

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 (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 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-*;
- (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 the form can occupy the predicate position of an independent clause. In the paper and in a concluding section, I speculate on how nominalizations of the second type could have arisen historically in Mori Bawah.