When to Use a Genitive Pronoun in Mori Bawah (Sulawesi, Indonesia)[*]

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Unlike in Philippine languages, in which non-focused agents are often encoded by genitive pronoun or appear in genitive case, in Mori Bawah (Central Sulawesi, Indonesia) there is a relatively robust morphosyntactic divide between verb and noun. In general, verbs are forms which are indexed with nominative and absolutive clitics, whilst genitive suffixes are by and large restricted to indexing possessors on possessed nouns. Nonetheless, even in Mori Bawah there are a limited number of cases in which 'verbal' forms can appear with genitive indexing. These in-between cases are the topic of this paper, and include: (a) deverbal nouns including instrument, time, location and patient nominalizations, which have a particular use in relative clauses; (b) subordinate preposed temporal clauses; (c) adjectives which take genitive indexing for an evaluator, as in *mo'ahiku* 'it's delicious to me' (< *mo'ahi* 'delicious', *-ku* 'my'); (d) verbs prefixed with *ko-* meaning 'in the process of, just, immediately prior'; (e) verbs prefixed with *ko-* accompanied by two-syllable reduplication, meaning 'all the more, more and more'; (f) verbs affixed with *koN- -a* (sometimes simply *koN-*) meaning 'be at the stage of'; (g) directional deictic verbs prefixed with *ngkoN-*; and (h) the verb *kongko* 'remain'. In some of the above cases the genitive indexing could be said to indicate the subordinate or nominalized status of the erstwhile verb. In other cases, however, the form which takes genitive indexing appears to be verbal, certainly in the sense that it can occupy the predicate position of an independent clause. In a concluding section, I speculate on how nominalizations of the second type could have arisen historically in Mori Bawah.

1. Introduction

The Mori Bawah language of Central Sulawesi, Indonesia, has four sets of pronouns which are of concern in this paper.[1] These sets are presented in Table 1.

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[1] In addition, Mori has a set of independent pronouns which run *ongkue* (1S.INDEP), *omue* (2S.INDEP), *onae* (3S.INDEP), *ontae* (1PN.INDEP), *omami* (1PX.INDEP), *omiu* (2P.INDEP), *ondae* (3P.INDEP), and a set of independent additive pronouns which run *ngkuda'a* (1S.ADD), *muda'a* (2S.ADD), *nada'a* (3S.ADD), *ntada'a* (1PN.ADD), *mamida'a* (1PX.ADD), *mida'a* (2P.ADD), *ndada'a* (3P.ADD). Additive pronouns can usually be translated as 'I, you, he, she, etc. also'. See further Esser (1927:106 ff.). The following conventions are used in this paper to gloss pronouns:

1	first person	S	singular	NOM	nominative	GEN	genitive
2	second person	P	plural	FUT	future nominative	INDEP	independent
3	third person	PN	plural inclusive	ABS	absolutive	ADD	additive
		PX	plural exclusive				

Table 1. Mori Bawah pronoun sets

	nominative	future	absolutive	genitive
1S	*ku*	*(a)ku*	*aku*	*ku*
2S	*u*	*(i)ko*	*ko*	*mu*
3S	*i*	*ta*	*o*	*no*
1PN	*to*	*kita*	*kita*	*to*
1PX	*ki*	*kami*	*kami*	*mami*
2P	*i*	*(i)komiu*	*komiu*	*miu*
3P	*do*	*ira*	*ira*	*do*

Of these four sets, the first three—nominative, future nominative (henceforth simply 'future') and absolutive—are associated with verbs. In fact, if in context one finds a form which is preceded by a nominative or a future pronoun, and/or is followed by an absolutive pronoun, this is a solid indication that the form under consideration is a verb. The fourth set, on the other hand—the genitive suffixes—are associated with nouns. Nouns in Mori Bawah are minimally inflected. Typically an indication of the possessor is the only, if any, inflection which occurs with a noun.

Compare, for example, the pronominal indexing[2] which occurs with the verbs and nouns in examples (1) through (3).[3]

	VERB	**NOUN**
(1)	*Do-'inu-o*	*uwoi-no.*
	3P.NOM-drink-3S.ABS	water-3S.GEN
	'They drank its water.' (andi.028)	

	VERB	**VERB**	**NOUN**
(2)	*Tedoa-o-mo*	*i-pehohawa-o*	*ana-no.*
	very-3S.ABS-PERF	3S.NOM-love-3S.ABS	child-3S.GEN
	'She loved her child very much.' (andi.025m)		

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[2] Nominative pronouns are clitics which attach directly to the verb—cf. examples (1) and (2)—unless attracted forward by a particle such as *ka* 'and' or *ba* 'if', cf. example (5). Future pronouns occur immediately preceding the verb which they index. However, they are actually independent forms, as demonstrated by clitic placement, compare the placement of the aspectual clitic *mo* in example (3).

[3] In addition to the abbreviations for pronouns given in footnote 1, the following also abbreviations appear in this paper as glosses for other grammatical morphemes:

APASS	antipassive	INTR	intransitive	PASS	passive
CAUS	causative	LG	nasal ligature	PERF	perfective
DIFFUSE	diffuse	LOC	locative	PL	plural subject
DP	dependent	MULTIPLE	multiple	PN	personal name marker
IMPERF	imperfective	NEG	negative	PROPORTN	proportion
INTENS	intensive particle	PART	participle	REDP	reduplication

		VERB	**NOUN**	
(3)	*Ta-mo*	*mate*	*uai-ku*	*andio.*
	3S.FUT-PERF	die	younger.sibling-1S.GEN	this

'This younger brother of mine is going to die.' (andi.041)

In addition, Mori Bawah verbs (but never nouns) can also be inflected with *meN-* (allomorph *N-*).[4] This morpheme indicates that the subject of the verb is plural, specifically three or more. Examples (4) and (5) illustrate the plural subject marker in context.

(4)   *Ira*   **mem**-*p[in]otoro*   *luwu*   *mokole.*
      3P.FUT   PL-PASS:appoint   all   ruler
      'They must all be appointed as rulers.' (ES200)

(5)   *Onae-mo*   *ka-do*   **me**-*lulu-o*   *i*   *Tanggasi,*
      3S.INDEP-PERF   and-3P.NOM   PL-chase-3S.ABS   PN   Tarsier

      ira   **m**-*pepate-o.*
      3P.FUT   PL-kill-3S.ABS

      'Thereupon they set after Tarsier, they were going to kill him.' (ES201)

Finally, active verbs (but never nouns or, for that matter, non-active verbs) can also be infixed with *-um-*, the marker of the so-called active participle. Examples (6) and (7) illustrate the active participle marker in context.

(6)   *L[**um**]ako-'ira*   **m**e-*lempa*   *r[**um**]apati-o*   *koro-no.*
      PART:go-3P.ABS   PART:INTR-walk   PART:follow.edge-3S.ABS   river-3S.GEN
      'They went walking along the edge of the river.' (andi.027)

(7)   *Komiu-mo*   *r[**um**]onge-o*   *mia*   **m**o-*'isa.*
      2P.FUT-PERF   PART:hear-3s.ABS   person   PART:APASS-pound
      'You will hear a person pounding.' (andi.053)

For historical reasons, when an active stem begins with an underlying *p*-initial prefix (as above with intransitive *pelempa* 'walk', antipassive *po'isa* 'pound'), rather than adding *-um-*, the participle is formed by replacing the initial *p* of the prefix with *m*. Marking for the participle never occurs in the presence of the plural subject marker *(me)N-*, nor does it occur when a verb is preceded by a nominative pronoun. As shown by examples (6) and (7), however, it is fully compatible with absolutive and future pronominal indexing.[5]

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[4] In this paper, capital *N* symbolizes an unspecified nasal which is realized as prenasalization of a following *p, t, k* or *s*. Preceding other consonants and all vowels it has a zero realization. When the following stem contains another prenasalized voiceless stop, there is a strong tendency for *N* to be realized as zero even preceding *p, t, k* and *s*, for example *moN-* + *kansai* /PART:APASS-spear/ → *mokansai* (rarely *mongkansai*). See further Esser (1927:23 ff.) who treats this phenomenon in greater detail.

[5] This in fact is the main reason why 'participle' is a less than ideal label for this morpheme.

Between pronominal indexing, the plural subject marker and the so-called participle marker, there is a robust distinction in Mori Bawah between verb and noun. In particular, active verbs almost always appear with one or another of these markers, though simple, bare imperatives such as *lako!* 'go!' or *pelempa!* 'walk!' also occur.[6]

Nonetheless there are situations in which the above criteria are violated. Specifically, in this paper I address situations in which a verb—or perhaps better said, an erstwhile verb, or at any rate that which one would like to consider the predicate—appears indexed with a genitive pronoun, rather than a nominative, future or absolutive pronoun.[7]

In the discussion below, I begin with nominalizations. As discussed in § 2, Mori Bawah has only two means for deriving nominalizations from verbs. Nominalizations are either zero-derived from the base form of a verb, or are derived from the base form by attaching the suffix –*a*. In their core use, nominalizations distribute as ordinary nouns, viz. they occupy argument slots of other verbs. However, nominalizations also have extended uses, particularly in relativization (§ 2.1) and in preposed temporal clauses (§ 2.2). In these contexts, they can take on properties which make them look more like verbs and less like nouns. Even here, though, genitive indexing could still be said to indicate the subordinate status of the verb in question.

From here, though, I turn cases in which so-called nominalizations appear not even to be subordinate from a syntactic sense, in that they can serve as predicates of independent clauses. In § 2.3, I discuss the particular case in which a genitive pronoun is attached directly to a stative verb in order to index an evaluator, as in *mo'ahi-ku* (delicious-1S.GEN) 'it's delicious to me'. In § 2.4 I consider the patient nominalization *inehe* 'that which is wanted', and how it has come to so often stand in the place of the verb *mo'ehe* 'want'. In § 2.5 I look at certain quantifier expressions which are compounded from the numeral *asa* 'one' and a noun or nominalization, and which by the nature of things occur with genitive pronouns. These expressions are usually used adverbially, but in some cases have come to be used predicatively, leading to a kind of through-the-back-door genitive indexing on the predicate.

Having exhausted so-called nominalizations and their extended uses, I turn to a different class of verbal derivations. These derivations can be considered 'nominalizations' in a morphological sense: they take nominal rather than verbal morphology. Syntactically, however, they distribute as predicates of their respective clauses, and not as clause arguments. In §§ 3.1 and 3.2 I investigate forms which are derived with the prefix *ko-*; in § 3.3, forms derived with the confix *koN- -a*; in § 3.4 the prefix *ngkoN-* (with directional deictics only); and in § 3.5 the related

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[6] Compare, however, *ilako!* (2P.NOM-go), *ipelempa!* (2P.NOM-walk), imperative addressed to two individuals, and *imelako!* (2P.NOM-PL-go), *impelempa!* (2P.NOM-PL-walk), imperative addressed to three or more individuals.

[7] The converse case—in which a noun takes on typical verb morphology—also occurs, but is limited to cases in which the noun serves as the predicate in a classifying predication, for example *men-sorodadu-'ira aka-ku* (PL-soldier-3P.ABS older.sibling-1S.GEN) 'my older brothers are soldiers' *dahu-ko-mo* (dog-2S.ABS-PERF) 'you are a dog'. There are also instances in which transitive verbs are derived from corresponding nouns, compare for example the transitive verb *mohoro* 'supply (something) with a floor (*horo*)'. This can secondarily lead to cases of verbal morphology apparently applied directly to nouns, e.g. *do-me-horo-o* (3P.NOM-PL-floor-3S.ABS) 'they supplied it with a floor'. These patterns will not be of further concern in this paper.

verb *kongko* 'remain'. All these forms take genitive indexing as a matter of course, even when occupying the predicate position in independent clauses.

A discussion of the uses of genitive pronouns is rounded out in § 4 by mentioning eight 'conjunctions' in Mori Bawah which can be indexed with genitive pronouns. At least three of these conjunctions have clear origins as verbs.

In summary, verbal forms which take genitive indexing in Mori Bawah can be divided into two types. Of one type are 'well behaved' nominalizations, in which the genitive indexing serves to indicate the subordinate status of the erstwhile verb. Of the second type are verbal derivations which take genitive indexing as a matter of course, even when such forms occur as predicate in independent clauses. I bring this point home in the concluding section (§ 5), and outline how verbal forms belonging to the second category may have arisen historically in Mori Bawah.

Before leaving these notes of an introductory nature, I must briefly address the question concerning what to use as the CITATION FORM when discussing verbs and nominalizations in the abstract. From the above discussion, it emerges that even apart from pronominal indexing, active verbs can occur in three forms (base form, participle form and plural subject form). To take a specific case, the Mori Bawah verb meaning 'walk' can in context variously appear as *pelempa* (base form), *melempa* (participle form), or *mpelempa* (plural subject form). Following tradition, I use the participle form as the citation form for active verbs. For stative intransitive verbs (which do not have separate participle forms), the base form is used, e.g. *mota'u* 'old' (rather than plural subject form *memota'u*). For transitive verbs, the antipassive participle will serve as the citation form (e.g. *mo'inu* 'drink', *mo'isa* 'pound', *monahu* 'to cook'; see further Table 2 below). A near absolute requirement of the grammar is that if a verbal form is indexed with a genitive pronoun, the marker of the participle cannot co-occur. Thus verbal forms, which can take genitive pronouns, are always cited in the abstract without the participle marker, and, where appropriate, sometimes also with a genitive pronoun attached.

2.   Participant, action and state nominalizations: introduction

Participant nominalizations are forms derived from verbs which indicate one of the participants of the event (agent, patient, instrument, etc.) which is denoted by a verb. Action nominalizations refer abstractly to the action denoted by a verb, e.g. *walking*, *employment*. State nominalizations refer abstractly to the state denoted by an adjective or stative verb, e.g. *whiteness*, *stupidity*.

In Mori Bawah there are only two methods for deriving participant, action and state nominalizations. In the first method, simply the base form of the verb is used. In this case, the nominal character of the form is indicated primarily by THE ABSENCE OF VERBAL MORPHOLOGY such as the participle marker, the plural subject marker, and/or a nominative, future or absolutive pronoun. The nominal character of the form may be FURTHER UNDERSCORED by the presence of a genitive pronoun, but strictly this is not necessary.

In the second method, a nominalized form is derived by adding the suffix –*a* to the base form of the verb. Stems which have been affixed with –*a* are explicitly marked as noun forms, and do

not appear with verbal morphology. As with base forms which are employed as nominalizations, a genitive pronoun may or may not also be present.

Nominalizations without the suffix –*a* typically profile the performance of an action, the manner in which an action is performed, the instrument with which it is performed, and/or the action or state considered as an abstract, compare *ponako-no* 'his thieving, his thievery' (cf. *monako* 'steal'): *pelempa-no* 'his walking, his manner of walking' (cf. *melempa* 'go, walk'); *pebaku-no* 'his provisions' (lit. 'that which he snacks with', cf. *mebaku* 'snack, eat provisions along the way'); *piso pekeru* 'razor' (lit. 'knife (*piso*) for shaving with', cf. *mekeru* 'shave oneself'), *mokula-no* 'its heat, its hotness' (cf. *mokula* 'hot'). With reciprocal verbs, the nominalization can profile one's co-actant, for example *pe'o'aro-no* 'the one facing him' (cf. *me'o'aro* 'face each other'). Rarely an agent nominalization is formed in this way, compare *pehalo* 'charcoal hauler' (next to *mehalo* 'fetch charcoal').[8]

Nominalizations with the suffix –*a*, on the other hand, typically profile the location or time of an event, for example *pelerea* 'site for farming' (cf. *melere* 'set out a dry field'), *lakoa* 'destination', also 'time of departure' (cf. *lumako* 'go'), *pe'iwalia* 'wartime, war' (cf. *me'iwali* 'conduct warfare'). When the stem expresses a stative concept, the –*a* derivation can indicate the place where an attribute or quality holds forth, for example *molusaa-no* 'the soft spot, soft part of it' (cf. *molusa* 'soft, yielding'), but this can sometimes also be expressed by the bare stem itself, for example *moboo-no* 'its rottenness, the rotten part of it' (cf. *moboo* 'rotten').

Up to this point, we have considered only intransitive verbs. Transitive verbs present a slightly different case, because a transitive verb can appear in three different voices— antipassive, active-direct and passive (see further Mead 1999). If we consider that in each voice there is a base form, an active participle form and a plural subject form, then we might expect each transitive verb to have nine (3 x 3) verb forms.   However, there are only eight possible forms, because passive verbs are non-active, and as such never have an active participle form. These eight forms are illustrated in Table 2 for the transitive verb base *nahu* 'cook'.

Table 2. Possible verb forms of the transitive stem *nahu* 'cook'

	antipassive (*poN-*)	active-direct (absolutive prn)	passive (*-in-*)
base	*po-nahu*	*nahu-o*	*n[in]ahu*
active participle (*-um-*, *p → m*)	*mo-nahu*	*n[um]ahu-o*	—
plural subject (*meN-*, *N-*)	*m-po-nahu*	*me-nahu-o*	*me-n[in]ahu*

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[8] An agent who is skilled in some task is indicated by *puu* as in *puu monahu* (also *puu nahu*) 'cook, one who is skilled in cooking', or *pake-* as in *pakempau* 'someone who is proficient at speaking, a good speaker' (Esser 1933:191, 343).

In the active-direct voice, the patient is definite and is required to be indexed on the verb using an absolutive pronoun. In Table 2, this is illustrated using the third person singular pronoun *–o*; the forms in the middle column thus actually mean 'cook it'.

Since a transitive verb has three base forms, we might similarly expect a transitive verb to have six nominalized forms (base form or base form plus *–a*). But again, one of the cells is never filled, because *-in-* and *-a* are incompatible in Mori Bawah. Again, Table 3 illustrates with the stem *nahu* 'cook'.

Table 3. Nominalized forms of the transitive stem *nahu* 'cook'

	poN-	Ø	*-in-*
base	*po-nahu*	*nahu*	*n[in]ahu*
base + *-a*	*po-nahu-a*	*nahu-a*	—

The basic meanings of these nominalized forms are given in (8), illustrated here with third person singular genitive pronoun *–no*.

(8)   a. *ponahuno* 'his/her cooking, his/her way, manner, etc. of cooking'
        b. *ponahuano* 'his/her place for cooking'
        c. *nahuno* 'its way of being cooked'
        d. *nahuano* 'its place of being cooked' (viz. the thing in which it is cooked)
        e. *ninahuno* 'that which he/she cooked'

As expected, forms with the suffix *–a* (8b, d) are locative nominalizations. When *poN-* is present (8a, b), an attached genitive pronoun indexes the agent of the underlying action.[9] Conversely, when *poN-* is absent (8c, d), the attached genitive pronoun indexes the patient of the underlying action.[10] Forms with the infix *-in-* (8e), on the other hand, are patient nominalizations (that is, they profile the thing which undergoes the action), and thus again we find that the genitive pronoun indexes the notional agent.

Certain caveats apply to the above explanation. First, with a number of verbs, the *poN-* + stem form also serves as an instrumental or (more rarely) an agent nominalization, compare *pompahihi* 'eraser' (cf. *mompahihi* 'erase, rub off, remove by rubbing or wiping'), *pompaka boe* 'that with which pigs are fed, pig fodder' (cf. *mompaka* 'feed'), *powutu* 'binding material' (cf. *mowutu* 'bind'), and *polombo* 'clothes washer' (cf. *molombo* 'wash clothes'). The instrumental meaning of *ponahu*, for example, emerges in the compounds *keu ponahu* 'firewood' (viz. wood for cooking with) and *sangka mponahu* 'cooking utensils' (viz. things for cooking with) (Esser 1933:192).

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[9] Whilst a patient cannot be indexed on such forms, nevertheless it can be expressed, compare *po-doa-no i Nggasi buaea* (APASS-count-3S.GEN PN Tarsier crocodile) 'Tarsier's crocodile counting' or 'how Tarsier counted crocodiles', *po-'ala-mami uwoi* (APASS-get-1PX.GEN water) 'our water fetcher' (Esser 1927:190, 191). See also example (88) in the main text.

[10] The agent cannot be indexed or expressed with such forms.

Second, with a limited number of verbs, the stem + -*a* form also serves as a patient nominalization. For example, in addition to indicating the place where something is cooked (locative nominalization), *nahua* can also indicate the material (the raw food) which is to be cooked. Compare also *asaa* 'that which is destined to be sold' (next to *mo'asa* 'sell'); *kombiaa* 'someone to be married' (cf. *mongkombia* 'marry'); *mamaa* 'ingredients for a betel-nut quid' (cf. *momama* 'masticate'); *kaanga* 'foodstuff, that which is intended to be eaten' (cf. *mongkaa* 'eat', thus with inserted consonant -*ng*-); and *anggaa* 'work', literally 'that which is to be taken hold of' (cf. *mo'angga* 'touch, work, fashion or make with the hands') (Esser 1933:369-370).

Finally, with a number of verbs which involve separation, the base form plus genitive pronoun indicates the thing or part which was so separated, for example *gondino* 'the snipped off piece of it' (next to *mogondi* 'snip, cut with shears'), *tiano* 'his share, his portion' (cf. *montia* 'divide, share'). For transitive verbs which have been derived from nouns, the base form plus genitive pronoun can have a double meaning. For example, next to *molanso* 'to bolt' stands *lansono* meaning both 'its bolt' as well as 'its way of being bolted'; next to *mo(ng)kansai* 'to spear' stands *kansaino* 'his spear', alternatively 'its way of being speared', and etc.

Extended uses of nominalizations are taken up in §§ 2.1 through 2.5. In their core meaning, participant nominalizations as well as action and state nominalizations distribute as ordinary nouns. Compare the nominalizations in examples (9) through (12).

(9) *Tompa-o-mo*   **mokoranga-no**.
     satisfied-3S.ABS-PERF   thirsty-3S.GEN
     'His thirst was satisfied.' (andi.020)

(10) *Nahi*   *mentee*   **pom-paguru-do**.
      NEG:(3S.NOM)   true   APASS-teach-3P.GEN
      'Their teaching is heretical.' (SBwlMod)

In examples (11) and (12), note particularly the use of the existential negator *nahina* rather than the regular verbal negator *nahi*.

(11) *Na-hina*   **po-ronge-a-mami**.
      NEG-exist   APASS-hear-LOC-1PX.GEN
      'We have heard nothing about it' (lit. 'Our place of hearing doesn't exist.') (ES189)

(12) *Kana-kana*   *na-hina*   **k[in]ere-do**,   *ka*   *na-hina*
      REDP-like   NEG-exist   PASS:want-3P.GEN   and   NEG-exist

      masusa-do.
      have.difficulty-3P.GEN

      'It was like there was nothing they wanted and they didn't have difficulties.'
      (andi.009)

Equative clauses are negated with the standard verbal negator *nahi*, but in equative clauses *nahi* MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY ANOTHER ELEMENT such as the copula *ia*, and/or *komba*, originally an emphatic marker (but which in fact can now replace *nahi* as the sole marker of negation) (Esser 1933:256 ff.). In this regard, examples (13) and (14) are both to be judged as containing

equative clauses, there being no evidence to suggest that *pokaransano* or *binintino* have been reanalyzed as verbs. Note also in both examples the particular, contrastive contexts in which such equative clauses tend to be used.

(13) *Sine* **po-karansa-no** *beine* *bou* **nahi** **komba**
      but APASS-scale-3S.GEN woman fish NEG by.any.means

      owu, *kuku-no* *koa.*
      machete nail-3S.POS only

      'But that which the woman used in order to scale fish (the woman's fish-scaling instrument) was not a machete, but only her nails.' (ES191)

(14) **Komba** *karu-no* *i* *Nggasi* **b[in]inti-no**
      by.no.means foot-3S.GEN PN tarsier PASS:kick.calf-3S.GEN

      sine *dali-no* *keu* *anu* *motea.*
      but buttress.root-3S.GEN wood REL hard

      'It was not Tarsier's leg that he kicked, but the hard buttress root of a tree.' (rusa.026)

In some cases it must be admitted that the nominalized verb has even come to indicate a specific object. Thus a *powemba* is specifically a lance with one barbed hook (cf. *mowemba* 'to hunt'); the areca nut as well as the areca palm (*Areca catechu* L.) are both known as *minama*, literally 'that which is masticated (*momama*)'; and via loss of the initial consonant there has developed *inahu* 'greens, vegetables', originally from *ninahu* 'that which is cooked'. Depending on context, *kinaa* can mean 'that which is eaten' but more usually simply 'cooked rice' (there being no other word in Mori Bawah for this basic food item). Where ambiguity exists, the relative clause marker *anu* can be used to coerce the more analytical reading, e.g. *anu kinaaano* 'that which he eats' (not *'that which is his cooked rice') (in context, see below example 30). Similarly, a difference sometimes also emerges with reduplication, compare *kina-kinaano* 'his small bit of cooked rice' versus *kinaa-kaano* 'that which he nibbled on'.

In only one case can a nominalization be supplied with the participle marker *–um-* (or its nasal replacement allomorph). This occurs with certain intransitive verbs, and indicates the portion of something which performs an action, for example *ondalo l[um]ako-no* (deep PART:go-3S.GEN) 'the portion (e.g. of a hypodermic needle) which went in, went in deep' (Esser 1933:195).

2.1   Participant nominalizations in relative clauses

Participant nominalizations have a particular use in the interrogation and relativization of locations, instruments and patients. For the sake of brevity, I consider only relativization. As is typical of a number of Austronesian languages, Mori Bawah usually allows only subjects and possessors to be relativized directly. Example (15) illustrates the relativization of a subject; note the use of the participle form of the verb with gapping of the subject in the relative clause.

(15) *mia*   *anu*   *aiwa*   *l[um]ungka-o*   *wuwu-no*
person   REL   come   PART:lift-3S.ABS   fish.trap-3S.GEN
'people who came to lift (viz. steal from) his fish trap' (ES143)

In future contexts a pronoun retention strategy is used, since in Mori Bawah future tense is normally expressed through the use of a future pronoun.

(16) *mia*   *anu*   *ta*   *mo-wawa*   *sangka-ku*
person   REL   3S.FUT   PART:APASS-carry   thing-1S.GEN
'a person who will carry my things' (ES160)

(17) *mia*   *ira*   *me-'aiwa*
people   3P.FUT   PL-come
'people who will come, people who are to come' (ES201)

Example (18) illustrates a relativized possessor. Note the use of the retained genitive pronoun *-do* within the relative clause, which refers back to the head, the children.

(18) *nana'ote*   *anu*   *na-m-i*   *hina*   *mia*   *mota'u-do*
child   REL   NEG-PERF-3S.NOM   exist   person   old-3P.GEN
'children whose parents were no longer, children who no more had parents' (ES163)

Patients, instruments and locations can also be relativized, but usually only indirectly through the use of a nominalized form, in what might be termed a 'pseudo-relativization' strategy. Compare examples (19) through (28).

RELATIVIZED PATIENT

(19) *kinaa*   *anu*   *n[in]ahu-no*
cooked.rice   REL   PASS:cook-3S.GEN
'the rice which was cooked by him' (ES164)

(20) *punti*   *p[in]aho-do*
banana   PASS:plant-3P.GEN
'the bananas which were planted by them' (ES164)

(21) *ampa*   *anu*   *t[in]a'o-no*   *i*   *Re'a*
bamboo.stake   REL   PASS:set-3S.GEN   PN   Turtle
'sharpened bamboo stakes which Turtle had set (in the ground)' (bange1.018)

(22) *mokole*   *anu*   *p[in]otoro-mami*
ruler   REL   PASS:appoint-1PX.GEN
'a ruler who is appointed by us' (ES117)

RELATIVIZED LOCATION

(23) *togo*   *lako-a-do*
      island   go-LOC-3P.GEN
      'the island to which they are going' (ES364)

(24) *mia*   *anu*   *pesikeno-a-ku*   *indiawi*
      person   REL   question-LOC-1S.GEN   yesterday
      'the person whom I asked yesterday (lit., who was my place of asking)' (ES163)

(25) *uwoi*   *pe-wo'ohi-a*
      water   INTR-wash.oneself-LOC
      'wash water, water for washing oneself in' (ES364)

RELATIVIZED INSTRUMENT

(26) *uwoi*   *pe-wo'ohi*
      water   INTR-wash.oneself
      'wash water, water for washing oneself with' (ES364)

(27) *doi*   *po-'oli-do*   *pae*
      money   APASS-buy-3P.GEN   rice
      'the money with which they bought rice' (ES192)

(28) *sabo*   *po-lombo-ku*   *lemba-ku*
      soap   APASS-wash-1S.GEN   clothes-1S.GEN
      'the soap with which I washed my clothes' (ES192)

Nominalizations which are used in relativization demonstrate their 'verbal' character in at least four ways. First, as demonstrated in the above set of examples the nominalization may be preceded by the relative clause marker *anu*. Second, it is also possible for nominalizations to also take plural subject marking, but examples such as (29) are an exceptional case.

(29) *Mopa-bangka-bangka*   *balu-balu*   *me-w[in]awa-do*.
      MULTIPLE-REDP-boat   merchandise   PL-PASS:bring-3P.GEN
      'Many boatloads was the merchandise which they brought.' (ES306)

    Third, while context usually determines whether such relative clauses are to be given a past, present or future interpretation, sometimes a future pronoun can also make its appearance in order to disambiguate.

(30) *Onae-mo*   *anu*   *ta*   *k[in]aa-ku*.
      3S.INDEP-PERF   REL   3S.FUT   PASS:eat-1S.GEN
      'He is the one who shall be eaten by me.' (ES165)

(31) *wongi*   *ta*   *hawe-a-no*   *mia*   *monako*
      night   3S.FUT   arrive-LOC-3S.GEN person   PART:steal
      'the night on which the thief will come' (Mt24:43Tolesa)

 It is also possible, however, in such cases for the relative clause to be constructed in the active voice (thus with future pronoun but WITHOUT nominalization). For example, (30) could be expressed alternatively as (32).[11]

(32) *Onae-mo*   *anu*   *aku*   *k[um]aa-no*.
      3S.INDEP-PERF   REL   1S.FUT   PART:eat-3S.ABS[12]
      'He is the one whom I shall eat.' (ES165)

Fourth, it is possible for the nominalized verb to appear in construction with a preceding verb of motion (or to say it another way, an entire serial verb construction can be nominalized). Compare examples (33) and (34).

(33) *anu*   *lako*   *in-ungke-to*
      REL   go   PASS-seek-1PN.GEN
      'what we went seeking' (ES352)

(34) *Ndi-'ira-mo*   *mia*   *hawe*   *w[in]awa-ku*.
      be.here-3P.ABS-PERF   person   arrive   PASS:bring-1S.GEN
      'Here are the people I have come bringing.' (ES352)

In such cases, the initial verb of the serial verb construction indicates direction, and is apparently limited to *lako* 'go', *aiwa* 'come', *hawe* 'arrive', *ramai* 'toward here' or one of the other directional deictic verbs given below in Table 4 (Esser 1933:352). A similar construction can also occur with the aspectual verb *wela*, compare example (35).

(35) *watu*   *anu*   *wela*   *p[in]alu-do*   *mia*
      rock   REL   regularly   PASS:hammer-3P.GEN   person
      'a rock which had been hammered time and again by people' (ES165)

In this case, however, the relativized clause can also be constructed without employing a nominalization. Compare particularly the used of *pinaludo* (nominalization) above in example (35) versus *mempaluo* (verb) in example (36) below. In example (36) the object is indicated within the relative clause by a retained pronoun (in this case, the pronoun -*o*).

(36) *watu*   *anu*   *do-wela*   *mem-palu-o*   *mia*
      rock   REL   3P.NOM-regularly   PL-hammer-3S.ABS   person
      'a rock on which people had hammered time and again' (ES165)

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[11] According to Esser (1927:165), the construction with future pronoun and patient nominalization (*anu ta kinaaku*) is preferred. Alternatively, an –*a* nominalization which profiles the patient (see § 2) is sometimes employed, compare *padengi tembi-a-do* (luggage carry.on.back-NZR-3P.GEN) 'luggage to be carried by them' (Esser 1933:251). Since in such cases a past (or realized) interpretation is naturally excluded, a future pronoun is not needed.

[12] Following the stem *kaa* 'eat', the third person absolutive pronoun idiosyncratically has the form -*no* rather than -*o*. A segmentation as *k[um]aan-o* would be historically correct, but overlooks the fact that the final consonant *n* of *kaa(n)* 'eat' appears nowhere else.

The negator *nahi* requires the following verb to be indexed with a nominative or future pronoun, even in relative clauses (when *nahi* is present in the relative clause, a pronoun retention strategy must be used). Example (37) illustrates negation with a relativized subject.

(37) *mia   anu   nahi   do-buku   m-po-'angga   batatana*
      person   REL   NEG   3P.NOM-be.willing   PL-APASS-work   main.road
      'people who are unwilling to do corvée labor' (ES238)

Example (38) illustrates negation with a relativized object. Again, note that *kuto'orio* is a verb; a nominalization cannot be used (**mia anu nahi tino'oriku*).

(38) *mia   anu   nahi   ku-to'ori-o*
      person   REL   NEG   1S.NOM-know-3S.ABS
      'someone whom I do not know' (ES164)

2.2   Subordinate preposed temporal ('when') clauses

Action and state nominalizations also have a use in preposed subordinate clauses. The nominalization alone indicates the subordinate status of the clause, which is given a temporal interpretation. Compare example (39).

(39) *Hawe-no   ira'ai,   i-winso-o   a   bolongko-no.*
      arrive-3S.GEN   there   3S.NOM-enter-3S.ABS   at   room-3S.GEN
      'When he arrived there (lit. his arriving there), he put her in his room.' (lauale.036)

The subordinate status of the clause can additionally be marked by the subordinator *sa* 'when, once' (< *asa* 'one'). Compare examples (40) and (41).

(40) *Sa   mokula-no   wua m-petiba   andio, i-'ala-o-mo* ...
      when   hot-3S.GEN   fruit LG-winged.bean   this   3S.NOM-take-3S.ABS-PERF
      'When the winged bean seeds were hot, she took them…' (bonti.045)

(41) *Sa   tekoturi-no   i   Andinsiarambubu,*
      when   fallen.asleep-3S.GEN   PN   Andinsiarambubu

      i-polai-akono-mo   mbo'u.
      3S.NOM-flee-APPL:3S.ABS-PERF   again

      'When Andinsiarambubu had fallen asleep, he fled from her again.' (bobo.025)

When the verb *umari* 'finish' is used,[13] *umari* itself attracts the genitive indexing. In this case the preposed temporal clause must be regarded as containing a serial verb construction. Only *umari* is 'nominalized', with following verbs constructed as ordinary verbs, e.g. with participle marking as in (42), and plural subject marking as in (43).

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[13] In Mori, the initial *–um-* of *umari* is a frozen element which never deletes.

(42)   *Sa*   *umari-no*   *me'ula,*   *do-m-po-tii-o-mo*
       when   finish-3S.GEN   PART:get.on   3P.NOM-PL-CAUS-descend-3S.ABS-PERF

       kandawari   *ka-do*   *me-lako*
       carry.basket   and-3P.NOM   PL-go

       'When she had finished getting in, they lowered the basket and went on their way.'
       (ES277)

(43)   *Umari-do*   *m-pong-kaa,*   *do-me-lako*   *mbo'u …*
       finish-3P.GEN   PL-APASS-eat   3P.NOM-PL-go   again
       'When they had finished eating, they left again…' (dondo.010)

The same pattern also occurs with the non-active verb *mansa* 'once, at once',[14] which is even more common in this construction than *umari*. Compare examples (44) and (45).

(44)   *Mansa-do*   *m-pewangu*   *mo'oru,*   *na-m-i*   *ndio*
       at.once-3P.GEN   PL-arise   morning   NEG-PERF-3S.NOM   be.here

       aasa   *ambau.*
       one   carabao

       'When they arose in the morning, there was no longer one carabao.' (ES133)

(45)   *Mansa-no*   *k[um]ita-o*   *i*   *Lare'a*   *tahi, …*
       at.once-3S.GEN   PART:see-3S.ABS   PN   Turtle   sea
       'As soon as Turtle saw the sea…' (ES102)

Perhaps by analogy with *mansa*, *sa* can also sometimes attract genitive indexing.

(46)   *Sa-no*   *r[um]onge-o*   *mia*   *andio*   *motae…*
       when-3S.GEN   PART:hear-3S.ABS   person   this   that
       'When this person heard that…' (ES277)

It is also possible for both *sa* and *mansa*, even when constructed with a genitive pronoun, to be further followed by a future pronoun, compare examples (47) and (48). In this case, the event encoded by the preposed clause is something which was about to happen.

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[14] In other Mori isolects *mense*, *mensa*, probably a shortened form of *me'asa* 'be one'. While *mansa* is primarily used in preposed temporal clauses, it can also appear in independent clauses, compare:

    Mansa-o-mo   *menongkoako*   *mekule*   *i*   *inia-no.*
    at.once-3S.ABS-PERF   PART:go.quietly   PART:return   at   village-3S.GEN
    'At once he stole away to return to his village.'

(47) *Sa-do*   **ira**   *m-pon-siwu,*
when-3P.GEN   3P.FUT   PL-APASS-make.sago.porridge.of

do-me-dudungku-akono-mo   *na-hina*   *bolusa-do.*
3P.NOM-PL-have.difficulty-APPL:3S.ABS-PERF   NEG-exist   trough-3P.GEN

'When they were about to make sago porridge, they ran into trouble because they had no trough.' (ES277)

(48) *Mansa-no*   **ta**   *hawe*   *um-ala-o*   *onae-mo*
at.once-3S.GEN   3S.FUT   come   PART-take-3S.ABS   3S.IND-PERF

ka-i   *pengese*   *nana'ote*   *andio.*
and-3S.NOM   weep   child   this

'When he was about to come take it, the child started crying.' (ES174fn)

Verbal forms in this construction can also be supplied with the plural subject marker.

(49) *Me-'umari-do*   *m-pong-kaa,* …
PL-finish-3P.GEN   PL-APASS-eat
'When they had finished eating…' (ES277fn1)

(50) *Me-lako-do*   *andio,* ...
PL-go-3P.GEN   this
'When they had gone, …' (ES277fn1)

Such nominalized clauses as we have been considering here are usually preposed to an independent clause. However, they can also be constructed correlatively, by which the simultaneity of the two events is emphasized.

(51) *Petii-ku*   *a*   *uwoi,*   *pekuu-ku-mo.*
descend-1S.GEN   at   water   dive-1S.GEN-PERF
'No sooner had I gone into the water, than in I dived.' (ES190)

(52) *Mansa-no*   *l[um]ako*   *i*   *asa-mbali-no*   *wala,*   *polai-no-mo.*
at.once-3S.GEN   PART:go   at   one-side-3S.GEN   fence   flee-3S.GEN-PERF
'When he had come to the other side of the fence, away he ran.' (ES190)

In this use, they bear a strong resemblance to *ko-* clauses which are constructed correlatively, see below examples (73) through (75). As Esser has noted (1933:190, footnote), it may even be that this construction has originated via omission of *ko-*. Compare example (53).

(53) *Ko-hawe-no*   *mentoro*   *a*   *meda,*   *pong-kaa-no-mo.*
at-arrive-3S.GEN   PART:sit   at   table   TRI-eat-3S.GEN-PERF
'No sooner had he come sat at the table than in he delved.' (ES190)

2.3   Adjectives which take genitive indexing for an evaluator

Above we have looked at stative nominalizations which are formed by attaching a genitive pronoun directly to the base form of the verb, for example *moikono* 'its goodness' (next to *moiko*

'good'), *molueno* 'its broadness, its breadth, its extent' (next to *molue* 'broad, extensive'). However, in the appropriate context *moikono* can have a second interpretation, namely it can also mean 'he considers it good, it's good to him, it's good by him'. In this case the genitive pronoun no longer indexes the person or thing which IS good, rather it indexes the person WHO EVALUATES OR ESTEEMS something as being good, the ONE ON WHOM THE IMPRESSION FALLS that something is good. Compare in context:

(54) *Ba*   **moiko-miu**,   *to-lako*   *raane.*
    if   good-2P.GEN   1PN.NOM-go   toward.over.there
    'If you esteem it good, if you feel good about it, if it's acceptable to you, if you agree, the two of us will go over there.' (1-69)

The semantic connection to the regular stative nominalization is relatively straightforward. Compare, for example, someone who says in English, '(It was) my pleasure,' meaning that some task or event was pleasing to him or her. However, rather than being limited to a small number of idiosyncratic expressions, this pattern has been extended in Mori Bawah to become a regular pattern with a number of non-active verbs.

(55) **Mo'ahi-mu**   *koa*   *inahu*   *atuu?*
    delicious-2S.GEN   just   vegetable   that
    'Do you find those vegetables delicious, do you like those vegetables?' (1-40)

(56) *Ba*   *omami*   *koa,*   **halahala-mami**   *m-po-wala*
    if   1PX.INDEP   just   useless-1PX.GEN   PL-APASS-cover

    bangka   *k[in]unsi*   *atuu.*
    boat   PASS:fasten   that

    'As far as we are concerned, we esteem it useless to provide a cover on such a well-fastened boat.' (ES230)

Additionally, note the shift in valency. Prototypical adjectives have an inherent valency of one: they are used to predicate a property about a particular entity (Croft 1991:63 ff., *inter alia*). The Mori Bawah non-active verb cum genitive pronoun construction, however, brings into the foreground the human evaluator, and it is this evaluator who is indexed on the verb.

Furthermore, when something is evaluated at an affective, emotional level (as opposed to simply a mental calculation), the construction can result in a kind of converse predication in which the focus is no longer on the evaluation (X evaluates Y as having property *a*), but rather on the resultant change in emotive state (Y induces X to feel *b*). As noted by Esser (1933:230, 339), next to *mosa'o* 'bad' one finds *mosa'oku* which literally means 'I find it bad', but also by implication 'I am angry (about it)'; from *mahaki* 'be sick, be in pain' *mahakiku* 'I find it painful, I feel grief, heartache, etc.'; from *mongkokolaro* 'poor, pitiable, deficient' *mongkokolarono* 'he feels sorry for it, he feels miserable, he feels distress'; from *maka'ali* 'impressive, imposing' *maka'aliku* 'I was impressed, timid, surprised, at a loss', etc. In this way the verb *mo'o'anu* 'ashamed', perhaps originally meaning 'shameful', has come to regularly be constructed with genitive pronoun.

(57) *Mo'o'anu-no-mo*   *i*   *Bange*   *r[um]onge-o*
ashamed-3S.GEN-PERF   PN   Monkey   PART:hear-3S.ABS

     pau-no   *i*   *Re'a…*
     talk-3S.GEN   PN   Turtle

     'Monkey was ashamed to hear Turtle's words…' (bange2.023)

(58) *Tedoa-o-mo*   *mo'o'anu-no.*
very-3S.ABS-PERF   ashamed-3S.GEN
     'He was very ashamed.' (bange2.060)

In our sole example of negation of stative verb with genitive evaluator, the standard verbal negator *nahi* is used, compare example (59).

(59) *Nahi*   *tekowali-ku*   *b[in]uri-do.*
     NEG   good-1S.GEN   PASS:write-3P.GEN
     'I didn't feel good about what they wrote.' (SB3-218)

2.4   The nominalization *inehe* and other verbs of desire and intention

The verb *mo'ehe* 'want' regularly appears in its nominalized form *inehe* followed by a genitive pronoun. Compare examples (60) through (62).

(60) *Tabulu*   **in-ehe-mu**,   *aiwa-mo*   *tonda-kami.*
     if   PASS-want-2S.GEN   come-PERF   follow-1PX.ABS
     'If you want, come and follow us.' (ES97)

(61) *Luwu-no*   *mia*   **in-ehe-no**   *me-pau,*
     all-3S.GEN   person   PASS-want-3S.GEN   PART:INTR-speak

     in-ehe-no   *me-ngingisi.*
     PASS-want-3S.GEN   PART:INTR-laugh

     'Everyone likes to talk, likes to laugh.' (lauale.015)

(62) *Asalakono*   *ta*   *koa*   **in-ehe-do**.
     certainly   3S.FUT   just   PASS-want-3P.GEN
     'For sure he (the rajah) will want to do it.' (bonti.019)

There is, perhaps, some satisfaction in an analysis which aligns *inehe* with the other, possessive-marked stative verbs discussed in the preceding section (§ 2.3). Under this analysis, *tabulu inehemu* as in example (60) could be glossed as 'if it is desirable to you, if it is pleasing to you, if you find it desirable…'.

From a diachronic perspective, however—and perhaps even synchronically—*inehe* is to be regarded as nothing other than a patient nominalization. That is to say, *tabulu inehemu* literally means 'if (that is) what you want', 'if (it is) your desire'. The use of a nominalization is paralleled by at least two other Mori Bawah verbs of intention and desire (see examples below). Indeed, parallels are found in other languages as well, compare even English 'I think that…'

versus 'My opinion is that…', 'I plan to…' versus 'My plan is to…'. The major difference, then, appears to be the FREQUENCY with which the nominalization is used, which is relatively high for Mori Bawah *inehe*, but relatively low for *tinoo* (example 63a) and *potae* (example 64a). Examples (63b) and (64b) illustrate the more common verb construction.

(63) a. **T[in]oo-no**   *aroa-no*   *ta*   *me-winso*   *a*   *lere…*
          PASS:intend-3S.GEN   heart-3S.GEN   3S.FUT   PART:INTR-enter   at   garden
          'He planned in his heart to go into the garden…' (lit. 'The intention of
          his heart was to…') (rusa.002)

      b. **Mon-too-'aku**   *aku*   *l[um]ako* *i Tentena*   *tisomo.*
          PART:APASS-intend-1S.ABS   1S.FUT   PART:go   at Tentena   tomorrow
          'I plan to go to Tentena tomorrow.' (1-35)

(64) b. **Potae-mami**   *ira*   *me-tonda*   *mama-n-i*   *Natan.*
          say-1PX.GEN   3P.FUT   PART:INTR-follow   mother-3S.GEN-PN   Nathan
          'We think Nathan's mom should come too.' (lit. 'Our saying is…') (3-18)

      a. *…nde* **i-potae**   *ba*   *ndio*   *koa ntu'u i-kutui-o.*
          because   3S.NOM-say   if   be.here   just   truly   3S.NOM-delouse-3S.ABS
          '…because she meant that he actually delouse her.' (ES137)

2.5   Quantitative phrases of the form *asa* + nominalization

In Mori Bawah, a number of quantitative phrases are formed according to the pattern *asa* (or *sa-*) followed by nasal ligature (usually optional) and a noun or nominalization, to which a genitive pronoun may also be attached. Such phrases typically indicate an extent, quantity or duration, as in *asa ngkoroi* 'one's entire body (*koroi*)', *samiano* 'everyone, every person (*mia*)', *asa nsu'ua* 'a carry load (of what one carries on the head)' (cf. *monsu'u* 'carry on the head'), *asa ntembia* 'a carry load (of what one carries on the shoulder)' (cf. *montembi* 'carry on the shoulder'), *asa mponahua* 'the time it takes to cook a pot of rice, about fifteen to twenty-five minutes' (cf. *monahu* 'cook'), and *asa mpomamaa* 'the time needed to chew a betel quid, about five minutes' (cf. *momama* 'chew, masticate') (Esser 1933:272, 285). Typically such phrases are used adverbially in the clause, as in example (65).

(65) *Mahaki-'aku*   *asa*   *ng-koroi.*
      sick-1S.ABS   one   LG-body
      'I have pain over my entire body.' (ES275)

In example (66), however, it would appear that *asa mpongkaangano* could be interpreted not simply as an adverbial phrase, but alternatively as a subordinate adverbial clause.

(66) *Asa*   *m-pong-kaa-nga-no*   *itu'ai-mo*   *i-po'ia.*
      one   LG-APASS-eat-LOC-3S.GEN   there-PERF   3S.NOM-stay
      'In each place that he ate, there he remained.' (ES276)

Furthermore, it is possible for quantitative 'phrases' to occupy the predicate position of the clause, with the concomitant meaning of 'all the time X-ing'. Compare examples (67) and (68).

(67) *Asa   m-po-'angga-ku-mo   koa.*
one   LG-APASS-work-1S.GEN-PERF   just
'I do nothing except just work.' (ES275)

(68) *Mia   atuu   moro   mekombe,   nde   asa*
person   that   perhaps   crazy   because   one

m-pepau-no-mo   koa   asa   oleo   andio.
LG-speak-3S.GEN-PERF   just   one   day   this

'That man is perhaps crazy, because all day long he has done nothing other than talk continually.' (ES275)

It is also possible for quantitative phrases to be used correlatively. In example (69), the place where the two events occur is predicated to be the same.

(69) *Asa   pentoro-a-no,   asa   poturi-a-no.*
one   sit-LOC-3S.GEN   one   sleep-LOC-3S.GEN
'In the same place where he sat, he fell asleep.' (ES275)

3.   Other derivations which take genitive indexing

Up to this point we have been considering nominalizations and their extended uses. Nominalizations are either zero-derived from the base form of a verb, or are derived from the base form by suffixing *-a*. Here we turn to other verbal derivations have the peculiarity that they are always indexed with genitive pronouns, even when such forms occur as predicate in independent clauses. We first consider the derivational prefix *ko-*.

3.1   Verbs prefixed with *ko-*

In its most common use,[15] *ko-* indicates that the action of the verb has just been performed or is at that moment still in process of being performed.

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[15] According to Esser (1933:333-334), *ko-* derivations can also indicate that the action of its verb follows on the heels of some other action or event.

Ko-lako-mu   isua   atuu?   -   Ko-lako-ku   i   Dale.
at-go-2S.GEN   where   that   at-go-1S.GEN   to   Dale
'Where do you go next?' (thus after first having to do something else) 'To Dale.' (ES334)

In this meaning the *ko-* derivation often appears in the second of two juxtaposed clauses.

Aku   lako   mo-'ala   pakuli,   ko-lako-ku   mo-'oli   ohia.
1S.FUT   go   PART:APASS-get   medicine   at-go-1S.GEN   PART:APASS-buy   salt
'I'm going to get medicine, and after that directly to buy salt.' (ES334)

Another meaning yet of *ko-* derivations is 'all the time, throughout', as in *ko-lako-no-mo* (at-go-3S.GEN-PERF) 'he is always going off' (Esser 1927:334). Compare:

(70)   *Ko-te'inso-mu*   *isua?*
       at-be.from-2s.GEN   where
       'Where have you come from just now?'   (ES333)

(71)   *Da*   *ko-hina-no.*
       still   at-exist-3s.GEN
       'It has just been born.'   (ES333)

(72)   *mia*   *anu*   *ko-hawe-no*
       person   REL   at-arrive-3s.GEN
       'a person who has just arrived'   (ES333)

More usually, a clause containing a verbal form derived with *ko-* in this meaning is placed preceding another clause, by which the simultaneity or near simultaneity of the two events is emphasized. Correlative use (both clauses contain *ko-* derivations) is common.

(73)   *Ko-hawe-no-mo*   *ko-poturi-no-mo.*
       at-arrive-3S.GEN-PERF   at-sleep-3S.GEN-PERF
       'As soon as he arrived, he immediately went to sleep.'   (ES334)

(74)   *Ko-mate-no*   *ko-tano-no.*
       at-dead-3S.GEN   at-bury-3S.GEN
       'As soon as he was dead, he was buried.'   (ES334)

(75)   *Ko-tidu-ku,*   *ko-tebangku-ku.*
       at-punch-1s.GEN   at-fall.over-1s.GEN
       'Immediately I was punched, I fell over.'   (3-106m)

With the transitive forms *kotanono* 'he was buried' (example 74) and *kotiduku* 'I was punched' (example 75), the genitive pronoun indexes the object of the transitive verb. If the transitive subject is to be indicated, e.g. 'as soon as he was dead, THEY buried him', then a *ko-* form cannot be employed. Instead, the conjunction *ka* intervenes and the transitive verb takes ordinary (non-genitive) verbal indexing. Compare examples (76) and (77).

(76)   *Ko-mate-no*   *ka-do*   *tano-o.*
       at-die-3S.GEN   and-3P.NOM   bury-3S.ABS
       'As soon as he died, they buried him.'   (ES333m)

(77)   *I-tambu-o*   *ka-i*   *inu-o.*
       3S.NOM-scoop-3s.ABS   and-3S.NOM   drink-3S.ABS
       'He scooped it up, and immediately drank it.'   (1-106)

Onae-mo   *ka-do*   *pe'u'ua,*   *ko-lako-do-mo*   *teposisala.*
3S.INDEP-PERF   and-3P.NOM   quarrel   at-go-3P.GEN-PERF   be.at.odds
'Then they got into a quarrel, and ever after have been in contention with each other.'   (ES334)

The conjunction *ka* (rather than a *ko-* derivation) can also be used when the following verb is intransitive.

(78) *Ko-pe'ula-do-mo*   *ka-do*   *men-somba.*
      at-get.on-3P.GEN-PERF   and-3P.NOM   PL-sail
      'As soon as they had boarded, they set sail.'

Alternatively, when the two clauses have the same subject, indexing in the second clause may be omitted. In this case the conjunction *ka* does not intervene, and the verb of the second clause appears in its participle (or plural subject) form.

(79) *Ko-pe'opo-no*   *mengese.*
      at-lie.prone-3S.GEN   PART:cry
      'As soon as he laid down on his belly he cried.' (ES334)

(80) *Ko-pewangu-do*   *me-'ema-o*   *io*   *keu*   *a*   *m-puu*
      at-stand.up-3P.GEN   PL-ask.for-3S.ABS   CN   wood   at   LG-vicinity

      raha-no   *boloki*   *andio.*
      house-3S.GEN   old.woman   this

      'As soon as they had stood up, they asked for the tree which stood on the premises of the old woman's house.' (ES333)

As in example (81), a *ko-* form itself may rarely also be marked for plural subject.

(81) *mia*   *ko-m-pekule-do*   *inso*   *m-pominggu*
      person   at-PL-return-3P.GEN   from   PL-attend.church
      'people who have just come back from church' (ES333)

By contrast, note the absence of plural subject marking above in *kope'ulado* (example 78) and *kopewangudo* (example 80), even though the subject is clearly three or more (as appears from plural subject marking on other verbs in the immediate context).

3.2   Verbs prefixed with *ko-* and accompanied by two-syllable reduplication

In certain cases, the prefix *ko-* accompanied by two-syllable reduplication of the stem indicates that the subject increasingly does the action or comes to be in the condition or have the characteristic which is indicated by the stem. For example:

(82) a. *mahaki* 'sick'   *komaha-mahaki* 'increasingly sick,
                                            sicker and sicker'
      b. *tekuda* 'angry'   *koteku-tekuda* 'increasingly angry,
                                            more and more angry'
      c. *mompoli* 'have means or   *kopompo-pompoli* 'increasingly having
           ability, be wealthy'[16]   means or ability, wealthier and wealthier'

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[16] *mompoli* is an antipassive participle. The transitive stem here is *poli* '(be) able (to), (be) capable (of)'.

d. *ompeda* 'close, nearby'   *ko'ompe-ompeda* 'increasingly close,
                                                                    closer and closer'

Despite the apparent verbal semantics, nonetheless these forms allow the subject to be indexed only by genitive pronoun. In examples (83) and (84), the verbal-form-cum-genitive-pronoun constitutes an entire clause, and must perforce be considered the predicate.

(83) *Ko-teku-tekuda-no-mo.*
      PROPORTN-REDP-angry-3S.GEN-PERF
      'He got angrier and angrier.' (ES336)

(84) *Ko-maha-mahaki-ku.*
      PROPORTN-REDP-sick-1S.GEN
      'I'm more and more sick.' (ES336)

(85) *…borono   i-kita-o   koroi-no,*
       immediately   3S.NOM-see-3S.ABS   body-3S.GEN

      ko-tewa-tewali-no   gagi   saa.
      PROPORTN-REDP-become-3S.GEN   become   snake

      '…immediately he looked at his body, more and more it was changing
      into a snake.' (sisi.011)

Verbal forms with *ko-* and two syllable reduplication are often used correlatively to indicate that an increase in one dimension correlates proportionally with an increase in a second dimension.

(86) *Ko-lako-lako-mami,   ko-mee-meene-no.*
      PROPORTN-REDP-go-1PX.GEN   PROPORTN-REDP-bright-3S.GEN
      'The further we went, the brighter it became.' (ES337)

(87) *Ka-i   meene,   ko-susu-susua-no*
      and-3s.NOM   bright   PROPORTN-REDP-different-3s.GEN

      haki-no,   ko-mobe-mobea-no.
      sickness-3s.GEN   PROPORTN-REDP-heavy-3s.GEN

      'When morning dawned, the more her illness changed, the more
      severe it became.' (andi.013)

(88) *Ko-tehi-tehine-no,   ko-tepa-tepahe-no*
      PROPORTN-REDP-long.time-3s.GEN   PROPORTN-REDP-shifted-3s.GEN

      po-'o'aliaako-do   ndi   Tamailonggo.
      ANTIPASS-angry-3p.GEN   at   Tamailonggo

      'The longer the time that passed, the more their anger toward Tamailonggo
      shifted (viz. increased in intensity).' (tamai.010)

In a distinct meaning, *ko-* plus two-syllable reduplication can indicate that an action is carried out repeatedly or at length, usually without purpose or specific aim. Examples hereof are *kobuu-buu* 'passing gas (*tebuu*) frequently', *kongese-ngese* 'cry (*mengese*) all the time, go around crying', *kopau-pau* 'speak (*mompau*) all the time, say that which has no utility or usefulness', *kolako-lako* 'continually be going (*lumako*), go around without utility or purpose'. In THIS meaning, the *ko-* derivation is treated entirely as a regular non-active verb, including pronominal indexing.

(89) *Tehine   i-'umari   mong-kaa,   ko-buu-buu-o-mo…*
      long.time   3S.NOM-finish   PART:APASS-eat   DIFFUSE-REDP-fart-3S.ABS-PERF
      'Some time after he had finished eating, he went around passing gas…' (lauale.072)

3.3   Verbs affixed with *koN- -a*

Verbs which are circumfixed with *koN- -a* indicate that the subject (indicated by genitive pronoun) has reached the stage of having a particular property, or is at the time, season or stage when an action is typically performed.[17]

(90) a. *sumowi* 'harvest'   *konsowia* 'harvest time'
      b. *mompaho* 'plant'   *ko(m)pompahoa* 'planting time'
      c. *monsese* 'cut, slice'   *komponsesea tambako* 'the season for
                                        cutting tobacco'
      d. *me'opo* 'lie prone'   *kompe'opoa* 'period during which (a baby) lies on
                                        its stomach'

When followed by a genitive pronoun, the suffix *–a* of these forms is sometimes omitted.

(91) *Ko-motaha-(a)-no   wua   lansa.*
      at.stage.of-ripe-LOC-3s.GEN   fruit   langsat
      'The langsat fruits are at the stage of being ripe.' (ES337)

(92) *Da   kon-tuwu-(a)-ku.*
      still   at.stage.of-living-LOC-1s.GEN
      'I am still in the prime of life.' (ES337)

(93) *Tamoako   da'a   i   Ua-uai, nde   da   kom-po'uo-a-no.*
      especially   INTENS   PN Ua-uai   because   still   at.stage.of-suckle-LOC-3s.GEN
      'Especially Ua-uai (had difficulties), because he was still at the stage of nursing.'
      (at the time his mother died) (andi.016)

Forms derived with *koN- -a* can be indexed only with a genitive pronoun. Nonetheless from examples (91) and (92), it would appear that such forms can serve as the predicate of an independent clause. Another common use of *koN- -a* forms is as modifiers in a noun phrase construction, compare examples (94) through (96).

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[17] In rare cases, *-a* is preceded by a thematic (inserted) consonant, compare *kontiara* 'at the stage of giving birth', next to transitive verb *montia* 'divide, separate'.

(94)　*nana'ote*　　　*kom-pe'opo-(a)-no*
　　　young.child　　at.stage.of-lie.prone-LOC-3s.GEN
　　　'a young child at the stage of lying on its belly' (cannot yet roll over) (ES337)

(95)　*mia*　　　*kom-po-bonde-a-no*
　　　person　　at.stage.of-APASS-weed-LOC-3s.GEN
　　　'someone who is in the period of weeding (a garden)' (ES337)

(96)　*ana*　*beine*　*anu*　*da*　*kon-te'ahu-do*
　　　child　female　REL　still　at.stage.of-sufficient.in.measure-3P.GEN
　　　'young women who are sufficient in stature (viz. to be married)' (ES334)

Unlike with forms derived with *ko-* (§§ 3.1 and 3.2), *koN- -a* derivations appear not to be used correlatively. The *koN- -a* derivation *kontongaa* 'be busy with, be in the midst of' is taken up below in § 4.

3.4　　Directional deictic verbs prefixed with *ngkoN-*

Mori Bawah has two series of directional deictics. These are given in Table 4.

Table 4.　Mori Bawah directional deictics

	base form	with prefix *ngkoN-*
toward here	*ramai*, *tamahi*	*ngkoramai*, *(ng)kontamahi*
toward there, level	*raane*	*ngkoraane*
toward there, higher	*tahane*	*(ng)kontahane*
toward there, lower	*loane*	*ngkoloane*

Members of the first (unprefixed) set distribute as ordinary intransitive non-active verbs, indicating motion in a particular direction. Apart from example (97), these forms will not be further illustrated.

(97)　*Me-ramai-'ira-mo*　　　　　　*i*　　*Laengko.*
　　　PL-come.hither-3P.ABS-PERF　　PN　　Laengko
　　　'Laengko and those with him are coming here.' (ES143)

Members of the second set tend to be used attributively (either as noun modifiers, or as second verb in a sequence), indicating that someone or something is at the stage of moving in a particular direction. These forms are thus particularly appropriate for fictive motion, but are not required to have this interpretation. Compare examples (98) and (99).

(98)　*sala*　*anu*　*ngkontahane*　　*i*　　*koana*
　　　way　REL　thither.upward　　at　right
　　　'the path which runs in a upward direction on the right' (ES144)

(99) *Pe'unsulako   ngkoloane.*
      shift.oneself   thither.downward
      'Scoot down in the direction of your feet.' (ES144)

Because of their modifying role, these forms are rarely inflected for subject. However, once in a while they are encountered with genitive indexing, compare example (100).

(100) *Da   kontahane-do   ke   ngkoramai-do-mo?*
      still   thither.upward-3P.GEN INTERROG hither-3P.GEN-PERF
      'Are they still on their way in an upward direction, or are they already once more coming (back) toward here?' (ES144)

According to Esser (1927:144), the answer to this question could run not only *da kontahanedo* or *ngkoramaidomo*, but also *me-ngkoramai-'ira-mo* /PL-hither-3P.ABS-PERF/ 'they are already coming back here'.

3.5   The verb *kongko* 'remain'

The verb *kongko* 'remain' has the peculiarity that it is often indexed for its subject with a genitive pronoun. Compare examples (101) through (103).

(101) *Mia   atuu kongko-do   i   raha.*
      person that remain-3P.GEN at   home
      'those people continually remain at home, they are always home' (ES336)

(102) *Kongko-ku   mahaki.*
      remain-1S.GEN   sick
      'I am still sick.' (ES336)

(103) *Sine   kongko-no   mokoninggo.*
      but   remain-3S.GEN   hungry
      'But he remained hungry.' (andi.021)

However, at other times *kongko* is indexed as a normal intransitive verb. Compare example (104), in which *kongko* is indexed with a nominative pronoun, and example (105), in which *kongko* is indexed with an absolutive pronoun.

(104) *Na-mi   do-kongko   ulu   inia.   L[um]ako-'ira   i   lere.*
      NEG-PERF   3P.NOM-remain head   village   part:go-3P.ABS   to   field
      'The village head isn't in. He's gone to the fields.' (2-114)

(105) *Ku-kolumpe-o   wunta   po-buri-a-ku,*
      1S.NOM-forget-3S.ABS book   APASS-write-LOC-1S.GEN

      kongko-o   i   raha.
      remain-3S.ABS   at   home

      'I forgot my notebook, it's still at home.' (1-7m)

At times, clauses with *kongko* and genitive indexing appear to be notionally subordinate, compare example (106).

(106) *Da   kongko-no   baho-baho,   i-hawe   ira'ai.*
still   remain-3s.GEN   REDP-wet   3s.NOM-arrive   here
'While he as still wet, he arrived here.' (ES81)

However, there is no reason to suppose that the clause which contains *kongko* is grammatically subordinate, since example (106) could also be interpreted as a sequence of two juxtaposed, independent clauses.

4.   Conjunctions which take genitive indexing

The Mori Bawah language possesses a number of 'conjunctions' or sentential adverbs which attract indexing for the subject of the clause. Furthermore, this indexing is always in the form of a genitive pronoun. These 'conjunctions' are listed in (107). At least the first three are derived from verbs.

(107) a. *mansa-do…, sa-do…*   'when they…'
    b. *te'inso-mu…, inso-mu…*   'since you…'
    c. *kontongaa-do…*   'while they…'
    d. *sawukua-ku…*   'barely, scarcely had I … (than) …'
    e. *hanga-do…*   'because they…'
    f. *ampo-ku…*   'only then did I…, only at that point I…'
    g. *boro-mami…*   'immediately we (excl.)…'
    h. *lawe-no…*   'since he…, seeing as how he…'

The verb *mansa* 'at once' and the related form *sa-* are discussed in § 2.2. As a prepositional verb, *te'inso* (reduced from *inso*) means 'be from'.[18] The form *kontongaa* is recognizable as a *koN- -a* derivation (§ 3.3) which literally means 'be at the middle stage of' (cf. *tonga* 'waist, middle part').[19] The form *sawukua* literally means 'a little bit, to a small extent', and clearly follows the pattern of other *asa* + noun quantitative phrases (§ 2.5).[20]

The formal status of these forms as conjunctions, in fact, only emerges fully when they are alternatively constructed with the third person genitive pronoun *-no* as a fixed element, with nominative (or other) indexing occurring on the following verb. In the abstract:

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[18] Perhaps originally meaning 'be moved, be displaced', cf. Pamona *me'encu* 'move, shift, go from one's place', *te'encu* 'moved, shifted' (Adriani 1928:s.v.). Compare independently: *O, ana beine, isua i-te'inso?* (oh child female where 2S.NOM-be.from) 'Oh, maiden, where are you from?' See also example (70) in the main text.

[19] Compare as an independent clause: *Kontongaa-ku mongkaa* 'I am in the middle of eating' (Esser 1933:338).

[20] Compare as an independent clause: *Sawukuaku koa mongkaa* 'I have eaten just a little bit' (Esser 1933:274). The root *wuku* means 'knob, seed, pit, bone'.

(108) a. *mansano do-…, sano do-…* 'when they…'
    b. *te'insono u-…, insono u-…* 'since you…'
    c. *kontongaano do-…* 'while they…'
    d. *sawukuano ku-…* 'barely, scarcely had I … (than) …'
    e. *hangano do-…* 'because they…'
    f. *ampono ku-…* 'only then did I…, only at that point I…'
    g. *borono ki-…* 'immediately we (excl.)…'
    h. *laweno i-…* 'since he…, seeing as how he…'

Space does not permit a full accounting of these forms and their various semantic nuances. Nonetheless, here follow examples of *kontangaa(no)*, *te'inso(no)* and *mansa(no)* constructed as verbal forms (a examples) and as conjunctions (b examples).

(109) a. **Mansa-do** *h[um]awe-o,* *do-rako-o.*
    once-3P.GEN PART:encounter-3S.ABS 3P.NOM-grasp-3S.ABS
    'When they found her, they seized her.' (ES276)

    b. **Mansano** **do**-*hawe-o,* *do-rako-o.*
    when 3P.NOM-encounter-3S.ABS 3P.NOM-grasp-3S.ABS
    'When they found her, they seized her.' (ES276)

(110) a. **Inso-mu** *kode-kodei…*
    be.from-2S.GEN REDP-small
    'Since you were small…' (ES102)

    b. **Insono** **u**-*kode-kodei…*
    since 2S.NOM-REDP-small
    'Since you were small…' (ES102)

(111) a. **Kontongaa-do** *me-kutui* *andio,*
    be.busy.with-3P.GEN PART:INTR-delouse this

    i-kita-o-mo *i* *Andi-'andi nine…*
    2P.NOM-see-3S.ABS-PERF PN Andi-andi that

    'While they were thus picking lice, Andi-andi saw that…' (andi.061)

    b. **Kontongaano** **do**-*me-mapari* *andio*, …
    while 3P.NOM-PL-have.difficulty this
    'While they were thus in trouble…' (ES338)

5. Conclusions

In a now classic work, Hopper and Thompson (1984) discuss the role of verbal nominalization in discourse. According to these authors, three places among others where we can expect nominalizations to occur are (a) when a verb functions as a noun, viz. it serves as the argument of another verb; (b) when a verb is incorporated as material in a noun phrase (viz. relative clause), and (c) in purposive subordinate clauses. O'Dowd (1992) expands their study

by noting that from a cross-linguistic perspective, nominalizations are found in a wide range of subordinate clause types, including not only relative clauses and purpose clauses, but also when clauses, before and after clauses, and complement clauses.

In this respect, the Mori Bawah nominalizations discussed in the early sections of this paper are 'well-behaved' from a cross-linguistic perspective. In § 2 we see that nominalizations are used as arguments of other verbs (and also in non-verbal equative clauses). These nominalizations are also used in relativization (§ 2.1) and in preposed temporal clauses (§ 2.2). In all three cases, genitive indexing can be viewed as indicating the subordinate status of the erstwhile verb. These are contexts where one would expect nominalizations to occur.

However, in § 2.3 we see that some of these nominalizations—namely nominalizations of stative verbs—have developed a use outside of the expected contexts. To my awareness, the use of genitive pronouns to index evaluators on stative verbs has not been reported in other languages of the world. Nonetheless its genesis is relatively straightforward: nominal expressions originally meaning 'my pleasure', 'my badness', came to mean 'it is pleasing to me' 'I consider it bad, it is troubling to me', etc. The pattern of indexing an evaluator on stative verbs is, in fact, not confined to Mori Bawah. Similar patterns are also found in other Bungku-Tolaki languages, including Moronene and Tolaki.[21]

Nominalizations occur in yet two other contexts where it appears they occupy the predicate position of the clause, and in both cases there are clear indications of how this distribution could have arisen. In § 2.4 we looked at how nominalizations such as *inehe-ku* could still be regarded as having the literal meaning 'what I want (is)…, that which I want (is)…', but through frequent use has come to be somewhat the standard way of saying 'I want…'. In § 2.5 we looked at quantifier phrases formed by compounding *asa* (or its reduced form *sa-*) with a nominalization. Originally adverbial in nature (occupying a position within the clause), these compounds can also be used as if they were adverbial clauses in their own right, and can even be used correlatively and independently (more on this below).

Beyond the case of these nominalizations and their extended uses (§§ 2 through 2.5), we encounter yet other verbal forms in Mori Bawah which take genitive indexing. Included in this second category are forms such as *kohaweno* 'he has just arrived' (§ 3.1), *koteku-tekudano* 'he became more and more angry' (§ 3.2) and *konsowiano* 'he is at the stage of harvesting' (§ 3.3). Whilst being indexed with genitive pronouns, they are atypical of nominalizations in two crucial respects:

(a) they take genitive indexing AS A MATTER OF COURSE. With these forms there is no option for indexing otherwise. Only in the case of the deictic directionals supplied with *ngkoN-*

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[21] In fact in Moronene we see a further development in that the evaluated person, thing, etc. can indexed with an absolute pronoun, compare *moico-ku-o* (good-1S.GEN-3S.ABS) 'I like it, it's good according to me' (in Mori Bawah only *moiko-ku*) (recall from § 2.3 that stative verbs with genitive evaluators are actually two-place predicates). In Tolaki, on the other hand, the evaluated person, thing, etc. has come to be indexed by nominative pronoun, compare *no-mokongango-nggu* (3S.NOM-exhausting-1S.GEN) 'it was exhausting to me, I found, considered it to be exhausting'. Mori Bawah, which allows neither a nominative or absolute pronoun in this construction, must preserve the original pattern.

(§ 3.4) and the verb *kongko* 'remain' (§ 3.5) does it appear that genitive indexing was the original case, with other indexing strategies now possible under the influence of analogical pressure.

(b) they take genitive indexing EVEN WHEN OCCURRING AS THE PREDICATE OF AN INDEPENDENT CLAUSE. That is to say, genitive indexing cannot be regarded as an indication of their subordinate grammatical status.

Is it possible to find an historical explanation for these forms? Actually, the most transparent case is that of the quantifier phrases discussed in § 2.5. Here it takes little imagination to see how a pattern of *asa* + nominalization could develop into a verbal prefix *sa(N)-* or confix *sa(N)- -a* 'all the time X-ing', of which the resulting formations would perforce take genitive indexing. These examples also show us how an original adverbial expression containing a nominalization could be reinterpreted as a subordinate clause, which could then also be used correlatively. In fact it behooves us to recognize that at a very high level of grammatical abstraction Mori Bawah has a 'correlative pattern' which at the most schematic level could be represented as:

> verbal form + GEN , verbal form + GEN

At a less abstract level, this pattern is instantiated as:

asa + nominalization + GEN	,	*asa* + nominalization + GEN	(see example 69)
nominalization + GEN	,	nominalization + GEN	(see ex 51 & 52)
ko + base verb + GEN	,	nominalization + GEN	(see example 53)
ko + base verb + GEN	,	*ko* + base verb + GEN	(see ex 73 to 75)
ko + CVCV + base verb + GEN	,	*ko* + CVCV + base verb + GEN	(see ex 86 to 88)

Furthermore, it is significant that—apart from the case of a 'pure' nominalizations—every form which can occur correlatively can also occur independently, and can also occur as a subordinate clause preposed to an ordinary independent clause. It would appear that in Mori Bawah the pattern for forming correlative constructions assists the transition from dependent to independent clause.

How this pattern originated is another matter, but is probably tied up with the prefix *ko-*. It seems entirely reasonable to me that that *ko-* derivations originated as adverbial phrases, and became extended in their use in much the same way as *asa* quantitative phrases. However, owing to its antiquity and grammaticalized status, a good deal of further comparative study may be needed before the original function of *ko-* (or more exactly, its protoform **ka*) emerges. A clear cognate of Mori Bawah *ko-* is found, for example, in Uma, a Kaili-Pamona language of Central Sulawesi. Here Martens (1988:224 ff.) simply labels verbs prefixed with *ka-* as 'dependent verb forms'. Compare examples (112) and (113) from Uma (Michael Martens, pers. comm.).

(112) *Ka-rata-na,*   *turu-i-mi.*   (*ka-* in subordinate clause)
      DP-arrive-3S.GEN   sleep-3S.ABS-PERF
      'When he arrived, he fell asleep.'

(113) *Ka-rata-na,*   *ka-turu-na-mi.*   (correlative construction)
       DP-arrive-3S.GEN   DP-sleep-3S.GEN-PERF
       'When he arrived, he immediately fell asleep.'

Furthermore, it is unclear which, if any, of the twenty functions which Blust (2003:446) identifies for **ka-* is reflected in Uma *ka-* and Mori Bawah *ko-*.[22]

     Likewise, it appears that *koN- (-a)* 'at the stage of' derivations, the *ngkoN-* derivations of directional deictics as well as the verb *kongko* 'remain' are all semantically related. However, without further comparative evidence, proposing an historical link with *ko-* at this time would be speculative.

     Finally, this paper is not simply a story about how genitive pronouns have come to be widely used in Mori Bawah. In some of the sections we have also seen how the use of genitive pronouns is becoming more restricted. For example, the verb *kongko* appears to have required genitive indexing, but is undergoing a transition to where it is indexed as an ordinary verb (§ 3.5), Although the evidence is slight, the same may also be true of *koN-* derivations of directional deictics (§ 3.4). The conjunctions mentioned in § 4 are yet another case in which genitive pronouns are becoming more restricted in their use. In this case, a trace of their former distribution remains in the form of a frozen *–no* on the conjunction, where a full range of genitive pronouns could occur.

     Curiously, in Mori Bawah there are traces of an even older stage—not yet mentioned in this paper—in which genitive pronouns must have had an even wider distribution than they do today. If one but returns to Table 1 at the beginning of this document, and compares nominative and genitive pronouns form by form, it is clear that these two pronoun sets are related. To wit, nominative pronouns originate from genitive pronouns, they are erstwhile genitive pronouns. The entire story, once told, will be one of the rise in the use of genitive pronouns (perhaps at a Proto-Austronesian level), their fall (development and increasing use of nominative pronouns at the expense of genitive pronouns), the rise of genitive pronouns again (as discussed in this paper), and now in some cases their falling again (as summarized in the preceding paragraph). In that sense, this paper is merely a preview. The complete story remains to be told.

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[22] In point of fact, the Uma dependent marker *ka-* corresponds not only with Mori Bawah *ko-*, but also with the Mori Bawah consecutive linker *ka* 'and, so that'. In a future paper I hope to be able to treat the split of **ka* into Mori Bawah *ko-* and *ka* (compare above particularly examples 76 and 77).

Appendix: Verbal properties of genitive-marked forms

An intriguing question regarding nominalizations in any language is the extent to which erstwhile verb forms partake of nominal properties, versus the extent to which they still partake of verbal properties. Table 5 at the end of this appendix summarizes this information for each type of verbal form discussed in this paper. The reader can verify the information in Table 5 by referring back to the respective sections.

Note that in Table 5 the category of 'nominalization' is further divided according to whether the nominalization distributes as a clausal argument (deverbal noun), as a noun modifier (viz. 'pseudo-relativization'), or occurs in a preposed subordinate clause. Therefore some of the distributional criteria are 'fixed' (not independently variable) for these three subtypes, as indicated by the plus and minus signs in the six shaded cells. 'YES' indicates possibility, not requirement. A fair amount of collocational and distributional information is currently unknown, as indicated by question mark.

Here follow some additional notes regarding nominalizations in Mori Bawah, which do not readily emerge from Table 5.

Verbs in Mori Bawah are unmarked for tense, therefore it is irrelevant to ask whether or not tense distinctions are retained in nominalizations. It is more appropriate to ask whether a verbal form (with genitive indexing) can co-occur with a future pronoun. Genitive and absolutive indexing on the same form is unknown, while genitive and nominative indexing on the same form is practically unknown,[23] therefore columns are not provided for these pronoun sets.

In pseudo-relativization, a co-occurring future pronoun will index the head of the relative clause, which is usually different from the referent indexed by genitive pronoun, compare *anu ta kinaaku* 'the one (*ta*) who will be eaten by me (*-ku*)' (example 30 in the main text). In other cases, however, the future pronoun simply provides a kind of double-indexing of the same referent, as in *sado ira mponsiwu…* 'when they (*-do ira*) were about to make sago porridge…' (example 47 in the main text).

Finally, it should be noted that the prefix *poN-* has three distinct roles in the grammar of Mori Bawah. First, on transitive verbs *poN-* serves as what could be called an antipassive marker, signaling that the object is indefinite or only partially affected. When antipassive *poN-* is present, pronominal indexing for the object lapses, though the object may appear as a non-oblique nominal elsewhere in the clause. Compare *mo'ungke* (antipassive, with *poN-*) 'seek' in the following example with *inuo* 'drink it' (active-direct, without *poN-*).

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[23] The particle *ka*, and to a lesser extent *ba*, are so frequently constructed with a nominative pronoun that sometimes a nominative pronoun is pleonastically retained, for example:

*Ba-***i**	*asa*	*morini-***no**-*mo*	*koa…*
if-3s.NOM	one	cold-3s.GEN-PERF	just

'If it was just cold all the time…' (ES275)

(114) *Tetoro-'ira-mo*　　　　　*a*　*n-sala,*　**mo-'ungke**　*konso*
　　　stop.briefly-3P.ABS-PERF　at　LG-path　PART:APASS-seek　growth.tip

　　　bomba,　　*ka-do*　　**inu-o**　　*uwoi-no.*
　　　k.o.rattan　and-3P.NOM　drink-3S.ABS　water-3S.GEN

　　　'They stopped briefly along the way, seeking the growth tip of a *bomba* plant, and they drank its water.' (andi.028)

One could also conclude this sentence …*kado* **po'inu** *uwoino*. In this case, the presence of the antipassive marker *poN-* (and concomitant lack of indexing for the object) would imply that they drank some of the water from the *bomba* plant, but did not completely consume it.

　　When a transitive verb is nominalized, however, *poN-* has a different function. In nominalizations, *poN-* indicates that the following genitive pronoun indexes the notional agent. Conversely, if *poN-* is absent, then the genitive pronoun indexes the notional patient (see particularly the discussions in §§ 2 and 3.1). A further corollary is that if *poN-* is present the notional patient can still be expressed, albeit not pronominally, but if *poN-* is absent, there is no expression of the notional agent is possible. Both these aspects are illustrated in the following pair. See also footnote 11 in the main text.

　　　　nahu-no　　　*inahu*　　*andio*
　　　　cook-3S,GEN　　vegetable　this
　　　　'the cooking of these vegetables'

　　　　po-nahu-do　　　*inahu*　　*andio*
　　　　apass-cook-3S.GEN　vegetable　this
　　　　'their cooking of these vegetables'

　　Third, *poN-* is also used in Mori Bawah to derive instrumental nouns from transitive verbs, as in *pongkeru benu* 'coconut scraper' (next to transitive verb *mongkeru* 'scrape, shave'; *benu* = 'coconut'). In this function, Mori Bawah *poN-* corresponds to what some have reconstructed as PMP **paŋ-* 'marker of agent/instrument' (Blust 2003:473). In Mori Bawah, however, it would be more precise to gloss *poN-* as 'instrumental marker for transitive actions'. The reason for this is that, as mentioned in § 2, in Mori Bawah base forms of intransitive verbs are also used as instrumental nouns. Thus we also find *piso pekeru* 'razor' (from *piso* 'knife' plus base form of the middle—and in this case reflexive—verb *mekeru* 'shave, scrape oneself'). Said another way, a *pongkeru* is 'an instrument for scraping something with', while a *pekeru* is 'an instrument for scraping oneself with'.

Table 5. Verbal properties of various Mori Bawah forms which take genitive indexing

	collocational possibilities					syntactic distribution			
	w/ future prn	w/ plural subj marker *(me)N-*	w/ participle marker *-um-*	w/ verbal negator *nahi*	serialized with another verb	as noun modifier (optionally preceded by *anu*)	adverbial clause function	correlative constr	indep clause
Nominalizations …									
§ 2 deverbal noun	no	no	RARE	no	no	-	-	no	no
§ 2.1 noun modifier	YES	RARE	no	no	LIMITED	+	-	no	no
§ 2.2 'when' clause	YES	YES	no	?	YES	-	+	YES	no
§ 2.3 stative verbs	?	?	no	YES	no	?	no	no	YES
§ 2.4 *inehe*	?	?	no	?	no	YES	no	no	YES
§ 2.5 *asa* quant phr	?	?	no	?	no	?	YES	YES	YES
Other derivations …									
§ 3.1 *ko-*	?	RARE	no	?	?	YES	YES	YES	YES
§ 3.2 *koCVCV-*	?	?	no	?	?	?	?	YES	YES
§ 3.3 *koN- -a*	?	?	no	?	?	YES	?	no	YES
§ 3.4 *koN-*	?	?	no	?	?	YES	?	no	YES
§ 3.5 *kongko*	?	?	no	YES	YES	?	YES	no	YES

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