokika'an ku komoniya. /tana?a pokika?an ku komonija/ 'This is what I'm going to have fed to them.'	
pokika'an	Intana'a pokika'an mu komoniya! /intana?a pokika?an mu komonija/ 'Have this fed to them!'	
pokika'anan	Si Kader intain pokika'anan ku kon puya' ikolom. /si kader intain pokika?anan ku kon puja? ikolom/ 'Kader's the one I'm going to have feed the child tomorrow.'	
pokika'anay	Pokika'anay si Kader kon puya'! /pokika?anaj si kader kon puja?/ 'Have Kader feed the child!'	
ponga'an	Ponga'an mo'ikow. /poŋa?an mo?ikow/ 'Eat!'	
ponga'anan	Ko'onda in ponga'anan mu sokoyu' may? /ko?onda in poŋa?anan mu sokoju? maj/ 'Where are you going to eat later?'	
popoka'an (OF2)	Onu intain popoka'an mu koniya? /onu intain popoka?an mu konija/ 'What are you going to feed him?'	

Continued on next page

Table 21 – Continued from previous page

Verb from Table 19	Example sentence	Audio
popoka'an (OF2)	Tana'a popoka'an komoniya! /tanaʔa popokaʔan komonija/ 'Feed this to them!'	
popoka'anan	Ko'onda intain popoka'anan mu kon puya'ʔ /koʔonda intain popokaʔanan mu kon pujaʔ/ 'Where are you going to feed the child?'	

Appendix C: A Ponosakan narrative

Ibrahim Tona also translated the text 'The Wind and the Sun' ('Matasingkay bo Sompot' in Ponosakan), which is usually included in phonological sketches published in the Journal of the International Phonetic Association. While obviously not a native Ponosakan text, it allows for comparisons to be made with other languages whose sketches include translations of this text. The recording of this text was made as follows: the current author first read each sentence of the story in Indonesian, and Mr. Tona provided an oral translation in Ponosakan, which the current author transcribed. Next, Mr. Tona and the current author practiced the story for several minutes until the former memorized it. Finally, a recording was made of Mr. Tona narrating the Ponosakan version of the story from memory.

Phonetic transcription

maʔasiŋkaj bo sompoʔ || sinoŋkaj | nohowijow maʔasiŋkaj bo sompoʔ || kuma i maʔasiŋkaj
| ʔakuoj inʔain silewe mohopoʔ || tuwa: in sompoʔ | diʔiman || ʔakuʔoj inʔain paliŋ mo-
hopoʔ || kohojos i mohowijow sompoʔ bo maʔasiŋkaj | ajuon lolaki inʔain noirapoʔ
nomakeʔ ʔzas ʔain mowunor mowuroʔ || maʔasiŋkaj bo sompoʔ noko:ŋtoŋ ko lolaki
inʔain | kuma i maʔasiŋkaj | siʔene inʔain mokowukas kon ʔzas in lolaki inʔain | sija
inʔain paliŋ mohopoʔ || muna monuŋku: in sompoʔ || sompoʔ monompoʔ bo mononom-
poʔ || moraiʔ mohopoʔ in sompoʔ | sampe lolaki inʔain nokokop kon ʔzas ija | ʔimbaʔ
dejaʔ mowukas in sompoʔ in ʔzas ija || dejaʔ mo:ŋkoʔ | sompoʔ nokosondoʔ | dejaʔ ki-
nowukasan ija in ʔzas inʔain lolaki || konijon maʔasiŋkaj roman polas monuŋku: ||
nopopasuʔ sija bo nopopasuʔ || dejaʔ no:ŋkoʔ | ʔiŋoŋosan i lolaki inʔain || ko:ŋkoʔan ija
| binukasan ija in ʔzas ija || ʔinonʔoŋan in sompoʔ | kuma in sompoʔ | o ʔoʔuʔu ʔikow
maʔasiŋkaj inʔain moraiʔ mohopoʔ ||

Orthographic version interlinearized with phonemic version and English translation

Matasingkay bo sompot
 matasiŋkaj bo sompot ||
 sun and wind
 The sun and the wind

Sinosingkay, nohowiyow matasingkay bo sompot.
 sinoŋkaj | nohowijow matasikaj bo sompot ||
 One-day argued sun and wind
 One day, the sun and the wind were arguing.

Kuma i' matasingkay, "Aku'oy intain silewe mohopot."
 kuma in matasiŋkaj | akuʔoj intain silewe mohopot ||
 said NOM sun ISG.NOM NOM more strong
 The sun said, "I am the stronger one."

Tuwah in sompot, "Di'iman! Aku'oy intain paling mohopot."
 tuwah in sompot | diʔiman || akuʔoj intain paliŋ mohopot ||
 answer GEN wind no ISG.NOM NOM most strong
 The wind answered, "No! I am the strongest."

Kohoyos i' mohowiyow sompot bo matasingkay,
 kohojos in mohowijow sompot bo matasiŋkaj |
 while GEN argue wind and sun
 While the wind and the sun were arguing,

ayu'on lolaki intain no'irapot nomake' jas tain mowunor mowuro'.
 ajuʔon lolaki intain noʔirapot nomakeʔ dʒas tain mowunor mowuroʔ ||
 exist man which arrived wearing jacket which thick white.
 there was a man who arrived wearing a thick, white jacket

Matasingkay bo sompot noko'ontong ko' lolaki intain.
 matasiŋkaj bo sompot nokoʔontɔŋ kon lolaki intain ||
 sun and wind saw OBL man that
 The sun and the wind saw the man.

Kuma i' matasingkay, "Si'ene intain mokowukas kon jas in lolaki
 kuma in matasinjakaj | si'ene intain mokowukas kon dʒas in lolaki
 said GEN sun who NOM can.remove OBL jacket GEN man
 intain, siya intain paling mohopot.
 intain | siya intain paliŋ mohopot ||
 that 3SG.NOM NOM most strong
 The sun said, "Whoever can remove that man's jacket is the stronger."

Muna monungkul in sompot. Sompot monompot bo mononompot.
 muna monuŋkul in sompot || sompot monompot bo mononompot ||
 first try NOM wind wind blow and blow
 The first to try was the wind. The wind blew and blew.

Morai' mohopot in sompot, sampe lolaki intain nokokop kon jas iya,
 morai? mohopot in sompot | sampe lolaki intain nokokop kon dʒas ija |
 more strong GEN wind until man that hugged OBL jacket 3SG.GEN
 The wind was very strong, until the man embraced his jacket,

timba' deya' mowukas in sompot in jas iya.
 timba? deya? mowukas in sompot in dʒas ija ||
 so-that not remove GEN wind NOM jacket 3SG.GEN
 so that the wind would not remove it.

Deya' mo'ongkot, sompot nokosondo'.
 deya? moʔoŋkot | sompot nokosondo? |
 not long wind stopped
 Before long, the wind stopped.

Deya' kinowukasan iya in jas intai' lolaki.
 deya? kinowukasan ija in dʒas intain lolaki ||
 not could-remove 3SG.GEN NOM jacket of-that man
 He was unable to remove the man's jacket.

Koniyon matasingkay roman polas monungkul.
 konijon matasinjakaj roman polas monuŋkul ||
 then sun in-turn went-on try
 Then it was the sun's turn to try.

Nopopasu' siya bo nopopasu'.
 nopopasu? sija bo nopopasu? ||
 shone 3SG.NOM and shone
 He shone and shone.

Deya' no'ongkot, ingongosan i' lolaki intain.
 deja? noʔoŋkot | iŋoŋosan in lolaki intain ||
 not long sweated NOM man that
 Before long, the man was sweating.

Ko'ongkotan iya, binukasan iya in jas iya.
 koʔoŋkotan ija | binukasan ija in dʒas ija ||
 passing-of-time 3SG.GEN removed 3SG.GEN NOM jacket 3SG.GEN
 Finally, he removed his jacket.

Inontongan in sompot, kuma in sompot,
 inontoŋan in sompot | kuma in sompot |
 saw GEN wind said GEN wind
 The wind saw it, the wind said,

“O, totu’u, ikow, matasingkay, intain morai’ mohopot!”
 o totuʔu ikow matasiŋkaj intain moraiʔ mohopot ||
 oh true 2SG.NOM sun NOM more strong
 “Oh, it is true, you, sun, are the stronger!”

Jason William Lobel
 lobel@hawaii.edu