

3. Verb Paradigms

In this chapter I will describe the inflectional paradigms of simple verbs. In the next I will consider compound tenses and the use of tenses, and in other chapters various syntactic aspects related to verb morphology.

3.1 General structure

The general form of the verb is as follows. Optional constituents are in brackets.

(1) (pre-verbs)	root	(voice extension)	person	plural/tense	(case)
verb <i>ní</i>	adverb	cs	1 sg/pl	past	inst
focus	(<i>gadi/oli</i>)	ps	2	pl	incomple- dat- ₁
adverb	verb fc	sr	3 f	pl	tive ive ¹
<i>gadi/oli</i>	<i>ní</i>	cs-ps			dependent
		cs-sr			
		sr-cs			
		cs-cs			

- (2) *bit-am-t-ée-ǃ*
 buy ps f pst dat It f was bought for someone.
ní-gad - déem - acci - siis - t - aníi- n
 fc pre go sr cs 2 pl inst

You pl make someone bring (it) for their own benefit.

3.1.1 Pre-verbs. Two sorts of pre-verbal clitics occur, *ní* a verb focus marker and the adverbial markers *oli* 'up, away', *gadi* 'down, towards'. These two types occur in free order -- either the focus marker or the adverbial pre-verb can occur first. With the exception of one construction discussed in 6.1.6, *gadi* and *oli* always occur before the verb, and *ní* is never separated from the verb, except optionally by *gadi/oli*. *Gadi/oli* are discussed further in 13.3.2. *Ní* can be followed by 'n 'I' (9.5).

- (3) *gan-ní-n-bu'a*
 down fc I descend I am going down.
 = *ní-n-gab-bú'a*
 fc I down "

Ní acts as a verb focus marker, and may add a modal force to the sentence, indicating that the speaker does not want to be precise about the action. Thus, the neutral answer to,

- (4a) *eesá deema*
 where go imp Where is he going?

is

- (4b) *magaláa deema* He is going to the market.

3.2.1 Non-negative verb

(24)	Sg			Pl		
1	<i>deem-e</i>	<i>deem-a</i>	<i>deem-u</i>	<i>deem-n-e</i>	<i>deem-n-a</i>	<i>deem-n-u</i>
2	<i>deem-t-e</i>	<i>deem-t-a</i>	<i>deem-t-u</i>		<i>deem-t-ani</i>	
3 m	<i>deem-e</i>	<i>deem-a</i>	<i>deem-u</i>		<i>deem-ani</i>	
f	<i>deem-t-e</i>	<i>deem-t-i</i>	<i>deem-t-u</i>			
1	<i>bitadd'-e</i>	<i>bitadd'-a</i>	<i>bitadd'u</i>	<i>bitan-n-e</i>	<i>bitan-n-a</i>	<i>bitan-n-u</i>
2	<i>bitat-t-e</i>	<i>bitat-t-a</i>	<i>bitat-t-u</i>		<i>bitat-t-ani</i>	
3 m	<i>bitat-e</i>	<i>bitat-a</i>	<i>bitat-u</i>		<i>bitat-ani</i>	
f	<i>bitat-t-e</i>	<i>bitat-t-i</i>	<i>bitat-t-u</i>			

A very few verbs have no past tense forms, though two of these are quite common, *k'ab* 'have' and *jir* 'exist'.

In this book I identify verbs in their citation form by their root alone, without any tense-mode suffixes.⁵

3.2.2 Negative verb. The negative is formed by prefixing *hin* with a high tone on the first syllable of the root. In the past the negative invariably has the form of the first person plural, past tense; in the imperfect (dependent and independent undifferentiated) it is marked by the dependent suffix *-u*, along with the person suffixes, except in the 2, 3 plural, where again the suffix *-ani* is invariable.

(25) Past	<i>hin-déem-n-e</i>	I/you/he/she/we/you pl/they didn't go.
	neg go pst	
	<i>him-bítan-n-e</i>	
	neg buy pst	I (etc.) didn't buy.

(26) Imperfect

	Sg	Pl
1	<i>hin-déem-u</i>	<i>hin-déem-n-u</i>
2	<i>hin-déem-t-u</i>	<i>hin-déem-t-ani</i>
3m	<i>hin-déem-u</i>	<i>hin-déem-ani</i>
f	<i>hin-déem-t-u</i>	

Hin- is generally elided to *-n* after a vowel.

(27)	<i>inníi</i>	<i>n-déem-u</i>		
	he	neg go dep		He is not going.
	<i>inníi isá</i>	<i>n-árki-n-e</i>		
	he	him neg see	pst	He didn't see him.

Hin- does not occur with the focus marker *ní* and always follows the pre-verbs *gadi* and *oli*. The negative tenses

Chapter 5 The Noun Phrase

In this chapter I will describe what items occur in the noun phrase, their sequence, agreement and inflectional classes. I will describe a number of noun phrase elements in more detail elsewhere -- possessives are discussed in 6.4.1 with case, relative clauses in 7.1 and derivational suffixes in chapter 16.

As I mentioned, I use 'nominal' to refer to non-phrasal NP elements, nouns being a sub-class of these.

5.1 General structure

The general noun phrase structure can be given as follows locating each item in its usual sequential position.

- (1) Noun Adj Pssr $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{relative} \\ \text{numeral} \\ \textit{tami/xami} \\ \textit{xam-burá} \end{array} \right\} \text{demonstrative} \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \textit{k'ó'fáá} & \text{only} \\ \textit{c'ú'fá} & \text{all} \end{array} \right\}$
- (2) *inníi makiiná xiyya sún gurgure*
 he car my that sold
 He sold that car of mine.
 isíi-n nama xan béét-t-u sún arkite
 she nom person as know f dep that saw f
 She saw that person whom she knows.
 at biyya tám arkite
 you country which saw Which country did you see?
 niítii-n magaláa xéesá meesháa náa-ʃ gurgur-t-e
 woman nom market inside things me dat sold f
 The woman inside the market sold goods for me.
 inníi loon shán xana c'ú'fá bite
 he cattle 5 these all bought
 He bought all five head of these cattle.

The sequence given here was deduced by testing words pairwise. I have no examples of more than four modifiers occurring with a noun. For the words in a column, any word can precede the other (except that numeral and *xam-burá* precede *tami* 'which').

- (3) *nama sedí' xan d'ú'fé arke*
 people three as came saw
 He saw the three men who came
 = *nama xan d'ú'fé sedí' arke*

K'óǵáa 'only', and *c'úǵá* 'all' do not co-occur, but all the rest do.

Xan-burá (/xamburá/) 'other' (f. *tam-burá*) derives from the associative marker, *xani* + *bírá* 'next to, near' (6.7) though it has virtually undergone lexicalization, with the nasal assimilated to /m/ and the vowel changed to /u/.

5.2 Inflections

Inflectional properties which apply to nominals are as follows. Case (absolutive/nominative): noun adjective, demonstrative, person pronouns (5.3.1 and chapter 6); number (singular plural): noun, adjective; gender (masculine/feminine) noun, adjective, *xámí/xámí* 'which', demonstrative, associative marker (5.3.3, 5.7).

These are discussed in more detail in the following sections and chapters.

5.3 Agreement (cf. chapter 12)

5.3.1 Case. Noun and adjective agree with each other in nominative and absolutive case (6.1, 6.2).

- (4) *nam-níi gaaríi-n ní-d'ufe*
 men nom good nom fc came Good men came.
namá gaaríi arke
 men good saw He saw good men.

The absolutive is unmarked segmentally in nouns and adjectives.

In addition, the demonstrative has the following nominative and absolutive forms.

- | | | |
|------------|------------------|-------------|
| (5) | Near | Far |
| Nominative | <i>xuni/tuni</i> | <i>suní</i> |
| Absolutive | <i>xana/tana</i> | <i>sana</i> |

For the far demonstrative, however, *suní* and *sana* seem to be interchangeable, with *suní* predominating (in Kenyan Oromo dialects only *suní* exists).

5.3.2 Number (5.6). The noun and adjective agree in number, where plurality in the noun is shown by suffix and in the adjective by reduplication and/or suffixation.

- (6a) *obbolesa gaarii*
 brother good A good brother.
 (6b) *obboleey-i gag-gaarii*
 brother pl re good Good brothers.

Number agreement is not followed very strictly in this dialect however (cf. Andrzejewski, 1960 for similar situation in Booran Oromo), and if it is clear that the noun is plural singular forms can be used.

(6c) *obbolesa gaarii sedi'*
 brother good three three good brothers.

5.3.3 (also, 5.7). Nouns are masculine or feminine (though cf. discussion in 16.1 -16.3 on noun root classification), *intala* 'girl f', *nama* 'man, person, m'. Gender in adjectives is discussed in 5.7.1. Near demonstratives, the anaphoric demonstrative, the associative marker, 'which', first and second person possessor pronouns (6.4.1.1) and, for the sake of completeness, the negative equative marker, (4.6.1) show gender in the alternation *t-* 'feminine', *x-* 'masculine' (*-h-* in the case of the negative marker).

(7)	Feminine	Masculine	
Demonstrative	<i>tana</i>	<i>xana</i>	this, absolutive
	<i>tuni</i>	<i>xuni</i>	nominative
	<i>táání</i>	<i>xáání</i>	anaphoric
Which?	<i>támí</i>	<i>xámí</i>	
Associative	<i>ta(ni)</i>	<i>xa(ni)</i>	
Possessive	<i>tiyya</i>	<i>xiyya</i>	my
	<i>te</i>	<i>xe</i>	your sg
	<i>tennya</i>	<i>xennya</i>	our
	<i>teesani</i>	<i>xeesani</i>	your pl
Negative	<i>':-miti</i>	<i>':-mihi</i>	

(8) *intal-tíi tám tan d'úf-t-e bareed-dúu-miti*
 girl nom which as come f pst pretty f neg

Which girl which came is not pretty?

gurbáa-n xiyya xan d'úfe xún jabáa-mihi
 boy nom my as came this strong neg

This boy of mine who came is not strong.

The associative marker has alternate forms without the final *-ní*.

In the following sections I will comment on the NP elements in more detail.

5.4 Self-standing modifiers

The following modifiers can occur without a head noun:

5.6.2 Nouns. Noun plurals are quite rare. Most nouns lack them altogether. Human nouns are the most likely to have them, though even where they exist they are not always used (5.3.2). The two most common given are -óotá and -ání.

- (32) *hiriyá* age mate *hiriy-óotá*
xeesúmmáa guest *xeesumm-óotá*
k'óttúu farmer *k'ot-óotá*³
lóltúu fighter *lolt-óotá*
boollá hole *booll-ání*
haad'á mother *haad'-ání*, *haad'-aw-ání*

Also, *abbáa* father *ab-óotii* was given.

These may be added to noun roots, as in the above examples or may combine with a stem alternate, nouns ending in -s in particular having a variant with -y.

- (33) *obbolesá* brother *obbole-yí*, *obbol-ey-ání*
binensá animal *bin-eyí*

There may be other plural suffixes -- '-llee' was one given, *jaalá* 'friend', *jaaláa-llee*, *magaláa-llee* 'markets'. In general, however, morphological plurals are perhaps even less used in Harar Oromo than in Booran (Andrzejewski, 1960).

A few nouns have suppletive plurals.

- (34) *níitii* woman *nadd'éení* or *nádd'óo*
gurbáa boy *intalá* girl *joollee* children

Finally, a class of uncountable nouns needs to be recognized. These do not take numeral modifiers. They have abstract or mass meanings; *bisháani* 'water', *arginsá* 'sight'

5.7 Gender

5.7.1 Adjectives. There are five classes of adjectives based on the form of their gender markers.

adíi white, *gaaríi* nice, good *ágóo* far, *d'ihóo* near,
t'aliláa pure (of water), *boorúu* dirty (of water) *k'ulk'úllúu*
 limpid, clear, *guutúu* full, *miskíiná* poor

5.7.1.2 Masculine -áa, feminine -óo

gúdd-áa/gúdd-óo big, *díkk'áa/díkk'óo* small, *d'ípp'áa/*
d'ípp'óo narrow, *gabbáabáa/-óo* short, *báll-áa/óo* wide,
bál'áa/óo blind, *fúrdáa/óo* fat, *k'al'-áa/óo* thin

5.7.1.3 In the final three classes, the feminine is marked by a *-t*.

Masculine *-áa*, feminine *-túu*
hám-áa/hám-túu bad, *jab-áa/jab-dúu* strong, *baréedáa/dúu*
 pretty, *ǰakkóot-áa/túu* ugly.

Any adjectives formed from the suffixes *-am* 'passive' (8.3.2, 16.4.2), *-at* (16.4.1/2) or *-aw* (16.4.1/2) take these suffixes. *k'ot-ám-áa/k'ot-ám-túu* cultivated, *had'-áw-áa/had'-áw-túu* bitter, *gabb-át-áa/gabb-át-túu* fat.

5.7.1.4 The next two classes have feminines in *-ttii*
 Masculine *-esá*. *dur-esá/dur-éettii* rich, *hiy-esá/hiy-éettii* poor.

5.7.1.5 Masculine *-ccá*.

gurráa-ccá/gurr-áattii black, *dullacca/dullaa-ttii* old

5.7.2 Nouns. Nouns have a less explicit gender system than adjectives.

5.7.2.1 A few nouns have m-f pairs with the suffixes *-esá/éettii* (5.7.1.4).

obbol-esá brother *obbol-éettii* sister
og-esá expert m *og-éettii* expert f

Also, there is,

jaar-sá husband *jaar-tii*⁴ wife

5.7.2.2 Some nouns, almost all relating to humans, are epicene (taking either m/f agreement depending on the referent). *hát-túu* thief, *daléd-dúu* worker, *tabát-túu* player, *namá* person, *wáaní* thing.⁵

5.7.2.3 Otherwise, nouns ending in long non-low vowels tend overwhelmingly to be feminine, those ending in short /a/ to be masculine and those in long /aa/ to be masculine, but not so consistently as short /a/.⁶

horíi wealth f, *maná* house m, *magaláa* market m

One finds consistent exceptions to this pattern only where the nouns are epicene (as in 5.7.2.2), or where the natural gender of the root referent overrides the phonologically-based gender cues. *haad'á* mother f despite short /a/, *axaaxúu* grandfather m despite long /uu/.

Chapter 6 Case and the Clause

Clause level functions are marked by different case forms. It is thus convenient to consider the structure of the clause together with the form and function of the various cases. In 6.1-6.10 of this chapter I will outline the different case forms and summarize the functions each takes. In 6.11 I will make a general summary of the clause-level constituents and their sequence.

Cases can be divided into two general classes on the basis of form. In the first (6.1, 6.2) the case is marked on nearly all words in the phrase; in the second (6.3 - 6.5) it is marked only phrase-finally. These will be referred to as word case and phrase final cases.

6.1 Absolutive

The absolutive case form can be considered identical to that of the nominal root (= root + formative vowel, cf. 1.4.2 chapter 16).

Absolutive pronouns are the following.

(1)	Sg	Pl
1	<i>na</i>	<i>nu</i>
2	<i>si</i>	<i>isini</i>
3 m	<i>isá</i>	<i>isáaní</i>
f	<i>isíi</i>	

The absolutive is the unmarked case form, occurring in a wide range of clause functions. In addition (except, in some cases, for certain pronouns) it serves as the base on which the phrase-final cases (and coordinate noun) are built (cf. 6.3 - 6.5, 11.1).

Case functions

6.1.1 Equative predicate (2.3.2, 4.6)

(2)	<i>inníi</i>	<i>angafa</i>	<i>xiyyáa-mihi</i>	
	he	elder	my neg	He is not my elder brother.
	<i>xun</i>	<i>bishaan</i>	<i>kursháashaa</i>	
	this	water	dirty	This is dirty water.
	<i>tun</i>	<i>hárrée-miti</i>		
	this	donkey	neg	This is not a donkey.

6.3 Phrase final cases

The remaining cases are phrase-final cases. They are all built on the segmental form of the absolutive, their formal distinguishing mark being a suffix added to the final word of the phrase. They can be divided into two classes according to the tone of the case-marking suffix: one class is marked by a high basic tone, the second by a low basic tone.

6.4 High basic tone

The high basic tone class can again be divided into two classes. The first, consisting of only the genitive case, requires that the head noun (possessed noun) have basic tone (2.3.1; except for short final vowels, cf. 2.5). The second requires basic tone only on the nominal the case is suffixed to.

6.4.1 Genitive

The genitive is formed, (1) by a high tone on the final vowel of the phrase, (2) a basic tone on the other nominals in the possessed and possessor phrases, except for those with final short vowel, which can be high or low, and (3) lack of a glottal closure on the final vowel of the possessor phrase when it occurs finally.

- | | | |
|-------|---|-------------------------|
| (20a) | <i>xun xa joollée</i>
this as children | This is the children's. |
| (20b) | <i>isáan jóollee'</i>
they children | They are children. |

The genitive (20a) lacks the glottal closure which otherwise characterizes the final vowels (1.1).

- | | | |
|-------|--|------------------------|
| (21a) | <i>xun xan namá suní-iti</i>
this as person that/gen ti | This is that person's. |
| (21b) | <i>xun xan nama súníiti</i> | " |

The short final vowel of *nama* can be either high (21a) or low (21b) when it occurs non-finally.

Other examples.

- | | | |
|------|--|-----------------------------------|
| (22) | <i>málláa-n joollée baréed-duu</i>
cheeks nom children pretty f | The children's cheeks are pretty. |
| | <i>kúrsii-n gammá bitáa jir-t-i</i>
chair nom side left exist f imp | |
| | The chair is on the left side. | |
| | <i>biq-níi sárée fakkóotaa</i>
color nom dog/gen ugly | The dog's color is ugly. |

the noun coordinator -fi (11.1).

- (118) *maná jáláa-fi dúubaa-fi dúrá jiran*
 house under and behind and front exist pl

They are under, behind and in front of the house.

When marked by nominative, instrumental and benefactive cases the postpositions give a more concrete, less localistic meaning. In (116), for example, *durríi* means specifically the 'front of the house', rather than 'a general area in front of the house'. However, I can see no criteria for putting *dúrá* into two different classes, say noun (eg. (116) and postposition (118)).

I can note that one postposition, *írrá*, has greatly expanded its semantic range from defining a spatial area, 'on' to having a function as comparative marker (14.2), source marker (6.5.1, though here only in dative form, which underscores its nominal origin), and mode marker (4.3).

6.10 Prepositions

Oromo does not have prepositions, though a few nominals (eg. *moggá/gammá* 'side, area', *toorá* 'about, approximately' (+ numeral) which can be analyzed as being of the N + genitive construction (6.4.1) look rather like prepositions. *Akka* 'as, like' (14.1) in particular never occurs without a possessor (object) (or clause complement, 7.2.2).

- (119) *akká isá c'ehe*
 as him/gen ran He ran as fast as him.
moggá/gammá xaráa suní jira
 side road that/gen exist He is on that side of the road

6.11 Word order in the clause.

Word order is quite free in the clause, with a few general and local restrictions. In fact, it is so free that I think one would have to use text counts to get a good idea of sequence. Lacking these, my remarks on sequence will be perfunctory, limited to three observations.

First, Oromo is a strict verb-final language. The verb may be followed by one constituent, though a post-posed constituent is marked by a distinctive intonation -- there is a pause after the verb, and a distinct lowering of pitch on the post-verb constituent.

- (120) *d'úf'é, inníi*
 came he He came.
ní-m-beexa, akka inníi behe
 fc I know that he left I know, that he left.

Secondly, the pre-verb position seems to be the unmarked one for introducing new information. Thus, the unmarked position for question words is pre-verb (10.3).

- (121) *isíi-n na yóom arki-t-e*
 she nom me when see f pst When did she see me?

Finally, from direct questioning the following unmarked sequence of clause level elements emerged.

- (122) nom subject point frequency duration locative cs object
 time

inst dative direct/locative obj manner adv verb

Local restrictions on this sequence are noted at various points in the study.

Chapter 9 Pronouns

In this chapter I will be concerned with reflexives, reciprocals, indefinite pronouns, and pro reference within sentences. Pronoun paradigms are given in chapter 6 where they are summarized with the case forms they realize -- nominative, absolutive and possessive (6.1, 6.2, 6.4.1); the use of noun modifiers as pro forms is discussed in 5.4, and the expression of subject in verb paradigms in 3.2.

9.1 Reflexive

The reflexive pronoun is *ifí*. It occurs in the following functions.

Direct object.

- (1) *inní if d'owe* He hit himself.
he self hit
isí-túu if d'áite
she eph self kicked It was she who kicked herself.

Causative object.

- (2) *inní if maná gar-siise*
he self house see cs He showed himself the house.

Dative

- (3) *xennáa ifíi-f xanne*
present self-dat gave He gave himself a present.
ifíi-f taa'a
self-dat sits He sits by himself.
ifíi-f d'uŋe
came He came by himself (without anyone asking him to).

Instrumental

- (4) *ifíi-n d'uŋe*
self-inst came He came by himself (alone).

Object of postposition

- (5) *xennáa if írrá-a argate*
present self from dat got He got a present from himself.

Possessor

- (6) *wáan ifí haasawan*
thing self/gen spoke pl They spoke about themselves.
súurá ifí namaa-f hin-xánnu
picture self/gen person-dat neg give

I don't give a picture of myself to anyone.

All of these are of the reflexive in independent clauses. It equally occurs in dependent clauses of all types.

Chapter 10 Questions

10.1 Yes-no

Yes-no questions occur only in main clauses.

10.1.1 Intonation. Yes-no questions can be formed by raising the last two or three syllables to high tone and lengthening the final vowel.

- (1) *dallayá utaal-t-ání* (*ée* , *lákki*)
 fence jump 2 pl yes , no

Did you (pl) jump the fence? (Yes/No.)

- húcc'úu ní bitáttáa*
 clothes fc buy 2 imp Are you going to buy clothes?

déemtée
 go 2 pst Did you go?

10.1.2 This form optionally can be followed by *re'* 'then'. *Re'* presupposes some prior knowledge of the situation on the part of the questioner, where with *re'* he asks for confirmation of the action.

- (2) *utaaltání re'*
 jump then So then did you (pl) jump?

isaa-n hin-háasaw-t-ání re'
 him inst neg converse 2 pl

So then you (pl) conversed with him?

Note that the answer *ée* 'yes' confirms a positive or a negative question (i.e. makes the answer to a negative question negative). *lákki* 'no' negates a positive question. It either negates or answers a negative question affirmatively.

- (3a) *isá hin-gártúu* *ée*
 him neg see You won't see him? yes (i.e. I won't)
lákki
 no (I will see him.)

sirbitání *lákki*
 dance Did you pl dance? no
ée
 yes

hin-d'úftání re'
 neg So then you won't come?
lákki, hin-d'úf-n-u
 no neg come we-dep No, we won't come.
lákki, ní d'uf-n-a
 no come-we imp No, we will come.
ée
 yes (we won't)

10.1.3 Tag. *'-miti* , the negative equative morpheme (4.6.1) is suffixed at the end of the verb. In general, a positive verb assumes a 'yes' answer and a negative one a 'no'. My informant allowed both *-miti* 'f', and *-mihí* 'm' interchangeably in all contexts, though preferred *-miti* .

- (4) *inníi hin-d'úúumiti*
 he neg come tag He's not coming, is he?
ní d'ufaníimiti
 fc come pl tag They're coming, aren't they?
ƒoddá bantíimiti
 window open f tag She will open the window, won't she?

10.2 Question words

éenyúu who, *máalí* what, *xámí/támí* which, *meeek'á* how many, many, *máalíƒí/máaƒí* why, *yóom* when, *hoggámá* what time, *akkám/akkámít* how, what way, *eesá* where, (*eesa-a* where-dat, *eesaa-hii* where-src , *eesa rra-a* where from-dat, from where), *xan éenyúutí* whose (associative marker + *éenyúu*).

- (5) *meeek'á gar-t-e*
 how many see 2 pst How many did you see?
namá meeek'á garte
 people How many people did you see?
eesá deemte
 where went Where did you go?
eesá-a d'ufe
 where-dat come Where did he come from?
tab-níi yóom
 game-nom when When is the game?
xun xa éenyuutí
 this as whose Whose is this?
inníi eesá gubbáa jira
 he where top exist What (where) is he on top of?
at xaléesá éenyuu-n ás d'ufte
 you yesterday who inst here came
 Who did you bring yesterday?
isáan akkám
 they how What are they like?
máal-túu tehe
 what eph happened What happened.
máalíƒ ás oolan
 why here stay pl Why are they staying here?

Chapter 12 Agreement

In this chapter I summarize agreement, which has been touched on in various other chapters (especially 5.3). The agreement categories are number (singular/plural), gender (masculine/feminine), case (absolutive/nominative) and person. (1, 2, 3).

	number	gender	case	person
subject-verb	+	+		+
subject-equative	+	+		
noun-adjective	+	+	+	
noun-near dem		+	+	
noun-far dem			(+)	
noun-anaphoric dem		+		
relational morpheme		+		
'which'		+		

12.1 Subject-predicate

Subject-verb and subject-equative predicates agree in number and gender, when the subject is nominative, and the verb agrees in person with the subject as well.

- (1) *isíin hárrée* It f. is a donkey.
inníi bíshaan It m. is water.
intal-tíi baréed-duu
 girl f/nom pretty f The girl is pretty.
gurbáan jábaa The boy is strong.
isáan jaj-jábaa (or *jabáa*)
 they re -strong They are coming.
inníi ní d'uŋa He is coming.
isíin ní d'uŋ-t-i
 she come-f-imp She is coming.
isáan ní d'uŋ-an They are coming.

For the subject-equative agreement, if the equative is a noun, agreement is generally covert since in most cases gender and number are not marked overtly in the noun (5.7.2) and chapter 16).

If the emphatic subject is used (6.4.2.1) the verb is invariable 3 m sg in form, though equative predicates still agree in number and gender with the subject.

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