

Language and Culture in Borrowing: Kara (Afroasiatic) Elements in Koegu (Nilo-Saharan)

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The aim of this article is to explore the relationship between a language and a culture in the light of the borrowing from the Kara language observed in the Koegu language. The main cultural characteristics of Koegu lie in hunting and gathering, and Kara people introduced new cultivating methods in the downstream area of the Omo river.

The Koegu language has borrowed extensively from the Kara language with regard to vocabulary and grammar. There are some tendencies in borrowing.

(1) Regarding the vocabulary not related to the main cultural characteristics, that is, the whole vocabulary except for that of hunting and gathering, words with restricted semantic fields tend to be replaced by borrowed words, and words with general and wide semantic fields are not likely to be replaced. (2) In the case of the vocabulary related to the main cultural characteristics, that is, the vocabulary of hunting and gathering, words with general and wide semantic fields tend to be replaced by borrowed words, while words with restricted semantic fields are not likely to be replaced. Thus it can be concluded that a culture influences exchange of speech forms.

Key words: Koegu, Kara, language, culture, borrowing.

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to explore the relationship between a language and a culture in the light of the borrowing from the Kara language observed in the Koegu language. Neighboring societies exchange things and cultures, such as behavioral patterns, skills of living, religious customs, personal manners and so on. Speech forms are also exchanged, and this cannot be done independently of the exchange of things and cultures. It is also related to the relationships of the societies between which these exchanges take place. Nevertheless, behavioral patterns of people are not so simple as to be explicable in terms of relationships between societies. Both Koegu and Kara societies, however, exist in rather separated areas, although not absolutely isolated from the rest of the world. Therefore, by studying how the Koegu language has borrowed from the Kara language, we can to a great extent eliminate factors introduced from outside societies and obtain clues to explore the relationship between a language and a culture only in the two societies. I have defined culture as behavioral patterns, skills of living, religious customs, personal manners and so on. In other words, culture means inner values originating in life style and social relations. In this article, life style is much simplified to represent means of living, subsistence and relevant practices.

The Koegu language has borrowed extensively from the Kara language with regard to vocabulary and grammar. We shall examine how the Koegu language has borrowed from

the Kara language with respect to vocabulary, especially the vocabulary related to means of living.

1.1. Societies of Koegu and Kara

Speakers of the Koegu language and those of the Kara language live in the downstream area of the Omo river in southwestern Ethiopia. Speakers of the Koegu language number approximately 300, while speakers of the Kara language number 2,000⁽¹⁾.

Koegu people live by cultivating, hunting and gathering. They mainly cultivate sorghum on the banks and the floodplains of the Omo river. They hunt with guns and unsophisticated traps in the forest by the Omo river. Due to a shortage of bullets, however, they get very little game. They depend heavily on fish caught in the Omo river for their protein intake. They rarely own livestock. Although agricultural products provide them with their main source of caloric intake, their main cultural characteristics lie in hunting and fishing. For example, Koegu people customarily have godparents. When a baby boy is born, his godfather names him, giving him a miniature bow and arrow made of twigs in his hand. The Koegu verb 'to name' literally means 'to give a bow and arrow.' When he grows up and hunts big game for the first time in his life, he sings a special song for that occasion in the presence of his father. His father, for his part, treats his neighbors to honey mead to celebrate the occasion. There are also many songs about fish. In the Koegu language, there are separate names to subdivide a wild animal or a fish. For example, besides a general term to mean 'buffalo,' there are nine names to classify buffalo according to sex, age, size and so on (e.g., a big male buffalo: *dimak*, a young female buffalo: *kaura*, an old male buffalo: *bush*, a young male buffalo: *gide*, a small male buffalo: *c'encela*, a mature male buffalo: *kobor*, an old female buffalo: *gogura*, a small female buffalo: *mogosh*, a mature female buffalo: *carkeilban*). Fish are sometimes classified in the same manner. Some fish change their body colors seasonally. Koegu people recognize them as 'brothers' (*c'ene*) and give them separate names. A brother fish of a *dowada* is called *barujuguma*. Moreover, some fish have different names as they grow, as in the Japanese language. A *kuwada*, a species of catfish, is called a *worca*, a *kankaca*, and then a *purundo* as it grows. Thus, as I have already mentioned, the main cultural characteristics of Koegu people lie in hunting and gathering.

On the other hand, Matsuda (1988) says that Kara people describe their life as 'livestock on the right hand and sorghum on the left hand'⁽²⁾. Since the right is more valuable than the left in their concept, it is clear that they value stock raising more than cultivating. They own cattle, goats and sheep. They pasture goats and sheep at the foot of the mountains some 10 to 15 km away from the Omo river. They put their cattle in charge of Hamer people, their neighbor tribe. While Hamer people depend heavily on cattle pasturing and their main cultural characteristics lie in practices related to cattle, Kara people do not depend on cattle so much. Rather, they cultivate sorghum and other crops on the banks and the floodplains of the Omo river and obtain enough crops for self-sufficiency. They exchange surplus sorghum for livestock with Hamer people. Kara people's practices related to cattle are almost identical with those of Hamer people. Therefore they cannot be regarded as their original practices. It can be speculated, however, that Kara people introduced new cultivating methods in this downstream area of the Omo river. In the Koegu language, many borrowed words from the Kara language are observed in the vocabulary related to cultivating practices (cultivating field: *haamu* [*Ka haami*], boundary of gardens: *maari* [*Ka maaro*], to cut off the bushes and clear the ground: *ac'aariyaa* [*Ka c'aara*], a hoe: *gaita* [*Ka gaita*], to harvest: *apatiiyaa* [*Ka pata*], to thresh sorghum by hand: *ashakamiyaa* [*Ka shaakuma*], to grind: *a'dii'diyaa* [*Ka diisumo*]). Thus we can say that the main cultural characteristics of Kara people lie in cultivating.

1.2. Social and historical relationship between Koegu and Kara

It is assumed that Koegu people came into contact with Kara people only two or three generations ago. This is suggested by oral tradition of Kara and that of Omo-Murle, a neighbor tribe⁽³⁾. Koegu people had been living in the area before Kara people moved there. When Kara people settled in the area, they took land away from Koegu people and

started cultivation. Koegu people were forced to borrow land from Kara people, imitating their practices of cultivating. According to the Kara's oral tradition, Koegu people were not engaged in cultivation at that time and Kara people taught their techniques to them. Koegu people, for their part, have their own oral tradition regarding the start of cultivation, which does not coincide with that of Kara. In the Koegu vocabulary related to cultivation, there are some words not borrowed from Kara (e.g., sorghum *ruubu* [*Ka ishing*'], to cultivate: *akohiyaa* [*Ka pak'idiina*]). The fact suggests that Koegu people already had certain cultivation techniques before the introduction of new methods by Kara people. When Kara people moved to this area, Kara and Koegu people formed a symbiotic relationship, a practice prevailing in southwestern Ethiopia. This relationship is called *belmo* in the Koegu language and *bel* in the Kara language. The relationship exists between households, and things are exchanged or given between the two parties. From the Koegu side, sorghum and honey are supplied; and from the Kara side, goats, sheep and bullets. Further, Koegu people cultivate and drive away birds from the farm of their Kara *belmo*. Although Koegu people are not willing to admit it, this is rather a subordinate position for them. In fact, all the farms belong to Kara people, whereas Koegu people have only the right to cultivate them.

There is no intermarriage between Koegu and Kara people. There is even a discriminative relationship between these two groups. Kara people do not share food from the same container with Koegu people. In terms of language, there exists a similar relation. The Kara language is dominant, the Koegu language subordinate. Words are always borrowed from Kara, the dominant language, to Koegu, the subordinate language. Most Koegu people, regardless of sex, master the Kara language when they grow up and thus become bilingual. On the contrary, very few Kara people master the Koegu language. There is no doubt that Kara is the dominant language and Koegu the subordinate one, both from the direction of borrowing and that of acquisition of the second language. In the next chapter, we will briefly review the borrowing from the Kara language observed in the Koegu language with regard to the vocabulary and grammar.

2. ELEMENTS OF KARA IN KOEGU

In the preceding chapter, it was pointed out that the direction of borrowing is from the Kara language to the Koegu language. In order to determine the direction of borrowing, two types of approach are necessary. One is verification from the viewpoint of language structure, and the other is supposition by means of vocabulary distribution. Studies on structure of these languages, especially that of the Kara language, are insufficient, thus making verification difficult from the viewpoint of language structure. Therefore I attempted to determine the direction by investigating vocabulary distribution.

The Koegu language belongs to the Surma language group in the Nilo-Saharan phylum. The Kara language, on the other hand, belongs to the Omotic language group in the Afroasiatic phylum. These two languages differ genetically and also differ completely in language structure. To compare structural differences between these two languages, I sometimes use the Hamar language in place of the Kara language, on which data is lacking⁽⁴⁾. The Hamar language also belongs to the Omotic language group and is so similar to the Kara language that they are considered to form one dialect group.

The Koegu language has the word order of subject-verb-object, whereas the Hamar (and also the Kara) language basically has that of a subject-object-verb, as in (1).

(1)

| | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|-------|---------|
| Koegu | ote | indaa | aan |
| | bee | bites | me |
| | 'A bee bites me.' | | |
| Hamar | edi | waki | k'anidi |
| | man | cow | drove |
| | 'A man drove cattle.' | | |

While Koegu is a prepositional language, Hamer (and also Kara) is a postpositional language as in (2).

| | | | | |
|-------|----------------------|--------|-------|--|
| (2) | | | | |
| Koegu | tok | ka | koegu | |
| | language | of | koegu | |
| | 'The Koegu language' | | | |
| Kara | waxa-sa | imba | | |
| | bull-of | father | | |
| | 'A father's bull' | | | |

Thus, typologically, the Koegu language and the Kara language completely differ in language structure.

Next, I will examine the direction of borrowing based on the distribution of vocabulary. If both the Koegu and Kara languages have similar forms conveying similar meanings, and if these forms are similar to those of the Hamer language, we can regard these forms as being originated in the Kara and Hamer languages and finally in the Omotic language group. This means that the Koegu language came to have the similar forms as a result of borrowing from the Kara language. For example, Koegu *haamu* is a borrowed word from Kara *haami*, which is cognate with Hamer *ami* in (3).

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|-------|--|
| (3) | | | | |
| | Koegu | Kara | Hamer | |
| 'cultivated field' | haamu | haami | ami | |

Koegu people do not have such close contact with Hamer people as they do with Kara people, nor did they in the past. Therefore, it is not possible to assume that the Hamer language borrowed from the Koegu language. We can conclude that the direction of borrowing is from the Kara language to the Koegu language. So far, borrowing in the reverse direction, that is, from the Koegu language to the Kara language, has not been observed. Hereafter, if both the Koegu and Kara languages have similar forms conveying similar meanings, I consider them as borrowings from the Kara language, without citing examples from the Hamer language.

2.1. Borrowing from Kara in Koegu

Among borrowed words from the Kara language, some Koegu words have apparently different vowels from those of the Kara language at the word-final position.

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------|-------|--|
| (4) | | | |
| | Koegu | Kara | |
| 'cultivated field' | haamu | haami | |

In the Koegu language the vowel at the word-final position is /u/, while in the Kara language the vowel ends with /i/ in (4). We cannot conclude, however, that the difference in vowels results from a phonological change when the borrowing took place. A noun of the Kara language consists of a root and a suffix. In a different category, a different suffix is attached to the root. The following (5) is an example of the Hamer language.

| | | | | | |
|---------|---------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|--|
| (5) | | | | | |
| 'field' | 'small field' | 'large field' | 'all fields' | 'several fields' | |
| ami | amä | ammo | amino | amma | |

It seems that a form of a certain category was chosen when borrowing took place, thus determining the vowel at the word-final position. It is not clear, however, which category of form was chosen by the Koegu at the time of borrowing. Therefore, in this article,

categories of a noun and differences of word-final vowels are not taken into consideration.

2.2. Borrowing of vocabulary

In borrowing, some words are wholly borrowed, while others are partially borrowed. The following are names of fingers of the hand.

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------|------------|
| (6) | Koegu | Kara |
| 'thumb' | duma | duma |
| 'little finger' | kambi | kambi |
| 'forefinger, | saita c'akal | gido saita |
| middle finger, | | |
| third finger' | | |

In (6), *c'akal* in the Koegu word *saita c'akal* is a word meaning 'center' in the Koegu language. *Saita* is a wholly borrowed Kara word, but the Kara word *gido* was translated into the Koegu word *c'akal* when borrowing took place. Since *c'akal* results from loan-translation, 'forefinger, middle finger, third finger' is regarded as having been wholly borrowed.

| | | |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|
| (7) | Koegu | Kara |
| 'burn' | reeba | reeba |
| 'serious burn' | ata reeba | ata reeba |

In the above (7), a compound is wholly borrowed without partial loan-translation. The following (8) shows partial borrowing.

| | | |
|---------|--------------|--------|
| (8) | Koegu | Kara |
| 'wrist' | kanta | kanta |
| 'ankle' | kanta ka jap | gintii |

In the Kara language, 'wrist' and 'ankle' are completely different words. When borrowed into the Koegu language, 'ankle' was broken down into 'wrist of leg', and only 'wrist' was borrowed from the Kara language. That is, 'wrist' was partially borrowed. There is another type of partial borrowing as in (9).

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|--------------------|
| (9) | Koegu | Kara |
| 'to extract a thorn by pulling with fingers' | aashiyaa | gucidiina |
| 'to extract a thorn by using another thorn' | aashiyaa waac'iwaac'i | waac'iwaac'aidiina |

In the Kara language, both 'to extract a thorn by pulling with fingers' and 'to extract a thorn by using another thorn' are one-word expressions. In the Koegu language, 'to extract a thorn by using another thorn' is expressed in two words, by attaching a qualifying element to a verb having a general meaning. As only the qualifying element is borrowed from the Kara language, we can regard this as partial borrowing.

In some cases, the semantic field of a word change when borrowed into the Koegu language. In the above example (8), *kanta* means only 'wrist' in the Kara language, but in the Koegu language it came also to mean 'joint' as a result of borrowing. This is expansion of the semantic field. On the contrary, the semantic field is diminished in some cases when borrowing takes place.

| | | | |
|------|--------------------------|---------|---------|
| (10) | | Koegu | Kara |
| | 'flower' | ola | uushumi |
| | 'flower of true grasses' | aashimi | |

In (10) *uushumi* in the Kara language means a flower of any plant, but when it was borrowed into the Koegu language, it came to mean exclusively a flower of true grasses. Thus the semantic field was restricted. It is not certain whether the Kara word was borrowed as there was no Koegu word to mean a flower of true grasses, or whether an original Koegu word which meant a flower of true grasses was replaced by the borrowed Kara word.

There is an example which clearly shows that borrowing took place corresponding to the original Koegu structure.

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------|------|
| (11) | | Koegu | Kara |
| | 'wife's father' | baaba | bais |
| | 'wife's mother' | bais | bais |

In (11), when referring to relatives, 'wife's father' and 'wife's mother' are distinguished in the Koegu language, but in the Kara language they are not. There seems to be a certain significance in distinguishing 'wife's father' and 'wife's mother' in Koegu society, while in Kara society they are not distinguished. And for unknown reasons, in the Koegu language only 'wife's mother' is replaced by the borrowed Kara word.

2.3. Borrowing in grammar

In the Koegu language, grammatical elements are also borrowed from the Kara language. Shown below are a suffix making a causative, a suffix making a gerund and a suffix making a participle in (12), (14), and (15) respectively.

| | | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|--------|------|---------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (12) | | | | | | |
| Koegu | wa?ati | otaa | Kara | wa?ati | kats'idiina | |
| | oil | melt | | oil | melt | |
| | 'Oil melts.' | | | 'Oil melts.' | | |
| Koegu | aot-ish-iyaa | wa?ati | Kara | inta | wa?ati | kats'i-si-diina |
| | I-melt | oil | | I | oil | melt |
| | 'I melt oil.' | | | 'I melt oil.' | | |

In the Koegu language, the suffix *-shi*, which makes a causative verb, was borrowed from the Kara language, where the causative suffix is *-si*. This is not a mere borrowing of vocabulary, since the suffix is also attached to original Koegu verbs. The suffix is not an original grammatical element of the Koegu language either, since the Murle language, which belongs to the Surma language group together with the Koegu language, makes a syntactical causative sentence, not a morphological one, with an affix as in (13)⁽⁵⁾.

| | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|--------|----------|----------|
| (13) | | | | |
| Murle | awot | 'dolec | agero' | |
| | drink | child | medicine | |
| | 'A child drinks medicine.' | | | |
| Murle | k-a'dute | awot | 'dolec | agero' |
| | I-make | drink | child | medicine |
| | 'I make a child drink medicine.' | | | |

In the Koegu language, a gerund is made by attaching the suffix *-into* to a verbal root. The suffix was borrowed from the Kara language.

(14)

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|----|-----|----|-----------|------|------------------|-----------|------|----|
| Koegu | aan | a | hur | ka | asik-into | Kara | inta | asik-into | eedi | na |
| | I | am | man | of | working | | I | working | man | am |
| | 'I am a worker.' | | | | | | 'I am a worker.' | | | |

In the Koegu language, a participle is made by attaching the suffix *-inte* to a verbal root.

(15)

| | | |
|-------|--|---------|
| Koegu | gom-into | korung' |
| | holding | throat |
| | 'shrimp' (as it sticks in the throat when eaten) | |

In case of the gerund *asikinto*, it is possible that the word itself was borrowed from the Kara language. In the case of *gominte*, however, it is formed by attaching the suffix *-inte* to the verb *gom-aa*, which means 'to hold' and is an original Koegu word. Thus it is clear that the suffix *-inte* functions productively as a grammatical element to make a participle.

3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE IN THE LIGHT OF BORROWING

Koegu Vocabulary (Hieda 1991b) was compiled by grouping Koegu words according to simple association of meanings. The booklet consists of 19 semantic associations, such as body parts, plants, animals, eating, clothing, dwelling, daily life, body action, kinship, social life, natural phenomena and so on. In this article, I try to explore the relationship between a language and a culture in the light of borrowing, focusing on the vocabulary related to hunting and gathering, which is the main cultural characteristics of Koegu society. For the purpose of comparison, I take up the vocabulary related to body parts, eating, dwelling, kinship and cultivation.

3.1. Body parts

(16)

A. Restricted Semantic Field

| | Koegu | Kara |
|-----------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1 'shoulder' | kapana | kapana |
| 'shoulder blade' | kaaralapo | kaaro lapo |
| 2 'to breathe quickly' | awogiyaa | wooga |
| 'to breathe out' | abuliyaa | uusi bula |
| 3 'to smell sth.' | agaamiya | gama |
| 'to smell good' | gaamaa shuka | ts'aalina gama |
| 4 'serious wound with pus' | kora | kora |
| 'scab' | ganga | ganga |
| 'scar' | mada | mada |
| 5 'hydrocele testis' | k'uiya | k'uiya |
| 'epilepsy' | beelo | beelo |
| 'to become crippled' | ac'uuradiyaa | c'uuraidiina |
| 'to rub' | aliibiiyaa | liiba |
| 'to press with finger-tips' | ahaamiyaa nap | napaidiina |
| 'medicine' | deesha | deesha |
| 'doctor' | hur ka deesha | deesha eedi |

B. Wide Semantic Field

| | Koegu | Kara |
|------------------|-----------|-----------|
| 1 'bone' | gici | lapo |
| 2 'to breathe' | ahuagiyaa | uusica |
| 'to breathe in' | awashiyaa | uusi arsa |
| 3 'to smell bad' | maajaa | c'oka |

| | | | |
|---|--------------|-------------|---------|
| 4 | 'wound' | gie | ajim |
| | 'pus' | mujugu | lendet |
| 5 | 'illness' | demen | burk'i |
| | 'to be lame' | a'dokociyaa | shokola |

In (16), words in the list A are borrowed from the Kara language and those in the list B are not. In general, the borrowed words in this group have more specific or restricted meanings than the original Koegu words which are not borrowed from the Kara language. For example, there is an original Koegu word for 'bone', but the word for 'shoulder blade' is borrowed from the Kara language. Similarly, there is an original Koegu word for 'illness,' but names of particular illnesses are borrowed words. 'To smell bad' apparently seems to have a more restricted meaning than 'to smell.' In Koegu society, however, 'to smell bad' has a more fundamental meaning than 'to smell.' It is essential for their survival not to eat things 'smelling bad.' Moreover, 'to smell bad' has a significant meaning in their culture. Koegu people are especially careful to avoid breaking wind in the presence of other people. The act is a taboo since it has a supernatural implication.

3.2. Clothing

(17)

A. Restricted Semantic Field

| | | Koegu | Kara |
|---|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1 | 'clothes for male' | apala | apala |
| | 'to rinse' | ashaamiyaa c'opc'op | c'upc'upaidiina |
| | 'to be naked' | bundurko | puridunko |
| | 'thread' | kere | kere |
| 2 | 'to sew' | agooziyaa | gooza |
| 3 | 'to brush one's teeth' | ashekeiyaa | shikidiina |
| 4 | 'beads' | haraga | harago |

B. Wide Semantic Field

| | | Koegu | Kara |
|---|-------------|------------|-----------|
| 1 | 'to wear' | akomeniyaa | arsa |
| 2 | 'to pierce' | ac'akiyaa | jagidiina |
| 3 | 'to wash' | auaniyaa | shaya |

In (17), the words in the list A refer to things which were newly introduced to the Koegu culture, and the words in the list B refer to things which originally belong to their culture. 'Cloth' actually means cotton fabric to wrap the body, which is not their traditional costume. Their traditional costume is made of animal skin. 'To sew' indicates to sew cotton cloth with thread, a skill newly introduced to their culture. On the other hand, 'to pierce' refers to piercing animal skin and sewing it with strings made of animal skin. Their traditional costume is made in this way.

3.3. Eating

(18)

A. Restricted Semantic Field

| | | Koegu | Kara |
|---|-----------------------|------------|------------|
| 1 | 'flour' | 'dil | 'duulo |
| | 'stiff porridge' | da?ano | da?ano |
| 2 | 'to stir' | awargeiyaa | warga |
| 3 | 'cooking-stone' | baaki | baaka |
| | 'calabash bottle' | gusha | gusi |
| 4 | 'to sip' | asuutiiyaa | suuta |
| 5 | 'to cover with a lid' | ashupiyaa | shupidiina |
| 6 | 'to be sour' | balk'aka | balk'aka |

B. Wide Semantic Field

| | Koegu | Kara |
|--|------------|---------|
| 1 'food' | mish | its'aro |
| 2 'to cook' | aakiyaa | baka |
| 3 'pot' | juu | daa |
| 'half calabash bottle' | k'oshe | sharka |
| 4 'to eat' | aamiyaa | its'a |
| 'to scrape the food stuck to the bottom of a vessel' | aunkokeyaa | guka |
| 5 'lid' | k'adi | shupi |

In (18) 'food', 'to cook,' and 'to eat' are the words with general and wide semantic fields and such words are not likely to be replaced by borrowed words. Special connotation is involved in the word 'to scrape the food stuck to the bottom of a vessel.' In the Koegu society, where food is not abundant, adult men eat first. Women and children eat what is left in the vessel. Koegu people let those people with high productivity eat first so as to maintain the productivity of the whole society. The word is rather specific, but it has a special value in their society. Such a word, which has a restricted semantic field but has a significant meaning in the culture, is not likely to be replaced by a borrowed word.

3.4. Dwelling

(19)

A. Restricted Semantic Field

| | Koegu | Kara |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|--------|
| 1 'floor' | shen | shen |
| 'post' | tupa | tupa |
| 2 'chair for women' | mora | mora |
| 3 'to gather up rubbish with a broom' | apuushiiyaa | puusha |

B. Wide Semantic Field

| | Koegu | Kara |
|---------------------------------------|----------|---------|
| 1 'hut' | to?o | oono |
| 'rib of the hut' | shani | sako |
| 2 'chair for men' | karam | borkoto |
| 3 'to make the ground surface smooth' | ahigiyaa | saa |

In (19), 'hut' and 'to make the ground surface smooth' are words with general semantic fields, and they are not likely to be replaced by borrowed words. On the other hand, words referring to building materials of a hut have restricted semantic fields and they tend to be replaced by borrowed words. 'Pillow, chair for men' is a word which has a special value in the Koegu culture. Koegu men attach special importance to the way of carving, carrying and sitting on it. On the other hand, 'pillow, chair for women' is a raw log, not an artifact.

3.5. Kinship

(20)

A. Restricted Semantic Field

| | Koegu | Kara |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|
| 1 'stepfather' | baski | baski |
| 'first-born child' | toidi | tuidi |
| 2 'marriage, wedding' | gaido | gaido |
| 3 'sterile woman' | seeko | seeko |

B. Wide Semantic Field

| | Koegu | Kara |
|------------|--------|-------|
| 1 'father' | shumne | amba |
| 'child' | hanta | naaso |

| | | | |
|---|------------------|--------------|------------|
| 2 | 'to get married' | aiyanishiyaa | keemidiina |
| 3 | 'to give birth' | ajiisheniyaa | adidiina |

In (20), while 'father' and 'child' are words with general and wide semantic fields, 'step-father' and 'first-born child' have restricted semantic fields. The noun 'marriage, wedding' includes marriage ceremonies and other things, but the verb 'to get married' is a word with a general semantic field. Negative value is attached to 'sterile woman.' Words with negative value tend to be replaced by borrowed words.

3.6. Cattle raising

(21)

A. Restricted Semantic Field

| | | | |
|---|--------------|------------|--------------|
| | | Koegu | Kara |
| 1 | 'heifer' | k'atab | k'atab |
| | 'calf' | ooto | ooto |
| 2 | 'udder' | k'aak'a | k'aak'a |
| 3 | 'fresh milk' | shete dasi | raats'i desi |

B. Wide Semantic Field

| | | | |
|---|----------|-------|---------|
| | | Koegu | Kara |
| 1 | 'cattle' | bii | wanga |
| 2 | 'breast' | ute | ami |
| 3 | 'milk' | shete | raats'i |

In (21), while 'cattle' is a word with a general semantic field, 'heifer' and 'calf' have restricted semantic fields. 'Udder' and 'fresh milk' are unfamiliar words to Koegu people for whom cattle raising is not a part of life. Those unfamiliar words tend to be replaced by borrowed words.

3.7. Cultivation

(22)

A. Restricted Semantic Field

| | | | |
|---|---------------------------------|-------------|--------|
| | | Koegu | Kara |
| 1 | 'a variant of sorghum' | logomo | logomo |
| 2 | 'cultivating field' | haamu | haami |
| | 'boundary of gardens' | maari | maaro |
| | 'to weed' | ahaarimiyaa | harmo |
| | 'to uproot plants' | abuuc'iyaa | buuc'a |
| | 'to take out beans from sheath' | amaishiiyaa | maisha |
| | 'hoe' | gaita | gaita |
| | 'ax' | c'uk | shuko |

B. Wide Semantic Field

| | | | |
|---|----------------|----------|------------|
| | | Koegu | Kara |
| 1 | 'sorghum' | ruubu | ishing' |
| 2 | 'to cultivate' | akohiyaa | pak'idiina |

Although only one variant of sorghum is cited here in (22), there are many words for variants of sorghum borrowed from the Kara language. There is a general term for sorghum in the Koegu language. As stated in the first chapter, Koegu people were already cultivating this crop when new methods were introduced by Kara people. Therefore the Koegu words 'sorghum' and 'to cultivate' trace back to the time before they came into contact with Kara people. Here also such words as 'sorghum' and 'to cultivate' with general semantic fields are not likely to be replaced by borrowed words.

3.8. Hunting and gathering (23)

A. Restricted Semantic Field

| | Koegu | Kara |
|------------------|------------|----------|
| 1 'to track' | aiyamiyaa | c'aga |
| 'to stalk' | ajigiyaa | zaapa |
| 'to lie in wait' | augusheyaa | bats'imo |
| 'to chase' | arishiyaa | goba |

B. Wide Semantic Field

| | Koegu | Kara |
|-------------|--------------|------------|
| 1 'to hunt' | aadinsiiyaa | adima |
| 2 'hunter' | hur ka adima | adima eedi |

Borrowing of vocabulary related to hunting and gathering presents a striking contrast to that shown in 3.1. through 3.7. Here words with general and wide semantic fields such as 'to hunt' and 'hunter' are replaced by borrowed words, and words with restricted semantic fields such as 'to track, follow' and 'to stalk' remain original Koegu words. In 3.1. through 3.7. words with general and wide semantic fields are not likely to be replaced by borrowed words. As stated in the first chapter, the main characteristics of the Koegu culture lie in hunting and gathering. Therefore it is suggested that, with regard to the vocabulary related to the main cultural characteristics, words with general and wide semantic fields tend to be easily replaced by borrowed words and that words with restricted semantic fields are not likely to be replaced.

4. CONCLUSION

It is natural that the words referring to things which are newly introduced are borrowed ones (cf. 'cloth' and 'to sew' in 3.2.), but there are some tendencies in borrowing. (1) Regarding the vocabulary not related to the main cultural characteristics, words with restricted semantic fields tend to be replaced by borrowed words (e.g., 'shoulder blade' and particular names of illnesses in 3.1., words referring to building materials of a hut in 3.4., 'stepfather' and 'first-born child' in 3.5., 'heifer' and 'calf' in 3.6., and many words for variants of sorghum in 3.7.), and words with general and wide semantic fields are not likely to be replaced (e.g., 'bone' and 'illness' in 3.1., 'food' and 'to cook' and 'to eat' in 3.3., 'hut' and 'to make the ground surface smooth' in 3.4., 'father' and 'child' in 3.5., 'cattle' in 3.6., and 'sorghum' in 3.7.). (2) Some words with restricted semantic fields, however, are not likely to be replaced if those words have special value in the society (e.g., 'to smell bad' in 3.1., 'to scrape the food stuck to the bottom of a vessel' in 3.3., and 'pillow for men' in 3.4.). (3) In contrast, in the case of the vocabulary related to the main cultural characteristics, words with general and wide semantic fields tend to be replaced by borrowed words (e.g., 'to hunt' and 'hunter' in 3.8.), while words with restricted semantic fields are not likely to be replaced (e.g., 'to track, follow' and 'to stalk' in 3.8.). (4) The words with negative value tend to be replaced by borrowed words (e.g., 'sterile woman' in 3.5.). (5) Unfamiliar words tend to be replaced by borrowed words (e.g., 'udder' and 'fresh milk' in 3.6.). Thus it can be concluded that a culture influences exchange of speech forms.

NOTES

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(1) cf. Matsuda 1988.

(2) The description of Kara society is mostly based on the data in Matsuda 1988.

(3) The oral tradition of Omo-Murle narrates briefly the migration of the Kara people (cf. Hieda

- 1991a). On the oral tradition of Kara, see Matsuda 1991.
 (4) On the Hamar language, see Lydall 1976.
 (5) On the Murle language, see Tucker 1952.

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