

With the administrative reform of 1991, the *awraġġa* disappeared: the lowlands were incorporated into the *‘Afar kəllal* and the highlands into the Amhara *kəllal* (North Šäwa Administrative Zone). Between 1970 and 1984, its population more than doubled, from 141,500 (14 inhabitants/km²) to 331,271 inhabitants (32.8 inhabitants/km²). By adding the *wärādas* of the highlands, including Anšokiya and Gänz (225.4 inhabitants/km²), Efrata and Gädäm (281.9 inhabitants/km²), Mafud Mäzazo Mog and Nadära (132.8 inhabitants/km²), as well as Qäwät (151.5 inhabitants/km²), the population reaches almost 500,000 inhabitants.

Lit.: CSA 1998; CSA 2000; CSA 1984; ÉLISABETH CHOUVIN, *Gestion des ressources végétales et pratiques paysannes en Éthiopie Centrale. Le cas des oélagineux*, thèse d'ethnobotanique, Musée d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris 2003; DESSALEGN RAHMATO, *Famines and Survival Strategies: a Case Study for Northeast Ethiopia*, Uppsala 1991; ÉLOI FICQUET, "À la découverte des amhariques. Langues et histoires éthiopiennes en regard", *Cahiers d'Études Africaines* 41, 163–64, cahiers 3–4, 2001, 497–515; EMAtlas; *Guida*; MesfGeogr.

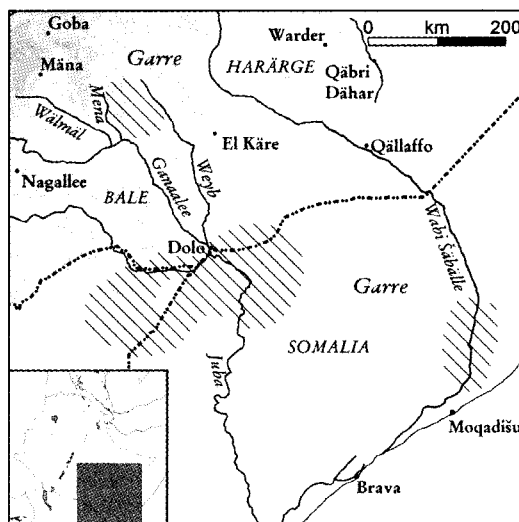
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Garre

G. (also referred to in the literature as Garreh, Gerra, Gherra, Garri etc.) is a Somali clan found in southern Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya. According to Lewis (1955:27), the G. inhabit at least four different locations: the lower reaches of the Šäbälle river near Awdegle, in southern Somalia; two areas in Ethiopia: around the border town of Dolo in the Upper Juba and bordering and intermingled with the ↗Arsi in an area between the Wabi Ġestro (Wäyb) and the Wabi Mäna; and further to the south in northern Kenya between the Aġuraan and Digodia Somali.

Except for those G. living along the lower course of the Šäbälle river in southern Somalia and who speak a distinctive Somali variety, all the other G. are to a greater or lesser extent oromized and are part and parcel of those groups of "Proto-Rendille-Somali" culture which, according to Schlee (1989), have undergone "Booranization" after the 16th cent. While Booranization is apparently complete as far as language is concerned, the G. consider themselves and are considered Somali.

As to the agnatic position of the G. within the Somali clanic families, Colucci (1924), followed by Lewis (1955), considered them to represent the numerically most important clan of the "pre-



Hawiye" family, who had preceded the ↗Hawiye in a very early migration from the north of Somalia. Local traditions investigated by Mohamed Nuuh Ali (1985) and already referred to by Cerulli (1957) and Turton (1975) ascribe to the G. (or a part thereof) a central role in the "Somalization" of the Lower Juba and of the coastal area around its mouth. In the course of their migrations, the G. came into contact with the Northern-Swahili-speaking Bajuni of the Bajuni Islands (certain Bajuni sections claim a G. origin) and dominated the whole area until the Orma invasions of the 16th cent. The most important linguistic result of the G. presence in what is today southern Somalia and northern Kenya has been the Somalization of the Boni (or Aweera), a hunting and gathering group of a few thousands living in the forest belt stretching along the coast of the Indian Ocean, immediately to the south of the Somalia-Kenya border (Tosco 1994b).

While nothing specifically links the G. to the north, there does not seem to be any evidence either of an ancient southward migration, all pointing to a "southern" origin of the G. in an area of strong Oromo/Somali (and Rendille) interaction. The internal clan-structure of the G. supports this view: like many groups of the area, the G. divide themselves into two moieties, which among the G. are called Tuuf and Quran-yow; many almost identical names of sections are further found among the Rendille (cf. Schlee 1989 and Tosco 1994a).

Linguistically, the G. of southern Somalia speak a distinctive variety of Somali (Tosco 1989), which Lamberti (1985) classifies within

his highly heterogeneous "Digil group" of dialects (although, agnatically speaking, the G. have nothing to do with the Digil clanic family). Giving credit to the historical traditions referred to above, the language of the G. (i.e. of the G. of southern Somalia) finds its closest linguistic relative, not among any other Somali dialects, but in the Boni language. The most important and unique isogloss linking G. and Boni is the devoicing of initial /d/ and /g/ (whereby these G. call themselves Karre and their language Af-Karre).

All the other G. groups, as anticipated, speak varieties of (Southern) Oromo.

Lit.: MOHAMED NUUH ALL, *History of the Horn of Africa, 1000 B.C.–1500 A.D.: Aspects of Social and Economic Change between the Rift Valley and the Indian Ocean*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, CA 1985; ENRICO CERULLI, *Somalia: scritti vari editi ed inediti*, Roma 1957; MASSIMO COLUCCI, *Principi di diritto consuetudinario della Somalia Italiana Meridionale*, Firenze 1924; MARCELLO LAMBERTI, *Die Somali-Dialekte*, Hamburg 1985; LewPeople 27; GÜNTHER SCHLEE, *Identities on the Move: Clanship and Pastoralism in Northern Kenya*, Manchester 1989; MAURO TOSCO, *Schizzo grammaticale del dialetto Karre di Qoryooley*, Roma 1989; ID., "Notes on the Agnatic Structure of the Garre (Southern Somalia)", *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 54, 3, 1994a, 401–06; ID., "The Historical Reconstruction of a Southern Somali Dialect: Proto-Karre-Boni", *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 15, 1994b, 153–209; E. ROMILY TURTON, "Bantu, Galla and Somali Migrations in the Horn of Africa: a Reassessment of the Juba/Tana Area", *JAH* 16, 4, 1975, 519–37.

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Gaš

The G. (Arab. بحر القاش, *Hur al-Qāš*, in the Sudan pronounced *Hor al-Gāš*; Kunama *Sona*, *Soba*) is a seasonal river running through Eritrea and the Sudan. About 680 km long, it originates in the Eritrean highlands south-west of Asmara (called there ↗Märäb). In dialectology the term "G." designates a Beḡa dialect; the G. region is an ancient settlement-area, allowing a local dialect to develop (s. Morin 1999).

Debates among 19th-cent. European geographers on whether the G. and the Märäb were one river were solved by ↗Munzinger on his expedition to the Kunama (Munzinger 1890:359). From Arakebu on, the Märäb leaves the mountains and enters into the plains, in the beginning flowing underground. At this stage it is known under the name G., respectively *Sona* or *Soba* (*ibid.* 360, map). Hydrologically it is the same river, but in local tradition and naming both parts are de-

tached from each other. The G. disappears in the arid lowlands north of ↗Kassala in an interior delta, the G.-Delta, its waters reaching the Nile drainage system underground in periods of great water flow and joining the ↗Atbara. The lower G. has water between 70 to 110 days a year (end of June to mid-September). However, the soil holds the water for about half a year, assuring intense cultivation, especially in the G.-Delta.

Starting from the beginning of the Egyptian expansion in the 19th cent., the G. attracted some interest among the new Egyptian-Sudanese leadership due to the fertile soil and its regular irrigation in the rainy seasons. The lower G. was included in the Egyptian realm in 1840 (and attached to Kassala), while the upper G. was only later annexed. In the 1860s the upper G. served as a border between the Egyptian ↗Taka province and French-Ethiopian-ruled Bogos (↗Bilin). *Ḥidīw* Ismā'īl *bāšā* mentioned in 1863 to a British diplomat that he had no claims to Bogos or other Ethiopian territory "on the other side of the G." (contradicting, however, earlier claims), but on the Kunama. In 1869 he still seemed to accept the frontier marked by the G. (Longrigg 1945:105), while in 1872 the latter ceased to exist as a border when Bogos was formally annexed and, together with Taka, ↗Barka and G., attached to the Red Sea Coastal Province of the Ottoman empire (↗Habeš).

In the 1880s the advance of the ↗Mahdists was stopped close to the G. by *ras* ↗Alula Ḥngəda, who integrated the area into the ↗Märäb Mällaš in exchange of his alliance with Great Britain. However, following Italian colonial advance, Kassala was occupied by Italian troops. Subsequently, the whole upper G. region (with the Kunama and Nara) became Italian. For the rec-



The Upper Gaš, Kunama area, Eritrea; photo April 1993, courtesy of Paul B. Henze