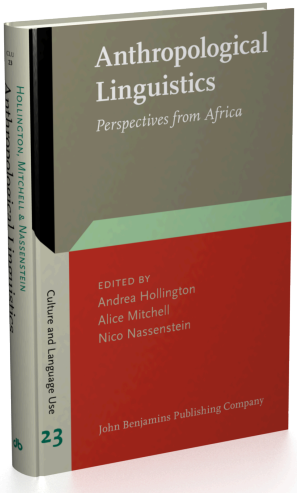
Culture and Language Use
23

CHAPTER 5

Notes on glottonyms and ethnonyms in Ethiopian languages

Zelealem Leyew | Addis Ababa University

https://doi.org/10.1075/clu.23.05ley



Pages 104–134 of
Anthropological Linguistics: Perspectives from Africa
Edited by Andrea Hollington, Alice Mitchell and Nico Nassenstein
[**Culture and Language Use**, 23] 2024. xiii, 485 pp.

CHAPTER 5

Notes on glottonyms and ethnonyms in Ethiopian languages

Zelealem Leyew
Addis Ababa University

This paper gives a grammatical and sociolinguistic account of glottonyms and ethnonyms in Ethiopian languages. As a metonymic relationship, glottonyms are derived from ethnonyms by attaching the roots of the vocal organs: 'mouth', 'tongue' and 'tooth'. The mouth-based glottonyms are widespread in Cushitic, Omotic and Semitic languages. Nilo-Saharan languages have mouth- and tongue-based glottonyms. Few suppletive forms of glottonyms and ethnonyms were recorded. The use of multiple names for the same language and ethnic group is frequent. The disparity between endonyms and exonyms has long been a source of confusion. In particular, the use of derogatory names has created discontent among ethnolinguistic groups. To alleviate the problems emanating from this polyonymous situation, a uniform use of endonyms as standard names is proposed in this study.

Keywords: Ethiopian languages, glottonyms, ethnonyms, metonymy, polyonymy, standardization

1. Introduction

The metonymic relationship between the vocal organs and the notion of "language" is illustrated in a number of verses in the holy books of the Bible and Qur'an. One verse in the Bible says, 'Very well then, with foreign lips and strange tongues God will speak to this people' (Isaiah 28:11). The Amharic translation of this verse says *bäbaʾəd af bäləyyum ləssan läzih həzb yənnaggärall* 'He will speak to this people in a foreign mouth and special tongue.' In Acts 2:4, the Apostles "were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance". In the Holy Qur'an, 'tongue' appears for 'language', as in "And indeed, we have eased the Qur'an in your tongue that they might be reminded" (14:4).

https://doi.org/10.1075/clu.23.05ley

In many languages of the world, the words for the notion of "language" are believed to have been derived from more basic senses which include the conspicuous vocal organs (see Mitchell and Zimmermann, this volume for a cross-linguistic study of this phenomenon).[1] This metonymic phenomenon is witnessed in Ethiopian languages in which we find the articulators 'mouth', 'tongue' and 'tooth' as the basis for the notion of language. The Amharic dictionary defines *kʾʷankʾʷa* 'language' as "mouth, tongue, tongue's fruit, hearable from speech organs" (Desta, 1962, p. 9). The Afaan Oromo word *kʾonkʾʷo*, which originally means 'throat', extends its meaning to mean 'language' (Abinet, 2007).[2] The Ge'ez word for language is *ləssan*, which refers to 'tongue' and 'language'. In the Amharic-Amharic dictionary (2000), *af* is translated as 'mouth' and 'language' in the context of, for instance, *Kasa yäfärändʒ af yənnaggärall* (lit. 'Kasa speaks a foreign mouth') to mean 'Kasa speaks a foreign language' and *əssu bəzu af yawkʾall* (lit. 'he knows many mouths') to mean 'he knows many languages.'

In addition to basic words for 'language', we also find 'mouth'-based metonyms deriving glottonyms in Ethiopian languages. There are also languages with the 'tongue'- and 'tooth'-based glottonyms. Glottonyms are also derived from ethnonyms by adding glottonym markers (i.e., prefixes or suffixes). There are few instances of suppletive forms where glottonyms and ethnonyms exhibit different forms. This paper describes the folk model of language (to use Radden's (2001) term) in Ethiopian languages. It explores the formal and semantic interrelationships between glottonyms and ethnonyms. It also identifies the types of language names and the positive and negative values attached to them. The qualitative data for this paper were drawn from secondary sources (most of them grammatical descriptions), supplemented by data from my own fieldnotes.

1. Not all languages of the world have a word exclusively denoting 'language'. Rather, the use of 'speech organs' as metonyms for 'language' is widespread cross-linguistically and can be taken as a shared human characteristic (Radden, 2001).

2. The metonymic relationship between 'throat' and 'language' is well-motivated, as the former is one of the places where sounds are produced as in Konni, a Gur language spoken in Ghana, in which the same word denotes 'voice' and 'throat' (Radden, 2001)

2. Glottonym markers

2.1 Vf(f)(V)(C) 'mouth'

As mentioned in section (1), 'mouth' is found to be the most widespread vocal organ used as the basis for the notion of "language" in Ethiopian languages. The mouth-for-language metonymic relation in most of these glottonyms is expressed by the form *af* or *afoo* or *afaan*, which means 'mouth' and can be represented as Vf(f)(V)(C). It may appear preceding an ethnonym, as in *ʔaf* Dáásanac 'mouth/language of Dáásanac' (Sasse, 1976), or following it, as in Sidaam-u *afoo* 'mouth/language of Sidaama' (Anbessa, 2000).

The glottonym marker Vf(f)(V)(C) 'mouth' is recorded in Cushitic, Omotic and Semitic (Afroasiatic), as well as in Nilo-Saharan languages. As shown in Example (1), the glottonyms of Ethio-Semitic languages have an N + N genitive structure in which the first constituent with a genitive marker *yä-* is the ethnonym and the second constituent is the word *af* 'mouth' expressing the meaning 'mouth/language of X'.

(1)	**Glottonym**	**Ethnonym**	
	yä-silt'e af	Silt'e	(Hanna, 2011)
	GEN-Silt'e mouth		
	yä-kistane af	Kistane	(Bedilu, 2010)
	GEN-Kistane mouth		
	yä-zay af	Zay	(Meyer, 2005)
	GEN-Zay mouth		

In the glottonym *Argobba af*, with a zero genitive marker, the direct meaning is 'Argobba mouth/language'. The Silt'e also call their language *ʔslaam af* 'Islam mouth/language' (Gutt, 1983). Apparently, this glottonym expresses their religious identity and strong attachment to Islam.

In the following Cushitic and Omotic languages, glottonyms are indicated by the same N+N structure combining the ethnonym and the glottonym marker Vf(f)(V)(C). Whereas the first four examples show genitive constructions without a morphologically realized genitive marker, the last two appear with genitive markers that have gone through vowel modifications.

(2)	**Glottonym**	**Ethnonym**	
	ʕafar af	ʕafar	(Bliese, 1976)
	ʕafar mouth		
	Hamar affo	Hamer	(Hanna, 2011)
	Hamer mouth		

Kara appo	Kara/Karo	(Alemgena, 2018)
Kara-mouth		
Dim-af[3]	Dime	(Mulugeta, 2008)
Dime-mouth		
Sidaam-u afoo	Sidaama	(Anbessa, 2000)
Sidaama-of mouth		
K'abeen-i /afoo	K'abeena	(Crass, 2005)
K'abeena-of mouth		

Concerning Hamer, Lydall (1976, p.393) writes that, "The language is variably referred to as */hamʌr ʌpɔ/*, */bʌnʌ ʌpɔ/* or */bʌʃʌdʌ ʌpɔ/* depending on the place of origin of the speakers. *ʌpɔ* means 'mouth' and 'language.". The Hamer and Sidaama languages are also recorded as *Hámar-aapó* [*ámar-aaɸó*] 'mouth/language of Hamer' and Sidaam-u *k'aale* 'word of Sidaama', respectively. In a similar pattern, the Aari people speak *Aar-af* or *Aari-af* 'mouth/language of Aari' (Gebre, 2010) and the K'abeena people also call themselves Womba and their language *wombi ʔafoo* or *wombi sanat* 'mouth/language of Womba' (Crass, 2005). The Gede'o language is designated in two ways: *Gɛde-inke afə/o* 'our Gede'o mouth/language' as a possessive construction (Bender, 1976) or *Gede'o-ffa*, where the derivational morpheme appears as a glottonym marker (Hanna, 2011). The Bach'a people speak a variety of *Dim-af* but label it *Bach'-af* 'mouth/language of Bach'a' (Hanna, 2011).[4] The Afar people call the language spoken by the Irob *Irob af* 'mouth/language of Irob', while the language of the Hado is *ħada-af ~ ħadi-af* 'mouth of Hado' (Esayas, 2015).

2.2 (C)Vf(f)V(V)(C) 'mouth'

Parallel to the above glottonym marker that appears following ethnonyms, the glottonym marker derived from (C)Vf(f)V(V)(C) 'mouth' appears preceding them. This glottonym marker was recorded as an independent word only in Cushitic languages. In (3), we have the N+N structure where the first constituent is the glottonym marker and the second constituent is the ethnonym, which together express the meaning 'mouth/language of X' without an overt genitive marker.

3. In this paper, glottonym markers are treated as bound forms when modification takes place on the basic forms, as in *Dim-af* 'mouth/language of Dime' and *Bach'-af* 'mouth/language of Bach'a'.

4. Aklilu (2019) writes that the Bach'a people speak a dialect related to Chara.

(3)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
afaan Oromo	Oromo	(Dabala, 2011)
mouth Oromo		
ʔafaa χonsóʔ	Xons-itta	(Ongaye, 2004)
mouth Konso		
ʔaf Dáásanac	Dáásanac	(Sasse, 1976)
mouth Dáásanac		
af Kusamiya	Kusamiya	(Wondwosen, 2006)
mouth Kusamiya		
af Somali	Somali	(Saeed, 1987)
mouth Somali		

Afaan Oromo is also known by the alternative name *Orom-iffaa*. The suffix *-iffaa*, though not productive in the language, means 'in the manner of' or 'like' (Dabala, 2011). However, the majority of native speakers prefer *Afaan Oromo* to *Orom-iffaa*. The Kwama call their language *Afaan Mao* 'mouth of Mao', presumably influenced by the Oromo (Bender, 1976). Bender (1976) also mentions the same glottonym, namely Afaan Mao, for the language of the Anfillo ethnic group, who have abandoned their language and shifted to Afaan Oromo (Amanuel, 2012).

2.3 Glottonym markers other than Vf(f)(V)(C) and (C)Vf(f)V(V)(C)

As mentioned in the preceding sections, the most frequently occurring glottonym markers are Vf(f)(V)(C) and (C)Vf(f)V(V)(C), which are derived from 'mouth'. In the following Cushitic languages, the glottonym markers are all derived from native words for 'mouth' and appear preceding the ethnonym.

(4)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
bago ts'amakkilo	Ts'amay	(Savà, 2005)
mouth Ts'amay		
hi ´ii ta Bayso	Bayso	(Lemi, 2018)
mouth Bayso		
òhó erbore	Erbore/Arbore/Irbore	(Bender, 1976)
mouth Erbore		
poko Kawwate	Gawwada	(Tosco, 2006; Zelalem, 2013)
mouth Kawwate		
poko Allete	Gawwada	(Zelalem, 2013)
mouth Alette		

As shown in (5), some Omotic languages also derive glottonyms by combining the word for 'mouth' with the ethnonym.

(5)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
maalló múcci	Maale (pl. Maalló)	(Amha, 2001)
Maalló mouth		
Seez-waani	Seezo Mao	(Girma, 2015)
Seezo-mouth		
Hòòzi-wándí	Hozo Mao	(Getachew, 2015)
Hozo-mouth		

As shown in (6), the glottonym marker *-no(o)n*(V)(V), which refers to 'mouth/language', was recorded in the following West Omotic languages.

(6)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
Bench-non	Bench	(Tizazu, 2010)
Bench-mouth		
Kaffi-noonoo	Kaffa	(Tilahun, 2009)
Kefficho-mouth		
ʃeki-noonoo	Shekkacho/Shekki	(Tolemariam, 2009)
Shekkacho-mouth		

Bench-non 'Bench mouth/language' is also known as *Bench gah* 'Bench speech'.[5] The speech-for-language metonymy is also attested in its varieties, namely, *She-non* 'mouth/language of She' and *Mer-non* 'mouth/language of Mer', which can also be called *She gah* 'She speech' and *Mer gah* 'Mer speech' (Tizazu, 2010). The glottonym marker *-nog* in *dizi-nog* 'mouth/language of Dizi' seems to have a similar meaning ('mouth/language') to that of *-no(o)n*(V)(V). Although the name Baskeet can refer both to the language and ethnic group, the language is also known as *Baskeet noona* 'mouth/language of Bask(e)et' (Treis, 2014).

The mouth-language pairing occurs in Nilo-Saharan languages by introducing glottonym markers derived from 'mouth', as shown in (7).

(7)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
tʃawi kaw	Chabu	(Kibebe-Tsehay, 2015)
Chabu area mouth		
Dhá àŋwáa	Àŋwáa	(Reh, 1996)
mouth Àŋwáa		
Thok nuäärä	Nuer	(John Kong, p.c.)
mouth Nuer		

5. The use of expressions denoting linguistic actions such as 'speak/speech' is one of the ways of deriving a word for the notion of 'language' (Radden, 2001).

ndù bərθù	Berta	(Bender, 1976)
mouth Berta		

According to Bender (1976), the Berta people also call their language *ndù θayù* 'mouth/language of home'. The Nyangatom (also Donyiro/Dongoro) call themselves *ɲãŋatɔ:m* or *dɔŋɔro* and their language *aku-tuk ãŋiɲãŋatɔ:m* 'mouth/language of Nyangatom' or *aku-tuk ãŋidɔŋɔro* 'mouth/language of Dongoro' (Bender, 1976; Dimmendaal, 2007). C.A. Ahland (2012) states that whereas the Gumuz of the Sese dialect area call their language *sə-Gumuz* 'Gumuz language', the other Gumuz call it *sa-ɓaga* 'mouth of a person'. Aklilu (2019) writes that the Metekel Gumuz call their language *nəgiʃa baga* 'mouth/speech of people'. The Komo ethnic group call their language *t'a Komo* 'mouth/language of Komo' (Bender, 1976). Similarly, the Opuuo call themselves *Opuuo* and their language *Táá Pòò* 'mouth/language of Opuuo' (Mellese, 2014). The Shabo call themselves Chabu or Tsabu, their resident forest Chawi and their language *ʧ'awi kaw* (lit. 'the mouth/language of Chawi') after their habitat (Kibebe-Tsehay 2015). Interestingly, the Me'en call their language *tʊk-te/mɛʔɛnɛn* 'mouth/language of people' and the Nuer call theirs *ɟog nääð* 'mouth/language of humans' (Bender, 1976). These are ethnocentric expressions which reflect that the two ethnic communities refer to themselves broadly as 'people' or 'humans'.

Although the use of the word *kʾʷankʾʷa* 'language' as in *yä-Oromo kʾʷankʾʷa* 'language of Oromo' and *yä-Afar kʾʷankʾʷa* 'language of Afar' and the use of the glottonym marker suffix *-əɲɲa* (*-ina* in Gurage and *-(ə)ɲɲa* in Amharic and Tigrinya) as in *orom-əɲɲa* 'Afaan Oromo' and *Afar-əɲɲa* 'Ɂafar af' are used almost exclusively in modern Amharic, elderly speakers of Amharic still use *af* for 'language', as in *yä-Oromo af* 'mouth/language of Oromo' and *yä-Afar af* 'mouth/language of Afar'. They also use metonymic (metaphorical) expressions like *əssu bəzu af yənnaggärall* (lit. 'he speaks many mouths'), to mean 'he speaks many languages', *Kasa afun yəzo mätʾtʾa* (lit. 'Kasa brought with him his mouth') to mean 'Kasa brought with him his interpreter' and *əssu yäɲɲan af ayawkʾəmm* (lit. 'he does not know our mouth') to mean 'he does not speak our language' (Endalew & Zerihun, p.c.). The mouth-language metonymy is recorded in modern Amharic too, as in *afä fättotʧ* (lit. 'mouth untiers') to mean 'mother tongue speakers', *ənnässu afatʧäwən fättu* (lit. 'they untied their mouth') to mean 'they started speaking', *afu amällätʾäw* (lit. 'his mouth slipped') to allude to 'a slip of the tongue' and *afhən zəga!* 'close your (2MS) mouth!' to mean 'don't talk anymore!'

The terms and expressions used in the metalinguistic discourse also confirm the strong conceptual relationship between 'mouth' and 'language'. In Sidaama, the root word *af* 'mouth/language' appears in *afuu bude* lit. 'language system (grammar)', *afii fark'o* lit. 'language part (dialect)', *afuu ʤirte* 'language adminis-

tration (grammar)', *afuu tiint'allo sayinse* lit. 'language study science (linguistics)' (Sileshi & Yohannes, 1995). In Afaan Oromo, the root word *af(aan)* 'mouth/language' appears in expressions like *afaaneffachuu* 'word articulation/pronunciation', *afaaneffannooo* 'sound articulation/pronunciation', *afaanfala* 'oral language/dialect', *afaanyuu* 'theory' and *aflamee* 'bilingual' (Hinsene, 2012).[6]

2.4 Tongue-based glottonyms

As mentioned in Section 1, the 'tongue-for-language' metonymy is noticeable in the Bible and Qur'an. Given the superior role of the 'tongue' in the articulation of speech sounds, its metonymic relationship with the notion of "language" and widespread occurrence across languages might not be surprising (see also Radden, 2001). In Ethiopian languages, the tongue-based glottonyms are less frequent than the mouth-based glottonyms but relatively more frequent than the tooth-based glottonyms. In the glottonyms of the following two Nilo-Saharan languages, we find that an N+N structure, in which the glottonym markers are derived from the words for 'tongue', appears preceding or following the ethnonyms and expresses the meaning 'tongue/language of X' with no genitive marker.

(8)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
tʷa gwama [7]	Gwama	(Zelealem, 2005)
tongue Gwama		
Kunama ŋaelʔa	Kunama	(Nikodimos, 1987)
Kunama tongue		

The Kunama also call their language *Kunama Auʔra* 'Kunama speech' (Nikodimos, 1987). The Ge'ez language is also known as *ləssanä Ge'ez* 'tongue/language of Ge'ez'. The expressions such as *ləssanä nəgus* 'tongue/language of king', *ləssanä wahəd* 'one tongue/language (monolingual)' and *sənä ləssan* 'study of tongue/language' that are used in contemporary Amharic are all derived from Ge'ez. [8]

As the tongue is the most conspicuous vocal organ, it is metaphorically associated with the manner of speaking, as in the following examples from Amharic:

---

6. My colleagues Dr. Girma and Dr. Feda suggested *looga* for 'dialect' and *yaadiddama* for 'theory'.

7. Whether or not *tʷa* could mean 'mouth' as in the closely related languages *t'a Komo* 'mouth/language of Komo' and *táá Pòò* 'mouth/language of Opuuo' needs further investigation.

8. Ge'ez is a classical Ethiopian language.

(9) *Kasa məlas-am n-äw*
Kasa tongue-VOC be-3MS
Lit. 'Kasa is long-tongued.'

(10) *säwəyyä-w məlas-u a-yətʃtʃal-əmm*
man-DEF tongue-POSS:3MS NEG:3MS-tolerate-NEG
Lit. 'The tongue of the man is unbearable.'

(11) *əssu t'əru məlas all-äw*
he good tongue has-3MS
'He has a good tongue.'

The first sentence means that 'Kasa talks too much' and the second sentence that the 'the man is an incomparable talker'. The last sentence idiomatically expresses that 'he is an eloquent speaker with the capacity to convince others.'

Newman and Schuh (2016) identify that Hausa (Chadic, Afroasiatic) uses the tongue-language metonymy as a glottonym. They also found that other Chadic languages use the 'mouth-language' pairing. The 'mouth-language' and 'tongue-language' metonymic relations exhibited in Afroasiatic and Nilo-Saharan are different from, for instance, glottonyms in Niger-Congo languages such as Ki-Swahilli, Isi-Xhosa, Chi-Chewa, Se-Tswana, etc., where they are part of the noun class system.

2.5 VVs̄è and gV- 'tooth'

The teeth are important articulators, especially in the production of dental and inter-dental sounds. However, their role is not as indispensable as, for instance, 'mouth' and 'tongue'. Hence, the 'tooth-for-language' is rarer than the 'mouth-for-language' and 'tongue-for-language' metonymic relationship in Ethiopian languages.[9] The Bambasi-Diddesa Mao (Northern Mao) and Harari are the only languages whose autoglottonyms exhibit a genitive structure where the word for 'tooth' appears following the ethnonym ('tooth/language of X'), as in (9).

(12)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
màw-és aas̄è	Mao (*Màw-és wole*)	(Ahland, 2012)
Mao-man tooth	Mao (Mao-people)	
gē-sinān	*gē-usuʔ*	(Beniam, 2013)
Harari/place tooth	Harari/place person	

The Diddessa Mao also call their language *maaʔes poonsä* 'mouth/language of Mao man' (Girma, 2007). It is perhaps only the Diddessa Mao people who use both

9. Radden (2001) also reports that the "tooth-for-language" metonymy is the rarest cross-linguistically.

the 'tooth-based' and the 'mouth-based' glottonyms. M.B. Ahland (2012) writes that the Northern Mao speakers call their language /*màw-és ↓a:ts'-tòs-è*/ LH↓MLL (Mao-people tooth/language-talk-TV) 'tooth/language of the Mao people' or sometimes /*màw-és ↓a:ts'-è*/ LH↓ML Mao-people tooth/language-TV 'tooth/language of the Mao people', in which *↓a:ts'-tòs-è* and *↓a:ts'-è* refer to 'tooth/language/talk'. The Bambashi Mao call their language *Mao kɔ:le* 'Mao talk' (Bender, 1976).

The *gē-* prefix appears as a suffix in the toponym *Harar-gē* 'place of the Harari people'. Hence, in the ethnonym *gē-usu?*, the glottonym *gē-sinān* and the toponym *Harar-gē, gē-/-gē* expresses the ethnic, linguistic and geographical identities of the Harari people respectively (see also Beniam, 2013).[10] In the closely related languages Silt'e and Wolane, it appears as a suffix representing the same concept of 'place': Silt'e-gē 'Silte place' and Wolan-gē 'Wonane place' (Meyer, 2006).

2.6 -(V)*ɲɲa*, -*ŋa*, -*s(s)a*, -*tsts*o and -*te*

These glottonym markers are all part of the derivational morphology in the respective languages. The suffix -(V)*ɲɲa* is widely used in Ethio-Semitic languages. In Amharic, for instance, all glottonyms have this suffix, e.g., *Hadiyy-əɲɲa* 'Hadiyyissa/Hadiyya', *Bench-əɲɲa* 'Benchnon/Bench', *Gede'o-ɲɲa* 'Gede'o afo/Gede'o' and *Nuer-əɲɲa* 'Thok Nuäärä/Nuer' (see also the national population and housing censuses that exclusively use the -(ə)*ɲɲa* suffix in the list of languages). The -(V)*ɲɲa* suffix is added to nouns to derive adjectives, as in *mälk-äɲɲa* 'good looking', *gubbo-ɲɲa* 'bribe seeker', *hak'-äɲɲa* 'truth seeker', and so on.

In Agaw languages, the suffix -*ŋ*V(y) is attached as a glottonym marker following ethnonyms, as shown in (10):[11]

(13)	**Glottonym**	**Ethnonym**	
	aw-ŋi	Awiya/Awawa	(Hetzron, 1969)
	Awi-GM[12]		
	Kemant-ney	Kemant	(Zelealem, 2004)
	Kemant-GM		
	Xamt'a-ŋa	Xamir/Ximra	(Appleyard, 1987)
	Xamir-GM		

10. The suffix -*ge* appears in the name of a group of languages called Gura-ge. In Amharic, locations such as *ras-ge* /head-place/, which means 'top/up', *gər-ge* /foot-place/ 'bottom/down', and place names such as *gommän-ge* /cabbage-place/ 'cabbage place', *k'əddəs-ge* /holy-place/ 'holy place' and *əslam-ge* /Islam-place/ 'Islam place' are used.

11. The glottonym suffix -ŋV(y)i is not recorded in other instances in the language.

12. GM = glottonym marker

The most frequently used glottonym marker among the Highland East Cushitic languages is *-issa*, as illustrated below:

(14)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
Haddiy-issa	Haddiya	(Taddese, 2015)
Hadiyya-GM		
Kambaat-issa	Kambaata	(Treis, 2008)
Kambaata- GM		
Alaab-issa	Alaaba	(Schneider-Blum, 2007)
alaaba-GM		
Maʃol-issa	Mashole	(Wondwosen, 2006)
Mashole-GM		

Taddese (2015) writes that the Hadiyya people also call their language *hadiyyi̱ suume* 'mouth of Hadiyya' or *hadiyyi̱ sagara* 'voice of Hadiyya'. They say *ni̱ suumi̱ hadiyyisa* 'Our mouth/language is Hadiyyisa'.[13]

The following two Omotic languages have *-sa*/*-t̲sa* as a glottonym marker. In the ethnonym Yen-gar, the suffix *-gar* supposedly refers to 'man/person'.

(15)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
Yem-sa	Yem/Yen-gar	(Zaugg-Correti, 2013)
Yem-GM		
Oydi-tsa	Oyda	(Wossen, 2020)
Oyda-GM		

The other widely used glottonym in both Cushitic and Omotic languages is the suffix -t(t)V(t)(V), as shown in (16):

(16)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
Koree-te	Koore	(Beniam, 2007)
Kore-GM		
Mosi-ttata	Mosiye	(Wondwosen, 2015)
Mosiye-GM		
Diray-tat	Derashe	(Wondwosen, 2006)
Derashe-GM		
Wolaitto-ta	Wolaitta	(Aklilu, 2007)
Wolaitta-GM		

13. Since 'voice' is a precondition for the production of speech sounds and ultimately for speaking, the conceptual relationship between 'voice' and 'language' is apparent (Radden, 2001).

The language of the Mosiye is also called *Mosi-ttacha* (Wondwosen, 2015). Aklilu (2007, p. 13) writes that "Wolayta and *wolaittáttuwa* are common names for the language. It can also be referred to as *woláítta-dóónaa* 'mouth of Wolayta' or *woláítta-k'áálaa* 'word of Wolayta."

Other Omotic languages, such as Gamo and Dawro, have self-names with the suffixes *-tstso* and *-tsuwa*, respectively.

(17)

Glottonym	**Ethnonym**	
Gamo-tstso	Gamo	(Wondimu, 2010)
Gamo-GM		
Dawuroo-tsuwa	Dawuroo/Dawro	(Hanna, 2011)
Dawro-GM		

The Dawro people also refer to their language as *Dawro K'ala* 'Dawro word'.

2.7 Suppletive forms of glottonyms

Suppletive glottonyms are glottonyms that do not correspond in form and meaning to their respective ethnonyms. Such suppletive relationships between glottonyms and ethnonyms are generally rare. The glottonym *daʃa-te* versus the ethnonym Burji and the glottonym Ongota versus the ethnonym Bira(y)le are in suppletive relationships (see also Bender, 1976; Savà and Tosco, 2000). Dimmendaal (2020, p. 630) notes that "The speech community using Baale as a first language forms an ethnic unit known as Suri (or Surma) with the neighboring Tirma and Chai who speak a Southeastern Surmic language." This is a suppletive relationship between the name of the language and the name of the ethnic group. This phenomenon also shows that speakers of different languages can claim to be of the same ethnic origin. The Nuer sometimes call their language Naadh. The Dobaase and Gawaada have recently chosen to be one and share the same ethnonym, Alle, and their language is called *Dobas-ittata*. The glottonym is derived from the name Dobaase but is a suppletive form for the new ethnonym Alle. As shown in Example (4), the Gawwada also call their language *Poko Alle-te* 'mouth/language of the Alle' or *Poko Kawwa-te* 'mouth/language of Kawwate', another instance of a suppletive relationship between glottonyms and ethnonyms. Fekede (2012) writes that the Murle ethnic group speaks a language called *Aloŋanch* (meaning unknown). Esayas (2015) states that the Irob people call their language *Saaho*, another instance of a suppletive glottonym different from the name of the ethnolinguistic group. Non-Irob Saaho people call their language *Saahot luqha* or *Saahot waani*, meaning 'speech/language of the Saaho' (Esayas, 2015).

2.8 Remarks on glottonyms

It is worth noting that the use of *k'al/k'ale/k'ar*, which refers to 'word', also refers to 'language' and hence a metonym 'word for language' also occurs in Ethiopian languages. It appears in language names such as *Dawro k'ala* 'word/language of Dawro', *Kullo k'ale* 'word/language of Kullo', *Sidaam-u k'aale* 'word/language of Sidaama' and *woláítta-k'áálaa* 'word/language of Wolayta'. Fekede (2018) recorded *k'ar* 'word' in a similar context in Gurage languages, as in *Gumer k'ar* 'Gumer word/language', *Izha k'ar* 'Izha word/language' and *soddo k'ar* 'Soddo word/language'. In these languages, the idiomatic expression *k'ar awt'a* means 'produce word/language!' which also means 'speak out your testimony!' The same correlation between 'word' and 'language' is found in Amharic, as in *k'alun sät'ť'ä* (lit. 'he gave his word') which actually means 'he appeared before court or police and gave his testimony', and in *k'alun bälla* (lit. 'he ate his word'), which actually means 'he did not keep his promise.'[14]

It is also worth mentioning that, although the use of the suffix -(V)*ɲɲa* as a glottonym suffix is very common in all Ethiopian languages (see the national censuses), native speakers adhere to their own autoglottonyms and auto-ethnonyms. They are also committed to referring to other languages in the way they refer to their own language. Hence, the Afar say *Amara af* 'mouth/language of Amhara', *Oromo af* 'mouth/language of Oromo' and *Tigre af* 'mouth/language of Tigre'; the Sezo say *Amar-waani* 'mouth/language of Amhara', *Orom-waani* 'mouth/language of Oromo' and *Tigre-waani* 'mouth/language of Tigre'; and the Sidaama say *Amar afoo* 'mouth/language of Amhara', *Orom afoo* 'mouth/language of Oromo' and *Tigre afoo* 'mouth/language of Tigre'. Afaan Oromo speakers call Amharic *Afaan Amaaraa* 'mouth/language of Amhara', Gamo *Afaan Gamo* 'mouth/language of Gamo' and Anywa *Afaan Anywa* 'mouth/language of Anywa'. The Gumuz give names of other languages with the prefix *sá/sə́-* as in [*sə́-ʔágáwá*] ~ [*sá-ágáwá*] 'Agau language', while theirs is *sə-Gumuz* 'Gumuz language' (C.A. Ahland, 2012). The Northern Mao, who call their language màw-és ↓a:ts'-tòs-è 'tooth/language of the Mao people', call the languages of Hozo and Sezo (also Seze) *bègí màw-es a:ts'è* 'the languages of Mao of Bègí' following the same pattern. Note that they add the place name Bègí to distinguish them from the other Mao (M.B. Ahland, 2012).

It is also important to note that the native names of languages and ethnic groups are susceptible to mispronunciation in speech and misrepresentation in writing by non-native speakers. Being influenced by the phonological pattern of their own languages, speakers of other languages modify the pronunciation of

14. Although Radden (2001) has reported that the "word for language" reference is rare, it is relatively frequent in Ethiopian languages.

glottonyms and ethnonyms to ease pronunciation and spelling. Hence, regardless of tonal confusions, Awŋi is simplified as Awngi, Xamt'aŋa as Xamt'anga, *ʔafaa ʔa χonsóʔ* as afaa Xonso or afa Konso, *ʕafar* as Afar, *Benç* as Bench, *Bençnon* as Benchnon, *ɲaŋatom* as Nyangatom, and so on. In Omotic languages such as *aɸan Aari* 'Aari mouth/language' and *hámar-aaɸó* 'Hamer mouth/language', the bilabial fricative /ɸ/ is pronounced as /f/ and hence the *Aari aɸan* and the *Hamer aaɸó* are pronounced as *afan* and *aafo* by non-native speakers. The Nuer glottonym *ɟog nάάð* is pronounced as Tog Naz by non-natives whose first languages lack inter-dental sounds. The ethnic group Ts'amay and the language Ts'amakko are spelt as S'amai, Tsamay, Tsemay, Ts'amay, Tsemai, Tsamako and Tsamakko without any standardized form (Savà, 2005). The ten differently spelt names relating to Wolaitta in the Ethnologue (Grimes 1988) and other research papers remain a source of ambivalence that needs to be standardized.

3. Ethnonyms

3.1 Relationship between glottonyms and ethnonyms

In the preceding sections, we have seen that, with the exception of suppletive forms, language names are derived from ethnic names by attaching glottonym markers. That glottonyms are derived from ethnonyms proves their strong formal and conceptual relationships. This phenomenon also proves that language is very close to the human sense of identity. Even in the presence of distinct glottonyms and ethnonyms, it has become customary to use the same name for a language and an ethnic group. Anbessa (2000) writes that, irrespective of the endoglottonym *Sidaam-u afoo* 'mouth/language of Sidaama', the Sidaama people refer to their language and ethnic group by the same name and say *Ninke Sidaama-ho*; *K'al-i-nke Sidaama-ho* 'We are Sidaama; our language is Sidaama.' Angesom (2012) mentions that the term Kunama refers both to the people and the language. Although Anfillo natives prefer to use Anfillo for both the language and the ethnic group, the non-Anfillo use the name Mao for the ethnic group and Afaan Mao 'mouth/language of Anfillo' for their language (Amanuel, 2012). Sellassie (2015) reports that the name Gofa can be used as a glottonym or ethnonym. Although *Gede'o-ffa* is the preferred autoglottonym, Mattewos (2010) writes that the glottonym Gede'o can serve as a glottonym and ethnonym. In addition to the autoglottonyms *aku-tuk ãŋiŋãŋatɔ:m* 'mouth/language of Nyangatom' or *aku-tuk ãŋidɔŋɔro* 'mouth/language of Dongoro', the name Nyangatom can be used both for the language and the ethnic group (Hanna, 2011). Although the use of the term Oyda for both the language and ethnic group is acceptable, the autoglottonym

is *Oyd-issa* (Wossen, 2020). Though *Bench-non* and *Dawro-tso* are the autoglottonyms for the two languages, the use of Bench and Dawro is possible for both the languages and ethnic groups. Calling languages and ethnic groups by the same name is hence a commonplace in Afar, Anywa, Argobba, Burji, Hamer, Harari, Kistane, Konso, Me'en, Oromo, Oyda, Sidaama, Wolaitta, etc. It is understandable that researchers and other outsiders tend to use the same name for a language and ethnic group in order to remember, write and pronounce glottonyms and ethnonyms easily. For reasons of clarity, however, the words 'language' and 'ethnic group' can appear as modifiers, like "Afar language" versus "Afar ethnic group", "Gumuz language" versus "Gumuz ethnic group" and "Hamer language" and "Hamer ethnic group". Native names, on the other hand, are mostly used by natives themselves in intra-communication and in serious reports that require names to be pronounced or written as they are in the native languages.

3.2 Etymology of glottonyms and ethnonyms

Whereas glottonyms are derived from ethnonyms, the origins of ethnonyms are by and large narrated through folk etymologies. Some ethnolinguistic groups associate their origins with a certain incident that happened in their history. For instance, the Argobba believe that their name was derived from two events: *arab gäbba* 'Arab entered' and *harr gäbba* 'Silk entered' (Getahun, 2009).[15] There are different etymological explanations for the Kunama. Thompson (1983) suggests that the ethnonym Kunama is derived from *Ke-naama* or *Kwe-naama* which means 'men I call them, those whom I call people'. According to Nikodmos (1987), the name Kunama is a combination of the verb root *ku-* 'deviating' and the suffixes *-na* '1SG' and *-ama* 'clause marker', which all together give the meaning 'when I deviated'. The Kunama also believe that their name was derived from the name of their ancient queen, known as Kuname (Nikodmos (1987)). The Wolane believe that their ethnonym shares the same form as the toponym Wolane, derived from the expression *wäy läne* (lit. 'sorrow for me!') (Meyer, 2006). The glottonym and ethnonym Dawro means 'impregnable', 'powerful' and 'heroic' people (Data, 1997). The ethnonym Anywa (self-name *aøwa*) is derived from the verb *øwak* 'to share', which reflects their tradition of sharing food and other belongings with others (Bender, 1976).

Ethnonyms are often associated with the most prominent person among the group's ancestors. Sellassie (2015) mentions that the name Gofa was derived from one of their kings, called Kawo Gooba, which means 'the brave king'. Girma (2007) writes that the present-day Diddessa Mao migrated from Bambasi under

15. This might be associated with the introduction of silk to the Argobba area by the Arabs.

the leadership of Abba Shora, as a result of which they refer to themselves *maaʔoo abbaa šoraa* 'Abba Shora's Mao'. According to Abbink (1992), the Me'en identify themselves based on their place of origin and ancestral relations, saying *eda ga zuk-te-gunabok* 'We are Gunabok people', in which Gunabok is a name of a place, and *eda ga zuk-te-kabura* 'We are Kabura's people', in which Kabura is the name of their forefather. The Shinasha believe that their name was inherited from the Amharic expression *shi-na-shi* 'thousand and thousand', which was used for the first time when the Amhara saw them crossing their territory in big numbers to settle in their present location. Although Shinasha is the widely-known name without any derogatory connotation, natives prefer Boro (derived from the name of one of their ancestral fathers) for the people and Borna for their language (Bikila, 2018).

Empirical evidence shows that a group's self-chosen autonym often refers to 'person', 'people' or 'human' (Proschan, 1997). The ethnonym Awiiya or Awawa is derived from the root word *awi*, which means 'man/person' (Hetzron, 1969). The Baale (also known as Kachipo or Zilmamu (Dimmendaal, 2020)) call themselves *maʃi*, which also means 'person' (Bender, 1976). As mentioned in Section 2.3, the Berta, Gumuz, Me'en and Nuer ethnolinguistic groups use the word for 'person', 'people' or 'human' in their glottonyms.

Glottonyms and ethnonyms are also connected in form and meaning with toponyms. The name Ganjule (also Ganjawle), used as glottonym and ethnonym, is the name of an island (Siebert, 1994). In the same way, the glottonyms and ethnonyms Gatsʻame (also Get'eme/Kachama) and Geddicho (also Giddicho/Harro/Harruro) are taken from the names of the islands Gats'ame and Geddicho in Lake Abbaya, respectively (Siebert, 1994). Though Haruro and Geddicho were used as alternative names for the Haro, the latter is the name of an island inhabited by the Haro (Omotic) and Bayso (Cushitic) speakers (Hirut, 2004). Hirut also mentions the three villages on Geddicho Island, Shigma, Bayso and Haro, from which the glottonyms and ethnonyms Bayso and Haro are derived. Lemi (2018) states that Alkali and Geddicho are alternative names for the Bayso ethnolinguistic group. Treis (2014) writes that Baskeet can refer to the language, the ethnic group and the place they inhabit. She also mentions the name Basketo as a special sub-district inhabited by the Baskeet people. The Koore, who speak a language called *Koree-te*, call the place where they live *Koorr-uso*, the *-uso* suffix probably meaning 'place/land' (Beniam, 2007). The present-day Dawro were known as Kullo after the name of a place called Kuilii (Hirut, 2007). According to Tsehay (2011), Dangabo is a name given by the Oromo to the Shinasha after a place name called Dangab. The two dialects of Bora or Shinasha are known as *worwi bora* or *tari bora* 'lowland Bora' and *gayi bora* 'highland Bora' (Tsehay, 2011), based on geographical location. Similarly, speakers of *Aw-ŋi* and *Kumpal-ŋi* are iden-

tified as *däg-isi Agaw* 'highland Agaw' and *kol-isi Agaw* 'lowland Agaw', respectively (Zelealem, 2020). The Kara call their neighbors Hamar-Banna and Bashada 'mountain people' based on the geographical location they occupy (Girke, 2011). The name Mosiye (also Bussa) is believed to have been derived from the Gidole name *mosiy* 'country' (Bender, 1976). The Zay believe that they inherited their name from Lake Zway. Dabala and Girma (2005) claim that the term Anfillo came from the name of the place where the Anfillo people currently live. Amanuel (2012), on the other hand, claims that it is a term that originated from the word Afallo, a traditional cleansing ritual to get rid of bad weather and epidemics.

Ethnolinguistic groups may identify themselves based on their subsistence. The name Arbore/Erbore/Irbore (also known as Ulde) is derived from *ar* 'bull' and *bore* 'land' which together means 'the land of bulls', depicting their pastoral life. According to Sagawa (2010), the Dasaanach call themselves *gaal aaniet* 'people of livestock'. Although not reflected in their names, the Mursi and Bodi identify themselves as 'cattle people' and look down on the Kwegu who are hunter-gatherers (Dimmendaal, 1989). Ethnolinguistic groups may identify one another as friends and foes depending on their relationship. Whereas the Dasaanach classify the Kara and Arbore as *gaal kinnyo* 'our people' due to their friendly relations with them, they consider the Turkana, Nyangatom, Hamer and Gabra, with whom they have hostile relationships, as *kiz* 'enemies' (Sagawa, 2010).

3.3 Mononymous and polyonymous names

Proschan (1997) points out the problem underlying the proliferation of names in multilingual countries where a single language and ethnic group is simultaneously known by its autonyms as well as by various exonyms. The same language or ethnic group is represented by multiple names due to the fact that missionaries, researchers, census takers and other ethnolinguistic groups bestow names while disregarding autonyms. The use of multiple names (polyonymous names) for mutually intelligible languages, as in the Ometo clusters, is one of the perplexing linguistic issues in Ethiopia. Another similar issue could be the use of a single name (mononymous name) such as Gurage for mutually unintelligible languages (Aklilu, 2019). It has often been mentioned that the name Mao is one of the most confusing terms in Ethiopia. It refers not only to genetically related languages and their speakers, but also to unrelated languages that belong to Afroasiatic and Nilo-Saharan phyla (Girma & Endashaw, 2020). Grotanelli (1940) used the term Mao for the first time and divided the group into eight compound names, namely Bambeshi Mao, Didessa Mao, Ganza Mao, Gebsi Mao, Hozo Mao, Madegi Mao, Northern Mao and Sezo Mao on the basis of their geographical locations in the present-day Mao-Komo district. M. B. Ahland (2012) states that the name Mao has

continued to be a source of confusion, referring to a variety of different groups and languages in the literature. The true Mao language and ethnic group is hence still unknown.

In the Ethnologue publications, most Ethiopian languages are represented with more than five names, including Amharic. Grimes (1988), for instance, lists 22 different names (some of them different spellings) for a single language called Dhasaanac (as it is referred to by Tosco, 2001). The small language and language community Zay is identified by multiple names and varying spellings: Zayiŋŋa, Lak'i and Lak'iŋŋa (Gardner & Siebert, 1994); Zway, Laqi and Laqiŋŋa (Leslau, 1999); and Zway and Laaqi (Meyer, 2005). C.A. Ahland (2012) states that the Gumuz language and people have been designated by a variety of given and self-names: Mendeya, Debatsa, Debuga, Dehenda, Gunza (Dakunza, Dukunz), Domola, Funj (Funyi), Disoha, Jamara, Sese, Sai, Bega, Gumuz, etc., many of which are clan names in both Ethiopia and Sudan. The small ethnolinguistic group called Opuuo is known by different names including Shita, Ansita, Ciita, Cita, Kina, Kwina, Langa, Opo, Opo-Shita, Opuo and Shiita (Mellese, 2014).

The problems distinguishing between dialects and languages could be one reason for the multiplicity of glottonyms and ethnonyms. In other words, languages can bear multiple names based on their dialects, as in Chari-Tirmaga-Mursi, Tishena-Bodi-Meén, Koegu-Yidinit-Muguji, Kunama-Baada and Baaza-Diila (Dimmendaal, 1998; Bender, 1976, 2000). According to Dimmendaal (1998); Greenberg's (1966) Suri (also known as Surma and Didinga-Murle) is found to be an ethnonym covering three languages: Baale, Tirmaga and Chai. Dimmendaal (1998) added that although Tirmaga and Chai are in a dialect continuum with Mursi, ethnically, speakers of the latter consider themselves a distinct group. Azeb (2007) writes that except some lexical and morphological differences, Zargulla and Zayse are varieties of the same language. They are however taken as the names of two different languages. Siebert (1994) remarks that "Gats'ame and Harro are the same" but use different glottonyms and ethnonyms. Ganjule, Gatsame (Kachama) and Haro are mutually intelligible varieties that can be considered as dialects of Haro (Hirut, 2004). K'abeena is considered as a dialect of Kambaata (Hudson, 1976), as a close relative of Alaba (Crass, 2005) and as an independent language with a glottonym called Womba (Leslau, 1952). Crass also mentions that Alaba, K'abeena and T'imbaaro are members of the Kambaata group or descendants of Kambaata that have diverged through time. Wondimu (2010) writes that Gamo has about 42 dialects in which each dialect bears its own name: Ganta, Garbansa, Mele, etc. from Southern Gamo and Dach'e, K'uch'a, Ocholo, etc. from Northern Gamo. In Triulzi et al. (1976), there are five alternative names for Berta: Gamili, Gebato, Undu, Mayu and Fadashi. Jeblawi is another imposed name which the Berta people do not like.

According to Gebre (2010), the Aari came into contact with the Amharic-speaking people, who came from central and northern parts of Ethiopia, in the late nineteenth century. They call all non-Aari ethnic groups who can speak Amharic (Amhara, Gurage, Oromo, Tigraway, etc.) Gama and their language *Gam-af* or *Gama-af*, irrespective of their ethnic and linguistic differences. The Hamer call the Erbore Marle and their language *Marle ap^{h}o* 'mouth of Marle/Erbore' (Bender, 1976). The Bodi are called Tumr by the Mursi and Sägur by the Dime, though the meaning of these terms is not known (Hanna, 2011). The Koore people, who speak Koreete (also Koyra), are known as Koyra by the Amhara, Baaditu by the Oromo, Baadi by the Burji, Gobbit by the Zagise, Afa Hoyra by the Konso and Hoyrisate by the Derashe (Samuel, 2013).

The Gawwada language (also known as Gawwata, Gauwwada, Kawwada) is known by researchers as Dullay (Amborn, Minker, & Sasse, 1980), Werizoid (Bender, 1976; Black, 1976) and Qawko (Hayward, 1978). Hayward (1978) and Hirut (2007) also mentioned the confusion between Gobeze and *dopace, dirayta/diraasha* and Gidole, Musiya and Bussa; and Geddicho, Haro and Haruro. The *-(o)id* suffix, common in Niger Congo, as in Akoko-id, Ijo-id, Taroko-id, Yurubo-id, Banto-id, etc. (Williamson & Blench, 2000), was introduced to the Ethiopian languages in the 1970s by Bender and Fleming, as in Oromo-id, Konso-id, Sidaamo-id, Aro-id, Somalo-id and Werizo-id, which refer to Oromo, Konso, Sidaama, Aari, Somali and Worize and their respective varieties and closely related languages (Black, 1976; Tsuge, 2003).[16]

Some ethnolinguistic groups, although they have different names, claim to have a shared identity. Very recently, the Gawwada and Dobasse claimed to be one ethnolinguistic group with the name Alle, their language being Dobasittata. Azeb (2014, p. 91) writes that, "Although known by the name Zargulla in various scientific publications and in official documents including the national censuses prior to 2007, the speakers identify themselves as Gamo and they refer to their language as Gamo-ṯso." The author adds that except for the fact that the Zargulla claim to be Gamo ethnically, their languages belong to different branches of the Ometo cluster with no mutual intelligibility. Freeman (2006) reports that, although communities such as Balta, Sorba and Zargulla speak a language different from Gamo, and follow a cultural tradition significantly different from northern Gamo, they refer to themselves and their language as Gamo. According to Wondimu (2010), Mele and Shara are spoken by Gamo sub-communities

16. Theil (2012) uses the terms Dizoid and Aroid in his recent attempt at reclassifying Omotic. Otherwise, the grouping of languages with the -(o)id suffix is no longer widely used in the most recent classifications. The terms Werize and Gobeze were coined by Bender (1971), but at present no ethnolinguistic group identifies itself with these names.

and are mutually intelligible with other varieties such as Zayse (native name *Zayse-te*), Zargulla, Ganta, Garbansa and Balta. On the other hand, the Ethiopian Languages Research Center (2005) reports that Gamo is mutually intelligible with Gofa, Wolaitta and Dorze. They are however designated by independent glottonyms and ethnonyms and consider themselves independent from each other.

Some scholars have reflected on the socio-political problems associated with the proliferation of glottonyms and ethnonyms. As pointed out by Hudson (2012), as a result of the dialect/language confusion and the creation of new linguistic and ethnic identities, there exists a discrepancy between different national censuses in the number and nomenclature of languages and ethnic groups. Aklilu (2019) writes that the aspirations of activists and politicians for more land, increased funding and above all to get representation in the Regional and Federal parliamentarian seats, even those groups who speak the same language pretend to be speakers of different languages. The ethnic federalism that the country has introduced since 1991 has led to the flaring up of ethnocentric feelings, which can give rise to ethnic tensions and impede the efforts of nation building (Abbink, 2011). The multiplicity of names of languages and ethnic groups is challenging for inventories of languages and dialects and has also a serious impact in research and policy activities.

3.4 Self-names vs. imposed names

Self-names or endonyms are bestowed by natives themselves while imposed names, or exonyms, are names given by outsiders. The latter includes names that are offensive to ethnolinguistic groups, who prefer to be called by their own names. Kembo-Sure and Webb (2000) state that misnomers of languages and ethnic groups are huge challenges to national integration and cohesion in multilingual Africa. According to Bender (2000), offensive names such as 'stranger', 'non-believer' and 'slave' are the commonly used derogatory names. In other instances, people can be discriminated against based on their handicraft works. The Guchchi, Manno and K'ejo are among the six clans of the Shekkacho ethnolinguistic group. Though they speak the same language, Shakkinoono, they are considered as new-comers, as slaves and as "bad people", whose occupations are tanning and pottery (Tolemariam, 2009). Wossen (2020) mentions the three social hierarchies of Oyda: Malli, Tsoma and Manna. Malli is the ruling family, which includes the Oydina and Debina clans. The Oydina are considered superior. The Tsoma are known to be the commoners, consisting of a cluster of clans and forming the bulk of the population. The Manna are the marginalized artisan groups consisting mainly of the Otto Manna (potters) and Kotse Manna (black-

smiths). The Zay are called *laaqi* which means 'paddler/stirrer' by the surrounding Oromo, derived from their use of canoes (Meyer, 2005).

Dimmendaal (1989) writes that the hunter-gatherer Kwegu (Surmic, Nilo-Saharan) perceive themselves as "river people", in contradistinction to the neighboring pastoral Mursi and Bodi, who think of themselves as "cattle people" and look down on the Kwegu for their way of life and eating habits. Turton and Bender write the following observation concerning inter-ethnic perceptions between the Bodi and Mursi and the Kwegu:

> The Mursi claim that the Kwegu language is particularly difficult to learn, a fact which is presumably related to the socially inferior position to which the Kwegu are allotted by both their Mursi and Bodi neighbors, who do not allow them to keep cattle, and who believe indeed that close contact between a Kwegu and cattle is extremely harmful to the latter. (Turton & Bender, 1976, p. 535)

The Kwegu speak the language of the Bodi and Mursi, but not vice versa. The hunter-gatherer Kwegu are considered inferior by the agro-pastoral Me'en, too, who name them Yidinit. The Kefa (also Gonga) people divide themselves into *oge ashi yaroo* 'clan of great people', *dea ashi yaroo* 'clan of good people', *sharare ashi yaroo* 'ordinary people' and *gonde ashi yaroo* 'craft workers' (Lange, 1982). The Manja (also Manjo) and Chara, who are considered by the Kaficho to be unclean, mainly for their eating habits, speak Kefinoonoo, but the Kaficho do not speak Manja or Chara. The Manja are outcast by the Shekkacho too, for eating colobus monkey, porcupine and dead animals and worms (Tolemariam, 2009). According to Meyer (2005), in former times, the Zay were known as 'worm eaters' for their habit of eating fish. The Woyt'o people around Lake Tana, who were known as hippo eaters, gradually abandoned their cultural and linguistic identities and became Amhara and Amharic speakers (Zelealem, 2004).

Ethnic groups describe one another based on their way of life and history of slavery and migration. The Me'en call the Dizi, Bench, Na'o (Nayi) and Chara *su* or *gimbirit* because they are considered immigrant groups to the area (Abbink, 1992). The Majangir are known by derogatory names such as Masango, Tama and Ujang, all associated with slavery (Getachew, 2014). Regarding their language, Joswig (2019) lists ten glottonyms: the self-name Ato Majangeronk 'mouth of Majang people', Ajo, Mageno, Majangir, Majanjiro, Mezhenger, Masongo, Mesengo, Ojang, and Tama, all without derogatory connotation. The Dasaanach are known as Geleb in Ethiopia and Merile and Shangilla in Kenya (Tosco, 2001). Whereas the term Shankalla (also Shanqilla, Shank'illa) is used for the 'dark black-skinned' people in Ethiopia (Pankhurst, 1977), Hamej, which means 'ignorant serf', is used by Arabic speakers on the Sudanese border (Cerulli, 1956). The Kumpal were known as *kunfäl*, which in Amharic refers to an 'unattractive face'

(Cowley, 1971). The same people are called *bikalka* 'hybrid' by the Awi because of their complexion, which brings together the Awi and Gumuz physical features (Zelealem, 2020). The derogatory term Baria is given to Kunama due to their black skin color and the history of slave raids in the area (Nikodimos, 1987). Irrespective of linguistic or cultural differences, the dark-skinned Gumuz call anybody outside of their ethnic group *käyy* 'red', referring to skin colors not as dark as theirs.

The alternative ethnonyms of Shinasha include Sinichoo, Dangabo, Boro and Gonga. The Shinasha, however, do not particularly like the name Sinichoo, which means 'hot pepper', given to them by the Oromo for their strong resistance to the Oromo expansion into their area in the sixteenth century (Bikila, 2018). According to Girke (2011), the small ethnolinguistic group Kara (also Karo), whose number is about 1500, divide themselves into 'true' or 'dominant' Kara, who retain the name Kara, and lower-ranked Kara who are identified as Bogudo, Gomba and Moguji. Both the high-ranked and low-ranked Karas speak the same language. The Kwegu are known as Nydi by the Mursi, Muguji by the Kara and the Hamar, and Yidinit by the Me'en. It is likely that all these names are pejorative as far as the attitudes of the neighboring ethnolinguistic groups to the Kwegu are concerned. The imposed name Janjaro for the Yem is an abusive name. Kullo and Konta are used as alternative names for Dawro by most researchers. Nevertheless, the name Kullo as ethnonym and Kullo k'ale 'Kullo word/language' as glottonym are not preferred by the Dawro (Bender, 1976; Data, 1997). The Gwama are called Nokanoka by the Koma and Amam by the Berta. They are also called Afaan Mao, Gogwama, Goma, Koma of Asosa, North Koma, T'wa Kwama, and Takwama (Grimes, 1988). From these names, they accept Afaan Mao, the name given by the neighboring Oromo (Bender, 1975). The Nyangatom are also called by the derogatory name Bume.[17] For Kaficho and Shekkacho, Mocha is considered an alternative name. However, it is perceived as a derogatory name by both the Kaficho and Shekkacho ethnolinguistic groups (Haasnoot, 2010). Moges (2007, p. 255) states that "The Majangir use different names to refer to their various neighbors: Daniir for the Omotic Shekko, Galeer for the Semitic Amhara, Beriyen for the Nilotic Anywa, Jijen for the Omotic Bench, Churiyen for the Surmic Me'en, Donjiyen for the Omotic Kafinoonoo, and Damanir for the Surmic Baale."[18] Getachew (2014) has mentioned *ɓerjeer* given to the Anywa, *meerjeer* to the Bench, and *doɲʤeer* to the Kaffa by the Majangir. They also refer to the Shekka as Sekaseer, Dizi as

17. The Nyangatom are nicknamed 'yellow guns' by Tornay (1981) without any further explanation.

18. Meanings were not given by the author.

Masiyeer, Muwer as Narakɔ, and Chabu as Mekɛyeer (Sabuye) and Maɲʤeer (Manʤa), a clan considered 'untouchable' by the Kafficho and Shekkacho.

That ethnolinguistic groups are keen on autoglottonyms and autoethnonyms but show strong resistance to exoglottonyms and exoethnonyms is very true. The 1999 failed attempt to impose a hybrid name on the Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawro ethnolinguistic groups as WOGAGODA and to harmonize the languages to produce teaching materials, which ended up with the loss of lives and a large amount of money, is a good example. Abbink (2009, p. 606) wrote the following remark concerning this tragedy:

> WOGAGODA was the name of a composite Omotic language in which the federal government wanted to conduct local administration and the education system, in order to save costs and "unite" four groups: the Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa and Dawro, all speaking closely related languages. But the groups resisted; notably the dominant Wolaitta, who feared being overruled by others and rejected cultural-linguistic "colonization". Protests erupted in November 1999 in which c.12 people were killed and millions worth of school books and property were destroyed.

The strong resistance against imposed names with pejorative connotations started after the downfall of the imperial regime in 1974 and still continues today. As a result, a number of glottonyms and ethnonyms with pejorative connotations were officially changed to self-names. The widely-known name Shabo for a dying Nilo-Saharan language and its speakers has changed into Chabu or Mikeyir (also Mikair, Mekeyir or Mekeyer) because the people were not happy with the name Shabo (Kibebe-Tsehay, 2015). It has been on the news that representatives of the Berta ethnolinguistic group have recently decided their language and ethnic group should be called Benishangul. According to Triulzi (1975, p. 57), the name Benishangul is derived from two words Belā and Shangul which means 'the rock of Shangul' after "the sacred oblong-shaped rock (*shangul*) which was brought there by its first Bertha settler." The change of toponyms such as Nazret to Adama, Debrezeyit to Bishoftu, Asebe Teferi to Ch'iro and Zəway to Batu are lexical replacements. The changes of Alemaya to Harumaya, Awasa to Hawasa and Alaaba to Halaaba represent sound replacements. The Zay complain that the names of the islands they inhabit have been changed from the Ge'ez-based names to Afaan Oromo-based names and hence Debre Chon (Debre Tsion) became Tullu Guddo, Aysut (Abraham) became Ts'edecha and Famat (Gete-Semane) became Funduro (Meyer, 2005). According to Allen (1983), ethnic slurs (also called ethnophaulism) are reported to be the most dangerous discourse, with a devastating effect in igniting ethnic conflicts. It has always been people's concern that the use of abusive language, intentionally or unintentionally, can easily spark public unrest.

4. Concluding remarks

The gist of this paper is about language and ethnic nomenclature and the relationship between them. Ethiopian Afroasiatic languages (Cushitic, Omotic and Semitic) are similar to Chadic languages in the use of mouth-language and tooth-language metonyms in glottonyms. In addition to the mouth-language metonymy, a number of Nilo-Saharan languages, and Harari and Ge'ez from Ethio-Semitic, use the root words for 'tongue' in their glottonyms. The tooth-based glottonym is recorded in only a few Omotic languages. The use of vocal organs as glottonym markers is presumably one of the features that make Afro-Asiatic and Nilo-Saharan languages similar.

The study reveals the strong attachment of speakers to their respective languages. The sharing of the same basic form between glottonyms and ethnonyms is the primary evidence for the strong attachment. The high esteem and positive attitudes of natives in relation to self-names and the low esteem and negative attitude they give to externally imposed names is additional evidence. The structure and meaning of glottonyms reveal that, whereas the concept of "language" seems to be a recent introduction and hence lacking lexical representations, the terms for 'voice' or 'word' or 'speech' or 'talk' and above all the vocal organs 'mouth', 'tooth' and 'tongue' are archaic, more prominent and widespread forms in many languages. Natives also express the 'home' and 'village' domain in their glottonyms. Some ethnolinguistic groups consider their languages as the voices of all other people and even all human beings. In their glottonyms, they strongly connect themselves to their regional affiliations, such as the Amhara to the Amhara Region, the Oromo to the Oromia Region, the Tigraway to the Tigray Region, etc.[19] The folk etymology of ethnonyms also reveals that some ethnolinguistic groups inherited their names from their ancestral leaders or from a certain remarkable incident or from toponyms. Pastoralist ethnolinguistic groups are proud of their subsistence practices and hence call themselves and their land after their cattle. There are rare instances where a certain ethnolinguistic group refers to neighboring groups as 'our people' or 'our enemies'.

The multiplicity of names of ethnic groups and their languages has created a lot of confusion for natives, census takers, responsible researchers and policy

19. The ethnic and linguistic foundation of the Ethiopian Federation is particularly apparent in six of the eleven federal states: Afar regional state (ethnonym Afar and glottonym Afar Af), Amhara regional state (ethnonym Amhara and glottonym Amarəɲɲa), Oromia regional state (ethnonym Oromo and glottonym Afaan Oromo), Sidaama regional state (ethnonym Sidaama and glottonym Sidaam-u Afoo), Somali regional state (ethnonym Somali and glottonym Af Somali) and Tigray regional state (ethnonym Tigraway and glottonym Tigr-əɲɲa).

makers. It remains a challenge when producing inventories of languages and dialects. There are several cases whereby speakers of related dialects assume different glottonyms and ethnonyms. Missionaries, researchers and neighboring ethnolinguistic groups are responsible for the proliferation of names and for all the confusion created. Ethnologue, with its wide circulation all over the world, should update its lists of languages by excluding derogatory names.[20] Individuals and institutions should avoid using such names in their publications. In Ethiopia, misnomers have always been causes of resentment and ethnic tensions that can pass from generation to generation. No ethnic group, big or small, is blameless in the use of pejorative names. As pointed out in Hudson (2012), the persistent challenges concerning disparities between names of languages and their dialects, and between endonyms and exonyms, and names often thought derogatory, remains a problem in Ethiopia. Hence, it is high time for the exclusive use of self-names as standard names and for the fostering of mutual respect among ethnolinguistic groups.

References

Abbink, J. (1992). An ethno-historical perspective on Me'en territorial organization (southwest Ethiopia). *Anthropos*, *87*, 351–364.

Abbink, J. (2009). The Ethiopian second republic and the fragile 'social contract'. *Africa Spectrum*, *44*(2), 3–28.

Abbink, J. (2011). Ethnic-based federalism and ethnicity in Ethiopia: Reassessing the experiment after 20 years. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, *5*(4), 596–618.

Abinet Sime. (2007 (E.C)). የቋንቋ መሰረታዊያን. Far East Press.

Academy of Ethiopian languages and Cultures. (2000). *Amharic-Amharic dictionary*. Addis Ababa University.

Ahland, C.A. (2012). A grammar of northern and southern Gumuz (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Oregon.

Ahland, M.B. (2012). A grammar of northern Mao (màwés aasʔè) (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Oregon.

Aklilu Abera. (2007). Negation in Wolayta (Unpublished master's dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Aklilu Yilma. (2019). የኢትዮጵያ ቋንቋዎች/ዘየዎች ቆጠራ. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, *LII*, 11–138.

Alemgena Belete. (2018). Documentation and grammatical description of Kara (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

20. "We include these names as a means of helping users find languages they may have only heard of or seen referred to by such names. By so doing, *Ethnologue* in no way implies any endorsement of the pejorative names." Ethnologue Website

Allen, I. L. (1983). *The language of ethnic conflict. Social organization and lexical culture*. Columbia University Press.

Amanuel Alemayehu. 2012. Documentation and description of the grammar of Anfillo (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Amborn, H., Minker, G., & Sasse, H. J. (1980). Das Dullay: Materialen zu einer ostkuschitischen Sprachgruppe. *Kölner Beiträge zur Afrikanistik* (Band 6). Dietrich Reimer.

Anbessa Teferra. (2000). *A grammar of Sidaama*. Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Angesom Abadi. (2012). Marking of syntactic relations in Kunama (Unpublished master's dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Appleyard, D. (1987). A grammatical sketch of Khamtanga – I. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, *50*(2), 241–266.

Azeb Amha. (2001). *The Maale language*. CNWS Publications.

Azeb Amha. (2007). Questioning forms in Zargulla. *From beyond the Mediterranean: Akten des 7. internationalen Semitohamitistenkongresses* (VII. ISHaK), 197–210.

Azeb Amha. (2014). *Complex predicates in Zargulla*. In R. Meyer, Y. Treis, & A. Amha (Eds.), *Explorations in Ethiopian Linguistics. Complex predicates, finiteness and interrogativity* (pp. 91–119). Harrassowitz.

Bedilu Waqjira. (2010). Morphology and verb construction types of Kistaniniya (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Trondheim.

Bender, M. L. (1971). The languages of Ethiopia. A new lexicostatistic classification and some problems of diffusion. *Journal of Anthropological Linguistics 13*(5), 165–288.

Bender, M. L. (1975). *The Ethiopian Nilo-Saharans*. Artistic Printers.

Bender, M. L. (Ed.). (1976). *The non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia*. African Studies Center, Michigan State University.

Bender, M. L. (2000). Nilo-Saharan. In B. Heine & D. Nurse (Eds.), *African languages. An introduction* (pp. 43–73). Cambridge University Press.

Beniam, Mitiku. (2013). Harari. A descriptive grammar (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Beniam, Sisay. (2007). Simple nominal complements in Koorete. In A. Amha, M. Mous, & G. Savà (Eds.), *Omotic and Cushitic language Studies* (pp. 23–41). Köppe.

Bikila, Ashenafi. (2018). Documentation and description of Borna verb morphology. An Omotic language of Ethiopia (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Black, D. P. (1976). Werizoid. In M. L. Bender (Ed.), *The non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia* (pp. 222–231). Michigan State University.

Bliese, L. (1976). Afar. In M. L. Bender (Ed.), *The non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia*. Michigan State University.

Cerulli, E. (1956). *Peoples of Northwest Ethiopia and its borderlands*. International Affairs Institute.

Cowley, R. (1971). The Kunfal people and their language. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, *9*(2), 99–106.

Crass, J. (2005). *Das K'abeena. Deskriptive Grammatik einer hochlandostkuschitischen Sprache*. Köppe.

Dabala, Goshu, & Girma Awgichew. (2005). A grammatical sketch and some sociolinguistic aspects of a dying language: Anfillo. *ELRC Working Papers* (pp. 53–86).

Dabala, Goshu. (2011). The semantics of Oromo frontal adpositions (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Oslo.

Data De'a. (1997). Rural livelihoods and social stratification among the Dawro, Southern Ethiopia (Unpublished master's dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Desta Teklewold. (1962). አዲስ የአማርኛ መዝገበ-ቃላት. [New Amharic dictionary]. Artistic Printing Press.

Dimmendaal, G. (1989). On language death in Eastern Africa. In N. C. Dorian (Ed.), *Investigating obsolescence. Studies in language contraction and death* (pp. 13–32). Cambridge University Press.

Dimmendaal, G. (1998). A syntactic typology of the Surmic family from an areal and historical-comparative point of view. In G. Dimmendaal (Ed.), *Surmic languages and cultures* (pp. 35–82). Köppe.

Dimmendaal, G. (2007). Ñaŋatom language. In S. Uhlig (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (Vol. 3, pp. 1131–1132). Harrassowitz.

Dimmendaal, G. (2020). Baale. In R. Vossen & G. Dimmendaal (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of African languages* (pp. 630–643). Oxford University Press.

Esayas, Tajebe. (2015). Descriptive grammar of Saaho (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Ethiopian Languages Research Center. (2005). *The Ethiopian languages*. Addis Ababa University.

Fekede, Menuta. (2012). *Murle document. Phonology & grammar*. SNNPR Counsel of Nationalities.

Fekede, Menuta. (2018). *Our voice: Guragina grammar*. Addis Ababa.

Freeman, D. (2006). Who are the Gamo? And who are the D'ache? Confusions of ethnicity in Ethiopia's Southern Highlands. In S. Uhlig, M. Bulakh, D. Nosnitsin, & T. Rave (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 15th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* (pp. 1–7). Harrassowitz.

Gardner, S., & Siebert, R. (1994). The Zay language. *Survey of little-known languages of Ethiopia (SLLE)*, 17. Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University.

Gebre, Ynteso. (2010). Cultural contact and change in naming practices among the Aari of Southwest Ethiopia. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, *22*(2), 183–194.

Getachew, Anteneh. (2014). Grammatical description and documentation of Majang (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Getachew, Kassa. (2015). A grammar of Hoozo (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Getahun, Amare. (2009). Argobba verb morphology and syntax (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Norwegian University of Science and Technology.

Girke, F. (2011). Plato on the Omo: Reflections on decision-making among the Kara of Southern Ethiopia. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, *5*(1), 177–194.

Girma, Mengistu. (2007). The morphosyntax of verbal functional categories of Diddessa Mao (Unpublished master's dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Girma, Mengistu. (2015). A grammar of Sezo (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Girma, Mengistu & Endashaw Wolde-Michael. (2020). በቤንሻንጉል ጉሙዝና በጋምቤላ ክልሎች የሚነገሩ ቋንቋዎችና የአጠቃቀማቸው ሁኔታ፤ በኢትዮጵያ የቋንቋ አጠቃቀም፣ የማህበራዊ ገጽታው እና አገራዊና ዓለማቀፋዊ የቋንቋ ፖሊሲ ተመክሮዎች፤ 164–186፤ የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ የባህልና ቱሪዝም ሚኒስቴር:: [The languages and language use patterns in Benishangul Gumuz and Gambella Regional Sates. Language use in Ethiopia: Its social aspects, and the national and international language policy experiences.]

Greenberg, J. 1966. *The languages of Africa.* Indiana University Press.

Grimes, B.F. (Ed.). (1988). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world* (11th ed.). Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Grottanelli, Vinigi. (1940). *I Mao. Centro studi per l'Africa orientale Italiana; missione etnografica nel Wollega occidentale, 1.* Reale Accademia d'Italia.

Gutt, E.-A. (1983). Studies in the phonology of Silt'e. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, *16*, 37–73.

Haasnoot, J. (2010). Šakačo. In S. Uhlig (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (pp. 480–481). Otto Harrassowitz.

Hanna, Mellese. (Ed.). (2011). *Unique Ethiopia*: የደቡብ ፈርጦች, ቁጥር 1. Sunlight Media Communication PLC.

Hayward, R.J. (1978). The place of Bayso within Eastern Cushitic. In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* (pp. 73–90). University of Illinois at Chicago.

Hetzron, R. (1969). The verbal system of Southern Agaw (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of California Press.

Hinsene, Mekuria. (2012). *Oromo-Amharic-English dictionary* (rev. ed.). Commercial Printing Enterprise.

Hirut, Woldemariam. (2004). The Haro language Sezo (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Hirut, Woldemariam. (2007). Deictics in Gamo. In J. Crass & R. Meyer (Eds.), *Deictics, copula and focus in the Ethiopian convergence area* (pp. 129–138). Köppe.

Hudson, G. (1976). Highland East Cushitic. In M.L. Bender (Ed.), *The non- Semitic languages of Ethiopia* (pp. 232–277). Michigan State University.

Hudson, G. (2012). Ethnic group and mother tongue in the Ethiopian censuses of 1994 and 2007. *Aethiopica*, *15*, 204–218.

Joswig, A. (2019). The Majang language (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Leiden University.

Kembo-Sure, E., & Webb, V. (2000). *African Voices. An Introduction to African languages and linguistics.* Oxford University Press.

Kibebe-Tshay, Taye. 2015. Documentation and grammatical description of Chabu Sezo (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Lange, W.J. (1982). *History of the South Gonga (Southern Ethiopia).* Franz Steine Verlag.

Lemi, Kebebew. (2018). Grammatical description and documentation of Bayso Sezo (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Leslau, W. (1952). Notes on Kambatta of Southern Ethiopia. *Africa*, *22*(4), 348–359.

Leslau, W. (1999). Zway Ethiopic documents. *Äthiopistische Forschungen* (no. 51). Harrassowitz.

Lydall, J. (1976). Hamer. In M.L. Bender (Ed.), *The non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia* (pp. 393–438). African Studies Center, Michigan State University.

Mattewos, Wolde-Giorgis. (2010). Verbal morphology of Gede'o Sezo (Unpublished master's dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Mellese, Gelaneh. (2014). Documentation of Opuuo Sezo (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Meyer, R. (2005). *Das Zay: Deskriptive Grammatik einer Ostguragesprache (Äthiosemitisch)*. Köppe.

Meyer, R. (2006). *Wolane: Descriptive grammar of an East Gurage language (Ethiosemitic)*. Köppe.

Moges, Yigezu. (2007). The phonetic and phonology of Majang vowels: A historical-comparative perspective. In D.L. Payne & M. Reh (Eds.), *Advances in Nilo-Saharan linguistics* (pp. 255–265). Köppe.

Mulugeta, Seyoum. (2008). *A grammar of Dime*. LOT Publications.

doi Newman, P., & Schuh, R.G. (2016). Hausa language names and ethnonyms. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics*, *37*(2), 185–200.

Nikodimos, I. (1987). The Kunama and their language Sezo (Unpublished BA thesis). Addis Ababa University.

Ongaye, Oda. (2004). An overview of complex sentences and complement clauses in Konso Sezo (Unpublished master's dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

doi Proschan, F. (1997). We are all Kmhmu, just the same: Ethnonyms, ethnic identities, and ethnic groups. *American Ethnologist. Journal of the American Ethnological Society*, *24*(1), 91–113.

Radden, G. (2001). The folk model of language. *metaphorik.de* (pp. 55–86). Retrieved on 18 June 2023 from https://www.metaphorik.de/sites/www.metaphorik.de/files/journal-pdf/01_2001_radden.pdf

Reh, M. (1996). *Anywa language*. Köppe.

Saeed, J.I. (1987). *Somali reference grammar*. Dunwoody Press.

Sagawa, T. (2010). War experiences and self-determination of the Dasaanach in the conflict-ridden area of North-East Africa. *Nilo-Ethiopian Studies*, *14*, 19–37.

Samuel, Zinabu. (2013). Documentation and description of subordinate clauses in Koorete (Unpublished master's dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Sasse, H.-J. (1976). Dasenech. In M.L. Bender (Ed.), *The non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia* (pp. 196–221). African Studies Center, Michigan State University.

Savà, G., & Tosco, M. (2000). A sketch of Ongota. *Studies in African Linguistics*, *29*(2), 59–135.

Savà, G. (2005). *A grammar of Ts'amakko*. Köppe.

Schneider-Blum, G. (2007). *A grammar of Alaaba: A highland East Cushitic language*. Köppe.

Sellassie, Cheru. (2015). Documentation and grammatical description of Gofa (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Siebert, R. (1994). *Languages of the Abbaya/Chamo area – report part 1, with notes on Koorete*. Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia.

Sileshi, Workneh & Yohannes Latamo. (1995). *Sidaama – Amharic – English Compilation of Terms*. Department of Culture and Sports, Sidaama Zone.

Taddese, Sibamo. (2015). Documentation and description of Hadiyya: A Highland East Cushitic language of Ethiopia (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Theil, R. (2012). Omotic. In L. Edzard (Ed.), *Semitic and Afroasiatic. Challenges and opportunities* (pp. 369–384). Harrassowitz.

Thompson, E. D. (1983). Kunama: Phonology and noun phrase. In M. L. Bender (Ed.), *Nilo-Saharan language studies* (pp. 281–322). Michigan State University.

Tilahun, Wubet. (2009). *The morphology of Kafinoonoo* (B.A. senior essay). Addis Ababa University.

Tizazu, Atimo. (2010). The dialects of Benchnon (Unpublished master's dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Tolemariam, Fufa. (2009). A typology of verbal derivation in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic Languages (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Leiden University.

Tornay, S. (1981). The Nyangatom. An outline of their ecology and social organization. In M. L. Bender (Ed.), *Peoples and cultures of the Ethio-Sudan borderlands* (pp. 137–178). Michigan State University.

Tosco, M. (2001). *The Dhasaanac language*. Köppe.

Tosco, M. (2006). The Ideophones in Gawwada. In S. Uhlig (Ed.), *Proceedings of the XVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* (pp. 885–892). Harrassowitz.

Treis, Y. (2008). *A grammar of Kambaata. Part 1: Phonology, nominal morphology, and non-verbal predication*. Köppe.

Treis, Y. (2014). Interrogativity in Baskeet. In R. Meyer, Y. Treis, & A. Amha (Eds.), *Explorations in Ethiopian linguistics: Complex predicates, finiteness and interrogativity* (pp. 41–78). Harrassowitz.

Triulzi, A. (1975). Trade, Islam and the Mahdia in Northwestern Wallagga, Ethiopia. *Journal of African History*, *16*, 55–71.

Triulzi, A., Dafallah, A. A. and Bender, Lionel M. (1976). Berta. In Bender, M. Lionel (ed.), *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, 513–532. *East Lansing, Michigan: African Studies Center*, Michigan State University.

Tsehay, Mengesha. (2011). *Relative clause in Borna*. Unpublished M.A. thesis. Department of Linguistics, Addis Ababa University.

Tsuge, Y. (2003). Aari. In S. Uhlig (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* (Vol. 1, pp. 1–2). Harrassowitz.

Turton, M. L., & Bender, M. L. (1976). Mursi. In M. L. Bender (Ed.), *The non-Semitic languages of Ethiopia* (pp. 533–561). African Studies Center, Michigan State University.

Williamson, K., & Blench, R. (2000). Niger-Congo. In B. Heine & D. Nurse (Eds.), *African languages. An introduction* (pp. 11–42). Cambridge University Press.

Wondimu, Gaga. (2010). *Sociolinguistic facts about the Gamo area, South Ethiopia*. Addis Ababa: ARCCIKL.

Wondwosen, Tesfaye. (2006). Aspects of Diratata morphology and syntax. A lexical-functional approach (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Norwegian University of Science and Technology.

Wondwosen, Tesfaye. (2015). *A grammar of Mosittacha*. Academy of Ethiopian Languages and Cultures, Addis Ababa University.

Wossen, Mekonnen. (2020). Documentation and grammatical description of Oyda (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Zaugg-Coretti, S.A. (2013). The Yemsa language (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Zurich.

Zelalem, Gudeta. (2013). Interrogative constructions in Poko Allete (Gawwada) (Unpublished master's dissertation). Addis Ababa University.

Zelealem, Leyew. (2004). The fate of endangered languages in Ethiopia. In J.A. Argenter & R. McKenna Brown (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Eighth Foundation of Endangered Languages Conference* (pp. 35–46).

Zelealem, Leyew. (2005). Gwama, a little-known language of Ethiopia: The sketch of its grammar and lexicon. *Working Papers in Linguistics* (Vol. 1(1), pp. 1–52). Ethiopian Languages Research Center, Addis Ababa University. Retrieved on 18 June 2023 from https://pure.mpg.de/rest/items/item_406288/component/file_406287/content

Zelealem, Leyew. (2020). Kolisi. In R. Vossen & G. Dimmendaal (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of African languages* (pp. 553–575). Oxford University Press.