

Omotic livestock terminology and its implications for the history of Afroasiatic

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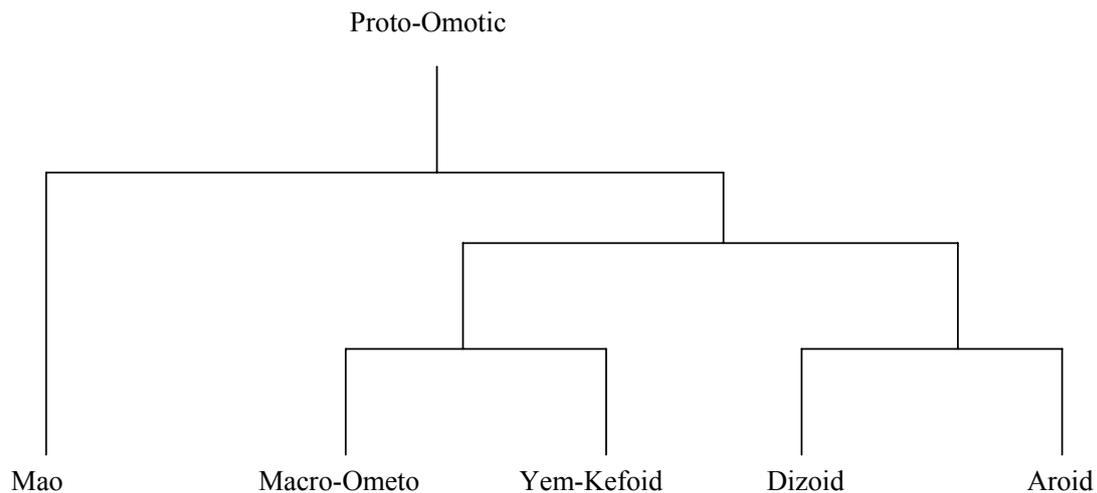
1. Introduction

The Omotic languages were the last branch of Afroasiatic to be formally recognised, and even today, some researchers would like to see them re-united with Cushitic. Nonetheless, following Bender (1975) and Hayward (1989), the acceptance of the distinctive nature of Omotic 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of Omotic phonology, morphology and lexicon and collected together the majority of references as well as a variety of unpublished materials.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 though by most researchers to be simply evidence of extensive long-term interactions between the two Afroasiatic branches.

One reason for perceiving Omotic as problematic was its lack of many common Afroasiatic lexemes as well as the absence of typical 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’, #1a, 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-Omotic. What limited data exists on the Ongota language (Fleming 2006), an unclassified Afroasiatic language in the Omotic-speaking area in case this might shed some light on its historical affiliations.

The existing literature on Omotic has usually attributed to it a relatively simply structure, dividing it into to 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;

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



The robusticity of this model has not been challenged in print, so it is difficult to know whether it will survive. Data on many Omotic languages is very sketchy and it may be with the recent increase in available data a new structure will be canvassed.

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; Wilson 1984), 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 in the Arabian peninsula. It seems likely that the experience of the camel most Omotic peoples was indirect 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 for Camel in Omotic

Family/ Branch	Language	Attestation	Base Form or Etymology if known
North Omoto	Wolaytta	gimále (RJH) gameela (L&S)	#g-m-l #g-m-l
North	Gamo	gameelá kameele (L&S)	#g-m-l #g-m-l
	Gofa	gamela (L&S)	#g-m-l
South	Zayse-Zergula	gáala	#g-l
	Koyra	gáalo	#g-l
	Chara	gimíl	#g-m-l
Janjero	Yemsa	gaalà	#g-l
Kefoid	Kefa	gallo (L&S)	#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

All the Omotic terms appear to be direct or indirect borrowings from Arabic (جمل) ‘camel’.

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 1993a; 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. By 1230 BC, horses were being captured by the Egyptians *from* the Libyans (i.e. Berbers) as war booty. The horse and mule are highly embedded in the culture of Ethiopia, but are nonetheless quite recent. Amharic *fārās*, ቢረከ, is borrowed from Arabic سرف. The horse probably spread 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.

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Table 2. Names for Horse in Omotic

Family/Branch	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Base Form or Etymology
I. OMOTIC				
North				
Omoto	Wolaytta	pará, par-ai gammá	mare	<Arabic <Arabic
North	Gamo Gofa Maale Zala	pará faraa pàró pl. párátsi faraa		<Arabic
South	Zayse-Zergula	ʔoolló ʔínd(a)oollo	mare	cf. Omotic ‘donkey’ cf. Omotic ‘donkey’
	Koyra Basketto	paridze fārās		<Arabic <Amharic
	Chara	faraa		<Arabic
Gimira	Benc Non	par ³		<Arabic
Janjero	Yemsa	faza ¹¹		<Arabic
		ilmoole-fazà (La)		<Arabic
Kefoid	Kefa Mocha	harashoo máço		<Oromo ? < Borana <i>mocco</i> , ‘male donkey’
	Shinasha	farshá bazrá		<Arabic <Amharic
	Anfillo	farsha		<Amharic
Dizoid	Dizi	farasà		<Amharic
Aroid	Karo Aari Dime	parda fará		<Arabic via Cushitic <Arabic

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/

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 (Haltenorth & Diller 1980:109). Blench (2000b) 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 1993a: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 (2000b) 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
	Kullo-Konta	harró	<Oromo
	Oyda	harre	<Oromo
	Basketto	yera	?
	Maale	harró	<Oromo
South	Zayse-Zergula	haré	<Oromo
	Koyra	hárré	<Oromo
	Haruro	harre	<Oromo
	Kachama	harre	<Oromo
	Ganjule	harre	<Oromo
	Chara	kuraa	#k-r-
Gimira	Benc Non	kur ²⁻³	#k-r-
	She	kur	#k-r-
Janjero	Yemsa	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	ʃindɔre	< Berta
	Hozo	kuuri	#k-r-
	Sezo	huuldi	? #k-r-
	Ganza	haridi	<Oromo
Aroid	Hamer	ukli	? #k-r-
	Karo	uk'ulí	? #k-r-
	Aari	áarre	<Oromo
	Dime	yere	? < Basketo
Ongota	Ongota	harre	<Oromo

The great majority of forms appear to be borrowed from Oromo *harre*, which could itself be connected with proto-Omotic *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 Omotic and its presence in Nilo-Saharan languages such as Kanuri suggests 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 Omotic;

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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
			Central	kùré
			Masa	koro
Nilo-Saharan	C. Sudanic Saharan	East	Nancere	kurá
		Sara	Mbay	kòro
			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 *aŋa* 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 1993a). 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:xx).

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 Omotic 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 Omotic languages.

Table 5. Names for Cattle in Omotic

Branch	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Base Form or Etymology
North				
Ometo	Wolaytta	miiza		#m-z-
		méha	cattle	#m-h-
North	Gamo	bóora	ox	< Gurage <i>bora</i> (plough-ox)
		míizi		#m-z-
		méhe	cattle	#m-h-
		bóora	bull	< Gurage <i>bora</i> (plough-ox)
		mára	calf	?
	Gofa	mizaa		#m-z-
		guossoo		?
	Zala	mizaa	ox	#m-z-
	Kullo-Konta	miza		#m-z-
	Oyda	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 <i>okatté</i> (heifer)	
Maale	bàyi	cattle	?	
	k'ólmo	cattle	? <Oromo (domestic animal)	
	lánga pl. langó	calf	?	
	gémay	bull	?	
	zíya pl. ziyó	bull	#zia	

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Branch	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Base Form or Etymology	
South	Zala	naáró	calf	?	
		mizaa		#m-z-	
	Zayse-Zergula	booraa	ox	< Gurage <i>bora</i> 'plough-ox'	
		miis		#m-z-	
		gayddé	cattle	?	
		(saabbá) maydo	bull	?	
		sánga	ox	<Oromo <i>sangaa</i>	
		galó	calf	cf. Bilin <i>gar</i> 'calf'	
	Koyra	?okká	calf	cf. Dullay <i>okatté</i> (heifer)	
		míisse		#m-z-	
		máale		?	
		kéymo	cattle	unless <Oromo (domestic animal)	
máydo		bull	?		
misaa		sterile female	#m-z-		
Gimira	Ganjule	sánga	ox	<Oromo <i>sangaa</i>	
		mínayfi	calf	#m-z-	
		miisi		#m-z-	
		məsina-meea		? cf. Egyptian, Coptic m-s	
	Benc Non	mimdi	cattle	#m-(z)-	
		miimaa		#m-(z)-	
		biira	work-bull	? < Agaw <i>bira</i> (plough-ox)	
		mit ¹		#m-(z)-	
		dyant ⁴	cattle	?	
		mant ¹	bull	?	
Janjero	She	mar ²	calf	cf. Arbore <i>máar</i> (calf)	
		käs		?	
	Yemsa	miya ¹¹		#m-(z)-	
		omoru ¹¹²	bull	?	
		gačwa ¹¹	ox	?	
		ank'alà (La)	not yet calved	?	
		masiinà	barren	? cf. Egyptian, Coptic m-s	
		miimoo		#m-(z)-	
		mimí		#m-(z)-	
		mamá	calf	#m-(z)-	
Kefoid	Kefa	minjoo		#m-(z)-	
		miizà (La)		#m-(z)-	
	Mocha	gizzà (La)	cattle	#g-z-	
		maseenà (La)	barren	? cf. Egyptian, Coptic m-s	
		shuura'i (La)	barren	?	
		mindzo		#m-(z)-	
		Dizi	ɔɔyte		#o-t-
			Nayi		#o-t-
	Mao	Sheko	zyégwù	steer	?
			or dād	calf	?
Mao of Bambeshi		ótì		#o-t-	
		ime		#m-(z)-	
		imi		#m-(z)-	
		gitza	cattle	#g-z-	
Sezo	imi		#m-(z)-		
	gizzi	cattle	#g-z-		
Aroid	Ganza	imi, 'emi		#m-(z)-	
		Hamér	cattle	#wVVgV(n)	
	Karo	bu'	bull	?	
		ɔno	calf	?	
		wangá	cattle	#wVVgV(n)	
		waaki zia	bull	#wVVgV(n) + #zia	

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Branch	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Base Form or Etymology
		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-. Shows up as a suppletive plural for 'cattle' in Mao and Kefoid.

#m-(z)-. A diagnostic root for North Omotic except Dizoid. 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 suprisingly, shows up in Elmolo *'óte pl. 'óot*.

#wVVgV(n). A diagnostic root for Aroid. Perhaps the original root is something like *waaC*, as it appears in Yaaku *wáá(t)* pl. *wáa'*, 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 the #mii form. 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 it was probably not domesticated until 10,000 years ago in the Mesolithic period of the Ancient Near East (Mason 1984b). 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

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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				
Omoto	Wolaytta	deeffá		#d-f-
		ʔorggé	he-goat	#ʔ-r-g-
North	Gamo	deeffé		#d-f-
	Gofa	deefa		#d-f-
	Kullo-Konta	defa		#d-f-
	Dache	deff-		#d-f-
	Basketo	dayfa		#d-f-
		dorti		
	Oyda	deʃ		#d-f-
	Maale	wàari pl. wáaró		
		koláyi pl. kolattó	he-goat	
		deyzó		#d-f-
		ziyátsi		
	Zala	deefaa		#d-f-
South	Zayse-Zergula	ts'eer-é		
		'ts'εga		
		laak'k-á	kid	
		ʔórge	he-goat	#ʔ-r-g-
	Koyra	deefé		#d-f-
		deggéle	he-goat	
		ʔorgé	he-goat	#ʔ-r-g-
	Ganjule	deyʃ		#d-f-
	C'ara	b(u)osā		
		deefee		#d-f-
		goʃá		
Gimira	Benc Non	kets ³		
		tog		
Janjero	Yemsa	fizo ¹²		
		noroo		
		kormà	castrate	<Oromo?
Kefoid	Kefa	fell		
		nnero		
	Mocha	āmišo		
	Shinasha	eysshà (La)		
	Anfillo	egicco		? #g-k-
Dizoid	Dizi	esku		
		geek'o		#g-k-
Mao	Mao Bambeshi	ʃàak'ε		#ʃaak
	Hozo	ʃaa		#ʃaak
	Sezo	ʃak'ɪ		#ʃaak
	Ganza	saʔa		
			common term for 'cattle' in Cushitic and probably a borrowing	
Aroid	Hamer	kuli pl. k'ulla		
	Karo	k'olí		
	Aari	qolí		
		dir ^t i		
		gek'u		#g-k-
	Galila	dir-, der- (B)		
	Dime	der-		
Ongota	Ongota	mááta		?
		dala		<Tsamay

Commentary

Compared with cattle, terminology for goats is much more varied and there are no common roots that are really widespread in Omotiic. This strongly suggests that goats were introduced after cattle, after the split-up of Omotiic 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 *ʔorgi*, Somali *orgi*. Perhaps sporadic borrowing to or from Omotiic.

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 Omotiic languages.

Table 7. Names for Sheep in Omotiic

Branch	Language	Attestation	Gloss	Base Form or Etymology
North				
Ometo	Wolaytta	dorssá mára	lamb	#d-r-s- #m-r-
North	Gamo	dórse ’darʃó dorsíyo laak’á	ram ewe lamb	#d-r-s- #d-r-s- #d-r-s- #d-r-s-
	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 maraʔátsi mármáro	ram lamb	#m-r- #m-r- #m-r-
	Zala	dorsaa	ewe	#d-r-s-
South	Zayse-Zergula	doró góho laa’k’ká	ram lamb	#d-r-s- #d-r-s-
	Koyra	dóritte mará dóre dorí naʔe ʔáare	ram ewe lamb flock	#d-r-s- #m-r- #d-r-s- #d-r-s-
Gimira	Benc Non	dor ³ ʔyag ³ n ³	ram	#d-r-s-
Janjero	Yemsa	fantu ¹²		

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		korbeessà	uncastrated	<Oromo
		wagnaa		
		gilgeli (La)	lamb	
Kefoid	Mocha	bágo	?<Agaw languages e.g. Kemant <i>bäga</i>	
	Boro	merééra		
Dizoid	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 <i>hoolaa</i>

Commentary

Omotic terms for sheep are marginally less diverse than those for goats, but much the same pattern emerges; a common term in Omoto 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 Omoto base-form for ‘sheep’ also attested in Ghimira.

#m-r- ‘ram’. Scattered root with a consistent meaning; probably ancient.

#z-ŋ-. Common Dizoid.

8. Pig

The history of the domestic pig in Africa is highly controversial (Blench 2000e). 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. However, 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 they are relatively ancient with Omotic peoples.

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Table 8. Names for Domestic Pig in Omotic

Family/Branch	Language	Attestation	Base Form or Etymology
North			
Ometo	Wolaytta	gudunta	
North	Gamo	guddúntsi	
	Koyra	girme	
	Maale	gazi	
Gimira	Benc Non	šob ¹	
Janjero	Yemsa	mukò (La)	
Kefoid	Kefa	gudinoo	also wild boar
	Mocha	gùdino	
	Shinasha	guriittsà (La)	
	Anfillo	guricco	
Mao	Hozo	kurumi	
	Sezo	kulumi	
	Ganza	kuze	

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. North Omotic terms, which suggest a proto-form something like *#kan-* resemble Proto-Indo-European *#kwon-* and even Chinese *quǎn* (犬). 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-
	Kullo-Konta	kana	#k-n-
	Dache	kana	#k-n-
	Haruro	kana	#k-n-
	Oyda	kana	#k-n-
	Basketto	kana	#k-n-
	Doko	kanaa	#k-n-
	Maale	káni	#k-n-
	Zala	kana	#k-n-
South	Zayse-Zergula	kaná	#k-n-
	Koyra	kána	#k-n-
	Gidicco	kana	#k-n-
	Ganjule	kana	#k-n-
	Kachama	kana	#k-n-
	Chara	kana	#k-n-
Gimira	Benc Non	kʷan ³	#k-n-
	She	kian	#k-n-
Janjero	Yemsa	kana ¹¹	#k-n-
Kefoid	Kefa	kana	#k-n-
		kunaanoo	#k-n-(n-)

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Branch	Language	Attestation	Root or Etymology
Dizoid	Mocha	ku'naano	#k-n-(n-)
	Shinasha	kana	#k-n-
	Anfillo	kano	#k-n-
	Dizi	kiànú	#k-n-
	Nayi	keno	#k-n-
Mao	Sheko	keanu	#k-n-
	Mao Bambeshi	kaná (La)	#k-n-
	Hozo	wiʃi	<Amharic
	Sezo	wiʃi	<Amharic
South (=Aroid)	Ganza	kana	#k-n-
	Hamer	káski	#k-s-k
	Karo	k'ask'i	#k-s-k
	Aari	?áksi	#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 seem quite characteristic of Omotic, although it is possible that the #k-n- roots are related to Cushitic #k-r-, for example Somali .

The division between North and South Omotic is supported by the terms for 'dog', although Dime has the #k-n- root.

10. Conclusions

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

- a) There are no convincing 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 convincing reconstructions of livestock names shared between North and South Omotic, suggesting that livestock keeping was introduced after the split between these two branches.
- d) The Omotic languages have several 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.

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 with location name	Source(s) used
Ometo		
North	Wolaytta	Hayward (p.c.), Lamberti (1997)
	Gamo	Hayward (p.c.)
	Gofa	Cerulli (1929)
	Kullo-Konta	
	Dache	
	Dorze	
	Oyda	
	Maale	Hayward (p.c.), Amzha Azeb (p.c.)
	Zala	Cerulli (1929)
	South	Zayse-Zergula
Koyra		Hayward (p.c.) cf. Cerulli (1929) (as Badittu)
Gidicho		
Kachama		
Doko-Dollo		
Basketto		
C'ara		Aklilu (1995)
Benc Non		Wedekind (1990) Hayward (p.c.)
She		
Janjero		Yemsa
Kefoid	Kefa	
	Mocha	Leslau (1959)
	Shinasha	Lamberti (1993a) (La) Rottland (1990)
Dizoid	Anfillo	
	Dizi	
	Sheko	
	Nayi	Conti Rossini (1925) Aklilu Yilma (1990)
South (=Aroid)	Mao	
	Hamer	
	Banna	
	Karo =Kara	Hieda (1991)
	Aari	Hayward (1990c, p.c.)
	Dime	
Ongota	Ongota	Fleming (2006)

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