

## Negation in Kamasau

Joy Sanders, Graduate Institute of Applied Linguistics Associate Instructor

Abstract: Kamasau, a language spoken in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea, has a variety of ways of expressing negation. The primary way is by use of the word *segi* which means ‘no’. Three other terms are also used in various contexts with semantic differences. These will be delineated along with several other functions for the word *segi*.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Introduction

The Kamasau language is spoken by about 960 (Lewis et al. 2013) people residing in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. The Kamasau language is in the Marienberg Language Family, a stock-level family of the Torricelli Phylum (Laycock 1975).

Negation in the Kamasau language is shown in several ways. The most common way of negating clauses is the free word, *segi*, ‘no’. Next, we will consider other ways of expressing negation. Finally, we will consider other uses of *segi*, including a higher level use of the word *segi* which is a discourse feature indicating contra-expectation. In some cases *segi* occurs more than once in a sentence, so the term being focused on is underlined for clarity.

#### 1.1 Clause level function of *segi*

*Segi* can be used to negate a whole clause. In topic-comment clauses *segi* generally negates the comment. The semantics encoded by the negated clause can be either an assertion that a particular item is not owned or possessed by the person manifested in the topic, or an existential denial that the topic is a particular type of item or possesses a particular characteristic.

The most common strategy to make a negative sentence is to add something to a basic positive clause (Kroeger 2005). For example, take the commonly heard positive assertion about the weather, and compare it with the equally common negated form.

1. wuye        w-undi  
   rain        3FS-comes  
   ‘It is raining.’
2. wuye        w-undi        segi  
   rain        3FS-comes    NEG  
   ‘It is not raining’.

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<sup>1</sup>This paper is a revision from a non-published manuscript entitled “Negation in Kamasau,” written by Joy Sanders with input from Arden Sanders in 1994 (Sanders, Joy and Arden Sanders 1994.) Other aspects of the grammar were covered in Kamasau (Wand Tuan) grammar (Sanders, Arden and Joy Sanders, 1994).

The word *segi*, ‘no’, comes after the verb that it negates. Another example of a simple statement and its negation is as follows:

3. *ŋe yir muy w-use*  
 1S spear point 3FS-has  
 ‘My spear has a point.’
4. *ŋe yir muy w-use segi*  
 1S spear point 3FS-has NEG  
 ‘My spear does not have a point.’ [Sa 2:43]

In examples (5) and (6) the existential characteristic of the item is negated. In examples (7) and (8), *segi* is used to express that a person did not have something. Example (5) could also mean ‘he did not have a stone’, except that the context makes it clear that the other meaning is intended.

5. *ni wet segi, ni dodi*  
 3S stone NEG 3S door.  
 ‘It was not a stone; it was a door.’ [Sai 2:22]
6. *qi gawo p-aghe p-o kin te tumo segi*  
 ground hole 1Pgo.down 1P-go REL DEM close NEG  
 ‘The hole in the ground which we went down (into) was not close.’ [Amu 1:2]
7. *Pita ni mame puate segi bu ni wet bidi Jon n-e-ng2*  
 Pita 3S ax NEG so 3S money Jon 3MS-give-3MS  
  
*pu n-are n-o ei mame puate urupui ire wong n-indi-*  
 THUS 3MS-carry 3MS-go that ax new one.F buy 3MS-do  
  
*n-indi-g ningg*  
 3MS-do-3MS PURP  
 ‘Peter did not have an ax, so he gave John money to take to buy him a new ax.’ [Mark 15:1]
8. *beghi nyombui segi ye*  
 1p dog neg real  
 ‘We do not have dogs.’ [Joe 5:8]

When *segi* occurs at the end of a verbal clause, it negates the predication of that clause. That is true for simple clauses, as well as more complex sentences as in (11) where the initial clause and the purpose clause embedded in the relative clause are both negated.

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<sup>2</sup>Transitive verbs are marked with inflection of the verb stem as well as suffix. For further discussion of this see Sanders, Arden G. and Joy Sanders (1994:16).

9.  $\eta$ e nei g-ab segi  
 1S thought 1S-do NEG  
 ‘I do not know.’ [Gid 1:50]
10. yabe beghi pugri p-as segi  
 before 1P thus 1P-sit NEG  
 ‘Long ago we didn’t live like this.’ [Aug 1:11]
11.  $\eta$ e k-ari k $\dot{\eta}$ n te m-utu $\eta$ u segi, di  $\eta$ e oi nei g-ibiq  
 1S 1S-say REL DEM 3MP-hear NEG and 1S return think 1S-do-3FS
- k $\dot{\eta}$ n kari  $\eta$ e ruqo k-ase ei te wuti n-en g-uqoi-d segi  
 REL 1S-say 1S sleep 1S-lie so DEM man 3MS-DEM 1S-see-3MS.DO NEG  
 ‘They did not hear me call out, and I thought that I should sleep so that I would not see that man.’ [Ignas 6:9]

## 1.2 Sentence level

### 1.2.1 Scope of *segi* in sentences

When several clauses are conjoined, and each one is negated, they can each have *segi* following the verb as in the following example. Each clause is negated separately. The only clause that is not negated is the part ‘they went to the river to fish’ which was followed by the conjunction *pudi*, ‘but,’ and the expression ‘there were no fish.’ The conjunction *pudi* seems to stop the negation from going back further than that point.

12. char pe pu nyinge r-uwo segi, yanji segi, di umo buagi  
 bush in pig leg 3FP-put NEG tree.kangaroo NEG and game all
- char pe k $\dot{\eta}$ n te segi, di wuye pe r-uso umosungo  
 bush in REL DEM NEG and water to 3FP-go hook
- r-eq w-ughe, pudi umo segi di wapi waghe nyoq m-awo segi  
 3FP-put 2FS-go.down but fish NEG and wild.fowl egg 3MP-put NEG  
 ‘Pigs did not go around in the bush, there were no tree kangaroos, and there was no game in the bush, and they went fishing, but there were no fish, and the wild fowl did not lay any eggs.’ [Joe 3:3]

In some cases, when *segi* occurs at the end of a clause, the negation can extend back to preceding clauses. So the difficulty is determining how far back the negation extends. In the following two examples, the negation includes the preceding clauses, the first with paratactically conjoined clauses, and the second with clauses joined by the conjunction *di*, ‘and.’

13. nungoqi w-ar ir w-o, wute aye te ane wand w-and segi  
 2P 2P-walk.around 2P-go people other DEM with talk 2P-do NEG  
 ‘Don’t you walk around, (or) talk with other people.’ [Joe 3:8]

14. q̄i            w-en            k̄in    yumbo ur        taq    pugri: nu        wuny mbe    mingi  
       ground    3FS-DEM        REL    custom        DEM    thus: 2S        garden to    middle
- gh-ar                    y-o    pu    y-eru            di    wand    gh-and            tuqui segi  
 2S-go.inside        2S-go    thus    2S.stand        and    talk    2S.IMP-do        able    NEG  
 ‘The customs of this ground are like this: You are not allowed to go into the middle of the garden and talk.’[Joe 4:9]

In the following example, there are two clauses preceding the negated verb *wundoq segi*, ‘she didn’t see’, but neither of them is negated. The clue is the pragmatic use of ‘she got up and looked’ in context. Those actions had to happen before she could say that she didn’t see anything.

15. ni    w-es            w-uyo,            rar    w-utu-w,            w-und-oq    segi,    ni    w-uri,  
       3S    3FS-get.up        3FS-go.up        eye    3FS-do-3FS.DO    3FS-see-3FS    NEG    3S    3FS-say
- “r-en            segi”  
 3FPL-DEM    NEG  
 ‘She got up, she looked around, she did not see it, she said, “It is not here.”’[Amu 3:33]

The following example also involves paratactic conjoining. The second line of this example could be interpreted, ‘They went to school and they did not work’. But if they had gone to the school, they would have worked. So, from contextual knowledge it is assumed that they did not go to school and they did not work. Or this could be glossed, ‘they didn’t go to school and work.’ If it were true that they had gone to school, but they did not work, then the speaker would have used a Contrast Sentence, predicating contraexpectation: *skul pe ruso pudi yembe r̄ind segi*. ‘They went to school but they did not work’. Instead the meaning is, ‘They did not go to school to work.’

16. pudi            quayi    nyumbueg        wand    r-utuṅu            segi,  
       but            men    women            talk    3FP-hear            NEG
- ni    skul    pe        r-uso    yembe    r-̄ind    segi  
 3P    school to        3FP-go work    3FP-do neg  
 ‘But the men and women did not listen to the talk (when the committee member told them earlier to work) they (people) did not go to school and /to work.’[Joe 2:4]

Other examples would confirm that the conjunction *pudi*, ‘but’, blocks how far negation extends in a sentence. An affirmative statement is followed by a contrasting negative statement in such Contrast Sentences.

17. ni    n-o        n-o,            be    pu    ire    n-umbue-q,            pudi    pu    te  
       3S    3MS-go    3MS-go        next    pig    one.F    3MS-hit-3FS.DO        but    pig    DEM

w-uti segi  
3FS-die NEG

‘He kept on going, he hit a pig, but that pig did not die.’[Ignas 4:5]

18. wuyi te n-uqoi-nd di brequ=ne yir iri n-eti n-owi,  
father DEM 3MS-see-3MS.DO and quickly=LIM spear one.M 3MS-get 3MS-come.up

pu te me n-ira-w, pudi baq n-indu-w segi  
pig DEM throw.at 3MS-carry-3FS.IO but hit 3MS-do-3FS.DO NEG  
‘My father saw that and he quickly got a spear, he threw it at that pig, but he did not hit her.’[Ignas 4:14]

Other conjunctions that limit the scope of negation are *pugri bu*, ‘therefore’ and *bu*, ‘so.’

19. ŋe yembe quan pugri bu ŋe k-are k-o k-e-m kɪn tuqui segi  
1S work much therefore 1S 1S-take 1S-go 1S-give-3MP REL able NEG  
‘I have very much work; therefore, I am not able to go and give them those.’[Ignas 7:16]
20. ŋe moyu num k-ure-w bu ni mir wase w-uwo segi  
1S mother sickness 3NT-carry-3FS so 3S food fire 3FS-put NEG  
‘My mother was sick, so she did not cook food.’[Joe 9:1]

When two clauses are paratactically conjoined, or when they are joined by the conjunction *di*, ‘and,’ the negation may extend back to the preceding clause (cf, examples (13), (14), and the second half of (16) above). This is not always so, as illustrated by the following example. In (21), the word *segi*, ‘no’ negates the predication ‘tie’, and is separated from the clause ‘darkness falls’ by the conjunction *di*, ‘and.’ The negation is limited to the last clause because of the change of subject from ‘we’ to ‘night’.

21. di beghi p-ari, ‘beghi p-o ningg pu qa muq  
and 1P 1P-say 1P 1P-go want thus yes now
- yiram ŋanye bu nei kumo b-ab, eti p-o p-o  
afternoon true so thought very.much 1P-do lest 1P-go 1P-go
- bur k-uti di kuap taq b-ab ye tuqui segi  
night 3NT-fall and rope tie 1P-do REAL able NEG  
‘And we said, “We want to go now but it is very late afternoon so we are worried, lest while we are going it gets dark/night falls and we will not be able to tie the rope that holds up the bat net.”’[Joe 6:23]

Both the semantics and the sentence structure must be taken into consideration when deciding how far back negation can extend in any given sentence.

## 1.2.2 Negate entire sentences

The negative particle *segi* can be used to negate an entire sentence. It can occur by itself, or it can follow the demonstrative *te*, ‘that.’ In the following examples, *segi* occurs at or near the beginning of a sentence to elliptically negate an assertion made in the previous sentence.

22. *te eti w-ari, ni si bu m-are m-o, m-as, te kin*  
 that lest 2P-say 3M hand REAL 3MP-take 3MP-go 3MP-sit DEM REL  
*yembe m-indi-ny. segi ye. te kin masin=ne yembe r-ınd*  
 work 3MP-do-3FP.DO NEG REAL DEM REL machine=LIM make 3FP-do  
 ‘Lest you say, they take those things and make them by hand. No (certainly not). Machines make those things.’[Amu 4:23-25]
23. *eti nu wuti yembe pe v-en gh-andi segi ye te nu nei*  
 lest2S man work to NT-DEM 2S.IMP-come NEG REAL DEM 2S think  
*mb-iq gh-ari, ‘ni m-o kin si pe=ne bri mir yembe hatwok*  
 2S-do 2S.IMP-say 3P 3MP-go REL hand with=LIM IRR food work hard  
*m-and’ te segi, te kin quemye beghi sevim m-ind-umu yewon,*  
 3MP-do DEM NEG, DEM REL white 1P serve 3MP-do-1P.IO well  
*bu beghi b-adi, Wand Tuan r-en sabi b-idi-ny*  
 so 1P 1P-come talk right 3FP-DEM fix 1P-do-3FPL.DO  
 ‘Lest you who have not come to work here think, “Perhaps those who go work very hard with their hands to get food.” It is not like that, the whiteskins serve us very well concerning that, so we came and straightened out this ‘right talk.’”[Amu 6:12-14]

There are other places where *segi* is used at the end of the sentence meaning, ‘If something doesn’t happen’. Actually it is negating an ellipsis.

24. *quari nyamb m-ıra-ıng, tende badi m-ındi-q,*  
 spirit name 3MP-call-3MS DEM burp 3MP-do-3FS  
*o te yeng m-andi yeng yamb m-andi*  
 o DEM fight 3MP-come fight find 3MP-come  
*segi, te wute m-andi segi*  
 NEG DEM men 3MP-come NEG  
 ‘They call the name of the spirit, then if they burp, oh they are coming to fight. They are coming looking for a fight. If (they don’t burp), then men are not coming.’[Sai 3:14-16]
25. *muq otiwo muar r-en p-i r-ighe segi=ne r-is r-is*  
 now later yam 3FP-dem 1P-plant 3FP-go.down neg=lim 3FP-stay 3FP-stay

brequ r-ise, di nungoqi non yembe aye meri w-and w-are w-andi  
 bad 3FP-lie and 2P own work other find 2P-do 2P-bring 2P-come

di otiwo p-i r-ighe ye segi di w-ondo wute wuny  
 and later 1P-plant 3FP-go.down real neg and 2P-go.toward people garden

n-amb pre kɪn te pengu w-undi-m ni ŋiq m-and tedi ni niŋ  
 3S-burn done REL DEM ask 2P-do-3MP.IO 3P agree 3MP-do then 3P own

wuny kɪn ŋase ɪri beghi m-e-ngu ei beghi muar mune  
 garden REL part one.F 1P 3MP-give-1P.IO so 1P yam also

p-i r-ighe  
 1P-plant 3FP-go.down

‘Then later if we have not yet planted these yams and they get bad, then you yourselves will find other (yams) and bring them then we later can plant them. If (you don’t plant them now), then you go to those people who have already burned their gardens, (and) you will ask men who have burned their garden (clearing), and if they agree then they will give a part of their own garden to us so that we also can plant our yams.’ [Joe 7:23-24]

In summary, there are several uses of *segi* at the sentence level. It can negate several clauses within one sentence, or only one clause. The scope of negation may be limited by the conjunctions *pudi* ‘but’ (17, 18), *bu* ‘so’ (20), and *pugribu* ‘therefore’ (19) as well as by pragmatics (15). The negation can apply to the clause in which it occurs, or offer a negative alternative to the predication of the preceding sentence.

## 2. Alternative expressions of negation

There are other ways of expressing negation at the clause and sentence level which are less common, and carry different semantic implications. Negation in the Kamasau language is shown in several different ways. As already demonstrated, the use of the word *segi*, ‘no,’ is the most common way, but there are three other terms with more restricted use: *ghari*, ‘not,’ *yewo*, ‘emphatic no,’ and *wayequ*, ‘never mind; do not’. In some cases negation occurs more than once in a sentence, so the term on which we are focusing is underlined for clarity.

### 2.1 *yewo* ‘emphatic no’

*Yewo* is an ‘emphatic no’ used at the sentence level. When a speaker wants to give a negative reply showing he or she strongly disagrees with a question or proposed course of action, he may use *yewo*. Examples follow.

26. “wute temi ni m-andi, ŋimi w-uq-ond o segi?”  
 men two.m 3P 3MP-come road 2P-see-3P.DO or NEG

segi ni m-ari, “segi” ni m-ari, “yewo beghi segi=ne b-adi”  
 NEG 3P 3MP-say NEG 3P 3MP-say no.emp 1P empty=LIM 1P-come  
 ‘...the two men came, did you see them on the way or not?’ No (contraexpectation) they  
 said, ‘No.’ They said, ‘No! We just came (with an empty car).’ [Gid 1:31-34]

In the previous example the negative particle *segi*, which is the most frequently occurring negative, was the first reply of the men to the question, ‘Have you seen two men on the road?’ Then again they repeated their denial using the more emphatic form, *yewo*. In this example the speakers are untruthfully denying an implied accusation.

In the following example, the reply indicates that the old woman’s focus is not on where she is going, but on the person for whom she is looking. *Yewo* here communicates, ‘No, I disagree. I’m not going anywhere.’

27. segi k-ari, “moyu gaŋ nu muainde ku-o?”  
 NEG 1S-say mother old 2S where.to 2S-go

di ni w-uri, ‘yewo nu-qam meri g-idi-g k-awi’  
 and 3S 3FS-say, No.EMP 2S-sibling hunt 1S-do-3MS.DO 1S-follow  
 ‘I just said, “My old mother where are you going?” And she said, “No. I followed looking for  
 your younger sibling.”’ (She was also deaf and did not clearly hear what they were asking.)  
 [Reg 2:22-25]

*Yewo* is used in example (28) to show disagreement.

28. ni puq n-and, di ŋe oyi k-ari, ‘yewo, p-ir-aq=ne nambu p-o’  
 he thus 3MS-said, and 1S reply 1S-say No.EMP 1P-carry-3FS=LIM village we-go  
 He said thus (let’s put the pig down here and go get others to help carry it), and I replied  
 saying, ‘No (I disagree emphatically), let’s carry it to the village.’ [Ignas 3:11]

The previous speaker proposed that they leave a pig they had killed and let other people come carry it to the village. The speaker expresses strong disagreement with that course of action.

The use of *yewo*, although similar to *segi*, is not interchangeable with it. It is used less frequently, being reserved for when the speaker is expressing disagreement or denial.

## 2.2 *ghari*: negative particle ‘not’

The negative *ghari*, ‘not,’ is also an infrequently used negative particle. There are only six examples in the data. In three of these occurrences it is not interchangeable with the negative particle *segi*. In (29), certainty is expressed by the use of *ghari*. The speaker knows that the men to whom he is speaking have seen the person he is looking for, although they have denied it.

29. te b-uq-oid qa ghari n-o bri? nambu bri n-o?  
 DEM 1P-see-3MS.DO ah not 3MS-goIRR village IRR 3MS-go  
 “We do not see him (like we certainly expected). Did he perhaps go? Did he perhaps go to  
 his village?” [Gid 1:4]



In the following example, one speaker is making an assertion about the purpose for which the second person has gone to the jungle. The second speaker strongly denies the assertion.

30. *ɲe wuge kinyawo kambe b-abui kin jig te ku-are ku-o,*  
 1S sago pulp yesterday 1P-pound REL leftover DEM 2S-take 2S-go

*groq gu-idu-w, wuye w-uwo pre, bu nu r-en ku-awi'*  
 dump 2S-do-3FS.IO water 3FS-put done, so 2S 3FP-DEM 2S-follow

*segi n-ari, "segi ɲe g-adi pu ghari"*  
 NEG 3MS-say NEG 1S 1S-come thus not

“You took the leftover part of my sago pulp that we pounded yesterday, you dumped it, and she already washed it, so you followed us here.” No (contraexpectation) he said, “No. I (definitely) did not come doing that.” [Reg 2:13]

31. *ni brequ n-andi ghari*  
 3S quickly 3MS-come not  
 ‘He hasn’t come quickly (like he said he would).’

In the three previous examples, *ghari* is more appropriate than is *segi*. In each case, something has not happened which another person thought would happen. In the following examples, *segi* can be used in similar contexts. Earlier in the text from which (33) comes, the expression *ni wutuɲu segi* was used, meaning ‘She did not hear’.

32. *ni ange ghawe r-imbuw ye w-utuɲu ghari*  
 3S ears dull 3FPL-do-3FS.IO REAL 3FS-hear not

*segi mune k-ari, ‘moyu gaɲ mu muainde ku-o?’*  
 NEG again 1S-say mother old 2S where 2S-go

‘Her ears were deaf. She did not hear. No (she didn’t hear) I again said, “Grandmother. Where are you going?”’ [Reg 2:39-40]

The use of *ghari* in this sentence might be for emphasis, ‘She certainly didn’t hear’, or ‘She didn’t hear (as we expected)’. That is followed in turn by *segi* again, “‘No (she didn’t hear me)’, so again I said, ‘Where are you going?’” The two used together show that there is emphatic negation in this situation.

The next example uses the expression *ɲe kap ruso ghari*, ‘I do not know.’ This might imply ‘I really don’t know (so I can’t tell you),’ or, possibly, ‘I really don’t know (but I should).’ Because it happened when they first saw an airplane that was flying overhead, *ɲe kap ruso ghari* in (33) most likely means, ‘I certainly don’t know!’

33. *beghi ghabe b-ad, p-ari, ‘moyu, te pughe r-iri?’*  
 1P ignorant 1P-do 1P-say mother DEM what 3FP-say

*ni oyi w-uri, ‘ɲe k-ap r-uso ghari*  
 3S reply 3FS-say 1S 1S-do 3FP-go not

‘We were ignorant, we said, ‘Mother, what is that making noise (when they saw the first airplane flying overhead)?’ She replied, “I (certainly) do not know!”[Sai 1 8:4-6]

We have often heard the expression *ye kap ruso segi*, ‘I do not know’ which is demonstrated in (34). Either *ghari* or *segi* may be used in this expression. The latter can imply, ‘I know but I don’t want to tell you’ but in (34) he genuinely does not know because the speaker was not even certain where the intended recipient of the letter was living, but he had given it to Ignas in hopes that he would see the recipient.

34. k-ap            r-uso            segi,    ni    n-e-ng            o            segine  
 1S-do            3FP-go            no,    3MS    3MS-give-3MS or            not yet  
 I do not know if he (Ignas) gave him (Moses) (the letter) or not yet. [Joe 12:12]

In the following example, one could say, *bokis wen oghi segi*, ‘This box is not good,’ about a box the speaker is going to discard because it is no good. But here if the speaker is willing to give someone the box, but realizes it is no good and so he does not want to give it to them, then he would use *oghi ghari*.

35. bokis            w-en            oghi    ghari    brequ  
 box            3FS-DEM            good    not    bad  
 ‘This box is (certainly) not good. It is bad.’

*Ghari* is used at the clause level when there is a pragmatic certainty about the negation.

### 2.3 *wayequ*: prohibition ‘don’t do that’

The primary use of the term *wayequ*<sup>3</sup> is as prohibition. It is used only in hortatory discourse, or in prohibitions. It can be used to give a command, e.g. ‘Don’t you do that.’ Or it can be used by a speaker to say, ‘Let’s not do that.’ There are numerous examples of this in the data. Following are examples of the imperatival use.

36. nungoqi    puq    w-en    wayequ  
 2PL            thus    2PL-do don’t  
 ‘Don’t you(pl) do thus!’[Joe 3:10]  
 37. nu nei            kumo    gh-amb            wayequ  
 2S    thought            mother 2S.IMP-do            don’t  
 ‘Don’t you worry.’[Joe 5:21]

In the next example, the times during which it is prohibited for women to go to their gardens are indicated by relative clauses. The prohibition includes the whole sentence.

<sup>3</sup>Literally *wajequ* is *waq jequ*, ‘you put it she stands’. This is used frequently as an idiom meaning, ‘never mind’ or ‘don’t’.

38. di nyumbueg wo pe r-uso kin wuye r-ighe, di uny wuye  
 and women child to 3FP-go REL water 3FP-go.down and taboo water
- r-ighe kin tende puayi nu wuny mbe gh-eyi y-i wayequ  
 3FP-go.down REL that time 2S garden to 2S.IMP-enter 2S.IMP-go.down don't  
 'Don't you women enter a (new) garden at the time when you have just had a baby or when  
 you are menstruating.' [Joe 4:22]

In the following example, both *segi* and *wayequ* are used to indicate prohibition. Another speaker, who read this text, said it would be better to use *wayequ* in the first instance instead of *segi*, since the person was giving instructions. *Segi* would be more appropriate in an indicative expression.

39. pudi umo ranyi=ne churom ane nu y-e pu wuny mbe gh-eyi  
 but eels=LIM turtles with 2S 2S.IMP-eat after garden to 2S.IMP-enter
- y-i segi, di gh-are, wuny mbe gri gh-andi wajequ  
 2S.IMP-go.down NEG and 2S.IMP-carry garden to way 2S.IMP-come don't  
 'But after eating eels and turtles don't enter the garden and don't bring them by way of the  
 garden.' [Joe 4:21]

The following example shows *wayequ* used in a first person plural, hortatory expression, 'Let's not do something.'

40. di Lucy w-uri, 'beghi bon=ne p-o wayequ...'  
 and Lucy 3FS-say 1P ourselves=LIM 1P-go don't...  
 'And Lucy said, 'Let's not go by ourselves...'' [Joe 5:3]

*Wayequ* may also be used in a way which parallels the Tok Pisin word *maski*, 'never mind; don't bother'.

41. beghi p-ari, m-andi segi te wayequ  
 1P 1P-say 3MP-come NEG DEM put it down/let it stand (don't worry)  
 'We said, 'Nevermind/ don't worry that they didn't come.' [Paul 15:22]

In summary, negation can be shown in several ways on the clause and sentence level. The use of *segi*, 'no,' is the most common way, but there are three other terms with more restricted use: *ghari*, 'not,' is used to express certainty in the negation, *yewo* is used to express an emphatic negation, and *wayequ* is used primarily in commands meaning 'do not' or to say 'don't worry/nevermind'.

### 3. Other functions of *segi*

The negative particle *segi*, 'no,' is also used at phrase and discourse levels. In this section the phrase level usage is discussed first, then the discourse level.

### 3.1 Phrase level functions of *segi*

*Segi* may be used in verb phrases to communicate something other than negation. This is a common usage for *segi*. It has four different meanings. Sometimes the best English translation is ‘just,’ as in (42), (43), (44) and (45). *Segi*, when used with this meaning, precedes the verb it is modifying, instead of following it as it does for clause and sentence negation.

42. yumbo oghi o brequ ne segi k-at r-ise  
 things good or bad 1S NEG 1S-touch 3FP-lie  
 ‘Good things or bad, I just touched them.’[Joe 10:5]
43. muy nyur w-us, segi n-ira-q n-o, wuye pe n-o...  
 point dull 3FS-is NEG 3MS-carry-3FS.DO 3MS-go river to 3MS-go  
 ‘The point was dull, he just took it, he went to the river (to sharpen it on the rocks)...’[Sai 2:7]

In the next example *segi* follows a prior statement that the speaker and Ana were tired of going to the sago, so instead of doing that they just changed their minds and went to Babwuri where there was an old garden.

44. ne Ana temu si yavi p-ati, segi p-es p-ewo, haiwe=ne p-o  
 1S Ana two.1P hand blood 1P-die NEG 1P-get.up 1P-go.up highway=LIM 1P-go  
 p-o babwuri, temu wane di p-awo, pre muq temu=ne b-adi  
 1P-go Babwuri two.1P banana cut 1P-do done now two.1P=LIM 1P-come  
 ‘Ana and I were both tired (of going to work sago), we just got up, we kept going on the highway to Babwuri, we both cut bananas, that done we came back together.’[Reg 1:3]

Later in the same story, when they were talking about coming back to the village, they discussed which route to take and that they were afraid to go through the muddy swamp. So instead of doing that they just went another way.

45. wune b-ab, segi p-es b-adi, ηim yumbui=ne b-adi  
 fear 1P-do NEG 1P-get.up 1P-come road big=LIM 1P-come  
 ‘We were afraid (of going through muddy swamps), we just got up and came, we came by the big road.’[Reg 2:68]

In both of the previous examples there was a change of plans with the reason given and the resulting course of action. A second common use of *segi* in a verb phrase can mean ‘nothing; without’ as in (46), (47), and (48).

46. eti tiqe nije umo m-e, di beghi segi p-as  
 lest village some meat 3M-eat and 1P NEG 1P-live  
 ‘Lest some villages eat meat, and we live without (meat).’[Joe 3:14]

47. eti nu segi yembe yumbui gh-and, yumbo yumbo buagi  
 lest 2S NEG work big 2S.IMP-do thing thing many  
  
 te warbu, wane, yagh, siyapi di mir buagi aye te  
 DEM Chinese.taro banana native.taro type.greens and food many other DEM  
  
 y-i r-ighe, pudi otiwo yumbo te r-uwi segi  
 2S.IMP-plant 3FP-go.down but later things DEM 3FP-come.up NEG  
 ‘Lest you work very hard for nothing, you plant all those things – taro (long type), bananas,  
 taro (round type), greens, and many other foods, but later those things do not come up.’ [Joe  
 4:17]

48. ...ne segi, ne mir k-e segi. segi k-as  
 1S NEG 1S food 1S-eat NEG NEG 1S-sit  
 ‘...not I, I didn’t eat food. I just lived (without food).’ [Sai1:146]

A third usage of *segi* parallels the expression, *niq wand*, ‘you agreed to something’. But it means the opposite, ‘you disagreed or you disagreed with something’, as in (47).

49. ne k-ari pu, nungoqi segi puq w-and r-ise=ne r-ise=ne muqdi  
 1S 1S-say thus 2P NEG thus 2P-say 3FP-lie=LIM 3FP-lie=LIM now  
  
 wuye w-undi  
 rain 3FS-come  
 ‘I said thus, you all disagreed, they kept lying there now the rain came.’ [Joe 7:3]

In the expression *segi puq wand*, in the previous example, *segi* indicates what they said (i.e., ‘you said ‘no’; you refused’). This would be in contrast to *niq wand*, ‘to agree / to say yes.’

In the fourth use of *segi* at the phrase level, it can be reduplicated, i.e. *segi segi*, with the meaning ‘without a good reason; indiscriminantly.’ There are two examples in the data, both in a similar context. The first is from a written text, the second was in an oral discourse.

50. nungoqi segi segi nyumbueg wand w-e-ny wayequ  
 2P NEG-NEG women talk 2P-give-3FP don’t  
 ‘Don’t indiscriminantly sleep with many different women.’ [ Joe 1:14;1:28]  
 51. yumbo segi segi w-at r-ise wayequ  
 thing NEG-NEG 2P-hold 3FP-lie don’t  
 ‘Don’t just touch things (in a store) without reason.’

The four uses of *segi* in verb phrases can mean: ‘just’, ‘without/nothing’, ‘disagree’, and ‘indiscriminantly’. Obviously because of its diverse usages, the hearer must pragmatically infer what the speaker meant by the use of *segi*.

3.2 Discourse level functions of *segi*

*Segi* has several functions at the discourse level. Some of them appear primarily at the sentence level, but also carry over to the discourse level to tie the text together. These most commonly occur in narrative discourse.

One such usage of *segi* is to indicate an ellipsed clause giving the reason for a subsequent action. In the following example, there is something unknown: will the man be able to reach an ear ring that had fallen into the water? *Segi* takes the information previously given into account and rather than repeat the whole clause with the negation, just gives the negation, *segi*. Because it is clear from the context that it means, ‘no, (he couldn’t feel it so) he put his leg down...’

52. baq baq n-and, n-utuṅu n-utuṅu, o tumo=ne. segi, nyinge  
hit hit 3MS-do 3MS-feel 3MS-feel oh nearby=LIM NEG leg

n-eq w-ughe nyinge n-eq w-ughe w-uso, nyinge n-awo  
3MS-put 3FS-go.down leg 3MS-put 3FS-go.down 3FS-go leg 3MS-put

dodi wam nyinge n-awo nyinge n-awo, segi, nyinge aye  
door above leg 3MS-put leg 3MS-put NEG leg other

n-eq w-ughe  
3MS-put 3FS-go.down

‘He kept hitting, and listened. He perceived/felt, oh it was nearby. No, (he couldn’t feel it so) he put his leg down. He put his leg down, he stepped on top of a door. He stepped. No, (he couldn’t feel the ear ring,) so he put the other leg down.’[Sai 2:26-28]

Again, in (53) and (54) *segi* is used to mark ellipsis giving the reason for a subsequent action when two men are on a hunting trip:

53. ṅe misoq=ne ju k-utuṅu segi, ṅe temi te simbe g-idi-m k-ari,  
1S little=LIM very 1S-hear NEG 1S two.M DEM tell 1S-do-3MP.IO 1s-say

‘nungoqi wand segi urur segi=ne p-o, ei ange ange p-o’  
2P talk NEG noise without=LIM 1P-go that ear-ear 1P-go  
‘I heard just a little. No (I couldn’t hear) so I told those two saying, ‘Don’t talk. Let’s go noiselessly so that we can listen as we go.’’[Paul 1:9-12]

54. yabe nimbraqe=ne gure k-ua-w, be ir w-ughe  
long.time wing=LIM break 1S-do-3FS-DO next fall 3FS-go.down

w-undi, nyumo muange wam mune w-us  
3FS-come tree branch top again 3FS-sit

segi katris aye mune k-et-i n-owi, mune faiye  
NEG cartridge other again 1S-get-3MS.DO 3MS-go.up again shot



‘Peter did not have an ax, so he gave John money so he could go buy a new ax for him. But John bought Peter a very small ax and brought it and gave it to him. So (unexpectedly) Peter told John, ‘I don’t like this ax, so give me back my money.’’[Mark 15:1-4]

The conjunction *pudi*, ‘but,’ was used in this story to show the contrast between what Peter asked John to do, and what he actually did. Then *segi* is used after this to show the resulting action. It was unexpected that Peter would not want the ax, and this seems to indicate the climax, or high point of the story.

This use of *segi* also occurred in a number of short texts in the data which had only one occurrence of *segi*. In these cases, along with the semantic meaning ‘so,’ *segi* indicates the high point of the story. Other conjunctions may not be substituted in these situations. Four examples are given in which *segi* indicates the climax or high point of the story in which something unexpected happens. In (57), a vine breaks unexpectedly and hurts the story teller. After this happens *segi* is used to show his friend Maikel’s quick response.

57. k-ewo k-o k-o sare pend ye te=ne r-iririt k-o ut ut=ne  
 1S-go.up 1S-go 1S-go vine cut REAL DEM=LIM 3FP.down 1S-go ribs=LIM
- wuye mochongi pe pug ye<ng>u k-o segi Maikel bisuq pu  
 water puddle in hit stand<1S 1S-go so Maikel quickly thus
- n-ondo ye<n>u pengu n-and di ñe oyi k-ari, “ñe oghi  
 3MS-came stand<3MS> ask 3MS-do and 1S answer 1S-say 1S good
- pu=ne k-as, pudi ut ñape=ne yuqo k-ati”  
 thus=LIM 1S-sit but rib bones=LIM hurt 1S-feel
- ‘I was going up (and) the vine broke and I fell down into a puddle of water hitting my ribs. So (after this unexpected fall) Maikel quickly came to me and stood asking (about) me and I replied, “I am okay but my ribs hurt.”’ [Mark 6:3-4]

In (58), the unexpected happened while Moses’ mother was chasing him with an ax.

58. kambe Moses moyu teri puwo ningg ker r-uwo  
 yesterday Moses mother two.F betel.nut about cross 3FP-put
- moyu bisuq w-undo mame puate w-uta-q w-i Moses  
 mother quickly 3FS-go.to ax 3FS-get-3FS.DO 3FS-go.down Moses
- bub w-uri Moses ni mame puate n-undo-q di ni quan ñanye  
 chase 3FS-does Moses 3S ax 3MS-see.3FS.DO and 3S very true
- wune n-amb di wu n-ase no Moses kiyi ni n-uq-ond segi  
 fear 3MS-do and run.away 3SM-did.go Moses father 3S 3MS-see-3MS.DO so



ni bisuq n-ondo ḡam n-iti-q w-use muq ni Moses pengu  
 3S quickly 3MS-go.to wife 3MS-held-3FS.DO 3FS-lay now 3S Moses ask

n-indi-g n-ondo mame puate kumo nde n-ita-q w-i,  
 3MS-did-3MS.IO 3MS-go.to ax mother from 3MS-took-3FS 3FS-come

n-o suqo n-ira-q  
 3MS-go hide 3MS-carry-3FS

‘Yesterday Moses and mother were angry about betel nut. Mother quickly went and got an ax and chased Moses. Moses saw the ax and he was very afraid and ran away. Moses’ father saw them, so he quickly went and held his wife. Then he asked Moses to go and get the ax from his mother, (and) hide it.’[Mark 14:1-4]

After Moses’ father showed up, Moses was able to take the ax away from his mother. After this climax, the situation resolved.

The following text also has an unexpected ending where the crab fights back and ultimately kills the bird that intended to eat it. The climax is indicated by *segi*.

59. dogri woju te n-ira-q n-o, n-aq pre, n-andi,  
 crab little DEM 3MS-carry-3FS 3MS-go 3MS-eat finished 3MS-come

ire yumbui chuqo ḡanye te n-ira-q n-o, n-aghe n-o,  
 one big very true DEM 3MS-carry-3FS 3MS-go 3MS-go.down 3MS-go

nas, be naq segi dogri oyi yeng w-und, be teri r-ege...  
 3MS-sit next 3MS-eat NEG crab respond fight 3FS-do next two.F 3FP-fight  
 ‘He carried a little crab, (and) ate it. That finished he came, he carried one that was very big, he went down, he sat, he was about to eat it. No (he didn’t eat it because) that crab fought back, so the two fought together...’[Aug 1:34-35]

In example (60), the climax of the story is indicated by *segi* when goats saw some clothes, tore them up, and ate them.

60. meme r-indi trausis te r-undo-q segi buagi ane  
 goat 3FP-come trousers DEM 3FP-see-3FS.DO NEG all together

bisuq r-indi trausis te r-ita-q w-i bir r-ua-q  
 quickly 3FP-come trousers DEM 3FP-get-3FS 3FS-come.up split 3FP-put-3FS

bidi bidi r-iq  
 piece piece 3FP-eat

‘The goats came and saw those trousers so they all together came quickly, they got those trousers, they split them into pieces and ate them.’[Mark 12:4]

A third usage is to show the event line in which there is some doubt or uncertainty being expressed. In the following example, one person is trying to hide the truth, then each time new information or evidence is found *segi* is used clause initially to indicate this. In the following example this occurs three times as the suspense builds in the story. Here *segi* is glossed as ‘so’ as the suspense builds.

61. wandoqi m-and, puq m-and, segi ni m-ondo, kar pe te chek m-and  
 lie 3MP-do say 3MP-do NEG 3P 3MP-come car in DEM check 3MP-do
- m-o, m-ari, “ate beghi wute temi ni m-andi, ŋimi w-uqo-nd  
 3mp-go 3mp-say if 1PL men two.m 3p 3mp-come road 2P-see-PL.DO
- o segi?” segi ni m-ari, “segi” ni m-ari, “yewo beghi  
 or NEG NEG 3P 3MP-said NEG 3P 3MP-said no 1P
- segi=ne b-adi” beghi kar das w-ughe bu wuye p-ipi-q’  
 NEG=LIM 1P-come 1P car dust 3FS-go.down so water 1P-do-3FS.DO
- segi ni wuti iri kar pe m-i n-ewo meri m-andi  
 NEG 3P man one.M car in 3MP-put 3MS-go.up search 3MP-come

kin te simbe n-and  
 REL DEM tell 3MS-do

‘The (car drivers) were lying, they (the police) said this, so they (the police) just approached them to check the car, they said, “If two men came, did you see them on the road or not?” So they said, “No”. They said, “No (emphatic). We just came empty. Our car was dusty, so we were washing it.” So the man who the police had put in their car and brought with them told.’[Gid 1:29-37]

In the next few lines the other man in this text told how he had been in the car with the missing man, he had overheard the drivers saying that they were going to kill them, so he jumped out. He said, “We don’t see the other man. Where did he go?” When he told them this, the drivers stood speechless. The story continues:

62. ni wand segi ye<m>u, o segi di polis m-ondo,  
 3P talk NEG stand<3MP> oh NEG and police 3MP-approach

kar bodi pe meri m-and, o wuti te n-ati pu n-ase  
 car body in hunt 3MP-do oh man DEM 3MS-die thus 3MS-lie

‘They stood without talking, oh (no, they had nothing to say) so the police approached them, they hunted in the truck bed, oh that dead man lay there.’[Gid 1:45]

At this point in the text, deception is resolved. The police have gone to look at the car and they found the evidence that the drivers had been lying to them. The example above is the final use of *segi* to show suspense in this text.

As can be seen from the previous discussion, there are three uses for the word *segi* at the discourse level and four uses at the phrase level. In order to determine how *segi* is being used one must consider word order, semantic features, and discourse-level uses.

#### 4. Uses of *segine*

A related word, *segine*, is the particle *segi* plus the clitic *ne*. This clitic is a limiter that can be added to many types of words. When used with the particle *segi*, it has four meanings. The most frequent meaning is ‘not yet.’

In the following examples, *segine* has the meaning ‘not yet,’ and modifies the verb immediately preceding it. This is comparable to the use of *segi* at the end of a clause.

63. pu te      w-uti      segi=ne      wu              w-use              tan      mbe      mingi  
pig DEM    3FS-die    not=LIM    run.away      3FS-lies              kunai    to      middle

w-ur      w-uso  
3FS-enter    3FS-go

‘That pig had not yet died, she ran away, she entered the middle of the sword grass.’[Ignas 4:6]

64. August    ni      kar      aye      n-ita-q    w-i              segi=ne  
August    3S      car      other    3MS-get    3FS-come.up    not=LIM  
‘August has not yet gotten another car.’[Ignas 7:9]

65. te              pugri    ni      sir      m-ap      segi=ne      yuwo    niŋe    ur      m-and  
DEM              thus    3p      ready    3MP-do    not=LIM      song    some    mark    3MP-do

pudi      wute    aye      bei      m-e-ny              segi=ne  
but              people    other    show    3MP-give-3FP.IO    not=LIM

It is like this- they have not yet prepared. They have written some songs, but they have not yet taught them to other people.’[Ignas 7:22]

The second meaning of *segine* is ‘no problem; it is okay.’ Example (67) is taken from a text describing the first time they saw an airplane. The people were afraid of the plane because they did not know what it was. But the leaders told them they did not need to be afraid because the men in the plane were not angry.

66. otiwo      ni      w-undi      nungoqi    segi=ne              w-o      mune    w-undo-q  
later      3S      3FS-come    2P      no.problem=LIM    2P-go    again    2P-see-3FS  
‘Later when it (the plane) comes, it is okay for you to go to see it again.’[Sai1 8:43]

In the following two examples (68-69) *segine*, meaning ‘no problem; it is okay,’ precedes the verb being modified.

67. di mir buagi nu segi=ne y-e pu wuny mbe gh-eyi y-i  
 and food many 2S okay=LIM 2S-eat after garden to 2S-enter 2S-in  
 ‘And many foods they are no problem to eat before you enter the garden [Joe 4:20]

This contrasts with the next sentence in that same text, ‘but don’t bring eels and turtles to the garden’.

There may be other intervening words, as in (69), in which *segine* precedes the object, ‘these dogs’. This indicates that it is these dogs which it is all right for the hearer to take with him.

68. te ning bu Alpons n-arū, nungoqi ane w-o,  
 DEM reason so Alpons 3MS-follow 2P with 2P-go  
  
 tedi nyombui ni r-uqoi-nd, di segi=ne r-uso  
 then dog 3P 3FP-see-3MS.DO and okay=LIM 3FP-go  
 ‘For that reason Alpons will follow (and) you all go together, then the dogs will see him and go with no problem.’ [Joe 5:32]
69. nungoqi segi=ne nyombui r-en w-uta-re w-o ye  
 2P okay=LIM dog 3FP-DEM 2P-take-3FP 2P-go REAL  
 ‘It is no problem for you to take these dogs with you.’ [Joe 5:22]

The third meaning of *segine* is ‘just; without.’ In the following example, the meaning of *segine* is clear, because the preceding context stated that they intended to go without the people who were going to market.

70. prangi di wute maket kin p-are segi ye  
 tomorrow and people market REL 1P-carry NEG REAL  
  
segi=ne ei p-o wute taun m-o ningg di p-are p-o  
 without=LIM FUT 1P-go men town 3MP-go want and 1P-carry 1P-go  
 ‘Tomorrow we will certainly not take people who are going to market. We will just go (without the market people) and take the men who want to go to town (to buy things).’ [Joe 6:29-30]

Another example of this is the frequently used expression, *ne segine gadi*, ‘I have just come (without any reason).’ Usually there is actually a reason, but it takes a while before it is culturally appropriate to say what that is. In this usage, *segine* precedes the verb and follows the subject.

In summary, in deciding the meaning of *segine*, it is important to note the position in which it occurs in relation to the verb. If it occurs after the verb, it means ‘not yet’ (e.g., *ni nandi segine* ‘He has not yet come’). If it occurs before the verb, it means either ‘no problem’ or ‘for no reason’. For example, *ni segine nandi* can mean either ‘He just came for no reason’ or ‘He just came empty handed.’ Distinguishing between these meanings is a matter of considering the context to infer the speaker’s intention.

## Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
DEM	demonstrative
DET	determiner
DO	direct object
EMP	emphatic
F	feminine
FUT	future
IMP	imperative
IO	indirect object
IRR	irrealis
LIM	limiter
M	masculine
NEG	negative
NT	neuter
PL	plural
PURP	purpose
REAL	realis
REL	relativizer
S	singular
=	clitic break
< >	position of infix
-	morpheme break
( )	implied information
[ ]	text references

## Appendix: Kamasau orthography

The Kamasau orthography was designed to be easy for readers to transfer to English, the language of education, and Tok Pisin, the language of broader communication. There are six phonemic vowels: /a/, /e/, /i/, /ī/, /o/, and /u/. These are represented in the orthography as *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*. In the examples the vowel /ī/ has been represented phonemically as ‘*ɨ*’ for clarity, since it is under-differentiated in the orthography.

Kamasau consonants

Kamasau Orthography				IPA			
b	d		g	b	d		g
p	t		k q	ɸ	t		k ʔ
v			gh	β			ɣ
m	n	ny	ŋ	m	n	n <sup>j</sup>	ŋ
mb	nd		ng nj	<sup>m</sup> b	<sup>n</sup> d		<sup>ŋ</sup> g <sup>n</sup> dʒ
mu	nu			m <sup>w</sup>	n <sup>w</sup>		
	r	y	w	r	j		w
	ch	j		tʃ	dʒ		

A few notes about the orthography: \*/ɸ/ fits the pattern as a voiceless bilabial stop since there is none, and there are no other voiceless fricatives. /f/ and /l/ are also found, but only in loan words. The orthography under-differentiates [ŋ] and [ŋ<sup>j</sup>g] as *ng*. The word [nɪ<sup>j</sup>g] ‘in order to’ is written *nɪngg* because of the minimal pair [nɪŋ] ‘my own’.

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