

**Sociolinguistic Survey Report of the
Languages of the Abbaya/Chamo
Area of Ethiopia
Part I**

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1. Introduction

This report presents findings from a survey trip undertaken in the area of Lake Abbaya and Chamo, some 500 kms south of Addis Ababa.¹ The trip took place November 3–9, 1994, and was carried out by Dr. Matthias Brenzinger of Cologne University and me. Several staff members of administrative offices in Awasa, Dilla, and Arba Minch assisted with their advice in various steps of the survey.

The locations we visited were: Alge, Arba Minch, Gat'eme at the western shore of Lake Abbaya, and Elgo, Shele Mela west of Lake Chamo. Dr. Brenzinger also visited the three villages on the Gidicho island: Baiso, Harro and Shigma.

The investigations were primarily aimed at gaining a clearer understanding of interrelations between several speech varieties (languages and/or dialects) spoken around Lake Abbaya and on the inhabited islands of the lake itself. Our investigations also touched languages of the Lake Chamo area (including its islands), which is the lake adjacent to the southern end of Lake Abbaya. A further goal of Dr. Brenzinger was to gain insights in the plans concerning the introduction of mother tongue education in the Southern Ethiopia Peoples Region (SEPR) and to understand how this had already been implemented in the SEPR. He plans to report on this in one of the next S.L.L.E. issues.

The targeted speech varieties were the following: Baiso, Ganjawle (Ganjule), Gats'ame (Get'eme, Kachama), Gidicho (Giddicho, Harro, Haruro), Zayse, and Zergulla. Except for Baiso, which is a Lowland East Cushitic language, all languages listed here are Omotic languages (see table I). The linguistic relations between these varieties and other languages of the area such as, for instance, Koorete, were also of interest to us, and a report by Dr. Brenzinger will address this issue.

¹An earlier version of this report appeared as "Languages of the Abbaya/Chamo Area—Report Part I with notes on Koorete", Survey of Little-known Languages of Ethiopia (S.L.L.E.) Linguistic Report 21, November 1994. Addis Ababa: Institute Of Ethiopian Studies and Summer Institute of Linguistics.

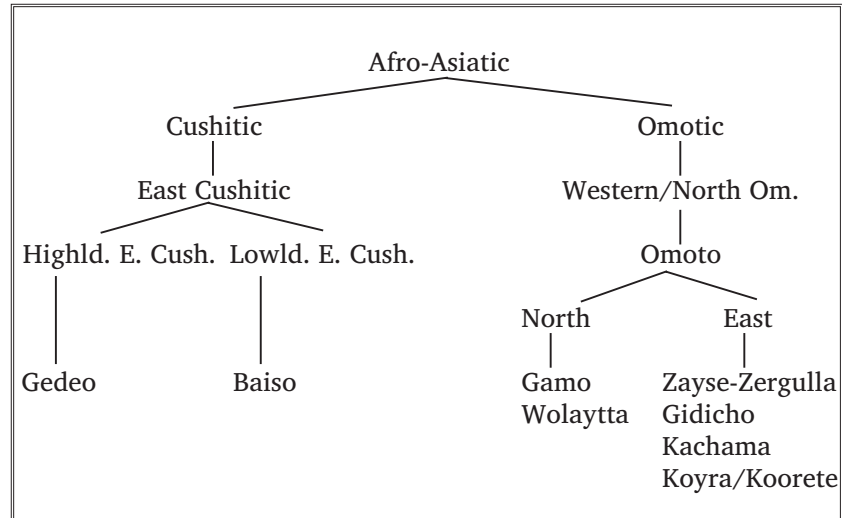
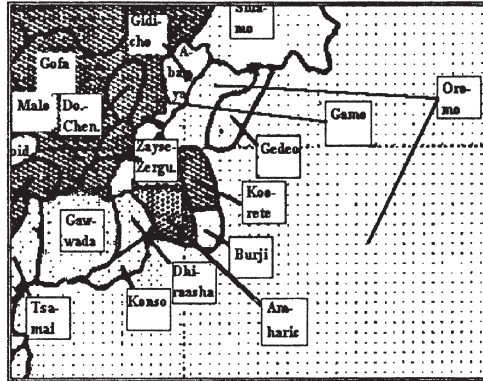


Table I
Cushitic and Omotic languages of this report
(Omotic classification: Fleming 1976, Bender 1987, Hayward 1990)

The tools to carry out this research were, (1) the S.L.L.E. 320-Item word list; (2) sociolinguistic questionnaires, and (3) informal, interactive communication.

In addition to having a tight schedule at the outset, we lost a day when we attempted to reach the Gidicho island from the Eastern shore of Lake Abbaya—i.e., for the marketplace of Malka (located on the mainland opposite the Gidicho island (cf. the map, table II below). We were unable to go there because we were told that the area between Dilla and Malka was not safe for traveling at that particular time. Later on Dr. Brenzinger and I worked separately in order to make up for the time lost. For this reason, Dr. Brenzinger's findings will be included in a subsequent issue of this series. It is particularly the sociolinguistic results which had to be reduced to the form of



“rapid appraisals”. We hope to see these complemented by Dr. Brenzinger’s studies.

Table II
Languages of the present report

2. Acknowledgments

We very much appreciated the active support during our research which we received from the following staff of the Arba Minch offices:

- Galunde Waketa, head of the Tourism Bureau in Arba Minch
- Manza Make, head of the Primary Education Office in Awasa
- François Dansa of the Curriculum Department in Awasa
- Paulos Rike, head of the Teachers’ Training Institute in Awasa
- The head of the Primary School of Merab Abbaya
- The ferryman resident in Alge who helped Dr. Brenzinger with transport to the Gidicho island.

Without the efficient and delightful support of these men, it would have been impossible to attain the research goals. We are grateful for their help.

3. Sociolinguistic Information on Zayse

In order to meet the Zayse people in their natural environment, I went to a place called Elgo, some 30 kms south of Arba Minch, off the road leading to Konso. Elgo is said to be one of the three main settlements of Zayse people—the other two being Wezek'a and Dembilla. As interpreter, Ato Galunde Waketa, whose mother tongue is Zayse, joined me there. I administered a sociolinguistic questionnaire in Elgo.

The Zayse elders whom I had asked to help me with these sociolinguistic questions then insisted on calling some more elders of that place in order to supply me with “correct” and “complete” answers. This is the reason why the interview was carried out as a group interview; finally, there were approximately thirty people who listened to the questions and discussed the answers. It was, however, the answers of only four to five people who were taken down. (Actually, within the framework of sociolinguistic surveys it is not altogether unusual to gather the sociolinguistic information by means of such group interviews. This was, for instance, the way in which sociolinguistic surveys were carried out in Eastern Zaire).

Here follows a summary of Zayse responses to the Sociolinguistic Questionnaires.

3.1. Multilingualism

Zayse men who were interviewed, as well as their parents, wives, siblings, and children (including the children of Elgo) all have learned Zayse as their first language. No other language is learned before the children start to go to school. Of the adult Zayse population, about 40% are said to speak Oromo. The market of Gumaide is one of the prominent places where Oromo is acquired.

3.2. Monolinguals

The following people were monolingual speakers of Zayse: All of the parents of the respondents, plus two respondents themselves, as well as the wives of the married respondents, and some of the siblings of the respondents. The command of a second language is restricted to some Amharic

and some English. This is not always the case for the siblings and children of the respondents.

3.3. Language Use

Zayse is by far the most commonly used language in all domains of daily life. This includes the use of Zayse not only at the local market, but also at the “big” market, and even at the administration office. At church, however, all reading is in Amharic.

3.4. Attitudes to the Language

As far as intermarriage with non-Zayse speakers is concerned, it may happen that a Zayse man who marries a non-Zayse girl will be ignored by his Zayse community; he “loses his status”. Likewise, if a Zayse girl marries a non-Zayse man and they live in a Zayse village, the man “loses his status”. Nowadays, it does not happen very often that a Zayse person would marry a non-Zayse person. A number of years ago, this was even strictly forbidden. We were told that old Zayse people may get angry if in a Zayse home somebody would speak a language other than Zayse.

Zayse is considered the best language for a teacher to use at school, although it is also said that Amharic offers advantages. The languages to be taught as subjects at school are English and Amharic.

3.5. Dialect Situation

The following villages speak Zayse exactly as it is spoken in Elgo: In the highlands, Bergushi, Busse, Daluma, Dura, Kaibene, Kawle, Lamade, Mahaile, Mashko, Mele, Monoke, Zoshe, and Zuza. In the lowlands, Ch'ich'ila, Dugo, Koch' (Elgo area), as well as Wezek'a (in a different area). The village Zoshe was mentioned in this connection, but since it was also mentioned in the following category, the use of Zayse at Zoshe is questionable.

The following villages speak Zayse only slightly different, so that it is easily understood in Elgo: In the highland: Dembille, Gendo, Ogolle, Zensa (these are areas where Bussa and Zergulla are spoken, in addition to Zayse). In the lowland: Luda, Zoshe (in Luda, Zayse is “mixed with other languages” which, however, were not specified).

In the village of Balabat, the Zayse language is spoken so differently that it is not understood by Elgo speakers any more. Balabat is considered a central place; it bears its name after an early king. It is located in an area called Banno, close to the village of Kaibene. If an outsider wants to learn Zayse, he or she should live either in Dura, Lamade or Kaiben, since these villages are considered to represent the most acceptable variety of Zayse.

3.6. Social Interaction Patterns

As far as marriage is concerned, it was said that the wives of Zayse men usually come from a Zayse village. With regard to trading, the people of most of the neighboring areas come to the Zayse area in order to buy cotton. There is a big market at Banno to which people come from Bussa (Muusiye), parts of Gamo, Gerese, Gidole, as well as Zergulla.

Only seldom do Zayse people move to other areas, e.g., in order to trade. People from Wezek'a may move to Gidole (where Diraasha is spoken), and the people from the highlands may go to Gerese, (where some form of Gawwada is spoken), and the people from Elgo may go to the Ganta area.

When Zayse people move to other areas, the patterns of language use are as follows: People in the Ganta area will speak Ganta, and the Gerese people still speak their Gerese dialect when they communicate with the Zayse, but they themselves will continue to speak Zayse. It was claimed that in such situations there are no communication problems whatsoever.

Communication problems only arise when, for instance, a Zayse speaker attempts to communicate with a Gidole person, since the Gidole (Diraasha) language is very different from Zayse. Especially young Gidole will then switch to Amharic, and in such cases an old Zayse person will need a translator in order to be able to communicate.

3.7. Language Vitality

There was a strong feeling that the Zayse people are not in the process of changing. On the contrary, it was even claimed that other people adopt the customs of the Zayse culture—not the other way around. Concerning language maintenance, it was said that perhaps some people, for instance those who have moved to the Gidole area, do not speak Zayse any more. But all people in the Zayse area still speak Zayse; and it was stressed that this language will continue to be used for generations.

3.8. Development of the Language

It was felt that the best language to choose for producing literature for Zayse people would be the Zayse language, Zaysete. Zaysete is the name which the Zayse people themselves use for their language. Topics of literacy interest are these: The history of the Zayse people, the Bible, and a book on the Zayse language itself, Zaysete. It was said that the people would attend Zayse literacy classes if such classes were available, and that they would send their children to such classes. They would also be willing to pay for books in Zaysete. As far as writing is concerned, some young people have written down Zayse songs already, using the *fidel* orthography.

3.9. Further Sociolinguistic Information

I was told that elderly Zayse people prefer to live in the highlands, whereas people of the young generation prefer to alternately live in the lowlands and the highlands.

- Zayse and Ganjawle people have no difficulties in communicating with each other.
- Zayse children understand Gamo, but Gamo children do not understand Zayse.
- In general, Zayse people say that it is easy to understand Gamo.
- When asked about the relation to neighboring languages, our informants said Zergulla was the closest linguistic relative of Zayse, followed by Ganta.

4. Sociolinguistic Information on Zergulla

Zergulla is classified as a dialect of Zayse. Therefore I shall only state those answers which differ from Zayse responses. The Zergulla informants were four male individuals aged between 18 and 36. I interviewed them in Arba Minch. A mother-tongue speaker of Zergulla (unfortunately, I did not take down his name) acted as interpreter for me. He works in the Arba Minch Clinic.

Here follows a summary of Zergulla responses to the sociolinguistic questionnaires. Concerning the responses presented below, it should be kept in mind that all of the respondents were born in the village of Zergulla.

4.1. Multilingualism

The children of two men learned Amharic as their first language and Zergulla as the second. Even though it had been stated that all children in Zergulla learn Zergulla as their first language, later on we spoke to two respondents who said that some children also learn Gamo before they start school. All respondents spoke Amharic, Gamo or Zayse as a second language. It was stated that “Zayse and Zergulla are similar, only some words are different”).

Of those men whom we interviewed, one also knew English and one Koorete, Ganjule and Koshille (?), a language allegedly spoken in Adishobai. Apart from their mother tongue, the easiest language for them to understand was Ganta, followed by Koorete and Zayse.

4.2. Monolinguals

Three of the respondents' fathers, and all of their siblings, but none of the mothers, were reported to be monolinguals. All of the interviewees spoke Zayse, three spoke Gamo, and one spoke Koshille (?). The wives of married respondents also spoke Amharic and Gamo.

4.3. Language Use

While Zergulla is the dominant language used in the family, Amharic is of equal importance in conversations with friends. But Amharic is dominantly used at the big market, and it is the only language used at church. The languages used for expressing emotions (dreams, prayers, anger) are Zergulla and Amharic, which are used to the same extent.

4.4. Attitudes to the Language

It is acceptable for a Zergulla person to marry a non-Zergulla person, and this does in fact happen quite often. Old people do not get angry when a language other than Zergulla is being used in their homes. All informants said Amharic is the best language for a teacher to use at school. English and Amharic should be taught in school as subjects.

4.5. Dialect Situation

The following villages speak Zergulla differently from the place our first informant came (i.e., Zergulla town), but what they say is understood: Dembille, Gamba, Garda, and Koshalle. (In general, those are areas where Ganta and Ganjule are spoken.) If an outsider wants to learn Zergulla, he or she should live in Zergulla. This is considered the place where the best Zergulla is spoken.

4.6. Language Vitality

The opinion was held that Zergulla people are not in a process of changing. It was felt, however, that Zergulla, Zayse, and Gamo people are the same. One informant responded that maybe religion might affect or change the culture of the Zergulla people. Today, young people still speak Zergulla and Zergulla people hold that future generations will also speak Zergulla.

4.7. Development of the Language

Amharic is the language which Zergulla would choose as the best for producing literature of any kind. Of the respondents, two favoured Zergulla instead, but they also said that there would hardly be a chance for this to be realized. In spite of this reservation, all of the respondents said they would attend Zergulla literacy classes (if there were such classes), and that they would send their children, too. They said they would be willing to pay for books in Zergulla, and would “run to buy them”. Up to now, however, nothing written in Zergulla has been seen anywhere, but two respondents said they had tried to write the Zergulla language, using the *fidel* orthography.

5. Sociolinguistic Information on Baiso

Galunde Waketa, Dr. Brenzinger and I worked together at a place called Alge, a Kebele near Merab Abaya which is half way between Soddo and Arba Minch. We intended to get information on the Baiso people. While I collected the S.L.L.E. 320-item word list, Dr. Brenzinger worked with our translator, Galunde Waketa. Dr. Brenzinger then proceeded to the island of Gidicho, where he compiled more information on Baiso as well as Harro (Haruro), a second language spoken on the Gidicho island. It

remains a puzzle that in the linguistic literature the name Harro is found as an alternate name for Kachama (Gats'ame) as well as for the Gidicho dialect of the Koorete (Koyra) language.

It appears that for the last thirty years no linguist or anthropologist has done research on the Gidicho island. The report of Dr. Brenzinger (to be published in one of the next S.L.L.E. issues) will therefore present a number of fresh sociolinguistic information. This will also clarify some questions concerning the linguistic affiliation of Baiso, Gidicho, Harro, Kachama, and Koorete.

Baiso is the name most commonly used for the people and the language, but they are also called Alkali. This seems related to the fact that the Baiso language is spoken in a village called Alge in addition to the islands of Gidicho and Welege, both on Lake Abbaya. The island of Galmaka, located at the southern end of Lake Abbaya is inhabited by twelve heads of families, yet no Baiso speakers are among them. Approximately 390 Baiso people live in Alge, and about 200 on the Gidicho island, where they inhabit two villages of about the same size: one is called Baiso and the other Shigima; another 420 individuals (estimate) live on the Welege island.

A third village on the Gidicho island, called Harro, is inhabited by sixty Harro families who according to Dr. Brenzinger's research, speak Harro and Baiso. In former years the Baiso people apparently have looked down on the Harro because they hunted hippos and ate hippo meat. Now however, it is common for Baiso and Harro people to intermarry. Where there has been intermarriage, both of the languages will be used. The Baiso islanders do fishing, farming and weaving. Nowadays they still will hunt hippos, but they do not eat the meat any more; it is said that they sell the meat to the Harro and Gedeo people instead. It has already been said that the market place on the Gedeo side is called Malka, and this is where Baiso go on Fridays in order to sell their goods on Saturdays.

With their rafts of light wood, the Baiso people from Alge often ferry across the lake in order to get to the islands. It takes them two to three hours to reach Welege and seven to eight hours to reach Gidicho. The meaning of the island's name, Gidicho was not known to the people whom we interviewed because, as we were told, it is taken from the Guji-Oromo language. (Actually, giddi-cco [gid:i-tʃ:ɔ], from giddo 'inside' and -cco 'singulative' simply is the Gedeo word for island.)

The islanders are said to speak quite a range of languages besides Baiso and Harro. They are Wolaytta, Gats'ame, (Guji-) Oromo, and Amharic. The children all speak Baiso. Only some pick up Wolaytta and Oromo through interaction. The Baiso were somewhat positive about having the Baiso language as a medium of instruction at school, but at the same time questioned whether it would make sense to use this language, as the Baiso speakers are very few in number.

6. Notes on Ganjawle (Ganjule)

We found Ganjawle speakers in a village on the main road towards Konso, approximately 25 kms south of Arba Minch. The place is called Shele Mela, and the Ganjawle people are said to be the majority there. The number of the heads of families is 150, which constitutes a Ganjawle population of approximately 1,500 individuals.

We found three men, aged 69, 50, and 42 who were willing to be interviewed. We learned from them that the Ganjawle people left the Ganjawle island, located in Lake Chamo, in 1951 of the Ethiopian Calendar (which is A.D. 1958). The reason why they left was the rising water level, which had caused flooding of agricultural areas. However, another Ganjawle man expressed a different opinion; he said the Ganjawle had forcibly been displaced to the mainland. He gave no further details concerning the reasons or the period why or when this had happened.

Today nobody lives on the Ganjawle island any more. Only occasionally a fire is seen at nighttime, when fishermen stay there overnight. Besides farming and fishing, they also used to hunt hippos.

The Ganjawle language is the language spoken at home. We explicitly were told that the young children today speak Ganjawle. Besides Ganjawle, a few people also try to speak Guji Oromo because Guji people live close by, in the same area. Another statement was that the Ganjawle language is also spoken by Ganta children in addition to their mother tongue, Ganta, and as an explanation we were told that "Ganta and Ganjawle are one language, at least they are very similar." Ganjawle and Zayse people also communicate with each other without difficulties.

The question whether Ganjawle as a language would survive was answered positively but not without some reservation. The interviewees

said that for the future there was some likelihood for Ganjawle to be used at least in Shele Mela, since the majority of that village are Ganjawle. The Ganjawle said they would like to have their language “developed” into a written language.

Since we had only one interpreter, and he worked with Dr. Brenzinger while I administered the word lists, it is comparatively few Ganjawle sociolinguistic data which I was able to gather and contribute here besides the word list. The information provided below is based on what I gleaned from the interviews which Dr. Brenzinger conducted at that time. No doubt the information given below will be complemented by an abundance of further sociolinguistic information which Dr. Brenzinger gathered on this occasion.

7. Some Remarks on Gats'ame (Kachama)

The information on Gats'ame here is limited because our interpreter worked with Dr. Brenzinger, whose findings will be presented in a later report.

Our work with the Gats'ame people was carried out in a place called Mola. The Gats'ame person (with whom I only spoke very briefly) said that Gats'ame and Ganjawle are “very, very similar”. He added that the Gats'ame people understand Wolaytta, Dorze, and Ochollo—but he also said that this was not true the other way around.

It was further noted that

- Gats'ame and Harro are the same,
- Gats'ame speak the same language as the people in Alge (they are Bayso). Alge is located on the mainland and opposite the western shore of Wolege island, not far from Merab Abaya (which is halfway between Soddo and Arba Minch),
- The Wolege island is found in the northwestern part of Lake Abbaya.

**8. S.L.L.E. 320-Item Word Lists: Bayso (Baiso),
Ganjawle (Ganjule), Gats'ama (Kachama),
Koorete (Amarro), Zayse and Zergulla**

Language	Bayso	Ganjule	Gats'ama	Koorete	Zayse	Zergulla
Informant	Hatuje	Aregga	Tamrat Tumo	A Koorete team	Maro Mergea	Zarik Walula
Date	30 Oct. 1994	29 Oct. 1994	30 Oct. 1994	in Dec. 1994	1 Nov. 1994	1 Nov. 1994
Place of Recording	Alge	Shele Mela	Get'eme	Amarro	Arba Minch	Arba Minch

<i>all</i>	320a	du'b:a	ʔu'da	ʔu'd:azaʔud:na		gu'desa
<i>and</i>	320g	'na		mɪn		'ne 'hajo
<i>animal</i>	129	'gid:i	'boʔo	wora'bok		'mehe worakai'dir akaidira
<i>ant</i>	137	pa'paro	gaz'gaz	tʃ'aba'be	andules:a	tʃ'un'tʃ'alə tʃin'tʃ'eliʃ
<i>arrow</i>	251		'k'est	ma'la	aj:a tɔ:ra	'firo 'ji:ʃebake
<i>ashes</i>	205	'bululo	mu'k'o	mu'ko	uk'ɔ	'muk'o 'muko
<i>ask</i>	118	'ho:sate	'ʔɔʃɔkoin	'ʔɔitʃakojɪ	ɔ'tʃ'ɛ, ʔɛʔɔ'tʃ'ɔ	'ʔoitʃɔtin 'ʔoitʃi
<i>at</i>	320h	ʔara	'ʔan:a	ber		'gode
<i>axe</i>	051	'kaʎte	'gan:de	'kaʎte	kaʎte	'gande 'gande
<i>back</i>	032	'bɛget	'dati	ba'te	*	da'te dɔɔɔ'nu
<i>bad</i>	257		'ʔi:t	'ʔi:ta	i:ta	'ʔi:ta 'ʔi:ta
<i>banana</i>	182	'muze	'muz	'mu:ze	u:ze	'muz 'mu:ze
<i>bark V</i>	052	ʔi:je	'ʔu'wakoin	'ʔo:wakojɪ	ʔuntʃ'ɛ	'wo:kates 'bu:ki
<i>bark N</i>	179	'nɛ:tsi	po'ko	po'ko		'ʔoro 'kokopoko
<i>basket</i>	056	du'gut	'da:tʃə	'da:tʃe	gandɛ	kofa're 'kot:o
<i>bat</i>	135	kim'bir	lɪba'lu	ka'makabu	ɛ:lunɔaʃɛ	'haraŋko tʃe'mokafu
<i>bath</i>	304		'ʃo:tokoin	ʃo'gu'tokojɪ	ɔhit:ɛ, ʔɛʃɔhit:ɔ	'ʃogotutəsi 'ʃoguti
<i>bear V</i>	113	ʔomul'te	'je:latin	'jelakinə	ele, ʔjel:ɔ	je'latisin 'jeli
<i>beard</i>	018	ʔatʃa:no	'ba:ts'	'ba:tsa	ba:ts'aʔuʔutse	'ba:ts'a 'ba:tsa

<i>beehive</i>	144	'gɔŋge	'ko:ts'e	k'o:ts̄e	a:gura	'ko:ts̄ə	'ko:ts̄ə
<i>belly</i>	029	'bok	'gawo	ga'wo	gaw:ɔ	ga'o	'gau
<i>big</i>	265		'ʔarʔo	ʔar'ʔo	ɔrdʒ:ɛ	ʔa'do	'hata
<i>bird</i>	152	'kimbir	ka'ho	ka'φo	aφɔ	ka'fo	'kapo
<i>bite V</i>	181	'ʔabate	'sa:tsokoin	'sa:tsokɔŋ	a:ts'ɛ, ʔesa:ts'ɔ	'me:tʃotesin	'mɛ:tʃ'i
<i>black</i>	242	gam'bel:a	'k'arts̄	'tʃ'e:ma, 'karts̄	artɛ	ka'no	'kats̄
<i>blood</i>	046	'ʔi:ç		'su:ts̄i	su:tɛ	'su:ts̄	'su:ts̄
<i>blow V</i>	007	'nɛ:fo	kaz'ʔüns	ʔa'get	*	fu'ga	'ʔun:a
<i>bone</i>	044		jə'k'et	mɛ'gete	mɛk'etɛ	nɛ'kete	nɛ'kete
<i>bow N</i>	250		'k'o:zi	'bɛzə	aj:a	'dɔŋge	'dɔŋge
<i>breast</i>	028	'nas	'dans	'dans	ɗan:tɛ	'dans	'dans
<i>bridge</i>	230	dil'dija	zo'ga	dil'dilə	ild:ilɛ	'k'arts'a	'zoko
<i>brother</i>	120	'ʔab:i	'bas	'ʔitʃə	ɪndɔnaʔɛ	'ʔindona	'ʔitʃi
<i>brown</i>	246		'da:ma	'karts̄	un:ama		'da:ma
<i>buffalo</i>	171	dan'garsa	'me:no	'mɛ:no	ɛ'nɔ	'meno	'mɪns
<i>burn</i>	200	'gubate	'ʔe:tsokoinə	ts'u'gotokɔŋ	eg:ite, ʔemeg:itɔ	'ʔe:sotetasi n	'de:ts̄i
<i>bush</i>	048	'ʔu:ra	'wəra	'wo:ta	di:ra	ʔɔ:'na	'ʔe:reora
<i>buttocks</i>	033	'pɛri	'bɪtʃ	ts'u'ne	kusena	'de:re	'tɔlze
<i>buy</i>	217	'ʔin:e	'wo:wakoin	'wɔ:ŋgakɔŋ	ɔ:mɛ, ʔɛwɔn:dɔ	ʃa'matesin	'ʃam:a
<i>canoe</i>	229	'walabo	zɛ'ba	za'ba	ap'a	'kɔŋka	ʔo'golo
<i>cat</i>	174	ʔadu'r:e:		ʃo:ru	adur:ɛ	'ʔadure	'gawara
<i>chicken</i>	151	lu'kale	'luk	'lo:ko	uk:ula	'nuk	'kuto
<i>chief</i>	126	ʔalak'a, 'dan:a	'dan:a	do'rotokɔŋ	a:ga	'dan:a	'ʔalek'a
<i>child</i>	119	'jis	ʃa'to	ʃa'to	ɛɛ	'ʃa:to	'ʃato
<i>chin</i>	017	ʔatʃa:no	'ba:ts'	'ba:ts̄a	ba:ts'a	ʃa'kala	'ba:ts̄a
<i>claw</i>	153	sula'l:o	ts'u'hu:ns	ts'o'gunts̄	ts'uguntɛ, ts'uŋke	'ts'u:ŋkə	'ts'ugumi
<i>clay</i>	211	'ʔu:la	'monasab	kɔ'n:a, manimi'ʃɛ	manasaha	'k'alts'ota	'ʔota

<i>clothing</i>	296	'sarsi	'maʔo	ma'ʔo	maʔo	ʔa'ful:a	'mao
<i>cloud</i>	222	du'mantʃa	'ʔum:	'ti:ro, ʃa'ra	ɖuma	'ʃa:ra	du'lunɡi
<i>cold ADJ</i>	202	ʔam'balki	'toja	'tojakon	tɔj:a	'ʔirts'a	'ʔirtsɑ
<i>cold e.g. air</i>	202	bʔam'bal	'toja	'toja	tɔj:a	'mo:ʃ	'mo:ʃe
<i>come</i>	180	ʔenete	'jo:takoin	'jo:takon	jowɛ, ʔejɔ:dɔ	'je:tates	'je:di
<i>cook</i>	081	'duʃame	'k'atsekoin	'katsakon	katse, ʔikas:ɔ	kasu'satəsin	'ratsi
<i>cough V</i>	088	'ʔufe	'k'uma	'k'ubakeɲ	ʔɔʃuntʃe, ʔeʔɔʃun:t ɔ	'ʔofitotəsin	'koʃi
<i>count</i>	184	'to:te	't'a:bakoin	'ta:gakon	taʔɛ, ʔeta:t:ɔ ʔeta:d:ɔ	'taibatəsin	'taivi
<i>cow</i>	148	'sa:e	'mi:s	'mi:s	mi:se	'mi:s	'mi:s
<i>crocodile</i>	169	ʔa'la:tʃe	'ʃr:ʔu	'ʃɛpo	ʃɛp':ɔ	ʃə'to	'ʃɛpo
<i>crooked</i>	262		'dom	'sa:mtokon 'do:ma	dɔ:ma	'zu:ndələ	'ze:da
<i>cup</i>	084	'kub:ɛ	ku'kub	kɔ'k'oro	kəkɔb:ɛ	ko'kondə	'wantʃa
<i>cut</i>	074	'go:se	'ʔi:tsokon	'k'aʃokon	bure, ʔɛburdɔ	'ʔi:'sotəsin	'ʔi:tsi
<i>dance</i>	010	fɪr'trame	'bul	'kas:	ʔɔsedəme, ʔɔseʔɛdɔndɔ	'lul:a	'doel:a, du'ra
<i>dew</i>	227	'ʔawara	mʊ'lol	mɔ'rolə	mɔlɔɛ	'ts'a:ze	go'ra
<i>die</i>	093	'g ^w e:	'haiʔi	'hajakon	harbe, ʔɛhaɪd:ɔ	'haiʔotəsin	'haiʔi
<i>dig</i>	062	'ʔotɛ	'bo:kə	'wo:takon	bɔ:kɛ, ʔɛbɔ:tɔ	bo'katəsin	'goʃi
<i>dirty</i>	299	'hura	'ʔi:t	kars'ʔi:tats	*	k'i'ties	'ʔi:ntɛts
<i>dog</i>	176	'kiror	'kana	ka'na	kana	'kana	'kana
<i>donkey</i>	149	'dɛʃɪr	'har:ə	ʔa'r:e	har:ɛ	'hare	'hare
<i>door</i>	189	'go:tʃ'a		'ʔi'bo	suma	di'wo	'simo
<i>down</i>	284	'ʔɛɡɛldɛ	'zi:k, 'jɛk	'jɛk	jɛk:ɛ	'sule	'sule
<i>drink</i>	083	't'ame	'ʔu:ʃakoin	'ʔuʃa	ʔuʃɛ, ʔeʔuʃ:ɔ	'ʔuʃa	'ʔuʃ:a

<i>drum</i>	011	'tamburi	'bɛrbə	kara'ba	ʔule	'ti:tsə	ta'mure
<i>dry ADJ</i>	298	ka'ʔandagi	'mɛnɛ	'mɛla	mɛl:ɛfɛ	'mɛla	'mɛla
<i>dull</i>	249		'dulʔum	li'tsa:za	dul:uma	'duʔunz	'durmes
<i>dust</i>	213	'gɔr:a	'ts'u:i	'ts'ure	ts'u:rɛ	'ba:na	'ts'ura
<i>ear</i>	004	nɛ'ɓɛ	'wafɛ	wa'fɛ	wafɛ	'wae:	'wai
<i>earth</i>	209	'ʔere	se'xa:	ʔa'l:a	saha	ʔa'la	'gade
<i>eat</i>	082	'ʔa:me	'mu:tekoin	'mo:da	mɪjɔ, ʔemu:dɔ	ni'a	'mea
<i>egg</i>	078	'bupa	bo'bil	bu'bulə	p'up'ule	'bul:e	bu'bil:ə
<i>eight</i>	103	si'd:ɛ	lan'kutɿ	lan'kutɿ	hazup:ɛ	la'kutɿ	la'kutɿɛ
<i>elbow</i>	035	'ʔisil	kur'mairə	kor'mailɛ	kur'ma'le	'k'as:ine	k'e'se
<i>empty</i>	302		'mɛnɛ	'mɛla	mɛla	'ʔakudadıs	'baresəs
<i>enter</i>	191	'tabe	'dɛ:koin	'dɛlakɔɲ	geɛ, ʔegɛl:ɔ	ge'latesin	'gɛli
<i>exit</i>	192	'be:	'tus:akoin	'kɛzakɔɲ	kɛsɛ, ʔɛkɛs:ɔ	kə'zɔtesin	'kesi
<i>eye</i>	022	ʔilʔo:	'ʔa:f	'ʔa:p	ʔa:ʔɛ	'ʔa:fe	'ʔa:ʔɛ
<i>eyebrow</i>	021	gum'bar	'koguns	'kɔɲkuns	ku:kuntɛ, ku:ʔuntɛ	'de:mo	'de:mo
<i>fall</i>	092	'ʔi:je	'ʔumi	'ʔungakɔɲ	ʔunɲɛ, ʔɛʔon:dɔ	'ʔim:bɔtəsin	'wumbi
<i>farm N</i>	057	'ʔira	'wo:t	'wo:ta	wo:ta	'wo:tagade	'gade
<i>fat N</i>	077	'moro	han'da	man'da	handa	'mo:dɑ	'modebe
<i>father</i>	115	'ʔodo	ʔa'd:a	ʔa'da:	ʔadɛ	ʔa'd:a	'ʔade
<i>fear</i>	170	'ʔas:ate	'zaf	'jaʔokɔɲ	zafɛ	'zafɛ	'babi
<i>feather</i>	155	'bal	'ba:lo	'ba:li	ʔaɲɲɛ	'se:lo	'k'e'fɛ, go'ena
<i>fence</i>	318	'ʔo:t	't'ɛtɿ	'ʔa:ts'iri	k'e'fɛ	'k'ɛtɿɛ	'tɛtɿa
<i>few</i>	282	bitɿ'erki	'gu:ts	'gu:ts	ʔɔd:ɛ	'te:rɛs	'ʔɛrɛz
<i>fight V</i>	256		ʔo'rut	'ɔlɔtɔkɔɲ	dargit:ɛ, ʔɛdargit:ɔ	golɔ'totesi	ʔo'luta
<i>fingernail</i>	041	'sul	ts'ə'hu:ns	ts'u'guns	ts'unɲɛ	ts'un'kɛ	ts'o'gube
<i>fire</i>	199	ʔe'le:f	'tama	ta'ma	tama	bu'do	bu'do
<i>fish</i>	162	'k'un:ʔu	'molo	'molo	gults'ɛ	'mole	'mole
<i>fishnet</i>	162	'marabi	'molomɛrɛb	mants'a'ko	*	mo'le:sanae kus 'gite	'mɛrɛb

<i>five</i>	100	'kɛn	'ʃitʃ	ʔi'ʃidʒ	ʔitʃitʃe	ʔi'ʃik	ʔi'ʃidʒ
<i>flower</i>	069	ʔaʙɛ'ʙa	'pudi	ʔaʙɛ'ʙa	ʔi:re	'fude	'puɗʔe
<i>fly V</i>	156	'bu:be	'tɪ:dakoin	'wots'akini	hame, ʔehandɔ	fəra'ʔatəsin	'ʔe:tsi
<i>fly N</i>	139	te'gente	wu'zɪns	ʔu'zu:nt̩sə	wuts'uts'ɛ	wu'zɪnts'	wu'zunt̩se
<i>fool</i>	095	'gowa	'bo:z	'de:ja, 'bo:za	muja	'ʔe:wa	'ʔe:ba
<i>foot</i>	036	'nuɣ	'tok	'tugi	tɔke	to'ke:	'tuke
<i>forearm</i>	040	'hisil	'hətʃihaʃi	'kele	ʔats'a	bə'rakutʃe	'wada
<i>forehead</i>	003	gum'bar	sɪ'nu	sɪ'no	de:mɔ	'sino	'sino
<i>four</i>	099	'ʔafar	'ʔo:'d	'ʔo:idu	ʔɔ'd:ɛ	ʔoit	'hoid
<i>frog</i>	165	'k'ok'oltu	ko'pɔ	ko'pɔ	kɔpe, ɗi:k'are	'ʔo:k'aro	'ʔo:k'ɛru
<i>fruit</i>	070		'ʔa:f	'mi:tesə	ʔaʔe	min'ts'a:fə	'ʔa:fi
<i>full</i>	303		'kɔmə	'pumi	kume	ʔaku'kɔŋgis	'komut̩s
<i>fur</i>	130	ʔogo,ro:sul' ʔa:lə	'boʔo 'ʔituns	'bo:ʔum:a	bɔʔɔʔutse	bu'zuaʔitsɪŋkə	'ʔum:a
<i>garbage</i>	300				ʔite		
<i>gate</i>	319		'ʔibo	ʔi'bo	suma, gasa		
<i>give</i>	076	'sise	'ʔi:mak'oɪn	'ʔinagɔŋ	ʔɪŋge, ʔeʔɪndɔ	'ʔi:ŋga	'ɗɪŋgi
<i>go</i>	320b	'se:te	'hamakoin	'hangakɔŋ	hame ʔehandɔ	hama'te:	'hanggi
<i>goat</i>	146	'ʔɔrɛn	'de:ʃ	'be:ʃi	degele	'ts'ɛga	'ts'ɛga
<i>God</i>	127	'wa:	'wont	'wɔnto	wɔntɔ	'bazo	'bazo
<i>gold</i>	214	'werk'i	'werk'	'werk'	wɔrk'ɛ	'work'e	'werk'
<i>good</i>	258		'lo:	'lɔ ^u	mɔɗe	'lo:ʔo	'ləo
<i>gourd</i>	085	'ʔo:me	gu'zɪp	gɔ'ze:	gɔdz:ɛ	gɔ'ze	'goze
<i>grass</i>	066	'ʔe:s	'mata	ma'ta	ma:ta	matawa'e, ts'ɪŋ'ka	'mata
<i>grave</i>	094	'gumbi	bo'sa	mo'gotoko	bɔ:s:a	'bo:sa	'bosa
<i>green</i>	244		'zil:a	ʒe'la	ʒileta	ɗzi'la	'zila
<i>guts</i>	031	mɛn'ʔɛ:r	'gawatʃ	'gɔ:miʃ	gaw:ɔbase	ga'omiʃ	ma'rete
<i>hair of head</i>	001	'mete	'ʔɔm:	'ʔum:a	k'ine ʔuʔutse	'ʔɔm:a itsɪŋkə	'ʔum:a

<i>hand</i>	039	'ʔid:igene	'kut̪	'kut̪ə	kut̪e	ku't̪e:	'ku:t̪e
<i>hard</i>	279	k'ati	'tsigon	ts'i:'go	mɪ:mɔ	'ts'i:go	'tsigo
<i>harvest N</i>	059	ba't̪ja	'harp	ha'ne:	ʔat̪'e	ʔunsu'ti:ʃi'h iəsebahe	'ha:mi
<i>he</i>	310	'ʔusu	'ʔisa	'ʔesa	ʔesi, ʔes	ʔe'si	'hutuna
<i>head</i>	002	'mete	'ʔom:	bi'nan	k'inε	'ʔom:a	'ʔum:a
<i>hear</i>	005	'ma:lε	'sia	'si:tanini	sije, ʔesi:dɔ	'sija	'sija
<i>heart</i>	045	waza'na	'muts'əro	waza'na	muts'u'ro	muts'u'ro	waza'ne
<i>heavy</i>	269		'ʔarʔo	ʔar'ʔo	dε:ts'ɔ	dan'dautais	'ʔada
<i>here</i>	293	hɪta'ni	'haiga	'haiga	haja	'haiga	'haiga
<i>hid</i>	079	'sijame	'k'o:t'εbei	'k'ɔtagoŋ	ʔat̪e, ʔeʔa:ʃɔ	'ʔa:nʃetusin	'ʔa:t̪ji
<i>hit</i>	150	'ʔεβεθε	jo:takoin	'jo:takoŋ	buke, ʔebut:ɔ	gu'detəsin	'je:di
<i>hoe</i>	061	'doma	'ʃole	do'ma	k'ɔtɔ	do'ma	'k'ot:ɔ
<i>hold</i>	186	'ʔabe	'ʔaivokoin	'ʔaikokoŋ	ʔa'kε, ʔeʔa't:ɔ	'ʔaikotesin	'ʔaiki
<i>honey</i>	145	'mala	'ʃir	'ʃida	ʃida	'ʃida	'ʃida
<i>honeybee</i>	143	zi'zale	'zizo	'zi:zo	zi:zɔ	'mats̄	'mats̄
<i>horn</i>	147	'ma:ʃa	'bake	ba'k'e	ʔuʃumε	ʔu'ʃumi	'kat̪e
<i>hot</i>	201	ka'gublo	'bimats̄	'din:akoŋ	mit̪a	'bin:a	'mit̪a
<i>house</i>	188	'mn̄	'za:	za'βa	zawa, ke:tse	'ke:ts̄	'ke:ts̄ə
<i>how?</i>	294	mi'si:	'waidia	'weidia	wa'dɪ	'waidi	'waidi
<i>hundred</i>	107	'bo:l	ts'e:t	'ts'e:t	ts'i:tse	'ts'e:t	'ts'e:t
<i>hungry</i>	080	ʔu'ʔe:	'nai	'na:jakoŋ	naj:ε, ʔena'dɔ	naiu'tətasin	'nai
<i>hunt</i>	132	ʔu'ga:	'worakoin		keme, ʔekendɔ	so'fatesi	'sofa
<i>hunter</i>	131	ʃaŋka'te	ʃaŋ'ka	't̪'at̪ji	keŋgesa	'so:fats̄	'hats̄i
<i>hyena</i>	175	'waraba	't'irku	tɔr'ko	tɔlkɔ	'tɔlko	'tɔlko
<i>I</i>	308	'ʔani	'tena	ta'na	tani, tan	'tai	'tana
<i>jump</i>	316	'pirame	'gɔl:ɔ	'ts'ogakoŋ	dɔ:mε, ʔedɔ:n:dɔ	go'lotəsin	'gɔl:i
<i>kill</i>	160	lala'de	'wadakoin	'wɔdakoŋ	wɔdε, ʔewɔd:ɔ	wol'ʔatəsin	wod'ʔi

<i>knee</i>	034	'giri	'bo:nt	'bo:nt	bɔhɛ	'bointe	gul'bɛta
<i>knife</i>	247		ma'ʃa	ma'ʃa	sɔɾɔ	ma'ʃa	'maʃ:a
<i>know</i>	320c	'malabe	'ʔirakoin	'ʔerakɔŋ	'ʔɛɛ, ʔɛʔɛrd:ɔ	ʔɛ'ratɛsin	'ʔɛri
<i>lake</i>	235	dɛ'ke:	'bagale	ba'kati	bagadɛ, watseʔɛ:la	ba'gadə	ba'gade
<i>laugh</i>	086	'ʔosore	'me:tʃakoin	'mi:tʃakɔŋ	mi:tʃɛ, ʔɛmi:tʃ':ɔ	mi'ʃatɛsin	zal'bati
<i>leaf</i>	054	'bal	wa'ʃe:	wa'ʃe:	wafɛ	ma'tawae	'wa:je
<i>left ADJ</i>	275	bɛ'tɛ	ha'gɪls	ha'durs	hadurse	ʔa'durs	'hadurts
<i>leopard</i>	173	'kɛbel	'wɔrm	'garmə	wɔrba	ma'he	'mahe
<i>lie V</i>	305	hu'dre:	'geakoin	'dɛ:takɔŋ	ʔasale, ʔɛʔasal:ɔ	zaba'dats	'weiʔi
<i>light ADJ</i>	270		'po:	'po:	ʃawuka	'fo:ʔ	'po:
<i>lightning</i>	225	ha:ŋ'k'ara	'dɛda	di'duns, da'da	ze:luntɛ	wol'ʔants	da'da
<i>lip</i>	012	'munde	kɔ't'oro	pɔtʔo'ro:	ʔɔd:ɔɾɔ	moi'do	'moido
<i>listen</i>	177	'ma:le	'si:e	'si:takɔŋ	sije, ʔɛsi:dɔ	'si:tatɛs	'si:bi
<i>liver</i>	047	'torʔo		'maje	ma:y:ɛ	ma'e:	'ma:e
<i>long</i>	263		ga'lal	ga'lala	galala	zam'bala	'di:tso
<i>louse</i>	136	ʔi'gɪr	tʃ'u:tʃ	'tʃ'u:tʃi	tʃ'u:tʃɛ	'tʃ'u:tʃɛ	'tʃ'u:tʃɛ
<i>machete</i>	060	'ma:tʃ'ɛt	'ba:tʃ'a	'bu:tʃɛ	ba:tʃ'a	'ba:tʃ'e	'ba:tʃ'a
<i>maize</i>	064		bə'dal:a	bata'la	badala	bala'la	ba'dala
<i>make</i>	194	'fɛre	'hantakoin	'mɛt'akɔŋ	hantɛ, ʔɛhantɔ	ka'bɔtɛsin	'ʔo:tʃi
<i>man</i>	108	rəba'do	'ʔats	'ʔats	ʔatse	'ʔats	'ʔats
<i>many</i>	281	ʔa'moga	la'go	la'go	laga	la'go	'matʃo
<i>market</i>	219	'gija	'ga:ja	'ga:ja	gadɛsa	'ga:ja	'ga:ja
<i>marry</i>	111	ʔasa'te:	'ʔifakoin	di'ʔɛkakɔɪd	gɛlse, ʔɛgɛlsidɔ	ʔɛ'fatɛsin	'ʔeki
<i>meat</i>	073	'so:	'ʔatʃo	ʔa'tʃo:	ʔatʃɔ	ʔa'tʃo:	'ʔatʃo
<i>money</i>	216	'gid:i	mi:'ʃɛ	'mi:'ʃɛ	mɪ:ʒɛ	mi'ʃɛ	'mi:'ʃɛ
<i>monkey</i>	172	dʒal'dɛs:a	'datʃ	'galtʃ	galʃɛ	ko:'do	gɛ'lɛʃo
<i>moon</i>	238	di'gin:i	ʔa'hun	ʔa'kun:a	ʔagun:a	ʔa'gɔnu	ʔa'gun:a
<i>mother</i>	117	'ʔa:	'ʔindu	'ʔi:ndo	ʔindɔ	ʔin'do	'ʔindu

<i>mountain</i>	220	woda'mi	bu'tʃə	bo'tʃe	bak:a	bo'tʃe	'zuma
<i>mouth</i>	006	mun'dʒe	'bare	ba'de	nu:na, ʔaʃ:a	ba'le	'ha:ʔe
<i>mud</i>	210	gubu'ba	ʔu'k'a	ʔuru'l'a	ʔurk'a, dɔk'e	ʔoka're	'ʔurka
<i>name</i>	128	'nege	'sons	'su:ntsi	suntse	'suns	'su:ns
<i>narrow</i>	260		'kul	'ts'u:mo	ts'u:mɔ	'ts'umə	'kun:e
<i>navel</i>	030	ʔu'fu:fo	gul'ta	gu'l:a	gulʔa	gul'ʔa	'gul:ʔa
<i>neck</i>	026	'marki	'gonil	'ʔonta	ba:la	wo'l:o	'wol:o
<i>nest</i>	157	'miratmbr	kaboke:tsi	kabo'ke:tsi	kaɸɔzawa	kafo'ke:ts	'kafoketsi
<i>new</i>	272		'kɪl:ə	'kɪl:ə	kɪl:ɛ	ʔa'gɛl:o	'ʔorats
<i>night</i>	237	he'men	'si:	'si:pa	k'ama	'si:fa	'tʃ'e:mo
<i>nine</i>	104	'sa:gar	tan'sɪn	tan'sɪnt	ʔɔd:up:ɛ	'ts'ɪŋgo	'tansine
<i>no</i>	278	'lakolero	'ʔai	'wa:ŋkawa	ʔɔʔɔ, ba:s:ɔ	'ʔi:he	'hije
<i>none</i>	274	'ko:nɔladru	bizin'ba:	'bi'zilba, ba:wa	bɪdz:ɪn	bi'zoeɪnɔba	'ba:
<i>nose</i>	019	ko'nono	'kɔŋke	kɔŋ'ke	si:dɛ	kɔn'ke	'kɔŋki
<i>old</i>	271		'tʃ'uma	'tʃ'ima	tʃɪma	'tʃ'ima	'tʃ'im:a
<i>one</i>	096	'ko:	gi'zo	bi'ze	bɪdz:ɔ	bi'z:o	bi'zo
<i>other</i>	320d	ka'garma	'pɛda	'pɛda	ɸɛda	'dile	'hara
<i>path</i>	187	'lu:ðidesese tera	'tugaʔogə	'hantaɔ:gi	ʔɔgɛ, tɔkeʔɔgɛ	'tukeoge	'tukeɔ:gə
<i>pig</i>	133	gɔ'l'dʒa:	'gime	gir'mɛ	gɪrme	'gaʃ	'ga:ʃu
<i>plant V</i>	063	'ʔabere	'tus:	'tukokɔŋ	tɔɸɛ, ʔɛtɔt:ɔ	tu'fɔtesɪn	'tuki
<i>pot</i>	198	ʔo'l:a	'ʔot	'ʔɔta	ʔɔta	'ʔota	'ʔota
<i>pour</i>	301		'du:k'a	'pe:lʔuts	ʃɔŋk'e ʔɛʃɔŋʔɔ	k'i'ts'o:tɪs	'da:guts
<i>pull</i>	315	'nat:e	'gotʃa	'gɔtʃakɔŋ	gɔ:tʃɛ, ʔɛgɔ:ʃ:ɔ	haŋ'kagotʃa tesɪn	'gotʃi
<i>push</i>	314	'ʃafe	'ur:ʔo	'ʔorokɔŋ	ʔurʔɛ, ʔɛʔurʔidɔ	ʔu'retesɪ	'ʔudʔi
<i>rain</i>	223	ʔi'da:mo	'ʔina	'ʔira	ʔira	'ʔira	'ʔira
<i>rainbow</i>	224	'darul	ʔi'ra:tamaʃ	ma'le:lo	ʔira:ts'ɪ ma:ʃa	'zu:la	'zula

<i>rat</i>	159	'nɛbero	ʔə'tʃ'ɛ:	ʔe'dʒɛrə	ʔɛrɛtʃ'ɛ	ʔe'tʃɛrə	t'e'tʃ'ɛrə
<i>red</i>	243		'zo:	'zo:	zɔʔɔ	zɔ'ʔo:	'zo:
<i>rest V</i>	123	haba'tsɛ	'k'atsakoin	'ʃɛmpakɔŋ	kats'ɛ, ʔɛkats':ɔ	k'a'ts'atəsin	'ʔuti
<i>right vs. left</i>	276	mɛr'ge	ʔo'ʃitʃ	ʔo'hitʃ	ʔɔʃitʃ:ɛ	ʔo'ʃitʃ	ʔo'ʃitʃ
<i>ripe</i>	071	duba'ne	k'atsʔe:sa	k'a'tse:sa	kats'ɛsɛ	ka'ts'i'zi	'katsi
<i>river</i>	228	'labu	'wa:ts	ba'katɔ, lɛ'lo	ʃɔ:rɛ, bankɛ	'ʃafe	'wa:tse
<i>road</i>	317	'ra	ʔo'ge	pɔ'ge	ʔɔge	gɔ'ge	'hɔke
<i>root</i>	053	'ʔirit	ts'a'go	han'ta	ts'ap'ɔ	ts'a'wo	's'abo
<i>rope</i>	055	wede'ro	wu'dro	wu:r'de	ganɛ	wudə'ro	'wurde
<i>rotten</i>	072	ka'ʃane	san'ge:sa	san'ge:sa	sandɛsɛ	wo:k'i'ɛs	mulu'ki
<i>run</i>	122	'tije	'wo:ts'akoin	'wotsakɔŋ	wɔ:ts'ɛ, ʔɛwɔts':ɔ	wo'ts'atəsin	'watsi
<i>saliva</i>	015	ʔantu'fe	tʃ'utʃ	tʃ'utʃ	tʃ'utʃ:ɛ	tʃ'utʃ	tʃ'utʃ
<i>salt</i>	197	ʔɛsɛ'bo	'sugo	'sogo	sɔgɔ, sɔ:gɔ	'so:ge	'matsine
<i>sand</i>	212	tʃ'ɛ:kale	'ʃe:tʃe	'ʃe:tʃe	mantʃa	'ʃe:tʃ'e	'silemo
<i>sandals</i>	037	kebe'ro	'kɔpakɔŋ	tʃ'am:a	kɔp'ɛ	'k'ɔp:a	'ʔe:ʃo
<i>say</i>	116	'groa	'we:sakoin	'je:sakɔŋ	hije, ʔɛidɔ	'jatəsin	'jesi
<i>scorpion</i>	161	t'et'abə	'gi:tə	'gi:tɛ	*	'gi:tɛ	'gi:ntə
<i>scratch</i>	320c	ʔə'əa:te	'k'a:təkoin	'k'a:tʃokɔŋ	ʔatʃ'ɛ, ʔɛʔa:tʃ':ɔ	ha'tʃ'otəsin	'k'a:tuti
<i>see</i>	023	'de:	ʔa'guts	'be:takɔŋ	bɛ:je, ʔɛbɛ:dɔ	'ts'ɛratəsin	'ts'ɛl:i
<i>seed</i>	058	'wota	'ditʃ	'zare,'zɛr, 'zɛrɛt	zerutse	'ditʃa	'gude, bitʃ'ɛt:a
<i>sell</i>	218	'dɛd:ɛre	'zɛl:akoin	'zal:akɔŋ	zalʔɛ, ʔɛzalʔɔ	'baisatəsin	'baisi
<i>seven</i>	102	todo'ba	'lab	'lap	la:pɛ	'lap	'lab
<i>sew</i>	168	ʔi'ri:ri	'sifakoin	'sikakɔŋ	sɪʔɛ, ʔɛsɪt:ɔ	si'fatəsi	'siki
<i>sharp</i>	248		'k'a:	'kara	nu:natɛ	'ʔarɛs	'ʔarɛs
<i>shield</i>	254		gun'dan	gun'dalə	ʃɛrɛ	gɔn'dale	gun'dal:ɛ
<i>short</i>	264		'hat	'hata	hata	'hata	'hata

<i>shoulder</i>	027	'ha:n	ha:ʃe	'kɛɛ	keɛ	ha'tʃe:	'gan:a, ʔatʃe
<i>sick</i>	091	ha'ʔoa:me	^h er'gutokoin	har'gutokoj	hargit:ɛ, ʔɛhargit:ɔ	har'gatəsin	'hargi
<i>silver</i>	215	'bir	'bir:	'bir:	bir:e	'bira	'bira
<i>sing</i>	009	malɛ're:	'kas	'kas:	zilalɛ, ʔɛzilal:ɔ	kir'ba	'jɛtsa
<i>sister</i>	124	'ʔab:a	'mitʃ	'mi:tʃo	ʔmdɔbuʃɔ	'ʔindoriʃa:	'mitʃo
<i>sit</i>	195	hama'tse:	'ʔutokoin	'ʔutakoj	ʔute, ʔɛʔut:ɔ ʔɛʔut:ɪɔ	'ʔutotəsin	'ʔu:ti
<i>six</i>	101	'lɛ	ʔə'zu	ʔə'zu	ɪz:uɸɛ	ʔi'zup	ʔi'zib
<i>skin</i>	042	'mar	ʔiʃi'ra	'kɔmʔe	kɔmɛ	'gal:agoit	'ʔite
<i>sky</i>	236	da'rul	ʔa'ha	ʔa'pa	ʔaɸa	ʔa'ɸa	'ʔafa
<i>sleep V</i>	307	hu'dri	'deakoin	'dihakoj	gehe, ʔegetɔ	'weiʔe	'weɲi
<i>small</i>	266		'guts	'gu:ts	ʔɔd:ɛ	'ʔeres	'ʔerez
<i>smell V</i>	020	'nɛ:ftaθe	'sɲk'us	'pɛ:no	sɲk'ɛ, ʔɛsmʔɔ	sɲku'satəsin	'tsɲki
<i>smoke N</i>	204	'ʔilʔi	'tʃ'u:wa	'tʃ'uwa	ts'u:wa	'tʃ'u:ʔ	'tʃ'ua
<i>smooth</i>	208	'la:əa	'ʃu:	'halsəsa, 'ʃugo	halts'ɛ	'lɪk ^h u	'lɪk:o
<i>snake</i>	158	ʔa'bes:a	'ʃo:ʃ	'ʃo:ʃ	ʃɔ:ʃ	'ʃoʃ	'ʃɔʃ
<i>sneeze</i>	090	ʔaltʔi'ja:d e	'ʔuʃakoin	'biʃakoj	hadɪʃɛ, ʔɛhadɪʃ:ɔ	ha't'ijotəsin	diʃu'si
<i>soft</i>	280		'ʃubo	'ʃugo	lɪk:ɔ	'lɪk ^h u	'ʃugo
<i>spear</i>	252		'tora	to'ra	tɔ:ra	'tora	'tora
<i>spider</i>	140	de'derte	'ʃai	'ʃa:je	ʃaje	'ʃa:ja	'ʃaiʃango
<i>spit</i>	089	'tufe	'tʃ'usakoin	'tʃ'ut'okoj	tʃ'ute, ʔɛtʃ'ut:ɔ	'tʃ'u'totəsin	'tʃ'uti
<i>stand V</i>	196	ʔa'l:e:	'ʔeakoin	'dɛn:akoj	ʔɛ:ʔɛ, ʔɛʔɛ:ɔ	ʔɛ'ʔatəsin	'ʔɛ:ʔi
<i>star</i>	239	ba'radʒa	ts'o'lint	ts'ɔ'li:nte	ts'ɔlintɛ	ts'o:'rinti	ts'o'lintə
<i>steal</i>	075	'hete	'keiso	'kaʃagoj	ka'sɛ, ʔɛka's:ɔ	kais'tatəsin	'ka:suti
<i>stick</i>	206	'dama	'kal:o, 'dun:a	'mi:tsi, 'mas:okoj	kal:ɔ	'kal:o	'kal:o

<i>stone</i>	207	ʔe'ʔemo	'ʃutʃ	'ʃu:tʃi	ʃutʃe	'malo	'malo
<i>stool</i>	193	bur'go:no	'ʔuzokoin	ʔɔi'te	bartʃ'ima	tə'ʔi'ta dɪŋk ^h ɥ	'diku
<i>straight</i>	261		'sul	'su:rə	gɪzɔ	'su:rim	'wo:le
<i>sun</i>	240	'ʔareti	ts'au'ʔaua	ʔa'wa	k'ɔs:ɛ	'k'o:s	'ʔawa
<i>sweat</i>	016	po'gora	'pogol	po'gol	bɔ'ne	'tʃ'awa	'sule
<i>sweep</i>	190	ʃa'xare	'pitakoin	'pitokoj	ʔite, ʔeʔit:ɔ	fi'sɔtesin	'titsi
<i>swim</i>	163	'girise	da'xa:tʔu	'da:kadagini	ʃare, ʔeʃard:ɔ	'wults'unti antan	ts'u'bi
<i>tail</i>	134	'dere	'netse	na'tse	nats:ɛ	fi'tso	'goina
<i>take</i>	185	'ʔa:te	'ʔiʃakoin	'ʔekakoj	ʔeʔe, ʔeʔet:ɔ	'ʔeʔatesin	'ʔe:ki
<i>teach</i>	125	'tamare	ta'mas:akoin	ta'masakoj	ʔeruse, ʔeʔrus:ɔ	tam ar'satəsin	'ʔe:ki
<i>tear N</i>	025	'ʔimi	'ʔa:huns	'ʔa:funs	ʔa:ʔuntse	'ʔa:funs	'ʔa:funts
<i>ten</i>	105	'tomo	'tam:	'tamu	tam:ɛ	'tam	'tam
<i>termite</i>	141	ʔiri'ri	ha'rat	'harado	harad:ɔ	ha'rat	'gɔnts'ale
<i>termite hill</i>	142	minteri'demi	ha'ratboke:ts	ha'radoke:tʃ	du:n:a	'dun:a	'dun:a
<i>that</i>	286		'sesa	'haŋk	sɛʔes:ɪ	'sɔja	'ja
<i>they</i>	313	'ʔiso	'ʔusuna	'ʔusuna	ʔusiti, ʔusɔ	ʔusi'ni	'ʔusuna
<i>thick</i>	267		'ʔord	'ʔɔrdɪ	du:ɡɔ	du'dura	'ʔɔrde
<i>thigh</i>	038	'rɛra	'bu:ga	'wɛdira	magate, ʔaʃane	'buŋk'a	tsefa, 'geda
<i>thin</i>	268		'la:l	'la:lə	he:ɡɔ	'he:go	'he:go
<i>think</i>	109	k'u'te:	tsumakoin	'k'opakoj	matse, ʔemas:ɔ	mol'ʔotəsin	'modi
<i>this</i>	285	'ʔekima	'ha:sa	'sek	haʔes:ɪ	'haja	'haja
<i>thorn</i>	049	'ʔeʔe:n	ʔan'te:	ʔaŋ'ke	ʔɔŋke	ʔa'kola	ʔa'kula
<i>thread</i>	166	'k'a:t'ina	k'a'tʃ'ena	'kire	karare	'kire	'k'atʃ'in
<i>three</i>	098	'selə	'haits	'ha:jɔzi	ha'dz:ɛ	'hais'	'haits
<i>throw</i>	253		'ts'ɔŋgokoin	'ts'ɔ:ŋgokoj	ts'ɔ:me, ʔets'ɔ:n:dɔ	ʔi'gatesin	'wutsi
<i>thunder</i>	226	'balk'ano	dədad'ʔu:ɪs	da'da	ɡɔ:guntse	da'da	wol'ʔants
<i>tie</i>	167	'ʃi:je	'ʔaʃetokoin	'ʔatutokoj	*	ʔa'dʒutetɛs	'ʔatʃ'uti
<i>tobacco</i>	065	'tambo	'tambo	tam'bo	tambɔ	'tambo	'tambo

<i>tongue</i>	014	'ʔɛɛ	'ʔunsuli	'ʔinsurə	ʔunts'urɛ	'ʔinsire	'ʔinsərə
<i>tooth</i>	013	ʔir'ko	'gagu	'gago	gag:ɔ	'ʔat̪	'ʔat̪je
<i>tree</i>	050	ʔo'do:ri	'mits̪	'mitsi	mitse	min'ts'a	'mitsa
<i>twenty</i>	106	laʂa'ta	'namtam	namu'tam	lamʔiʔtam:ɛ	nam'ʔutam	'namutam
<i>two</i>	097	'lama	'nam	'na:mʔo	lamʔɛ	'nam	'nam
<i>up</i>	283	'ʔɛlet'ɛ	ʔa'ha	'wək	wək:ɛ	'bade	'ʔude
<i>vomit</i>	087	ʔa'balsate	'tʃ'o:ʃ	'ʃɛ:rsakɔŋ	tʃ'ɔ:ʃɛ, ʔɛtʃ'ɔ:ʃ:ɔ	ʔəru'satəsin	tʃ'o:ʃi
<i>walk</i>	121	nubise'setə	'tukana'h a:ntakoin	tukan'kw a:ngine	hame, ehan:ɔ	tu'kenatɛ shamin	tuke'nangi
<i>want</i>	183	'do:te	'wɔrgokoin	'wɔrgokɔŋ	wɔrgɛ, ʔɛwɔrd:ɔ	'wɔrgɔtes	'wɔrgi
<i>war</i>	255		'ʔo:ra	'ʔɔla	tɔ:ra	go'lot	'ʔola
<i>warm</i>	320f	ka:'gubro		'bin:a	bɪn:a	'bin:a	
<i>water</i>	231	dɛ'he	'wa:ts̪	'wa:ts̪	'wa:tse	'wa:tse	'wa:tse
<i>we</i>	311	'no	'nu:na	'nuna	nunɪ	'nui	'nuna
<i>wedding</i>	112	bu'lat̪ʂa	di'gisZZ	'serg	ku:la	'serg	'ʔeboso
<i>weed N</i>		'oiʂaʔu:ra		'ho:dɛ	*	'ho:di	'wode
<i>weep</i>	024	'go:te	'je:hojeho	'je:kakɔŋ	je:ʔɛ, ʔɛje:t:ɔ	'jefatesin	'je:ki
<i>well N</i>	232	'pulto	'pult	'pulto	ʔultɔ	'tʃ'aʒu	'pulto
<i>wet</i>	297	ʔam'balki	'tima	'tima	tɪma, tin:dɛɛ	'ʔirts'a	'wo:ka
<i>what?</i>	289	'meija	'a:nma	'ʔarma	ʔaba	'ʔalma	'ʔalmɔ
<i>when?</i>	290	go're:	'ʔan:dia	'ʔandia	ʔa'di	'ʔande	'ʔandɔ
<i>where?</i>	292	ha'g:e	'ʔan:a	ʔa'na	ʔaja:	'ʔan:a	'ʔana
<i>whistle</i>	008	'pi:se	'wik ^h	'wi:k, 'bade	wi:k ^h ɛ, ʔɛwi:dɔ	'zaik'a	'zaik'a
<i>white</i>	241	gu'maraki	'bo:ts̪	'bo:ts̪	bɔ:tse	'bo:ts̪	'bo:ts̪
<i>who?</i>	287		'ʔo:ne	'ʔo:nja	ʔɔ:ne ^o	'ʔo:di	'ʔɔde
<i>whose?</i>	288		'ʔo:nɛsia	'ʔo:nɛsia	ʔɔ:nɛsu	'ʔo:dis	'ʔɔdeɔ
<i>why?</i>	295	'neonija	'ʔa:lasia	'waidura	ʔabasun, ʔabase, ʔaban	'ʔa:lautə	'ʔa:las
<i>wide</i>	259		'tat̪	'pat̪ʂa	ʔa:kɔ	'fat̪ʂa	'belga
<i>wife</i>	114	'ʔo:ri	'mat̪	'ma:t̪	mat̪ɔ	'ma:t̪ɟu	'bi:ʃu

<i>wind</i>	221	ʔam'bal	ʔa'gɛts	ʔa'gɛts	ʔagɛtsɛ	'ʔagɛts	'ʔagɛts
<i>wing</i>	154	'bal	'paŋgə	faŋ'ge	ɸaŋgɛ	faŋ'ge	'k'ɛfɛ
<i>woman</i>	110	hɛ'lɛl	'ma:tʃ'	'ma:tʃ	ma:tʃɛ	'ma:tʃ'ma	'ʔinda
<i>worm</i>	138	hɪs'ki	gu'ts'un	gu'tsumi	guts'unts:ɛ	bu'ts'umə	gu'tsumə
<i>yawn</i>	306	ha'ma:mate	ʃaumbakoin	'ʃi:ʃakwɛlg alʔaɪtsakɔŋ	saʔuntʃɛ, ʔɛʃaʔunt:ɔ	'ʃa:ʔult	'lausi
<i>yellow</i>	245		bul'bul	ga'mo	bitʃ'a	ga'lunda	ga'lunda
<i>yes</i>	277	'ʔi:	'ʔiro	'ʔe:	ʔɛ:wa	'ʔo:	'ho:
<i>yesterday</i>	291	'kɛɛ, kelele'gano	'k'am:u	'k'am:u	zɪnɛ	zɪ'gɪnə	'zigineɔ
<i>you PL</i>	312	'ʔisi	'ʔi:nina		hɪmunɪ	ʔuti'ni	'hutuna
<i>you SG</i>	309	'ʔati	'nɛna	'nəa:	nɛn, nɛni	'nei	'mɛna

9. Notes on the Koorete Word List (*items with asterisks) Lydia Hoefl

Most items in the S.L.L.E. word list are elicited as spontaneous responses to one-word stimuli or short phrases (usually in Amharic, sometimes in Arabic, English, or Oromo, and sometimes supported by simple gestures). In most cases, this is sufficient. The first item in the list, for instance, stimulus 001, Amharic [s'ɜgur] 'hair of head', unambiguously leads to a spontaneous response (in Koorete: k'ine ʔuɸutse] 'head-hair'). And so on: stimulus 002 [ras] 'head' response [k'ine] 'head'; stimulus 003 [gɪmbar] 'forehead' response [dɛ:mɔ] 'forehead, front', etc. It helps, of course, that these items are arranged by semantic fields, body parts, activities, animals, etc., since in this way the most blatant ambiguities (bark/bark, fly/fly) are eliminated.

However, the following collection of nonspontaneous responses is a reminder that there still remain many instances where a one-word stimulus is ambiguous. The numbers in this Koorete list refer to numbers in the Koorete list above, most of these numbers are entries marked with an asterisk (*).

007	ʔufuntse, ʔɛʔufuns:ɔ	- like blowing on clothes etc. to remove dust
	ʔɛ:tse, ʔɛʔɛ:s:ɔ	- when blowing into the fire
	fume, ʔɛfun:dɔ	- blowing into grain, coffee that is being winnowed

	fug:ε, ʔεfud:ɔ	- blowing an instrument (trumpet, etc.)
011	ʔule dɪmba kabarɔ	- a ceremonial drum which originally was only used for funerals; there was no other kind of drum, and no other function for drums. It is only recently that drums are used for occasions such as weddings; these drums are called
018	also: gatata	- a full beard from ear to ear
032	zahe	- more general term
	ʃaʃa	- for people, the part where they carry loads, denotes a body part, both terms are interchangeable
033	kusena	- seems the most common term. Others are kat:ena, ʃɪ:l:a, dɛ:rɛ, kurena/karena
037	kɔp'ε	- is more general
	ʃɛp'ɔ	- sandals made from old tires
056	kɔɸa	- a big basket for storing coffee, etc.
	da:tʃɛ	- smaller basket, also for storing things
	gandɛ	- size like da:tʃɛ, but with a handle for carrying
059	ʔatʃ'ε	- for t'eff and other grain
	ʔunts'ε	- for maize only
064	gɔmbɔtʃ'ɔ	- the old and original name for maize, but no longer used
066	ma:ta	- for animals, i.e., grass eaten by (animals) cattle
	ts'ɪŋka	- grass used for roofing houses; there is no general term for both kinds
106	lamʔitam:ε	- is the full form, but lamtam:ε is heard more often
120	ʔɪndɔnaʔε	- general, for older and younger
	ʔaŋgus:ε	- refers to older brother, but also has a more general meaning of big, bigger
121	tɔkena ʔɛhand:dɛ	- lit.: go by foot
126	ma:ga	- an appointment received by either the king or government administration
129	ke:mɔ	there is no general name for animal - animals kept around the house, domesticated

	boʔo	- wild animals
144	ga:gura	- made from wood
	ʔusume	- made from bamboo and similar materials
150	ʔots'ε, ʔεʔots':o	- for hitting a person (past: ʔεʔots:ε)
	buke	- hitting things with a stick
	dure, ʔedurdo	- hit, beat
162	gults'ε ʔa'ke marabe	- borrowed from Amharic. Lit.: net for catching fish
167	tuφε, ʔetut:o	- tie, active
	tuφite, ʔetuφito	- be tied, passive
174	ʔadur:ε	- borrowed from Oromo
	graw:ε	- the old word; still known but not used a lot
179	ʔo:le, ʔεo:l:o	- for cattle
	boʔf'ε, ʔεboʔf':o	- for dog
	ʔuw:ε, ʔεʔuyido	- for people and donkey, mule, or horse
189	suma	door - the open part
	gasa	- the part that closes
224	ʔira:ts'i ma:ʃa	- lit.: the knife of the nurse
228	ʃo:re	river - the term most widely used, also refers to a dry river bed
	banke	- river with water in it, but is also referred to as ʃo:re
229	zap'a	- refers to a boat made from light wood like the boats they use around Gidicho canoes, boats are virtually not known
230	-	- borrowed from Amharic
253	daφε, ʔεdat:o	throwing - throwing stones
	zibide, ʔεzibido	- throwing sticks, knives, etc.
	ts'ome, ʔets'oon:do	- throwing spears
299	foheidese	'dirty' adjective - for clothes, body, etc.
	φitt:oba:	- for dirt on the floor, inside or outside the house
	kmtseidese	- for dirt inside a cooking pot, if not cleaned after cooking

299	dɔha	‘dirt’, noun
	ɸite	- noun
	kɪntɕ	- noun
318	k’ɛɪɕ	- made from wood, wire, cactus, etc.
	dɛ:mɛ	- made from stone and cement
320	-ara:	‘and’ - for connecting two actions, the first will be expressed with the Gerund, but there is no word or particle expressing ‘and’ - for connecting two nouns or adjectives, both are suffixed with -ara:
	ab:ɛbɛara kɛb:ɛdeara	- e.g., Abebe and Kebede
	hata:ra:ra galala:ra ʔatsɪtɪ	- e.g., short and tall people
320	ab:ɛbɛɪ zawakɔ yesse	‘at’: to express location, the copula ‘to be, to exist’ is used: - Abebe is at home
	ʃɔ:ɛkɔ ʔɛ ʃɔhɪt:ɔ	- he bathed at the river
	kɛtɪ ^ɪ akɔ ʔɛ handɔ	‘at’ is also used in a temporal sense: - he went in the morning
320	hana	‘towards’, and ‘to’ are expressed in the same way; there is a way of expressing ‘movement to’, but only used with deictics: - to here
	wona	- to there, higher than speaker
	sena	- to there, level with speaker
	yedena	- to there, lower than speaker

10. Perceptions of the Koore People Concerning Neighboring Languages Lydia Hoeft

- about Zayse:

The Koore people were asked whether they know of people living in the Arba Minch area who know their language. Some said the Zayse speak a “mixed” Koorete, i.e., they mix it with words from other languages. Most people agree that the Zayse can understand when a Koore person speaks,

and vice versa; but one or two Koorete people said these two do not understand each other.

- about Looome:

All Koore people whom I asked agreed that in the Gatama Woreda (district) there is a group of people that speak “just like the Koore”. This area in the Gatama Worda is supposed to be the place where the Koore came from. Apart from this group, no other people are known to speak Koorete except for the Looome who used to live on islands in Chamo and Abbaya and most of whom are now resettled on the western shores of the lakes. The Looome are not regarded as Koore, however—neither those of Lake Chamo nor those of Lake Abbaya.

- about Zergulla:

The term Zergulla is unknown with most of the Koore people, but one person said it was a place name.

- about Ganjawle:

When asked about Ganjawle (Ganjule), people answered that this was the name of an island where the Looome used to live. Some of Ganjawle were said to have been resettled at Shele recently.

- about Gats'ame:

The name Gats'ame (Gat'ame) was said to be an island in the Lake Abaya where the Looome used to live.

- about Baiso, Haruro, and Kachama:

The terms Baiso and Harro/Haruro and Kachama are not known either. Only one person replied that the Haruro are those who live on Gats'ame.

- about Gidicho:

Another question was which people live on Gidicho island. One person said that only Looome live on the Gidicho island, and that they speak a language almost exactly like the Koore. He referred to another island called Arkalso (Alkali) where, supposedly, the Looome and some other group of people live.

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