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Sociolinguistic Survey of Argobba

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Abstract

This survey was conducted to determine (1) the optimal language for literature and educational materials in ethnically Argobba communities and (2) the feasibility of a potential Argobba language development project. A team of five surveyors (the authors and Carol Magnusson) conducted two trips to the area in February 2005 and May 2006. They used questionnaires, gathered wordlists and conducted some Oromo proficiency and Amharic comprehension testing.

The results of this survey indicate that an Argobba language development project would be both useful and possible. While the optimal language for literature and educational materials in most Argobba communities is likely to be Amharic, the Argobba language would be the best choice for two of the areas included in the study. However, two very different varieties of Argobba are spoken in these areas, and any development would have to be somewhat separate.

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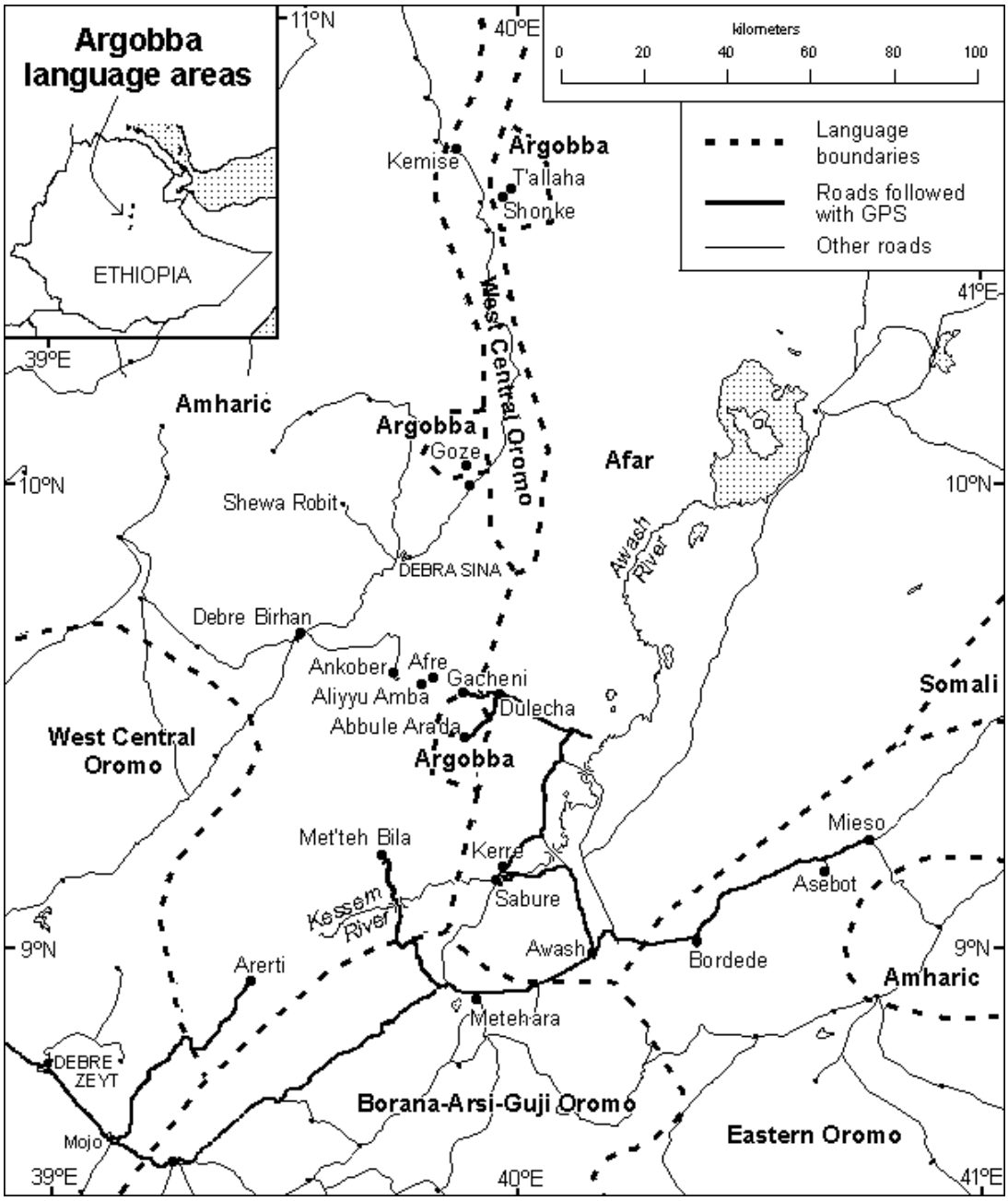
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1 Introduction

1.1 Geography

The Argobba people are somewhat spread out, living in parts of the Amhara, Oromiya and Afar regions of northeastern Ethiopia. They are generally distinguished by being either “northern” Argobba or “southern” Argobba. The precise locations of the “northern” and “southern” Argobba within these regions are unclear. Generally, the “southern” live around the road that goes from Addis Ababa to Harer while the “northern” live between and around the two roads that traverse north from Addis Ababa on either side of the Rift Valley, as far north as the town of Kemise.

Map 1. Argobba language areas



The geography of these Argobba homelands is very important. Across much of the area there are vast differences in the climate and geography, since there is an escarpment that leads to the highlands on one side and the Rift Valley on the other. Traditionally, the Argobba prefer the hilly areas in between these two as this escarpment landscape provides natural protection and seclusion from neighboring ethnolinguistic groups (Abebe 1992). As economic and other pressures have influenced the Argobba over the years, many have moved out of these "homelands" and taken residence in nearby towns. These towns are most often found directly on the roads mentioned above (Abebe 1992).

1.2 Peoples and languages

As mentioned, the Argobba are usually distinguished as being either "northern" or "southern" and also by their preference for living in towns or in the traditional homelands of the escarpment. However, for the purpose of understanding the language situation, these distinctions may be refined by noting the individual languages that neighbor and influence these different areas.

Generally, there is influence from the Amhara in the southwest, Oromo in the southeast and Afar in the northeast, while along the northwestern road there is both Amhara and Oromo influence (Abebe 1992). In each of these areas there are different sociolinguistic questions, though the main question is one of language vitality. In the Amhara-influenced areas there is a question of dialect, as Argobba is very similar to Amharic, and some sources indicate that the two have actually merged. Regarding this issue, Abebe writes that the results on Argobba of contact with Amharic range from borrowing of vocabulary to extinction of the local Argobba variety. Migration has also played a role in increasing language contact between Argobba and Amharic, accelerating the process of linguistic change.

Within the Argobba language itself there is also a question of dialect, as some sources indicate that different dialects have developed in these different areas because of the influence of neighboring languages. The sources seem to agree that the most heavily influenced area is the southwestern, Amhara-influenced area, noting that the language may well be nearly extinct there (Andreas Wetter, personal communication, January 2005).

Generally, the Argobba of rural areas are expected to have retained the language better while those of the towns are not expected to be as proficient. Also, there is considerable agreement that the "purest" Argobba is found in the northwest (Siebert et al. 2001). The Argobba are described as being bilingual as a rule, and sometimes trilingual. This minimum of bilingualism consists of proficiency in two of the area's languages, which are Amharic, Afar, Argobba and Afan Oromo (Abebe 1992).

1.3 Other previous research

The body of research that has been done on the Argobba people and language is scanty but growing. The study by Abebe Kifleyesus (1992) on the ethnicity of the Argobba seems to be the most comprehensive. He spent eighteen months with the Argobba doing field research and then another three months doing library research in other parts of the world. Two other ethnographic surveys were done, one by Shack (1974) and the other by Waldron (1984), but they were inconclusive and conflicting especially in the population estimates. Together, they estimated the population to be between 3,000 and 9,000. However, Abebe estimated the population at over 28,000 after a door-to-door census he conducted. These sources also conflict in many other cases, particularly concerning locations and language vitality.

Two years after the publication of Abebe's study, the 1994 Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia estimated the Argobba population at over 60,000. This is a classic case of the discrepancy between what census takers and linguists usually find. Abebe's estimate is likely to be the most accurate, since as a specialist he could recognize Argobba when he heard it, had personally visited a wide area and was not operating under the artificial constraints normally placed on census takers (like being restricted to a preset language list).

Siebert and Zelealem (2001) conducted a survey of Argobba as part of the Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia (S.L.L.E.). They found that the Argobba people of the Shewa Robit area speak a variety of Argobba that seems strongly influenced by Amharic. After finding an Argobba speaker originally from the Shonke area further north, Siebert collected a wordlist of the Shonke variety and

confirmed with local Argobba people that it was very difficult for them to understand. The percent of cognates with Amharic was reported at seventy-five percent.

All things considered, it seems that Abebe's study would be the most thorough and therefore reliable of these sources. Andreas Wetter, who is currently working on the northern Shonke/T'allaha variety of Argobba, has been a valuable source of information on the Argobba situation. In addition, there have been several articles written by Wolf Leslau. These include a phonetic and etymological investigation of the Arabic loanwords in Argobba (1957) and a preliminary grammatical descripition (1959) including sections on phonology, phonetic principles and morphology. His grammar and dictionary of Argobba, based on data gathered in the Aliyyu Amba area, was published in 1997. Leslau also published a collection of about a thousand words (1978) that he collected in Ankober and Addis Ababa, together with words gathered south of Harer by Mrs. H. de Monfreid. Marcel Cohen (1939:357–427) had earlier produced a grammatical outline based on the vocabulary collected by de Monfreid.

1.4 Goals of the research

The main research goal of the survey was to determine the optimal language for literature and educational materials in ethnically Argobba communities. The main concepts involved in addressing this goal are bilingualism and language attitudes. The objectives pertinent to these concepts include testing the people's bilingual proficiency in Amharic and Oromo as well as assessing attitudes toward these languages and Argobba.

The feasibility of a potential Argobba language development project was also determined by investigating the following in Argobba communities: (1) the level of interest and motivation for a language development project and (2) the level of opposition to a language development project.

Five different methods were used to accomplish the research goals. The procedures, data sources, analysis techniques, results and data analyses for each are detailed in subsequent sections. The rest of this paper presents the following:

(1) Methodology used to answer the above research questions

(2) The test results

(3) An analysis of the data

(4) The conclusions reached by the research team

(5) Recommendations for language development

2 Group and individual interviews

2.1 Procedures

In each rural community visited during this survey, a group sociolinguistic interview was conducted in order to get an overall picture of the sociolinguistic situation among the Argobba people (Appendix A). The questionnaire was based on the S.L.L.E. Main Sociolinguistic Questionnaire as revised by Aklilu Yilma, Ralph Siebert and Kati Siebert (Wedekind and Wedekind 2002). It was further revised and retranslated into Amharic by Hussein Mohammed. The completion of each interview usually took at least two hours and covered the areas of multilingualism, language use, language attitudes, dialect attitudes, social interaction patterns, language vitality and language development.

In some of the communities visited, the group interview was supplemented by one-on-one interviews with selected individuals. The individual questionnaire included a subset of the questions found in Appendix A, focusing more on language attitudes, social interaction, language vitality and language development. It served primarily to double-check the accuracy of the information collected during the group interview, since it is possible for a group to be dominated by one prestigious person whose presence suppresses diverse opinions that might otherwise surface readily.

2.2 Data sources

In each interview group, there were at least ten participants aged fifteen and older, ideally both men and women from a range of ages. When possible, the survey team waited to begin the interview until at least ten participants were present. Since such an interview was often held in an informal setting, participants came and went as they saw fit. The information is taken as being from the group as a whole instead of from individuals within that group.

A total of twelve individual sociolinguistic interviews were completed in three different communities. The following guidelines were used when selecting the overall sample:

Include at least two

- males / females
- with / without some formal education
- below / above twenty-five years of age.

See Appendix B for more background information regarding the informants.

2.3 Analysis techniques

The answers to interview questions in different locations were compared and evaluated in light of other observations and the research goals. To a great extent, group interviews gave the same picture as individual interviews. Any differences are noted in the discussion of interview results.

2.4 Results

2.4.1 Introduction

This summary presents findings from sociolinguistic group and individual interviews conducted during two trips. The first trip was made between February 14 and 27, 2005, and the second one between May 1 and 11, 2006.

Interviews were conducted in the following communities: Afre, Aliyyu Amba, T'allaha, Goze, Abbule Arada, Met'teh Bila, Mieso, Kemise, Shewa Robit, Arerti and Awash Sebat.

Sociolinguistic group interviews were conducted in Afre, T'allaha, Goze, Abbule Arada and Met'teh Bila while individual interviews were conducted in Afre, Aliyyu Amba, Abbule Arada, Met'teh Bila and Awash Sebat. The questions in Mieso were mainly about where Argobba people live in the area other than Mieso.

2.4.2 Location

The research team conducted interviews in the following locations, listed according to their administrative divisions.

Amhara Region

North Shewa Zone

- Ankober Woreda (Afre and Aliyyu Amba)
- K’awat Woreda (Goze and Shewa Robit)
- Berehet Woreda (Met’teh Bila)
- Minjarinna-Shenkora Woreda (Arerti)

Oromiya Zone

- Dawa Ch’affa Woreda (T’allaha)

- Kemise Woreda (Kemise)

Afar Region

Argobba Special Woreda

- Abbule Arada

Zone 3

- Awash Fentale Woreda (Awash Sebat)

Oromiya Region

West Harerge Zone

- Mieso Woreda (Mieso)

The information obtained from the interviews conducted in these areas is summarized in the following sections.

2.4.3 Multilingualism

Argobba is the first language for all group interviewees in T'allaha. Respondents in Afre, Goze and Abbule Arada are mother tongue speakers of either Argobba or Amharic. Met'teh Bila and Mieso respondents are all mother tongue speakers of Amharic (see Table 1). Among eighty-four group interviewees, only twenty-two are mother tongue speakers of Argobba, and the children of only eleven respondents have Argobba as their mother tongue. Amharic is the dominant language in the area.

It is recognized that native bilinguals could be numerous here, especially in communities such as Afre, Goze and Abbule Arada, where mother tongue speakers of both Amharic and Argobba coexist. However, in order to more clearly identify patterns of language shift, the researchers assumed for the purposes of this study that each interviewee had a dominant first language (see section 2.4.8 for further discussion of language vitality issues).

Table 1. First language[a] and number of respondents and their family members

Location	Respondents	Fathers	Mothers	Spouses (Wives)	Children
Afre	Ar – 4 Am – 16	Ar – 20	Ar – 20	Ar – (older wives) Am – (younger wives)[b]	Am – 20
T'allaha	Ar – 10	Ar – 10	Ar – 10	Ar – 6 Or – 1[c]	Ar – 10
Goze	Ar – 3 Am – 3	Ar – 4 Am – 2	Ar – 3 Am – 3	Ar – 1 Am – 5	Ar – 1 Am – 5
Abbule Arada	Ar – 5 Am – 19	Ar – 22 Am – 2	Ar – 24	Ar/Am[d]	Am – 24
Met'teh Bila	Am – 15	Am – 15	Ar – 2 Am – 11 Sha[e] – 2	Am – 14 Sha – 1	Am – 15
Mieso	Am – 9	Am – 9	Am – 9	Am – 9	Am – 9
Total	**84 Ar – 22 Am – 62**	**84 Ar – 56 Am – 28**	**84 Ar – 59 Am – 23 Sha – 2**	NA[f]	**84 Ar – 11 Am – 73**

[a]Ar = Argobba, Am = Amharic, Or = Oromo and Sha = Shagura

[b]The number of wives in each category was not recorded.

[c]Three respondents in T'allaha are not married.

[d]The number of wives who speak each language was not recorded.

[e]Shagura is a unique variety of Argobba spoken in and around the communities of Met'teh Bila and Arerti, which were visited during this study (see Map 1). It is reportedly strongly influenced by Amharic.

[f]It is not possible to determine the exact total because of the missing data. However, it is probably equal or close to eighty-one.

From Table 1 we can see that Amharic, which was the second language for most respondents' parents, has now largely become the first language for the respondents' children. In Afre, Met'teh Bila, Abbule and Mieso, no child now has Argobba as his first language. Amharic is the second language for those people whose first language is Argobba but not necessarily vice versa.

The four interviewees (older men – see Table 1) in Afre whose mother tongue was Argobba speak Amharic as a second language. The other sixteen interviewees understand Argobba though Amharic is their first language. Two interviewees can speak Afar. Both parents of Afre interviewees can speak Amharic; four fathers and two mothers can speak Afar. One mother speaks Oromo, too. Argobba is the first language for older wives and Amharic for younger ones. One wife speaks Afar. Nowadays children in Afre not only have Amharic as their first language but also do not understand Argobba at all.

In T'allaha all interviewees plus all their family members are mother tongue speakers of Argobba, except for the one Oromo-speaking wife. They can also speak Amharic and Oromo. Two interviewees can speak Afar, too. It was said that ability in Oromo varies according to gender; women have lower ability in Oromo than men. Amharic is the second language for spouses. Both parents can speak Amharic, and fathers can speak Oromo as well. The woman who has Oromo as her first language is from an Oromo-speaking Argobba village called Fereja, but her children are mother tongue Argobba speakers.

Clearly, Argobba is stronger in T'allaha than in any of the other areas visited. This can be seen by comparing T'allaha with Goze. It is possible to pinpoint two factors that help people in T'allaha to maintain their language. First, T'allaha is an isolated village, so villagers have the chance to use it in their community freely without being influenced by others. Secondly, most wives (six of seven among interviewees' wives) are from the Argobba-speaking villages of T'allaha or Shonke. This, in turn, helps prevent the language from being influenced by wives who are speakers of languages other than Argobba. The case in Goze, specifically regarding the influence of mothers, is different. Children in Goze have either Argobba or Amharic as their first language, depending on where their mothers came from.

Children whose mothers are from Goze or Fofara have Argobba as their first language; the children whose mothers are not from Goze or Fofara have Amharic as their first language. Among the Goze interviewees' mothers and spouses, only four out of twelve are from either Goze or Fofara.

Three older interviewees in Goze are mother tongue Argobba speakers, while Amharic is the first language for the three younger ones (see Table 1). The younger interviewees understand Argobba. Two mothers, one father and one wife are monolingual in Amharic. One father, one mother and two wives can speak Oromo.

Parents or spouses who were born in Gidim, K'urangoge or Sanbate have Amharic as their first language. They can speak Oromo, too. Parents or spouses who were born in Goze or Fofara have Argobba as their first language. They also speak Amharic as a second language.

Eight women (three mothers and five wives) are not from Goze or Fofara; that is, they are from non-Argobba-speaking villages. Hence, their children (three respondents and the children of five respondents) have Amharic as their first language. Specifically, the mothers of the three respondents whose first language is Amharic were from Gidim (2) and K'urangoge (1), and the five wives whose children are mother tongue Amharic speakers were from Gidim (2), K'urangoge (2) and Sanbate (1). One of the spouses was from Fofara, and her children are mother tongue Argobba speakers. Two mothers were from Goze and one mother was from Fofara, therefore their children (three of the respondents) are mother tongue Argobba speakers.

2.4.4 Language use

In Afre and its surroundings, Met'teh Bila and Mieso, Amharic is the dominant language for all aspects of life. In Afre, however, some older people may use Argobba when communicating among themselves.

In T'allaha, Argobba is the dominant language when they communicate among themselves. Amharic is used when communicating with administrators and at markets. Amharic is also used for religious purposes. Argobba is used when they pray at home and during times of emotion (both when they are angry and dreaming).

In Goze, Argobba or Amharic is used when residents are communicating among themselves. Amharic is used when communicating with administrators and at markets. Amharic or Argobba is used for religious purposes, when they pray at home and when they are angry or dreaming.

In Abbule Arada, residents use Argobba or Amharic when communicating with parents, siblings and other villagers. Amharic is used when communicating with administrators and spouses, and at markets. Amharic use varies with gender and age. Men use Amharic more than women and young people more than older people. According to respondents, however, Argobba is still strong in the following villages of their area: Madolo, Ketare, Abriyye, Medina, Gotera, Abbule, Aleykum and Kulle.

2.4.5 Language attitudes

Group interviewees in all locations have positive attitudes towards Amharic. They suggested that they would like their children to learn in Amharic. Eight individual interviewees (one from Afre and seven from Aliyyu Amba) prefer Amharic to any other language. Three people (one from Afre and two from Abbule Arada) prefer Argobba, and one individual interviewee from Afre prefers Afar.[1] Unfortunately, two of the individual interviewees (one from Met'teh Bila and another from Awash Sebat) were not asked about their language attitudes. Individual interviewees would like their children to learn in Amharic at schools, and if possible, they would like them to learn Argobba too.

According to group interviewees in all locations, most wives come from surrounding Argobba/Shagura[2] villages. According to group interviewees in Goze, Abbule Arada and Met'teh Bila, outside marriages are not forbidden. Though not very common for an Argobba person, in Afre marrying

[1]A preference for Amharic or Afar does not necessarily mean that the interviewee does not like Argobba.

[2]Shagura people call the Ankober-K'awat variety (see section 2.5) "Argobba" and their own variety "Shagura."

an Afar person is not forbidden. However, in T'allaha outside marriage is not accepted (by tradition, relatives can marry each other). Met'teh Bila group interviewees said that cousins marry each other in their community.

The individual interviews seemed to reveal more opposition to marriage outside the ethnic group. Eight of the individual interviewees would not like outside marriage, three of them would be willing to marry an Afar person, and one would be willing to marry anybody.[3] Five individual interviewees (two from Abbule Arada and three from Afre/Aliyyu Amba) would not allow their children to marry outside the ethnic group. One man would accept it if his children would marry Afar people, and another said that it would be all right if his children marry Arabs. A fifty-five-year-old man said that he would like to marry his children to any Muslim.

2.4.6 Attitudes to dialects

Most of the information in this section is gathered from group interviews. Interviewees in all locations said that there are dialect variations in Argobba, and it seems that there are at least three distinct varieties. The main interview locations can be divided into the following three dialect areas, named after the woredas that they include:

- Ankober-K'awat variety (including most of the Argobba Special Woreda) – spoken in Afre, Aliyyu Amba, Goze, Abbule Arada and Shewa Robit
- Berehet-Minjar variety i.e. Shagura – spoken in Met'teh Bila and Arerti
- Dawa Ch'affa variety – spoken in T'allaha and Shonke

Interviewees in the Ankober-K'awat area drew a distinction between their variety and the other two. In Afre they specifically mentioned that their Argobba is different from the Shagura variety. A fifty-two-year-old man said that the variety spoken in Shonke is completely different from the variety spoken around Aliyyu Amba.

According to interviewees in T'allaha, the varieties spoken in T'allaha and Shonke are exactly the same. Furthermore, they mentioned that T'allaha and Shonke are good places to learn Argobba. This defines Dawa Ch'affa Woreda as a cohesive dialect area.

According to interviewees in Goze, their speech variety is exactly the same as varieties spoken in Ch'enno, Mafuud and Wesiso and slightly different from Awadi, Gussa and Heramba varieties. They added that the variety spoken in Shonke or T'allaha is completely different from the Goze variety, again drawing a distinction between the Ankober-K'awat and Dawa Ch'affa dialect areas.

According to interviewees in the community of Abbule Arada within the Argobba Special Woreda, their variety of Argobba is exactly the same as varieties spoken in Ch'enno, Korare, Bilu, Geberoch, Khayr Amba and Ch'isa (now extinct). Interviewees in Goze also stated that they speak the same as the residents of Ch'enno, confirming that all these communities belong to the same Ankober-K'awat dialect area.

The Abbule Arada interviewees mentioned that Shagura[4] is closer to "Argobba"[5] than is the variety spoken in Shonke, and that the Shonke variety is very different from their own. This indicates that the Ankober-K'awat variety and the Berehet-Minjar (Shagura) variety are similar but that they are both quite different from the Dawa Ch'affa variety.

Shagura speakers in Met'teh Bila also stated that the Shonke (Dawa Ch'affa) speech variety is different from their own, and that Shagura is closer to Argobba than is the Shonke variety. Furthermore, they mentioned that Shagura is more mixed with Amharic than Argobba is. They said that Minjar Shagura is the same as Berehet Shagura, and that they have a positive attitude towards Argobba.

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[3]The first choice is always to marry an Argobba person.

[4]In the Argobba Special Woreda, the Shagura variety is spoken in Warka Amba.

[5]By "Argobba" the interviewees most likely meant the Ankober-K'awat variety spoken to the north of the Shagura area, as in section 2.4.5.

Group interviewees in Met’teh Bila mentioned the following Shagura villages in Berehet Woreda:

Serkema	Kessuma	Ch'eriyye	Wef Gele
Begu	Kibre Wold	K'inni	Melesay
Ansiro	Ayyindode	Hashim Ager	Koka
Kuche	Weraba	Argobboch	K'ullat
Gubba	Abeto	Wefch'o Gubba	Hashim Ahmed
Indewet'a	Sit'ote	Wenni	Ali Ager
T'eddecha	Ch'irre	Gwalage	Lomi
Abbagultum	Jart Gore	Gimja Ager	Mehmude
Akale	Mesobit	Nibare	Isman Ager
Irso Ager	Werk'iyye	Met'teh Bila (Doboch)	Ibrahim Ager
Dinki	Siddisto/Shegroch	Guduf	Mafuud
Ammerresa	Dagmat	Wubit	Ginbaro
Duray	Wefch'o Melka	T'ebasi	Wekkiyye
Gedel Nuur	Wunise	K'ore	K'it'el Yellesh
Abdoyye	Serget	Adama	

One individual interviewee in Met'teh Bila stated that Ansiro, Serkema and Kessuma villages extend to some Shagura villages in Minjarinna Shenkora Woreda; that is, there are Shagura villages spanning the border between the two woredas. He added that Soot'an is an Argobba village in Asaggirt Woreda north of Berehet, and that Bosat is an Argobba village in the Wolanch'itti area. This information helps to define the boundary between the Ankober-K’awat and Berehet-Minjar dialect areas.

People who participated in the group support evaluation interview in Arerti mentioned the following Shagura villages in Minjarinna Shenkora Woreda:

(1) **Amora Bet K'ebele:** Arerti, Weset' Ager, K'umash Ager, Ch'eelle area (including Adgo Ager, Werk'iyye Ager and Arada), Siidaa area (including Tuli, Gerb Amba and K'ilt'o), Wesena Ager, Jiggur, K'ennare and Funnete.

(2) **Ch'oba K'ebele:** Irriibaa, Adama, Addis Amba, Urjenni, Koso, Isiyye Ager, Willich'o/Siraj Ager, Debir and Wefch'o Mansha.

(3) **Finnaanajo K'ebele:** Melka Jilo, Int'itti, Fokkiso, Islam Amba, K'onni, K'il Arba, Abriyye, K'ennarre, Hero Arba and Awra Godana.

Interviewees in Mieso, within the Oromiya Region’s West Harerge Zone, mentioned the following places where Argobbas live outside of Mieso town: Bordede, Kora, Asebot and Dirba in their woreda, and Anch'ar, Komona, Asebe Teferi, K'unne and Doba in other nearby woredas. However, the local variety of Argobba is recognized to be extinct or greatly endangered throughout this area.

2.4.7 Social interaction patterns

According to group interviewees in Afre, most wives come from surrounding Argobba villages. Two individual interviewees, however, have Afar blood. Argobba people there interact with Amhara friends in different ceremonies like weddings and funerals. They trade with Aliyyu Amba, Dullecha, Gorgo and Gennamecha, using Amharic for communication when they go to the villages to trade.

Individual interviewees in Aliyyu Amba trade with communities like Debre Birhan, Ankober, Dullecha, Gorgo, Hamus Gabaya and Gennamecha. They use Amharic for communication when they go

to the villages to trade. People from other areas come to Aliyyu Amba to trade and they also use Amharic to communicate. As previously mentioned, two individual interviewees in Aliyyu Amba have Afar blood.

Most wives in T'allaha are from that same community, because in their tradition relatives can marry each other. They celebrate Islamic holidays with Oromos in the mosques. Argobba people there interact with Oromo friends in different ceremonies like weddings and funerals. They trade with Bora, Kemise, Jimate, Burk'a and Ch'effa Robit, using Amharic or Oromo for communication when they go to the villages to trade.

In Goze most wives come from surrounding Argobba villages. They trade with Robit, Sanbate, Jawha, Eleln, Tarre and Wekfele, and use Amharic as their trade language.

2.4.8 Language vitality

Group interviewees stated that every child in the Afre area now has Amharic as his first language. They said that only a few older people use Argobba, and it is about to be forgotten, at least in their area. Individual interviewees from Afre and Aliyyu Amba said, “In our area, Argobba is a language of older people; the younger generation stopped using it.” They said they do not know how to revive Argobba unless a miracle happens.

In T'allaha the language is vital and still spoken by the children. Residents state that their language will be used for many generations, and that it will not be forgotten.

In Goze some children now have Amharic as their first language, and Argobba’s usage is decreasing. Residents said, “Our language is dying.”

According to group interviewees in Met'ek'leya (Abbule Arada), the respondents’ generation will be the last one to use Argobba unless something is done to reverse the situation. Individual interviewees in Abbule Arada, however, hope that it may be possible to retain the Argobba language even though it is endangered.

According to group interviewees in Met'teh Bila, children now have Amharic as their first language. They said, “Our language is disappearing.”

2.4.9 Language development

Interviewees in all locations have a positive attitude toward the publication of literature in Argobba. They also said that they would buy publications in Argobba. They said that if there were schools to teach them to read and write their language, they would go to them. Except for one individual interviewee from Aliyyu Amba, they have never seen anything written in Argobba. That one interviewee said that his father in Ch'enno had handwritten dua[6] in Argobba. An Argobba radio program would be very much welcomed.

2.5 Data analysis

The sociolinguistic interview results indicate that Argobba people in all locations speak Amharic as either a first or second language. They have a positive attitude toward Amharic. Furthermore, they would like their children to learn in Amharic. Based on these facts, one can conclude that the Argobba people could benefit from literature in Amharic.

As described in section 2.4.6, there are three main dialects of Argobba:

- Ankober-K'awat variety (including most of the Argobba Special Woreda)
- Berehet-Minjar variety i.e. Shagura
- Dawa Ch'affa variety

[6] *Dua* is an Arabic word for “prayer.”

The first two varieties are closer to each other, and there is no intelligibility problem between them. Hence, one can consider them as one variety though they are commonly referred to by different names. However, the Dawa Ch'affa variety is "completely different" from the other two; it was said that the intelligibility problem between Dawa Ch'affa and the other varieties is quite significant. Therefore, the Dawa Ch'affa variety can stand by itself, and it can be said that there are two main varieties of Argobba.

The Dawa Ch'affa variety is vital and still spoken by the children; Argobba in other areas is either extinct as in Afre/Aliyyu Amba or about to go extinct as in K'awat Woreda and the Argobba Special Woreda. In other words, the Berehet-Minjar (Shagura) and Ankober-K'awat varieties have been replaced by Amharic or are soon to be replaced.

Interviewees in all locations expressed their interest in seeing Argobba written. They stated that they would happy if their language were developed, if it were possible to do so. The desire to develop Argobba was even reflected in the areas where the language is already extinct. There was no opposition to developing Argobba. However, one must keep in mind that to develop Argobba for T'allaha would mean developing the Dawa Ch'affa variety while for other areas it would mean developing the Ankober-K'awat variety (since it would be acceptable to Shagura people as well). The differences between these two main varieties would not allow the people to use the same body of literature. Furthermore, developing Argobba in areas other than Dawa Ch'affa amounts to reviving it, because it is already extinct or nearly extinct in those other areas.

3 Community support evaluation

3.1 Procedures

A support evaluation questionnaire was used in order to investigate the level of motivation for or opposition to a language development project in Argobba communities. This questionnaire was adapted from a community ownership continuum developed in the Philippines (Benn 2004).

Community leaders were asked about fifteen variables that cover a wide range of factors affecting community support for language development. These include the following:

- value placed by the community on using Argobba in different domains
- commitment to the production of Argobba literature
- financial aspects of literature production and use

For each variable, four possible choices were given. The first choice, worth one point, represented the lowest level of support. The fourth choice, representing the highest level of support, was awarded four points. The second and third choices reflected moderate to good levels of support. The point total for the choices given by each community leader was calculated, in addition to average scores for each location and for all the leaders as a group.

3.2 Data sources

The community support evaluation questionnaire was mostly administered to traditional, political and religious leaders. While the researchers recognized that such people may have agendas of their own that do not necessarily represent the wider spread of opinions other people might hold, community leaders do have the backing to implement their goals. They are also important shapers of opinion among the people they lead, so the research team decided that interviewing them would be the most efficient way to gauge community support. It is also probably easier for leaders to envision the possibilities and challenges of language development that were addressed in this questionnaire.

The questionnaire was administered to leaders in four towns with a total of thirteen interviewees. In Aliyyu Amba and Kemise four leaders each were interviewed, while three were interviewed in Awash and two in Shewa Robit. In Arerti, however, individual leaders were not interviewed; ten Argobba men were interviewed there as a group.

3.3 Analysis techniques

After the point totals and averages were calculated, the result for each location was grouped into one of four categories for purposes of evaluation. These levels of support were roughly defined according to point averages.

- low: 15–25
- moderate: 25–35
- good: 35–45
- excellent: 45+

More importantly, the actual averages for the locations were compared, and the range of scores at each location was taken into account. This gave some indication of the relative amount of support for language development in the communities that were visited.

3.4 Results

During the period from February 19 to February 26, 2005, ten people were interviewed at Aliyyu Amba, Kemise and Shewa Robit. On May 2, 2006, three men were interviewed in Awash Sebat, and on May 10, a group interview was conducted in Arerti. The purpose of these interviews was to evaluate the level of interest in developing Argobba. The average scores obtained are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. Community support for development

Location of interview	**Number of interviewees**	**Average scores**	**Evaluation**[a]
Aliyyu Amba	4	30.25	Moderate
Kemise	4	38.75	Good
Shewa Robit	2	39.50	Good
Awash Sebat	3	41.33	Good
Total	**13**	**36.84**	**Good**
Arerti	10 men as a group	44	Good

[a]For evaluation, low scores are 15–25, moderate scores are 25–35, good scores are 35–45 and excellent scores are 45+.

The score ranges were as follows:

- Aliyyu Amba: 26–35 (26, 29, 31 and 35)
- Kemise: 33–42 (33, 39, 41 and 42)
- Shewa Robit: (38 and 41)
- Awash Sebat 40–42 (40, 42 and 42)

3.5 Data analysis

The average scores from Shewa Robit or Awash Sebat look greater than the scores from Kemise. However, this does not necessarily mean a higher level of interest because the denominators are different (see Table 3). The same is also true for the score from Arerti, as it was from a group interview. However, it is possible to compare the average score from Aliyyu Amba to the average score from Kemise. The interest level in Kemise is higher than that in Aliyyu Amba.

Table 3. Weighted scores for community support

	Number of interviewees	Average score	Weight	Weighted average
Aliyyu Amba	4	30.25	0.308	9.317
Kemise	4	38.75	0.308	11.935
Shewa Robit	2	39.50	0.153	6.0435
Awash Sebat	3	41.33	0.231	9.54723
Total	**13**	**36.84**	**1.00**	**36.84**

The scores for community support show some sort of personal commitment to contribute to the development of the language, and in terms of scores they are fairly good but not excellent. It seems that results here do not agree with the results from the sociolinguistic interviews, which indicate very strong support for language development. This apparent contradiction happened because people were wondering whether it is really possible to develop Argobba, as observed by the way that some interviewees phrased their responses. Because of this, it can be said that the two results do not contradict each other. The scores correspond to what was said during sociolinguistic interviews with respect to developing Argobba; interviewees would like the language to be developed but may find it difficult to imagine how this could be done.

4 Sentence Repetition Test (SRT)

4.1 Procedures

Some Argobba communities are found in an area of Ethiopia where Oromo is the major language of wider communication. Bilingualism testing was therefore conducted to determine the level of Oromo proficiency. This would also complement any evidence of language shift from Argobba to the Oromo language.

The Oromo SRT was developed and administered as described by Radloff (1991). Test subjects listened to fifteen Oromo sentences of increasing difficulty and tried to mimic each one in turn. Each sentence was scored on a three-point scale according to how many errors were committed in the repetition. The points for each individual sentence were added to get the total score, which is an indicator of Oromo proficiency.

4.2 Data sources

The SRT methodology involved testing a sample of the residents of a community where Oromo is used as a language of wider communication. Age and sex were judged to be the only variables impacting Oromo bilingualism in this study. In T'allaha, where the SRT testing was conducted, hardly any of the residents have a formal education. Therefore, Oromo proficiency is only achieved by social interaction with Oromo speakers.

The research team tested only nine men in T'allaha, since a limited time was spent in that community. Two of the men were in the 15–24 age category, two were 25–34 and five were 35+. Unfortunately, it was not possible to test any women. Stratified judgment (quota) sampling was attempted, using the community's social networks to find test subjects as described by Radloff (1991). Because of the lack of time, a full sample was not obtained.

4.3 Analysis techniques

The percentage of test subjects who scored 25 or lower was calculated for each of the age-sex categories represented at T'allaha. A score of 25 represents a proficiency level of 2+ according to the scale of the Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE) to which the SRT was calibrated (Radloff 1991). In other words,

the percentage of test subjects who tested at likely less than level 3 (good, general proficiency) was calculated.

4.4 Results

Table 4 notes the percentage of people tested in each age category who scored 25 or lower on the Oromo SRT. A score of 25 or lower represents a proficiency level of less than 2+.

Table 4. Percentages scoring below 2+ level at T'allaha

	Age categories			
	15–24 yrs.	**25–34 yrs.**	**35+ yrs.**	**All**
Male	100.0%	100.0%	80.0%	88.9%
Female	NA	NA	NA	NA

4.5 Data analysis

All subjects except one scored 25 or lower, indicating that eight out of the nine speakers tested have an Oromo proficiency of 2+ or lower. So far, only male speakers at one village have been tested. Based on these results, it is difficult to come to any conclusions regarding the proficiency of the Argobba people in Oromo. The difference between the variety of Oromo spoken in the T'allaha area and that used in the SRT has likely also affected these scores, but the extent of that effect is unknown.

5 Recorded Text Test (RTT)

5.1 Procedures

The RTT protocol for this survey was a modified form of the standard RTT as described by Casad (1974). The initial thirty-question pilot test was administered to ten native speakers of Amharic from the ethnically Amhara areas of Gonder and Gojjam. If anyone missed a question, that question was discarded. Of the remaining questions, the ten that represented the greatest variety of semantic domains were selected for the Amharic RTT.

The research team tested comprehension by playing the Amharic text to individual Argobba subjects and pausing at intervals to ask the questions in Amharic, for a total of ten questions asked during the text. The questions were asked orally instead of editing them into the recorded text, because test subjects in rural areas often have difficulty distinguishing recorded questions from the rest of the text. Asking questions of Argobba speakers in Amharic may have compounded the difficulty of answering and skewed the results in some cases. In effect, the test subject's ability to comprehend and respond to Amharic questions was being tested as well as the comprehension of the text itself.

The RTT technique was not used to characterize the relationships among the Argobba varieties still in use, or to probe for intelligibility among Argobba and Amharic varieties. Argobba and Amharic are asserted to be closely related, though it is unclear how close they may be, or even whether there is a sharp boundary between them. Distinguishing between comprehension due to bilingual learning and comprehension due to inherent intelligibility was not attempted, as it was beyond the scope of this study.

5.2 Data sources

Not much effort was spent on sampling for the RTT, since this method does not really cover a sufficient amount of the test language for accurately testing bilingualism and is therefore not nearly as powerful a tool as the SRT for this purpose. During the development of the Amharic RTT, it was not calibrated to an

independent measure of second language proficiency, as was the Oromo SRT (Radloff 1991). Therefore, it was used only to get a general idea of Amharic comprehension relative to other Argobba test subjects and mother tongue speakers of Amharic. Still, it was possible to test one full sample of thirty people in the Aliyyu Amba/Afre area, with every effort being made to test five men and five women in each of three age categories (15–24, 25–34 and 35+). Again, the sampling method used was stratified judgment sampling, using the community's social networks to find test subjects. Eighteen more subjects were tested after that, ten in T'allaha and eight in Goze.

5.3 Analysis techniques

With the RTT scores, the mean and standard deviation were first calculated for men, women, each age group and each location, as well as for groupings of locations and the entire test population (see section 5.4). The means were then compared, using the two-sample t-test to see if the differences between them are statistically significant.

5.4 Results

The Amharic RTT was administered in the following four Argobba communities: Afre, Goze, T'allaha and Aliyyu Amba. Table 5 lists the mean RTT scores and the standard deviations within each category.

Table 5. Amharic RTT scores

Category	**Mean score**	**Standard deviation**
Population	82.29	16.40
Male	82.86	16.30
Female	81.50	16.94
Ages 15–24	83.33	19.52
Ages 25–34	77.14	14.96
Ages 35+	83.08	15.17
Afre	83.00	12.52
Aliyyu Amba	87.00	16.58
T'allaha	73.00	20.58
Goze	81.25	11.26
Afre/Aliyyu Amba	85.67	15.24
Afre/Aliyyu Amba/Goze	84.74	14.47

5.5 Data analysis

A significant difference could not be proven between the mean RTT scores either for men and women or for any of the age categories. Significant differences did occur in the following two comparisons based on location: T'allaha to Aliyyu Amba and T'allaha to the combination of Aliyyu Amba and Afre (see Appendix C for descriptive statistics and t-test results). In other words, the level of Amharic comprehension appears to be significantly higher in the Aliyyu Amba/Afre area than it is in T'allaha. This is not surprising, as the Aliyyu Amba/Afre test subjects were essentially first-language speakers of Amharic, and T'allaha is a very isolated Argobba-speaking community. The fact that the mean score for Goze falls in between the two supports the observation that Argobba is more vital in Goze than in Aliyyu Amba/Afre, and therefore, Amharic ability is correspondingly lower in Goze.

At first glance it is surprising that the highest mean score, 87.00 in Aliyyu Amba, is not any higher. As previously stated, the ethnically Argobba residents of that community were found to be essentially

mother tongue speakers of Amharic, according to the interview data and other observations. However, it must be noted that the text contributor for the Amharic RTT was from the ethnically Amhara area of Gonder, northwest of the area in which this survey was conducted. It is therefore likely that dialect diversity in Amharic may account at least partially for lower-than-expected scores.

6 Wordlist

6.1 Procedures

During this survey four wordlists were collected using the 322-item elicitation list that was first compiled by Tim Girard in 1993 and revised by the current SIL-Ethiopia survey team. In Aliyyu Amba the S.L.L.E. wordlist (Siebert and Zelealem 2001) was checked with a family from the Argobba Special Woreda in the Afar Region and any differences were noted. Another wordlist was collected at Goze in the Shewa Robit area, because a man from Shonke (in the Dawa Ch'affa dialect area) gave the S.L.L.E. wordlist that was previously taken near Shewa Robit. In Abbule Arada the Goze wordlist was checked and any differences were noted, as had been done in Aliyyu Amba. Finally, a wordlist of the Shagura variety of Argobba was collected in Met'teh Bila, using the same method of checking against the Goze wordlist.

Together with the previously collected Shonke wordlist, this meant that at least one list from each of the three main dialect areas was available for comparison, with three separate lists (Aliyyu Amba, Goze and Abbule Arada) representing the Ankober-K'awat variety on account of its geographic extent and potential diversity.

6.2 Data sources

Each wordlist was gathered with the assistance of one or more mother tongue speakers of Argobba. More than one mother tongue speaker was usually present in order to help with the discussion and find the best word. Only one person from the group was audio-recorded pronouncing each word, unless that person was unable to stay and finish the entire list. In such cases a substitute was found to complete the recording.

6.3 Analysis techniques

The wordlist transcriptions from this and the previous survey (Siebert and Zelealem 2001) were entered into WordSurv version 5.0 beta for lexicostatistical comparison, which involves a comparison of lexical items by "inspection" and not a historical reconstruction. The wordlists were compared based on phonetic similarity, as described by Blair (1990). Regular sound changes were taken into account, but grammatical features such as verb conjugations were ignored. A member of the survey team assigned each transcription to a group based on its degree of phonetic similarity to other transcriptions.[7] The program then calculated the percentage of similar lexical items using these assigned groups, and the researcher grouped the represented speech varieties according to lexical similarity. See Appendix D for all the wordlists included in this comparison.

[7] Please note that some lexical items were tanscribed with a *–ni* or *–ne* ending, showing the addition of a copula. Other examples were transcribed with a *–dul* ending, indicating a present perfect construction. In these cases, the items in Appendix D are shown as they were originally transcribed and audio-recorded. However, such grammatical features did not affect the grouping of the items according to lexical similarity.

6.4 Results

Table 6. Lexicostatisical comparision

Goze						
90%	**Abbule Arada A**					
88%	83%	**Aliyyu Amba**				
82%	81%	80%	**Met'teh Bila**			
79%	71%	77%	74%	**Amharic**		
73%	80%	73%	73%	90%	**Abbule Arada B**	
57%	56%	58%	55%	53%	52%	**Shonke**

Based on the data from this survey and the previous SIL-IES joint survey ("Shonke"), Table 6 shows the percentages of similar lexical items between the different wordlists. An Amharic wordlist is included for purposes of comparison with the lists from different Argobba-speaking communities.

Note the two separate columns for Abbule Arada, A and B. This is the result of data loss that occurred during a malfunction of the handheld device used to gather the wordlists. Later, fifty-four percent of the Abbule Arada wordlist was retranscribed using the audio recording and the Goze wordlist, against which the Abbule Arada list had been checked. Unfortunately, words that were the same as in either the Goze or Amharic list were not audio recorded, and there is no indication on the recording of which list to follow in these gaps. Original Abbule Arada items were transcribed directly from the recording, while the Amharic equivalent was entered for those gaps in the list where the Goze entry was also Amharic.

To reconstruct a possible range of lexical similarity between the original Abbule Arada list and the others, two alternate versions were then entered. In Abbule Arada A, the remaining gaps were always filled with words from the Goze list, whereas in Abbule Arada B the missing words always follow the Amharic list. Therefore, the actual lexical similarity between Abbule Arada and the other lists is assumed to fall somewhere in between the similarity calculated for the A and B lists. Another way of looking at this is to recalculate the comparisons using only the wordlist items for which there is a definite transcription from Abbule Arada. These two methods produce very similar results, which are shown in the following table. The average percentage of the A and B lists and the recalculations for the shortened list are given for all Abbule Arada comparisons.

Table 7. Abbule Arada lexicostatistics using two methods

	Goze	**Amharic**	**Aliyyu Amba**	**Met'teh Bila**	**Shonke**
Abbule Arada (A & B avg.)	82%	81%	78%	77%	54%
Abbule Arada (short list)	84%	83%	82%	81%	52%

6.5 Data analysis

As can be seen from Tables 6 and 7, the wordlists fall into two main groups. One group includes only the Shonke list, with lexical similarity results ranging from 52 percent to 58 percent. The other group includes everything else, as well as Amharic, with results ranging from 71 percent to 90 percent (or 74 percent to 88 percent, if the results from the two Abbule Arada lists are averaged).

According to Grimes (1988), if lexical similarity is below 60 percent, the speech varieties in question can be assumed to require separate language development programs. If it is 60 percent or more, there may be adequate intelligibility, which would need to be confirmed by testing. Intelligibility testing between Argobba varieties was beyond the scope of this research. However, self-reported comprehension was high between speakers of all varieties except for Dawa Ch'affa, represented here by the Shonke list gathered in Shewa Robit. Argobba speakers from farther south always pointed out that the variety spoken in the Dawa Ch'affa area is very different from theirs.

Another observation from these results is that within the 71–90 percent group, Amharic is almost always the one sharing the fewest lexical items with the others. Even the Met'teh Bila wordlist, which represents a variety reportedly closer to Amharic, shares more lexical items with other Argobba varieties than with Amharic. The exception to this is the Abbule Arada list, having a relatively high 81–83 percent similarity with the Amharic list. Nevertheless, the Abbule Arada results are in doubt because of the data loss described in section 6.4.

Lexicostatistics is not as powerful a tool as the comparative method when it comes to studying the classification of speech varieties. With lexical similarity it is hard to determine the degree of phonological relatedness, because surface similarities do not always indicate a genetic relationship. Borrowing or chance can often be responsible for similar words being used in different varieties, and this is difficult to document without a method for determining whether words are true cognates. Also, the method of checking for lexical similarity according to a certain degree of phonetic similarity could have missed some cognates that have undergone more extreme sound changes. For these reasons, the percentages of similarity could be different from those reported in Table 6. Nevertheless, the lexicostatistical comparisons are a useful measure of relative similarity between the lexicons of these speech varieties and provide a good supplement to what was learned through the interviews used in this study.

7 Conclusions and recommendations

The best language for literature and educational materials in the majority of ethnically Argobba communities is likely to be Amharic. Argobba is extinct, nearly extinct or quickly shifting in all the communities visited except for T'allaha. Over much of the Argobba area, the relatedness of the Argobba language to Amharic and the Argobba people's high Amharic proficiency would make it the best choice. This idea is reinforced by the high lexical similarity of most Argobba varieties with Amharic and the people's consistently high Amharic RTT scores. The positive attitude of the interviewees toward Amharic also supports this language as the best option for those communities where Argobba is no longer the mother tongue. This holds true even in areas where either Oromo or Afar is the language of wider communication.

However, the Argobba language would be the best choice for the Argobba people of Dawa Ch'affa Woreda and parts of the Argobba Special Woreda. The mean of T'allaha's Amharic RTT scores was the only one to prove significantly lower than the mean score of Aliyyu Amba, where the Argobba are nearly all mother tongue speakers of Amharic. Though the Argobba people of T'allaha have a positive attitude toward Amharic and a desire to learn it, Argobba remains the mother tongue and first language of this isolated community. In the Argobba Special Woreda, there are reportedly still communities where Argobba is vital, and there are people in that area who have the motivation and opportunity to develop it.

It would be feasible to begin such an Argobba language development project. The level of support and motivation for language development appears to be rather moderate in general, neither particularly

high nor low according to the community support evaluation scores. However, there was no opposition to developing the Argobba language, and in fact, the group and individual interviewees expressed interest in the idea.

The scores for community support were relatively high in Arerti (44 for the group interview) and Awash (an average of 41.33), while the average score was the lowest in Aliyyu Amba (30.25). It is interesting to note that both the highest and lowest scores were found in places where Amharic has replaced Argobba as the mother tongue. This indicates that some other variable is responsible for the difference in attitude about the revival of the Argobba language. A possible explanation is that the Arerti interviewees are living in a town where the Argobba are relatively few in number, while in Aliyyu Amba they are in the majority. Perhaps the Arerti Argobba feel a greater need to assert their ethnic distinctiveness through language development. However, the Arerti score is not fully comparable to the others because it was obtained from a group interview.

The results of this survey indicate that an Argobba language development project would be both useful and possible. At the same time, it must be remembered that in the two most likely locations for such a project, two very different varieties of Argobba are spoken. The interviewees in the Argobba Special Woreda (speakers of the Ankober-K'awat variety) said that the Dawa Ch'affa variety of Argobba is "very different" from their own. In fact, these two varieties are likely to be different enough to be unintelligible (Siebert and Zelealem 2001). This was confirmed by the current survey's wordlist results, which show a lexical similarity of only 52–58 percent between the two varieties.

The results of a project based in the Argobba Special Woreda would be useful in other areas, such as Arerti, where the Argobba are interested in seeing their traditional language developed. Once language development is started and extended to other communities, use of the language in areas where it is now moribund might also change. Any language development done in the Dawa Ch'affa Woreda, where T'allaha is located, would have to be somewhat separate.

Appendix A: Sociolinguistic questionnaire

A. Identification of Respondent

1. Name
2. Sex
3. Age
4. Occupation
5. Religion
6. Education
7. Place of birth
8. Place of residence

B. Multilingualism

9. What is your first language?
10. Which other languages do you speak and understand? Do you speak one better than the others? Rank them.
11. Which of these can you read and write?
12. Apart from your own village, where have you lived at least for 1 year of your life?

12a. How long have you lived there?
12b. What languages did you speak there?
12c. Did the people there understand you well?

13. What was the first language your father learned as a child?
14. Which other languages does he speak and understand? Does he speak one better than the others? Rank them.
15. Can he read and write one of these languages?
16. What was the first language your mother learned?
17. Which other languages does she speak and understand? Does she speak one better than the others? Rank them.
18. Can she read and write any of these?
19. Which languages do your parents speak to each other?
20. Which languages do your brothers and sisters speak and understand?
21. Can they read and write any of these?
22. What was the first language your husband/wife learned?
23. Which other languages does he/she speak and understand? Does he/she speak one better than the other? Rank them.
24. Can he/she read and write one of these languages?
25. What is the first language of your children?
26. Which languages do your children speak and understand? Do they speak one better than the other? Rank them.
27. Can they read and write one of these languages?
28. What language do children in this village learn first?
29. Do many children learn another language before they start school? Which?
30. Do young people in your village speak their mother tongue well, the way it ought to be spoken?

C. Language Use

31. Which language do you speak most often…with your father?
32. With your mother?
33. With your brothers and sisters?
34. With your husband/wife?
35. With your children?
36. With your friends?
37. In your village?
38. At the local market?

39. With the elders of your village?
40. In the fields / at work?
41. At the big market?
42. At the clinic?
43. In church / mosque / traditional religious ceremonies?
44. With the administrators of the district?
45. When you are dreaming?
46. When you are praying at home?
47. When you are angry?
48. When you are counting money or things?

D. Attitudes to Languages

49. Is it good to allow a young (MT speaker) man or woman to marry a woman or man who is not a (MT) speaker?
50. Does this happen very often?
51. Which language is best for a teacher to use in school? Why?
52. Which languages should be taught in school?
53. If a young person speaks (L2 / trade language) at home, would an old person be unhappy about it?
54. What is the most useful language to know around here?
55. Is it OK for your child to marry a non-MT speaking person?

E. Attitudes to Dialects

56. Which villages speak MT exactly like you? (List them.)
57. Which villages speak your language differently – but you can still understand them?
58. Which speak it so differently that you don't understand?
59. Which is the best village for an outsider to live in to learn your language?
60. Are there MT people who speak it poorly? Where do they live?

F. Social Interaction Patterns

61. Which villages do most of your wives come from?
62. Which villages invite you for feasts and dances?
63. Which villages do you trade with?
64. Which language(s) is/are used for communication when you go to the villages mentioned above?

G. Language Vitality

65. Do you think that your people are in the process of changing? Do they adopt the customs of (an)other group(s)?
66. Do you know any MT people who do not speak MT anymore? Are there very many? Where do they live?
67. Do you think that young MT people speak MT less and less?
68. When the children of this village grow up and have children of their own, do you think those children will speak your language?

H. Development of the Language

69. Which language do you think would be best to choose for making books and newspapers? Why?
70. Do you think it would be good to have something published in your language? What would you like most?

70a Would it be good to have other written MT materials (books, magazines or newspapers)?

71. If there were schools to teach you how to read and write in your language, would you come to them?
72. Would you like your children to learn to read and write the mother tongue?

73. If there were books in your language, would you be willing to pay for them – say 2 Birr? [about the equivalent of a quarter (US$ 0.25) – insert an appropriate amount in local currency here]
74. Have you ever seen anything written in your language? What?
75. Have you ever tried to write in your language?
76. Is there a program on radio in your language? Do you listen to it?
77. Would you like to hear your language on the radio?

Appendix B: Identification of respondents

The total number of interviewees was ninety-eight (eighty-four group plus fourteen individual – see Table 8 and Table 9). All are Muslims. All interviewees, except two individual interviewees in Aliyyu Amba, were men. Currently, all interviewees live in the location where they were interviewed. The following tables summarize the backgrounds of both group and individual interviewees.

Table 8. Background of group interviewees

Location	Number of interviewees	Age range	Birthplace	Education level
Afre	20 (farmers)	33–67	Hagere Selam Farmers' Association (Afre 11, Musa Agar 5, Sufa Agar 4)	0
Abbule Arada	24 (farmers)	18–70	Met'ek'leya 21, Ch'enno 2, Bilu 1	0–5th grade
T'allaha	10 (farmers)	18–64	T'allaha	0
Goze (Wank'ar)	6 (farmers)	26–60	Goze	0
Met'teh Bila	15 (merchants)	34–64+	*	**
Mieso	9 (merchants)	**	Berehet 2, Aliyyu Amba 3, Ch'enno 3, Dinser (Wello) 1	**
Total	84			

*See Table 8a.
**This information was not obtained.

Table 8a. Birthplace of Met'teh Bila interviewees

Hashimager	Wark'iyye	Abeto	Siddisto	Sit'ote	Ch'enno	Duray	Cheriyye	Koka	Gubba	**Total**
1	1	1	4	2	1	2	1	1	1	**15**

Table 9. Background of individual interviewees

Location	Number of interviewees	Age range	Birthplace	Education level
Afre	2	60*	Aliyyu Amba 1, Ch'enno 1	0
Aliyyu Amba	8 (2 women, 6 men)	15–55+	Aliyyu Amba 3, Ch'enno 1, Araff Libbe 1, Khayr Amba 1, Wannis Amba 1, Abdul Rasul 1	0–7th grade
Abbule Arada	2	32–40	Medina 1, Met'ek'leya 1	0 – Literacy
Met'teh Bila	1	64	Labbis (West Harerge)	0
Awash Sebat	1	**	Awash Sebat	12+
Total	14			

*Both individuals were at the age of sixty.
**This information was not obtained.

As far as the professions of individual interviewees are concerned, there were five farmers, three merchants, two housewives, one student, one mason, one government employee and one “shemmane” (*shemmane* is the Amharic word for a *shemma* weaver; *shemma* is a white cotton cloth used as a wrap). Only those who were born at Ch’enno have Argobba as their first language.

Appendix C: RTT detailed results

Descriptive Statistics for Recorded Text Test (RTT)

Population

Variable	N	Mean	Median	StDev
Age	48	37.23	35.00	18.23
Edu	48	1.125	0.000	2.312
RTT	48	82.29	90.00	16.40

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Q1	Q3
Age	13.00	100.00	20.50	48.75
Edu	0.000	8.000	0.000	0.000
RTT	30.00	100.00	80.00	90.00

Male

Variable	N	N*	Mean	Median	StDev
Age	28	20	34.32	34.00	14.51
Edu	28	20	1.321	0.000	2.326
RTT	28	20	82.86	90.00	16.30

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Q1	Q3
Age	15.00	70.00	20.00	43.50
Edu	0.000	7.000	0.000	2.750
RTT	30.00	100.00	80.00	90.00

Female

Variable	N	N*	Mean	Median	StDev
Age	20	26	41.30	40.00	22.20
Edu	20	26	0.850	0.000	2.323
RTT	20	26	81.50	90.00	16.94

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Q1	Q3
Age	13.00	100.00	23.50	53.75
Edu	0.000	8.000	0.000	0.000
RTT	40.00	100.00	70.00	90.00

Ages 15–24

Variable	N	N*	Mean	Median	StDev
Age	15	28	19.267	20.000	2.712
Edu	15	28	2.800	2.000	3.144
RTT	15	28	83.33	90.00	19.52

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Q1	Q3
Age	13.000	23.000	18.000	20.000
Edu	0.000	8.000	0.000	6.000
RTT	30.00	100.00	80.00	100.00

Ages 25–34

Variable	N	N*	Mean	Median	StDev
Age	7	39	27.86	27.00	3.18
Edu	7	39	0.571	0.000	1.512
RTT	7	39	77.14	80.00	14.96

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Q1	Q3
Age	25.00	33.00	25.00	30.00
Edu	0.000	4.000	0.000	0.000
RTT	50.00	90.00	70.00	90.00

Ages 35 +

Variable	N	N*	Mean	Median	StDev
Age	26	22	50.12	45.00	15.07
Edu	26	22	0.308	0.000	1.225
RTT	26	22	83.08	90.00	15.17

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Q1	Q3
Age	35.00	100.00	39.50	55.25
Edu	0.000	6.000	0.000	0.000
RTT	40.00	100.00	80.00	90.00

Afre

Variable	N	Mean	Median	StDev
Age	10	39.70	43.00	11.65
Edu	10	0.400	0.000	0.843
RTT	10	83.00	80.00	12.52

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Q1	Q3
Age	13.00	55.00	34.50	46.25
Edu	0.000	2.000	0.000	0.500
RTT	60.00	100.00	77.50	92.50

Aliyyu Amba

Variable	N	Mean	Median	StDev
Age	20	34.75	25.00	19.85
Edu	20	2.500	0.000	3.069
RTT	20	87.00	90.00	16.58

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Q1	Q3
Age	15.00	80.00	20.00	51.75
Edu	0.000	8.000	0.000	6.000
RTT	40.00	100.00	82.50	100.00

T’allaha

Variable	N	Mean	Median	StDev
Age	10	31.00	27.50	12.40
Edu	10	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000
RTT	10	73.00	80.00	20.58

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Q1	Q3
Age	20.00	56.00	20.00	40.50
Edu	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000
RTT	30.00	90.00	57.50	90.00

Goze

Variable	N	Mean	Median	StDev
Age	8	48.13	47.50	23.90
Edu	8	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000
RTT	8	81.25	85.00	11.26

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Q1	Q3
Age	25.00	100.00	27.50	53.75
Edu	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000	0.00000
RTT	60.00	90.00	72.50	90.00

Aliyyu Amba/Afre

Variable	N	Mean	Median	StDev
Age	30	36.40	35.00	17.49
Edu	30	1.800	0.000	2.722
RTT	30	85.67	90.00	15.24

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Q1	Q3
Age	13.00	80.00	20.00	46.25
Edu	0.000	8.000	0.000	3.250
RTT	40.00	100.00	80.00	100.00

Aliyyu Amba/Afre/Goze

Variable	N	Mean	Median	StDev
Age	38	38.87	35.00	19.27
Edu	38	1.421	0.000	2.522
RTT	38	84.74	90.00	14.47

Variable	Minimum	Maximum	Q1	Q3
Age	13.00	100.00	22.00	50.00
Edu	0.000	8.000	0.000	2.250
RTT	40.00	100.00	80.00	92.50

Two Sample T-Test and Confidence Interval for Recorded Text Test (RTT)

Table 10. Mean RTT scores and standard deviations within category

Category	**Mean score**	**Standard deviation**
Population	82.29	16.40
Male	82.86	16.30
Female	81.50	16.94
Ages 15–24	83.33	19.52
Ages 25–34	77.14	14.96
Ages 35 +	83.08	15.17
Afre	83.00	12.52
Aliyyu Amba	87.00	16.58
T’allaha	73.00	20.58
Goze	81.25	11.26
Afre/Aliyyu Amba	85.67	15.24
Afre/Aliyyu Amba/Goze	84.74	14.47

Two sample T for Women vs Men

	N	Mean	StDev
women	20	81.5	16.9
men	28	82.9	16.3

95% CI for mu women - mu men: (-11.2, 8.5)
T-Test mu women = mu men (vs <): T = -0.28 P = 0.39 DF = 40

Two sample T for 25–34 vs 15–24

	N	Mean	StDev
25-34	7	77.1	15.0
15-24	15	83.3	19.5

95% CI for mu 25-34 - mu 15-24: (-22.3, 10.0)
T-Test mu 25-34 = mu 15-24 (vs <): T = -0.82 P = 0.21 DF = 15

Two sample T for 35+ vs 15–24

	N	Mean	StDev
35+	26	83.1	15.2
15-24	15	83.3	19.5

95% CI for mu 35+ - mu 15-24: (-12.4, 11.8)
T-Test mu 35+ = mu 15-24 (vs <): T = -0.04 P = 0.48 DF = 23

Two sample T for 25–34 vs 35+

	N	Mean	StDev
25-34	7	77.1	15.0
35+	26	83.1	15.2

95% CI for mu 25-34 - mu 35+: (-20.4, 8.5)
T-Test mu 25-34 = mu 35+ (vs <): T = -0.93 P = 0.19 DF = 9

Two sample T for Afre vs Aliyyu Amba

	N	Mean	StDev
Afre	10	83.0	12.5
Aliyyu Am	20	87.0	16.6

95% CI for mu Afre - mu Aliyyu Am: (-15.2, 7.2)
T-Test mu Afre = mu Aliyyu Am (vs <): T = -0.74 P = 0.23 DF = 23

Two sample T for T’allaha vs Afre

	N	Mean	StDev
T’allaha	10	73.0	20.6
Afre	10	83.0	12.5

95% CI for mu T’allaha - mu Afre: (-26.3, 6.3)
T-Test mu T’allaha = mu Afre (vs <): T = -1.31 P = 0.11 DF = 14

Two sample T for T’allaha vs Goze

	N	Mean	StDev
T’allaha	10	73.0	20.6
Goze	8	81.2	11.3

95% CI for mu T’allaha - mu Goze: (-24.6, 8.1)
T-Test mu T’allaha = mu Goze (vs <): T = -1.08 P = 0.15 DF = 14

Two sample T for Goze vs Afre

	N	Mean	StDev
Goze	8	81.2	11.3
Afre	10	83.0	12.5

95% CI for mu Goze - mu Afre: (-13.7, 10.2)
T-Test mu Goze = mu Afre (vs <): T = -0.31 P = 0.38 DF = 15

Two sample T for T’allaha vs Aliyyu Amba

	N	Mean	StDev
T’allaha	10	73.0	20.6
Aliyyu Am	20	87.0	16.6

95% CI for mu T’allaha - mu Aliyyu Am: (-30.0, 2.0)
T-Test mu T’allaha = mu Aliyyu Am (vs <): T = -1.87 P = 0.041 DF = 15

Two sample T for Goze vs Aliyyu Amba

	N	Mean	StDev
Goze	8	81.2	11.3
Aliyyu Am	20	87.0	16.6

95% CI for mu Goze - mu Aliyyu Am: (-17.1, 5.6)
T-Test mu Goze = mu Aliyyu Am (vs <): T = -1.06 P = 0.15 DF = 19

Two sample T for Goze vs Aliyyu Amba - Afre

	N	Mean	StDev
Goze	8	81.2	11.3
Aliyyu Am	30	85.7	15.2

95% CI for mu Goze - mu Aliyyu Am: (-14.8, 6.0)
T-Test mu Goze = mu Aliyyu Am (vs <): T = -0.91 P = 0.19 DF = 14

Two sample T for T’allaha vs Aliyyu Amba - Afre

	N	Mean	StDev
T’allaha	10	73.0	20.6
Aliyyu Am	30	85.7	15.2

95% CI for mu T’allaha - mu Aliyyu Am: (-28.1, 2.8)
T-Test mu T’allaha = mu Aliyyu Am (vs <): T = -1.79 P = 0.049 DF = 12

Two sample T for T’allaha vs Aliyyu Amba - Afre - Goze

	N	Mean	StDev
T’allaha	10	73.0	20.6
Aliyyu Am	38	84.7	14.5

95% CI for mu T’allaha - mu Aliyyu Am: (-27.0, 3.5)
T-Test mu T’allaha = mu Aliyyu Am (vs <): T = -1.70 P = 0.059 DF = 11

Appendix D: Wordlists elicited

	Abbule Arada A	**Abbule Arada B**	**Aliyyu Amba**	**Amharic**	**Goze**	**Met'teh Bila**	**Shonke**
all	mulʲum	mulʲum	bɛmuli	hulːum	hulːum	hulːum	mulum
and	ɨnːa	ɨnːa	ɨnːa	ɨnːa	ɨnːa	ɨnːa	naːʔa
animal	ɨnsɨsa	ɨnsɨsa	aizi	jɜbet ɨnsɨsa	ɨnsɨsa	jɛbe̤d gɨzotʃʰ	dudaː
ant	tuʃeː	gundan	tũʃe	gundan	tuʃeː	guhɨndan	gundan
ant					gundan		
arrow	wɛsfɛntˈɛɾ	dɛgan	wɛsfɛntˈɨɾ	dɜgan	wɛsfɛntˈɛɾ	mɛtʰɛɾija	kˈɛst
ashes	hamɛ̤d	amɛd	amɛd	amɜd	hamɛ̤d	hamɛ̤d	hamɛd
ask	tˈɨjːɛkˈa	tˈɛjːɛkˈɛ	tˈɛjːɛkˈe	tˈɜjːɜkˈɜ	tˈɨjːɛkˈa	tˈɛjːɛkˈe	tˈɛjːɛkˈɛ
ask						tˈɛhɛjːɛkˈe	
at	bɛ…lef	bɛ…lef	bɛ	ɨ-	ɨ-	bɛ…lef	betɛmːa
at				bɜ-	bɛ-		
axe	mɨsaɾɛ	mɛtˈɾɛbija	mɛtˈɾɛbija	mɜtˈrɜbija	mɛtˈrɛbija	maχatˈɨɾɛβja	
axe					mɨsaɾɛ		
baboon	dʒindʒeɾo	zɨndʒɛɾo	zɨndʒəɾo	zɨndʒɜɾo	dʒindʒeɾo	zɨhɨndʒeɾo	ʒanʒəɾo
back	dʒeːd̤	dʒeːd̤	dʒeːd	dʒɜɾba	wɛɣɛβ	dʒɛheɾba	ʔujoː
bad	əχəjne	əχəjne	mɛtˈfoni	mɜtˈfo	mɛtˈfo	mɛhɛtˈfo	mɛtˈfo
banana	muz	muz	muz	muz	muz	muhuz	muːz
bark (n – of tree)	litˈo	litˈo	kˈɨɾfit	kˈɨɾfit	kˈɨɾfit	kˈahaɾfit	kˈɪɾfit
bark (v)	tʃˈoha	tʃˈohɛ	tʃˈohaː	tʃˈohɜ	tʃˈoha	tʃˈohe	kɛlːah
basket	kˈɨɾtʃˈat	kˈɨɾtʃˈat	kˈɨɾtʃˈat	kˈɨɾtʃˈat	kˈɨɾtʃˈat	kˈɨhɨɾtʃˈat	kˈɪɾtʃˈaːt
bat	jehetːa wɛf	jehetːa wɛf	jɛlelit wɛf	jɜlelit wɜf	jɛlelit wəf	jɛletːawɛf	ajatəʔʊf
bathe (v. int.)	ɛmetʃˈa	tatˈːɛbɛ	imetʃˈa	tatˈːɜbɜ	ɛmetʃˈa	tatˈːɛbidul	təhətau
bathe (v. int.)	aχetˈɛba				aχetˈɛba		
bear child (v 3fs)	wɛlɛdeḍ	wɛlːɛdɛtʃ	tɨgɛlagɛlɛd	wɜlːɜdɜtʃ	wɛlɛdeḍ	hawɛlːɛdɛtʃʰ	ʔɪlːɛdɛtʃ
beard	tˈim	tˈim	tʃˈigɛɾ	tˈim	tˈim	aɾiz	tˈiːm
beehive	kˈəfo	kˈəfo	kˈɛfo	kˈɜfo	kˈəfo	kˈahafo	kˈefo
belly	kɛɾs	hod	kɛɾs	hod	kɛɾs	kɛɾs	xaɾs
big	laχam	tɨlːikˈ	naχamni	tɨlːɨkˈ	laχam	laχam	laɦam
bird	wəf	wəf	wɛf	wɜf	wəf	hof	ʔoːɻf
bite (v)	nɛkːɛsa	nɛkːɛsɛ	nɛkːasi	nɜkːɜsɜ	nɛkːɛsa	nɛkːɛse	nɛkɛs
black	tˈɨkˈuɾne	tˈɨkˈuɾne	tˈɨkˈuɾ	tˈɨkˈuɾ	tˈɨkˈuɾ	tˈɨhɨkˈuɾ	tˈakʷaːɾa
blood	dɛm	dɛm	dɛm	dɜm	dɛm	dɛhɛm	dɛm
blood						dɛχɛm	
blood						dɛxɛm	
blow (v)	nɛfːe	nɛfːa	nɛfːɛχɛj	nɜfːa	nɛfːe		nɛfːɛ
bone	χatˈɨm	atˈɨnt	χatˈɨm	atˈɨnt	χatˈɨm	χatˈɨm	ʔatˈɪnt

	Abbule Arada A	**Abbule Arada B**	**Aliyyu Amba**	**Amharic**	**Goze**	**Met’teh Bila**	**Shonke**
bow	wɛsfɛnt'ɛr	k'əst	dɛgan	k'ɜst	wɛsfɛnt'ɛr	k'ahast'a	k'ɛst
breast	t'ut	t'ut	t'ut	t'ut	t'ut	t'ut	t'əu̯
bridge	dɨldɨʲ	dɨldɨʲ	dɨldɨʲ	dɨldɨʲ	dɨldɨʲ	dɨhɨldij	dildiʲ
brother (elder)	ɨh	tal:ak' wɛndɨm	ʔə:h	tal:ak' wɜndɨm	ɨh	ɨhe	ʔə:h
brown	bun:ine	bun:ine	bun:am:a	bun:am:a	bun:am:a	bun:im:a	bun:a
brown				bun:aʲnɜt	bun:i aʲnɛt		
buffalo	goʃ	goʃ	goʃ	goʃ	goʃ	goʃ	go:ʃ
burn (v. int.)	ɨk'at'ɛla	tɛk'at':ɛlɛ	ɨk'at'ala	tɜk'at':ɜlɜ	ɨk'at'ɛla	tɛk'at'ɛle	tək'at'ɛl
bush	haɾɛh	haɾɛh	k'ut':kʷat'o	tʃ'ak:a	dɛn	dɛhɛn	k'ut'kʷa:t'o
bush					tʃ'ak:a		
buttocks	k'it'	k'it'	k'it'	k'it'	k'it'	k'ɨhit'ɛ̯	k'i:t'
buy	ʃeɾɛha	gɛz:a	ʃeɾaha	gɜz:a	ʃeɾɛha	ʃɛrɛ	ʃɛr:a
canoe	dʒɛlba	dʒɛlba	dʒəlba	dʒɜlba	dʒɛlba		
cat	dɨm:ɛt	dɨm:ɛt	dɨm:ɛt	dɨm:ɜt	dɨm:ɛt	dɨhɨmɛt	ʔadur:e
chicken	doɾo	doɾo	doɾo	doɾo	doɾo	dohoɾo	do:ɾo
chief	ʃum	ʃum	ʃum	ʃum	ʃum	ʃohomne	ʃum
chief	alɛk'a	alɛk'a		alɜk'a	alɛk'a		
child	lɨdʒah	lɨdʒah	lɨdʒ	lɨdʒ	lɨdʒ	lɨɣatʃʰ	lidʒ
child						lɨhɨgatʃʰ	
chin	səŋgɛtʃ'	agɛtʃ'	kɨɾkɨmit	agɜtʃ'	səŋgɛtʃ'	hagɛtʃ'	ʔagɛtʃ
claw	ʃohəna	ʃohəna	tʃ'ufəɾia	jaʷɾe t'ɨfɨɾ	jaʷɾe t'ɨfɨɾ	tʃ'ɨfɨɾ	tʃ'ufəɾ
claw						tʃ'ɨhɨfɨɾ	
clay	ʃɛχla	ʃɛkla	ʃɛχla	ʃɜkla	ʃɛχla	ʃɛkila	ʃɛxla
clay	ʃɛhla				ʃɛhla		
clothing	lɨs:	lɨbs	lis:	lɨbs	lɨs:	lis:	lɨbs
cloud	dɛm:ɛna	dɛm:ɛna	dɛm:ɛna	dɜm:ɜna	dɛm:ɛna	daham:ɛna	dona
cold (weather)	bɨɾd	bɨɾd	bɨɾd	bɨɾd	bɨɾd	bɨhɨɾd	ʔatʃɛh
cold/cool	bɛɾane	bɛɾane	jɨk'əzək'ɛzal	k'ɜzk'az:a	k'ɛzk'az:a	bahaɾɛdo	k'ɛzk'aza
come	mət'ədul	mət'ədul	mɛt'eh	mɜt':a	mɛt':a	mɛt':e	mɛt'
cook (v fs)	abɛs:ɛled	abɛs:ɛlɛtʃ	aβɛsɛlɜd	abɜs:ɜlɜtʃ	abɛs:ɛled	haβɛs:ɛletʃʰi	ʔaβɛsɛlɛtʃ
cough	saχala	salɛ	asaχale	salɜ	saχala	sahale	ʔəhələbal
cough	sahala				sahala		
count	kʷ'ot':ɛɾa	k'ot':ɛɾɛ	kʷ'ot'ɛɾa	k'ot':ɜɾɜ	kʷ'ot':ɛɾa	kʷ'ot':ɛɾe	kʷot'ɛɾ
cow	lam	lam	lam	lam	lam	laham	lam
crocodile	az:o	az:o	azo	az:o	az:o	haz:o	ʔa:zo
crooked	gɛdadane	gɛdadane	t'ɛma:mane	t'ɜmama	t'ɛmama	t'ɛm:idul	t'ɛma:ma
cup	aŋkola	kub:aja	kub:aj:a	kub:aja	aŋkola	haŋkola	kub:aja
cut	kʷ'oɾɛt'a	k'oɾɛt'ɛ	k'oɾɛt'a	k'oɾ:ɜt'ɜ	kʷ'oɾɛt'a	kʷ'oɾɛt'e	gɔm:ɛtɛ
dance (v)	tʃ'efɛɾa	tʃ'ɛf:ɛɾɛ	tʃ'ofɛɾa	tʃ'ɜf:ɜɾɜ	tʃ'efɛɾa	tʃ'ɛf:ɛɾe	tʃ'ɛf:ɛɾɛ

	Abbule Arada A	**Abbule Arada B**	**Aliyyu Amba**	**Amharic**	**Goze**	**Met’teh Bila**	**Shonke**
dew	uɾbane	uɾbane	t'ezɑ	t'ezɑ	oɾbɑ	t'ɛhezɑ	t'ɛɾɛb
dew					uɾbɑ		
die (v)	moːdɑʔ	motɛ	modɑ	motɜ	moːdɑʔ	moːdɑʔ	motɛ
dig	k'ʷofːɛɾɑ	k'ofːɛɾɛ	k'ʷɑfɛɾɑ	k'ofːɜɾɜ	k'ʷofːɛɾɑ	k'ʷofːɛɾe	k'ʷofːɛɾɛ
dirty	k'oʃɑʃɑ	k'oʃɑʃɑ	k'oʃɑʃɑ	k'oʃɑʃɑ	k'oʃɑʃɑ	hɑdifːidul	k'oʃɑːʃɑ
dog	wɨʃːɑ	wɨʃːɑ	wɨʃːɑ	wɨʃːɑ	wɨʃːɑ	huʃːɑ	wəʃɑ
donkey	ɑhɨjːɑ	ɑhɨjːɑ	ɑhɨjːɑ	ɑhɨjːɑ	ɑhɨjːɑ	hɑjːɑ	hɑsijɑ
door	ɑfontʃ'ɑ	ɑfontʃ'ɑ	bɛr	bɜr	bɛɾ	bɛhɛɾ	tɑrːɑ
down	wɛdɛ tef	wɛdɛ tɑtʃ	wɛdɛ tef	wɜdɜ tɑtʃ	wɛdɛ tef	wɛdɛ tef	wɛɾɛdɑ
drink (v)	sɛtʃːɑ	t'ɛtːɑ	ʃɛːtʃɑ	t'ɜtːɑ	sɛtʃːɑ	ʃɛtʃʰe	ʃɛːtʃ
drum	mɑhɑt'ɑ	kɛbɛɾo	dɨʔbe	kɜbɜɾo	mɑhɑt'ɑ	kʰɛɾɛbo	kɛbɛɾo
dry (adj)	dɛɾɛk'	dɛɾɛk'	dɛɾɛk'ɑ	dɜɾɜk'	dɛɾɛk'	diɾik'	dɛɾɛk'
dull	dɛnɛz	dɛnɛz	denɛzɑ	dɜnɜz	dɛnɛz	dɛhɛnɛzi	demdɑmːɑ
dust	bulɑne	bulɑne	ɑβʷɑɾɑ	ɑβʷɑɾɑ	ɑwːɑɾɑ	hɑβwɑɾɑ	ʔɑwːɑɾɑ
ear	dʒoɾo	dʒoɾo	dʒoɾo	dʒoɾo	dʒoɾo		ʔɪze
earth, ground	mɨdiɾne	mɨdiɾne	mɛɾet	mɜɾet	mɛɾet	mɨhɨdɨɾ	mədɪɾ
egg	ɨnk'ulɑl	ɨnk'ulɑl	ɨnk'ulɑl	ɨnk'ulɑl	ɨnk'ulɑl	hink'ulɑl	kəlɑləfu
eight	sɨmːɨnt	sɨmːɨnt	sɨmːɨnt	sɨmːɨnt	sɨmːɨnt	sɨhɨmːɨnt	səmɪnt
elbow	kuɾkotʃːɑ	kɨɾn	kɨɾn	kɨɾn	kuɾkotʃːɑ	t'uhutʃ'ɑ	
empty (adj)	bɑdo	bɑdo	bɑdo	bɑdo	bɑdo	bɑhɑdo	ʔɪmbɪɾtu
enter	gɛβdul	gɛβdul	gebːeh	gɜbːɑ	gɛbːɑ	gɛhɛbːe	weː
evening	muʃed	mɑtɑ	muʃed	mɑtɑ	muʃed	muʃed	hɑdɑːɾɑ
evening	wɛɾɛw				wɛɾɛw		
exit	wɛt'ɨdul	wɛt'ɨdul	wɛt'ːɑ	wɜt'ːɑ	wɛt'ːɑ	hoːt'e	əːt
eye	ʔeʲn	ɑʲn	ʔɛːn	ɑʲn	ʔeʲn	ʔeʲn	ʔɛːn
eyebrow	ʃɨfɑl	ʃɨfɑʃɨft	ʃɪfɑːl	ʃɨfɑʃɨft	ʃɨfɑl	ʃɨfɑl	ʃɪfɑːn
fall (v)	ɨdeːfɑ	wɛdːɛkˈɛ	wɛdɛk'ɑ	wɜdːɜk'ɜ	ɨdeːfɑ	hoːdɛk'e	ʔədɛk
farm (field)	hɨɾʃɑ	ɨɾʃɑ	hɑɾɛsɑ	ɨɾʃɑ	hɨɾʃɑ	hɨɾʃɑ	hɑːɾs
fat (n)	səwːɑhɑ	səwːɑhɑ	moɾɑ	tʃ'omɑ	tʃ'omɑ	tʃ'ohomɑ	həbːɑu
fat (n)			tʃ'omɑ	moɾɑ	moɾɑ		
father	ɑow	ɑbːɑt	ʔɑu	ɑbːɑt	ɑow	hɑowː	ʔɑu
fear (n)	fɨɾhɑḍ	fɨɾhɑḍ	fɛɾdul	fɨɾhɑt	fɨɾhɑt	fɑhɑɾe	fɪɾhɑt
feather	wɛlːɛβɑ	lɑbɑ	lɑbɑ	lɑbɑ	wɛlːɛβɑ	holɛβɑ	lɑbɑ
fence	hɑt'ɨɾo	hɑt'ɨɾo	hɑt'ɨɾo	ɑt'ɨɾ	hɑnt'ɨɾu	hɑːt'ɨɾe	hɑt'ɨɾ
few	ɛʃit'	t'ɨk'it	mɑsɛnɛd	t'ɨk'it	ɛʃit'	mɑhɑ̃sni	əŋgɪlːɑ
fight (v)	ɛwɑgːɑ	tɛwɑgːɑ	uwɑgu	tɜwɑgːɑ	ɛwɑgːɑ	tɛwɑgːe	təhɑːg
fingernail	tʃ'ɨfːɨɾ	t'ɨfɨɾ	tʃ'ufɨɾ	t'ɨfɨɾ	tʃ'ɨfːɨɾ	tʃ'ɨfːɨɾ	t'ɪfɪɾ
fire	ɨsɑḍ	ɨsɑt	ɨsɑːd	ɨsɑt	ɨsɑḍ	hɨsɑt	ɪsɑt
fish	ʔɑsɑ	ʔɑsɑ	ɑsɑ	ʔɑsɑ	ʔɑsɑ	hɑsɑ	ʔɑːsɑ
fishnet		jɛʔɑsɑ mɛɾɛb	jɛʔɑsɑ mɛɾɛb	jɜʔɑsɑ mɜɾɜb		hɑsɑ mɛnɑʒɑ	ʔɑsɑguːmo

	Abbule Arada A	**Abbule Arada B**	**Aliyyu Amba**	**Amharic**	**Goze**	**Met’teh Bila**	**Shonke**
five	amːɨst	amːɨst	amːɨst	amːɨst	amːɨst	hamːɨst	hamɨst
flower	aβɛβa	aβɛβa	aβɛβa	aβɜβa	aβɛβa	haβɛβa	ʔaβɛβa
fly (n)	zɨmb	zɨmb	zɨmb	zɨmb	zɨmb	zɨhɨmba	
fly (v)	bɛrɛdɛ̰	bɛrɛdɛ̰	bɛrɛra	bɜrːɜrɜ	bɛrɛra	bɛherɛre	bɛrːɛr
fool	kʼil	moɲː	moɲː	moɲː	kʼil	kʼil	moɲ
foot	ɨŋgɨr	ɨgɨr	ɨŋgɨr	ɨgɨr	ɨŋgɨr	hɨŋgɨr	ʔɛgɨr
forearm	kɨnd	kɨnd	kɨnd	kɨnd	kɨnd	kiran	tʃəgəleː
forehead	gɨmbar	gɨmbar	gɨmbar	gɨmbar	gɨmbar	gɨmbɛr	gɨmbar
four	arbit	arat	arbit	arat	arbit	harβet	harʔɛt
frog	ɨnkʼurarɨ̰	ɨnkʼurarɨ̰	ɨnkʼurarit	ɨnkʼurarit	ɨnkʼurarit	hinɨkʼurarit	ʔɪŋkwakurit
fruit	frafre	frafre	fɨre	frafre	frafre	fɨrahafɨre	fərɛː
full	muliː	mulu	mulu	mulu	muliː	moholo	muli
fur	tʃʼɨgɛr	jaʷre sʼɛgur	tʃʼɨgar	jaʷre sʼɜgur	tʃʼɨgɛr	tʃʼɨgɛr	ʔabnesade naːna
garbage	kʼoʃaʃa	kʼoʃaʃa	kʼoʃaʃa	kʼoʃaʃa	kʼoʃaʃa	kʼoʃːidul	kʼoʃaʃa
garbage							mɛtʼhaːja
gate	mɛzgija	mɛzgija	bɛr	mɜzgiʲa	mɛzgija	mahazgija	kɛrːa
give	hawa	sɛtʼːɛ	hawaɲ	sɜtʼːɜ	hawa	hawe	hawai
go	heːda	hedɛ	heda	hedɜ	heːda	hedːul	xexl
goat	fijɛlatʃʰe	fijɛlatʃʰe	fɨjːɛl	fɨjːɜl	fɨjːɛl	fɨhɨjːɛl	tʼaʔiː
God	alːah	ɨgziʲabher	alːah	ɨgziʲabher	alːah	alːah	ʔawaː
gold	wɛrkʼ	wɛrkʼ	wɛrkʼ	wɜrkʼ	wɛrkʼ	həwɛrkʼ	wɛrkʼ
good	wogərne	wogərne	tʼɨru	tʼɨru	tʼɨru	wogɛrni	dɪmːa
gourd	kʼəli	kʼɨl	kəli	kʼɨl	kʼəli	kʼɨhɨl	kələ
grass	sir	sar	sir	sar	sir	sir	səʔər
grave	kʼɛβɨr	mɛkʼabɨr	kʼabɪr	mɜkʼabɨr	kʼɛβɨr	kʼahabɨr	kʼɛbɪr
grave					mɛkʼabɨr		
green	arɛngʷadene	arɛngʷadene	arɛŋgʷade	arɜngʷade	arɛngʷade	harɛngʷaːde	ʔaraŋgʷaːde
guts	fɛrs	fɛrs	jɛkʼɛrsɨkʼa	fɜrs	fɛrs	fɛrs	xɛrsɪsɪra
hair (of head)	tʃʼɨgɛr	sʼɛgur	tʃɨgar	sʼɜgur	tʃʼɨgɛr		dɪna
hand	ɨndʒ	ɨdʒː	ʔɪndʒ	ɨdʒː	ɨndʒ	ɨndʒ	ʔɪndʒe
hard	tʼɛnkara	tʼɛnkara	tʼɛnkara	tʼɜnkarːa	tʼɛnkara	tʼahankaridul	tʼɛŋkarːa
harvest (n)	hazmɛra	hazmɛra	məhər	azmɜra	azmɛra	hazmahara	mɛxɛr
he	kɛsːu	isːu	kɨsːu	ɨsːu	kɛsːu	kɨsːu	ʔuwaːt
head	dɨmːa	ras	dɨmːa	ras	dɨmːa		dɪna
hear	sɛmːeh	sɛmːa	sɛmːo	sɛmːa	sɛmːeh	lɨsː	sɪmːə
heart	lɨbː	lɨbː	lɨbː	lɨbː	lɨbː	lɨhɨb	lɪb
heavy	laχam	kəbːad	kəbːad	kɜbːad	kəbːad	kəbidɨni	xɛbid
heavy					laχam		
here	tʃʰoho	tʃʰoho	tʃuh	ɨzih	ɨntʃuh	ɨntʃuh	təʔeːn
here	tʃʰuhu	tʃʰuhu					

	Abbule Arada A	**Abbule Arada B**	**Aliyyu Amba**	**Amharic**	**Goze**	**Met'teh Bila**	**Shonke**
hide (v)	debːɛkˈa	dɛbːɛkˈɛ	debɛkˈa	dɜbːɜkˈɜ	debːɛkˈa	dɛbːɛkˈe	ʃeːʃɛg
hide (v)						dɛhɛbːɛkˈe	
hit	maχatːa	mɛtːa	maχata	mɜtːa	maχatːa	mahate	mɛtːa
hoe	doma	doma	doma	doma	doma	dohoma	doma
hold	naχaza	jazɛ	waχaza	jazɜ	naχaza	naze	hẽz
hold	waχaza				waχaza		
honey	dɨms	maɾ	dɨms	maɾ	dɨms	mahaɾ	duɪs
honeybee	nɨb	nɨb	nɨb	nɨb	nɨb	nɨb	
horn	kˈənd	kˈənd	kˈənd	kˈɜnd	kˈənd	kˈahand	kˈɛɾaɾa
hot	mukˈ	mukˈ	mukˈinːa	mukˈ	mukˈ	mukˈ	hɛntsajə
house	beḍ	bet	bed	bet	beḍ	beḍ	bet
how?	kəmeː	ɨndet	kəme	ɨndet	kəmeː	kɛhɛːme	ʔaːmet
hundred	məto	məto	mɛto	mɜto	mɛto	mɛhɛto	bɛkˈɪl
hungry	ɾaχaβe	ɾabɛw	ɾahaːbe	ɾabɜw	ɾaχaβe	hɨɾabe	ɾahawai
hungry			ɾahawai				
hunt (v)	hadɛnaː	adːɛnɛ	adːɛna	adːɜnɜ	hadɛnaː	hadːɛne	hedɛn
hunter	adaɲ	adaɲ	adaɲ	adaɲ	adaɲ	hadahaɲ	ʔadaɲ
hyena	dʒɨb	dʒɨb	dʒɨb	dʒɨb	dʒɨb	ʒɨhɨb	dʒəu
I	aj:o	aj:o	əj:u	ɨne	aːn	ijo	ʔaːn
I			ʔaːn				
jump (v)	zɛlːɛla	zɛlːɛlɛ	zɛlːɛlɛ	zɜlːɜlɜ	zɛlːɛla	zɛhɛlːɛle	zɛlːɛl
kill	gɛdːɛlɨja	gɛdːɛlɨja	gɛdːɛla	gɜdːɜlɜ	gɛdːɛla	gɛhɛdɛle	gɛdːɛl
knee	gulbɛt	gulbɛt	gulbɛt	gulbɜt	gulbɛt	lohomi	
knife	bilawane	bilawane	bilːawa	bɨlːawa	gʷolɛnda	bilːa	bilaːwa
know	oːŋkˈa	awːɛkˈɛ	woŋkˈe	awːɜkˈɜ	oːŋkˈa	woŋkˈɛdul	huk
lake	baharne	baharne	haʲkˈ	haʲkˈ	haʲkˈ	baharɾ	haɾuːje
lake			kuɾe	kuɾe	kuɾe		
laugh	saχakˈa	sakˈɛ	sahakˈa	sakˈɜ	saχakˈa	sahakˈe	sahak
laugh	sahakˈa				sahakˈa		
leaf	kˈɨtˈal	kˈɨtˈɛl	kˈɨtˈɛl	kˈɨtˈɜl	kˈɨtˈal	kˈahatˈal	hɛtˈaːl
left (side)	gɨɾa	gɨɾa	gɨɾa	gɨɾa	gɨɾa	gɨɾa	ʔagurа
leopard	nɛbɨɾ	nɛbɨɾ	nɛbɨɾ	nɜbɨr	nɛbɨɾ	nahabɨɾ	nɛβuɾ
lie down	ɛgadːɛma	tɛgadːɛmɛ	ɛgadɛma	tɜgadːɜmɜ	ɛgadːɛma	tɛgadimdul	gadːɛm
light (not heavy)	kˈəlːal	kˈəlːal	kˈɛlːal	kˈɜlːal	kˈəlːal	kˈəhelalni	kˈɛlːal
lightning	bɛɾakˈ	mɛbɾɛkˈ	mɛbrɛkˈ	mɜbrɜkˈ	bɛɾakˈ	bɛhɛɾakˈ	ɾaʔaːd
lip	kɛnfɛɾ	kɛnfɛɾ	kɛnfɛɾ	kɜnfɜɾ	kɛnfɛɾ	kɨnafɨɾe	mɛntʃɪɾ
listen	adːamːɛtˈːa	adɛmːɛtˈɛ	adɛmɛtˈlul	adɜmːɜtˈɜ	adːamːɛtˈːa	hadɛmːɛtˈe	sɛmːa
liver	gubːɛt	gubːɛt	gubːɛt	gubːɜt	gubːɛt	guhɛbːɛt	xafaː
long	ɾɛdʒːɨm	ɾɛdʒːɨm	ɾɛdʒːɨm	ɾɜdʒːɨm	ɾɛdʒːɨm	hiɾidʒim	guːdɛɾ
louse	kˈɨmal	kˈɨmal	kˈɨmal	kˈɨmal	kˈɨmal	kˈɨhɨmal	kˈumal

	Abbule Arada A	**Abbule Arada B**	**Aliyyu Amba**	**Amharic**	**Goze**	**Met’teh Bila**	**Shonke**
machete	k'ontʃ'ɛrɑ	k'ontʃ'ɛrɑ	mɑtʃ'ɛd	gɜdʒɜrɑ	gɛdʒɛrɑ	kʼʷɑhɑtʃ'ɑrɑ	mɛkɛʔeːt
maize	bɑrmɑʃilːɑ	bəkʼːolːo	bɑrmɑʃilɑ	bɜkʼːolːo	bɛkʼːolːo	bɑrmɑʃilːɑ	bɑrmɑʃilɑ
maize					bɑrmɑʃilːɑ		
make	gɑχɑrɑ	sɛrɑ	girdul	sɜrːɑ	gɑχɑrɑ	gɑhɑrɑ	gəʔɑːr
make	gɑhɑrɑ				gɑhɑrɑ		
man	wɛndɨne	wɛndɨne		wɜnd	wɛnd	hond	
many	bɛzɨh	bɨzu	ɨdʒɨg	bɨzu	bɛzɨh	bizu	ɛndɪg
market	gɛbɛjɑ	gɛbɛjɑ	gɛbɛjɑ	gɜbɜjɑ	gɛbɛjɑ	gɛhɛβɛjɑ	gɛbɛjɑ
marry	ɑgɛbɛdul	ɑgɛbːɑ	ɑgɛbːɑ	ɑgɜbːɑ	ɑgɛbːɑ	hɑgɛbːe	ʔɑʔɑːt
marry					ɑgɛbɛdul		
meat	dʒəu	sɨgɑ	dʒɛʊ	sɨgɑ	dʒəu	dʒəu	dʃɛʏ
money	kʼɑrʃ	kʼɑrʃ	dunjɑ	gɜnzɜb	gɛnzɛb	dunjɑ	gəzi
moon	tʃ'ɛrɛkʼɑ	tʃ'ɛrɛkʼɑ	tʃ'ɛrɛkʼɑ	tʃ'ɜrɜkʼɑ	tʃ'ɛrɛkʼɑ	tʃ'ɛherɛkʼɑ	tʃ'ɛrɛkʼɑ
mother	ɨmː	ɨnːɑt	ɨmː	ɨnːɑt	ɨmː	hɨmː	dɛpeː
mountain	tɛrɑrɑne	tɛrɑrɑne	tɛrɑrɑ	tɜrɑrɑ	tɛrɑrɑ	tɑhɑrɑrɑ	gorɑ
mouth	ɑf	ɑf	ɑf	ɑf	ɑf	ɑfɨni	ɑːf
mud	tʃ'ɨkʼɑ	tʃ'ɨkʼɑ	tʃ'ɨkʼɑ	tʃ'ɨkʼɑ	tʃ'ɨkʼɑ	tʃ'ɨhɨkʼɑ	tʃɪkɑ
name	sɨm	sɨm	sɨm	sɨm	sɨm	sɨmɑhɑ	sɪm
narrow	tʼɛbːɑb	tʼɛbːɑb	tʼɛbːɑb	tʼɜbːɑb	tʼɛbːɑb	tʼibːɑb	tʼɛbɑu
navel	ɨmbɨrt	ɨmbɨrt	ɨmbɨrt	ɨmbɨrt	ɨmbɨrt	hɨmbɨrt	hɛmbɪrt
neck	hɑŋgɛd	ɑngɛt	ɑŋgɛd	ɑngɜt	hɑŋgɛd	hɑngɛt	hɑŋgɛt
nest	jɛwɛf beˌd	jɛwɛf beˌd	jɛwəf godʒːo	jɜwɜf godʒːo	jɛwəf godʒːo	hof beˌd	ʔɑəf goːnʒo
new	hɑgɨs	ɑdːis	hɑgɪs	ɑdːis	hɑgɨs	hɑdːisne	hɑgɪs
nine	jɛχɛtʼɛɲ	zɛtʼɛɲː	ʒəhətʼɛɲ	zɜtʼɜɲː	jɛχɛtʼɛɲ	ʒɛtʼːɛɲ	jəhətʼɛɲ
nine						ʒɛhɑtʼːɛɲ	
no	ɑhonew	ɑʲdɛlːɛm	ɑʲdɛlːɛm	ɑʲdɜlːɜm	ɑhonew	ɑχinim	hɑkuːnɑm
no			jɛlːɛm				
none	hɑndɨm jɛlːɑ	ɑndɨm jɛlːɛm	jelːɛw	ɑndɨm jɜlːɜm	hɑndɨm jɛlːɑ	ɑhɑndɨm jele	hɑndəm jɑt
nose	ɑfɨntʃ'ɑ	ɑfɨntʃ'ɑ	ɑfɨntʃ'ɑ	ɑfɨntʃ'ɑ	ɑfɨntʃ'ɑ	hɑfɨntʃ'ɑ	tɪnɪt
old (not new)	ɑroge	ɑroge	ɑroge	ɑroge	ɑroge	hɑrɪdʒidul	məʃuːrɑ
one	hɑnd	ɑnd	hɑnd	ɑnd	hɑnd	hɑnd	hɑnd
other	lelɑ	lelɑ	lelɑ	lelɑ	lelɑ	lɛhelɑ	leːlɑ
path	heːmɑ	mɛngɛd	heːmɑ	mɜngɜd	heːmɑ	heːmɑ	ʔigɪr heːmɑ
person	suː	sɛʷ	suː	sɜʷ	suː	soː	sɛʷ
pig		ɑsɑmɑ		ɑsɑmɑ			
plant (v)	tek:ɛlɑ	tɛkːɛlɛ	teːkɛlɑ	tɜkːɜlɜ	tekːɛlɑ	tɛkːɛle	teːkɛl
pot	tʃ'unkʼulːɑ	tʃ'unkʼulːɑ	ɨnsɨrɑ	ɨnsɨrɑ	ɨnsɨrɑ	hɨnsɨrɑ	zəxɑːmɑ
pour (water)	kʼɛdːɑhɑ	kʼɛdːɑ	kʼɛdːɑhɑ	kʼɜdːɑ	kʼɛdːɑhɑ	kʼɛdːe	kʼɛdːɑ

	Abbule Arada A	**Abbule Arada B**	**Aliyyu Amba**	**Amharic**	**Goze**	**Met’teh Bila**	**Shonke**
pull (v)	saha**β**a	sab**ɛ**	s**ɛ**haba	sab**ɜ**	saha**β**a	saha**β**e	s**ɛ**hau
pull (v)	sa**χ**a**β**a				sa**χ**a**β**a		
push (v)	g**ɛ**f:e	g**ɛ**f:a	g**ɛ**f:e	g**ɜ**f:a	g**ɛ**f:e	g**ɛ**f:e	g**ɛ**fa
rain (n)	z**ɨ**nab	z**ɨ**nab	z**ɨ**nab	z**ɨ**nab	z**ɨ**nab	z**ɨ**h**ɨ**nab	zənau̯
rainbow	k'**ɛ**sta damɛnane	k'**ɛ**sta damɛnane	k'**ə**st**ɛ** dɛm:ɛna	k'**ɜ**st**ɜ** dɜm:ɜna	k'**ə**st**ɛ** dɛm:ɛna	k'ahasta dam:ɛna	ʔajuʃɛbəta
rat	hɪ̃t'	ɑʲt'	hɪ̃t'	ɑʲt'	hɪ̃t'	hɪ̃t'	hɛt
red	k'ɛj:ɨh**ɨ**ne	k'ɛj:ɨh**ɨ**ne	k'ɛjɨh	k'ɜj:	k'ɛj:ɨh	k'ɛhɛj	k'ɛi:jɛh
rest (v)	harɛfa	harɛfa	ʔarɛfa	ar:ɜfɜ	arɛfa	harɛfe	ʔarɛf
right (side)	k'ɛɲ:	k'ɛɲ:	k'ɛɲ:	k'ɜɲ:	k'ɛɲ:	k'ahaɲ	ʔakɛn:a
ripe	jɛbɛs:ɛla	jɛbɛs:ɛlɛ	bɛs:ɛla	jɜbɜs:ɜlɜ	jɛbɛs:ɛla	jebɛs:ɛlaha	jəβəsɛl
river	zɛr	zɛr	ʒɨrat	wɜnz	wɛnz	honz	zɛɾ
road			he:ma	mɜngɜd			he:ma
root	sɨɾe̯d̯	sɨɾ	sɨred	sɨr	sɨɾe̯d̯	sɛheɾ	ʃəɾi:t
rope	k'əlaḏ	k'əlaḏ	gɛmɛd	gɜmɜd	gɛmɛd	gɛhɛmɛd	gɛmɛd
rotten	jɛbɛsɛb:ɛsa	jɛbɛsɛb:ɛsɛ	bɛsbɛsɛdul	jɜbɜsɜb:ɜsɜ	jɛbɛsɛb:ɛsa	bɛsɛb:ɛse	jəβisɛb:ɛs
run	ɾot'a	ɾot'ɛ	ro:t'a	rot'ɜ	ɾot'a	hɛɾot'e	ɾo:t'
saliva	muɾatʃ'	mɨɾak'	muɾatʃ'	mɨɾak'	muɾatʃ'	muɾak'	muɾatʃe
salt	tʃ'o:	tʃ'o:	t'ɨɾetʃ'əw	tʃ'ɜ^{w}	tʃ'ɛ^{w}	tʃ'o	tʃ'ɛ^{w}
salt	tʃ'oho	tʃ'oho					
sand	aʃɛwa	aʃɛwa	haʃɛwa	aʃɜwa	aʃɛwa	haʃɛwa	haʃɛwa
sandals	tʃ'ama	tʃ'ama	jɛnɛt'ɛla tʃ'am:a	tʃ'ama	tʃ'ama	mɛtʃ'anja	tʃ'am:a
say	ala	alɛ	ʔa:la	ale	ala	hale	ʔa:l
scorpion	gint'	gint'	gint'	gint'	gint'	gɨhint'	gint'
scratch	hakɛka	hakɛka	hakɛka	ak:ɜkɜ	hakɛka	hak:ɛke	hakɛk
see	handʒa	aj:ɛ	handʒa	aj:ɜ	handʒa	handʒa	ɾe:
seed	zɛɾi	zɛɾ	zɛɾi	zɜr	zɛɾi	zaharɾ	zɛɾ
sell	ʃet':a	ʃɛt':ɛ	ʃet'a	ʃɜt':ɜ	ʃet':a	ʃɛte	ʔasʔam
seven	saʔint	sɛbat:	saʔint	sɜbat:	saʔint	saʔint	sɛʔant
sew	ɨs:ef:a	ɨs:ef:a	sɛf:a	sɜf:a	sɛf:a	sef:e	sɛf
sharp (edge)	sɨlɛt	sɨlɛt	sɨlɛt	sɨlɜt	sɨlɛt	sɨhɨlɛt	wɛi:jɛh
shield	gaʃ:a	gaʃ:a	gaʃa	gaʃ:a	gaʃ:a	gahaʃ:a	ga:ʃa
short	hatʃ'ɪɾne	hatʃ'ɪɾne	ha:tʃ'ɨɾni	atʃ':ɨɾ	atʃ':ɨɾ		ha:tʃɪɾ
shoulder	tɨkɛʃ:a	tɨkɛʃ:a	tɨkɛʃ:a	tɨkɜʃ:a	tɨkɛʃ:a	tɨkɛʃ:a	taxa:ʃa
sick	ɨmɛt'ɛt'a	tam:ɛmɛ	met'ɛt'e	tam:ɜmɜ	ɨmɛt'ɛt'a	mɛhɛt'ɨt'i	sian
silver			k'arʃ	bir:			bur:
sing	zem:ɛɾa	zem:ɛɾa		zɜm:ɜɾɜ	zimbɛdʲɛh	dɛmɨɾe	zɛm:ɛɾɛ
sister	ɨhɨḏ	ɨhɨt	ɨhɨd	ɨhɨt	ɨhɨḏ	ɨhɨḏ	ʔɪhɪt
sit	ɨʃe:ma	tɛk'ɛm:ɛt'ɛ	aɾɛgɛza	tɜk'ɜm:ɜt'ɜ	ɨʃe:ma	haɾɛg:ɛzɛ	tək'e:mɛt'
six	sɨd:ɨst	sɨd:ɨst	sɨd:ɨst	sɨd:ɨst	sɨd:ɨst	sɨhɨd:ɨst	sɪdɪst

	Abbule Arada A	**Abbule Arada B**	**Aliyyu Amba**	**Amharic**	**Goze**	**Met’teh Bila**	**Shonke**
skin	k'odɑ	k'odɑ	wedɛl	k'odɑ	k'odɑ	k'ohadɑ	k'odɑ
sky	sɛmɑjne	sɛmɑjne	sɛmɑʲ	sɜmɑʲ	sɛmɑʲ	simɑj	sumɑj
sleep (v)	teːɲːɑ	tɛɲːɑ	tɛɲːɑ	tɜɲːɑ	teːɲːɑ	tɛɲːe	ʔɪŋɛ
small	mɑsɨne	mɑsɨne	mɑsː	tɨnːɨʃ	məsːit	mɑhãs	ʔiŋgilːɑ
smell (v.t.)	ɑʃɛtːɛtɑ	ɑʃɛtːɛtɛ	ɑʃɛtːɛtɑ	ɑʃɜtːɜtɜ	ɑʃɛtːɛtɑ	hɑʃɛtːɛtɑ	ʔɑʃuntʃ
smoke (n)	tʃ'is	tʃ'is	tʃ'is	tʃ'is	tʃ'is	tʃ'is	tɑn
smooth	lɛslɑsːɑne	lɛslɑsːɑne	lɛslɑsːɑ	lɜslɑsːɑ	lɛslɑsːɑ	lɛhɛslɑsːɑ	lɛslɑːsɑ
snake	hɨβɑβ	hɨβɑβ	ɨbɑb	ɨβɑβ	hɨwɑw	hɨβɑβ	wərːo
sneeze	ɑsnɛt'ɛse	ɑnɛtˀːɛsɛ	ɑnɛtˀːɛsɛ	ɑnɜtˀːɜsɜ	ɑsnɛt'ɛse	hɑsnɛt'ɛse	tiʃoɑl
soft	lɛslɑsːɑ	lɛslɑsːɑ	lɛslɑsːɑ	lɜslɑsːɑ	lɛslɑsːɑ	lɛsɨlisːɛdul	lɛslɑːsɑ
spear	t'orne	t'orne	t'oɾ	t'oɾ	t'oɾ	t'ohoɾ	hɑɾb
spider	ʃɛɾɛɾit	ʃɛɾɛɾit	ʃɛɾɛɾit	ʃɜrɜrit	ʃɛɾɛɾit	ʃɛɾɛhɑɾit	
spit	tɛfːe	tɛfːɑ	tɛfːe	tɜfːɑ	tɛfːe	tɛhɛfːe	tɛfːɑ
stand (v)	k'omɑ	k'omɛ	k'omɑ	k'omɜ	k'omɑ	k'ohomːɛ	ʔoːm
star	kokoβne	kokoβne	kokɛb	kokɜb	kokːob	kohokːob	tʃuxo
steal	sɛrɛk'ɑ	sɛrɛk'ɛ	sɛrɛk'ɑ	sɜrːɜk'ɜ	sɛrɛk'ɑ	sɑhɑɾɛk'e	sɛrɛk'ɛ
stick (n)	dulɑ	dulɑ	bɛtːɨɾ	bɜtːɨr	bɛtːɨɾ	duhulːɑ	bɑɾt
stone	dɨngɑʲ	dɨngɑʲ	dɨŋgɑʲ	dɨngɑʲ	dɨŋgɑʲ	dɨngɑʲ	ginʒɛlɑ
stool		bɑɾtʃ'umɑ	gɨrumbɛd	bɑɾtʃ'umɑ		guɾɨmbɨḍ	bərtʃ'umːɑ
straight	k'ɛtˀːɨtɑ	k'ɛtˀːɨtɑ	bɛkˀɛtˀːɨtɑ	k'ɜtˀːɨtɑ	k'ɛtˀːɨtɑ		k'ɛtˀɛtɑ
sun	tʃ'ɛheḍ	sˀɛhɑʲ	tʃ'ɛhed	sˀɜhɑʲ	tʃ'ɛheḍ	tʃ'ɛheḍ	tʃəheːs
sweat	lɑb	lɑb	lɑb	lɑb	lɑb	lɑχɑb	wɛzjɑ
sweat						lɑhɑb	
sweep	t'ɛrɛgɑ	t'ɛrɛgɛ	t'ɛrɛgɑ	t'ɜrːɜgɜ	t'ɛrɛgɑ	t'ɛhɛrɛge	t'ɛrːɛg
swim	wɑɲːɑ	wɑɲːɛ	wɑːɲɑ	wɑɲːɜ	wɑɲːɑ	hʷɑɲːe	wɑːɲɛ
tail	tʃ'ɨɾɑ	tʃ'ɨɾɑ	dʒɨɾɑt	dʒɨɾɑt	dʒɨɾɑt	dʒɨhiɾɑt	
take	ɑχeʲdɑ	wɛsːɛdɛ	ʔɑxeːdɑ	wɜsːɜdɜ	ɑχeʲdɑ	wɛsːɛde	ʔɑxeːd
take	ɑheʲdɑ				ɑheʲdɑ		
teach	ɑstemiɾɑ	ɑstɛmɑɾɛ	jɛmiheɾɑ	ɑstɜmɑɾɜ	ɑstemiɾɑ	hɑstɛmɛhɑɾɛ	
tear (n)	ɨmbɑ	ɨmbɑ	imbi	ɨmbɑ	ɨmbɑ	hɨnbɑ	hɛmbə
ten	ɑsːɨɾ	ɑsːɨɾ	ɑsːɨɾ	ɑsːɨɾ	ɑsːɨɾ	hɑsːiɾe	ʔɑsɪɾ
termite	mɨstˀ	mɨstˀ	mɨstˀ	mɨstˀ	mɨstˀ	mistˀ̪	
termite hill	kujːɨsɑ	kujːɨsɑ	jɛmistˀ bet	kujːɨsɑ	kujːɨsɑ	kuhujːɨsɑ	
termite hill	yɛmɨstˀ bet	yɛmɨstˀ bet		jɜmɨstˀ bet	jɛmɨstˀ bet		
that	wuḍ	jɑ	oːd	jɑ	wuḍ	hudɨne	ʔomɪsːi
they	kɛsːɛmː	ɨnːɛsːu	kɨsːəm	ɨnːɜsːu	kɛsːɛmː	kɛsːɛmː	ʔəlɛm
thick	dɛndɑnɑː	wəfɾɑm	wəfɾɑm	wɜfɾɑm	dɛndɑnɑː	hofiɾɑm	ʔɑːmud
thigh	tʃ'ɨn	tʃ'ɨn	tʃ'ɨn	tʃ'ɨn	tʃ'ɨn	mɛhɛtʃ'ɑnjɑ	
thigh	tɑfɑ	tɑfɑ	tɑfɑ	tɑfɑ	tɑfɑ	tʃ'ɨhin	tʃ'ɪn
thin	k'ɛtʃ'ːin	k'ɛtʃ'ːin	k'ɛtʃ'ːɨn	k'ɜtʃ'ːɨn	k'ɛtʃ'ːin	kətʃ'indul	k'ɛtʃɪn
think	hɑsːɛβɑ	ɑsːɛbɛ	hɑsːɛbɑ	ɑsːɜbɜ	hɑsːɛβɑ	hɑsːɛβe	hɑsːu

	Abbule Arada A	**Abbule Arada B**	**Aliyyu Amba**	**Amharic**	**Goze**	**Met’teh Bila**	**Shonke**
this	huḍ	jɨh	hud	jɨh	huḍ	huḍ	ʔɪːni
thorn	ʃok	ʃok	ʃok	ʃok	ʃok	ʃok	
thorn	ɨʃoh	ɨʃoh	ɨʃoh	ɨʃoh	ɨʃoh	ɨʃoh	
thread	kɨr	kɨr	kɨr	kɨrː	kɨr	kɛhɛɾ	fətɪl
three	sost	sost	sost	sost	sost	sost	səʔoːst
throw	wɛɾɛwːɛɾa	wɛɾɛwːɛɾɛ	wɛɾɛwːɛɾa	wɜɾɜwːɜɾɜ	wɛɾɛwːɛɾa	hʷɛɾɛwːɛɾe	wɛɾɛwːɛɾ
thunder	bɨlitʃ'ta	nɛgodgʷad	gɨmgɨmt'a	nɜgodgʷad	bɨlitʃ'ta	fɛlɛk'a	guɾmumta
thunder	bɨliʔita				bɨliʔita		
tie (v. int.)	əχesɛɾa	əχesɛɾa	ɛχesɛɾa	tasːɜɾɜ	ɨkẽsɨɾa	taɦasːɛɾe	teːsəɾ
tobacco	tɨmbaho	tɨmbaho	tɨmbaho	tɨmbaho	tɨmbaho	timboho	tɪmbaho
tongue	mɨlas	mɨlas	mɨlas	mɨlas	mɨlas		ʔaɾat
tooth	sɨn	t'ɨɾs	sɪːn	t'ɨɾs	sɨn	sɨnːa	sɪːn
tree	zaf	zaf	zaf	zaf	zaf	zaf	
twenty	kejaː	haja	kejaː	haja	kejaː	kejaː	haj?aː
two	keːt	hulɛtː	keːt	hulɜtː	keːt	keːt	xəʔeːt
up	wɛdɛɾuʃ	wɛdɛ laʲ	wɛdɛ ɾuʃ	wɜdɜ laʲ	wɛdɛ ɾuʃ	wɛdɛ lefː	laʔala
up			wɛdɛ lef				
vomit (v)	lefale	astaw:ɛkɛ	astewəka	astaw:ɜkɜ	lefale	haɦasmɛlːɛse	asteːfa
walk (v)	iɾamɛda	tɛɾamːɛdɛ	bɛʔɨgɨɾ hedɛ	tɜɾamːɜdɜ	iɾamɛda	tɛɾɛɦamːɛde	bɛigiɾ hed
want	felːɛga	fɛlːɛgɛ	felːɛga	fɜlːɜgɜ	felːɛga	fɛlːɛge	fɛlɛgɛ
war	t'oɾɨnːɛt	t'oɾɨnːɛt	t'oɾɨnːɛt	t'oɾɨnːɜt	t'oɾɨnːɛt	t'oɦoɾɨnːat	haɾb
warm	lɛbː jala	lɛbː jala	lɛb jala	lɜbː jalɜ	lɛbː jalɛ	lɛɦɛb jalɛ	ʔamo
warm					lɛbː ala		
water	ɛχuwa	wɨha	ahowa	wɨha	ɛχuwa	uxa	ʔofa
water	ɛhuwa				ɛhuwa	uha	
we (exc.)	ɨnːa	ɨɲːa	ʔɪnaː	ɨɲːa	ɨnːa	hɨɲːa	ʔɪnaː
we (inc.)	ɨnːa	ɨɲːa	ʔɪnaː	ɨɲːa	ɨnːa	hɨɲːa	ʔɪnaː
wedding	makˈabːaj	makˈabːaj	sɛɾg	sɜɾg	sɛɾg	dɨɦɨgːɨs	bəɦɛɾ
weed (n)	hɛɾɛma	aɾɛm	haɾama	aɾɜm	hɛɾɛma	haɾɛm	haɾam
weed (n)	χɛɾɛma				χɛɾɛma		
weep	alɛkˈːɛsa	alɛkˈːɛsɛ	ʔalɛkˈɛsa	alɜkˈːɜsɜ	alɛkˈːɛsa	hɛlekˈɛsa	ʔalɛkˈɛs
well (n)	mɨntʃˈɨne	mɨntʃˈɨne	mɨntʃˈ	mɨntʃˈ	mɨntʃˈ	mɨɦɨntʃˈ	fɛlaːk
wet	ɨɾtˈɨb	ɨɾtˈɨb	ɨɾtˈɨb	ɨrːtˈɨb	ɨɾtˈɨb	hiɾtˈib	ɨɾtˈu
what?	mɨn	mɨn	mɨn	mɨn	mɨn	mɨni	ʔɪmbalaːnə
when?	mɛtʃe	mɛtʃe	mɛtʃeːnə	mɜtʃe	mɛtʃe	mɛtʃʰa	mɛtʃeːnə
where?	tʃʰeː	tʃʰeː	tʃeː	jɜt	jeḍ	tʃʰe	teːtenei
where?	tʃʰehe	tʃʰehe					
whistle (v)	afotʃˈa	afotʃˈa	ʔafotʃˈa	afwatʃˈɜ	afwatʃˈoh	afutʃˈe	ʔafotʃ
white	zah	nɛtʃˈː	zaːχini	nɜtʃˈː	zah	nahatʃˈ	zaːhi
who?	man	man	manːi	man	man	mahanːe	manːə
whose?	jɛman	jɛman	jɛman	jɜman	jɛman	jɛmahanːe	ʔamanːə

	Abbule Arada A	**Abbule Arada B**	**Aliyyu Amba**	**Amharic**	**Goze**	**Met'teh Bila**	**Shonke**
why?	lɛmɨn	lɛmɨn	lɛmɨn	lɜmɨn	lɛmɨn	lɛhɛmine	bimbɑ
wide	səf:ihɨne	səf:ihɨne	sɛfi	sɜf:i	sɛf:i	se:f:i	ɾɛhi:
wife	mist	mist	mist	mist	mist	mihist	mɪst
wind	nɨfɑs	nɨfɑs	nɨfɑs	nɨfɑs	nɨfɑs	nɑhɑfɑs	nɨfɑs
wing	kinf	kinf	kĩf	kɨnf	kɨnf	k^{h}ɨhɨnf	kinf
woman	niʃtʃɑ	set	nistʃɑ	set	niʃtʃɑ	hiniʃtʃ^{h}ɑ	niʃtʃɑ:
worm	tuli	tɨl	tuli	tɨl	tuli	tɨhɨl	
yawn	ɑz:ɑg:ɑhɑ	ɑz:ɑg:ɑ	ɑz:ɑg:ɑ	ɑz:ɑg:ɑ	ɑz:ɑg:ɑ	ɑz:ɑg:e	ɑxɑ:fɛt
yawn					ɑz:ɑg:ɑhɑ		
yellow	bɨtʃ'ɑne	bɨtʃ'ɑne	bɨtʃ'ɑ	bɨtʃ'ɑ	bɨtʃ'ɑ	hɑjnɛ hɑβɛβɑ	bitʃ'ɑ
yes	o:n	ɑo̯^{w}	ʔo:	ɑo̯^{w}	o:n	hɑwe	ʔo:
yesterday	tɛmɑi	tɨlɑntɨn:ɑ	tɨmɑj	tɨlɑntɨn:ɑ	tɛmɑi	timɑi	tɪmɑje:nə
you (ms)	ɑ:ŋk	ɑntɛ	ʔɑŋk	ɑntɜ	ɑ:ŋk	hɑŋkɛ	ʔɑŋk
you (pl)	ɨn:ɑkum	ɨn:ɑntɛ	ɨnɑkum	ɨn:ɑntɜ	ɨn:ɑkum	ɨn:ɑkum	ʔɑŋkum

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