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Omotic Livestock Terminology and Its Implications for the History of Afroasiatic

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1. Introduction

The Omotic languages were the last branch of Afroasiatic to be formally recognised as distinct, and even today, some researchers would like to see them re-united with Cushitic. Nonetheless, following Bender (1975) and Hayward (1990a), the acceptance of Omotic as coherent is the dominant paradigm. Bender (2000, 2003) has presented an overall picture of Omotic phonology, morphology and lexicon and collected together the majority of references as well as a variety of unpublished materials. The features of Omotic that continue to persuade authors such as Lamberti & Sottile (1997:19) it should be considered "West Cushitic" are thought by most researchers to be simply evidence of extensive long-term interactions between the two Afroasiatic branches.

One reason for perceiving Omotic as problematic is the absence of many common Afroasiatic lexemes as well as its atypical phonological and morphological features. Various explanations have been canvassed for this; extensive interaction with non-Afroasiatic languages, particularly Nilo-Saharan. Most likely, however, is that Omotic is simply older than the other branches of the phylum and this is in turn is because SW Ethiopia is the homeland of the phylum. If this is the case, then Omotic may well throw light on the primary expansion of Afroasiatic. Archaeology in this part of Ethiopia is too weak to advance any clear correlations, but it is possible to examine the Afroasiatic languages for possible reconstructions that may point to the lifeways of early speakers (Blench 2006).

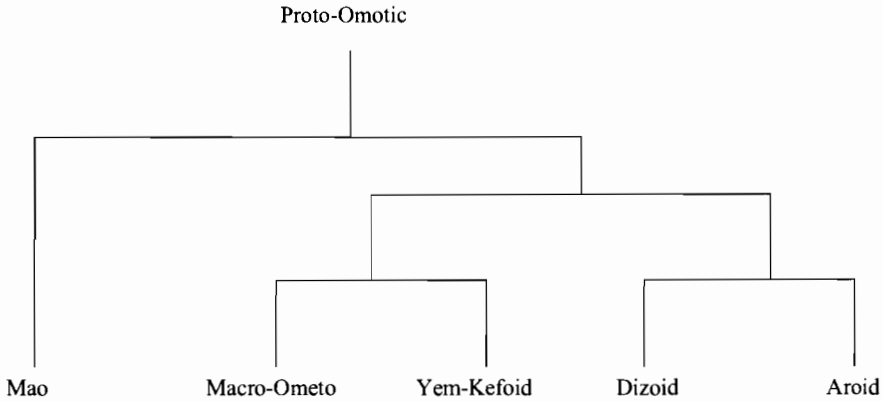
One of the key areas of the Afroasiatic lexicon is livestock. Afroasiatic languages have numerous terms for livestock and some, like the proto-form for "cow", #*ʰa*, are so widespread within the phylum as to suggest domestic animals played an important role in its expansion. This paper considers the terminology for the main species of livestock kept by the Omotic peoples and the conclusions that may be drawn about its significance for the subsistence patterns of speakers of proto-Omotiic. The domestic cat and poultry are omitted here, as they are historically recent. Bender (1988) has proposed some proto-Omotiic forms for livestock terms and these are noted in the datasheets. What limited data exists on Ongota, an unclassified Afroasiatic language in the Omotic-speaking area (Fleming 2006), is cited in case this sheds some light on its historical affiliations.

The existing literature on Omotic usually attributes to it a relatively simple internal structure, dividing into Northern and Southern, with the exact configuration of Northern Omotic left unclarified. Undoubtedly South Omotic looks very different from most of the Northern languages, both lexically and morphologically. However, Bender (2003) has recently argued for a quite different internal structure for Omotic, shown in Figure 1.

The robusticity of this model has not been challenged in print, so it is difficult to know whether it will survive. Even Bender (2003:xii) speculates on models which might exclude some branches of Omotic from the family altogether. Data on many Omotic languages is very sketchy and it may be with the recent increase in available materials a new structure will be canvassed.

The data tables given below follow a standard layout for Omotic languages. Data cited should be related to the sources list in Table 10 and abbreviations (also given there) allow the differentiation between individual authors. In the fourth column, "base form or etymology", I have given comparisons with other Omotic or non-Omotiic languages. Only occasionally, when a word is transparently a loan from Amharic or Oromo, is it certainly attributed to the source language. "Base form" is a construct using a consonant formula; the # indicates that this is a likely common form but not a fully-worked out reconstruction. The data on Omotic is too scanty and imprecisely transcribed for this to be possible at present.

Figure 1. Structure of Omotic according to Bender (2003)



2. Camel

Camels occur in the desert regions of Africa from Senegambia to the Horn of Africa. The one-humped dromedary is originally an Asian domesticate (Epstein 1971), although wild camels were known in North Africa in the Pleistocene. Camels were re-introduced from Arabia in the Graeco-Roman period (Bulliet 1990) although occasional representations suggest that the camel was brought to Egypt as an exotic significantly earlier (Brewer et al. 1994:104). More problematic is the antiquity of the camel in the Horn of Africa. Archaeological finds of camel materials from this area are late (Marshall 2000). Esser & Esser (1982) and Banti (1993) have argued for direct domestication in the Horn of Africa, arising from translocated wild camels originating in the Arabian peninsula. Most Omotic peoples would experience the camel indirectly since most of them live at sufficiently high altitudes to exclude camels. table 1 shows the names for the camel in Omotic languages.

table 1. names of the camel in Omotic

| branch | language | attestation | base form or etymology |
|--------|---------------|----------------|------------------------|
| North | | | |
| Ometo | Wolaytta | gimále (RJH) | #g-m-l |
| | | gameela (L&S) | #g-m-l |
| North | Gamo | gameelá | #g-m-l |
| | | kameele (L&S) | #g-m-l |
| | Gofa | gamela (L&S) | #g-m-l |
| South | Zayse-Zergula | gáala | #g-l |
| | Koore | gáalo | #g-l |
| | C'ara | gimíl | #g-m-l |
| Yem | Yemsa | gaalà | #g-l |
| Kefoid | Kefa | gallō | #g-l |
| | Shinasha | kaambelà (La1) | #g-m-l |
| Dizoid | Sheko | gaale | #g-l |
| Aroid | Karo | gamála | #g-m-l |
| | Aari | gimal (L&S) | #g-m-l |

Commentary

All the Omotic terms appear to be direct or indirect borrowings from Arabic (جمل) "camel". The reduced root #g-l is probably borrowed into Omotic from Cushitic languages, as similar eroded forms exist in the Horn, e.g. Afar gala, Oromo gaala.

3. Horse

The history of the horse in sub-Saharan Africa remains poorly known, although it has been the subject of a number of studies (Epstein 1971; Blench 1993; Pezzoli 1995). The horse was domesticated somewhere on the steppes of Central Asia and spread through the Near East into Egypt with the Hyksos occupation of Egypt (ca. 1730-1570 BC) and along the North African coast shortly thereafter. The horse and mule are highly embedded in the culture of Ethiopia, but are nonetheless quite recent. Amharic *fārās*, is borrowed from Arabic *فرس*. The horse probably spread into Ethiopia from the Nile Confluence where the Dongolawi breed originated. Epstein (1971) observes that Ethiopian horses are so variable in conformation that it is likely there were multiple introductions from different geographical areas. table 2 shows the names for horse in the Omotic languages.

| family/branch | language | attestation | gloss | base form or etymology |
|---------------|---------------|--------------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| North | | | | |
| Omoto | Wolaytta | pará, par-ai | | <Arabic |
| | | gammá | mare | <Arabic |
| North | Gamo | pará | | <Arabic |
| | Gofa | faraa | | <Arabic |
| | Zala | faraa | | <Arabic |
| | Maale | páro pl. párátsi | | <Arabic |
| | Basketto | fārās | | <Amharic |
| South | Zayse-Zergula | ʔoolló | | cf. Omotic "donkey" |
| | | ʔínd(a)oollo | mare | cf. Omotic "donkey" |
| | Koore | paridze | | <Arabic |
| C'ara | C'ara | faraa | | <Arabic |
| | | farazā | mule | extended from "horse" |
| | | dirā (Ce38) | | ? |
| Gimira | Benc Non | par ³ | | <Arabic |
| Yem | Yemsa | faza ¹¹ | | <Arabic |
| | | ilmoole-fazà (La) | | <Arabic |
| Kefoid | Kefa | harashoo | | <Arabic |
| | Mocha | máço | | ?<Borana mocco, "male donkey" |
| | Shinasha | farshá | | <Arabic |
| | | bazrá | | <Amharic |
| | Anfillo | farsha | | <Amharic |
| Dizoid | Dizi | farasà | | <Amharic |
| Aroid | Karo | parda | | <Oromo farda |
| | Aari | fará | | <Arabic |

Commentary

Almost all the Omotic terms for "horse" seem to derive directly or indirectly from Arabic, probably via a complex network of borrowing that includes Amharic, Oromo and a variety of HEC languages. The C'ara form for "mule", *farazā*, may provide a clue to the voicing of C₃ as this looks like a compound formed from the basic term for 'horse' which would then be borrowed and shortened in various languages.

4. Donkey

The wild ass, *Equus asinus africanus*, is indigenous to the African continent and formerly a chain of races or subspecies spread from the Atlas mountains eastwards to Nubia, down the Red Sea and

probably as far as the border of present-day Northern Kenya (Kingdon 1997). Blench (2000a) has reviewed the evidence for the history of the donkey in Africa. Recent work on donkey mtDNA has shown that the wild ass was domesticated at least twice, some 5-7000 years ago (Beja-Pereira *et al.* 2004). War and civil insecurity in the Horn of Africa has probably impacted heavily on the remaining wild asses and only the Eritrean population is known to have survived.

Substantive archaeological data remains sparse, but the domestic donkey is well documented in Egyptian wall-paintings and other iconography. Donkeys can only be distinguished from wild asses if they are shown in use; not all representations are evidence of domestication but only of their presence. Osteological records of domestic donkeys begin in Egypt in the 4th millennium BC from the site of Maadi (Midant-Reynes 1992) and there are clear representations of working donkeys by the middle of the next millennium (Epstein 1971:392; Brewer *et al.* 1994:99). Under the Pharaoh Pepi II (ca. 2270 BC) trading expeditions to Punt (Ethiopia) consisted of caravans with pack donkeys (Kitchen 1993). Wild asses are represented in rock-art by a few scattered petroglyphs in the Saharan Atlas and the Mathendous (Southern Libya), but the donkey is remarkable chiefly for its absence. There appear to be no representations of asses or donkeys in the Horn of Africa (Phillipson 1993:350). Marshall (2000) gives evidence for domestic donkeys near the Nile confluence as early as the fourth millennium BP.

Bender (1988) proposed a reconstruction for donkey in proto-Omotic and Blench (2000) an Africa-wide study. table 3 shows the names for donkey in the Omotic languages.

| table 3. names for donkey in Omotic | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| branch | language | attestation | base form or etymology | |
| North | | | | |
| Omoto | Wolaytta | har-é | | <Oromo |
| North | Gamo | haré | | <Oromo |
| | Gofa | haare | | <Oromo |
| | Melo | hári | | <Oromo |
| | Kullo-Konta | harró | | <Oromo |
| | | hariya (Alemayehu 2002) | | |
| | Dorze | hare | | <Oromo |
| | Oyda | harre | | <Oromo |
| | Basketto | yera | | ? |
| | Maale | harró | | <Oromo |
| South | Zayse-Zergula | haré | | <Oromo |
| | Koore | hárré | | <Oromo |
| | Haruro | harre | | <Oromo |
| | Gats'amé | ?arrə | | <Oromo |
| | Ganjule | harrə | | <Oromo |
| C'ara | C'ara | kuraa | | #k-r- |
| Gimira | Benc Non | kur ²⁻³ | | #k-r- |
| | She | kur | | #k-r- |
| Yem | Yem | anya ¹² | | ? |
| Kefoid | Kefa | kuuroo | | #k-r- |
| | Mocha | kúro | | #k-r- |
| | Shinasha | daazà (La) | | ?unless <Agaw |
| | Anfillo | kuro | | #k-r- |
| Dizoid | Dizi | kululu | | #k-r- |
| | Nayi | kura | | #k-r- |
| | Sheko | kurá | | #k-r- |
| Mao | Mao Bambeshi | ʃindərə | | <Berta |
| | Hozo | kuuri | | #k-r- |
| | Sezo | huuldi | | ?#k-r- |
| | Ganza | haridi | | <Oromo |
| Aroid | Hamer | ukli | | ?#k-r- |
| | Karo | uk'ulí | | ?#k-r- |
| | Aari | aaarre | | <Oromo |
| | Dime | yere | | ? < Basketo |

| | | | |
|--------|--------|-------|--------|
| Ongota | Ongota | harre | <Oromo |
|--------|--------|-------|--------|

Commentary

The great majority of forms appear to be borrowed from Oromo harre, which could itself be connected with proto-Omotiic *kur- reconstructed by Bender (1988:152). There is some evidence for a long first vowel, for example, Hozo-Sezo, and the Dizi form might also reflect this. Hence *kuur- might be a better proto-form. Words with this general formula run through Cushitic and Chadic as well as Omotiic and also occur in Nilo-Saharan languages such as Kanuri suggesting that it was carried across Central Africa as part of the westward expansion of Cushitic. table 4 shows a sample distribution of the Africa-wide #k-r root for donkey outside Omotiic;

table 4. the Africa-wide distribution of the #k-r root for donkey

| phylum | family | branch | language | attestation | |
|-------------|--------------|--------------------|----------|---------------------|--------|
| Afroasiatic | Cushitic | Eastern | Borana | bukura ^o | |
| | | | Saho | okáalo | |
| | | Chadic | West | Karekare | kóoróo |
| | Nilo-Saharan | C. Sudanic Saharan | Central | Vulum | kùré |
| | | | Masa | Peve | koro |
| | | | East | Nancere | kurá |
| Sara | | | Mbay | kòro | |
| Kanuri | | | Kanuri | kóro | |

^oyoung donkey

The Shinasha form daazà is exceptional and its origin is unclear unless it is related the Agaw forms, for example Kemant dəy^wära. Basketto and Dime #y-r- and Yemsa aṗa have no obvious etymologies.

5. Cattle

African cattle can be divided into two broad types; humpless taurines and humped or zeboid cattle. Taurines were the primary subspecies to reach sub-Saharan Africa from Northeast Africa (Blench 1993). Subsequently, humped zebu cattle were brought from India via the Horn of Africa more than 3000 years ago and either replaced or crossed with indigenous African cattle. Reviews of the archaeozoology of East African cattle can be found in Marshall (2000) Broadly speaking, taurine cattle began to cross the Sahara some 7000 years ago, penetrating both East and West Africa around 4000 BP (Blench 2006:258).

Most Ethiopia cattle are fairly standard zeboid types, originating from India although it is clear that these must have replaced the existing taurines. but the Omotiic area retains some archaic survivals from the taurines epoch. Among the Sheko people there are two subspecies of humpless cattle, small shorthorns resembling the West African muturu and a larger, wide-horned type that seems to resemble the kuri cattle.

table 5 shows the names for cattle in the Omotiic languages.

table 5. names for cattle in Omotiic

| branch | language | attestation | gloss | base form or etymology |
|-------------|----------|-------------|--------|--------------------------|
| North Omoto | Wolaytta | miiza | | #m-z- |
| | | méha | cattle | #m-h- |
| | | bóora | ox | <Gurage bora (plough-ox) |
| North | Gamo | míizi | | #m-z- |
| | | méhe | cattle | #m-h- |
| | | bóora | bull | <Gurage bora (plough-ox) |

table 5. names for cattle in Omotic

| branch | language | attestation | gloss | base form or etymology |
|--------|---------------|---------------------|----------------|---|
| | | mára | calf | ?unless cognate with mal roots (see below) |
| | Gofa | mizaa | | #m-z- |
| | | guossoo | | ? |
| | Melo | hár, hɔ':ri | | ? |
| | Zala | mizaa | ox | #m-z- |
| | Kullo-Konta | miza | | #m-z- |
| | Oyda | (h)arr | | cf. Dasanec <i>ar</i> (bull) |
| | Basketto | mizaanay | | #m-z- |
| | | meh | cattle | #m-h- |
| | | wuda | cattle | ? |
| | | mizoo | ox | #m-z- |
| | Doko | oka | | cf. Dullay okatté (heifer) |
| | Maale | bàyi | cattle | ? |
| | | k'ólmo | cattle | ? <Oromo (domestic animal) |
| | | lánga pl. langó | calf | ? |
| | | gémay | bull | ? |
| | | ziya pl. ziyó | bull | #zia |
| | | naáró | calf | ? |
| | Zala | mizaa | | #m-z- |
| | | booraa | ox | <Gurage bora "plough-ox" |
| South | Zayse-Zergula | miis | | #m-z- |
| | | gayddé | cattle | ? |
| | | (saabbá) maydo | bull | ? |
| | | sánga | ox | <Oromo sangaa |
| | | galó | calf | cf. Bilin gar 'calf' |
| | | ʔokká | calf | cf. Dullay okatté (heifer) |
| | Koore | míisse | | #m-z- |
| | | máale | | cf. Somali maal "milking livestock", also Bilin mal |
| | | kéymo | cattle | cf. proto-Agaw *kəm "cattle" |
| | | máydo | bull | ? |
| | | misaa | sterile female | #m-z- |
| | | sánga | ox | <Oromo sangaa |
| | | minayfi | calf | #m-z- |
| | Gats'amé | miis | | #m-z- |
| | Ganjule | miis | | #m-z- |
| C'ara | C'ara | məsina-meea | | |
| | | múndi | cattle | #m-(z)- |
| | | mii-maa | <i>vacca</i> | #m-(z)- |
| | | miyaa | <i>vacca</i> | #m-(z)- |
| | | bíira | work-bull | ?<Agaw bira (plough-ox) |
| Gimira | Benc Non | mit ¹ | | #m-(z)- |
| | | dyant ⁴ | cattle | ? |
| | | mant ¹ | bull | ? |
| | | mar ² | calf | cf. Arbore máar (calf) |
| | She | kás | | ? |
| Yem | Yemsa | miya ¹¹ | | #m-(z)- |
| | | omoru ¹² | bull | ? |
| | | gačwa ¹¹ | ox | ? |
| | | ank'alà (La) | not yet calved | ? cf. Bilin ʔalála (heifer) |
| | | masiinà | barren | |
| Kefoid | Kefa | miimoo | | #m-(z)- |

table 5. names for cattle in Omotic

| branch | language | attestation | gloss | base form or etymology |
|--------|-----------------|---------------------|---------|------------------------|
| | Mocha | mimí | | #m-(z)- |
| | | mamó | calf | #m-(z)- |
| | Boro | minjoo | | #m-(z)- |
| | | miižà (La) | | #m-(z)- |
| | | gizzà (La) | cattle | #g-z- |
| | | maseenà (La) | barren | |
| | | shuura'i (La) | barren | ? |
| | Anfillo | mindzo | | #m-(z)- |
| Dizoid | Dizi | ɔɔyte | | #o-t- |
| | Nayi | oti | | #o-t- |
| | | zyég ^w ù | steer | ? |
| | | or däd | calf | ? |
| | Sheko | óti | | #o-t- |
| Mao | Mao of Bambeshi | ime | | #m-(z)- |
| | Mao of Begi | iini? | | transcription error? |
| | Hozo | imi | | #m-(z)- |
| | | gitza | cattle | #g-z- |
| | Sezo | imi | | #m-(z)- |
| | | gizzi | cattle | #g-z- |
| | Ganza | imi, 'emi | | #m-(z)- |
| Aroid | Hamer | waja | cattle | #wVVgV(n) |
| | | bu' | bull | ? |
| | | ɔɔɔ | calf | ? |
| | Karo | wangá | cattle | #wVVgV(n) |
| | | waaki zia | bull | #wVVgV(n) + #zia |
| | | waaki me | cow | #wVVgV(n) |
| | | búu | ox | ? |
| | | k'atáb | heifer | ? |
| | | ootó | calf | #o-t- |
| | Aari | waakí | generic | #wVVgV(n) |
| | | zia | bull | #zia |
| | | sangá | ox | <Oromo sangaa |
| | | ?ootá | calf | #o-t- |
| | Galila | zic | bull | #zia |
| | Dime | woyen | generic | #wVVgV(n) |
| | | oota | calf | #o-t- |
| | | ziitu | bull | #zia |
| Ongota | Ongota | oota | calf | < S. Omotic? |
| | | horonko | bull | ? |
| | | muumi | bull | < Tsamay? |
| | | ra'asa | ox | ? |

Commentary

Cattle terminology is complex and ramified in Omotic as in all Ethiopian languages and many terms seem to have no obvious cognates, probably because the recording of vocabulary in different Omotic languages is so uneven. For those with no external parallel, I have simply put ?.

- #g-z-. A suppletive plural for "cattle" in Mao and Kefoid.

- #m-(z)-. A diagnostic root for North Omotic except Dizoid (cited by Bender 1988:148 as *mi-). This root may have originally applied to "buffalo" since the names in many Omotic languages are suspiciously similar (Bedner 2003:301). The Northern languages seem to have a clear C₂ with a fricative, usually z/dz but surfacing as -s- in South Omoto. In a number of languages, especially Mao, C₂ is either absent or replaced by a different syllable. Hence I have surrounded the -z- of the proto-form with brackets to indicate this variable presence. It may be the original root was #mii and the -zV

affix is related to the #zia forms for "bull" scattered across Omotic. This root seems very distinctive for Omotic and no cognates in Cushitic or Semitic are apparent.

- #o-t-. This root (probably applied specifically to "calf") is absent in all Northern languages but is scattered across Aroid and Dizoid is also borrowed into Ongota and, more surprisingly, shows up in Elmolo 'óte pl. 'óot.

- #wVVkV(n). A diagnostic root for Aroid. Perhaps the original root is something like waak, as it appears in Yaaku wáá(t) pl. wáá', and then different compounds were created to express different categories of cattle. Dime may well preserve something like the original form and versions of this such as Karo wangá incorporated the final nasal.

- #zia. Appears in Maale and Aroid and possibly as a common suffix compounded with #mii. A possible isogloss for North and South Omotic.

The scattered borrowing of Oromo sangaa, and Gurage bora, "ox", suggests the possibility that castration of livestock was introduced to the Omotic-speaking peoples from their non-Omotic neighbours.

6. Goat

The goat, *Capra hircus aegagrus*, evolved 7 million years ago, but was probably not domesticated until 10,000 years ago in the Mesolithic of the Ancient Near East (Mason 1984). Luikart et al. (2001) concluded that the variability of goat mtDNA implies substantial movement of goat races between continents in prehistory. Goats were certainly kept in Egypt after 5000 BC and presumably spread to sub-Saharan Africa shortly after that. Haua Fteah, Cyrenaica, in North Africa, has small ruminant bones dating from the 6800 BP with no associated cattle and Kadero, near Khartoum has both cattle and small ruminants at 6000 BP (Gautier 1981:336). The diversity of goats in Ethiopia illustrates the way goat races are constantly being brought in and exchanged between populations (FARM-Africa 1996). table 6 shows the names for goat in the Omotic languages.

table 6. names for goat in Omotic

| branch | language | attestation | gloss | base form or etymology |
|--------|---------------|--------------------|---------|------------------------|
| North | | | | |
| Ometo | Wolaytta | deeffjá | | #d-f- |
| | | ?orggé | he-goat | #?-r-g- |
| North | Gamo | deeffjé | | #d-f- |
| | Gofa | deefa | | #d-f- |
| | Melo | dɛff | | #d-f- |
| | Kullo-Konta | defa | | #d-f- |
| | Dorze | dɛff- | | #d-f- |
| | Dache | dɛff- | | #d-f- |
| | Basketo | dayfa | | #d-f- |
| | | dorti | | |
| | Oyda | dɛf | | #d-f- |
| | Maale | wáari pl. wáaró | | |
| | | koláyi pl. kolattó | he-goat | |
| | | deyzó | | #d-f- |
| | | ziyátsi | | |
| South | Zala | deefjaa | | #d-f- |
| | Zayse-Zergula | ts'eer-é | | |
| | | 'ts'ega | | |
| | | laak'k-á | kid | |
| | | ?óрге | he-goat | #?-r-g- |
| | Koore | deeffjé | | #d-f- |
| | | deggéle | he-goat | |
| | | ?orgé | he-goat | #?-r-g- |
| | Ganjule | dɛyf | | #d-f- |
| | C'ara | b(u)osā | | |

| | | | |
|--------|--------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | | deeʃee | #d-ʃ- |
| Gimira | Benc Non | gofá kets ³ | |
| Yem | Yemsa | tog fizo ¹² | |
| Kefoid | Kefa | noroo kormà castrate fèll | <Oromo? |
| | Mocha | nnero ámjfo | |
| | Shinasha | eyʃʃà (La) | |
| Dizoid | Anfillo | egicco | ?#g-k- |
| | Dizi | esku | |
| Mao | Mao Bambeshi | geek'o | #g-k- |
| | Hozo | ʃàak'ε | #ʃaak |
| | Sezo | ʃaa | #ʃaak |
| | Ganza | ʃak'ɪ saʔa | #ʃaak |
| Aroid | Hamer | kuli pl. k'ulla | |
| | Karo | k'olí | |
| | Aari | qolí dirti gek'u | #g-k- |
| | Galila | dir-, der- (B) | |
| | Dime | der- | |
| Ongota | Ongota | mááta dala orgai-ko | ? <Tsamay <Ometo cluster |

Commentary

Compared with cattle, terminology for goats is much more varied and there are no common roots that are really widespread in Omotic. This strongly suggests that goats were introduced after cattle, after the split-up of Omotic and from a variety of different directions and sources. The main base-forms are:

- #d-ʃ-. Present throughout Ometo but not elsewhere.
- #g-k-. Present in Aroid and Dizoid and perhaps in Kefoid, but not elsewhere.
- #ʃaak- appears to be proto-Mao and is probably diagnostic for the group. However, it bears a close resemblance to the widespread Cushitic names for "cattle", especially Ganza saʔa, and was probably a borrowing that came with the introduction of the goat.
- #ʔ-r-g- "he-goat". Characteristic of Ometo languages but also occurring in Cushitic, for example Arbore ʔorgí, Somali orgi. Perhaps sporadic borrowing to or from Omotic.

7. Sheep

All African sheep ultimately come from outside the continent and derive from two maternal lines (as defined by mtDNA) in Central Asia (Hiendleder et al. 1998). Hair sheep have a long and complex history in sub-Saharan Africa, where they first occur as domesticates in the eastern Sahara at 7000 BP and at Haua Fteah in North Africa at 6800 BP (Gautier 1981:336). Muzzolini (1990) reviewed the evidence for sheep in Saharan rock art and his revision of the chronology, placing the first appearance of sheep rather later, at 6000 BP, is generally accepted.

table 7 shows the names for sheep in the Omotic languages.

table 7. names for sheep in Omotic

| branch | language | attestation | gloss | base form or etymology |
|--------|---------------|----------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| North | | | | |
| Ometo | Wolaytta | dorssá | | #d-r-s- |
| | | mára | lamb | #m-r- |
| North | Gamo | dórse | | #d-r-s- |
| | | 'darfó | ram | #d-r-s- |
| | | dorsiyo | ewe | #d-r-s- |
| | | laak'á | lamb | |
| | Gofa | dorsaa | ewe | #d-r-s- |
| | Kullo-Konta | dorsa | | #d-r-s- |
| | Basketo | doori | | #d-r-s- |
| | Oyda | dorsa, duro | | #d-r-s- |
| | Maale | màràyi pl. màràttó | | #m-r- |
| | | mara?átsi | ram | #m-r- |
| | | mármáro | lamb | #m-r- |
| | Zala | dorsaa | ewe | #d-r-s- |
| South | Zayse-Zergula | doró | | #d-r-s- |
| | | góho | ram | |
| | | laa'k'ká | lamb | |
| | Koore | dóritte | | #d-r-s- |
| | | mará | ram | #m-r- |
| | | dóre | ewe | #d-r-s- |
| | | dorí na?e | lamb | #d-r-s- |
| | | ?áare | flock | |
| Gimira | Benc Non | dor ³ | | #d-r-s- |
| | | ?yag ³ n ³ | ram | |
| Yem | Yemsa | fantu ¹² | | |
| | | korbeessá | uncastrated | < Oromo |
| | | wagnaa | | |
| Kefoid | Mocha | gilgeli (La) | lamb | |
| | | bágo | | ?<Agaw languages, e.g. Kemant bāga |
| Dizoid | Boro | meréerà | | |
| | Dizi | zuni, zuṅu | | #z-ŋ- |
| | Nayi | z ^w uṅga | | #z-ŋ- |
| | Sheko | zunku | | #z-ŋ- |
| Aroid | Hamer | yati | | |
| | Karo | iyatí | | |
| | Aari | dertí | | also goat |
| | | marzá | ram | #m-r- |
| | | qolí | | also goat |
| | Dime | iino | | |
| Ongota | Ongota | hoona | | ?<Oromo hoolaa |

Commentary

Omoti terms for sheep are marginally less diverse than those for goats, but much the same pattern emerges; a common term in Ometo languages and otherwise a wide scatter of forms. One intriguing root, #m-r-, appears to be shared between North and South Omotic but otherwise, Aroid appears not to have a common term.

- #d-r-s-. The common Ometo base-form for 'sheep' also attested in Ghimira.
- #m-r- "ram". Scattered root with a consistent meaning; probably ancient. Also a root for "calf", e.g. in Gamo.
- #z-ŋ-. Common Dizoid.

8. Pig

The history of the domestic pig in Africa is highly controversial (Blench 2000). The pig was domesticated in the Near East around 9000 BP and also apparently independently in Asia at a similar date, as the ancestral wild forms are separated by more than half a million years (Giuffra et al. 2000). Crossbreeding European with Asian pigs in the nineteenth century has blurred the genetic picture and since both types were brought to Africa, the overall picture is very mixed. Pig populations were found from northwest Africa to the Nile Valley, down the Nile and into the Ethio-Sudan borderlands. table 8 shows the names for domestic pig in the Omotic languages; the data are relatively weak compared with other domestic species. Moreover, few of them are illuminating, since they appear to be taken over from names for the wild boar or warthog. However, they do not resemble either Cushitic or Semitic, supporting the notion that domestic pigs are relatively ancient with Omotic peoples.

table 8. names for domestic pig in Omotic

| branch | language | attestation | base form or etymology |
|--------|----------|------------------------|------------------------|
| North | | | |
| Ometo | Wolaytta | gudunta | |
| | Gamo | guddúntsi | |
| | Gofa | gudunta | |
| | Melo | k ^H ʊdɪnsʌ, | |
| | | guddiil:ə | |
| | Kullo | gudʉnθa | |
| | Dorze | guduns | |
| | Koore | gɪrme | #g-r-m |
| | Maale | gazi | |
| | Gimira | Benc Non | ʃʷob ^l |
| Yem | Yemsa | mukò (La) | |
| Kefoid | Kefa | gudinoo | also wild boar |
| | Mocha | gùdino | |
| | Shinasha | guriittsà (La) | |
| | Anfillo | guricco | |
| Mao | Hozo | kurumi | #g-r-m |
| | Sezo | kulumi | #g-r-m |
| | Ganza | kuze | |

Commentary

Most of the Omotic names for domestic pig are simply transferred from the warthog, or possibly other bushpigs and should therefore not be reconstructed to proto-Omotic. Bender (1988:151) cites #gaʃ as a root common to North and South Omotic, but this is almost certainly the warthog and not a domestic pig.

- #g-r-m. Shows up in Ometo and Mao and scattered elsewhere, for example Awngi gərmí.

9. Dog

The ancestry of the domestic dog remains uncertain and a number of canids may be implicated in present-day types (Clutton-Brock 1999). Genetic studies (Savolainen et al. 2002) place the origin of the dog in East Asia, deriving from the Chinese wolf, a view rather at odds with previous opinion, which focused on the Middle East. The dog is not native to Africa and was introduced at an unknown period in the past. According to Brewer et al. (1994: 114 ff.) dogs were known in pre-Dynastic Egypt (Merimde Beni Salame at 6800 BP) and Gallant (2002:51) dates the introduction and spread of the dog in Africa at 7000 BP.

Using linguistic evidence to uncover the diffusion of the domestic dog has a specific problem; a tendency for names for dog to be phonaesthetic (Sasse 1993). North Omotic terms, which suggest a

proto-form something like #kyan-, resemble Proto-Indo-European #kwon- and even Chinese quǎn. table 9 shows the names for dog in Omotic languages.

| table 9. names for dog in Omotic | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| branch | language | attestation | root or etymology |
| North | | | |
| Ometo | Wolaytta | kaná | #k-n- |
| North | Gamo | kaná | #k-n- |
| | Gofa | kana | #k-n- |
| | Melo | kána | #k-n- |
| | Kullo-Konta | kana | #k-n- |
| | Zala | kana | #k-n- |
| | Dorze/Dache | kana | #k-n- |
| | Haruro | kana | #k-n- |
| | Oyda | kana | #k-n- |
| | Basketto | kana | #k-n- |
| | Doko | kanaa | #k-n- |
| | Maale | káni | #k-n- |
| South | Zayse-Zergula | kaná | #k-n- |
| | Koore | kána | #k-n- |
| | Gats'amé | kana | #k-n- |
| | Harro | kaná | #k-n- |
| | Ganjule | kana | #k-n- |
| C'ara | C'ara | kana | #k-n- |
| Gimira | Benc Non | kYan ³ | #k-n- |
| | She | kian | #k-n- |
| Yem | Yemsa | kana ¹¹ | #k-n- |
| Kefoid | Kefa | kana | #k-n- |
| | | kunaanoo | #k-n-(n-) |
| | Mocha | ku'naano | #k-n-(n-) |
| | Shinasha | kana | #k-n- |
| | Anfillo | kano | #k-n- |
| Dizoid | Dizi | kiánú | #k-n- |
| | Nayi | keno | #k-n- |
| | Sheko | keanu | #k-n- |
| Mao | Mao Bambeshi | kaná (La) | #k-n- |
| | Hozo | wɪʃɪ | <Amharic |
| | Sezo | wɪʃɪ | <Amharic |
| | Ganza | kana | #k-n- |
| South (=Aroid) | Hamer | káski | #k-s-k |
| | Karo | k'ask'i | #k-s-k |
| | Aari | ʔáksi | #k-s-k |
| | Galila | akʃi | #k-s-k |
| | Dime | ken- | #k-n- |
| Ongota | Ongota | qáske | <Hamer? |

Commentary

There are two roots for "dog" in Omotic, #k-n- and #k-s-k-, in addition to borrowings from Amharic. Both of these appear to be confined to Omotic, although the #k-n- roots may be related to Cushitic #k-r-, for example Saho kare. The division between North and South Omotic is supported by the terms for "dog", although Dime has the #k-n- root. Bender (1988:145) reconstructs PO *kan, although the persistent presence of front vowels before the central vowel suggests *kyan-. It would also require the exceptional Dime form in Aroid not be a borrowing.

10. Conclusions

This study of livestock terminology in the Omotic languages of SW Ethiopia concludes that:

- a) There are no reconstructions for domestic animals in either North or South Omotic that can be convincingly linked to reconstructions in other branches of Afroasiatic with the exception of the term for "donkey". Even the occurrence of terms for "donkey" may be related to the presence of the wild ass in this region. Livestock keeping was thus introduced subsequent to the split of Omotic from the rest of the phylum.
- b) Archaeological dates for individual livestock species in the Horn of Africa are far from certain and we are often forced to gauge their antiquity from dated sites in Kenya and the Nile Basin. However, based on present materials the split of Omotic from Cushitic and its congeners cannot be less than 4000 years ago and is probably a good deal older.
- c) There are no certain reconstructions of domestic animal names shared between North and South Omotic, suggesting that livestock keeping was introduced after the split between these two branches.
- d) The Omoto languages have several marked isoglosses such as those for "goat", "sheep" etc. which suggest that the main ruminant species were adopted independently from other branches of Omotic.

The internal diversity of Omotic argues for a great antiquity of the family and it seems reasonable to suppose that its speakers were hunter-gatherers during the early period of their diversification and only later became livestock producers.

Appendix: Sources for data cited in the tables

Table 10 gives the primary source of data for the citations in the tables. I have pieced together a great deal of secondary information from cross-citations and Bender (2003) is useful for filling in gaps in the data for certain species.

Table 10. Sources for Citations of Names of Livestock Species

| branch | language | source(s) |
|-----------|------------------------|---|
| Ometo | | |
| North | Wolaytta | Hayward (p.c.), Lamberti & Sottile (1997) |
| | Gamo | Hayward (p.c.) |
| | Gofa | Cerulli (1929), Alemayehu (2002) |
| | Melo | Siebert & Caudwell (2002) |
| | Kullo-Konta | Alemayehu (2002) |
| | Zala | Cerulli (1929) |
| | Dorze | Alemayehu (2002) |
| | Oyda | Alemayehu (2001) |
| | Maale | Hayward (p.c.), Amzha Azeb (p.c.) |
| | Doko-Dollo | Conti Rossini (1927) |
| | Basketto | Cerulli (1938) |
| Southeast | Zayse-Zergula | Cerulli (1938), Hayward (1990, p.c.), Siebert & Hoefl (2001) |
| | Koore | Hayward (p.c.) cf. Cerulli (1929) (as Badittu) |
| | Gats'amé (=Kachama) | Brenzinger (1995), Siebert & Hoefl (2001) |
| | Harro | Brenzinger (1995) |

| | | |
|----------------|-----------------|--|
| | Ganjule | Brenzinger (1995), Siebert & Hoefft (2001) Cerulli (1938) (=Ce38), Yilma (2002) Wedekind (1990) Hayward (p.c.) |
| C'ara | C'ara | |
| Gimira | Benc Non | Yilma et al. (2002) |
| | She | Cerulli (1938), Wedekind (1990) |
| Yem | Yem | Lamberti (1993) (La) |
| | | Yilma, Siebert & Siebert (2002) |
| Kefoid | Kefa | Cerulli (1951), Habte & Habte (1989) |
| | Mocha | Leslau (1959) |
| | Boro = Shinasha | Lamberti (1993) (La) |
| | | Rottland (1990) |
| | Anfillo | Yigezu & Yehualashet (1995) |
| Dizoid | Dizi | Allan (1976) |
| | Sheko | Yilma, Siebert & Siebert (2002) |
| | Nayi | Conti Rossini (1925), Yilma (2001) |
| Mao | Mao Bambeshi | Siebert, Siebert & Wedekind (2002), Wedekind & Wedekind (2002) |
| | Hozo | Siebert, Wedekind & Wedekind (2002) |
| | Sezo | Siebert, Wedekind & Wedekind (2002) |
| | Ganza | Bender (2003) |
| South (=Aroid) | Hamer | Bender (1994) |
| | Karo =Kara | Hieda (1991) |
| | Aari | Hayward (1990, p.c.) |
| | Dime | Fleming (1990), Bender (1994), Siebert (2002) |
| Ongota | Ongota | Fleming (2006) |
| Non-Omotic | Agaw | Appleyard (2006) |
| | Oromo | Gragg (1982) |
| | Amharic | Leslau (1976) |

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