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Table 1 below lists alphabetically the 77 Ethiopian speech varieties reported by the 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia with their numbers of native speakers and ethnic group members, derived from Tables 2.15 and 2.17 of the Census (Office of Population and Housing Census Commission 1998a). Names and spellings are those common in the Ethiopian linguistics literature rather than those of the Census.

In another paper, Hudson 2003, I have presented this table and other information of linguistic significance derived from the 1994 Census. There I made the following seven points:

1. Despite expected difficulties for the Census arising from the political sensitivities associated with linguistic and ethnolinguistic questions, an unsystematic and ambiguous linguistic nomenclature, and the practical problem of reaching and sampling in all corners of Ethiopia, linguistic findings of the Census seem reasonably consistent with the typically unquantified and often intuitive knowledge of Ethiopianist linguists.
2. With its quantifications the Census confirms the special roles of Amharic and Oromo as Ethiopian *lingua francae*, languages of broad national use. Findings of the Census highlight the importance of Amharic as the lingua franca of urban Ethiopia, and of Oromo, less dominantly, as the lingua franca of rural Ethiopia.
3. Prominently revealed in the Census is the great linguistic diversity of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region, compared to others. This has important implications for the difficulty and likely stressfulness of implementing language-of-education policies in this region more than in others (cf. Brenzinger 1997).
4. The Census gives good evidence for the generalization that the number of speakers of a language who learn other languages correlates with the number of mother-tongue speakers of the language: the fewer mother-tongue speakers the more they learn other languages; the more mother-tongue speakers the less they learn other languages. The logic of this correlation seems obvious, but deserves notice because of its argument

against the false but popular idea that languages spread because of their intrinsic values of learnability and/or expressiveness.

5. If we assume that having as few as 10,000 speakers makes a language endangered, this being a number which enables the complete loss of the language in 2 to 3 generations, or about a hundred years, endangered Ethiopian languages are the 22 at the bottom of Table 2. This is almost a third of the 73 living languages of Ethiopia (a number claimed in this paper, below). For why it matters if so many Ethiopian languages are lost, see Hayward 1998.
6. If we say that *dialects* are mutually intelligible varieties of speech, and a *language* is a group of dialects, the Census presents some problems of interpretation of both sorts: dialects counted as languages (for example Alaba and Kambaata, and Maraqa and Hadiyya), and some languages classified as dialects (for example several languages within 'Gurage', considered by the Census to be one language).
7. Needed is a careful comparison of the list of 77 languages named by the Census with the list of those recognized in the Ethiopian linguistic literature, in order to improve the accuracy of both lists.

An interesting fact about linguistic findings of the 1994 Census, which I failed to make in the prior article, concerns the number of Arabic speakers in Ethiopia. One reasonably supposes that Ethiopia would have a significant number of mother-tongue speakers of Arabic, perhaps 15 to 20 thousand at least, but the Census reports none, or perhaps includes Arabic speakers only within the total for 'other languages', 139,047 (at the bottom of Table 1). The number of English mother-tongue speakers, by contrast, is reported: 1,336 (in Table 2.10 of Vol. I of the Census).

The purpose of the present paper is to take up the last point, 7, and compare the list of Census languages with the list of languages recognized in the Ethiopian linguistic literature. For this purpose see Table 2, which alphabetically lists the Census languages and associated ethnic groups in columns 1 and 2 (as these were written in the Census) and the languages and dialects known in the linguistic literature in column 3. The Census invariably includes the Amharic suffix *-gna* in language names, so English-usage names in column 3 are better compared with the ethnic-group names of column 2.

Information of columns 3, 4, and 5 of Table 2 is derived from previous Ethiopian-language lists of Bender 1971, Bender 1976, Bender et al, eds. 1976, Bender 1979, and Unseth 1990, and checked, particularly, against Nilosaharan languages in Bender 1996, Omotic languages in Bender 2000, Cushitic languages in Tosco 2000, and Ethiopian Semitic languages in Hud-

son 2000. The debt of this paper to the work of Lionel Bender is, I hope, apparent.

It would be of interest to compare the resulting list of Ethiopian languages with the lists of Dalby 1999/2000, Wedekind 1994, and the internet source *Ethnologue* (SIL 2003), but such comparison cannot be undertaken here. The present list is more complete than that of Dalby, and in contrast to *Ethnologue* attempts to collect varieties as languages strictly by the criterion of mutual intelligibility.

Notice differences between the number of languages named in the Census in Table 2 columns 1 and 2, 77, and the languages and dialects in column 3, 93. Column 3 adds 16 languages and dialects to those of the Census for a total of 93, and classifies 20 of these as dialects of others ($77 + 16 = 93 - 20 = 73$), for a total of 73 living Ethiopian languages.

Table 3 groups the 93 varieties of Table 2, column 3, into 73 languages, by the criterion of mutual intelligibility of dialects insofar as this can be known or surmised from the literature. Table 3 adds also two extinct Ethiopian Semitic languages for which we have good data, Ge'ez and Gafat, and presents, based on the literature though taking some liberties of nomenclature, a genetic classification of the resulting list of 75 Ethiopian languages. For lack of data sufficient to permit classification, two extinct varieties mentioned in the literature are excluded: Wayto (extinct, probably Agaw) and Werji (extinct, perhaps Ethiopian Semitic). Nor is the variety Rer Bare (Bender 1979) included. According to Bender 1979, this seems to be a name given the speech of Sudanese immigrants in Gode, Somali Zone, who may be speakers of various languages. The two Eritrean languages Bilin and Tigre are, of course, absent as well.

In offering the list of 75 Ethiopian languages, I hope to solicit response which leads to the identification of errors, infelicities, and premature claims of the list which need research. I gratefully acknowledge helpful and critical comments on previous versions of the list from Michael and Colleen Ahland, Lionel Bender, Roger Blench, Joachim Crass, Harold Fleming, Ronny Meyer, Robin Thelwall, and Pete Unseth, who of course have no responsibility for errors which remain.

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Table 1: Mother-tongue Speakers and Ethnic Group Members of Speech Varieties of the 1994 Census; Alphabetical Order (C=Cushitic, N=Nilosaharan, O=Omotic, S=Semitic)

Language or Dialect	Mother-tongue speakers	Ethnic-group members	Language or Dialect	Mother-tongue speakers	Ethnic-group members
Afar C	965,462	972,766	Konso C	149,508	153,407
Alaba C	126,257	125,894	Konta O	48,987	49,625
Amharic S	17,372,913	16,010,894	Koyra O	103,879	107,586
Anfillo O	13,657	16,226	Kullo O	313,228	331,477
Anywa N	45,646	45,656	Kunama N	1,883	2,003
Arbore C	4,441	6,622	Kwama N	99	140
Argobba S	10,860	62,912	Kwegu N	103	165
Ari O	158,857	155,065	Maale O	53,779	46,458
Awngi C	356,980	397,494	Malo O	20,151	20,181
Basketo O	57,805	51,089	Mareqo C	36,612	38,093
Benc' O	173,586	173,149	Mebaan N	25	21
Berta N	116,084	118,670	Me'en N	52,015	52,808
Bodi N	4,570	4,685	Mer O	989	1,195
Burji C	35,731	46,552	Mesengo N	15,152	15,329
C'ara O	6,932	6,976	Mocha O	54,894	53,846
Daasenech C	32,064	32,014	Mosiya C	6,624	9,205
Dime O	6,501	6,189	Mursi N	3,278	3,254
Dizi O	21,075	21,888	Nao O	3,656	4,004
Dorze O	20,782	28,969	Nuer N	64,907	64,527
Fadashi N	8,715	7,323	Nyangatom N	14,177	14,201
Gamili N	144	184	Oromo C	16,777,975	17,088,136
Gamo O	690,069	719,862	Oyda O	16,597	14,059
Ganjule O	1,390	1,142	Saho C	22,759	23,258
Gatsame O	2,682	2,735	She O	13,116	13,164
Gawada C	32,698	33,945	Sheko O	24,106	23,772
Gebato N	78	67	Shinasha O	19,734	32,660
Gedeo C	637,082	639,879	Shita N	301	290
Gidole C	50,328	54,339	Sidaama C	1,876,329	1,842,444
Gofa O	233,340	241,818	Somali C	3,187,053	3,139,421
Gumuz N	120,424	121,481	Suri N	19,622	19,616
Gurage S	1,881,574	2,290,332	T'imbaaro C	82,803	86,499
Hadiyya C	923,957	927,747	Tigrinya S	3,224,875	3,284,443
Hamar O	42,838	42,448	Tsamaakko C	8,621	9,699
Harari S	21,283	22,884	Welaytta O	1,231,674	1,268,445
K'abeena C	35,783	35,065	Xamir C	143,369	158,225
Kambaata C	487,654	499,631	Yem O	81,614	165,770
Kefa O	569,626	599,146	Zayse O	10,172	10,842
Kemant C	1,650	172,324	Zergulla O	7,625	390
Komo N	1,435	1,522	Other langs	139,047	110,555

Table 2: Ethiopian 'Mother Tongues' of the 1994 Census plus Others
(C=Cushitic, N=Nilosaharan, O=Omotic, S=Semitic)

'Mother tongue' of Census Table 2.15 ¹	Associated ethnic group of Census Table 2.14 ²	Principal English linguistic usage ³	Other names and spellings	Mutually intelligible with
Affarigna	Affar	Afar C		Saho
Agew/Awingigna	Agew/Awingi	Awngi C		Kunfal
Agew/Kamyrgna	Agew/Kamyr	Xamir C	Kamir	Xamtanga, †Kayla
Alabigna	(Alaba) Kembata	Alaba C = Kambaata group		K'abeena, Kambaata, T'imbaaro
Amarigna	Amara	Amharic S		
–	–	Anfillo N	Mao	
Anywakgna	Anyiwak	Anywa N	Anywak	
Arboriegna	Arborie	Arbore C		
Argobigna	Argoba	Argobba S		
Arigna	Ari	Ari O	Aari, Bako	
Basketigna	Basketo	Basketo O	Mesketo	
–	–	Bayso C		
Benchigna	Bench (She, Mer)	Benc' O		Mer, She
Bodigna	(Bodi) Me'en	Bodi N = Me'en		Tishena
Burjigna	Burji	Burji C		
Charrigna	Charra	C'ara O	Chara	
Dasenechigna	Dasenech	Daasenech C	Geleb	
Dimegna	Dime	Dime O		
Dizigna	Dizi	Dizi O	Maji	
Dorzigna	(Dorzie) Welaita	Dorze O = Welaytta group		Dawro (Kullo, Konta), Gamo, Gofa, Welaytta
Fedashigna	(Fadashi) Jebelawi	Fadashi N = Berta	Berta	Gamili, Gebato, Mayu, Undu
Gamiligna	(Gamili) Jebelawi	Gamili N = Berta	Berta	Fadashi, Gebato, Mayu, Undu
Gamogna	(Gamo) Welaita	Gamo O = Welaytta group		Dawro (Kullo, Konta), Dorze, Gofa, Welaytta
Ganijuligna	Ganjule	Ganjule O		Gatsame, Gidicho (Harro)
Gebatogna	(Gebato) Jebelawi	Gebato N = Berta	Berta	Fadashi, Gamili, Mayu, Undu
Gedeogna	Gedeo	Gedeo C		
Gewadigna	Gewada	Gawada-Golango C	Dullay	
Gidoligna	Gidole	Dirayta C		
Goffigna	(Goffa) Welaita	Gofa O = Welaytta group		Dawro (Kullo, Konta), Dorze, Gamo, Welaytta

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'Mother tongue' of Census Table 2.15 ¹	Associated ethnic group of Census Table 2.14 ²	Principal English linguistic usage ³	Other names and spellings	Mutually intelligible with
Guagugna	Guagu ⁴	Kwegu N		Muguji
Gumuzigna	Gumuz	Gumuz N		
Guragigna	Guragie ⁵	Soddo (Kistane) S		Dobbi (Gogot), Galila
		Mesqan S		
		Chaha S		Ezha, Gumer, Gura, Muher
		Inor S	Ennemor	Endegegn, Enner, Gyeto, Mesmes
		Silt'e S	Selti	Enneqor, Ulbareg, Walane
		Zay S	Zway	
Hadiyigna	Hadiya (Mareko)	Hadiyya C		Libido (Maraqo)
Hamerigna	Hamer	Hamar O		Banna, Kara
Hararigna	Harari	Harari S	Adare	
–	–	Harso-Dobase ⁶ C	Werize, Dullay	Tsamaakko
–	–	Ilit N		
Jebelawigna	Jebelawi (Fadashi, Gamili, Gebato)	Berta N (dialects of Berta: Fadashi, Gamili, Gebato, Mayu, Undu)		
Kebenagna	(Kebena) Kembata	K'abeena C = Kambaata group	Qabena	Alaba, Kambaata, T'imbaaro
Kechamigna	Kechama	Gatsame O = Ganjule group	Kachama	Ganjule, Gidicho
Keffigna	Keffa	Kefa O	Kaffa	Mocha
Kemantigna	Kemant	Kemant C		†Quara
Kembatigna	Kembata (Alaba, Kebena, Timbaro)	Kambaata C		Alaba, K'abeena, T'imbaaro
Kewamigna	Kewama	Kwama N		
Komigna	Koma	Komo N		
Konsogna	Konso	Konso C		
Kontigna	(Konta) Welaita	Konta O = Welaytta group	Konta-Kullo, Dawro	Dorze, Gamo, Gofa, Kullo, Welaytta
Koyrigna	Koyra	Kore O	Koyra	
Kulogna	(Kulo) Welaita	Kullo O = Welaytta group	Konta-Kullo, Dawro	Dorze, Gamo, Gofa, Konta, Welaytta
Kunamigna	Kunama	Kunama N		
Mabaangna	Mabaan	Mebaan N		
Maliegna	Malie	Maale O	Male	
Maogna	Mao	Hozo-Sezo N		
		Bambeshi N		Didessa
		Ganza N		

'Mother tongue' of Census Table 2.15 ¹	Associated ethnic group of Census Table 2.14 ²	Principal English linguistic usage ³	Other names and spellings	Mutually intelligible with
Marekogna	(Mareko) Hadiya	Libido C = Hadiyya group	Maraqo	Hadiyya
Meenigna	Me'en (Bodi)	Me'en N	Bodi, Tishena	
Mellogna	(Mello) Welaita	Malo O	Melo	Zala
Merigna	(Mer) Bench	Mer O = Benc' group		Benc', She
Mesengogna	Mesengo	Majang N		
Mochagna	(Mocha) Keffa	Mocha O = Kefa group	Shekka	Kefa
Mosiyagna	Mossiya	Mosiya C	Bussa	
–	–	Murle N		
Mursyigna	Mursi	Mursi N		Chai, Tid, Tirma
Naogna	Nao	Nayi O	Nayo	
–	–	Nera N		
Nuwerigna	Nuwer	Naadh N	Nuer	
Nyangatomigna	Nyangatom	Nyangatom N	Turkana	
–	–	Ongota ⁷	Birale	
Oromigna	Oromo (Werji)	Oromo ⁸ C		
Oydigna	Oyda	Oyda O		
Sahogna	Saho	Saho C = Afar group	Shaho	Afar
–	–	Shabo ⁹ N	Mikeyir	
Shegna	(She) Bench	She O = Benc' group		Benc', Mer
Shekogna	Sheko	Sheko O		
Shinashigna	Shinasha	Bworo O	Gonga	
Shitagna	Shita	Opo-Shita N		
Sidamigna	Sidama	Sidaama C		
Somaligna	Somalie	Somali C		
Surigna	Suri	Baale N	Olam, Zilmamu	
Tigrigna	Tigraway	Tigrinya S		
Timbarogna	(Timbaro) Kembata	T'imbaaro C = Kambaata group		Alaba, K'abeena, Kambaata
Tsamigna	Tsamay	Tsamaakko C	Dullay	Harso-Dobase ⁶
–	–	Twampa N	Uduk	
Welayitigna	Welaita (Dorzie, Gamo, Goffa, Konta, Kulo, Mello)	Welaytta O	Welamo	Dawro (Kullo, Konta), Dorzie, Gamo, Gofa
Yemsagna	Yemsa	Yem O	Janjero	
Zeysigna	Zeyisie (Zergula)	Zayse O		Zergulla
Zerguligna	(Zergula) Zeyisie	Zergulla O = Zayse group		Zayse

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Notes to Table 2

1. Language names absent in this column (and present in column 3) did not appear among the 77 of the Census, but perhaps are represented in the Census in its Tables 2.15 and 2.17 category of 'Other Languages'.
2. Names in parentheses in this column are ethnic groups listed in the Census under the other, unparenthesized, name, perhaps with an implication of mutual intelligibility.
3. Sixteen languages in this column consist of nine absent in column 1 (Anfillo, Bayso, Harso-Dobase, Ilit, Murle, Nera, Ongota, Shabo, and Twampa), six 'Gurage' languages not differentiated in the census, and three Mao languages undifferentiated in census. Also in this column are 20 varieties which are included within dialect-groups in the list of 75 Ethiopian languages of Table 3, (for example, Alaba and Bodi). See the last column of Tale 3, of mutually intelligible varieties, for other dialect names.
4. 'Guagu' is absent in the linguistics literature, to my knowledge, but similarity of spelling and sound, the regions in which the Census reports Guagu speakers to live, and their numbers, make the equation of 'Guagu' and 'Kwegu' probable.
5. The Census *Summary Reports at Country and Regional Levels* 1998b (p. 80) breaks the 'Gurage' ethnic group into 'Sebatbet', 'Soddo', and 'Siltie', and gives separate numbers for these totalling 1,646,925 or 72% of the 2,290,274 ethnic Gurage reported in Vol. I of the Census, Table 2.14. Census Table 2.19 implicitly recognized that Gurage is a group of languages by reporting 25,827 mother-tongue Gurage speakers who also speak 'Gurage' as a second-language. It is uncontroversial that Soddo, Silt'e, and core 'Western Gurage' languages such as Chaha are mutually unintelligible. Hetzron 1972 (p. 2) also asserts by such measure the separateness of Zay and Silt'e, and Inor and Chaha. I separate Mesqan from 'Gurage' on the basis of mutual intelligibility scores reported by Ahland 2003. According to Bender 1971 (p. 173), Mesqan and Chaha share basic vocabulary at 80%, a figure approximately indicative of the limit of mutual intelligibility, and Mesqan and Inor at 70%.
6. The separateness of Harso-Dobase from Gawada-Golango and Tsamaakko within 'Dullay' is as in Amborn et al 1980 (p. 56). The pairing of Harso-Dobase and Tsamaakko as a language separate from Gawwada within 'Dullay' is based on personal communication from Hermann Amborn.
7. Ongota is unclassified except as Afroasiatic (Fleming 2002, Savà and Tosco 2000).
8. Ethnologue lists three Oromo 'languages': Borana-Arsi-Guji, Qottu, and West-central, but I know of no empirical basis for this controversial claim.
9. There is controversy concerning the classification of Shabo, whether as Nilosaharan (Anbessa and Unseth 1989 and Bender 1996: 27), a mixed language (Fleming 1991), or an unclassifiable isolate (Ehret 1995).

Table 3: Classification of the 75 Ethiopian Languages

Group no.	Group name	Language and/or dialects of the language
1	Cushitic (19 languages)	
1.1	Central (Agaw)	
1.1.1	East	<i>Xamtanga, Xamir, †Kayla</i>
1.1.2	West	<i>Kemant, †Quara</i>
1.1.3	South	<i>Awngi, Kunfal</i>
1.2	East	
1.2.1	Highland	<i>Burji</i>
		<i>Gedeo</i>
		<i>Hadiyya, Libido (Maraqo)</i>
		<i>Kambaata, Alaba, K'abeena, T'imbaaro</i>
		<i>Sidaama</i>
1.2.2	Lowland	
1.2.2.1	North (Saho-Afar)	<i>Sabo (mainly Eritrea), Afar</i>
1.2.2.2	South	
1.2.2.2.1	Oromo-Konso	
1.2.2.2.1.1	Oromo	<i>Oromo</i>
1.2.2.2.1.2	Konso group	<i>Konso</i>
		<i>Dirayta (Gidole)</i>
		<i>Mossiya (Bussa)</i>
1.2.2.2.2	Omo-Tana	
1.2.2.2.2.1	North	<i>Bayso</i>
1.2.2.2.2.2	East	<i>Somali</i>
1.2.2.2.2.3	West	<i>Arbore</i>
		<i>Daasanach (Geleb)</i>
1.2.2.3	Dullay	<i>Harso-Dobase (Werize), Tsamaakko (Tsamay)</i>
		<i>Gawwada-Gollango</i>
2.	Nilosaharan (20 languages)	
2.1	Berta	<i>Berta (Gamili, Gebato, Undu, Mayu, Fadashi)</i>
2.2	Kunama	<i>Kunama</i>
2.3	Ilit	<i>Ilit</i>
2.4	Koman	<i>Opo (Shita)</i>
		<i>Komo</i>
		<i>Kwama</i>
		<i>Twampa (Uduk)</i>
2.5	Gumuz	<i>Gumuz</i>
2.6	East Sudanic	

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Group no.	Group name	Language and/or dialects of the language
2.6.1	Surmic	<i>Majang (Mesengo)</i>
		<i>Murle</i>
		<i>Baale (Zilmamu, Olam, Suri)</i>
		<i>Mursi, Tirma, Tid, Chai</i>
		<i>Me'en (Bodi, Tishena)</i>
		<i>Kwegu (Guagu), Muguji</i>
2.6.2	Nera	<i>Nera</i>
2.6.3	Nilotic	<i>Anywa</i>
		<i>Mebaan (Sudan?)</i>
		<i>Naadh (Nuer)</i>
		<i>Nyangatom (Turkana)</i>
2.7	Shabo	<i>Shabo (Mikeyir)</i>
3	OmotiC (23 languages)	
3.1	Mao	<i>Hozo, Sezo</i>
		<i>Bambeshi, Diddesa</i>
		<i>Ganza (Sudan?)</i>
3.2	Ari-Dizi	
3.2.1	Ari group	<i>Ari (Bako)</i>
		<i>Hamar, Banna, Kara</i>
		<i>Dime</i>
3.2.2	Dizo group	<i>Dizi (Maji)</i>
		<i>Sheko</i>
		<i>Nayi (Nao)</i>
3.3	<i>Ta/ne</i> languages	
3.3.1	Kefa group	<i>Kefa, Mocha (Shekka)</i>
		<i>Bworo (Shinasha)</i>
		<i>Anfillo (Mao)</i>
3.3.2	Yem	<i>Yem (Yemsa, Janjero)</i>
3.3.3	Benc' group	<i>Benc', She, Mer</i>
3.3.4	C'ara-Ometo	
3.3.4.1	C'ara	<i>C'ara (Chara)</i>
3.3.4.2	North Ometo	<i>Welaytta, Dawro (Kullo, Konta), Dorze, Gamo, Gofa</i>
		<i>Malo (Melo), Zala</i>
		<i>Oyda</i>
		<i>Basketo (Mesketo)</i>
		<i>Maale</i>
3.3.4.3	South Ometo	<i>Kore (Koyra)</i>
		<i>Zayse, Zergulla</i>
		<i>Ganjule, Gatsame (Kachama), Gidicho (Harro)</i>

Group no.	Group name	Language and/or dialects of the language
4	Ethiopian Semitic (of South Semitic) (12 languages)	
4.1	North	† <i>Ge'ez</i>
		<i>Tigrinya</i>
4.2	South	
4.2.1	Southwest	
4.2.1.1	Gafat	† <i>Gafat</i>
4.2.1.2	Soddo group	<i>Soddo (Kistane), Dobbi (Gogot), Galila</i>
4.2.1.3	Mesqan-'Gurage'	
4.2.1.3.1	Mesqan	<i>Mesqan</i>
4.2.1.3.2	Gurage	
4.2.1.3.2.1	Chaha group	<i>Chaha, Muher, Ezba, Gumer, Gura</i>
4.2.1.3.2.2	Inor group	<i>Inor (Ennemor), Enner, Endegegn, Gyeto,</i> † <i>Mesmes</i>
4.2.2	Southeast	
4.2.2.1	Amharic-Argobba	<i>Amharic</i>
		<i>Argobba</i>
4.2.2.2	Harari-Silt'e-Zay	
4.2.2.2.1	Harari	<i>Harari</i>
4.2.2.2.2	Silt'e-Zay	
4.2.2.2.2.1	Silt'e group	<i>Silt'e, Ulbareg, Enneqor, Walane</i>
4.2.2.2.2.2	Zay	<i>Zay</i>
5.	Unclassified (1 language)	<i>Ongota</i>

Each row of the third column is thought to represent a language. Multiple names of a row are thought to be names of dialects of the language. Parenthesized are alternative names.

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Summary

The 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia gathered considerable information of linguistic interest, notably the number of speakers of seventy-seven languages which it recognized. The Census's list is largely consistent with lists of languages recognized in current research by Ethiopianist linguists. However, problems of two sorts arise in the Census list: dialects counted as languages and languages counted as dialects. Survey of research in Ethiopian linguistics supports instead the existence of seventy-three Ethiopian languages now spoken, a list of languages and their dialects which includes varieties of speech recognized and unrecognized by the Census.