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Orkaydo, O.O.

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Author: Orkaydo, Ongaye Oda

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11. Negation

In this chapter, I analyse negation. The chapter has three sections. Section 11.1 treats verbal negation in declarative clauses. Section 11.2 deals with negation in nominal sentences. Section 11.3 presents lexical negation.

11.1. Negation in declarative sentences

Negation in declarative sentences is marked by subject clitics and/or negative suffixes on the verb. The forms of negative subject clitics are **an=** for first persons, **aʔ=** for second persons and **in=** for third persons. Note that the form of the negative subject clitic for third persons and the form of the affirmative subject clitic for first persons are homophonous. The forms of the negative suffixes on the verb vary according to aspect as discussed below.

11.1.1. Negative Perfective

The negative marker in the perfective is the suffix **-n**. This morpheme precedes the perfective aspect marker **-i**. Except for the first person plural and second person plural, subject personal pronouns are optional. In other words, first person plural and second person plural require subject personal pronouns. Number and gender is not marked on the negative perfective verb.

- (1a) *antiʔ ʔoyrasiʔ ʔammurri*
anti-ʔ ʔoyra-siʔ an = mur-n-i
1SG.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F 1NEG = cut[SG]-NEG-PF
'I did not cut the tree.'
- (1b) *iʃinat tikupa addeʔni*
iʃina-ʔ tika-opa aʔ = dey-n-i
2PL.PRO-NOM house-to 2NEG = come-NEG-PF
'You (PL) did not come home.'
- (1c) *inantasip piʃaasiniʔ ʔinʔoraapni*
inanta-siʔ piʃaa-siniʔ in = ʔoraap-n-i
girl-DEF.M/F water-P 3NEG = fetch-NEG-PF
'The girl did not fetch the water.'

Without overt subjects, the present imperfective affirmative for first person singular is segmentally identical to that of the perfective negative for third persons. The affirmative and negative distinction for these persons is made by tone: a low tone marks the present imperfective affirmative for first person singular as in (2a), while a high tone marks perfective negative for third persons as in (2b).

(2a) **immukni**
in = muk-ni
 1NEG-sleep-IPF.PRES
 ‘I sleep.’

(2b) **immukní**
in = muk-n-í
 3NEG = sleep-NEG-PF
 ‘He/She/They did not sleep.’

The paradigm in (3) is an additional example. The optional subject pronouns are left out in the paradigm. The verb root used in the paradigm is **muk** ‘sleep’. Note that the alveolar nasal of the first person and third person subject clitics, and the glottal stop of the second person subject clitic are realised as **m** due to assimilation.

(3)	ammukni	<i>an = muk-n-í</i>	‘I did not sleep.’
	inom mukni	<i>ino = an muk-n-i</i>	‘We did not sleep.’
	ammukni	<i>aʔ = muk-n-i</i>	‘You (SG) did not sleep.’
	iʃinam mukni	<i>iʃin = aʔ muk-n-i</i>	‘You (PL) did not sleep.’
	immukni	<i>in = muk-n-i</i>	‘He/she/they did not sleep.’

Sometimes, the lexeme **nama** ‘person’ is used instead of the first person plural subject pronoun in negative verbs in all aspects. For example, in (4a) we have an interrogative sentence for which a negative answer is given with the first person subject pronoun in (4b), and with the lexeme **nama** ‘person, man’ in (4c). The latter renders the sentence impersonal.

(4a) **χormasip patay itteytinee**
χorma-siʔ pat-ay iʔ = tey-t-i-n-e
 ox-DEF.M/F lose-PF 2 = find-2-PF-P-Q
 ‘Did you (PL) find the lost ox?’

(4b) **inon teyni**
ino = an tey-n-i
 1PL.PRO.NOM = 1NEG find-1PL-PF
 ‘We did not find it.’

(4c) **naman teyni**
nama = in tey-n-i
 person = 3NEG find-NEG-PF
 ‘We did not find it.’
 (lit.: ‘A person did not find it.’)

Bliese and Sokka (1986:22) provide an example (adapted here) from the Karatte dialect in which the negative for first person plural occurs without either an overt personal subject pronoun or the lexeme *nama* ‘person’. In my dialect, the example must have the first person singular as the subject and example (5) would be ungrammatical.

- (5) **andámmi*
an = dám-n-i
 1NEG = eat-NEG-PF
 ‘I/We did not eat.’

11.1.2. Negative future imperfective

In the future imperfective, negation is marked by the subject clitic for all persons, and, except for second person plural and third person plural, also by the negative suffix *-u* on the verb. The second person plural and third person plural do not have the negative suffix *-u* on the verb. All subject personal pronouns can be left out. The following are illustrative examples.

- (6a) *dettow an = xaʔ-u*
 early 1NEG = wake.up-IPF.FUT.NEG
 ‘I will not wake up so early.’
- (6b) *ʒoyrasiʔ ʔammurtu*
ʒoyra-siʔ aʔ = mur-t-u
 tree-DEF.M/F 2NEG = cut[SG]-2-IPF.FUT.NEG
 ‘You (SG) will not cut the tree.’
- (6c) *inantasif fatanaappa impiʔtu*
inanta-siʔ fatanaa-oppa
 girl-DEF.M/F exam-in

in = piʔ-t-u
 3NEG = fail-3F-IPF.FUT.NEG
 ‘The girl will not fail in the exam.’

The sentences in (7) are equivalent affirmative forms of the examples in (6):

- (7a) *dettow in = xaʔ-a*
 early 1 = wake.up-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will wake up so early.’
- (7b) *ʒoyrasiʔ ʔimmurta*
ʒoyra-siʔ iʔ = mur-t-a
 tree-DEF.M/F 2 = cut[SG]-2-IPF.FUT
 ‘You (SG) will cut the tree.’

- (7c) *inantasif fatanaappa ?ipi?ta*
inanta-si? fatanaa-oppa i=pi?-t-a
 girl-DEF.M/F exam-in 3NEG = fail-3F-IPF.FUT
 ‘The girl will fail in the exam.’

Consider the paradigms in (8) as well.

- (8a) *ammuku* < *in=muk-u* ‘I will not sleep.’
ammuknu < *an=muk-n-u* ‘We will not sleep.’
ammuktu < *a?=muk-t-u* ‘You (SG) will not sleep.’
ammuktan < *a?=muk-t-a-n* ‘You (PL) will not sleep.’
immuku < *in=muk-u* ‘He will not sleep.’
immuktu < *in=muk-t-u* ‘She will not sleep.’
immukan < *in=muk-a-n* ‘They will not sleep.’
- (8b) *immuka* < *in=muk-a* ‘I will sleep.’
immukna < *in=muk-n-a* ‘We will sleep.’
immukta < *i?=muk-t-a* ‘You (SG) will sleep.’
immuktan < *i?=muk-t-a-n* ‘You (PL) will sleep.’
imuka < *i=muk-a* ‘He will sleep.’
imukta < *i=muk-t-a* ‘She will sleep.’
imukan < *i=muk-a-n* ‘They will sleep.’

From the examples in (6) and (7), as well as the paradigms in (8), we can see that negation in the future imperfective is marked by the suffix *-u* while affirmative future imperfective is marked by the suffix *-a*.

11.1.3. Negative present imperfective

Generally, the negative present imperfective is characterised by a main and auxiliary verb construction plus a set of (negative) subject clitics and, depending on the person/number of the subject, an additional negation marker *-u/o*. In the negative present imperfective of the verbs *up-* ‘know’, *sah-* ‘be able to’, *pah-* ‘resemble, look like’ and *heen-* ‘want’, the auxiliary verb is not used (see below in the present section). When the subject is first or second person, the subject clitics are attached to both the main and auxiliary verb (9a-d). When the subject is third person, the subject clitics are attached only to the existential verb (9e-g). In addition, when the subject is singular or first person plural, a negation marker *-u/o* is affixed at the final slot of the existential verb, but when the subject is second person plural or third person plural, the negation marker *-u/o* is not affixed to the existential verb (compare example (9d) and (9g) to the other examples in (9)). The negative suffix is realised as *-o* when the form of the existential verb has a final palatal consonant. It occurs as *-u* when the existential verb has a final alveolar consonant. The following are illustrative examples:

- (9a) **ankeerri anco**
an = keer-ni *an = kiy-o*
 1NEG = run[SG]-IPF.PRES 1NEG = be-NEG
 ‘I do not run.’
- (9b) **anhirri ankinnu**
an = hir-ni *an = kit-n-u*
 1NEG = run[PL]-IPF.PRES 1NEG = be-1PL-NEG
 ‘We do not run.’
- (9c) **akkeerri akkittu**
aʔ = keer-ni *aʔ = kit-t-u*
 2NEG = run[SG]-IPF.PRES 2NEG = be-2-NEG
 ‘You (SG) do not run.’
- (9d) **ahhirri akkittan**
aʔ = hir-ni *aʔ = kit-t-a-n*
 2NEG = run[PL]-IPF.PRES 2NEG = be-2-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘You (PL) do not run.’
- (9e) **keerri inco**
keer-ni *in = kiy-o*
 run[SG]-IPF.PRES 3NEG = be-NEG
 ‘He does not run.’
- (9f) **keerri inkittu**
keer-ni *in = kit-t-u*
 run[SG]-IPF.PRES 3NEG = be-3F-NEG
 ‘She does not run.’
- (9g) **hirri incan**
hir-ni *in = kiy-a-n*
 run[PL]-IPF.PRES 3NEG = be-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘They do not run.’

In fast speech, the negative subject clitics of the existential verb are often encliticised to the main verb. This encliticisation deletes the glottal stop of the subject clitics. This in turn results in vowel coalescence for first and second persons: *i+a=ee* as shown in (10a). For third persons, the final vowel of the present imperfective suffix and the initial vowel of the negative subject clitic become a short vowel (*i+i=i*) as illustrated in (10b).

- (10a) **kawwattasiʔ ʔaddawneek kittu**
kawwatta-siʔ *aʔ = daw-ni = aʔ* *kit-t-u*
 terrace-DEF.M/F 2.NEG-build-IPF.PRES = 2NEG be-2-NEG
 ‘You (SG) are not building the terrace.’

- (10b) *ifaχ χarfa dammin co*
ifa-ʔ *χarfa* *dām-ni=in* *kiy-o*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM beans eat-IPF.PRES = 3NEG be-NEG
 ‘He does not eat beans.’

With overt objects, it is possible to have three negative subject clitics for first and second person: one occurs with the object as a prefix, the second one with the main verb and the third one with the existential verb. Compare (11a-b) with (11c-d).

- (11a) *aʔɔyɔyasiʔ ʔammurri*
aʔ=ɔyɔra-siʔ *aʔ=mur-n-i*
 2NEG = tree-DEF.M/F 2NEG = cut[SG]-NEG-PF
 ‘You (SG) did not cut the tree.’
- (11b) *anyormoosiʔ ʔanpidɖu*
an=χorma-osiʔ *an=pidɖ-u*
 1NEG = ox-DEM.M/F 1NEG = buy[SG]-IPF.FUT.NEG
 ‘I will not buy this ox.’
- (11c) *anyarfa andamni anco*
an=χarfa *an=dām-ni* *an=kiy-o*
 1NEG = beans 1NEG-eat-IPF.PRES 1NEG-be-NEG
 ‘I do not eat beans.’
- (11d) *adɖillaa ʔaɔɔonni akkittu*
aʔ=dillaa *aʔ=ɔot-ni* *aʔ=kit-t-u*
 2NEG = fields 2NEG-dig-IPF.PRES 2NEG = be-2-NEG
 ‘You (SG) do not work on fields.’

The negative subject clitics that occur with overt objects are optional, (12).

- (12a) *ɔyɔyasiʔ ʔammurri*
ɔyɔra-siʔ *aʔ=mur-n-i*
 tree-DEF.M/F 2NEG = cut[SG]-NEG-PF
 ‘You (SG) did not cut the tree.’
- (12b) *χormoosiʔ ʔanpidɖu*
χorma-osiʔ *an=pidɖ-u*
 ox-DEM.M/F 1NEG = buy[SG]-IPF.FUT.NEG
 ‘I will not buy this ox.’
- (12c) *χarfa andamni anco*
χarfa *an=dām-ni* *an=kiy-o*
 beans 1NEG-eat-IPF.PRES 1NEG-be-NEG
 ‘I do not eat beans.’

The verb roots in (13a) do not require the existential verb for negation in the present imperfective as shown in (13b-d). In 6.2.1.2, we also saw that these verb roots differ from other verb roots in that they do not attach the present imperfective aspect marker *-ni*.

- (13a) up- 'know'
 sah- 'be able to'
 pah- 'resemble, look like'
 heen- 'want'
- (13b) *χ*o^opoosini?anheenu
*χ*o^opaa-osini? an = heen-u
 shoes-DEM.P 1NEG = want-NEG
 'I do not want these shoes.'
- (13c) ifak kawwatta dawiya insahu
ifa-? kawwatta daw-*iya*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM terrace build-VN

in = sah-u
 3NEG-be.able.to-NEG
 'He is not able to build a terrace.'
- (13d) ifina? ?oli a?uptan
ifina-? oli
 2PL.PRO-NOM each.other

?a? = ?up-t-a-n
 2NEG = know-2-IPF.FUT-P
 'You (PL) do not know each other.'

11.1.4. Negative dependent

Negative dependent in conditional clauses and temporal clauses is marked by negative subject clitics, as well as negative suffixes. Here are some examples:

- (14a) oon ankalin kikawpan deya
oo-n an = kal-in ke
 if-N 1NEG = return.home-NEG 2SG.PRO.ACC

kapa-^opa = in dey-a
 near-to = 1 come-IPF.FUT
 'If I do not return home, I will come to you.'

- (14b) *kanden urmalaapa anaanin kodaasi? ?inki? ?iyyada*
kandē-n urmala-a-ōpa an = aan-in
 if-N market-to 1NEG = go-NEG

kodaa-si? in = ki-? iyyad-a
 work-DEF.M/F 1 = 2SG.PRO.ACC-DAT help-IPF.FUT
 ‘If I did not go to the market, I will help you with the work.’
- (14c) *an ifa akkinu male ande?nu*
a = in ifa akki-n-u
 REL = 1 3SGM.PRO[OBJ] see-PL-NEG.IPF.FUT

male an = dey-n-u
 without 1NEG = come-PL-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘Unless we see him, we shall not come (back).’
- (14d) *kandee punu de?ta ohtaisi? ?ifeenna? ?andaafo*
kandē = i punu dey-t-a ohta-si?
 if = 3 even come-3F-IPF.FUT cloth-DEF.M/F

ifeenna-? an = daaf-o
 3SGF.PRO[ACC]-DAT 1.NEG = give-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘Even if she comes, I will not give her the cloth.’
- (14e) *awtan ankeerin, ifa an?ad?daapu*
awta-n an = keer-in ifa
 when = N 1NEG = run-PF 3SGM.PRO[ACC]

an = ?ad?daap-u
 1NEG = catch.up.with-NEG
 ‘When I do not run, I don’t catch up with him.’

For additional examples and details, see conditional clauses in Section 12.1.1 and temporal clauses in Section 12.1.2.

11.1.5. Prohibitives with *ōpa*

Prohibition is expressed by *ōpa* (or its short form *o*) and negative subject clitics on the existential verb. The sentences in (15a and 16a) are interrogatives and those in (15b and 16b) are responses expressing prohibition. The responses may occur with *inna?* ‘no’ as in (16c).

- (15a) *tikaayfupa iʔannee*
tika-ayfu-opa *i = an-ni-e*
 house-POSS.M/F.3PL-to 3 = go-IPF.PRES-Q
 ‘Is it possible to go to their house?’
- (15b) *opa annin can*
opa ʔan-ni = in *kiy-a-n*
 PROH go-IPF.PRES = 3.NEG be-IPF.PRES-P
 ‘It is forbidden to go (in).’
- (16a) *kupalaata idammee*
kupalaata i = dam-ni-e
 rabbit 3 = eat-IPF.PRES-Q
 ‘Is rabbit eaten?’
- (16b) *opa dammin can*
opa dam-ni = in *kiy-a-n*
 PROH eat-IPF.PRES = 3.NEG be-IPF.PRES-P
 ‘It is forbidden to eat (rabbit).’
- (16c) *innaʔ ʔopa dammin can*
innaʔ opa dam-ni = in
 no PROH eat-IPF.PRES = 3.NEG

kiy-a-n
 be-IPF.PRES-P
 ‘No! It is forbidden to eat (rabbit).’

11.1.6. Negative imperative

As discussed in Section 6.4.1, the affirmative imperative verb is marked by *-i* when the addressee is singular and by *-a* when it is plural, but it is not marked with subject clitics. Negative imperatives, on the other hand, have negative subject clitics. In addition, the negative imperative verb is marked by the suffix *-an*, for both singular and plural addressee. Consider the following examples:

- (17a) *in = aan-an*
 2NEG = go-NEG.IMP.SG/PL
 ‘(You (SG/PL)) Do not go!’
- (17b) *ʔoyraasiʔ ʔimmuran*
ʔoyra-asiʔ iʔ = mur-an
 tree-DEM.M/F 2NEG = cut[SG]-NEG.IPM
 ‘(You (SG/PL)) Do not cut the tree!’

11.1.7. Negative optatives

Negative optative is marked on the verb by the negative subject clitic **in=** and the negative suffix **-in** on the verb. These morphemes do not distinguish number; both third person singular and plural are marked by these morphemes, as illustrated in (18a and 18b). Number is sometimes expressed in the lexical root if the root is inherently plural, as is the case in (18b).

(18a) **in = ?aan-in**
 3NEG = go-NEG.OPT
 ‘Let him/her/them not go.’

(18b) **in = hir-in**
 3NEG = run[PL]-NEG.OPT
 ‘Let them not run.’

11.1.8. Negation in adjectival clauses

Negation in adjectival clauses requires an adjectival root and the existential verb. Negative subject clitics occur with the adjectival root for first and second persons but not for third person subject. Likewise, negative suffixes do not occur with the adjectival root for all persons. The existential verb in adjectival clauses contains negative subject clitics for all persons. Moreover, except for second person plural and third person plural, the remaining persons occur with negative suffixes on the existential verb. (See Section 11.1.3, where similar restrictions are observed in non-adjectival lexical verbs). The negative suffixes are **-u/o**. Plural subjects require the reduplication of the adjectival root’s initial **C₁V(C₁)** for number agreement. Subject personal pronouns are optional. The following are illustrative examples:

(19a) **anderi anco**
an = d̥er-i *an = ki-y-o*
 1NEG = be.tall-PF 1NEG = be-NEG
 ‘I am not tall.’

(19b) **ad̥d̥ed̥d̥eri akkittan**
aʔ = d̥ed̥-d̥er-i *aʔ = kit-t-a-n*
 2NEG = PL-be.tall-PF 2NEG = be-2-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘You (PL) are not tall.’

(19c) **d̥er-i** **in = kit-t-u**
 be.tall-PF 3NEG = be-3F-NEG
 ‘She is not tall.’

Inchoative adjectival clauses contain the suffix **-aad̥**. Furthermore, all persons have negative subject clitics. Except for second person plural and third person

plural, the remaining persons occur with a negative suffix on the adjectival root. In (20a-b) are sentential examples with the adjectival root *dër-* ‘be tall, long’. In (20c), I give the surface form of the complete paradigm.

- (20a) *anderaadu*
an = dër-aad-u
 1NEG = be.tall-INCH-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘I will not become tall.’
- (20b) *addedderaattan*
a? = ded-dër-aad-t-a-n
 2NEG = PL-be.tall-INCH-2-IPF.FUT-P
 ‘You (PL) will become tall.’
- (20c) *anderaadu* ‘I will not become tall.’
andedderaannu ‘We will not become tall.’
adderaattu ‘You (SG) will not become tall.’
addedderaattan ‘You (PL) will become tall.’
inderaadu ‘He will become tall.’
inderaattu ‘She will not become tall.’
indedderaadan ‘They will not become tall.’

11.2. Negation in nominal clauses

Negation in nominal clauses is marked by the clause final clitic *-nnin*. The following are illustrative examples:

- (21a) *senit tuuyyawwaanimma* *χarχarayaa*
seni? *tuuyyawwaa-nnin-ma* *χarχarayaa*
 DEM.PL pigs-NEG-but warthogs
 ‘These are not pigs, but warthogs.’
- (21b) *an = akim-itta-nnin* < *hakim* ‘physician’ Amh. >
 1 = physician-AGENT.SGM-NEG
 ‘I am not a physician.’

In the future imperfective, nominal clauses require the verb root *kodf-* ‘become’ to which negative subject clitics and a negative suffix are added. Here are some examples:

- (22a) *akim-itta* *an = kodf-u*
 physician-AGENT.SGM 1NEG = become-IPF.FUT.NEG
 ‘I will not become a physician.’

- (25) *nama a de?naá diifu i?oradá*
nama a dey-naá diif-u i=?orad-a
 person REL come-VN stop-IPF.FUT.DP 3 = be.fined-IPF.FUT
 ‘A person who stops coming will be fined.’

The other lexical item with a negative meaning is **male** ‘without’, which stands in lexical contrast with the word **olle** ‘with’. This is shown below.

- (26a) *ifa olleen aana*
ifa olle=in an-a
 3SGM.PRO[ACC] with = 1 go-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will go with him.’

- (26b) *ifa maleen aana*
ifa male=in an-a
 3SGM.PRO[ACC] without = 1 go-IPF.FUT
 ‘I will go without him.’

Each of the above clauses may occur with negative markers rendering the opposite meaning.

- (27a) *ifa olle anaanu*
ifa olle an=aan-u
 3SGM.PRO[ACC] with 1NEG = go-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘I will not go with him.’

- (27b) *ifa male anaanu*
ifa male an=aan-u
 3SGM.PRO[ACC] without 1NEG = go-NEG.IPF.FUT
 ‘I will not go without him.’

Still another lexical item with a negative meaning is **malaal-** ‘be unable to’. The following is an illustrative example:

- (28) *ifak keerinta imalaalay*
ifa-? keer-inta i=malaal-ay
 3SGM.PRO-NOM run[SG]-VN 3 = be.unable.to-PF
 ‘He was unable to run.’

11.4. Movement of subject clitics and emphatic negation

Unlike their affirmative counterparts, negative subject clitics cannot be separated from the verb and do not occur with overt subjects. This is illustrated by the ungrammatical forms in (29).

(29a) *atteek keraa ġapni

atti = a? *keraa* *ġap-n-i*
 2SG.PRO = 2NEG thief catch-NEG-PF
 (intended: ‘You (SG) did not catch thief.’)

(29b) *anten mottooġaa akkini anco

anti-? = *an* *mottooġaa* *akki-ni*
 1SG.PRO-NOM = 1NEG car see-IPF.PRES

an = key-o
 1NEG = be-NEG
 (intended: ‘I do not see a car.’)

(28c) *kutaasin karraa ġapu

kuta-asi = in *karraa*
 dog-DEF.M/F = 3NEG squirrel

ġap-u
 catch-IPF.FUT.NEG
 (intended: ‘The dog will not catch a squirrel.’)

Negation is emphasised by using the lexeme *apare* ‘somewhere’. It renders a meaning equivalent to the English adverb ‘never’. Here are some examples:

(30a) kussitu? ?apare toġupa inanní

kussitto-? *?apare* *toġa-opa* *in = an-n-í*
 kussitto-NOM somewhere Toġa-to 3NEG = go-NEG-PF
 ‘Kussitto has never been to Toġa.’

(30b) anti? ?apare koommaytipa an?anní

anti-? *apare* *koommayte-opa* *an = an-n- í*
 1SG.PRO-NOM somewhere koommayte-to 1NEG = go-NEG-PF
 ‘I have never been to Koommayte.’

(30c) iġa? ?apare dila inkanní

iġa-? *apare* *dila* *in = kat-n-í*
 3SGM.PRO-NOM somewhere field 3NEG = sell-NEG-PF
 ‘He never sold a field.’

(30d) iġoonna? ?apare incán

iġoonna-? *apare* *in = kiy-á-n*
 3PL.PRO-NOM somewhere 3NEG = be-IPF.FUT-NEG
 ‘They are nowhere.’