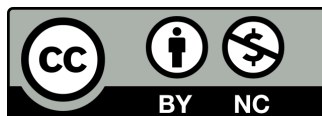


# Dawro Personal Names and Naming Practices

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## Abstract

The Dawro, speakers of an Omotic language in Southwest Ethiopia, use personal names both to establish individuals' linguistic identity and to reflect their culture and language. This article provides an explanatory analysis of “traditional” Dawro personal names, the meanings they carry, and the conditions which shape the names that are bestowed upon children. Dawro personal names are predominantly transparent and reflect socio-cultural practices, “traditional” beliefs, and perceptions about what is in the immediate environment. To the best of my knowledge, this is the first systematic study on Dawro onomastics to contribute to the recording of Dawro personal names and naming practices.



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**Keywords:** Dawro personal names, Dawro culture, traditional naming practices

### **About the author**

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## 1 Introduction

Personal naming is a universal cultural practice (Mutunda 2011, 16) although names vary greatly from one society to another (Alford 1988). Although the arbitrariness of personal names has been known for a long time as a theoretical position in the philosophy of language (Bing 1993, cited in Zelealem 2003, 183), studies indicate the embodiment of connotative and denotative meanings in names (Katz 1977; Carroll 1985; Zelealem 2003; Ongaye 2015). Research that has been conducted in Africa on names and naming indicate that personal names are bestowed based on issues like kin status (Beidelman 1974), the people and their social and cultural circumstances at the time of childbirth (Agyekum 2006; Zelealem 2003; Suzman 1994), name givers' aspirations (Machaba 2004), the atmospheric conditions and circumstances in which babies are born (Machaba 2004; Mutunda 2011), and the interplay between poetry, songs, and personal names (Yetebarek 2019; Ongaye 2015).

In Dawro culture, name giving does not have any defined religious or “traditional” rituals as is the case in some cultures in Ethiopia (see Zelealem 2003 for Amhara, and Ongaye 2015 for Konso). Bestowing names upon children is primarily the responsibility of parents, although grandparents and relatives can, to some extent, give names to newborns. The practice of giving names may take place right after delivery or weeks or months later. Although the lineage of descent is patrilineal, children are brought up in a manner that values the kinship relations on the mother's and father's sides equally.

No systematic study has been made so far of Dawro personal names and naming practices. The naming practices of various other linguistic groups in Ethiopia have, however, received scholarly attention (Misrak 2020 on Gamo; Yetebarek 2019 on Gofa; Ongaye 2015 on Konso; Gebre 2010 on Aari; and Zelealem 2003 on Amhara). The current study shares many things in common with these studies. Like the study by Zelealem (2003), my study describes how personal names can give evidence of the grammar of a particular language. Similarly, as the studies by Misrak (2020), Yetebarek (2019), and Ongaye (2015) discuss how alliteration works in the different languages, my study also shows how alliteration works in Dawro names. In fact, alliteration, which applies to Dawro, Gamo, and Gofa (all Omotic languages), and Konso (a Cushitic language), appears to be a widespread feature in the two language families in Ethiopia – Omotic and Cushitic – although further study may be needed to verify this claim.

This article investigates how various socio-cultural and economic factors operate in the naming practices of Dawro, and the extent to which the name givers value meaning in the names they bestow on children. It does not focus on a specified time in history or a setting (rural or urban, highland or lowland) as such. Instead, it reflects the dominant feature of the naming practices from the past to the present, although the use of “traditional” names is slightly declining among educated Dawros and urban dwellers.

The remainder of this article is organized as follows: Section 2 briefly outlines the orthographical conventions applied throughout this article. Section 3 deals with methods. This is followed in Section 4 with a presentation of the context, social organization, and “traditional” belief systems. Section 5 is concerned with personal naming practices of Dawro, while Section 6 discusses the role of songs and poetry in the naming practices of Dawro. Section 7 presents Dawro religious names, and Section 8 describes the grammar of Dawro personal names. Finally, Section 9 presents concluding remarks.

## 2 Orthographical conventions

The following writing conventions are applied in this article:

In the Dawro orthography, the apostrophe (') serves two functions:

- 1) To represent the glottal plosive /ʔ/, and
- 2) To indicate functional shift.

When the apostrophe follows the alveolar plosive /d/ and the bilabial plosive /p/, and the velar plosive /k/ and the alveolar fricative /s/, it indicates implosives and ejectives, respectively. Moreover, when it follows a letter <c>, it gives an alveo-palatal ejective /c'/. In this paper, I used the glottal plosive /ʔ/ instead of the apostrophe to write Dawro “traditional” personal names and other words so that the apostrophe is reserved to indicate only ejectives and implosives. This deviation from the Dawro orthography was made to avoid the confusion that may arise from the use of the apostrophe to represent both the glottal plosive /ʔ/, and to indicate implosives and ejectives, as in names like *C'amʔashee*, or words like *c'ee'k'uwa*, etc. As a result, representing two different things in one word using the same symbol has been solved. When the glottal plosive /ʔ/ is used instead of the apostrophe, the apostrophe represents only ejectives or implosives since the names are written as *C'emʔoo*, *C'amʔashee*, *C'alʔeeboo*, etc. The same holds true for words other than personal names such as *s'ooʔiya* ‘small hole’, *k'ooʔuwa* ‘a split piece of wood’, *k'unʔaa* ‘measure (for grain)’, etc., which are written with Dawro orthography as *s'oo'iya*, *k'oo'uwa*, *k'un'aa*, and so forth.

The other orthographic convention to be noted is that in Dawro orthography the use of the letter <f> to represent the bilabial fricative /ɸ/ is a misrepresentation. Therefore, in this paper I have not used <f> to represent the bilabial fricative /ɸ/. I used /p/ for both the bilabial plosive /p/ and the bilabial fricative /ɸ/ because the bilabial fricative /ɸ/ is an allophone of /p/. Thus, what is usually written as *kafuwa* ‘bird’, *aafuwa* ‘cliff’, *ayfiya* ‘eye’, etc. has been written as *kapuwa*, *aapuwa*, *aypiya*, etc.

## 3 Methods

Adopting a qualitative approach, data for the study were collected from both primary and secondary sources. I also applied my emic knowledge of Dawro personal names, which was enhanced during my time as record holder for the “traditional” financial cooperative known as ‘*Ik'ub*’, of which my father was a manager. Part of the data was gathered through interviews, which were conducted from November 2017 to February 2018. Twelve interviewees (four elderly persons, seven schoolteachers, and one university instructor) were purposively selected based on their knowledge of the culture and the language. With nine of them the interview was held face-to-face, while with the remaining three it was conducted over the telephone.

The interviews focused mainly on the following: a) elicitation of native personal names the participants knew of in their families, kinship, neighbourhoods, schools, and workplaces, b) understanding the reasons behind giving those names, c) understanding the meanings of the names when they were unknown to me, and d) understanding the social organization and “traditional” belief systems of the Dawro and how they are reflected in the naming practices. To make the name elicitation systematic, literate interviewees were asked to write down the native names on one piece of paper for each letter in the Dawro alphabet so that names beginning with all sounds could be included. Interviews with these participants were held on the day the list of names was collected. This was done with the belief that preparing the list would give the interviewees the chance to reflect on different aspects of the names. Regarding the participants

with whom interviews were conducted over telephone, in the first call I informed them of the purpose of my call and made an appointment for the second call. The interview was conducted in the second call.

Some personal names were collected from secondary sources like BA and MA theses, and from books written on Dawro. All the names and their meanings (meanings that were new to me) were recorded before thematization was made. Thematization and thick description were employed as techniques of analysis. Then I tried to look at the issues from the domain of the local community because they are the owners of the culture and the language. All interviewees were coded as interviewee 01, interviewee 02, (Inter. 01, Inter. 02,) etc., to preserve anonymity. The total number of “traditional” Dawro names that was collected using various methods was 361. Out of these, 270 (74.79%) were male names, 51 (14.13%) were female, and 39 (10.80%) were male names with female counterparts, for example, *Goobanaa/ee*, to mean *Goobanaa* (m) and *Goobanee* (f), *Darotaa/ee*, etc); only one (0.28%) name, *puutee* ‘a compensation’ was a name that serves for both sexes.

## 4 The context, social organization and “traditional” belief system

### 4.1 The social context of the study area

The Dawro people, who speak a north Omotic language, live in the Dawro Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ Region. In October 1993 E.C., Dawro was made part of North Omo Administrative Zone, comprising Dawro, Gamo, Gofa, and Wolayta, with Arba Minch as its capital. After November 1993 E.C., Dawro was restructured as an independent administrative zone (Wondimu and Mulugeta 2003 E.C.). According to the Department of Statistical and Geo-spatial Data System Administration Directorate of Dawro Zone, the population of Dawro was 716,756 (M: 365,439; F: 351,317) in 2019 (2012 E.C.). It is bordered by Gofa Zone in the south, Wolaita Zone in the east, Kambata–Tambaro Zone and Hadiya Zone in the north east, Jima Zone in the north, and Konta Special District (Woreda) in the west (see Figure 1). Dawro is also one of the ancient civilization sites in Ethiopia’s Omo Valley (Admasu 2014; Mulugeta 2010 E.C.). The administrative centre of Dawro, Tarcha, is 486 km (via Jima) and 572 km (via Shashemene) south west of Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia.



Figure 1: Dawro Zone and its neighbouring zones (used with permission from SNNPRS Finance Bureau)

## 4.2 Social organization

The social organization of the Dawro people, which is reflected in the “traditional” Dawro names in many ways, takes two forms: kinship-based and occupation-based. In the former case, the Dawro are classified into three major *k’ommuwa* ‘tribes’: *Maalaa*, *Dogalaa* and *Amaaraa*. Each of these tribes is sub-categorized into a number of *yaraa* ‘clans’. Wondimu and Mulugeta (2003 E.C.) list more than 52 clans within the *Maalaa* tribe, more than 88 within the *Dogalaa*, and more than 74 within the *Amaaraa*. The basis for this classification is the lineage with which each tribe and clan identifies itself. In this social organization, the structure from the highest lineage to the lowest level goes as follows: *gadya* ‘nation’ → *k’ommuwa* ‘tribe’ → *yaraa* ‘clan’ → *soyaa* ‘family’.

The occupation-based social organization broadly categorizes the society into two strata: the *Maalaa* (non-artisans) and the *Hiillanchaa*<sup>1</sup> (artisans) (Teferi et al. 2019, 33). Some of the interviewees indicated that the *Maalaa* is sub-divided into *Kawonaa* (royal family) and *Mandiidaa* (free citizens) (Inter. 05, December 11, 2017 and Inter. 09, February 7, 2018). The word *Kawonaa* is a compound word formed from the nouns *kawoo* ‘king’ and *naጋaa* ‘offspring’. Within the *Maalaa* category, it is the *Kawonaas* who hold the upper hand in the political and economic system. The political and economic power the *Kawonaas* enjoy suggests an obvious difference between them and the *Mandiidaas*. In reality, the *Mandiidaa* (free citizens) occupy the middle status. Hence, one would question as to why the two are put into one category. It seems that the *Kawonaa-Mandiidaa* classification, within the *Maalaa* category, needs further investigation because the Dawro are one of the peoples in the region that have not been studied well (Hanserud 2018, 7; Admasu 2014, 19). In the Dawro social organization, the lowest status is held by the *Hiillanchaa*, although this category itself is further classified in terms of status.

Social organization has its own implications for the naming practices of societies. Hence, the study of personal names has the potential to give insights into how the socio-cultural phenomena and linguistic phenomena work together in the naming process (Mashiri 1999, 6). In the case of Dawro, however, there is no social restriction in the naming practices on the basis of social organization. The same names are used, with approximately the same frequencies, across all social groups. Even the kings are enthroned with their given names, unlike the practice in the neighbouring Gofa Zone, where upon coronation the name of a king is changed (Yetebarek 2019, 6). The only exceptions are the names *Manjoo* (which alludes to the *Manjaa* social group, one of the artisan groups), *Manuu* (which alludes to the *Manaa* social group, one of the artisan groups), and *Maalaa* (which alludes to the *Maalaa* tribe of the non-artisan group). These names are commonly used by members of the *Maalaa* (the non-artisan social group).

## 4.3 “Traditional” belief systems

To fully comprehend the personal naming practices of Dawro, it is important to understand the value and belief system, as well as the social practices in the context of which the naming is carried out. “Traditional” beliefs have been held by the Dawro since the time the Dawro began dwelling in caves (Mulugeta 2010 E.C). Amongst the “traditional” Dawro, a general belief is that *S’oosaa* ‘God’ is the supernatural power, and *ayaanaa* ‘the spirit’ is a mediator between the living and the dead relatives. According to this belief system, the dead relatives present themselves in the form of *moytilliya* ‘spirit of the dead’. Both *S’oosaa* and *ayaanaa* have control

<sup>1</sup> In Dawro culture, *Hiillanchaa* refers to occupations related to the production of handcrafts, although the practitioners may also be engaged in agriculture.



over people's lives and over what they do. Each tribe and clan in Dawro worships *S'oosaa* 'God' via their own ancestral deity, who mediates between the people and *S'oosaa*. Members of a tribe or a clan, by default, worship their ancestral god, but they may also worship a deity near their residence so that they can avoid potential adverse effects that may emanate from envy (Wondimu and Mulugeta 2003 E. C., 27; Dubale 2012, 57–63).

Apart from tribe and clan related deities, the Dawros also believe in *dadaa* 'spirit of thunder', *Sanbataa* (Sabbath), and *k'aadaa s'alahiya* 'spirit of fortune' (Wondimu and Mulugeta 2003 E.C.). Among the interviewees, some stressed that the majority of Dawros believe that *biitaa k'ooolaa* 'the spirit of the land' has power that determines what one can get from the land (Inter. 01, November 22, 2017 and Inter. 01, 04, December 5, 2018<sup>2</sup>).

There are individuals (predominantly males) who are believed to have been possessed by deities. Such an individual is known as *shareechuwa* 'spiritual leader', and is consulted concerning the health, economic and other problems the communities experience. Wondimu and Mulugeta (2003 E.C., 32) and Mulugeta (2010 E.C., 10) state that different people assist the *shareechuwa* in this belief system. According to the interviewees, the *shareechuwa* is assisted by individuals who are charged with different responsibilities. The *gabarachaa* (a male messenger and assistant during the religious fervour) communicates to the clients and the audience what is going on in the *kawta keetsaa* 'house of religious fervour'. The *meenatsaa* (procedure manager) attends to the provision of coffee, the cleanliness of the setting, and the implementation of the cleansing ceremony. The *ashiipaa* 'manager of hospitality' is charged with the responsibility of getting food ready for the *shareechuwa*. There is a group of people<sup>3</sup> who are responsible for ensuring that musicians and musical instruments are provided for the service, as per the regular schedule, to catch the attention of the attendants. At the bottom of the structure of the belief system are the followers, who are referred to as *maataa* which literally means 'grass', or as *goshechaa* 'the subjects of the deity' (Inter. 04, December 5, 2018 and Inter. 12, February 28, 2018).

The belief system that operates in this manner is reflected in the naming practices of Dawro. Examples that attest this include names like *ʔashepoo*, derived from the term *ashiipaa* 'manager of hospitality with the *shareechuwa*'; *C'ac'c'iroo*, derived from *c'ac'c'ruwa* 'the practice of cleansing'; and *Woraaboo*, derived from *woraabiya* 'the practice of adulating a deity' (see also Section 4.2).

## 5 Personal naming practices in Dawro

The Dawro people value the names they bestow on their children. In their culture, names given to persons, except the *naʔatetsaa suntsaa* 'childhood-name', which Zelealem (2003) refers to as a 'waiting name', do not change as the age and status of individuals change. In Dawro culture, as in many other cultures (Ongaye 2015; Mutunda 2011; Aregga 2010; Hobson 1989), a person holds the same name throughout his/her lifetime, although individuals may in rare cases take a second name for administrative or political purposes. The Dawro naming system does not use family names, as is the case with the Amhara of Ethiopia (Zelealem 2003, 181). Yetebarek (2019, 15) states that family names are used among the Gofa, one of the North

<sup>2</sup> Both of these informants have rich experience of the "traditional" belief system as they are sons of popular witch-doctors in Dawro.

<sup>3</sup> The name for this unit of service in the "traditional" belief system was not provided in the works of Wondimu and Mulugeta (2003 E.C.) and Mulugeta (2010 E.C.). The interviewees, although they recognized the function of the group, were not sure of the term that refers to the performers. This needs further study.

Ometo linguistic groups. In fact, among the Dawros, there are two conditions in which speakers mention a father's name first:

1) When a conversant is asked to explain who he or she is talking about, as can be seen in the following conversation (note that *Babuloo* is the son, and *?otooroo* is the father):

A: *Ne zino Babula demmaadi?* 'Did you meet *Babuloo* yesterday?'

B: *Babulo ?oowee?* 'Whose *Babuloo*?'<sup>4</sup>

A: *?otooroo Babula, ne ?aabu michchat na?aa* '*?otooroo*'s *Babuloo*, your cousin.'

In such usage, a father's name is mentioned first as it is very likely that somebody may know the father better than the son or daughter, since it is the father who came into being first. Moreover, because of their age, fathers may have wider social networks than their sons or daughters.

2) When a given person recites *gereesaa* 'mourning song, lamentation' or *c'ee'k'uwa* 'war cry' in which performers recite their own deeds, those of their relatives, or of other people. Reference to an individual is made in the narration by mentioning the name of a grandfather first, of a father second, and of a son or daughter last, or the name of a father first and of a son or daughter next. But in a face-to-face interaction, no one addresses a person with the father's name first.

Most Dawros give their children a formal (permanent) name from the very beginning, although some parents give a *na?atetsaa suntsaa* 'childhood name' first and the formal one later. Both childhood names and formal names in Dawro may or may not have meaning, as is the case in many naming systems. For instance, Grasse (1987, 202) reports that out of the 82 Huli personal names that were collected as a sample, 59% of the names had meanings or reference while 41% of them were found to be simply names with no overt meaning. In this regard, out of the 361 Dawro names that were collected for this study, 203 (56.23%) had definite meanings or references, while 158 (43.77%) did not.

In this respect, below are some Dawro childhood names (1):

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| (1) <i>?aamoo (m)</i>       | 'baby'  |
| <i>?aamee /?aamitee (f)</i> | 'baby'  |
| <i>Biidoo (f)</i>           | 'small sized'   |
| <i>Bii?ee (f)</i>           | 'a miniature'   |
| <i>C'aac'ee (f)</i>         | 'tiny'  |
| <i>Kulee (f)</i>            | 'a small lump'  |
| <i>Donee (f)</i>            | 'potato'  |
| <i>Buukaa (m)</i>           | 'of short physique'                                   |
| <i>Butee (f)</i>            | 'small earthenware pot in which to keep babies' food' |
| <i>Titoo (m)</i>            | term used to address a puppy                          |
| <i>Dinkaw (m)</i>           | 'player of a musical instrument called Dinkaa'        |

In the village where I grew up, there were both boys and girls with childhood names. Some of those names had meanings, while others didn't. In our family, out of the six children, only two had childhood names. The childhood name of one of my elder brothers was *Dosaa* 'love [me]'. It was my mother who gave him this name to remember her relationship with my father, which got bad when this child was born. The childhood name of one of my sisters was *Bii?ee* 'a miniature', because she was thin and short in her childhood. Similarly, some of my cousins

<sup>4</sup> The changes in *Babuloo*, *Babulo*, and *Babula* are case-related.



had childhood names: *Gutulee* (f) ‘a short bottle’ (like a beer bottle), *C’uutuloo* (m) ‘of black skin’, and *Titoo* (m) (a term used to address a puppy). The one who was named *Titoo* was the seventh and the last boy in the family and was cared for highly. Nowadays, nobody calls any of them by their childhood names.

There were also some childhood names<sup>5</sup> that do not have definite meanings, such as the ones in (2):

- |     |                      |                     |                   |
|-----|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| (2) | <i>Pejetoo</i> (m)   | <i>ʔabulee</i> (m)  | <i>Woykee</i> (f) |
|     | <i>ʔonc’oluu</i> (m) | <i>ʔadechee</i> (f) | <i>Tunkee</i> (f) |

Although both childhood and permanent names can convey meaning, more care is taken when parents select the permanent name. It is usually the father who bestows names on the children, although mothers and relatives can also propose names. In the sections below, we will see the various factors that come into play in the personal naming practices of the Dawro.

In Dawro culture, many things are reflected in the names that are given to children. They include the social, economic, and political conditions into which the child is born, the history of child mortality in the family, the parents’ psychological condition and their perceptions about death, the good wishes parents or relatives have for the name bearers, etc. For example, a child who was born after a conflict between family members or communities has been resolved may be named *Sigoo* (m)/ *Sigee* (f) ‘peace’, and one who happens to be the cause for reconciliation may be named *Sigetsoo* (m)/ *Sigetsee* (f) ‘mediator’. If a child is born when the parents are leading a relatively stable life compared to a time of hardship they have passed through, he or she might be given a name to mark this situation, as can be seen in (3) below. Giving names in such a manner, with reference to other situations, is a common practice in the naming system.

| (3) | Male                          | Female           | Gloss                          |
|-----|-------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
|     | <i>Baatalaa</i>               | <i>Baatalee</i>  | ‘pride’                        |
|     | <i>Daaʔimoo</i>               | <i>Daaʔimee</i>  | ‘happiness’                    |
|     | <i>ʔupaysoo</i>               | <i>ʔupaysee</i>  | ‘delight, amusement’           |
|     | <i>Nashechoo</i>              | <i>Nashechee</i> | ‘pleasing’                     |
|     | <i>ʔushechoo</i> <sup>6</sup> |                  | ‘support’                      |
|     | <i>ʔinjoo</i>                 | <i>ʔinjee</i>    | ‘luxury, comfort, convenience’ |
|     | <i>Baaranaa</i>               |                  | ‘child of comfort’             |
|     | <i>ʔishaloo</i>               | <i>ʔishalee</i>  | ‘indulgence, comfort’          |

Sometimes parents may lose children due to miscarriage or children may die at a young age due to various diseases. In the old days when “modern” health services were non-existent, the problem was so severe that parents might lose children one after another. Even today, when parents undergo difficult situations, they devotedly pray to their creator, *S’oosaa* ‘God’, and consult witchdoctors. Children who are born after their parents have lost one or more siblings may be given names such as the ones in (4). These names may be given by parents or they may be suggested by the witchdoctors they have consulted.

<sup>5</sup> Childhood names are not included in the data set used for the study because they are temporary.

<sup>6</sup> Although it is possible to give the name *ʔushechee* as a female counterpart, it is not common to give it to female children.

|     |                     |  |
|-----|---------------------|--|
| (4) | <i>ʔuutee</i> (m/f) | ‘compensation’                               |
|     | <i>Kochchoo</i> (m) | ‘let God substitute’                         |
|     | <i>Doogisoo</i> (m) | ‘let him make us forget [the loss]’          |
|     | <i>Doka</i> (m)     | ‘[God] leave him as a leftover [from death]’ |
|     | <i>Zaaroo</i> (m)   | ‘let [God] recompense’                       |

In Dawro culture, it is believed that death is a living entity who consciously decides whom to take to himself (to kill) or whom to allow to live. The common perception in Dawro tradition is that death is potentially tempted to attract children bearing good names. Parents who have lost earlier children are more prone to this kind of psychological trauma. Thus, they bestow names with negative connotations on their children so that the names may be repellent to death. Some Dawro names with negative connotations are given in (5).

| (5) | Referent                    | Gloss                     | Male name                  | Female name     |
|-----|-----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
|     | <i>ʔoshaa</i>               | ‘cow dung’                | <i>ʔoshitoo</i>            | <i>ʔoshitee</i> |
|     | <i>shiʔaa</i>               | ‘human faeces’            | <i>Shiʔoo</i>              | <i>Shiʔee</i>   |
|     | <i>kanaa</i>                | ‘dog’                     | <i>Kanitoo</i>             |                 |
|     | <i>c’urk’aa</i>             | ‘piece of worn out cloth’ | <i>C’urk’oo</i>            |                 |
|     | <i>ʔayliya</i>              | ‘slave’                   | <i>ʔayloo</i> <sup>7</sup> | <i>ʔaylee</i>   |
|     | <i>konʔaa</i>               | ‘broken earthenware’      | <i>Konʔuu</i>              |                 |
|     | <i>c’amuwa</i> <sup>8</sup> | ‘bitter’                  | <i>C’amuu</i>              |                 |
|     | <i>ʔuraa</i>                | ‘serf’                    | <i>ʔuroo</i>               | <i>ʔuree</i>    |

As we can see from the list above, all the referents either have a bad smell (e.g., dung or faeces), low status (e.g., dog, slave, serf), poor quality (e.g., worn out cloth, broken earthenware) or bad taste (e.g., bitter). By giving these names the name givers hope to safeguard the children from death, which they perceive as an entity which prefers children with good names. Such beliefs are found in other African societies, as well (see e.g. Beidelman 1974, 289 on Kaguru; Agyekum 2006, 221 on Akan; Ongaye 2015, 146 on Konso).

In societies like Dawro, life is surrounded by different social, economic, and spiritual challenges, and the success of children always worries the parents. Health problems, poverty, and spiritual predicaments may all threaten the lives of children. Because of this, name givers express their good wishes to the children by the names they bestow on them. These kinds of names are formulated in the form of 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular imperatives that address different aspects of their life. The following list shows examples of such names.

<sup>7</sup> It is also common to find *ʔase* as a counterpart of *ʔayloo*.

<sup>8</sup> While most such names are derived from names of objects, this is derived from the name of a quality.

| (6) Name           | Gloss                          |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>S'oonaa</i> (m) | 'win!'                         |
| <i>ʔaysaa</i> (m)  | 'administer!'                  |
| <i>Polaa</i> (m)   | 'succeed!'                     |
| <i>Beetaa</i> (m)  | 'outshine!'                    |
| <i>Dagataa</i> (m) | 'become plenty!'               |
| <i>Togaa</i> (m)   | 'ride [possess] a horse/mule!' |
| <i>Dolaa</i> (m)   | 'germinate!'                   |
| <i>ʔarotaa</i> (m) | 'become strong!'               |
| <i>Deʔaa</i> (m)   | 'die not!'                     |

Bearing children is a means of sustaining generations. Children are also assumed to be guarantees of social and economic security to the parents, although this may not hold true all the time. Thus, with the names they bestow, parents earnestly wish their children to survive, and invoke their creator to address their desires, as shown in the following examples.

|                       |                             |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| (7) <i>ʔanjaa</i> (m) | '[God] bless [him]'         |
| <i>ʔashaa</i> (m)     | '[God] save [him]'          |
| <i>Gujjaa</i> (m)     | '[God] add'                 |
| <i>Maaraa</i> (m)     | '[God] have mercy on [him]' |
| <i>Maadaa</i> (m)     | '[God] help [him]'          |
| <i>Patsaa</i> (m)     | '[God] heal [him]'          |

In Dawro, children are also given temporonyms in relation to the time of the day, the day of the week, or the season in which they are born, as in (8). For descriptions of similar naming practices in other people groups, see Ongaye (2015) on Konso; Mutunda (2011) on Lunda; and Zelealem (2003) on Amhara.

The day in Dawro is divided into five time periods: *guuraa* 'dawn', *wontaa* 'morning', *galassaa* 'noon/midday', *omarsaa* 'evening', and *k'amaa* 'night'. From these divisions of the day, only *wontaa* and *galasaa* are commonly used for personal names. Most of the time-based Dawro names are male names, and further investigation is needed as to why such names are bestowed only on male children.

| (8) Time/period | Name                              | Gloss     |
|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------|
| <i>wontaa</i>   | <i>Wontaa</i> (m)                 | 'morning' |
| <i>galasaa</i>  | <i>Galasoo</i> (m)                | 'daytime' |
| <i>ʔagenaa</i>  | <i>ʔagenee</i> (m/f) <sup>9</sup> | 'moon'    |
| <i>wogaa</i>    | <i>Wogaa</i> (m)                  | 'Sunday'  |
| <i>ʔarbaa</i>   | <i>ʔarbaa</i> (m)                 | 'Friday'  |
| <i>ʔadliya</i>  | <i>ʔadiloo</i> (m)                | 'autumn'  |
| <i>ʔassuraa</i> | <i>ʔassuree</i> (f)               | 'spring'  |

The choice of names of days of the week or seasons of the year is based on the meanings they convey. The name *Wogaa* has two meanings: 'Sunday' and 'big' (size of persons or objects). An individual with this name can be one who was born on Sunday, which is associated with rest or

<sup>9</sup> This name is given to a child born when there is moonlight.

comfort, or he can be one whom the name givers wish to become a big person. As for the name *Arbaa* (Friday), the interviewees stated that the meaning is associated with the religious associations of Friday among the followers of both “traditional” belief and Orthodox Christianity. In the Dawro “traditional” belief system, there is a deity locally referred to as *Arba-godaa* (the lord of Friday). As a result, it is common among the followers of this deity to give the name *Arbaa* to a male child in recognition of the power of the deity, i.e., to say that “this is a child the lord of Friday has given us” (Inter. 01).

In relation to Orthodox Christianity, Friday, which is a fasting day on which meat and milk products are not consumed, is perceived as uncomfortable and inconvenient. This is because most cultural foods in Dawro are not very appetizing without meat and milk products. One of the interviewees also explained that this meaning is appropriated to reflect the difficult economic conditions of parents at the time when the child was born (Inter.06). This interviewee also said that this name is also given to male children who are born at a time when the parents did not intend to have a child. However, I have reservations about this view, because another day of the week, *Oroobaa* ‘Wednesday’, which also is a fasting day like Friday among Orthodox Christians, is not given as a name for children. In Ethiopia, giving names after days of the week was also reported to be practised by the Konsos (Ongaye 2015) and the Gofas (Yetebarek 2019), although some of the days are different, while this is not the case with the Amharas (Zealelem 2003) and the Aaris (Gebre 2010).

Among the seasons of the year, *?adiloo* (derived from *adiliya* ‘autumn’) and *?assuree* (derived from *assuraa* ‘spring’) are given as names to children born in the respective seasons. *Adiliya*, which is a season full of flowers and is the most attractive season, is also associated with hope and delight. *Assuraa*, which is widely known for scarcity of food resources among agrarian societies, is associated with food shortages and economic stress.

As an agrarian society, the Dawros value the contributions of natural resources to their livelihoods. From the gifts of nature, the Dawros use the flora and fauna in their environment in their naming practices, as in (9) and (10), respectively. The use of environmental resources for naming people is also practised by other African societies such as the Amhara in Ethiopia (Zealelem 2003), the Akan in Ghana (Agyekum 2006), and the Konso in Ethiopia (Ongaye 2015). The Dawros also make use of the celestial objects (11), as well as names of some types of foods and drinks (12) in naming their children.

| (9) | <b>Flora</b>                   | <b>Gloss</b>                          | <b>Name</b>               |
|-----|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
|     | <i>bangaa</i>                  | ‘barley’                              | <i>Banguu</i> (m)         |
|     | <i>torgoniya</i> <sup>10</sup> | ‘haricot bean’                        | <i>Torgonnee</i> (f)      |
|     | <i>gaashiya</i>                | ‘teff’                                | <i>Gaashee</i> (m)        |
|     | <i>malduwa</i>                 | ‘sorghum’                             | <i>Maldoo</i> (m)         |
|     | <i>laaluwa</i>                 | type of tree with attractive flowers  | <i>Laaloo/lalee</i> (m/f) |
|     | <i>?aziimaa</i>                | type of grass                         | <i>?aziimee</i> (f)       |
|     | <i>dal?ishaa</i>               | type of creeping grass with thick ivy | <i>Dal?ishee</i> (f)      |
|     | <i>naatruwa</i>                | ‘herbaceous medicinal plant’          | <i>Naatree</i> (f)        |
|     | <i>dunkiya</i>                 | ‘sacred basil’                        | <i>Dunkee</i> (f)         |

<sup>10</sup> If a Dawro noun that ends in the phoneme /y/ or /w/ takes the vowel /a/, then that vowel is short and is written as a single <a>. Such nouns do not take a long vowel and are not written as <aa>. I presume that this could be because these consonants are semi-vowels.

The names of flora that are used as personal names are chosen for some appreciated qualities they have compared to other crops. For example, barley is widely grown in highland areas and is a major crop used as food and drink. Similarly, haricot beans and teff are popular crops grown in the midlands and lowlands. Sorghum, which is grown in both the midlands and the lowlands, is a major crop from which porridge is prepared for small children, while different cultural foods are prepared for adults. *Aziimee* and *Dal?ishee* are named after popular nutritious grass types used as forage, while *Laalee* is named after a type of tree with beautiful flowers. Both *Naatree* and *Dunkee* are named after plants with the most loved aroma, which are planted in gardens of every household. The former one has medicinal value, while the latter is used in the preparation of foods and spices.

In “traditional” Dawro, hunting was a popular social practice. Hunters who kill huge wild animals like lions, elephants, or buffalos, or fierce ones like tigers, are given social titles. As a result, by bestowing such names the name givers express their wishes that the name bearers become strong, powerful, and famous. The Dawro highly appreciate them (see (10) below) for their strength as well as for their body size.

| (10) Fauna       | Gloss        | Name                 |
|------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| <i>Posuwa</i>    | ‘rhinoceros’ | <i>?osuu</i> (m)     |
| <i>gaamuwa</i>   | ‘lion’       | <i>Gaamuu</i> (m)    |
| <i>dangarsaa</i> | ‘elephant’   | <i>Dangarsoo</i> (m) |
| <i>mentsaa</i>   | ‘buffalo’    | <i>Mentsaa</i> (m)   |
| <i>maahiya</i>   | ‘tiger’      | <i>Maahee</i> (m)    |

Names of celestial bodies are given to female children, usually those with bright skin colour. As these celestial objects give light in the darkness, people who bestow these names on the children may also wish light to visit the darker aspects of their life. In this regard, a greater number of names of fauna were reported from Konso (Ongaye 2015).

| (11) Celestial object | Name                  | Gloss            |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| <i>s’oolintiya</i>    | <i>S’oolintee</i> (f) | ‘star’           |
| <i>toroojato</i>      | <i>Toroojee</i> (f)   | ‘Alpha Centauri’ |
| <i>?agenato</i>       | <i>?agenee</i> (f)    | ‘moon’           |

| (12) Food/drink                | Name                  | Gloss                 |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>?eesaa</i>                  | <i>?eesoo/ee</i>      | ‘mead’                |
| <i>?ililuwa</i>                | <i>?ililoo/ee</i> (f) | ‘honey’               |
| <i>baac’iraa</i> <sup>11</sup> | <i>Baac’iree</i> (f)  | type of cultural food |
| <i>maatsaa</i>                 | <i>Maatsoo</i> (m)    | ‘milk’                |
| <i>siilisuwa</i> <sup>12</sup> | <i>Siilisoo</i> (m)   | type of cultural food |
| <i>buraatuwa</i> <sup>13</sup> | <i>Buraatoo</i> (m)   | type of cultural food |

<sup>11</sup> This cultural food is prepared by soaking roasted *?unc’aa* (product of enset) with yoghurt and/or butter, and is very soft. Although it is possible to call a male counterpart *baac’iroo*, this name is not used.

<sup>12</sup> Dawro cultural food prepared from cheese, butter, and spices.

<sup>13</sup> Dawro cultural food prepared from minced raw beef, roasted *?unc’aa*, butter, and spices.



The names of drinks listed above (*?eesoo/ee* and *Maatsoo*) are highly valued in the culture and are considered marks of better economic status. The names after Dawro cultural foods are given with the hope the child will develop likable behaviour.

Some Dawro names are related to attributes the name givers see in the children, or what they imagine the children may become in the future, such as observable physical conditions of the child, emotional or cognitive attributes. The name givers use these attributes to express their wishes for the child being named. For example, *geesaa* is ‘height’ and *-moo/-mee* is a morpheme that indicates possession of a certain attribute. Such names are presented in (13).

| (13) | Male             | Female            | Gloss                            |
|------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
|      | <i>Geesamoo</i>  | <i>Geesamee</i>   | ‘you who have good height’       |
|      | <i>?angaamoo</i> |                   | ‘you who have energy’            |
|      | <i>Gom?aamoo</i> | <i>Gom?aamee</i>  | ‘you who have strong body build’ |
|      |                  | <i>?aypaaamee</i> | ‘you who have big eyes’          |
|      | <i>?aggaaroo</i> |                   | ‘you who know forgiving’         |
|      | <i>?ataaroo</i>  |                   | ‘you who know better’            |
|      | <i>?amaamoo</i>  | <i>?amaamee</i>   | ‘you who are ambitious’          |

## 6 Songs, poetry, and personal naming in Dawro

Songs and oral poetry are part of day-to-day interactions among the Dawro people. Work songs, funeral songs, war songs, wedding songs, and others are used to express the experiences, wishes, sorrows, joys, aspirations, etc. of the people in their socio-cultural contexts. Through poetry, the Dawro transmit knowledge and cultural values they cherish. Alliteration and rhyming play crucial roles in songs and oral poetry, and are further extended into the naming system of Dawro. In southern Ethiopia, Gamo, Gofa, and Konso are some of the languages in which alliteration is common (Misrak 2020; Yetebarek 2019; Ongaye 2015). In contrast to English, where alliteration is usually applied only to consonants, and only when the recurrent sound begins a word or a stressed syllable within a word (Abrams 1999, 8), in Dawro poetry, alliteration applies to both consonants and vowels. Rhyming is also applied in Dawro poetry, as the excerpts from lyrics used by men in a work song below show. The title of the work song is *E hooliyawsho*:

|                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>durishin duus’ida dulleesho</i> | ‘The buttock that broke while one is dancing,’                 |
| <i>yeekishin yerido shayesho</i>   | ‘The cheek that was kissed while one is crying.’               |
| <i>?asanay ?andana mundeesho</i>   | ‘Andana Munde, son of a good person,’                          |
| <i>?asaba ?akkena s’ileesho</i>    | ‘So truthful is he that does not take someone’s belongings,’   |
| <i>?akkoope immena s’i?eesho</i>   | ‘So disobedient is he that does not return once he has taken.’ |

The lines below have been taken from another work song entitled *Heelo wolo haaya haaya, jima godoo haaya haaya*, in which a husband and a wife criticize each other’s working behaviour:

Husband: *neen ʔoshay ga ʔokkowe taana gido wuygiyan mentsee*<sup>14</sup>

‘The floor you poorly smeared with cow dung fails me in the middle’

Wife: *neka kees’ay ga kemʔowe taan dupa peeshin yedee*<sup>15</sup>

‘The house you poorly constructed does not hold what I plastered the whole day’

As can be seen from the above examples, alliteration operates on the initial sounds of the consecutive words in a line, e.g., *ʔasanay ʔandana and ʔasaba ʔakkena* in the first example, and *ʔoshay ga ʔokkowe*, and *kees’ay ga kemʔowe*, in the second example. On the other hand, rhyming operates with the end sounds of the words in four lines: *dullee, shayee, mundee, s’ilee*, and *s’iʔee*, in the first example, and in the two lines: *mentsee* and *yedee*, in the second example. This means that in Dawro poetry alliteration works in horizontal as well as vertical sequences of words.

When it comes to Dawro personal names, alliterating names may or may not have meanings. These names are usually linked to the father’s name, although in rare cases they may link to that of the mother, for example, when a mother who brings up a child by her own gives a permanent name to a child whose father died before the child was given a name. The fact that Dawro is a patrilineal society (as is the case with other societies in Ethiopia) might have defined this link. Giving alliterating names usually seems to be related to children born first or second, although it is not prohibited for children who are born later. This appears to be due to the fact that children born first are culturally adored most in the society. As a case in point, the names of my father and my uncle, who were the first and the second sons in the family, alliterate but the names of the third son and the fourth child, who was a female, do not alliterate (*Diinattoo Diidana*,<sup>16</sup> *Dibilo Diidana*, *Heerana Diidana*, and *As’adee Diidana*). I know of many such instances in other families in our village and other areas. One of the factors behind giving alliterating names to children is the cultural practice known as *gereesaa* ‘mourning song, lamentation’, in which individuals narrate their positive and heroic deeds in public spaces. It is very common to find the names of individuals mentioned in the *gereesaa*, and alliterating names are believed to contribute more to the poetic value of the *gereesaa* than non-alliterating ones. In most cases alliterating names apply to the names of a child and a father, although in some cases the alliteration may go up to the name of a grandfather, as shown in (14) and (15).

| (14) <b>Child</b>                         | <b>Father</b>                             |
|---|---|
| <i>Baasaa</i> (m) ‘lay the foundation’    | <i>Bakaloo</i> ‘the first son’            |
| <i>Paltaamee</i> (f) ‘let her feel proud’ | <i>Palahaa</i> ‘result of prophecy’       |
| <i>C’amʔashee</i> (f)                     | <i>C’aakisoo</i>                          |
| <i>Darootaa</i> (m) ‘greatness, honor’    | <i>Doojamoo</i>                           |
| <i>ʔataaroo</i> (m) ‘you who know better’ | <i>ʔaadduu</i> ‘let her become calm/cool’ |
| <i>Maalimoo</i> ‘very black’              | <i>Mazzee</i>                             |
| <i>ʔuutaa</i> (m) ‘compensation’          | <i>ʔukkuloo</i>                           |
| <i>ʔashank’ee</i> (f) ‘cool; decent’      | <i>ʔaadduu</i>                            |

<sup>14</sup> “Traditionally” the floors of houses in rural areas of Dawro are smeared with cow dung so that they do not get dusty and harbour fleas. If it is not done skillfully, it may not dry quickly and may be slippery. In urban areas, floors are covered with concrete or other materials.

<sup>15</sup> In rural areas of Dawro, houses are usually constructed using wooden materials. If the construction is poor, it does not hold the mud or cow dung that is plastered on.

<sup>16</sup> This is how my father’s and grandfather’s names are spelled in Dawro orthography.

| (15) | <b>Child</b>                                      | <b>Father</b>                 | <b>Grandfather</b>                                     |
|------|---|-------------------------------|--|
|      | <i>ʔarotaa</i> (m) ‘become strong!’               | <i>ʔayanaa</i> ‘spirit’       | <i>ʔanjajaa</i> ‘peace, wellness’                      |
|      | <i>ʔadankee</i> (m)                               | <i>ʔayzaa</i>                 | <i>ʔadak’oo</i>  |
|      | <i>Samʔalaa</i> (m)                               | <i>Sawaaree</i>               | <i>Saap’ooree</i>                                      |
|      | <i>Dooyamoo</i> (m) ‘let [God] consume the usual’ | <i>Doolangoo</i>              | <i>Dookuu</i>  |
|      | <i>Wotangoo</i> (m)                               | <i>Wojjuu</i> ‘reward, prize’ | <i>Woraaboo</i> ‘let him adulate you [God or a deity]’ |

In all the above examples, we notice that alliteration is applied to the initial consonant and vowel of the personal names. There are times when the alliteration is applied to the final sound of Dawro personal names as well, as in (16).

| (16) | <b>Child</b>                                | <b>Father</b>                       |
|------|---|-------------------------------------|
|      | <i>ʔattumoo</i> (m) ‘the male’              | <i>Laakoo</i>                       |
|      | <i>Zuulaa</i> (m) ‘howl’                    | <i>Maalaa</i> ‘non-artisan’         |
|      | <i>Daaʔimoo</i> (m) ‘let him be pleased’    | <i>Salpaak’oo</i>                   |
|      | <i>Laakoo</i> (m)                           | <i>Maatsoo</i> ‘of milk’            |
|      | <i>Baraataa</i> (m) ‘live long’             | <i>Dubaa</i> ‘gift’                 |
|      | <i>C’oraamoo</i> (m) ‘let him exploit many’ | <i>Diinatoo</i> ‘let him be clever’ |

There are also Dawro personal names that do not alliterate. There are various factors that make name givers bestow names that do not alliterate. As some of my interviewees explained, alliteration may be broken when the name givers: (a) want to remember the time in which the child was born, (b) want to remember a particular social, political, or economic circumstance into which the child was born, (c) are more interested in the sequence a child takes in the family (e.g., *Koyraa* ‘the first’, *Giddu/ Cirshee* ‘the middle/ centre’, *ʔoydaa* ‘the fourth’), (d) want to remember the names of relatives they love most, and (e) want to remember the names of popular figures in the society.

The following are examples in which names of children do not alliterate with that of their father and grandfather.

| (17) | <b>Child</b>                             | <b>Father</b>                             | <b>Grandfather</b> |
|------|--|---|--------------------|
|      | <i>C’imboo</i> (m)                       | <i>Tanstuu</i>                            | <i>Boroodaa</i>    |
|      | <i>Wojjuu</i> (m) ‘prize, award’         | <i>Manjoo</i>                             | <i>Gitimaa</i>     |
|      | <i>Gaamuu</i> (m) ‘lion’                 | <i>Buk’uroo</i>                           | <i>ʔonkee</i>      |
|      | <i>S’oonaa</i> (m) ‘win!’                | <i>ʔaggaaroo</i> ‘you who know forgiving’ | <i>Sawaaree</i>    |
|      | <i>Kochchoo</i> (m) ‘let God substitute’ | <i>Wojjuu</i>                             | <i>Bolʔee</i>      |

In the preceding sections, an attempt was made to explore the sociolinguistic aspects of Dawro names. From those discussions, we were able to see how personal names play a role beyond what they do as tools of identification to the bearers. The next section is about Dawro religious names.

## 7 Dawro religious names

Dawro indigenous names can be religious or non-religious (secular). There is no difference between the two categories in terms of function and the manner of giving names. The religious names, which are far less in number than the non-religious ones, are related to the “traditional” belief system. They are bestowed on children either by the parents or by the shaman the parents consult. The shaman is mainly consulted in relation to the children’s health, or the social and economic problems the parents face. Illustrative names are provided in (18). The shaman may sometimes advise parents to change the name of one of the existing children. Moreover, the shaman may propose names for newborns for parents who have lost a child or children (Inter. 06, December 21, 2018).

- |      |                    |                         |                                     |
|------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (18) | <i>ʔaakoo</i> (m)  | ‘let him get broader’   |                                     |
|      | <i>Gomaree</i> (f) | ‘slippery to hold back’ |                                     |
| (19) | <i>Wojjuu</i> (m)  | <i>Wojjee</i> (f)       | ‘reward, prize’                     |
|      | <i>Darc’uu</i> (m) | <i>Darc’ee</i> (f)      | ‘remainder of forage’ <sup>17</sup> |
|      | <i>ʔautee</i> (m)  | <i>ʔautee</i> (f)       | ‘compensation’                      |

If a child is born as prophesied, it is named *Palahaa* (m) / *Palahee* (f) ‘result of prophecy’. At times a person who wishes to marry a fertile woman may consult a shaman. In such cases the shaman proposes a new name for the would-be wife. Then, upon marriage, the husband changes the wife’s name to *ʔaddaaree* ‘mother of many’. *ʔaddaaree* is derived from the term *addaaruuwa*, which describes a head of barley or maize that holds grain on double heads, instead of single, and thereby gives much yield. There are also religious names which parents use to plead with God. Such verb-based names are given to male children only, as in (20). Other religious names relate to what the name givers offer God, as in (21).

- |      |                     |  |
|------|---------------------|--|
| (20) | <i>Zaaroo</i> (m)   | ‘let God recompense’                         |
|      | <i>Kochchoo</i> (m) | ‘let God substitute’                         |
|      | <i>Doka</i> (m)     | ‘[God] leave him as a leftover [from death]’ |
|      | <i>ʔanjaa</i> (m)   | ‘[God] bless [him]’                          |
|      | <i>Maaraa</i> (m)   | ‘[God] have mercy on him [child]’            |
| (21) | <i>Dooyamoo</i> (m) | ‘let [God] consume the usual’                |
|      | <i>Dooramoo</i> (m) | ‘let [God] consume the select’               |

The name *Daduu* (m) ‘spirit of thunder’ refers to the object of belief, whereas *Woraaboo* (m) ‘let him adulate you [God/a deity]’ commands the name bearer to commit himself to the spiritual act.

The non-religious names relate to different objects, the time at which children are born, fauna, flora, the sequence children take in the family, their physical appearance, etc. Some of the non-religious names share morphemes like *-moo* (‘let him exploit/consume’ or ‘are/have’) depending on word it is affixed to, *-naa* (‘son’) and *-eroo* (‘let him know’) being common. The following are examples of names with common suffixes.

<sup>17</sup> *Darc’aa* is the remaining forage that is left over when cattle are fed at home. This name is given with the belief that death will not have the appetite to take the child (leave it as a leftover).

|      |  |   |  |  |
|------|--|---|--|--|
| (22) | <i>Heebanaa</i><br>'child of honour'         | <i>?eraamoo</i><br>'you the<br>intelligent'       | <i>?aataeroo</i> <sup>18</sup><br>'you who know<br>better' | <i>C'oraamoo</i><br>'let him exploit<br>many'        |
|      | <i>Heeranaa</i><br>'child of the<br>village' | <i>Dibaamoo</i><br>'you who have<br>good muscles' | <i>?asaaroo</i><br>'you who know<br>people'                | <i>Heeramoo</i><br>'let him exploit the<br>village'  |
|      | <i>Goobanaa</i><br>'child of the<br>strong'  | <i>Doonaamoo</i><br>'you who are<br>orator'       | <i>?agaaroo</i><br>'you who know<br>forgiving'             | <i>S'oonaamoo</i><br>'let him exploit the<br>winner' |
|      | <i>Goodanaa</i><br>'child of the lord'       | <i>C'iishamoo</i><br>'you who are<br>flowery'     | <i>Meegaaroo</i><br>'you who know<br>fastening beams'      | <i>?olaamoo</i><br>'let him consume<br>the trophy'   |

As can be seen from the examples above, the morpheme *-moo* takes two meanings depending on the noun it is affixed to. When it is affixed to nouns referring to human behaviour or features, it means 'are/have', but when it is affixed to adjectives and nouns with attributes people can make use of, it means 'consume/ exploit'.

The data we have seen so far show that the overwhelming majority of Dawro names are transparent in that they may connect the child to the circumstances at birth, to other siblings in the family, to the parents' religious beliefs, or may be used just to express the parents' joy at the birth of a baby, or to serve as a description of the child. However, there are also non-transparent names that do not have definite meanings. Such names are given either for the purposes of al-literation, which is common in the naming systems of Dawro and other North Omoto linguistic groups, such as those of Gamo and Gofa.

## 8 The grammar of Dawro personal names

Various authorities assert that personal names in African naming systems reflect the grammar of the respective languages. This is because they are derived from the word classes of the languages (Zealelem, 2003; Van de Velde and Ambouroué, 2011). Although works on African naming practices are relatively numerous, the literature on the grammar of African personal names is scarce. Among writers on personal naming practices in Africa, Zealelem gives a detailed description of the grammar of Amharic personal names. Similarly, Van de Velde and Ambouroué (2011) conducted a detailed study of the grammar of proper names in Orungu, a Bantu language in Gabon. In this section of the paper, an attempt is made to briefly address some aspects of Dawro grammar in relation to personal names.

### 8.1 The phonological aspect

Different features of Dawro phonology are reflected in Dawro personal names. For example, except the bilabial plosive /p/, bilabial implosive /b (p')/, alveolar affricate /ts/, and alveo-palatal affricate /tʃ/, all consonant and vowel sounds of Dawro appear at the beginning of names. Among these, bilabial plosive /p/ and bilabial implosive /b (p')/ occur in the initial position in other words of the language, whereas alveolar affricate /ts/ and alveo-palatal affricate /tʃ/ do not

<sup>18</sup> Terms such as *aata-eroo*, *aga-eroo*, *meega-eroo*, etc. are pronounced as *ataaroo*, *agaaroo*, *meegaaroo*, etc., because the vowel at the beginning of the second morpheme assimilates with the vowel at the end of the first morpheme.



occur initially at all in any words. Examples of words in which /p/ and /b (p')/ occur initially include *pilaa* 'cheese', *pok'uwa* 'bark of woody stem', *piiliya* 'hen's claw', *piiriya* 'cabbage worm', *pojiya* 'confidential issue, secret' *p'iriya* 'trap', *p'urs'us's'aa* 'short and fat' *p'iniya* 'plug of a hole on a churn'.

However, names that begin with sounds such as /d' (d'), e, i, k', dʒ (j), n, s', y, and z/ are fewer in number, as was seen from the 361 names I collected. There are 7 names that begin with /e/, /z/, and /y/ each, 5 with /i/, /j (dʒ)/ and /k'/ each, 4 with /s'/, 3 with /n/, and 1 with /d' (d)/. Names which begin with the letter /b/ are of the largest number, 46, followed by those that begin with /a/, 44, /d/, 33 and /g/, 28. Again, while no Dawro name (and no Dawro word) begins with a consonant cluster, all names (and all Dawro words) end in vowels. No Dawro "traditional" name (and no Dawro word) ends in a consonant. For the relative frequency of vowel and consonant sounds in "traditional" Dawro personal names see Table 1 below.

All feminine names end with only one vowel – the mid front vowel /e/ – whereas masculine names end in all vowels except /i/. See the examples in (23).

| (23) | Male              | Female            | Gloss                 |
|------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
|      | <i>Buukaa</i>     | <i>Buukee</i>     | 'of short physique'   |
|      | <i>Wojjuu</i>     | <i>Wojjee</i>     | 'prize, award'        |
|      | <i>C'iishamoo</i> | <i>C'iishamee</i> | 'flowery'             |
|      | <i>Darotaa</i>    | <i>Darotee</i>    | 'greatness, honour'   |
|      | <i>?eraamoo</i>   | <i>?eraamee</i>   | 'you the intelligent' |
|      | <i>?okashuu</i>   | <i>?okashee</i>   | 'mace, kind of spice' |
|      | -                 | <i>Terenkee</i>   | no definite meaning   |
|      | -                 | <i>S'oolintee</i> | 'star'                |
|      | -                 | <i>Toroojee</i>   | 'Alpha Centauri'      |

As we can see from the examples, although the names of males end in /a/, /u/, and /o/, the names of female counterparts end only in /e/. Male names have more vowel sound options than do the female names. In addition to vowel sounds /a/, /u/, and /o/, Dawro male names also end in the vowel /e/. Examples of Dawro male names which end in /e/ are given in (24).

|      |                      |                     |
|------|----------------------|---------------------|
| (24) | <i>Bol?ee</i> (m)    | 'gets warm'         |
|      | <i>Bal??ee</i> (m)   | no definite meaning |
|      | <i>Botoree</i> (m)   | no definite meaning |
|      | <i>?adankee</i> (m)  | no definite meaning |
|      | <i>?ambushee</i> (m) | no definite meaning |

We can observe that the vowels in which male names end do not make any difference when the names are changed into female names. The only name that is used for both genders (i.e., unisex name) is *?uutee*. In contrast to Dawro names, in some African societies, for instance, among the Amhara of Ethiopia (Zeleealem, 2003) and the Akan of Ghana (Agyekum, 2006), there are more names that can be used for both genders.

**Table 1:** The relative frequency of letters in Dawro personal names in initial and final positions

| No | Letter | Name initial | Name final | No | Letter | Name initial | Name final |
|----|--------|--------------|------------|----|--------|--------------|------------|
| 1  | a      | 44           | 82         | 14 | l      | 9            |            |
| 2  | b      | 46           |            | 15 | m      | 15           |            |
| 3  | c'     | 18           |            | 16 | n      | 3            |            |
| 4  | d      | 33           |            | 17 | o      | 14           | 153        |
| 5  | d'     | 1            |            | 18 | s      | 12           |            |
| 6  | e      | 7            | 130        | 19 | s'     | 4            |            |
| 7  | p      | 14           |            | 20 | sh     | 10           |            |
| 8  | g      | 28           |            | 21 | t      | 15           |            |
| 9  | h      | 11           |            | 22 | u      | 15           | 23         |
| 10 | i      | 5            |            | 23 | w      | 13           |            |
| 11 | j      | 5            |            | 24 | y      | 7            |            |
| 12 | k      | 22           |            | 25 | z      | 7            |            |
| 13 | k'     | 5            |            |    |        |              |            |

## 8.2 The morphological aspect

Dawro names show morphological structures that can be simple or complex. The following are examples of monomorphemic names:

- (25) *Wolaa* (m) type of fig tree, sycamore  
*Dokaa* (m) 'remainder, leftover (of food)'  
*Darotaa* (m) 'greatness, honour'  
*Wogaa* (m) 'Sunday'  
*ʔumaa* (m) 'Omo River'  
*ʔorbaa* (m) 'Friday'

All of the monomorphemic names are derived from nouns. According to Dawit (2016, 95), Dawro nouns inflect for definiteness, number, gender, and case. All of the Dawro names in the examples above have masculine gender marking.

There are bi-morphemic Dawro names that are derived from nouns, verbs, and adjectives. The following are examples of noun- and adjective-based names:<sup>19</sup>

- |     |  |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|
| (26 | <i>Siik'otee</i> (f)<br>love-1SG.POSS<br>'my love' | <i>Karetsoo</i> (m)<br>black.DEF<br>'the black'                   | <i>ʔaduk'ee</i> (f)<br>tall.2FS<br>'the tall'                   |
|     | <i>Gaamuu</i> (m)<br>lion.DEF<br>'the lion'        | <i>Torgonee</i> (f)<br>haricot_bean.1SG.POSS<br>'my haricot bean' | <i>ʔeraamoo</i> (m)<br>intelligent.2MS.DEF<br>'the intelligent' |

<sup>19</sup> Glossing abbreviations: 1SG = first person singular 2SG = second person singular; 3SG = third person singular; DEF = definite; F = female; FS = female singular; JUSS = jussive; M = male; MS = male singular

Dawro names that are verb-based mainly take two forms: imperative (27) and jussive (28).

- |      |  |   |   |   |
|------|--|---|---|---|
| (27) | <i>ʔaysaa</i><br>administer.2SG.M<br>'administer!'                             | <i>Dolaa</i><br>germinate.2SG.M<br>'germinate!'                                     | <i>Maadaa</i><br>help.2SG.M<br>'help!'                            | <i>Polaa</i><br>succeed.2SG.M<br>'succeed!' |
| (28) | <i>Heeramoo</i><br>exploit.village.3SG.M.JUSS<br>'let him exploit the village' | <i>Doogisoo</i><br>make.forget.3SG.M.JUSS<br>'let him make us forget<br>[the loss]' | <i>Paltaamoo</i><br>feel_proud.3SG.M.JUSS<br>'let him feel proud' |   |

As we can see from the above examples, Dawro imperative names are all male names; this is similar to the findings of Zelealem (2003). Dawro imperative names also do not indicate a recipient of the action when the verb is transitive. In the name *ʔaysaa* 'administer!', for example, the recipient could be us, them, the country, etc. But in imperative names like *Dic'aa* 'grow up!', the recipient is definite.

There are also Dawro names with multiple morphemes, as shown in (29).

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| (29) | <i>ʔaak-eris-o</i><br>widely-get_known-3SG.M.JUSS<br>'let him get known widely' | <i>Heera-naa</i><br>village.DEF-son<br>'son of the village'   |
|      | <i>Gooba-nee</i><br>strong.DEF-daughter<br>'daughter of the strong'             | <i>S'oonaa-m-oo</i><br>eat.winner-3SG.M.JUSS<br>'let him exploit the winner'                                      |
|      | <i>ʔasa-er-e (f)</i><br>people-know-2SG.F<br>'you who know people'              | <i>Meegaa-er-oo</i><br>apply.reinforcement_beam-know-2SG.M<br>'you who know [how to] install reinforcement beams' |

The bi-morphemic and multimorphemic names are derived from verbs, nouns, and adjectives. In terms of number, the monomorphemic names are fewer than the bi-morphemic and multimorphemic ones. Out of the total names collected, 104 (28.8%) were monomorphemic.

The prevalence of all the features of Dawro naming practices that have been discussed in Sections 5 – 7 have been decreasing due to changes in name choices, mainly because of external cultural forces like the introduction of Christianity and modern education. As a result, nowadays, parents in urban areas give Amharic and Christian names to their children. Moreover, students who come from rural backgrounds change their names to Amharic and Christian names when they reach grade five and above. I feel that understanding the dynamics in the naming practices in the area deserves a scientific investigation in its own right.

## 9 Concluding remarks

This article, as the first attempt in Dawro onomastics, aimed to explore the various factors that shape personal naming practices in Dawro. Children may be given childhood names first and

permanent names later, or they may be given permanent names from the outset. These names may or may not have definite meanings.

The social and cultural contexts and the economic circumstances into which children are born determine the personal names given to children. As a result, sometimes children are given “traditional” Dawro names that have negative connotations. There are also many names that reflect the Dawro belief system, their conception of the immediate environment, and their wishes for their children.

Although the meaning of names is given due attention by the name givers, there are names bestowed on children just for the sake of alliteration, making Dawro names a mix of transparent and non-transparent, in terms of meaning. From the names bestowed on children, one can learn the feelings and emotions of the name givers at the time of childbirth, the values they had about the social and physical world, the history of the family, and the aspirations of the parents. Through alliteration and rhyming, oral poetry and songs also exert their influence on Dawro names.

It seems that the use of native names is steadily declining in the area. This could partly be attributed to speakers’ lack of awareness about the role personal names play as markers of their identity, beliefs, ideology, religion, and culture. Besides, choosing to privilege other values that have been introduced to the area due to education, new religions, urbanization (i.e., cosmopolitanism/internationalism), media influence, desire for prestige, etc., could also be thought to have contributed to the declining use of native names. Further studies might help us to learn more about how changing ideologies have changed the naming practices of the people.

The grammar of Dawro names has been treated in this paper, focusing mainly on phonology and morphology. Looking at them in relation to the syntax of the language needs further investigation.

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### **Appendix: List of Dawro “Traditional” Personal Names**

The following is a list of “traditional” personal names of the Dawro people, speakers of one of the Omotic languages, in southwestern Ethiopia. In the list, 361 of the names were what I collected for this study of Dawro names and naming practices. More names have been added to the list recently. Among the personal names, some are names with forms for males and female counterparts. For such names both forms have been given, the form for males first and that for females after a slash. For example, for the name *Bakaaloo/ee*, *Bakaaloo* is the name of a male and *Bakaalee* is the name of a female. Names that are used for females only have been indicated with (f). For names with definite meanings, the meanings have been given alongside each name.

**Dawro Personal Names and Naming Practices**

*Mengistu Dinato Didenä*

| No | Name          | Meaning                           | No | Name           | Meaning                  |
|----|---------------|-----------------------------------|----|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1  | Attumoo       | male                              | 44 | Aamoo/ee       | baby                     |
| 2  | Agenee (f)    | moon                              | 45 | Baac'iree (f)  | Dawro cultural food      |
| 3  | Agoo          | let him [God] leave               | 46 | Baattalaa/ee   | relaxation, recreation   |
| 4  | Adiloo        | autumn                            | 47 | Bakaaloo/ee    | eldest child             |
| 5  | Aypaamoo/ee   | one who has big eyes              | 48 | Babuloo/ee     |                          |
| 6  | Albazoo       |                                   | 49 | Bootsoo        | white                    |
| 7  | Arba          | Friday                            | 50 | Bii?ee         | miniature                |
| 8  | Amamoo/ee     |                                   | 51 | Bonkee         |                          |
| 9  | Amalee        | naughty                           | 52 | Bochoree       |                          |
| 10 | Ashaa         | save him                          | 53 | Botoree        |                          |
| 11 | Alleek'oo     | let him be proud                  | 54 | Buukuloo       | short and fat            |
| 12 | Aleebee (f)   |                                   | 55 | Buukaa/ee      | of short physique        |
| 13 | Anjaa         | bless                             | 56 | Bushuu         |                          |
| 14 | Amaamoo/ee    | you who are ambitious             | 57 | Bushuroo       |                          |
| 15 | Anjajoo/ee    | peace                             | 58 | Butaak'oo      |                          |
| 16 | Ank'ashee (f) | dirt, garbage, rubbish            | 59 | Baladee (f)    |                          |
| 17 | Ashank'ee (f) | cool, decent                      | 60 | Butee (f)      | small earthenware        |
| 18 | Apangoo       |                                   | 61 | Baachooree     |                          |
| 19 | Agantsoo      |                                   | 62 | Bal?ashee (f)  |                          |
| 20 | Akirsoo       | let him make [us]<br>known widely | 63 | Baljuuk'ee (f) |                          |
| 21 | Akeekoo       | remember                          | 64 | Bataamee (f)   |                          |
| 22 | Aloodee       |                                   | 65 | Bareedoo/ee    |                          |
| 23 | Aleebe (f)    |                                   | 66 | Baalotee (f)   | well nourished           |
| 24 | Abichoo       |                                   | 67 | Baturee (f)    |                          |
| 25 | Amboomaa      | (n) advocate                      | 68 | Baatree (f)    |                          |
| 26 | Atark'ee (f)  |                                   | 69 | Baluk'ee (f)   | mule                     |
| 27 | Aziimee (f)   | type of grass                     | 70 | Borsaamoo      |                          |
| 28 | Asee (f)      | servant                           | 71 | Badaloo        | maize                    |
| 29 | Addaaree (f)  | mother of many                    | 72 | Bagajoo        | let him get old          |
| 30 | Amatee (f)    | my comfort                        | 73 | Boronkoo       |                          |
| 31 | Angaamoo      | you who have energy               | 74 | Baalaa         |                          |
| 32 | Arotaa/ee     | be strong                         | 75 | Banguu         | barley                   |
| 33 | Ashkee        | stable, calm                      | 76 | Baaboree       |                          |
| 34 | Aakoo         | let him become wide               | 77 | Baadeboo       |                          |
| 35 | Ark'oo        |                                   | 78 | Buraatoo       | Dawro cultural food      |
| 36 | Allaabaa      |                                   | 79 | Baapanaa       |                          |
| 37 | Araruu        |                                   | 80 | Baapee         |                          |
| 38 | Assuree (f)   | spring (season)                   | 81 | Baraataa       | be blessed, be abundant  |
| 39 | Aggenoo       | stubborn                          | 82 | Baasaa         | base, foundation         |
| 40 | Aggaaroo      | you who know<br>forgiving         | 83 | Baashuu        | let her [Mary] leave him |
| 41 | Ayloo/ee      | slave                             | 84 | Beetaa         | let you outshine         |
| 42 | Aysaa         | administer                        | 85 | Bogiroo        |                          |
| 43 | Ayzaa         |                                   |    |                |                          |

**Dawro Personal Names and Naming Practices**

*Mengistu Dinato Didenä*

| No  | Name           | Meaning                         | No  | Name          | Meaning                              |
|-----|----------------|---------------------------------|-----|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| 86  | Buraak'oo      | let him jump, leap with joy     | 127 | Doka          | [God] leave him as a leftover        |
| 87  | Booyanaa       |                                 | 128 | Dolaa         | germinate                            |
| 88  | Baaranaa       | child of comfort                | 129 | Doogisoo      | let him make us forget               |
| 89  | Burak'aa       | let you jump/leap with joy      | 130 | Doodichoo     |                                      |
| 90  | Buutuloo       |                                 | 131 | Donee (f)     | potato                               |
| 91  | Buukuloo       | short                           | 132 | Duunaa        |                                      |
| 92  | Buk'uree (f)   |                                 | 133 | Dooraalet     | you [God] choose from                |
| 93  | Buk'uroo       |                                 | 134 | Dam?ashee (f) |                                      |
| 94  | Bulgoo         |                                 | 135 | Daa?imoo/ee   | let him be happy                     |
| 95  | Bol?ee         |                                 | 136 | Daashuree (f) |                                      |
| 96  | Boore          |                                 | 137 | Daamootaa     |                                      |
| 97  | Boonattoo      |                                 | 138 | Darotaa/ee    | greatness, honour                    |
| 98  | C'iishamoo/ee  | flowery                         | 139 | Dooyamoo      | let you [God] consume the usual      |
| 99  | C'ac'iroo/ee   | cleanser                        | 140 | Dooramoo/ee   | let you [God] consume the select     |
| 100 | C'aakisoo      |                                 | 141 | Doojamoo      |                                      |
| 101 | C'aree         | sign of delight                 | 142 | Doolangoo     |                                      |
| 102 | C'amuu         | bitter                          | 143 | Dookuu        |                                      |
| 103 | C'ac'apee (f)  |                                 | 144 | Darc'oo/ee    | let him [God] leave you as left over |
| 104 | C'aandoree (f) |                                 |     |               | leftover forage                      |
| 105 | C'aac'ee (f)   | minute                          | 145 | Darc'uu       | gift                                 |
| 106 | C'ambaree (f)  |                                 | 146 | Dubaa         |                                      |
| 107 | C'uutuloo      | black                           | 147 | Dilboo        |                                      |
| 108 | C'am?ashee (f) |                                 | 148 | Dibiloo       |                                      |
| 109 | C'iimaa        | lull, make calm                 | 149 | Diinattoo     | let him be cunning/crafty            |
| 110 | C'oporee       |                                 | 150 | Diidanaa      |                                      |
| 111 | C'ok'aa        |                                 | 151 | Dagooyee      |                                      |
| 112 | C'oraamoo      | let you exploit the mass        | 152 | D'aabato      |                                      |
| 113 | C'udaraa       |                                 | 153 | Etelaa        |                                      |
| 114 | C'irshee       | centre/middle                   | 154 | Eesoo/ee      | fast                                 |
| 115 | C'iroo         | iris of the eye                 | 155 | Enkeshee (f)  |                                      |
| 116 | C'oldodaa      |                                 | 156 | Edoo          |                                      |
| 117 | C'ogooroo      |                                 | 157 | Erbaloo       |                                      |
| 118 | C'oroo         | many                            | 158 | Eenuu         |                                      |
| 119 | Daduu          | thunder                         | 159 | Eeramoo       | you who have wisdom/knowledge        |
| 120 | Dagattaa/ee    | become plenty                   |     |               | succeed                              |
| 121 | Dangarsoo      | elephant                        | 160 | Polaa         |                                      |
| 122 | De?aa          | die not                         | 161 | Ponkaaroo     |                                      |
| 123 | Dinkaw         | a player of Dinkaa <sup>1</sup> | 162 | Polamoo       |                                      |
| 124 | Dunkee (f)     | sacred basil                    | 163 | Pultee (f)    | water source                         |
| 125 | Dushaa         |                                 | 164 | Ponk'amoo     |                                      |
| 126 | Dooshaa        | familiarize                     | 165 | Pis's'oo      |                                      |

<sup>1</sup>The longest musical wind instrument in the world.

**Dawro Personal Names and Naming Practices**

*Mengistu Dinato Didena*

| No  | Name         | Meaning                  | No  | Name        | Meaning                                  |
|-----|--------------|--------------------------|-----|-------------|--|
| 166 | Paltaamoo/ee | let him feel proud       | 200 | Helisoo     |  |
| 167 | Patsaa       | [God] heal him           | 201 | Haaringoo   |  |
| 168 | Palahaa/ee   | exceed                   | 202 | Heelamoo    |  |
| 169 | Po?eenoo     | light, bright            | 203 | Heebanaa    | son of praise                            |
| 170 | Pooshaa      |                          | 204 | Heeranaa    | son of the village                       |
| 171 | Putesaa      | short                    | 205 | Hooshuu     | of fat body build                        |
| 172 | Pulaasaa     | name of a place          | 206 | Ililoo/ee   | liquid honey                             |
| 173 | Polkee       |                          | 207 | Injoo/ee    | luxury, comfort, convenience             |
| 174 | Pol?ee       |                          |     |             |  |
| 175 | Pal?anee (f) |                          | 208 | Italee (f)  |  |
| 176 | Gosoomoo     |                          | 209 | Ishaloo/ee  | indulgence, comfort                      |
| 177 | Gooparoo     |                          | 210 | Irkoo       |  |
| 178 | Gaasharoo    |                          | 211 | Jabaroo     |  |
| 179 | Gaashee      | teff <sup>2</sup>        | 212 | Jaarisoo    | let him make you restless                |
| 180 | Galaasoo     | midday                   |     |             |  |
| 181 | Go?aa        | let you be useful        | 213 | Jaggisoo    | let him hurry you / urge you to be fast  |
| 182 | Godetoo      | let him become a lord    |     |             |  |
| 183 | Goosaloo     |                          | 214 | Jobiroo     |  |
| 184 | Goobaa       | big                      | 215 | Jaanamoo    |  |
| 185 | Goobannaa/ee | son/daughter of the big  | 216 | Kamaa       | cover                                    |
| 186 | Gaamuu       | lion                     | 217 | Kalaloo     |  |
| 187 | Gazee        |                          | 218 | Kabbisoo    |  |
| 188 | Gidduu       | middle                   | 219 | Kochchoo    | let God substitute                       |
| 189 | Ginbaatoo    |                          | 220 | Kuutee (f)  | of short height                          |
| 190 | Ginboo       |                          | 221 | Kuloo/ee    | small lump                               |
| 191 | Gitimaa      |                          | 222 | Kutoo/ee    | hen                                      |
| 192 | Gazumaa      |                          | 223 | Kiikisoo    | he who does not give rest                |
| 193 | Ganbazoo     |                          |     |             |  |
| 194 | Gawushuu     |                          | 224 | Kambooo     |  |
| 195 | Gaagaa       |                          | 225 | Kombee      | famous, prominent                        |
| 196 | Gabaaboo     |                          | 226 | Koyraa      | first                                    |
| 197 | Gom?aamo/ee  | large, fat               | 227 | Kotooroo    | name of river in Dawro                   |
| 198 | Gom?olee     |                          | 228 | Keteeroo    |  |
| 199 | Gooduu       |                          | 229 | Keteroo     |  |
| 200 | Goduu        |                          | 230 | Keehamoo/ee |  |
| 201 | Gujja        | add                      | 231 | Keeshamoo   |  |
| 202 | Gumbaree     |                          | 232 | Kerbuu      |  |
| 203 | Geesamoo/ee  | someone with good height | 233 | Kukamoo     |  |
| 204 | Haas'iyoo    |                          | 234 | Kantsaa     | let you succeed                          |
| 205 | Halaaboo     |                          | 235 | Kooraa      | let you prepare [horse/ mule] to ride on |
| 206 | Hadaroo      | you the great            |     |             |  |
| 208 | Hoosetoo     |                          | 236 | Kiitaa      | give order                               |
| 209 | Halalaa      |                          | 237 | Kanpashee   |  |
|     |              |                          | 238 | Kanitoo     | dog                                      |
|     |              |                          | 239 | K'ajeelaa   |  |

<sup>2</sup>Popular crop in Ethiopia from which injera is prepared.



**Dawro Personal Names and Naming Practices**

*Mengistu Dinato Didenä*

| No  | Name           | Meaning                                | No  | Name            | Meaning                            |
|-----|----------------|--|-----|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| 240 | K'onc'ee       | he who can be seen from afar           | 280 | Onpee           |                                    |
| 241 | K'oorasee      | type of bird                           | 281 | Oopanee (f)     | shaman's entrance, fence           |
| 242 | K'olchaa       |  | 282 | Osuu            | rhinoceros                         |
| 243 | K'an?aa        | let you get good luck                  | 283 | Otooroo         | prideful, proud                    |
| 244 | Kon?uu         | broken earthenware                     | 284 | Ololoo          | warrior                            |
| 245 | Lil?amoo       | he who knows how to calm down/smoothen | 285 | Orggee          |                                    |
| 246 | Langanoo       |  | 286 | Odaamoo         |                                    |
| 247 | Laakamoo       |  | 287 | Okantsoo        |                                    |
| 248 | Lootamoo/ee    | he who has earrings                    | 288 | Olkuu/ee        |                                    |
| 249 | Loojaa         | shrewd, tricky                         | 289 | Oshitoo/ee      | cow dung                           |
| 250 | Laalamoo/ee    | he/she who has few brothers/sisters    | 290 | Oydaa           | four                               |
| 251 | Lo?itee (f)    | attractive                             | 291 | Okasho/ee       | cardamom                           |
| 252 | Leek'aamoo     | he who yields                          | 292 | Oodaa           |                                    |
| 253 | Lamooree       |  | 293 | Onchee          |                                    |
| 254 | Laaloo         | type of tree                           | 294 | Oogatoo         |                                    |
| 255 | Laakoo         |  | 295 | Oydentsoo       | fourth                             |
| 256 | Maldoo         | sorghum                                | 296 | Sooraatoo       |                                    |
| 257 | Maadaa         | [God] help him                         | 297 | Sawaaree        |                                    |
| 258 | Maahee         | tiger                                  | 298 | Sagaayee        | bracelet                           |
| 259 | Maalimoo/ee    | very black                             | 299 | Saap'ooree      |                                    |
| 260 | Maaraa         | [God] have mercy on him                | 300 | Sakaaloo        |                                    |
| 261 | Mad'ee         |  | 301 | Siigatoo        |                                    |
| 262 | Malapoo        |  | 302 | Siikotee (f)    | my love                            |
| 263 | Malsapo        |  | 303 | Sam?alaa        |                                    |
| 264 | Maleekoo       |  | 304 | Salas'oo        |                                    |
| 265 | Manjoo         | "Manja" tribe                          | 305 | Santalee (f)    |                                    |
| 266 | Manuu          | "Manaa" tribe                          | 306 | Saanimoo        |                                    |
| 267 | Mazzee         |  | 307 | Sil?oo/ee       | idle                               |
| 268 | Mentsaa        | buffalo                                | 308 | Siiliso/ee      | Dawro cultural food                |
| 269 | Minotaa        | strength, fearlessness                 | 309 | S'oopuu         |                                    |
| 270 | Milkoo         |  | 310 | S'oolintee (f)  | star                               |
| 271 | Mukoo          |  | 311 | S'oonaa         | win                                |
| 272 | Mukuloo        |  | 312 | S'oonamoo       | let him exploit the winner         |
| 273 | Mul?atee (f)   |  | 313 | Sham?aree (f)   |                                    |
| 274 | Mutushee (f)   |  | 314 | Shurkee         |                                    |
| 275 | Muukaa         |  | 315 | Shunkaa         |                                    |
| 276 | Nashechoo/ee   | pleasing                               | 316 | Shunaraa        | delicious, convenient              |
| 277 | Narc'ac'ee (f) | calm, peaceful, well-mannered          | 317 | Shongapoo       |                                    |
| 278 | Naatree (f)    | medicinal plant                        | 318 | Shannuu         | smooth hair                        |
| 279 | Nooratoo       |  | 319 | Shamanaa        | son of one who exploited thousands |
|     |                |  | 320 | Shom?uu         | soft, comfortable                  |
|     |                |  | 321 | Shaashootee (f) |                                    |

**Dawro Personal Names and Naming Practices**

*Mengistu Dinato Didenä*

| No  | Name          | Meaning  | No  | Name          | Meaning                              |
|-----|---------------|--|-----|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| 322 | Shi?oo/ee     | human faeces                                       | 361 | Woraaboo      | let him adulate you<br>[God/a deity] |
| 323 | Shongee       | taste, odour                                       |     |               |                                      |
| 324 | Tanstuu       | tenth  | 362 | Wojooroo      |                                      |
| 325 | Torojee (f)   | Alpha Centauri                                     | 363 | Wotangoo      |                                      |
| 326 | Taajuree (f)  |  | 364 | Wogaa         | big, Sunday                          |
| 327 | Tomamee (f)   |  | 365 | Wogaasoo      | big man                              |
| 328 | Toomaa/moo    | butt of a spear                                    | 366 | Waajeboo      |                                      |
| 329 | Tigroo        |  | 367 | Wajipoo       |                                      |
| 330 | Tuujee        |  | 368 | Yayaa         | come again and again                 |
| 331 | Tooruu        | spear  | 369 | Yayoonee (f)  | come, whoever you are                |
| 332 | Togaa         | ride, gallop [horse/<br>mule]                      | 370 | Yaarechoo/ee  | one who is yearned for               |
|     |               |  | 371 | Yegelsoo/ee   | attractive                           |
| 333 | Torbook'oo    | soft and swampy                                    | 372 | Yootaa        | let you talk                         |
| 334 | Tuusaa pole   |  | 373 | Yontoree (f)  |                                      |
| 335 | Tubbee        |  | 374 | Yontolee (f)  | beautiful                            |
| 336 | Torgonee (f)  | haricot bean                                       | 375 | Zuulaa        |                                      |
| 337 | Terenkee (f)  |  | 376 | Zatulee (f)   |                                      |
| 338 | Titoo         | name for puppies                                   | 377 | Zaazootee (f) |                                      |
| 339 | Uukamoo       |  | 378 | Zaazaa        |                                      |
| 340 | Uutaa         | replacement  | 379 | Zaaroo        | let [God] recompense                 |
| 341 | Uutinoo       | let [God] replace for                              | 380 | Zeegaroo      |                                      |
|     | you           |  | 381 | Zoretee (f)   | of advice                            |
| 342 | Upoo          |  |     |               |                                      |
| 343 | Umaa          | name of big river<br>(Omo River)                   |     |               |                                      |
| 344 | Ushechoo      | support, assistance                                |     |               |                                      |
| 345 | Upaysee (f)   | happiness, pleasure                                |     |               |                                      |
| 346 | Usee (f)      | a small animal which<br>feeds on<br>bees and honey |     |               |                                      |
| 347 | Urk'atoo      | muddy  |     |               |                                      |
| 348 | Usuk'ee (f)   | name of vegetable                                  |     |               |                                      |
| 349 | Ushushee (f)  | name of vegetable                                  |     |               |                                      |
| 350 | Uupaa         |  |     |               |                                      |
| 351 | Uroo/ee       | serf   |     |               |                                      |
| 352 | Uukaa         |  |     |               |                                      |
| 353 | Uutee (m & f) | compensation                                       |     |               |                                      |
| 354 | Wojjuu/ee     | prize, award                                       |     |               |                                      |
| 355 | Wojitoo       |  |     |               |                                      |
| 356 | Wolkaa        | energy   |     |               |                                      |
| 357 | Wolkaamoo/ee  | s/he who has energy                                |     |               |                                      |
| 358 | Wolanchoo     |  |     |               |                                      |
| 359 | Wontaa        | morning  |     |               |                                      |
| 360 | Worankoo      |  |     |               |                                      |