A grammar of Hamar : a South Omotic language of Ethiopia

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13 Classification

As mentioned in chapter 1, there is general agreement on the internal coherence of South Omotic as a unit. The status of the Omotic family as a unit, and its status as an independent family of Afro-Asiatic is debated. The classificatory controversy concerns consequently also the internal organization of Afro-Asiatic. The history of the genetic classification of Omotic languages is linked to the internal classification of Cushitic, for an overview see Fleming (1976a & b), Lamberti (1991, 1993) and Azeb (2012a).

13.1 Internal and external classification of Omotic

The languages which are now known as 'Omotic' were originally classified under Cerulli's Sidama branch of Cushitic, and under Moreno's 'West Cushitic'. Moreno's 'West Cushitic' was also referred to as 'ta/ne languages' since they share the 1st person singular pronoun *ta* and the 2nd person singular *ne* (Moreno 1940:320). Cerulli and Moreno's grouping did not include the South Omotic languages Hamar, Kara, Aari and Dime. Cerulli considered Aari and Dime Nilotic languages (Cerulli 1942); Moreno left the 'Aari group' unclassified for lack of evidence. Greenberg accepted Moreno's West Cushitic but incorporated Aari, Hamar and Dime into West Cushitic (Greenberg 1963 and later reprints).[56]

In the early seventies, Greenberg's five-branched Afro-Asiatic phylum was re-defined and West Cushitic was separated from Cushitic (Fleming 1969, Bender 1975a) and established as the sixth independent family of Afro-Asiatic. Fleming re-named West Cushitic 'Omotic' (1974) since most of these languages are spoken in the area crossed by the Omo river in South West Ethiopia. As explained below, this hypothesis has not been accepted by all specialists in the field. Moreover, the Afro-Asiatic affiliation of Omotic as a whole (in Fleming's sense) has been questioned by a number of scholars, see for instance Newman (1980) or Theil (2006, 2012).

Internal classifications proposed for the Omotic family are those presented by Fleming (1969, 1976b), Bender (1971, 2000, 2003a) and Fleming and Bender (1976). The classifications they have proposed are slightly different in the labels used and in the organization of the lower groups and sub-groups. Hamar, Aari, Dime and Kara are always considered as a unit of closely related languages and they are referred to as 'South Omotic' (Fleming 1976b), 'Aroid' (Bender 1994, 2000), and

[56] According to Fleming (1976b:308), at that time the only published data on South Omotic was Da Trento's list (1941). Cerulli had unpublished data on Aari and Dime, which was not available. Preliminary data on Aari, Hamar, Banna, and Kara was collected by Fleming and Herbert Lewis in 1959 and it was given to Greenberg.

'Eastern Omotic' (Fleming and Bender 1976). In the present work the labels 'South Omotic' and 'North Omotic' will be used.

Fleming's classification (1976):

1. **North Omotic**
    1.1Kafa-Gimojan
        - Gimojan
            - Ometo
                - South :*Maale*
                - West :*Basketto, Doko-Dollo*
                - East :*Harro, Kachama, Koyra, Zayse*
                - North :*Gamo, Gofa, Kullo, Wolaitta*
            - *Janjero (Yem)*
            - *Gimira (Bench)*
        - Kafa languages (or Gonga languages)
            - *Shinasha (Boro)*
            - *Southern Mao (Anfillo)*
            - *Kafa-Mocha*
    1.2 Maji languages
            - *Nao (Nayi)*
            - *Sheko*
            - *Maji (Dizi)*

2. **South Omotic**
            - *Aari, Dime, Hamar, Banna, Kara*

According to Fleming's classification, the Omotic family branches into two sub-families: North Omotic and South Omotic. Bender (2000) added the Mao languages[57] as an independent sub-family of Omotic and lumped South Omotic (called Aroid) and the Maji languages (called Dizoid) under the same node. Bender's internal organization proposes that Fleming's South Omotic and Maji languages (Dizi, Sheko, Nayi) form a separate unit opposed to Fleming's North Omotic, whereas Fleming classified the Maji languages within North Omotic. Bender's classification is

[57] Mao is an ethnically and linguistically ambiguous term and it is used in different and confusing ways in the literature. The term refers to Omotic languages, but also to the Nilo-Saharan languages Komo and Kwama. Bender (2000, 2003a) used the term to refer to the Omotic languages Bambassi-Diddesa, Hozo, Seze and Ganza. Anfillo, which in Fleming's classification is also named Southern Mao, is geographically not connected to the Mao (Omotic) languages and it belongs to a different branch of Omotic. See Bender (1975b) and Küspert (2015) for a terminological disambiguation.

supported by Hayward (2009), while Fleming and Bender (1976) argue that 'An unusual amount of common features between Maji (=Dizi) and Eastern (=South) Omotic may be due to the earlier prominence of the Maji kingdom in the lower Omo area. However, it is also possible that a special linguistics relationship between the two exists' (Fleming and Bender 1976:46).

Other classifications challenge the position of the South Omotic languages within Omotic, and the existence of an independent 'Omotic' family. Lamberti's view (1993) for instance is similar to the one proposed by Greenberg (1963): he did not consider Omotic to be an independent family of Afro-Asiatic, and restored North Omotic languages under West Cushitic. However, Lamberti separated South Omotic languages from West Cushitic and established them as a parallel, special branch within the larger Cushitic family. Different from Lamberti, Zaborski (2004) has questioned the unity of Omotic and has proposed to classify North Omotic as West Cushitic, whereas South Omotic (and additionally the Mao languages) should be part of the Nilo-Saharan phylum on the basis of similarities in the pronominal system. A lexicostatistical comparison of Omotic lexicon has been carried out by Blažek (2008) and suggests that Omotic constitutes an independent branch of Afro-Asiatic. According to Blažek, however, South Omotic languages represent an extinct branch of the Nilo-Saharan phylum, and lexical similarities with other Omotic languages can be explained by convergence (Blažek p.c., Blažek 2008; Blažek and Malášková 2016). Moges (2007, 2015) has a similar view and proposes to classify South Omotic languages under the Nilo-Saharan phylum, however, he does not provide a classification for the rest of Omotic. Theil (2006, 2012) has questioned the affiliation of South Omotic (and Maji languages) to the rest of Omotic, and in general the genetic affiliation of Omotic to Afro-Asiatic. Omotic, according to Theil, should be considered an isolated phylum until regular sound correspondences established by the comparative method prove the opposite.

The various subgroupings proposed by Fleming and Bender show that in general the group-internal coherence of South Omotic is not questioned. The controversy revolves around the relation (if there is any) between South and North Omotic, that is, the status of Omotic as a unit. If the link between South and North Omotic can be established, Omotic can be considered a unit, which then, depending on one's view, could constitute a sixth branch of Afro-Asiatic, a sub-branch of Cushitic, or an isolate group not related to Afro-Asiatic.

13.2 The controversy

The classifications proposed for South Omotic and Omotic languages show that the controversy is far from being settled. The scarcity of detailed grammatical descriptions of Omotic languages, the general methodological weakness in the historical investigation of Omotic languages and the primacy of morphological vs. lexical evidence in scholar's views are among the main reasons behind such controversy.

Omotic languages have been in contact with Cushitic and Nilo-Saharan languages for a long time, and this creates challenges for comparative studies. Scholars mention various 'layers' of Cushitic (especially Eastern Cushitic, cf. Bender 2003b) or Nilotic. As a matter of fact, the intense contact and interference among Omotic, Cushitic and Nilo-Saharan languages may have obscured genetic relationships.[58]

Morphology is considered to be more reliable in comparative studies as grammatical morphemes are more resistant to diffusion. Yet morphological evidence does not lead to unequivocal results. Much of the controversy boils down to the fact that Omotic lacks the diagnostic features of Afro-Asiatic such as the gender markers (the *-(a)t* feminine marker) and the prefix conjugation. Hayward has objected this view and has criticized the 'Semitic bias' that has dominated historical-comparative Afro-Asiatic studies: scholars who see Omotic as marginal within Afro-Asiatic are often biased by the Semitic yardstick (Hayward 1995:14-15; 2000:84-85, 2003:244). Hayward even suggested the possibility of a 'Creole Hypothesis' explaining the innovative new morphology (Hayward 1995:15-16). Bender, who developed and supported the hypothesis of Omotic as a unit with the reconstruction of Omotic lexicon and phonology (Bender 2003a) and morphology (Bender 2000), has expressed several doubts concerning the affiliation of Omotic to Afro-Asiatic: 'Is this stock of proposed Omotic retained isomorphs from Afrasian sufficient in quantity and quality to establish Omotic as an Afrasian family?' (Bender 2003a:314). In a paper published the same year (Bender 2003b) he actually stated that 'there are certainly mysteries about the nature of Omotic, and my classification, which makes Omotic a primary family within Afrasian, may be wrong'.

As far as South Omotic languages are concerned, the strongest opponent to the Omotic/Afro-Asiatic affiliation is Zaborski (2004), who sees strong morphological support for a Nilo-Saharan affiliation in the pronominal system of South Omotic languages. Zaborski refused Bender's idea that South Omotic pronouns have been exceptionally borrowed from neighbouring Nilotic languages (Bender 2000: 198-201).

13.3 Hamar in comparative perspective

This section contributes up-to-date Hamar data to existing comparative works, namely Bender (2000, 2003a), Hayward (2009), Hayward and Tsuge (1998), Zaborski (1990, 2004). Lexical and morphological similarities within South Omotic are pointed out in 13.3.1 and 13.3.2. The remaining sections discuss morphological evidence, such as pronominals and verbal derivation, which show plausible external relations.

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[58] Not far from Hamar, there is an even more puzzling case for African language classification. Ongota, a highly endangered language spoken by eight people, has been classified as an independent, major branch of Afro-Asiatic (Fleming 2006); a Nilo-Saharan language (Blažek 2007); an East Cushitic language with Nilo-Saharan substratrum (Savà and Tosco 2000, 2003), and as an isolate language (Savà and Tosco 2015).

13.3.1 South Omotic lexicon

Table 13.1 below provides a comparative Swadesh list expanded with the additional lexicon used by Bender (1994, 2003a). The source for Dime is Mulugeta (2008), while data for Aari is taken mainly from Hayward (1990), but Bender (1991,1994) and Fleming (1986) are also taken into consideration. The data are reported in the original transcriptions. The Kara data come from my personal field notes (written in normal font) and from the Kara dictionary compiled by Dunga Batum Nakuwa and Nadine Brückner (written in italics), although it should be kept in mind that the latter does not provide narrow phonetic transcriptions.

There are striking lexical resemblances between Kara, Hamar, Aari and Dime: Hamar and Aari share 73% of lexical resemblances, whereas Hamar-Dime and Aari-Dime share almost 50% of the lexicon. Even though there is a plausible presence of loans, some sound laws can be seen on the spot: the Hamar uvular *q* is often glottalized in Aari (cf. Hamar *qáji* > Aari *ʔaaji,* 'cold'; Hamar *qáski* > Aari *ʔaksi,* 'dog'), whereas it is fricativized in Dime (cf. Hamar *háqa* > Dime *ʔáʁe*, 'tree'; Hamar *noqó* > Dime *náʁe* 'water').

Table 13.1: South Omotic comparative word-list (150 items)

	Kara	**Hamar**	**Aari - Galila**	**Dime**
I (1SG)	ínta	ínta	ʔitá	ʔaté
all	wul	wul	wull	wuuf-id
armpit	*galó*	babáti	kaf	lobáč
ashes		dibíni	bɪndí	bíndí
ask	ois-	ois-	góys-	ʔúis-
axe	*shúkó*	tesíɓe	wókka	tebiz; kált
bark	*góngo*	wúkumɓa	oofri	
beard, chin	*boci*	búushi	buci, c'ɪri	gəʁč'é
bedbug		ékeri	ekri	
bee	anqats'o	ánqasi	ʔantsí	ʔins'é
beehive		qootí	bezí	gónú
belly, stomach	ii	ii	nortí[59]	c'olay
big	gaari	gaarí	gaʔšé	giccó-b[60]
bird	*karia*	átti	ʔaftí, apte	ʔéfti
bite	gaʔ-	gaʔ-	gaʔsé	gáʔá
black	ts'ia	t'ía	c'ɛlɛmi (Amh.)	s'án-ub
blood	*maasi*	zomɓí	zomʔ (animal); qasé (human)	béé, máχse[61]
body	*bishi*[62]	zará		zéré

[59] cf. Hamar 'small intestine' *ɲuqurtí*

[60] cf. Hamar 'old' *geccó*

[61] cf. Hamar 'bleed' *maqas-*

bone	*lapó*	léepi	lefi	k'uus
boy, child	*ange naaso*	naasí	yintsì	níts
breast	ami	amí	ami	ʔíme
bring	baʔ-	baʔ-	báʔs-	baʔád
burn (intr)	*atamo*	at-	atsi (tr.)	ʔatse
bush, forest	qau	qáu	qosé	gááši, kúfú
buttocks	tuɗí	tuɗí	tuuɗí	góya
calf (cattle)	ootó	ootó		ʔótníts[63]
cattle	waaki	waakí	waakí	wɔʁən
chicken	*baaca*	báasha	baac	koiz
claw, nail	gusho	gúsho [64]	guša, ʔuqšmí	gušš
cloud	*luup*	pooló	uppá	c'íic'
cold	*qaci*	qáji	k'aji, gaji, ʔaji	bágzem-ub
come	naʔ-	niʔ-	aad-	ʔáde
cook	bak-	bax-, ush-[65]	uš-, ʔú(u)š(š)	ʔúššú
cooking stones	baaka	báakulo		bááki
corn, maize	kórmosho	boqólo	fatír	kábbe
cow	waaki mee	wóngo[66]		ʔótu[67]
die	c'a-	di-[68]	dɛʔ, déʔs	deyi[69]
dog	qasqi	qáski	ʔáksi	kɛ́nɛ́
donkey	ukulí	ukulí	arra, ukli	yəré, yərí
drink	wuc'-	wuc'-[70]	wəc', wocc'	wuc'u
dry	*tsedi*	wócci	wócc-ə	wuc-ub
ear	qaamo	qáami	k'aami, qaamí	k'ááme
earth, land	pee	pee	fec'é[71]	yilé
eat	its'-	is-; kumm-	ic-, ʔìtts-	ʔítsi
egg	*mukaio*	ɓúla[72]	muqá, muxá	mólu
eight	lonkai	lánkai	qaskén tamars	k'ášinašiš
elephant	dongár	dongár	dangór	dúúrú
eye	aapí	áapi	ʔáafi	ʔáfe

[62] cf. 'skin'

[63] *ʔótníts* is composed of 'cow' and 'child'.

[64] Hamar 'hoof' is *shukúma*

[65] Hamar *ush-* means 'be ripe', or 'be coocked'

[66] Hamar *wóngo* is the feminine inflected form of *waakí.*

[67] cf. Hamar 'calf' *ootó*

[68] Hamar 'death' is *demɓí*

[69] *deyi* refers to animals, *laχt'e* refers to humans

[70] Hamar has the verb root *kum-* for 'drink milk'; Dime has *kumti* for 'drink while eating'.

[71] Hamar *pec'é* refers to a type of bean

[72] In the Banna dialect of Hamar *múqa* is used instead of *ɓúla* for 'egg'

far	pegé	pegé	fegá	ʔáátim
fat	dúrpi	dúrpi	durfi	mərši [73], báχ
fat-tailed sheep		hájna		saké
feather	silé	silé	kefí (wing)	
fire	*noo*	nuu	noh, nóhà	núnú
fish	káara	káara	tóyla	ʔórxú
five	dong	dong	dónq	šinní
flesh, meat	waa	waa	wahá, waa	woxú
fly	ɗaaɓ-	yay-;ɗaaɓ-	far-, azze (run)	fáre
foot, leg	*ra*	roo	dúuti	dóótu, dóottu
footprint	rasí	rási		dóom [74]
four	oidí	oidí	ʔoydí	wuddum,ʔúddú
full	*tsoosa*	t'óot'i	c'ooc'i, ts'oots'í	
giraffe	ts'amsi	t'ánzi		k'əč'anč'ir
give	im-	im-	ʔim-	ʔímí
go, walk	yaʔ-	yiʔ-	kay-, ay-	híŋí ~ tíŋí
goat	qulí	qulí	qolí	dəré
good	ts'aalí	payá	la(qa)mí	ʔáho-b
grease, fat	móro	móro[75]		kuštú; mərši; báχ
green	c'agi	c'agáj		c'ərχond-ub
hair	siiti	síiti	shic'i, sits'í	bánde, s'is'i[76]
hand	aan	áan	ʔáaní	ʔáne
he (3sg M)	noo	kidí	nő(ö)	nú
head	meté	meté	mətá, matá	máte
hear, listen	esar-	qans-	ʔésər	k'áámsé
heart	*woilam*	weilám	búude	búud
honey	*kuro*	kurí	kuri	kúrú, nákur
horn	qushumó	qushumɓá	šoxá	ʔúšúm
hot	óiɗa	oiɗí		šélí
kill	dees-	dees-	deys, dées	déysi, deisi
knee	*buqo*	búqo	buqa	wóχ
know	ɗees-	ɗes-	ʔɛsh, ʔɛs, ʔéss	ɗése
kraal, village		gurdá	gurdá	báfó
leaf		qálbe	k'alɓa, qalʔe	k'ááme[77]

[73] *mərši* refers to the fat of a peson

[74] Mulugeta reports *šuukúumu* as well, cf. Hamar shukúma 'hoof'

[75] Hamar *móro* and Dime *kuštú* refer to the 'fat of the meat'. Dime *mərši* is the fat of a person

[76] Dime *s'is'i* means 'grey hair'

[77] Dime word for 'ear' and 'leaf' are the same

lion	zobo	zóbo	zob	zób
liver	təraɓu	tiraɓó	tirá	tááχte
long (tall)	gudiɓ	gudúɓ		gúdúm-ub
louse		qása	qasá, k'asa	gársi
man	éedi	ángi, éedi	aŋ	goštú
many		geɓí, pac'	bedmí	s'us'-id
milk	raats'i	ráaťi		dʒíši
milk a cow	ts'a-	ťa-		s'ohú
moon	arpi	árpi	arfɛn, ʔárfi	ʔirfé
mountain	*germar*	ɗúka	balá	
mouth	apó	aapó	ʔáfa	ʔáfé
name	naabi	náabi	laami, naami	mízí
navel	*gungussi*	gulɗánti	gulʔa	guúfú
neck, throat	qorc'i	qorc'í,izáqe	qadá, qórc'í	ʔəʁs'e, ʔéʁzí
new	hali	háali	killé	wólgu
night, dark	sooti	sóoti	soyti	ɗúúm
nine	sɛl	sɛl	wolqán tamárs	wóklasiš
nose	núki	nukí	nukí	núkú
old	gecó	geccó	geco, galtá	ʔátse (m), gəšin(f)
one	kalá	kalá	wóllaq	wókkil
ox	*waaki ange*	wɔxâ, waakí zía[78]	jic	zíti (bull)
path, road	*goi*	goití	googi	dóótgáš
person	eedi	éedi	ʔeed	ʔiyyí
rain	doobo	doobí	doobí	dííbí
red	*zawi*	deer	zeemi	zúub
root	c'ac'i	c'aac'í	c'aac'i	c'ic'i
round, circle		kúmbul, túni		zuusú
saliva, spit	pats'i	pet'í, pet'im-	túf-	túfú, táχil, s'erχé
sand	*gaymi*	sháami	šami	šááyi
say, tell, speak	gi-	gi-, ham-, ɗalq-	gáy-, ʔalq-	ʔééné, beɗá, k'óót
see, look	shed-	aap-, shed-	sɛd, šɛt	yefé, yíŋí,
seed	*bia*	ɓénta	meša	mišít
seven	ts'oɓɓá	toɓɓá	tabzá	tússim
she (3sg F)	náa	kodí	nɑ́ää	ná

[78] Hamar *zía* is adjective 'brave'

sheep	yeetí	yaatí	qolí, dertí	ʔííní
sit	dərq-	dorq-	dóq	dáhi
six	lah	lax	lah, lą́ä	lax
skin		bíshi		bici, bicé
sleep	raat-	raat-, wodˀ-	raa(t)ts-	náχte, záap'e
small	*keta, shouli*	líkka	liŋk'sh-, niŋk'sh-tokmí	c'ək'k'-ub, ləkk'-ub
smoke	c'ubí	c'úba	c'ubé	c'úbsi
sorghum	*isini*	isín		kámáy
stand	ɗaaɓ-	woi-	wóʔ-, ɗáam-	k'ínti, wúyí
star	ɛsin	eezín	bɛz	bééz
stone	*suni*	seení	seení	lále
sun	hayo	hai	a(a)i	ʔíyí
t'ef		gáashi	gaac'i	gíči
tail		dubaná	gooli, goyríy	golán
ten	teɓi	taɓí	təmmə, tammá	təmmé
that (distal)	agá	agá (M) ogó (F) igirá (PL)	ka-se (M), kona-se (F)	sanú (M), saná (F), sakét (PL)
they (3PL)	ke	kidí	ketá	kété
this (proximal)	kaa	kaa (M) koró (F) kerá (PL)	ka (M), kuna (F)	sinú (M), siná (F), sikét (PL)
three	makkań	makkán	məkkən, makkán	məkkím
tongue	atáɓ	atáɓ	admi	ʔɨdi
tooth	as'i	ási	ʔatsí	ʔitsí
tree	haaqa	háqa	ääqa	ʔáʁe
two	lamá	lamá	qastén, qaskén	k'ə́stin
water	*nunko*	noqó	luuqa, noqá	náʁe
we	wotí	wodí	wö(ö)tá	wótú
what	har, hará	har, har-é	äré	wúyú
white	c'aulí	c'aulí	ts'áam- (verb)	gúiťˀub
who	*hauw*	hai-, háine	äy	ʔáyi
wild animal	dabí	dabí	debí	kúfó
woman	mee	maa	maa	ʔámze
yellow	*makale*	galáp		c'íilil-ub
you (2PL)	yaa	yedí	yetá	yesí
you (2SG)	yetí	yaa	ääná	yáay/yáye

13.3.2 South Omotic morphemes

In this section grammatical morphemes across South Omotic languages will be compared. Sections 13.3.3, 13.3.4 and 13.3.5 discuss morphological features which suggest external relations of South Omotic. South Omotic pronominals (13.3.3) have been used to support the Nilo-Saharan affiliation; however verbal derivation is typically Cushitic, especially in Hamar where various strata can be detected (13.3.5). A morpheme *-n* (13.3.4) functioning as object/oblique case is attested in Hamar, and vestiges of it can be individuated in Aari and Dime as well: this morpheme is widespread across Omotic and it links South Omotic to North Omotic.

Nominal inflections

The Hamar gender suffixes are *-(t)â* (M) and *-(tó)no* (F). A separate suffix marking definiteness (as the Dime *-is/-iz*) does not exist in Hamar.

Dime's nominal affixes are *-ub* (M), *-ind* (F), *-id/-af* (PL). Gender affixes are marked on modifiers but not on head nouns, whereas plural is marked on the head (*-af*) and on the modifier (*-id*) (Mulugeta 2008:41-46). Hamar nominal inflections are overtly marked on nouns, adjectives and other modifers.

Aari has a definite plural marker *-(i)n(a) -(i)n(e)* and a singulative marker *-s*. In Aari only feminine gender is marked, by means of *-ta* (Hayward 1990:442-446).[79] Bender reports for Aari 'special gender-marking prefixes' (Bender 2000:167): *aŋ-zob* 'lion', *ma-zob* 'lioness' (cf. Hamar *zóbo* 'lion'). These gender prefixes correspond to Hamar nouns *ángi* 'man' and *maa* 'woman' .

Table 13.2: South Omotic nominal inflections

	Hamar	**Aari**	**Dime**
M	-(t)â	zero marked / aŋ-	-ub
F	-(to)no	-ta / ma-	-ind
PL	-na	-(i)n(a)/ -(i)n(e)	-af/ -id

Hamar gender inflections do not have cognates in Aari and Dime, whereas the plural number suffix *-na* is formally related to the definite plural marker *-(i)n(a)* and *-(i)n(e)* in Aari.

Case affixes

Nominative is unmarked in Aari and Dime, whereas Hamar shows a mixed system in which both the subject case and the object/oblique case of feminine nouns are morphologically marked. For masculine nouns, plural nouns, and uninflected nouns only the accusative case is marked, cf. chapter 7. Accusative case markers

[79] Note that in Aari the feminine gender marker *-ta* is homophonous to the genitive marker *-ta,* but it occupies a different slot. The suffix *-tâ* in Hamar is for masculine gender, but the element *-tV* is also attested in the feminine inflection *-tóno*.

are *-ɗan/-n* in Hamar, *-im* in Dime and *-m* in Aari (or *-n* according to Bender 2000:163). The case suffix *-n* is discussed in 13.3.4. In Hamar and Dime case is suffixed to the NP; for Aari this information is not available. The genitive case marker is different across Hamar, Aari and Dime, however both Hamar and Aari allow noun + noun compounds such as Hamar *darά ukulí* 'zebra' (lit. valley donkey) and Aari *qosά arre* 'zebra' (lit. forest donkey). Hayward reports only the accusative and genitive case for Aari, whereas other cases are analysed as postpositions.

Table 13.3: Case suffixes of Hamar, Aari and Dime

Case	Hamar	Aari	Dime
accusative	-ɗan / -n	-m / -n	-im
genitive	-sa	-ta / -te	-ko
dative	-na	kan	-in
instrumental	-ka /-xa		-ká
comitative	-be	kikíl / kin	same as above
allative	-dar	dar	-ká-bow
locative 'in'	-te	various postpositions	-se / -o
ablative	-rra	girank, rank	-de

From a Hamar's perspective, some of Aari's locative postpositions can be further segmented and analysed. Hayward reports the postposition *gidír, gidér, gir* (1990: 489). Hamar *gidí* means 'middle' and it is often followed by the general locative case *-te* or the inessive case *-r*, thus *gidí-r* in Hamar means 'in the middle'.
In Hamar instrumental and comitative are marked differently, whereas Dime uses *-ka* for both roles. Bender reports the Aari comitative *kin* 'with' (Bender 2000: 176) which is found also in Hamar *kínka* 'together'. The comitative *-ka* in Dime is used for bisyndetic coordination and likewise the suffix *-be* in Hamar it is suffixed to each conjoined noun phrase, see chapter 8, section 8.5.1. Bender reports for Aari a connector *k/ek/ke* used for bisyndetic coordination as well (Bender 2000:176).

Nominal derivation
The table below shows the nominal derivational suffixes attested in Hamar, Aari and Dime. The Hamar suffix used to derive abstract nouns from verbs is equivalent to the Aari infinitive suffix. Traces of the Dime nominalizer suffix *-im* (which is homophonous to the Dime accusative case marker) can be found in a few verb-noun pairs in Hamar: *irá* 'to curse', *írima* 'swear word', *adά* 'give birth', *ádîma* 'birth, delivery'. The formative *-Vm-* however could also be a fossilized verbal derivational suffix, see chapter 6, section 6.2.3, and see discussion below. The suffix *-Vm-* is also attested in Ometo: in Maale for instance abstract nominals can be derived from adjectives by means of *-um-* (Azeb 2001:74).

Table 13.4: Nominal derivations in Hamar, Aari and Dime

	Hamar	**Aari**	**Dime**
infinitive	zero/ -n	-ínti	-n
abstract	-ínta	-mi	-im

Copula

The attributive/equative and existential copulas across Hamar Aari and Dime are compared in the table below.

Table 13.5: Copula in Hamar, Aari and Dime

	Hamar	**Aari**	**Dime**
attributive	-ne	-ye (-e)	-éé (-yéé)/ dán
existential	daa	dak-,ääq-, doq-	déén

Dime existential copulas *dán* and *déén* have reflexes in Hamar *dáa* 'life, exist'.[80] Aari existential copulas are posture verbs: *doq-* 'sit' (Hamar *dorq-*), *ääq-* 'stay' (Hamar *haaq-*). Possession is expressed predicatively by means of the existential copula and a genitive construction in all the three languages. In Hamar content question the copula is expressed by *-é*. Outside of South Omotic, reflexes of the Hamar attributive copula *-ne* could be the declarative sentence marker *-ne* of Maale (Azeb 2001:148) and the final element of all tense markers of Zargulla (*-ínne, -íne, -éne*, see Azeb 2012a). Bender reconstructs the Proto-Ometo existential copula as *-de? (2000: 88;219).

Subject-agreement marking on the verb

There is great variation in the way subject-agreement is marked on the verb in Omotic in general: some North Omotic languages are highly inflecting, but the lack of inflection is attested as well. Within South Omotic, three different systems are attested. Aari is a highly inflecting language as illustrated by the subject agreement markers reported by Hayward (1990:474):

Table 13.6: Aari subject agreement markers

1SG	-it	1PL	-ö(ö)t
2SG	-ay	2PL	-et
3	-e, -a[81]	3PL	-ek

Dime has a reduced system which distinguishes only first persons (*-t*) against second and third persons (*-n*). Hamar differs from Aari and Dime in that it uses phonologically reduced personal pronouns, see chapter 4 and 6.

[80] Bender remarked that the Western Nilotic language Anuak (Anywa) which is in contact with Omotic, has a copula *da* (Bender 2000:200).

[81] The third person singular subject markers are irregular and those illustrated in the table represent only some of them.

Converb markers
Converbs are non-finite verb forms used to express adverbial subordination and are widely attested in the languages of Ethiopia. The converb marker *-énka* in Hamar has reflexes in both Aari and Dime, and a possible cognate form is found outside of South Omotic, in Benchnon:

Hamar: *kin-wuc'-énka* 'he having drunk'
Aari: *ʔí wóons-ink(a)* 'if I work' (Hayward 1990:487)
Dime: *yíz-inká* 'since (he) ran' (Mulugeta 2008:160)
Bench: *sur^{2}k'-an^{4}k'i^{5}* 'he having fallen asleep' (Breeze 1990:28)

13.3.3 Pronouns

South Omotic pronominals show striking similarities with those of Eastern Nilotic languages such as the neighbouring Teso-Turkana languages.
The Hamar 3rd person masculine and feminine independent pronouns, *kidí* and *kodí,* differ from those of Kara (own data), Dime (Mulugeta 2008) and Aari (Hayward 1990). In these languages however the formatives *ki-* and *ko-* occur in object and oblique pronouns, in possessives, and in subject agreement on dependent verb forms. The Hamar pronouns have the variant *kisí, kosí, wosí, yesí,* that is, the alveolar stop can be substituted with the fricative, see chapter 4.[82] The table below shows both independent pronouns and the shortened form of pronouns used as a basis to form oblique, object and possessive pronouns.

Table 13.7: South Omotic pronominals

	Hamar		**Kara**		**Aari**		**Dime**	
1SG	ínta	i-	ínta	i-	ʔitá	ʔi-	ʔaté	ʔis-
2SG	yaa	ha-	yáa	ha-	ääná	ää-	yáay	yín-
3M 3F	kidí kodí	ki- ko-	nóo náa	ki- ko-	nő́(ö) nä́ä	kí- kó-	nú ná	kín- kón-
1PL	wodí	wo-	wotí	wo-	wö(ö)tá	wő́(ö)-	wótú	wón-
2PL	yedí	ye-	yetí	ye-	yetá	yé-	yesé	yen-
3PL	kidí	ki-	ketí	ke-	ketá	ké	kété	kén-

The table below shows the pronominal system of Ongota (unclassified), Sheko (Maji, Hellenthal 2010) and Maale (North Ometo, Azeb 2001). Ongota has *ki* for 3M and *ku*

[82] Bender (2000:163) erroneously reports Hamar *kosí* as 3PL pronoun, and he says that 3F is identical to 3M *kidí.* This is clearly a misunderstanding of Lydall's description of Hamar pronouns (1976): Lydall describes the 3F pronoun as 'non-individual third'. As explained in chapter 3, feminine gender in Hamar can have collective semantic value.

for 3F subject clitics and object pronouns, *kita* and *kuta* as 3M and 3F independent pronouns (Savà & Tosco 2000).[83]

Table 13.8: Ongota, Sheko and Maale pronominals

	Ongota		**Sheko**		**Maale**
1SG	kata	ka	nata	n-	tááni
2SG	janta	i	yeta	ha-	nééní
3M	kita	ki	áz	há-	ʔízí
3F	kuta	ku	íʒ	yí-	ʔízá
1PL	juta	ju	náta	ń-	núúní
2PL	gitata	gita	ítí	ítí-	ʔíntsí
3PL	kiʔita	kiʔi-a	íʃì	íʃì-	ʔiyátá

The Teso-Turkana pronouns are reported in table 13.9 (Bender 2000:199 for Teso, Dimmendaal 1983 for Turkana). The Teso-Turkana pronouns do not distinguish gender in the third person pronouns, but they have inclusive/exclusive distinctions in the first person plural.

Table 13.9: Teso-Turkana pronominals

	Teso	**Turkana**
1SG	ɛɔŋɔ	a-yɔŋ̀
2SG	ɪjɔ	i-yoŋ̀
3M/3F	ŋɛsɪ	ì-ŋesì
1PL in./ ex.	ɔnɪ / is(y)ɔ	ì-ŋwɔnì / ì-suà
2PL	yɛsɪ	ì-yesì
3PL	kɛsɪ	ì-kesì

The striking similarity between South Omotic and Teso-Turkana 2nd and 3rd plural pronouns is often mentioned to support the Nilo-Saharan affiliation of South Omotic (Cerulli 1942, Zaborski 2004, Moges 2015), although none of the scholars who claim this affiliation have proposed a sub-group membership for South Omotic. Bender argued that the elements *w-, y-, k-* in the plural pronouns are typical person markers prefixes in Nilotic, and he suggested a contact scenario whereby the 3rd singular and the 2nd and 3rd plural pronouns were borrowed (2000:163,198). Bender reconstructs the development of Omotic pronouns from a cleft construction involving a copula: 'it is I that…'. in South Omotic (but also in the ta-ne languages as illustrated by Sheko in table 13.8) the *-ta* formative is identified as an ancient copula. Another possible analysis[84] is that the element *-e* in the 2nd and 3rd plural pronouns of Kara, Aari,

[83] The formatives *ki-* and *ko-* are attested in the neighbouring Cushitic language Ts'amakko but with inverted functions: the pronominal particle *ko/ku* is reported for masculine, *ke/ki* for feminine. Moreover, these formatives occur as the second singular object pronouns: *koo* for 2SG masculine and *kee* for 2SG feminine (Savà 2005)

[84] I am grateful to Maarten Kossman for suggesting this interpretation.

Dime (and Hamar), was a plural marker associated with the marker for 2nd person *y-* (still present in Hamar, Kara, Dime; in Aari it survives only in the 2nd plural, in Ongota it is found in the 2nd singular). Similarly, the formative *k-* can be analysed as a marker of 3rd person, which combined with the plural marker *-e*, results into the present-day 3rd plural pronoun of South Omotic.

Even if the Nilotic origin of South Omotic pronouns is disregarded, a link to Nilo-Saharan could still be found in the special third person pronoun which is described in Omotic languages as a reflexive or logophoric pronoun. Hayward (2009) remarked that Maji and South Omotic do not participate in the shared innovation of the special third person pronoun *bV/pV*, which is found throughout the ta-ne languages. This special third person pronoun is not found in Maji and South Omotic languages. In the light of the the present study, it can be added that Hamar does have a third person reflexive pronoun *yi-* which is used as a long-distance reflexive. The Hamar reflexive pronoun *yi* might point to Nilo-Saharan: Dimmendaal (2001) reports logophoric pronouns consisting of the formative *yV* in Central Sudanic (Moru-Madi *yɪ*) and in Nilotic (Acholi *yɪ*), as well as in the Niger-Congo phylum, in Benue-Congo (Babungo *yì-*), in Kwa (Avatime *yi;* Ewe *yè-*), in Adamawa-Ubangi (Ndogo *ỳi*) (2001:148-155). He links the Omotic formative *bV/pV* to West Chadic forms, and argues that Niger-Congo and Nilo-Saharan logophoric markers are functionally, and in some cases formally, cognates, and must be interpreted as evidence for genetic inheritance. However, a formative *yí-* is attested also in the Maji language Sheko as a 3F pronoun (cf. table 13.8).

The object pronouns in Hamar, Kara, Aari (Hayward 1990) and Dime (Mulugeta 2008) are illustrated in the table below. The accusative marker in Hamar is *-ɗan*, but it can be reduced to *-n* in the shortened form (in the second column in table 13.7, but see also chapter 2, phonological rule P5 and chapter 4). In Hamar, Kara, Aari and Dime the object marker attaches to the second set of pronouns given in table 13.7 above.

Table 13.10: Object pronouns of Hamar, Kara, Aari and Dime

	Hamar		**Kara**	**Aari**	**Dime**
	full form	reduced			
1SG	í-ɗan	ɛ́ɛn	i-m	ʔí-m	ʔis-im
2SG	há-ɗan	háan	ha-m	ɑ̋ä-m	yín-im
3M	kí-ɗan	kɛ́ɛn	ki-m	kí-m	kín-im
3F	kó-ɗan	kɔ́ɔn	ko-m	kő(ö)-m	kón-im
1PL	wó-ɗan	wóon	wo-m	wő(ö)-m	wón-im
2PL	yé-ɗan	yéen	ye-m	yő(ë)-m	yen-im
3PL	kí-ɗan	kɛ́ɛn	ke-m	ké-m	kén-im

Mulugeta (2008:65) notices that differently from Aari, in Dime the accusative marker is not suffixed directly to the pronoun, but preceded by *-n-*. The same happens in Hamar for the formation of possessive pronouns. The element *-n* is a widespread iso-

gloss in Omotic; in Hamar it is analysed as oblique case and as marker of nominal dependency, see discussion under 13.3.4.

South Omotic possessive pronouns are formed by the suffixation of the genitive case to clitic pronouns, thus in Dime the genitive case *-ko* is suffixed to clitic pronouns, and in Aari the possessive pronouns are formed by the genitive case *-te/-ta*.[85] Pronominal possession in Hamar is expressed by means of genitive pronouns and possessive pronouns. Genitive pronouns are formed by suffixation of the genitive case *-sa* to subject clitics; possessive pronouns agree in gender and number with the head noun they modify, thus the clitic pronoun is suffixed with gender and number nominal inflections. The first person possessive pronoun for instance is *í-n-te* for masculine agreement, *í-n-no* for feminine, and *í-n-na* for plural, wherein *-te, -no* and *-na* are M, F and PL agreement markers. Whereas feminine and plural possessive pronouns in Hamar are formed by the same agreement marker found on nouns, the masculine suffix *-te* is problematic because it does not correspond to the masculine nominal inflection *-â* and *-tâ* (see chapter 4). The suffix *-te* in the masculine possessive pronoun resembles rather the Hamar locative case *-te* or the genitive case of Aari (but it should be kept in mind that Aari's genitive suffix case is reported as both *-ta* and *-te*).[86]

Because of the resemblance with Aari possessives, and for ease of reference, the table below shows only the Hamar possessive pronouns with masculine agreement. For a full list of inflected pronouns cf. chapter 4.

Table 13.11: Possessive pronouns of Hamar, Aari and Dime

	Aari	**Hamar**		**Dime**
		Possessive (M)	Genitive	
1SG	ʔís-ten	í-n-te	í-sa	ʔis-ko
2SG	ää-n-ten	há-n-te	há-sa	yí-ko
3M	kii-ttén	kí-n-te	kí-sa	kí-ko
3F	kö(ö)-tten	kó-n-te	kó-sa	kó-ko
1PL	wö(ö)-n-tén	wó-n-te	wó-sa	wó-ko
2PL	ye-n-tén	yé-n-te	yé-sa	ye-ko
3PL	ke-ttén	kí-n-te	kí-sa	ké-ko

In Hamar possessive pronouns, the clitic pronoun is linked to gender and number inflections by means of the affix *-n-* (see table 4.4 in chapter 4 and section 7.4.4 in chapter 7 for further details). The affix *-n-* emerges in Aari possessives as well, where

[85] Bender's notes on Aari (2000:164) report genitive pronouns which are slightly different from those provided by Hayward, but equally formed by the genitive case *-ta*: *i-n-ta* 'mine', *ke-ta* 'theirs'.

[86] A masculine morpheme *-(t)te* (and a feminine *-(t)ta*) can be found in East-Ometo (in Zargulla, see Azeb 2010).

it is visible in the second person singular and in the first plural pronouns, but it assimilates in the remant pronouns.
In both Hamar (chapter 8, section 8.3.4) and Aari (Hayward 1990:458), some kinship terms can be possessed by prefixing directly subject clitics to the possessed kinship noun.

13.3.4 The morpheme -n

The case suffix *-n* is widespread across all groups of Omotic (Zaborski 1990, Fleming 1976b, Hayward and Tsuge 1998). Since it shows formal and functional similarity in both South and North Omotic, it is taken by Hayward and Tsuge (1998) as evidence linking South and North Omotic.[87] Hayward and Tsuge assign **-n* to the Proto-Omotic stage as an oblique case marker, alongside an accusative case **-m*. The suffix *-n* functions as a direct object marker in several North Omotic languages, and according to Hayward and Tsuge it can be individuated even in the object pronouns of the nominative marking languages of the Ometo group (ibid:22-26). *-n* functions also as an oblique case marker in both South and North Omotic. In South Omotic, the authors report the morpheme *-m* as the accusative case. Since there is no evidence in North Omotic for a **m > n* sound change, the authors reject the idea that the morphemes *-n* and *-m* are related to **-n,* but they posit the existence of both morphemes. They thus reconstruct **-m* as the accusative marker at Proto-Omotic stage: the marker has survived in South Omotic, but it has been replaced in North Omotic by the more peripherical oblique case **-n*. According to Hayward and Tsuge, the accusative case *-m* is an isomorph shared by South Omotic languages, but this view is not supported by the Hamar data presented in this work. Hayward and Tsuge's source for Hamar is Lydall (1976), who reports two accusative markers: *-dʌn* and *-dam*. According to the data collected for this grammar, the Hamar accusative case is *-ɗan.* The issue is even more complex if we look at Aari's accusative case marker: Hayward reports *-m* (Hayward 1990:443), but Bender has *-n* (Bender 2000:163). In Hamar the oblique case *-n* marks non-subject functions of feminine nouns, including object functions. The suffix *-n* is thus found in both object and more peripheric oblique functions, alongside the accusative case *-ɗan*, see chapter 7 for further details. Hamar does not share the accusative case isomorph *-m* found in Aari and Dime, but the presence of the morpheme *-n* links it to North Omotic. The suffix *-n* can be individuated in Aari possessive pronouns and in Dime object pronouns. In Dime, moreover, there is a suffix *-in* which mark dative case and the object verbal complement of verbs (Mulugeta 2008:49; 50).

[87] Zaborski remarked that there is accusative *-n* in Nilo-Saharan (2004:176), but he does not specify in which language, or language group.

13.3.5 Verbal derivation

Apart from the causative derivation, verbal derivational suffixes in South Omotic are heterogeneous. Hamar verb roots can be extended by causative and passive derivational suffixes. A further derivational suffix *-Vm-* is found in a few verb stems but it is no longer productive. There are two causative suffixes in Hamar, which reflect various stages of the language. The suffix *-s-* is fully productive and the distribution of its allophones *-is-*, *-sh-*, *-ish-* is always predictable. A restricted list of verbs show a possibly older causative derivation in *-tt-* and *-cc-,* which is synchronically lexically determined. The older and the more recent causative derivations may overlap and some verbs might be extended by both: *dees-* 'kill', *dett-* or *deesis-* 'make sb. kill'. The passive derivational suffix in Hamar is *-ɗ-* (allomorphs *-aɗ-*, *-ɓ-*). Some passive stems are not related to underived roots and these stems are often stative verbs which are used to derive meanings denoting states and feelings. The derivational suffix *-ɗ-* is semantically and formally close to the Cushitic middle derivation (Mous 2004): typical middle meanings expressed by *-ɗ-* in Hamar include body activities, reflexive and autobenefactive. One instance has been found whereby the passive *-ɗ-* is used to derive an inchoative verb from an adjective: this function recalls that of the denominal verbalizers of Maale (South Ometo) *-ád-* and of Konso (Lowland East Cushitic) *-aad-*: these suffixes are used to derive inchoatives from nouns and adjectives (Azeb 2001:108; Ongaye 2013:149). Inchoative meaning in Hamar (and in Aari, see Bender 2000:176) is otherwise expressed by means of the verb *maat-* 'become', however, Aari terms indicating colours and states are verbs which include a formative *-m.*

Table 13.12: Verbal derivations in Hamar, Aari and Dime

	Hamar	**Aari**	**Dime**
causative	-s-, -is-, -sh-, -ish, -tt-, -cc-	-sis, -zis	-is/-s
passive	-ɗ-, -aɗ-, -ɓ-	-er, -ar, -ser	-int'
-Vm-	-im-, -um-, -em-	-m	-imá-, -sim

The fossilized derivational suffix *-Vm-* covers a wide range of semantic meanings including passive, middle, reflexive, reciprocal, inchoative and durative. Each of these meanings point to similarities with both Cushitic and Omotic. For instance *-m-* is the general passive derivation in Cushitic and a passive derivational suffix *-am* (and an inchoative verbalizer *-om*) is found in the neighbouring language Ts'amakko. The formative *-m-* is however used also for durative in Iraqw and for reciprocity in the Agaw languages (Mous 2004, 2012). The inchoative suffix in Dime is *-imá-* the reciprocal is *-sim*, whereas Benchnon and Sheko have a nasal morpheme for the reciprocal-middle.

13.3.6 Conclusions

A first perusal of the Hamar data provided in this study confirm what other specialists in the field have argued: the striking lexical similarities and the grammatical evidence clearly establish Hamar, Aari and Dime as a group. Similarities between Aari, Hamar, (Kara), and Dime can be observed in some case affixes and locative postpositions, in the nominal derivation, in some copula predicators and in subordinating/converb markers. A number of elements, as already pointed out by Bender (2000, 2003a) point also to Ometo and to the Maji languages: the oblique/object marker *-n*, the existential and attributive copula, the converb marker and some of the pronouns. Ambiguous traits such as the Nilotic elements in the pronominal system or the Afro-Asiatic features in the verbal derivation are the vestiges of millennia of intense language contact that took place between Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan.