This paper discusses four particles and one clitic found in the Kamasau Language (Wand Tuan), spoken by approximately 700 speakers in the East Sepik Province. The paper has five sections, presenting the functions (with examples) of the particles be, bu, bri and ye, and of the clitic ne.

1. **PARTICLE BE**

The particle be has two major functions: 1) to indicate permission and 2) as a discourse marker to show that the next event is a real event.

1) Permissive be. Be, when combined with either an imperative verb or an hortatory expression, indicates permission. In the following example the owner of some dogs is giving permission for another person to take his dogs hunting.

1) joe5:28

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Be piyi wutari wo wo, yumbo rumbui ate.
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“Okay, you can just take them (dogs) with you, so that they will kill things.”

In the following example, people in another village have sent a message that a lost dog has turned up in their village. The be, in combination with the imperatival verb, indicates permission to come get the dog.

2) joe5:73

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Be wandi mune wutaqi wo.
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“Okay, you come and take it (home) again.”

In the next example, a man has told his wives that he plans to go to Maprik. They agreed that he could go. Once again the imperatival form was used along with be to indicate permission.

3) sai1:12-13

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O ni teri, nge ngam teri, riri, “Eqe, be yo.”
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“Oh they two, my two wives, they said, ‘Yes, okay you go.’”

In a final example of the permissive use of be, the speaker is giving a permissive command, “it is okay for you to sit here and eat with us, before you go.”
4) **reg2:15-16**

Segi muq beghi pari, “Te be ghasne, beghi wane

segi muq beghi pari Te be ghas+ne beghi wane

neg now 1p 1p_say That alright 2s_sit+Lim 1p 1p_banana

ren wase bade, ane pe pe, yiram muqdi nambu po
dem fire 1p_do with 1p_eat 1p_eat evening then home 1p_go

“So then we said, ‘Okay you sit, we will cook these bananas, we eat them together, then in the evening ... we’ll go home.’”

In the hortatory use of *be*, it indicates ‘let’s do something’.

5) **sai1:40**

Joy wuri, “O Saiwa, muqdi ghandi, ane maket pe po.”
Joy 2fs_say, oh Saiwa now 2s_come with market to 2p_go

“Eqe, be po.”
agree okay 1p_go

“Joy said, ‘Oh Saiwa, come now, go with us to the market.’
‘Yes, okay let’s go.’”

2) The second use of *be* is as a conjunction. It usually occurs in narrative discourse when the speaker is telling about something true that happened. It rarely occurs in procedural discourse, hortatory discourse, letters, fiction stories, or ancestor stories. When used in one of these discourse types, *be* indicates ‘the next event’. In some texts, *be* only occurs once in the text. In the following example the speaker was giving a history of how things were when the first patrol officer came to their area. The usage of *be* lends to the authenticity of the report.

6) **sai19:15**

Ni mas mas be nandi, beghi buqoid.

they 3mp_sit next 3ms_come 1p 1p_see_3ms

“They kept on sitting, then he (patrol officer) came, we saw him.”

There were some examples in which *be* occurred when the author was telling about things that happened long ago, but which he claimed were no longer done, and about which he had no first-hand knowledge. Another speaker, upon reading the text, stated that the use of *be* indicated that the storyteller had experiential knowledge of the topics being discussed: sorcery and adultery.

The most common use of *be* occurs in a first person account. One speaker stated that *be* should not be used at the very start of a story. Other events need to happen first, then *be* ‘next,’ can occur before the next event that occurred. It tends to follow the event line up to the climax of the story, or when the goal is reached. For example, in a story about a hunting trip, *be* occurs periodically until the participants catch the desired game, then *muq* ‘then,’ or other time words are used from that point on in the story.

In the following examples the author is writing about a time when some boys went spear fishing. They went to fish with spears, *so be* before *mondo* ‘approach’ indicates that this event is a part of the event line, since the goal of the trip is fishing. While some of the boys were fishing with goggles, one of their dogs chased a bandicoot. Although a bandicoot is prized game, this was not the primary purpose of the trip, *so be* was not used when the bandicoot was caught. Rather, *muq* ‘now, then’ occurred to indicate an event that was off the main event line.

7) **ignas2:3**

Ni mo mitari righe, be mondo galas mand.

2p 3mp_go 3mp_arrive next 3mp_go.to glass 3mp_do

“They went down (to the river), next they went towards (the river) to spear fish using goggles.”
They caught a second bandicoot before they got back to the event line again, which was that they were hungry after all that fishing and hunting. As the boys were fishing, the statement, “Peter got two turtles”, was an event that is back on the main event line.

The story ends with making a fire to cook the bandicoot they had caught, since they hadn’t caught any fish, only turtles. The use of *be* shows the event line extends until they stop fishing. Near the end of the story, *be* is used two more times, including the following example. They cooked the meat they had found instead of cooking fish, then they went home.

In some other stories once the goal has been reached, then *muq* occurs instead of *be*.

In the following story about two brothers going hunting, *be* occurs very frequently at the beginning. Each action was predictable for a hunt. The expected things happened, so it was appropriate to use *be*. Usually they would have returned to the village and gotten others to help carry the pig back. In this story, however, one of the brothers suggested that instead they carry the pig back to the village themselves. There was then no further use of *be* in this text, but instead *muq* ‘then’ occurs for the rest of the text to indicate what happened next in the remaining sentences.
12) ignas3:1-9

_Ngeri_ ire ning nge Leo temu dabo po._

time one about 1s Leo 2.we bush 1p_go

_Burne_ brequ pes.pewo _be_ po. _Nge_ mame puate _kiraq_

_bur+_Lim quickly 1p_got.up next 1p_go 1s axe 1s_carry.3fs

dark+Lim two 1p_go sago Quawi 1p_stand next 1p_take 1p_go

_temu_ nyombui ngam pirainy pitari _be_ po._

2.we dog call 1p_do 1p_take next 1p_go

_Temu_ po, _yari_ Quawi yembu, _be_ nyombui pu ire queg rinduw._

two 1p_go sago Quawi 1p_stand next dog pig one bark 3fp_do

_Beghi_ te _putungu, _be_ vig bab paru._

1p dem 1p_hear next run 1p_do 1p_follow

_Paru_ tumo be Leo nondo, _pu_ te numbueq._

1p_follow close next Leo 3ms_go, pig dem 3ms_kill_3fs

_Numbueq_ pre, _be_ nari, “Muqdi vendene _puaq_ wuse, po.”

3ms_kill_3fs done next 3ms_say, now here+Lim 1p_put3fs 3fs_lie we.go

“One time Leo and I went to the bush. We got up while it was very dark then we went. I carried an ax and we two called the dogs, took them and went. We went, we stood at Quawi sago swamp, then the dogs barked at a pig. We heard that, then we ran after them. We followed close then Leo came forward and killed that pig. After he killed it he said, ‘Now let’s put it here, and go (back to the village).’”

In another story there was a similar pattern. The author was hunting a bird. In the first 27 sentences of the story the particle _be_ was used 10 times. The last time _be_ was used was when he shot the bird and it fell. It did not fall far enough to reach so that he shot it again. This unexpected turn of events meant that _segī_ ‘no’ was used as well as _muq_ ‘then’ to complete the story, thus indicating an unexpected turn of events.

In other narrative texts _be_ seems to indicate people were waiting for something to happen, and then the expected event did happen. In the following two examples the men were expecting someone or something to happen, and it did, so _be_ was used.

13) _amu3:10_

_Temi_ te _mas_ mas, _be_ Songroi _te_ mune wundi._

2.m dem 3mp_sit 3mp_sit next Songroi dem again 3fs_come

“Those two men kept on sitting (waiting to see what would happen next, expecting to find out who had been standing up the trees they had been cutting down), then Songroi came back again.”

14) _amu3:17_

_Wuyo_ wuso, _ni_ mase, _mutungu_ mutungu, _mase_ mase

3fs_go.up 3p 3mp_lie 3mp_hear 3mp_hear 3mp_lie 3mp_lie

_be_ yambgriq.

next dawn

“She went up (in the tree), they lay (up in the tree), they kept listening, they kept on lying there (waiting for light) then it was dawn.”

_Be_, used in conjunction with _segī_ ‘no,’ can also occur where an event was expected to happen, even though it did not turn out that way (cf., example 17 below). The story from which the following examples come had an unexpected twist with the crab attacking the duck. The things that were expected were preceded by _be_: he expected to carry the crab (and did), he expected to eat the crab (but he did not, because instead the crab attacked him), after the attack the two fought as expected, and later in the story the duck died. In the unexpected situation, _segī_ ‘no’ occurs to show contraexpectation at that point.

15) _aug1:32_

_Pre, _be_ _muq_ _ni_ mune dogri nare ning._

done next now 3s also crab 3ms_carry want

“After that he then wanted to take the crabs also.”
16) aug1:34
Pre, nandi, ire yumbui chuqo nganye te niraq no,
done 3ms_come one big very truly dem 3ms_carry 3ms_go
naghe.no, nas, be naq.
3ms_go.down 3ms_sit next 3ms_eat.fs
“After that he came, carried one huge crab, went down, then he planned to) eat it.”

17) aug1:35
Segi dogri oyi yeng wund, be teri rege.
neg crab response fight 3fs_do next 2.f 3fp_fight
“But (unexpectedly) the crab attacked it back, then the two fought.”

Some of the young people are using be in a way which is not widely accepted. Instead of putting it after an event to indicate what the next event is, they give a phrase indicating a period of time and then have be preceding the event that occurred at that time. In the two examples which follow, be could not indicate a ‘next event’ because they occurred at the beginning of a story. So the be here seems to indicate, ‘so then at that time’. As mentioned earlier, this usage is not widespread, but is used by some of the young people.

18) mark7:1
Asi ngi ny iri ning be Jon ni no Wudedi eir te newo.
before sun one about then Jon 3s 3ms_go Wudedi galip dem 3ms_ascend
“One day long ago John went to the Wudedi River and climbed a galip tree.”

19) mark4:1
Yabe beghi wokuanidine pas puayi be beghi meyi iri
before 1p small+Lim 1p_sit time then 1p inlaw 1.m
nondo ei beghi ghav nundug nawu te newo ning.
3ms_go Purp 1p help 3ms_do_1p tree.top dem 3ms_go.up want
“Long ago when we were still small then one of our inlaws he came because he wanted to help us go up to top trees.”

The primary usage of be as a conjunction is to indicate the next event, usually on the event line leading up to the climax of the story where the goal is reached.

2. PARTICLE BU

The particle bu has two main functions: 1) It may be used after a noun, an adjective or a relative clause to show that something is really true. In this way it parallels bri which shows uncertainty. 2) It functions as a sentence-level conjunction with the reason preceding it in the sentence, then bu ‘so’ occurs, followed by the result. Examples and further explanation will be given for each of these uses.

1) The particle bu is used on the phrase level to show certainty of the phrase or phrase-level tagmeme which it follows. This is limited to non-verbal phrases, as the particle ye shows certainty at the verbal phrase and clause level.

In the following example, bu follows the noun phrase, indicating that it really was a huge stone that they had to take out to make room for the generators.

20) amu1:10
...wabe gri te brequ wet gawo, yumbui wet kiyi bu
…inside way dem bad stone hole big stone father real
bir mawo pre, muq pawa masin wuse.
split 3mp_put done, then power machine 3fs_lie
“…inside that place was a cave that was no good, they split a truly huge stone, then the machine to make electricity could be there.”
The following example shows how *bu* can modify a relative clause, indicating that it is true. The relative clause, ‘those things that I saw’, is in focus as being true. This is not just something he heard about, but something he personally witnessed, so he knows it is true.

21) amu5:14
   Te nge guqod ye te *bu* simbe gad.
   Those 1s 1s see rel dem real tell 1s do
   “I tell you about those true things that I saw.”

The following example includes both a noun and a relative clause followed by *bu* which indicates that they are both real.

22) amu5:17
   Piksa segi, te wutene *bu*, raqe kinne *bu* puq men.
   movie neg dem men+Lim real clear ones real thus 3mp do
   “It was not a movie, that was real people, real people (not spirits) that did like that.”

In the following two examples the writer explains that as a growing child his world is expanding. First he thought that only his village existed, then he thought that only his own country existed. The reality of how big the world is expanded as he grew older and went to school. The particle *bu* is used to show what he considered reality to be.

23) joi10:10
   Nge nei gab kin di tiqe wen ne *bu* wuse. Aye segi.
   1s think 1s do rel and village dem Lim real 3fs lie. Other neg.
   “I thought that then only this village really existed. Not others.”

24) joi10:21
   “O *bu* kari beghi pu pas.”
   Oh 1s 1s say 1p real 1p live
   “Oh I said we are the only ones who live (on the ground).”

2) The second function of *bu* is as a conjunction to indicate the reason for a resulting action or statement. As such it is common in Causation Sentences.

In the following two examples, the clause with the reason is given first with *bu* coming immediately after it. Then the clause that follows gives the result.

25) joi9:1-2
   Nge moyu num kurew *bu* ni mir wase wuwo segi.
   1s mother health need_3fs so 3s food fire 3fs put neg
   Ni mir wase wuwo segi, *bu* nge mir kuregh.
   3s food fire 3fs put neg so 1s food need_1s
   “My mother was sick, so she did not cook food. She did not cook food, so I was hungry.”

As this story continued on, the author and his brother went to the bush to find food. They came back in the middle of the night without a torch, so his older brother bumped his nose on a tree. The following example has two occurrences of *bu*, each of which indicates the reason-result relationship.

26) joi9:7
   Puq ren *bu* beghi umbo ker pawa,
   thus 3fp do so 1p insides anger 1p put
   *bu* yambgri tiqene pase pase bur.
   so next.day village+Lim 1p keep.sleeping night
   “These things happened, so we were angry, so the next day we just slept in the village until night.”

*Bu* is also a part of other conjunctions, which indicate logical connections. These include **pugri bu** ‘therefore’, and **te ning bu** ‘for that reason’. When *bu* is used to show a reason-result relationship the reason is usually limited to the clause immediately preceding the result. However with **pugri bu** and **te ning bu** the reason can extend back several clauses.

In the following example the reason is limited to the same sentence.
27) ignas4:7
\( \text{Pu te tan mbe mingi wur wur, } \text{pugri bu } \text{Leo ni kin } \text{irine numbueq kin tuqui segi.} \)
\( \text{pig dem kunai to middle 3fs_enter 3fs_go therefore Leo 3ms_himself alone 3ms_kill rel able neg} \)

“That pig went into the middle of the kunai, therefore Leo was not able to kill her by himself.”

Since examples of reason-result often cover a paragraph, only one example of the more extended range of pugri bu will be given. In the following example the three sentences preceding pugri bu are all an explanation of the reason why there is still a lot of school work left to do.

28) joe2:1-5
\( \text{Skul wik pe di quayi numbueq tiqe 4-pela kin te rusu,} \)
\( \text{school week in and men women villages 4 rel dem 3fp_go} \)
\( \text{skul wik te irew manyi pes wik seken wik ye,} \)
\( \text{school week dem moon each first week second week rel} \)
\( \text{pudi quayi numbueq wanda rutungu segi,} \)
\( \text{but men women talk 3fp_hear neg} \)
\( \text{ni skul pe rusu, yembe rind segi.} \)
\( \text{3p school to 3fp_go work 3fp_do neg} \)
\( \text{Pugri bu muq skul yembe quan nganye rise.} \)

Therefore now school work very truly 3fp_lie

“During school week the people from the four villages go (to work in the school), those school weeks are the first and second week of each month, but the people did not listen to that instruction, they did not go to school and work. Therefore now there is truly very much school work.”

Te ning bu ‘for that reason’, has a similar range of usage.

29) joe6:10-13
\( \text{Ni nandi, di Ben tiqi nindog nandi, nge ning nari,} \)
\( \text{3s 3ms_come and Ben send 3ms_do_3ms 3ms_come 1s for 3ms_call} \)
\( \text{“Seyum ni sir nap pre pu bu nu ghimbi nuaw pu yenu.} \)
\( \text{Seyum 3s ready 3ms_do done thus so 2s body 3ms_put thus 3ms_stand} \)
\( \text{Nu brequne ghondo ei tequ wo.} \)
\( \text{2s quickly 2s.Imp_go so.that you.2 2p_go} \)
\( \text{Te ning bu nge tiqi nindogh gadi.”} \)

that reason so 1s send 3ms_do_1s 1s_come

He came (back), and he sent Ben to call for me, “Seyum has already finished getting ready so now he’s waiting for you. You hurry up and go to him so that you two can go. For that reason he sent me to come.”

These examples show how pugri bu and te ning bu function at sentence level and higher to indicate the reason-result relationships.

### 3. PARTICLE BRI/BI

The particle bri has a phonological variation bi which is preferred in some communities, and especially among the young people. We have decided to write the particle as bri, because bi has several homonyms which make it more confusing to read.

Bri indicates uncertainty at the phrase and clause level, just as bu and ye indicate certainty. Bri follows the expression about which the speaker is uncertain, whether that is a time word, a noun, a verb, or a relative clause. Several examples are given to help clarify this.

In the following example, the people knew that the man was not there but they were uncertain about where he had gone. So bri modifies the word ‘village; home’ to show that they wondered if he had perhaps gone there.
30) gid1:43
Nambu bri no?
home maybe 3ms_go
“Did he perhaps go home?”

In the following example bri follows ‘alone’ because the grandmother was uncertain if her grandson is alone in the sago swamp, and if so she will go accompany him.

31) reg2:35
Irine bri yenu puq gad, bu meri gidig kawi.
alone maybe 3ms_stand thus 1s_do so hunt 1s_do_3ms 1s_follow
“I wondered if he was perhaps alone, so I came hunting for him.”

In the next example the question includes the implied idea, “I want to know how you are. Are you doing fine or have you encountered some troubles?” So the bri modifies the phrase yewon ne ‘good’, since this is the item about which the speaker is uncertain.

32) joe12:1
Nungoqi pughe gri was, yewon ne bri was?
2p how way 2p_sit good Lim maybe 2p_sit
“How are you, are you perhaps fine?”

In the next example, a philosophical question about life, the writer is focusing on the uncertainty about where he was before he was born.

33) joe10:1
Yabe nge kas segine, nge nei gab segi, nge muainde bri kas.
long.ago 1s 1s_live neg+Lim 1s think 1s_do neg 1s where maybe 1s_live
“Long ago when I was not yet alive, I do not know where I was.”

In example 34, the writer knew he was supposed to send Matthew after it was checked, but he was uncertain about the other books that he had been translating, so he used bri immediately following ‘along with’ to indicate this uncertainty.

34) joe12:15
Te kin chek bad pre di ki rindo, di 1, 2 Pita di Jude te anene bri
dem rel check 1p_do done and 1s_send 3fp_go and 1, 2 Pita and Jude dem with maybe
ki rindo ye?
1s_send 3fp_go Fut
“After we check those then I will send them, and should I maybe also send 1,2 Pita and Jude along with them?”

In example 35 the writer was uncertain if we had already heard about the death of a village man. The bri modifies the idea of completion.

35) joe13:3
Nge nei gab segi nungoqi wutungu pre bri...
1s think 1s_do neg 2p 2p_hear done maybe
“I do not know if you have perhaps already heard…”

The particle indicating uncertainty, bri, can also follow instrumental phrases, verbs, relative clauses and any construction in question.

Bri can also be used in a question to indicate uncertainty.

36) sai18:7
“Nge kap ruso ghari. Pughe kin bri riri riri?
1s 1s_do 3fp_go neg what rel maybe 3fp_cry 3fp_cry
“I do not know. Whatever keeps on making that noise?”

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The example which follows can be compared with a question using *bu* when the speaker thinks something is true, but just wants to make sure.

37)  
Te risene *bri*?
dem 3fp_lie+Lim maybe

“Is it perhaps still there?”

cf., amu3:32

*Nge yumbo te kuaq wus kin te wusene *bu*?*
1s thing dem 1s_put_3fs 3fs_sit rel dem 3fs_lie+Lim real

“Is that thing that I put there still really lying there?”

In the following example, the two men were standing with the speaker and he knew they had not yet left when he asked the question. He also knew that they planned to go. In response the men gave him the reason they had not yet gone.

38)  
jo6:21

*Nungoqi tequ nyimbuar giqe wo segine *bu*?”*
2p you.2 bat.net clearing 2p_go neg+Lim real

“So you two have not yet gone to the bat clearing.”

When a question is asked with *bu*, a ‘yes’ answer is expected. When *bri* is used in a question the person asking the question is uncertain as to the response.

**4. PARTICLE YE**

The particle *ye* has two main functions: to indicate certainty and as a relativiser. The particle *ye* is not to be confused with two other homophones: *ye* ‘you eat’ (imperatival form of *ne* ‘he eats’) and *ye nawo* ‘he goes ahead’.

1) One function of *ye* is to show certainty about an event whether past, present or future. *Ye* is distinct from *bu* in that it is used with verb phrases and clauses while *bu* is used with non-verbal clauses. This use of *ye* is not the same as tense. The tense is understood from the context by time words and other semantic clues. It indicates that the speaker feels that something will definitely happen or has already happened.

In the following two examples a time word indicates future time, and *ye* at the end of the sentence indicates that the event will certainly happen.

39)  
ajk1:4

*Yuram ghas, tedi nu nungaim nandi *ve*.
evening 2s.Imp_sit then 2s 2s.husband 3ms_come cert

“You sit (until) evening, then your husband will certainly come.”

40)  
jo6:29

*Prangi di wute maket kin pare segi *ve*.
tomorrow and people market rel 1p_carry neg cert

“Tomorrow we will definitely not take people to market.”

The following example shows certainty in the present.

41)  
amu4:23-24

*Te eti wari, ni si *bu* mare mo, *ma*.
dem lest 2p_say 3p hand real 3mp_carry 3mp_go 3pm_sit
te kin yembe mindiny. Segi *ve*.
dem rel work 3mp_do_3fp neg cert

“Lest you say, they take them by hand, sit, and make those things. Certainly not.”

To show certainty in the past, a time word is usually used somewhere in the preceding text, usually at the beginning.

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42)  \[42)\text{amu3:5} \]

Asi bur segi ve
long.ago darkness neg cert

“Long ago there was certainly no darkness.”

In the following example, the story was being told in the past, and the ye here was used to indicate what they definitely planned to do while they were still there. The author then told what actually happened.

43)  \[43)\text{joe5:43} \]

Tete puq pen ruso Fraide di Sarare beghi las de
dem thus 1p_do 3fp_go Friday and Saturday 1p last day
Sande di mune nambu badi ve
Sunday and again home 1p_come cert

“We kept on doing that to Friday and Saturday was our last day, we definitely would come back home Sunday.”

The ye in the following example could have been at the very end of the sentence to focus on the certainty that the leaves and old branches would not burn, but instead the writer put the ye after the clause ‘the leaves were already soft’ to focus on the reason that the chopped-off tree branches would not burn. This sentence is taken from a hortatory discourse where the man is rebuking others for not doing what he told them to do.

44)  \[44)\text{joe7:2} \]

Muq yabe wiye wundi wiye rimb
now already rain 3fs_come water 3fp_do
bu nyumo raqe qui rire pre ve muqdi namb tuqui segi.
so tree leaf soft 3pf_carry done cert now burn able neg

“Now the rains have already come and things are wet, so the tree leaves are already truly soft and they will not burn.”

In the following example ye is used to show definite prohibition, ‘don’t make noise in the garden’. The same command is repeated in a similar form two sentences later, emphasizing the importance of this prohibition.

45)  \[45)\text{joe4:11} \]

Nu mame o yumbo pughe kin baj pene si kuare rise
2s knife or thing what rel house in hand 2p_carry 3fp_lie
muq wuny mbe kuar kuo pu yengu di ngamu kuare
now garden to 2s_enter 2s_go thus 2s_stand and call 2s_do
rire rundo ve tuqui segi.
3fp_carry 3fp_go cert able neg

“If you leave your bush knife or whatever other things in the house, then you enter the garden certainly do not stand and call to someone to bring those things to you.”

By the use of ye in the following question, the speaker was asking for a commitment to go to a certain place at a certain time.

46)  \[46)\text{joe6:1-2} \]

Kei Seyum nandi nge ning nari,
some.time.ago Seyum 3ms_come 2s about 3ms_say

“Prangi yuram di nu nge temu nyimbuar gie po ve?”
tomorrow evening and 2s 1s we.2 bat.net clearing 1p_go cert

“A few days ago Seyum came and asked me, ‘Tomorrow afternoon will you definitely go with me to the bat net clearing?’”

Ye can also be used to ask a rhetorical question where the questioner does not really expect an answer.

Both of the following questions are statements of frustration from a person who knew of no way that they would be able to burn their garden so that they could plant it, and who knew that the yams they had would rot by the time their garden plot could be ready to plant. The ye in these questions emphasized the futility of the situation.

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47) joe7:8
Nungoqi puq wand bu rise rise mug yabe
2p say 2p_do so 3fp_lie 3fp_lie now long.since
wiyi wundi pre muqdi pughe gri ei pawo righe ye?
rain 3fs_come done now how will 1p_burn 3fp_down cert
“You said like that so they kept on lying there now a long time and the rain has already come, now how will we ever burn them?”

48) joe7:20
Muq yabe wiye wundi pre
now long.since rain 3fs_come done
muqdi beghi muar muainde ei pateri ye?
now.then 1p yam where will 1p_get cert
“Now the rains have long since come, now then from where will we ever get yams?”

In summary, ye, when functioning to indicate certainty (realis), comes at the end of a clause following the verb or the negative segi.

2) Ye as a relativiser.

The Kamasau Language has two particles which can function as relativizers: ye and kin. They are sometimes used interchangeably. One hypothesis is that ye is used to relativize information that is already known, while kin is limited to new information or information unknown to the listener. Ye in combination with pughe ‘what’, means ‘which’, as in nyombui pughe ye, ‘which dogs’. In contrast pughe kin means ‘what’ as in the question, Te pughe kin? ‘What is that?’

Ye can be used following adjectives to express the idea, ‘the one who has a given characteristic’. It can also be used with phrases and clauses.

49) sai8:1
nyumbueg ngam ye
woman husband rel
“a woman who is married”

The following example has two occurrences of ye. The te kin at the beginning of the sentence refers back to the different machines to make books which were described in the previous sentence. The ye which follows it acts as a relativizer telling which machines they went inside to see. The quem ye ‘white one’ is an example of an adjective followed by ye, ‘one who has the characteristic of being white’. This expression is not limited to persons, but can refer to white things as well.

50) amu4:12
Te kin ye masin te par po,
dem rel ones machine dem 1p_enter 1p_go
beghi bon quem ye Arden te bei ndug, beghi buqod.
1p own white one Arden dem show 3ms_do_1p 1p 1p_see
“About those machines, we went inside our own white one, Arden, showed those to us, we saw them.”

In the next example nei yewon ye ‘good thoughts’ shows how ye functions to make a descriptive phrase.

51) ignas7:11
...beghi te kin ning God pengu bidig ei ni nei yewon ye neny...
1p dem rel about God ask 1p_do_3ms so.that 3s thought good rel 3ms_give_3fp
“…we asked God about those things so that he will give them thoughts that are good…”

In the following two examples ye occurs in a Descriptive Clause. The noun is the topic ‘man’ and ‘we’, and ye is used with the Comment to describe the kind of a man (one who is not good), and what type of people ‘we’ are (ones who do not have dogs).
52) sai8:32
    Wuti oghi segi ve
    man good neg rel
    “He is a man who is not good.”

53) joe5:8
    Beghi nyombui segi ve
    1p dog neg rel
    “We are ones who don’t have dogs.”

A relative clause may be used to describe a noun. In this case the noun must go first followed by the descriptive clause, followed immediately by ye.

The following examples of relative clauses show some of the variety of clauses which can occur with a relativizer. There seems to be no limit to the type of clause with which ye may be used as a relativizer.

54) amu4:6
    Beghi yumbo yembe rind ve masin te bei nindug.
    1p thing work 3fp_do rel machine dem show 3ms_do_1p
    “He showed us the machines that do the work.”

55) sai11:5
    Ni nyambu mawo ve
    3p sorcery 3mp_put rel
    “They are the ones who work sorcery.”

56) sai1:185
    Sare ki righe pu rise ve
    vine 1s_insert 3fp_descend thus 3fp_lie rel
    “The vines which we put down and they stay thus.”

57) sai17:2
    nge koku mem mas ve te kin wand simbe gad.
    1s mat.anc pat.anc 3mp_live rel dem about talk tell 1s_do
    “I am telling about when my maternal and paternal ancestors lived.”

5. **CLITIC NE**

The clitic ne can occur on most types of words. In some cases it is written as part of the preceding word. In a few cases where a word ends in ‘n’ it is written as a separate word, because double ‘n’ does not occur elsewhere in the language. It functions as a limiter, which varies in meaning depending upon the type of word it follows. The clitic ne is not stressed, and is in contrast to the verbal form ne ‘he eats’ which does carry primary stress.

When ne is added to a number, it means only that number of people or things were involved in a given action. In this example the crab had only one claw.

58) aug1:2
    ...muq ni sawo gidi irene kin.
    muq ni sawo gidi ire+ne kin
    now 3s claw leg one.f+Lim rel
    “…now she was one who had only one claw.”

In the next example the people took only one dog hunting with them.
59) ignas4:2

Ni nyombui irine rityani...
ni nyombui iri+ne rityani
3p dog one.m+Lim 3fp.take_3ms

“They took just one dog...”

In the next example they cut the bananas together, and the focus was on working together there, but when they started back home, the focus was that just the two of them were going home, and then later they ran into some other people.

60) reg2:3

temu wane di pawo, pare muq temune badi.
temu wane di pawo pare muq temu+ne badi
we.2 banana cut 1p.put 1p.carry now we.2+Lim 1p.come

“we both cut bananas, we carried them, then just the two of us came.”

A slightly different use of ne with numbers is given below. In this case ne in conjunction with the reduplicated numeral limits the completion of reading both books to the same period of time, rather than completing them sequentially.

61) ignas8:93

Buk teri teri e omo kawo.
buk teri teri+ne omo kawo
book 2.f 2.f +Lim comp 1s.put

“I finished both books (at the same time).”

cf, Buk teri ane omo kawo.
book 2.f with comp 1s.put

“I finished two books (one after the other).”

When the clitic ne follows pronouns and nouns it shows a similar limiting function. Only the person or thing indicated by ne is to carry out the given action.

62) joe5:3

Beghi bon ne po wayequ...
1p ourselves Lim 1p.go don’t

“Let’s not go just we by ourselves...”

63) sai10:13

Nungoqine ren nungoqine wutungu.
nungoqi+ne ren nungoqi+ne wutungu
2p+Lim dem 2p+Lim 2p.hear

In each of these cases where the pronoun or reflexive was used, the subject is limited to just the person or thing preceded by ne. This also happens with nouns. In the following three examples the clitic ne occurs with both animate and inanimate nouns. In each case it is specified that only these items are in focus.

64) joe4:21

Pudi umo ranyi ne churom ane nu ye pu
pudi umo ranyi+ne churom ane nu ye pu
but game eel+Lim turtle with 2s 2s.Imp.eat after
wuny mbe gheyi yi segi.
garden to 2s.Imp.enter 2s.Imp.come neg

“But you are not to go inside a garden after eating eels and turtles.”

65) joe2:27

Te pre, muq nyumbueg ruso, di quayine yemu...
te pre muq nyumbueg ruso di quayi+ne yemu
dem done now women 3fp.go and men+Lim 3mp.stand...

“After that then the women can go and just the men will stay.”
66) sai11:26

...ni gre mir ne wase mande me me yemu.
3p hard food Lim fire 3mp do 3mp eat 3mp eat 3mp stand

"...they cooked only garden food, they kept on eating it."

The instrumental pe ‘with, in’, can occur by itself. But it also occurs with ne, limiting where or with what the actor is working.

67) amu6:13

Ni mo kin si pene bri mir yembe yumbui mand.
ni mo kin si pe+ne bri mir yembe yumbui mand
3p 3mp go rel hand with+Lim maybe food work big 3mp do

"Those who go perhaps get their food only by working hard with their hands."

68) joe4:18

Di nu ning ngase pene puq ren segi.
di nu ning ngase pe+ne puq ren segi
and 2p own plot in+Lim thus dem neg

"And don’t just do this in your own garden plot."

In nouns where a location is in focus, the clitic ne can either show that the event in that clause is limited to one location, or it can indicate the means by which a goal can be reached. The first two examples below show the limitation of the action to one location, the second two examples show the means by which a goal is reached.

69) joe9:7

Yambgriq tiqene pase pase bur.
yambgriq tiq+ne pase pase bur
next day village+Lim 1p sleep 1p sleep dark

“The next day we stayed just in the village until dark.”

70) reg2:14

Nambune kas si yavine kati...
nambu+ne kas si yavi +ne kati
village+Lim 1s sit hand blood+Lim 1s die

“I was tired of just sitting in the village...”

71) ignas4:4

Ni no kin te tan mbe dabone no.
ni no kin te tan mbe dabo+ne no
3s 3ms go rel dem kunai to outside+Lim 3ms gogo

“The way that he went was by the outside edge of the kunai.”

72) reg2:63

...tan mbe ngimne te kawo ris.
tan mbe ngim+ne te kawo ris
kunai to road+Lim dem 1s put 3fp sit

"...I put it down by the road that goes to the kunai.”

When ne is used with some time words it shows the event is occurring at that time.

73) ignas3:2

Burne brequ pes pewo be po.
bur+ne brequ pes pewo be po
dark+Lim bad 1p get up next 1p go

“While it was still dark we got up and went.”
“It was still Friday when we began getting ready.”

“At that time there were stores in Wewak...”

When used with the word asi ‘long ago, before’ it can indicate something that happened in the past with the result continuing into the present.

“...She got married a long time ago (and is still married).”

“She was married long ago (but not now).”

“If I wanted to leave this work, then I would have already left long ago, but before I said I will not leave this work.”

In the preceding example, ne is used with yabe ‘long ago’ in the same way as it is with asi. The difference is that yabe refers to a more distant past.

Another time word, kei means literally ‘the day before yesterday’. As well as the literal meaning, it often means ‘a few days or weeks ago’ and the speaker is thinking of a certain day.

“In a few days ago Seyum came and said to me...”

“When kei is used with ne, keine, it means some months or weeks ago, without a specific time in mind.

“(If) some time ago you had gone and burned those tree tops...”

The clitic ne functions in a different way when it is following an adjective or adverb, but still with a limiting function. Here the limiting function is evident, where, for example, ‘a little’ becomes ‘just a little’, when the ne is added to the adjective.

“Give me a little salt. Just a little.”

“If some time ago you had gone and burned those tree tops...”
“A big rain came.”

“Pretty big rain came.”

In the following examples, the adjective *breq’U* ‘bad’ becomes ‘quickly’ or ‘soon’ when *ne* is added, if the action occurred in the past, or if it will occur in the future.

81) ignas4:14

...di *brequne* yir iri neti nowi...
and quickly spear one 3ms_pick.up
“...and he quickly picked up a spear...”

82) joe14:14

...*brequne* pas weq wundi...
quickly letter 2p_send 3fs_come
“...send me a letter soon...”

If the speaker is giving a command and wants the person to go and do something right now, then *ne* is not needed.

83) *Brequbreq* yo. *Breq* ghandi.
quickly 2s.Imp_go soon 2s.Imp_come
“Go quickly.”
“Come soon.”

The adjectival form of the word plus *ne* transforms it to an adverbial expression. The word *oghine* means ‘good’, but in the following two examples, when combined with *ne*, it means ‘well’.

84) aug2:38

*Yumbui ning* gre pe was was *di oghine* was.
Lord own power in 2p_live 2p_live and good+Lim 2p_live
“You (pl) keep on living by means of the Lord’s power and you will live well.”

85) sai2:79

*Nu segi* yi righe, *oghine* righe segi,
2s neg 2s.Imp_plant good+Lim 3fp_descend neg
*mir oghine* rise segi.
food well 3fp_stay neg

“Plant (the garden) without (magic), they do not go down well, (and) the food will not be good.”

Several examples will be given to show the variety of ways *ne* can be added to adjectives to form adverbs.

86) ange1:10

*Asi beghi* badi *urupuine*...
before 1p 1p_come new+Lim
“Before when we had just newly arrived...”

87) *Wuti mir* quan kumo ne.
man food very much 3ms_eat
“The man ate a lot of food.”

88) ignas6:8

*Pugri bu* nge *quan kumone* kari..
therefore 1s very much+Lim 1s_call
“Therefore I called out very loudly...”

89) amu3:18

*Yambgriq temi* waghi nyang mati, mondo, nambu mo.
dawn 2m quietly descended 3mp_go village 3mp_go
“At dawn the two men quietly/carefully got down out of the tree, and went to the village.”

90) ignas6:12

*Nge quan kumo nganye wune gab, di waghi waghi kari.*
1s very much true fear 1s_do and quietly 1s_say
“I was very very afraid and I said very very quietly.”
When *ne* is added to the adjective *aye* ‘other’, it becomes an intensifier meaning ‘very’.

91) **amu1:8**

\[ \text{Nge muq ko, gudoq wune avene gab pu bu paghe po.} \]

\[ \text{1s today 1s_do 1s_see fear very 1s_do thus 1p_go down} \]

“I went today, I saw it, I was very afraid, thus I went down.”

92) **sai1:102**

\[ \text{O beghi yawo avene pare righe.} \]

\[ \text{O 1p liver very 1p_carry down} \]

“Oh we were very happy.”

When *ne* is added to verbs, it changes the aspect of the verb. But it can function in several different ways. It can limit the scope of the action to just that one action.

93) **reg2:14**

\[ \text{... moyu gang gudoqne pre, di gadi...} \]

\[ \text{mother old 1s_see_3fs+Lim done and 1s_came} \]

“After I had just seen my grandmother (but not talked with her), then I came.”

94) **reg2:16**

\[ \text{Tebe ghasne, beghi wane ren wase bade...} \]

\[ \text{alright 2s_Lmp_sit+Lim 1p banana dem fire 1p_do} \]

“Alright you just sit here a little while, we will cook these bananas...”

95) **joe9:10**

\[ \text{... ghimbi yuqo kati omo, bu nge muq kase kasene ei bur.} \]

\[ \text{body pain 1s_feel comp so 1s now 1s_stay+Lim} \]

“...my body hurt all over, so today I just stayed (home) until dark.”

When used with a verb, *ne* can also express the idea of simultaneity (while something was still happening another action took place simultaneously). This is similar to one of its functions with time words, as noted above.

96) **reg2:59**

\[ \text{... ti nasene ko, nambu ko.} \]

\[ \text{light 3ms_shine+Lim 1s_go home 1s_go} \]

“While it was still light I went, I went home.”

97) **ignas3:11**

\[ \text{“Yewo, piraqne nambu po.”} \]

\[ \text{no 1p_carry+Lim home 1p_go} \]

“No, let’s carry it as we go home.”

A reduplicated verb with *ne* indicates continuous aspect (to keep on doing something), while a reduplicated verb without *ne* indicates simultaneous action. Compare the two contrasting expressions:

98) **Bi nuaq nuaq... Bi nuaq nuaq ne...**

\[ \text{cut 3ms_do 3ms_do cut 3ms_do 3ms_do Lim} \]

“while he was cutting it...” “he kept cutting it...”

99) **Ni mir nand nand, beghi puwo pe.**

\[ \text{3ms food 3ms_do 3ms_do 1p buai 1p_eat} \]

“While he was eating, we chewed betelnut.”

cf, **Dokta segi puq mand, pudi ni wasebo naq naq ne.**

\[ \text{Doctor neg tell 3mp_do but 3s smoke 3ms_eat 3ms_eat+Lim} \]

“The Doctor told him not to, but he kept on smoking.”

particle.doc, March 12, 1994
100) 

*Te pas pasne pend ruso.*
dem 1p_sit 1p_sit+Lim dawn 3fp_go

“We kept on sitting there until dawn.”

When the clitic *ne* is added to the word *mune* ‘also, back again’ it specifies that the person or persons went back again to the same place yet another time. Compare the first two examples below without *ne*, and the third example with *ne*.

101) 

*Aye te Pita ni nikinne mune nuqond...*

other dem Pita 3ms himself also 3ms_see

“That other (bandicoot) Peter himself also saw.”

102) 

...*mune nambu mandi*

again home 3mp_came

“... they came back home again.”

103) 

*Muq wiyi munene no, char pe nyumo iri eneri...*

now father again+Lim 3ms_go bush to tree one 3ms_cut

“Then my father went back yet again to the big bush to cut down a tree...”

The completive word *pre* shows that an action or one aspect of a task has been completed. When the clitic *ne* is added to *pre*, forming *prene*, that shows that an event has been completely finished.

104) 

*Mir bad pre, di prene.*
et 1p_do done, and completely_done

“After we ate, then (the whole ceremony) was completed.”

The completive word *omo* can have several different meanings. When used after a noun, it means something is gone. When used before the verb *nawo* ‘he puts’, it means he completes doing something. In the traditional counting system, it is used for part of the number five (“one hand complete”). And when used after a verb, it has the adverbial meaning ‘completely’.

When the clitic *ne* is added to *omo*, the resulting *omone* has similar areas of meaning to those of the *omo* alone, except that it cannot be used in the number formula. The difference is that *omone* is more emphatic than is *omo*. With *omo* alone part of the action is completed or part of the substance is gone, but when *ne* is added it indicates that an activity or substance is completely gone. Some examples follow.

105) 

*Wand omone Tenega.*
talk complete that’s all

“The talk is completed. That’s all.”

106) 

*Nambu vende nginy keine yenu yenu rindi rindi*

home this sun some.months keeps.standing 3fp_keeps.coming

*muq bu wiye buagi ir rind omone ruso.*

now so water all dry 3fp_do completely 3fp_go

“Here at home the sun kept shining until now, so now all the water is completely dried up.”

107) 

*...umo omone nawo.*

fish completely 3ms_put

“... he ate all the fish.”
Quanj te di mawo, tumbui meri. 
bracelet dem divid 3mp_put generous 3mp_carry

...ni wung lain te meny meny meny meny meny omone
omone

“They divided up the bracelets, they were generous. They kept on giving bracelets to her relatives until they were completely gone.”

The comparative word pugri means ‘like this’ or ‘like that’. When the clitic ne is added, it becomes pugrine, ‘just like that’, referring back to a previous comparison that has already been made. The following examples show pugri and pugrine both in the same example. Pugrine points back to a previous comparison and affirm ‘it happened just like that’.

Ni nge pugri yer i nindigh pre, muq kar ko
work 1s_do and dem rel thus+Lim thus 1s_do

“They had just finished teaching me, then I went inside (the garden) to work, and I did just like that (just like he said to do.)”

Pugrine is not always preceded by pugri in the text.

Ni ker pugri puq neny di kambe pugrine puq neny.

“He was angry doing like this (trying to beat his mother and wife) and yesterday he did just like that.”

Pugrine is not always preceded by pugri in the text.

Beghi pugrine dabo po.

“Just like that we went to the bush.”

Te pugrine te naq pre, mune nandi...

Just like that (fish) he’d already eaten, he came again...”
6. **APPENDIX — ABBREVIATIONS**

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