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## Ethnic Group and Mother Tongue in the Ethiopian Censuses of 1994 and 2007

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The Ethiopian census of 2007 (POPULATION CENSUS COMMISSION 2007) provides information on ethnic groups (Table 3.1, pp. 98–122) and mother tongues (Table 3.2, pp. 123–148), as did the census of 1994 (POPULATION CENSUS COMMISSION 1994; HUDSON 2003; 2004). We read (POPULATION CENSUS COMMISSION 2007: 96) that “Detailed lists of the names & codes of the country’s languages were provided to the enumerators in their instruction manuals. Similar types of questions were used for both the 1994 & 2007 censuses, except that during the 1994 census [a] question about the most frequently used additional language of respondents was also asked in addition to mother tongue & ethnic group”.

Presented here in four tables are comparisons of the “country total” census results for 2007 and 1994 concerning ethnic group and mother tongue of respondents, with attention to differences between the two censuses and within each census between ethnic groups and mother tongues (ethnic groups without mother tongues and vice versa). Some of the differences can be explained with reasonable confidence but some only as suppositions; some remain unexplained. (The census also provides results by Regions: Təgray; ʿAfar; Amhara; Oromia; Somali; Beniṣangul-Gumuz; Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples (SNNP); Gambella; Harari; Addis Abāba; Dərre Dawa; and (*sic*) “Region 17”.)

The 2007 census reported two ethnic groups without associated mother tongues (Mejenger, Silte; s. notes 27, 34), and 5 mother tongues without an associated ethnic group (Demegna, Felashigna, Koyrigna, Shetagna, Shitagna; s. notes 6, 10, 21, 32, 33). The 1994 census reported 3 ethnic groups without an associated mother tongue (Felasha, Werji, Weyito; s. notes 10, 36, 37).

The 2007 census reported 85 Ethiopian ethnic groups vs. 80 of the 1994 census, and the 2007 census reported 87 Ethiopian mother tongues vs. 77 of the 1994 census. It is not possible to list with complete confidence those ethnic groups and mother tongues which appear in one of the two censuses and not the other, because ethnic-group and mother-tongue names in the two censuses differ, and only some of these differences can be resolved as synonymous names. The *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* now provides a single comprehensive source where many of these problems of name-matching can

be solved, but questions remain, including the persistent difficulty concerning differences between names of languages and their dialects, and between self-names and names, often thought derogatory, given by others. Of course even the notions “ethnic group”, “mother tongue” or “language” are not well defined, but are non-discrete entities, and the facts which, in particular cases, would give them clarity if not satisfactory definition are many and probably impossible to elicit in a census.

The Ethiopian census seems not trying to identify and count all Ethiopian ethnic groups and mother tongues, or even a well-defined subgroup of these. The apparent absence of expert advice in these matters (or at least in the census reporting) is understandable, given the certain difficulties of choosing among experts, interpreting the advice (probably often contradictory), and implementing it. Certainly also, there is much of value in the census data to intrigue and challenge us, and, in the case of ethnic groups and mother tongues with small populations in 1994 and absent in 2007, to alarm.

In the tables below, ethnic-group and mother-tongue names are given as these appear in the two censuses, but in the alphabetical order of ethnic-group names of the 2007 census, although with alphabetization and a few spellings corrected. Different but presumed synonymous names of the 1994 and 2007 census are provided in the row of the name in the 2007 census, for example *Berta* and *Jebelawi*. In all four tables, the parentheses after some names of the 1994 census are the first letters of the wider group under which, in the 1994 census, the name was listed as a subgroup, for example *Alaba (Kemb)*, showing that in the 1994 census *Alaba* was listed as a subgroup under *Kembata*.

Table 1 is a comparison of ethnic groups and mother tongues in the two censuses. In the column of ethnic groups, a code identifies the language family of each ethnic group: C: Cushitic, N: Nilo-Saharan, O: Omotic, S: Semitic, and ?: unknown or uncertain; an example of the latter is *Guagul/Guagugna*. To the extent possible, notes to Table 1 attempt to explain differences between the lists of ethnic groups and mother tongues in the two censuses. Table 2 contrasts only those cases in which the two censuses appear to report different ethnic groups and languages. Table 3 presents ethnic groups and populations of the two censuses, and Table 4 mother tongues and populations of the two censuses. In Tables 3 and 4 every tenth ethnic group and mother tongue is numbered so that the number of ethnic groups and mother tongues in the two censuses can be compared.

The numbers for total population at the top of Tables 3 and 4 show that total Ethiopian population increased by over twenty million from 1994 to 2007, or 38 %, and such increase, often greater, is apparent for most of the ethnic groups and mother tongues counted in the census. Unaccountably, in the 1994 census the total of ethnic group members is 53,132,276 but of mother-tongue speakers 53,130,779.

Table 1. 2007 & 1994 Census Ethnic Groups and Mother Tongues			
2007 Ethnic Group	2007 Mother Tongue	1994 Ethnic Group	1994 Mother Tongue
Affar C	Affarigna	Affar	Affarigna
Agew-Awi ( <i>sic</i> ) C	Agew-Awingigna	Agew/Awingi	Agew/Awingigna
Agew-Hamyra C	Agew-Kamyryna	Agew/Kamyr	Agew/Kamyrgna
Alaba C	Alabigna	Alaba (Kemb)	Alabigna (Kemb)
Amhara S	Amarigna	Amara	Amarigna
Anyiwak N	Anyiwakgna	Anyiwak	Anyiwakgna
Arborie C	Arborigna	Arborie	Arboriegna
Argoba S	Argobigna	Argoba	Argobigna
Ari O	Arigna	Ari	Arigna
Bacha <sup>1</sup> N	Bachagna	–	–
Basketo O	Basketigna	Basketo	Basketigna
Bena <sup>2</sup> O?	Benagna	–	–
Bench O	Benchigna	Bench	Benchigna
Berta <sup>3</sup> N	Bertagna	Jebelawi	Jebelawigna
Bodi N	Bodigna	Bodi (Me'e)	Bodigna (Me'e)
Brayle <sup>4</sup> ?	Brayligna	–	–
Burji C	Burjigna	Burji	Burjigna
Chara O	Charigna	Charra	Charrigna
Dasenech C	Dasenechgna	Dasenech	Dasenechgna
Dawuro <sup>5</sup> O	Dawurogna	Kulo (Wel)	Kulogna (Wel)
Debase/Gewada C	Debosgna	Gewada	Gewadigna
–	Demegna <sup>6</sup>	–	–
Derashe <sup>7</sup> C	Derashigna	–	–
Dime O	Dimegna	Dime	Dimegna
Dizi O	Dizigna	Dizi	Dizigna
Donga C?	Dongigna <sup>8</sup>	–	–
–	–	Dorzie <sup>9</sup> (Wel) O	Dorzigna (Wel)
Fedashe N	Fedashigna	Fadashi (Jeb)	Fedashigna (Jeb)
–	Felashigna <sup>10</sup>	Felasha C	–
–	–	Gamili <sup>11</sup> (Jeb) N	Gamiligna (Jeb)
Gamo O	Gamogna	Gamo (Wel)	Gamogna (Wel)
–	–	Ganjule <sup>12</sup> O	Ganijuligna
Gebato N	Gebatogna	Gebato (Jeb)	Gebatogna (Jeb)
Gedeo C	Gedeogna	Gedeo	Gedeogna
Gedicho <sup>13</sup> O	Gedichogna	–	–
Gidole C	Gidoligna	Gidole	Gidoligna

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Goffa O	Goffigna	Goffa (Wel)	Goffigna (Wel)
Guagu <sup>14</sup> ?	Guagugna	Guagu	Guagugna
Gumuz N	Gumuzigna	Gumuz	Gumuzigna
Guragie <sup>15</sup> S	Guragiegna	Guragie	Guragigna
Hadiya C	Hadiyigna	Hadiya	Hadiyigna
Hamer O	Hamerigna	Hamer	Hamerigna
Hareri S	Hareriegna	Harari	Hararigna
Irob <sup>16</sup> C	Irobigna	Saho	Sahogna
Karo <sup>17</sup> O	Karogna	–	–
Kefficho O	Keffagna	Keffa	Keffigna
–	–	Kemant <sup>18</sup> C	Kemantigna
Kembata C	Kembatigna	Kembata	Kembatigna
Komo N	Komigna	Koma	Komigna
Konso C	Konsogna	Konso	Konsogna
Konta O	Kontigna	Konta (Wel)	Kontigna (Wel)
Kore <sup>19</sup> O	Koregna	Koyra	Koyrigna
Koyego <sup>20</sup> N	Koygogna	–	–
–	Koyrigna <sup>21</sup>	–	–
Kunama N	Kunamigna	Kunama	Kunamigna
Kusumie <sup>22</sup> C	Kusumegna	–	–
–	–	Mabaan <sup>23</sup> N	Mabaangna
Malie O	Maliegna	Malie	Maliegna
Mao O	Maogna	Mao	Maogna
Mareko C	Marekogna	Mareko (Had)	Marekogna (Had)
Mashola C	Mashiligna <sup>24</sup>	–	–
Me'enite N	Me'enigna	Me'en	Me'enigna
–	–	Mello <sup>25</sup> (Wel) O	Melloгна (Wel)
Mejenger N	Mejengerigna <sup>26</sup>	–	–
Mere O	Merigna	Mer (Ben)	Merigna (Ben)
Messengo N	Messengogna <sup>27</sup>	Mesengo	Mesengogna
Mossiye C	Mossigna	Mossiye	Mosiyagna
Murle <sup>28</sup> N	Murlegna	–	–
Mursi N	Mursyigna	Mursi	Mursyigna
Nao O	Naogna	Nao	Naogna
Nuwer N	Nuwerigna	Nuwer	Nuwerigna
Nyangatom N	Nyangatomigna	Nyangatom	Nyangatomigna
Oromo C	Oromigna	Oromo	Oromigna
Oida O	Oydigna	Oyda	Oydigna

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Qebena C	Qebenigna	Kebena (Kemb)	Kebeenagna (Kemb)
Qechem <sup>29</sup> O	Qechemigna	Kechama	Kechamigna
Qewama <sup>30</sup> N	Qewamigna	Kewama	Kewamigna
She O	Shegna	She (Ben)	Shegna (Ben)
Shekacho <sup>31</sup> O	Shekacho ( <i>sic</i> )	Mocha (Kef)	Mochigna (Kef)
Sheko O	Shekogna	Sheko	Shekogna
–	Shetagna <sup>32</sup>	–	–
Shinasha O	Shinashigna	Shinasha	Shinashigna
–	Shitagna <sup>33</sup>	Shita N	Shitagna
Sidama C	Sidamigna	Sidama	Sidamigna
Silte <sup>34</sup> S	–	–	–
Somalie C	Somaligna	Somalie	Somaligna
Surma N	Surmagna	Suri	Surigna
Tigrie S	Tigrigna	Tigraway	Tigrigna
Timebaro C	Tembarogna	Timbaro (Kemb)	Timbarogna (Kemb)
Tsemay C	Tsemayigna	Tsamay	Tsamigna
Upo <sup>35</sup> N	Upo ( <i>sic</i> )	–	–
Welaita O	Welaitigna	Welaita	Welayitigna
Werji <sup>36</sup> ?	Werjigna	Werji (Oro)	–
–	–	Weyito <sup>37</sup> ?	–
Yem O	Yemsagna	Yemsa	Yemsagna
–	–	Zergula <sup>38</sup> (Zey) O	Zerguligna (Zey)
Zeyese O	Zeysegna	Zeyisie	Zeysigna
Zelmam <sup>39</sup> N	Zelmamigna	–	–
Other Eth. nat. gr.	Other Eth. lgs.	Other Eth. nat. gr.	Other Eth. lgs.
–	English	–	English
–	Other foreign lgs.	–	Other foreign lgs.
–	–	–	Not stated
From diff. parents	–	From diff. parents	–
Eritrean	–	Eritrean	–
Djiboutian	–	Djiboutian	–
Somalian	–	Somalian	–
Kenyan	–	Kenyan	–
Sudanese	–	Sudanese	–
Other Foreigners	–	Other Foreigners	–
–	–	Not stated	–

Notes

1. Another name for, or a subgroup of, Kwegu/Koyego (HIROSHI 2007: 464); s. notes 14, 20.
2. Perhaps Banna; s. MASUDA 2003: 466, where estimated population is 20,000.
3. Jebelawi or Berta, the former “not a name they themselves prefer” (ABBINK 2003: 547).
4. Perhaps Birale/Ongata, according to TOSCO 2010: 29, a language “spoken by a handful of elders”.
5. Self-name Dawro (AZEB AMHA 2007b: 447). “Kullo ... is a derogatory term for the Omotic-speaking Dawro” (BUSTORF 2007: 449). “Dawro were formerly known under the name of Kullo, which is now rejected” (DATA DEA 2005: 115).
6. Perhaps an alternate spelling of *Dimegna* and wrongly counted separately in the census.
7. Presumably Diraašša (HAYWARD 2005: 167).
8. “The Donga constitute nine peasant associations of the Kačabirra *wärāda* in the present zone of Kambaata–Alaaba–T̄imbaaro ... Their first language is Kambaata, but many of them also speak the Hadiyya language” (BRAUKÄMPEL 2005: 191).
9. A North Omoto variety close to Gamo and Malo (AZEB AMHA 2005: 195); perhaps merged with Gamo in the 2007 census.
10. The Felasha, or Betā Israel, are speakers of an Agāw variety, probably Kemant or Qwara (APPLEYARD 2003: 140).
11. “Gamila” a Berta subgroup (BENDER 1971: 220).
12. Ganḡule, a “Harro” dialect (BENDER 2005: 1037; POISSONNIER 2005: 1038), others of which are Gidiččo, Gašame (Kechama), and Harro.
13. Presumably Gidiččo, a “Harro” dialect (BENDER 2005: 1037), s. note 12.
14. HUDSON 2004: 168, speculated an equation with Kwegu, which seems to appear otherwise in the 2007 census: Koyego; s. notes 1, 20.
15. As understood by the census, “Guragie” (Gurage) peoples speak three or more languages: at least so-called “Northern Gurage” Soddo and its dialects, “Western Gurage” dialects such as Chaha, and “Eastern Gurage” dialects such as Silte (Səlti) (GOLDENBERG 2005: 925). Even if the 2007 census now counts Silte separately (s. note 32), there remain “Eastern Gurage” varieties Welane and Zay. There are probably other cases in which the census counts multiple groups and languages as one, e.g. Welaytta, Gamo.
16. “The Irob are the only Saho living in Ethiopia” (VOIGT 2007: 187).
17. Karo of Eastern Omotic is “mutually intelligible with Banna” (BENDER 1971: 221); s. note 2.
18. The Kemant (language Kəmantnäy) are mostly now speakers of Amharic (ZELEALEM LEYEW 2007: 383).
19. Also known as Koorete and Koyra (AZEB AMHA 2007a: 429).
20. Perhaps Kwegu: Koegu, K<sup>w</sup>egu, K<sup>w</sup>oygi (HIEDA 2007: 463); s. notes 1 and 14.
21. Perhaps an alternate spelling of *Koregna* and wrongly counted separately in the census.
22. One of the “main divisions” of Konso (WOLDE GOSSA TADESSE 2007: 426).
23. A “Western Nilotic” language (DIMMENDAAL 2007: 1185) of Sudan and W. Ethiopia.
24. Also written *Mašolle*; a “Konsoid” (MOUS 2005: 428) variety of the “Dullay dialect cluster” (SAVÀ 2005: 204).
25. Melo or Malo; a North Omoto variety close to Gamo (AZEB AMHA 2007d: 710), with which it is perhaps merged in the 2007 census. Not to be confused with Maale, or Malie of the census (AZEB AMHA 2007c: 607).

26. Also Majang, Mesengo; self-name Maḡangir (UNSETH 2007a: 627; 2007b: 629); the census reports no speakers of Mejengerigna, which is therefore omitted in Table 4. Perhaps speakers of Mejengerigna are included as Mesengogna; s. note 27.
27. Another name for Mejenger, according to UNSETH 2007b: 629.
28. A “Surmic” language (UNSETH 2007c: 1076).
29. Gašame/Kechama; one of the “Harro” dialects. “There are many variant spellings, e.g. Kačama ... for Gašame” (BENDER 2005: 1037).
30. Kwama (SIEBERT – BRYANT 2007: 460).
31. Šakačo is “closely related to Kāfa ... the name Moča is seen as derogatory” (HAASNOOT 2010: 481).
32. Absent in the 1994 census, “Shetagna” has neither ethnic group nor speakers in the 2007 census, and is therefore omitted in Tables 3 and 4.
33. A Nilo-Saharan people of the Sudan (BENDER 1975: 63); the 1994 census reported 307 ethnic-group members and 301 mother-tongue speakers. Surely mistakenly, the 2007 census reported 880,818 Shitagna speakers, a number reasonably that for Siltigna; s. note 34.
34. Silte appears as an ethnic group in the 2007 census, with 934,891 members, but unaccountably without mother-tongue speakers. Silte did not appear in the 1994 census, in which presumably its ethnic-group members and mother-tongue speakers were included in the “Guragie/Guragigna” count. In a 2001 referendum the Silte people “voted overwhelmingly in favour of declaring themselves a distinct ‘nationality’ or ethnic group”, an outcome which seemed to have been accepted by the government (SMITH 2007: 575; BUSTORF 2010: 607). It seems likely that the 880,818 mother-tongue speakers reported in the 2007 census for Shitagna should have been reported for Siltigna; s. note 33.
35. Probably Opuuo, a Nilo-Saharan “Koman” people (BENDER 2010: 33).
36. An ethnic group not known to have an associated language, until the 2007 census reported 2,037 Werjigna speakers (CERULLI 1930: 14; QUIRIN 2010).
37. Presumably Wāyto (ZERIHUN ABEBE 2010: 1162); cf. Waata (KELLNER 2010).
38. A dialect of “Zayse” (BENDER 1971: 226).
39. An Eastern Sudanic language (BENDER 1971: 226).



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Table 2. 2007 & 1994 Census Ethnic Groups and Mother Tongues: Differences (notes of Table 1)			
2007 Ethnic Group	2007 Mother Tongue	1994 Ethnic Group	1994 Mother Tongue
Bacha <sup>1</sup>	Bachagna	–	–
Bena <sup>2</sup>	Benagna	–	–
Brayle <sup>4</sup>	Brayligna	–	–
–	Demegna <sup>6</sup>	–	–
Derashe <sup>7</sup>	Derashigna	–	–
Donga	Dongigna <sup>8</sup>	–	–
–	–	Dorzie <sup>9</sup> (Wel)	Dorzigna (Wel)
–	Felashigna <sup>10</sup>	Felasha	–
–	–	Gamili <sup>11</sup> (Jeb)	Gamiligna (Jeb)
–	–	Ganjule <sup>12</sup>	Ganijuligna
Gedicho <sup>13</sup>	Gedichogna	–	–
Karo <sup>17</sup>	Karogna	–	–
–	–	Kemant <sup>18</sup>	Kemantigna
Koyego <sup>20</sup>	Koygogna	–	–
–	Koyrigna <sup>21</sup>	–	–
Kusumie <sup>22</sup>	Kusumegna	–	–
–	–	Mabaan <sup>23</sup>	Mabaangna
Mashola	Mashiligna <sup>24</sup>	–	–
–	–	Mello <sup>25</sup> (Wel)	Melloгна (Wel)
Mejenger	Mejengerigna <sup>26</sup>	–	–
Murle <sup>28</sup>	Murlegna	–	–
–	Shitagna <sup>33</sup>	Shita	Shitagna
Silte <sup>34</sup>	–	–	–
Upo <sup>35</sup>	Upo ( <i>sic</i> )	–	–
Werji <sup>36</sup>	Werjigna	Werji (Oro)	–
–	–	Weyito <sup>37</sup>	–
–	–	Zergula <sup>38</sup> (Zey)	Zerguligna (Zey)
Zelmam <sup>38</sup>	Z(e)lmamigna	–	–

2007 Census Ethnic Groups		1994 Census Ethnic Groups	
Ethnic group	Members	Ethnic group	Members
Total	73,750,932	Total	53,132,276
Affar	1,276,867	Affar	979,367
Agew-Awi ( <i>sic</i> )	636,415	Agew/Awingi	397,491
Agew Hamyra	268,172	Agew/Kamyr	158,231
Alaba	232,620	Alaba (Kem)	125,900
Amhara	19,878,199	Amara	16,007,933
Anyiwak	89,051	Anyiwak	45,665
Arborie	7,283	Arborie	6,559
Argoba	140,820	Argoba	62,831
Ari	289,835	Ari	155,002
Bacha 10	2,630	–	–
Basketo	78,265	Basketo 10	51,097
Bena	27,018	–	–
Bench	352,194	Bench	173,123
Berta	208,759	Jebelawi	118,530
Bodi	6,984	Bodi (Mee)	4,686
Brayle	5,002	–	–
Burji	71,758	Burji	46,565
Chara	13,214	Charra	6,984
Dasenech	48,072	Dasenech	32,099
Dawuro 20	537,954	Kulo (Wel)	331,483
Debase/Gewada	68,598	Gewada	33,971
Derashe	30,123	–	–
Dime	873	Dime	6,197
Dizi	34,680	Dizi 20	21,894
Donga	35,193	–	–
–	–	Dorzie (Wel)	28,990
Fedashe	4,050	Fadashi (Jeb)	7,323
–	–	Felasha	2,321
–	–	Gamili (Jeb)	186
Gamo	1,104,360	Gamo (Wel)	719,847
–	–	Ganjule	1,146
Gebato	1,497	Gebato (Jeb)	75

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Gedeo	975,506	Gedeo	639,905
Gedicho 30	5,491	–	–
Gidole	41,107	Gidole	54,354
Goffa	362,241	Goffa (Wel) 30	241,530
Guagu	–	Guagu	173
Gumuz	181,541	Gumuz	121,487
Guragie	1,859,831	Guragie	2,290,274
Hadiya	1,269,382	Hadiya	927,933
Hamer	46,534	Hamer	42,466
Hareri	31,722	Harari	21,757
Irob	33,407	Saho	23,275
Karo 40	1,488	–	–
Kefficho	865,131	Keffa	599,188
–	–	Kemant	172,327
Kembata	627,565	Kembata 40	499,825
Komo	9,096	Koma	1,526
Konso	250,535	Konso	153,419
Konta	83,626	Konta (Wel)	49,627
Kore	156,884	Koyra	107,595
Koyego	1,938	–	–
Kunama	4,864	Kunama	2,007
Kusumie	9,213	–	–
–	–	Mabaan	23
Malie 50	97,925	Malie	46,458
Mao	46,026	Mao	16,236
Mareko	64,272	Mareko (Had)	38,096
Mashola	10,410	–	–
Me'enite	150,221	Me'en 50	52,815
–	–	Mello (Wel)	20,189
Mejenger	21,951	–	–
Mere	14,200	Mer (Ben)	1,270
Messengo	10,871	Mesengo	15,341
Mossiye	19,628	Mossiya	9,207
Murle	1,453	–	–
Mursi 60	7,483	Mursi	3,258
Nao	9,796	Nao	4,005

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Nuwer	147,759	Nuwer	64,534
Nyangatom	25,238	Nyangatom	14,201
Oromo	25,363,756	Oromo	17,080,318
Oida	45,120	Oyda 60	14,075
Qebena	52,736	Kebena (Kem)	35,072
Qechem	2,586	Kechama	2,740
Qewama	289	Kewama	141
She	319	She (Ben)	13,290
Shekacho 70	77,561	Mocha (Kef)	53,897
Sheko	37,576	Sheko	23,785
Shinasha	62,298	Shinasha	32,698
–	–	Shita	307
Sidama	2,951,889	Sidama	1,842,314
Silte	934,891	–	–
Somalie	4,586,876	Somalie 70	3,160,540
Surma	27,886	Suri	19,632
Tigrie	4,486,513	Tigraway	3,284,568
Timebaro	98,589	Timbaro (Kemb)	86,510
Tsemay	20,045	Tsemay	9,702
Upo 80	1,586	–	–
Welaita	1,676,128	Welaita	1,269,216
Werji	12,847	Werji (Oro)	20,536
–	–	Weyito	1,631
Yem	159,923	Yemsa	165,184
–	–	Zergula (Zey)	390
Zeyese	17,889	Zeysie 80	10,842
Zelmam 85	2,703	–	–
Other Eth. nat. gr.	142,275	Other Eth. nat. gr.	107,073
From diff. parents	36,524	From diff. parents	26,770
Eritrean	9,736	Eritrean	61,857
Djiboutian	733	Djiboutian	367
Somalian	20,227	Somalian	24,726
Kenyan	727	Kenyan	134
Sudanese	10,333	Sudanese	2,035
Other foreigners	15,550	Other foreigners	16,302
–	–	Not stated	5,827

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Table 4. 2007 & 1994 Census Mother Tongues & Populations			
2007 Census Languages		1994 Census Languages	
Mother Tongue	Speakers	Mother Tongue	Speakers
Total	73,750,932	Total	53,130,779
Affarigna	1,281,284	Affarigna	965,462
Agew-Awingigna	488,507	Agew/Awingigna	356,980
Agew-Kamyrynya	213,355	Agew/Kamyrgna	143,369
Alabigna	226,604	Alabigna (Kem)	126,257
Amarigna	21,634,396	Amarigna	17,372,913
Anyiwakgna	90,579	Anyiwakgna	45,646
Arborigna	7,211	Arboriegna	4,441
Argobigna	43,682	Argobigna	10,860
Arigna	285,473	Arigna	158,857
Bachagna 10	3,472	–	–
Basketigna	92,586	Basketigna 10	57,805
Benagna	26,869	–	–
Benchigna	347,636	Benchigna	173,586
Bertagna	205,732	Jebelawigna	116,084
Bodigna	5,770	Bodigna (Mee)	4,570
Brayligna	3,401	–	–
Burjigna	46,419	Burjigna	35,731
Charigna	13,100	Charrigna	6,932
Dasenechgna	47,986	Dasenechgna	32,064
Dawurogna 20	513,341	Kulogna (Wel)	313,228
Debosgna	70,419	Gewadigna	32,698
Demegna	10,155	–	–
Derashigna	15,336	–	–
Dimegna	574	Dimegna	6,501
Dizigna	33,927	Dizigna 20	21,075
Dongigna	30,098	–	–
–	–	Dorzigna (Wel)	2,082
Fedashigna	4,484	Fedashigna (Jeb)	8,715
Felashigna	946	–	–
–	–	Gamiligna (Jeb)	144
Gamogna	1,070,626	Gamogna (Wel)	690,069
–	–	Ganijuligna	1,390
Gebatogna 30	1,421	Gebatogna (Jeb)	78
Gedeogna	974,609	Gedeogna	637,082
Gedichogna	4,619	–	–
Gedoligna	49,927	Gidoligna	50,328
Goffigna	358,887	Goffigna (Wel)	233,340
Guagugna	3,282	Guagugna 30	103

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Gumuzigna	179,348	Gumuzigna	120,424
Guragiegna	1,481,836	Guragigna	1,881,574
Hadiyigna	1,253,894	Hadiyigna	923,958
Hamerigna	47,531	Hamerigna	42,838
Hareriegna 40	25,810	Hararigna	21,283
Irobigna	32,832	Sahogna	22,759
Karogna	1,478	–	–
Keffagna	834,918	Keffigna	569,626
–	–	Kemantigna	1,650
Kembatigna	614,807	Kembatigna	487,655
Komigna	8,534	Komigna 40	1,435
Konsogna	242,059	Konsogna	149,508
Kontigna	81,578	Kontigna (Wel)	48,987
Koregna	156,749	Koyrigna	103,879
Koygogna	1,642	–	–
Koyrigna 50	2,473	–	–
Kunamigna	7,428	Kunamigna	1,883
Kusumegna	8,249	–	–
–	–	Mabaangna	25
Maliegna	94,746	Maliegna	53,779
Maogna	33,683	Maogna	13,657
Marekogna	58,788	Marekogna (Had)	36,612
Mashiligna	8,537	–	–
Me'enigna	145,333	Me'enigna	52,015
–	–	Melloгна (Wel) 50	20,151
Merigna	8,159	Merigna (Ben)	989
Messengogna	6,443	Mesengogna	15,152
Mossigna 60	9,552	Mosiyagna	6,624
Murlegna	970	–	–
Mursygna	7,386	Mursygna	3,278
Naogna	7,188	Naogna	3,656
Nuwerigna	153,407	Nuwerigna	64,907
Nyangatomigna	24,303	Nyangatomigna	14,177
Oromigna	24,930,424	Oromigna	16,777,976
Oydigna	36,946	Oydigna	16,597
Qebenigna	51,333	Kebenagna (Kem) 60	35,783
Qechemigna	2,829	Kechamigna	2,682
Qewamigna 70	319	Kewamigna	99
Shegna	492	Shegna (Ben)	13,116
Shekacho ( <i>sic</i> )	80,162	Mochigna (Kef)	54,894
Shekogna	38,911	Shekogna	24,106
Shinashigna	37,459	Shinashigna	19,734

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Shitagna*	880,818	Shitagna	301
Sidamigna	2,981,471	Sidamigna	1,876,329
Somaligna	4,609,274	Somaligna	3,187,053
Surmagna	26,909	Surigna 70	19,622
Tembarogna	97,806	Timbarogna (Kem)	82,803
Tigrigna 80	4,324,933	Tigrigna	3,224,875
Tsemayigna	18,048	Tsamigna	8,621
Upo ( <i>sic</i> )	1,751	–	–
Welaitigna	1,627,955	Welayitigna	1,231,673
Werjigna	2,037	–	–
Yemsagna	92,177	Yemsagna	81,613
–	–	Zerguligna (Zey)	7,625
Zeysegna	18,512	Zeysigna 77	10,172
Z(e)lmamigna 87	2,364	–	–
Other Ethiopian lgs.	119,659	Other Ethiopian lgs.	139,047
English	1,867	English	1,986
Other foreign lgs.	20,102	Other foreign lgs.	20,418
–	–	Not stated	4,083

\* Shitagna speakers should perhaps have been listed as Siltigna speakers; s. notes 33 and 34.

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### Summary

Results for ethnic groups and mother tongues of the 1994 and 2007 Ethiopian census are presented and compared. There are ethnic groups without mother tongues and mother tongues without ethnic groups. Names of ethnic groups and mother tongues differ in the two censuses, and only some of the differences are explained as synonymous names. Some of the differences remain unexplained, and some of the names are unidentified. In one case, Səlti, the census seems to have attributed its speakers to another, unrecognized group. The census reports 38 % total Ethiopian population growth from 1994 to 2007, and comparable increase is generally apparent for all but a few groups listed. Some groups with small populations in 1994 do not reappear 2007.