I. - INTRODUCTION.

Previous discussion of the origins of the Somali have tended to assume that the Somali expanded from a northern area near ex-British Somaliland or the Harar–Dire Dawa region of Ethiopia. From this northern locus the Somali are assumed to have overrun prior Galla and Bantu and/or Negro populations to the south in the main area of the African Horn. Recently, H. S. Lewis has challenged the assumption of a Galla priority over the Somali in the eastern Horn.

Most of the argument has been carried out in the absence of any information about languages more closely related to Somali than Galla or Afar. Huntingford's valuable suggestion that Rendille, spoken in northeast Kenya, is closely allied with Somali has, for example, been largely ignored. Moreover, the significance of the presence of "Somali" loan words in Nilo-Hamitic languages has been completely ignored, despite the fact that the Somali were not in geographical propinquity with the Nilo-Hamites at the time of European contact. Finally, the significance of the Somali-speaking Boni in eastern Kenya, where they lived as an enclave in Galla territory, has not been appreciated.

It is the aim of this paper to present data on two previously unreported languages, Baiso and Rendille, and to relate them to our knowledge of the parameters of the Somali nation. References to Somali
dialects are taken from the following sources (see Bibliography for full source reference).

Isaq (of Berbera) Larajassee (1897)
Benadir Moreno (1955)
Benadir Caressa (1938), used for vocabulary; phonetically unreliable
Darod Moreno (1955)
Digil Moreno (1955)
Ašrāf Moreno (1953)
Jiddu Moreno (1951)
"Jabarti" (Ho ye & Digil) Reinisch (1904)
Mijurtein Caressa (1938), cf. Benadir comment
Hawiya Cerulli (1959)
Mediban (of Jigjiga) Unpublished field data, obtained by myself, in Ethiopia, 1959

References to Boni are taken from Fischer (1878) and Johnston (1886).

I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. Brandt of the Sudan Interior Mission at Dilla, Sidamo Province, Ethiopia, for his aid and companionship in getting to and from Gidicho island and to the Ethiopian Police at Dilla for their aid and courtesy. Also, the invaluable assistance given by Mr. W. Schuster, District Officer at Isiolo, Northern Frontier Province, Kenya, in locating a Rendille informant is gratefully acknowledged.

II. — Baiso

In 1902 Oscar Neumann reported the presence of a people called Gidicho on an island in the northeastern quadrant of Lake Abaya (Lake Margherita) in the Rift Valley of southern Ethiopia. He mentioned that the Gidicho looked like the Somali in his expedition and spoke a language much of whose vocabulary was intelligible to the Somali. His brief comment is quoted here in full, as follows (Neumann, 1902, page 384): "Quite a different population called Gidicho lives on the largest island of the lake (Abaya). The Gidicho have good-looking, Somali-like faces. My Somal found, to their great astonishment, that a great part of the Gidicho expressions were almost identical with their
own, as, for instance, the words for the various parts of the body and for the best-known animals, such as lion and leopard. I consider this discovery to be of great importance from an ethnological point of view, as the Somal were always thought to be the last intruders in North-East Africa, and here we find an isolated tribe surrounded by a population of an apparently older origin. The boats of the Gidicho are very interesting. They are rather rafts in boat form, being made of the very light wood of a species of ambach. The bow is often ornamented like that of the Venetian gondolas. Formerly there were constant quarrels and wars between the inhabitants of the islands and those of the shore, but now, under Abyssinian rule, all live in peace with each other." These Gidicho reported by Neumann are the Baiso, Gidicho (gidičëo) being the name of both people and island used by the tribes of the eastern mainland. The word Gidicho is not Baiso in form and is probably of Sidamo origin; it is also used commonly to refer to Lake Abaya.

In 1941 Maass reported of the inhabitants of Ghidiccio (Gidicho) island that they lived in two villages, called Baiszo and Cighiba, on the north and south ends respectively of the island. The Balabbat or chief of the Gidicho lived in Cighiba village, where Maass visited him 1).

Although Maass's report, devoted to ethnographic and geographical data is interesting and informative, unfortunately for our present purpose it contains no linguistic data, as in the case of Neumann's report.

Further mention of the inhabitants of Gidicho island was made in 1958 by Kuls, who gave an account of agricultural practice on the island. No further investigation of Neumann's statement that the language of the Gidicho resembled Somali was made, however 2). No other reports have been made on the Gidicho of the northern island of Lake Abaya; to my knowledge all other reports of the inhabitants of the islands of Lake Abaya have referred to the Haruro of the southern island. As a parenthesis to the above it should be mentioned that the peoples living on the two inhabited islands of Lake Abaya have been thoroughly confused. This is primarily due to the fact that there is a Haruro group.

1) In 1960 the Baiso were said to live on the south end of the island and the Shigima or northern Baiso were said to live on the northern end. Since Maass visited the Shigima (Cighiba), his location of the two villages is more likely correct.

2) I am indebted to Professor Helmar Smeds of the University of Helsinki for the references to Maass and Kuls. I was not able to find Grottanelli's supposed description of the Gidicho in Biasutti (1955).
on each island, viz., the Kachama (or gazamba) of the southern island and the tiny Harro or Haruro hamlet on the east shore of the northern island. Kachama and Harro are not the same language but are closely related to each other and to Zayyse and Badditu of the Macro-Ometo group of West Cushitic. Haruro is the Wallamo name of both peoples.

Conti Rossini (1936) apparently gave no credence to Neumann's Somali-like Gidicho but rather attributed his report to the confusion over Haruro.

In 1958 and again in 1960 I made brief trips to Gidicho island in order to determine the linguistic affiliation of the peoples of that northern island. Since it was supposed that the Gidicho were a branch of the Haruro, I expected that interrogation would reveal one or perhaps two Ometo dialects. Although aware of Neumann's report, I did not suppose that a Somali-type language would have escaped ethnographic notice in the much visited Lake Abaya area.

On the initial visit in 1958 interrogation was confined to the hippo-hunters who live in a hamlet on the mid-east shore of the island. It soon became apparent that the Harro, called Haruro by the Wallamo, were indeed Ometo speakers. This fact was obvious to all those present at the interrogation and was acknowledged by the Harro themselves. However, the informants volunteered the information that another language, called Baiso (baiso), was also spoken on the island and that it was quite unlike either Harro or Wallamo. A Baiso informant was found and in the limited time remaining of the visit interrogation was begun. The second trip to Gidicho, made in 1960, consumed a week, of which time only about half a day of interrogation was achieved.

The reaction of my Ethiopian companions, and indeed my own, on first hearing Baiso was surprise. As in the case of Neumann's visit we all were startled to hear a language which seemed so much like Somali on this tiny island far from true Somali country. On more cautious second thought, however, it became apparent that Baiso was nevertheless quite distinct from Somali. Neither Baiso nor Harro informants, nor my Ethiopian companions, felt that Baiso was particularly close to Sidamo, Darasa, or Galla, all spoken on the nearby mainland. Subsequent analysis and comparison of Baiso with other East Cushitic languages has, in my opinion, merely confirmed this initial impression. Moreover, Neumann's brief report on Gidicho is confirmed and his opinion that the Gidicho (Baiso) are an ethnologically important people is most emphatically agreed with.
Phonetically, Baiso is characterised by the absence or rarity of the throat-rending sounds of common Cushitic. Uvular as well as laryngeal stops and fricatives are entirely lacking. Glottalized stops (ejectives) are very rare. In this respect Baiso most closely resembles Bedawie (North Cushitic). The contrast with neighboring languages is great.

The sounds of Baiso are, as follows:

- Labials: b, p, t
- Dental/Alveolars: s, ts (rare)
- Palatals: c, s, £
- Cacumenal Implosive: D
- Laterals: l, r
- Nasals: m, n
- Velars: g, k
- Glottals: h, ˘
- Glottalized Stops: ˘, k, z, t (all rare)
- Semi-Vowels: y, w
- Vowels: a, A, e, i, i, u, o

Although vowel length and consonant doubling are generally significant in Cushitic languages, the recorded Baiso data shows this not to be the case here. In a number of cases doubling appears to be irrelevant. Thus, a:m/am (to eat), ani/anni (I), ibado/ibaddo (person), usu/usu (he),

*) Per una norma costante di questo periodico, al x del testo originale è stato ovunque sostituito quello di h (N. d. R.).

1) These are the sounds taken directly from my transcriptions. No attempt is made to present the phonemes of Baiso, although some of the sounds are undoubtedly in allophonic distribution. The phonetic symbols used here follow those of Moreno (e.g. 1941), except for (j) (Moreno's (g)), (D) (Moreno's (d)) and the vowels which are based on American English values. None of the vowels however are diphthongs. (a), (e), (i), (o), and (u) have the values of Italian "basta, padre", "c'e, mele, vedere", "città, finiti", "sole, coda", "luna, tutto" respectively. (A) has the value of Standard American "bud, mud, butter". (e) has the value of Standard American "bed, pet, met, let". (i) has the value of Standard American "bit, pin, bin, thin". The semi-vowels have the value of Standard American "yes, yet, winter, wet". (ts) has the value of American "mats" or German "Zimmer" and Italian "zio". The symbol (ː) indicates vowel length as in American usage.
ga/gaa (tree, wood), lam/lamma (two), sidet/sidet (eight). However, no conclusions should be drawn until further data, including tape recordings, are available because of the strong presumption that length is probably significant.

There are several striking, and historically valuable, sound correspondences between Baiso on the one hand and both Somali and Galla on the other. These are, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Baiso</th>
<th>Somali</th>
<th>Rendille</th>
<th>Galla</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>ken/keni</td>
<td>šan</td>
<td>(šan)</td>
<td>šan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leopard</td>
<td>kebšh</td>
<td>šabel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>kimbiri</td>
<td>šimbir</td>
<td>čimbir</td>
<td>šimpirre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>beke</td>
<td>(?) biyo/biyyo</td>
<td>biče'</td>
<td>biša-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>kele/kele</td>
<td>šeley</td>
<td>čele</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since these correspondences appear to be restricted (in Baiso) to velars followed by high front vowels, it is probable that the corresponding palatals in Somali, Galla, and Rendille arose through palatalization. In this respect note Afar kummiro (bird), Galab kimirre (bird), but Konso ḥambir-deta (bird) and Gidole hambira; Konso-Gidole-Gato kilba (knee), Tsamai gilib-ko (knee), Burji gilba (knee) but Afar gulubu (knee), Darasa gulbo (knee) and Marako ¹) gurub (knee); Konso-Gato ikira (louse) and Galab izire (louse). In at least one cognate, “water”, palatalization seems to have proceeded from /k/ to /č/ and /š/ to /y/. Thus, Konso biša (water), Gato biša (water), Arbore biče (water), but Galab biye (water) and Somali ²) biyo/biyyo/biya (water).

Otherwise, before other vowels, Baiso velars correspond to Somali and Galla velars. Except for the lack of gutturals and the near absence of the cacumenal (D), consonants correspond with Somali equals.

¹) Marako data from unpublished field notes. Marako is a Burji-Sidamo language, spoken in the Rift Valley west of Lake Zwai; it is very close to Gudella and Hadiya.

²) Greenberg (1955, p. 72) believes that Somali biyo is a borrowing from Nilotic, especially Nandi. It is possible that this form is an old Lowland East Cushitic borrowing from Nilotic in the form beik/peik, the form in which it is preserved in Baiso.
II. B. - Baiso Morphology.

The limited data allows a few tentative hypotheses about Baiso grammar. Structurally, Baiso seems to follow the common East Cushitic pattern, including the pervasive use of the gender morphemes, *k*– masculine and *t*– feminine. No data was obtained on syntactic patterns.

Nouns.

The article appears to be absent; nor was a particularizing nominal suffix elicited during interrogation. Nouns characteristically have the shape CVCV or CVC. Vowels (*a*), (*e*), and (*o*) are commonly found as noun endings. The vowel ending *–i* appears as an optional suffix and may be a subjective case ending, similar, for example, to the Galla *–ni/n* subjective.

A plural form *–jol* was elicited twice; thus, *babar* (man), *babar-jol* (men) and *hilel* (woman), *hilel-jol* (women).

A compound connector, *–kA–*, which is probably an agentive form or possibly the masculine article, was found in *ibado–kA–ferere* (warrior, literally: person–kA–spear or war) and *sái–kA–pofero* (cowherder, literally: cow–kA–pofero).

A form *–ki* was recorded in *odo–kake–ki–abbi* (my father's brother, literally: father–my–ki–brother). It possibly signifies the genitive case.

Pronouns.

The subject pronouns are, as follows:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| I | *ani/ana/anni* | We | *no/nu*
| Thou | *ati* | You (plural) | *isin/isini*
| He | *usu:/usu* | They | *iso*
| She | *isse:/esse* |

They are all common East Cushitic forms with the closest form by form resemblance being with Rendille (q.v., below) and the accusative forms of Galla.

The possessive forms have *ka*– masculine and *ta*– feminine bases respectively which in conjunction with the person suffixes give the following forms:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| My | *ka–ke* (m), *ta–le* (f) | Our | *ka–kani* (m)
| Thy | *kA–ka* (m) | Your | *ka–kesini* (m)
| His | *ka–kesa* (m) | Their | *ka–kiso* (m)
(Regrettably, through an oversight the 3rd person singular form, "her", was not recorded).

The close resemblance to the possessive forms of Somali, Galla, and Konso is to be noted. Thus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Benadir</th>
<th>Darod</th>
<th>Galla</th>
<th>Konso</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My</td>
<td>kay</td>
<td>kay-ga</td>
<td>ko/kiya</td>
<td>hayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thy</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ka-ga</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td>haiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His</td>
<td>kis</td>
<td>kis-a</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>hani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our</td>
<td>kayn</td>
<td>ken-a</td>
<td>keña</td>
<td>hanno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your</td>
<td>kin</td>
<td>kin-a</td>
<td>kesan</td>
<td>haišin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their</td>
<td>kod</td>
<td>kod-a</td>
<td>sani</td>
<td>haišo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A reflexive form, is, found in is lagad-era (he killed himself), is to be compared with Somali is and Afar isíth, both with the same meaning. The Galla cognate is ufjof, which, given the presumed phonetic replacement of /s/ by // in Galla, is from *us/*os.

**Demonstratives.**

The forms hasu (that) and hikka (this) were recorded. In addition in one case, the paradigm of "to want" in the present tense, the forms hikina and atina were elicited for the 3rd person singular masculine ("he") and feminine ("she") respectively. It may be presumed that hikina and atina are demonstrative forms, meaning "this one" (m) and "this one" (f), used as pronouns, since they are completely different from the other pronoun forms and resemble the demonstratives of other languages.

The form hasu (that) is probably to be compared with the common Somali base, -as (cf. k-as, masc., and t-as, feminine) while hikina/atina is to be compared with kan/tan, kuni/tuni, etc. of common East Cushitic.

**Interrogatives.**

The forms giró (what?) and aiyoiki (who?) were recorded. While giró (what?) is apparently unique to Baiso, aiyoiki is probably "who art thou?", rather than simply "who?". The root is probably ai or aiyo which corresponds to Rendille aiyó and the common East Cushitic base aiyay (who?). The remainder of the form, -iki, probably means "thou" and is relatable to ko/ku/ki, etc., the usual East Cushitic vocative and/or accusative forms of "thou".
Verb Morphology.

Verbal paradigms were not obtainable in the time available, except for one paradigm of *dot-* (to want) in the present-future or incomplete tense.

Such data as was obtained shows the following forms involved in verb morphology.

a) *-in/-in/-n*, imperative singular in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Dam-in</em></td>
<td>drink!</td>
<td>This form is not typically East Cushitic but is found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>a:m-in</em></td>
<td>eat!</td>
<td>as the characteristic imperative in the Maji subgroup of West Cushitic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nat-in</em></td>
<td>pull!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šaf-in</em></td>
<td>push!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ti-n</em></td>
<td>run!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>amaz-in</em></td>
<td>sit!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) *-i*, imperative singular, in *uduri* (sleep!) and *alli* (stand!), is found commonly in East Cushitic.

c) *-ra*, 1st person singular and 3rd person singular, masculine and *-ta*, 2nd person singular and plural and 3rd person singular, feminine; these are in accordance with the common East Cushitic pattern wherein 1st person singular and 3rd person singular masculine contrast with 2nd person singular and 3rd person singular feminine. Thus, Galla *dem-e* (I went or he went) and *dem-te* (thou or she went). The Baiso *ra/ta* pattern seems most like that of Rendille, *da/ta* (q.v., below).

d) *-wa*, 3rd person singular, primarily associated with the past tense indicator, *-e*, but also found with *-o* in the present. It perhaps functions as does the Somali copula/auxiliary, *-wa-* (plus person suffixes).

e) *-a* and *-e* are apparently in contrastive distribution, as present tense and past tense indicators respectively. Thus, *dot-ara* (I want), *dot-era* (I wanted) and *din-ara* (he sees), *d-era* (he saw). The *-a/-e* tense indicator contrast is common East Cushitic.

f) *-na*, 1st person plural, is common East Cushitic.

g) *-teta*, 3rd person singular feminine past tense, in *ti-owa* (he ran), *ti-teta* (she ran) and *hudur-era* (he slept), *hudur-teta* (she slept). In this form *-ta* is evidently the feminine and 2nd person suffix (cf. c above) and *-te* a special feminine variant of *-e*, the past tense indicator (cf. e above). With *-te* may be compared the common East Cushitic 3rd person singular feminine *-te* for the past tense.
h) -grawa/-growa, translates Amharic alle and Galla jira (there is, there exists, there is present). In this form -wa is probably the presumptive copula auxiliary (cf. d above) and -gr- probably has the primary meaning of "to live, to exist". Given the correspondence of Somali and Galla [j] with Baiso [g] in the presence of high front vowels, then -gr- is quite likely the true cognate of Somali jir- "to live, exist" and Galla jir- in the same meaning.

i) -ia, "is" or "he is", translates Amharic ne\u0101 and Galla Da. As the 3rd person singular masculine of the copula in the present, -ia is probably cognate with the prefixed ya-, 3rd person singular masculine present, of some Somali conjugations, suffixed -ya of others, and suffixed -ya with the same meaning in Gidole.

j) -titita, "she is", translates Amharic nat. The redundancy of the feminine -t- is unusual.

k) se, irregular imperative singular of siset (to go) recalls Jiddu ši (to go), the ordinary Somali bound form si, indicating motion thither or away from the speaker, and the Galab imperative si (go!).

l) kwaega, irregular imperative of met-/me'- (to come). An irregular imperative of "to come" is found widely in East Cushitic. Cognate forms are Digil koy- (apparently the regular form of "to come" there), Galla kot (come!), Konso hoy (come!), Gidole hoy (come!), Gato ho (come!), Tsamai ogoi (come!), Gawata ogoi (come!), Warazi hoy (come!). The ordinary Somali form of this irregular imperative is kalei (Mediban and Benadir), in Rendille kale. Compare also Ari (West Cushitic) kore (come!) and Burunge (South Cushitic) haw- (to come).

The raw verbal data recorded was, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Somali</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>metera</td>
<td>(he comes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meto</td>
<td>(she comes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwara</td>
<td>(he dies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:mn</td>
<td>(eat!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lagadera</td>
<td>(he kills)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisetera</td>
<td>(he goes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>(go!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uduri</td>
<td>(sleep!)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin</td>
<td>(run!)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

me'wa    | (he came)       |
metewa   | (she came)      |
isu goyuwa | (he died)      |
amewa    | (he ate)        |
is lagadera (he killed himself) |
lagdewa   | (he killed)     |
sisetewa  | (he went)       |
hudurera  | (he slept)      |
hudurieta | (she slept)     |
tiowa     | (he ran)        |
es e tileta | (she ran)      |
*amrowa* (he says)  
*amewa* (he said)  
*dera* (he saw)  
*malabewa* (he knew)  

*kasowa* (he knows)  
*katera* (he circumcized)  

*isi girisera* (he swims)  
*ubatewa* (it rained)  
*bubewa* (she flew)  

*usu babaria* (he is man)  
*hilel titita* (she is woman)  

*beke growa* (there is water; water is present)  
Amharic, *wiha alle*  
Galla *bišani jira*  

*ga growa* (there is wood; wood is present)  
Amharic, *inchet alle*  
Galla *korani jira*  

*ani dotara* (I want)  
*no dotāna* (we want)  

*ati dotata* (thou wantest)  
*isin dotata* (you want)  

*hikina datera* (he wants)  
*iso dotera* (they want)  

*atina dotata* (she wants)  

*ana dotera* (I wanted)  

**Numbers.**

The cardinal numbers recorded are, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Baiso</th>
<th>Somali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>ko’ofkou</td>
<td>siddet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>lAmAjlamma</td>
<td>sagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>sedi</td>
<td>tomon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>afar</td>
<td>toman ko keni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>ken/keni</td>
<td>lamatn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>lehlei</td>
<td>hundred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>totoba</td>
<td>bol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While nearly all of these forms are common East Cushitic, the resemblances to Somali (and Rendille) are pronounced. This is particularly true of ko’ofkou (one), a form which is shared only with Somali, Rendille, Boni, and distantly related Maji and Shako of West Cushitic. In all cases the Baiso form is cognate with a Somali form, while Galla has a different cognate in the cases of “one”, “ten”, “fifteen”, “twenty” and “hundred” or is phonetically further removed as in the cases of “six”, “seven” and “eight”. The numbers of other East Cushitic languages such as Sidamo, Burji, Konso, and Afar are no closer.
than those of Galla. We must either propose that Baiso borrowed its entire set of numbers from Somali at some time in the past, but before Somali palatalized *kan into šan, or that there is a special relationship between Baiso and Somali, at least with respect to the numbers. While the borrowing of numbers is often cited as among the easiest of linguistic interchanges, I know of no case where a Cushitic language has borrowed all of its primary numbers from another language. Moreover, the number of cases where a Cushitic language has borrowed both “one” and “two” is unknown, since no such case exists. Higher numbers, particularly “six” through “nine”, are certainly often borrowed and as such valuable sources of linguistic history, but the lower numbers tend to be conservative. The first two primary numbers, while subject to semantic displacement, tend to be resistant to replacement by borrowing. The hypothesis of borrowing may be considered doubtful.

To conclude this brief preliminary description of Baiso morphology we can say with some confidence that Baiso adheres generally to common East Cushitic, that it has a few forms unique to itself or not shared by other East Cushitic languages, that it shares some forms with both the Galla-Konso group and Somali, and that it has a number of forms which it shares only with Somali and Rendille. As we shall see, this is exactly the case with the Baiso lexical assemblage.

II. C. - Baiso Vocabulary.

all          duba :: loba (Sidamo, many),  labo-ḥ (Burji, many).
animal      solale/sulal
Amhara      amara
arrow       dawwe :: lawwe (Boran Galla),  leb (Benadir, arrow-head).
ashes       bululo :: bululo (Sidamo, borrowed),  bululo (Dasrasya).
baboon      jaldessa :: jaldessa (Galla, borrowed).
back, of body  ḏaqa
Baiso       baiso (southern); cf. Maass’s “Baiszo” (northern).
            šigima (northern); cf. Maass’s “Cighiba” (southern).
bark, of tree  nezi :: Possibly West Cushitic: našo (Kafa, skin)
be, to          gr- :: jir- (Somali, Galla).
            -ia (he is); cf. II.B. Baiso Morphology,
            -titita (she is)
belly        boːgi :: bug (Isaq),  bag (Jabarti, belly, womb),
            ḏagú (Afar),  bagú (Saho).
big

bird

black

blood

boat

boat

bone

bow (weapon)

bread

breast, woman's

Brother

buffalo, African

bull

burn, to

butter

cattle

chief

child

circumcize, to

claw

clitoris

cloud

coffee

cold (temperature)

---

1) [Nel ms., al posto di ḫ è scritto x con un punto al disotto – N.d.R.].
come, to  

met-|me-| :: mid-|mad- (Somali), mad- (Gudella, to go), ms- (Darasa, to go). Cf. Amharic mf. kwaega (cf. II.B).
cow se (cf. "cattle").
cowherder sai-kA-pofero
crocodile halache|alačē
Darasa darasa Name of the Darasa people, Burji-Sidamo speakers, living in the highlands east of Lake Abaya and south of the town of Dilla.

Daughter ere (cf. "Wife").
die, to gw-|go-: South Cushitic: gw- (Iraqw), gwa- (Burunge), ga- (Mbugu) and Central Cushitic: "to kill", kwe- (Bilen, Chamir, Kemant).
dog kerre :: kerre (Saho), kerr (Galab), kere (Arbore) kar (Rendille), ḥArro (Konso), sare (Galla).
donkey demer :: damer (Benadir), damerr (Mediban), dameiro (Isaq), damer (Darod), damer (Digil), etc. Common Somali, a distinctive Somali form.
drink, to Dam- :: Dam- (Rendille), Dam- (Benadir), Dam- (Isaq, to drink milk), dem- (Boni, to eat), Dam- (Gidole, to eat), Dem- (Konso, to eat), dem- (Gato, to eat).
dry gagnege'e :: angage (Rendille), nγγγ γ (Mediban) ingegau (Jabarti), gogoga (Boran), goγγ (Gudella), goganta (Marako).
ear nebe :: nabah (Rendille, Auditory Meatus), nibe (Mogogodo), napah- (Konso), nabaha-Da (Gato), labi-ta (Gidole), neta (Galab, from *neb-te?).
earth ulul (cf. "soil").
eat, to am/am- :: am- (Somali), hiin- (Rendille). Somali final (n) normally is East Cushitic (m), Note Jabarti am/an-, "to eat".
egg buba :: buğa (Shoa or Tulama Galla), buba (Gidole). West Cushitic: bu:ble (Harro), bu:buli (Koyra), bu:ly (Wallamo), bu:uleya (Gofa).
eight suddet|siedet :: suddet (Mediban), siyyed (Benadir), sadetti|saddet (Galla), siel (Galab).
Ensete, Musa warke :: warke (Boran, borrowed).

1) [Nel ms., al posto di b è scritto b con un punto aldisotto. – N.d.R.]
Eragrostis abyssinicus (Teff)  

\textit{tafi} :: \textit{teff} (Amharic), commonly borrowed.

eye  

\textit{ilili} :: Common Cushitic.

fat, of meat  

\textit{kabi} :: \textit{kobā'ī} (Isaq, fat, adj.), \textit{igapi} (Gato).

\textit{kakabam} :: \textit{igapi-dai} (Konso), \textit{kapunta} (Gidole), \textit{ke'mado} (Sidamo). West Cushitic: \textit{koğab} (Maji), \textit{kafo} (Kafa), \textit{kefó} (Anfillo, butter). Possibly \textit{çoma} (Galla, Burji, Darasa, Janjero, etal) but /m/ \textit{-} /b/ correspondence not indicated.

Cf. Amharic, \textit{kibye}, "butter".

Father  

\textit{abbo} :: Common Cushitic.

\textit{odo} :: \textit{addi} (Mediban), \textit{ado} (Benadir). Cf. "old man".

feather  

\textit{bal/bale} :: \textit{bal} (Somali), \textit{balle} (northern Galla), \textit{balla} (Konso), \textit{balli-ičo} (Sidamo).

fence  

\textit{o:ti} :: \textit{o:t} (Rendille).

fifteen  

\textit{toman-ko-keni}

Ficus sycamorus  

\textit{oda} :: \textit{oda} (Wallega Galla: locus of "Butta")

LARGE tree usually linked with religion among Cushites

finger  

\textit{per} :: \textit{ferr} (Mediban), \textit{far} (Somali), \textit{farro} (Rendille, hand = fingers), \textit{farro-lahato} (Midgan, hand = the-posseses-fingers), \textit{ferra} (Afar), \textit{farre} (Dume, foot), \textit{farro} (Sidamo, tail). South Cushitic: "bone", \textit{fara} (Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa, Burunge), \textit{fald-atojfalala} (pl.) (Ngomvia), \textit{i-fuara} (Mbugu). West Cushitic: \textit{fara} (Shako, horn), \textit{fel} (She, horn), \textit{fel} (Bencho, horn), \textit{par-ta} (Koyra).

fire  

\textit{elen/ileni} :: \textit{elin-čo/-čo} (Hadiya, Marako, sun), \textit{yellin-čo} (Gudella, sun). North Cushitic: \textit{yin} (Bedauwie, sun).

fish  

\textit{kunnuni} :: \textit{kallun} (Somali), \textit{kullum-ta} (Afar), \textit{kur-ţummi} (Galla), \textit{kuruča} (Gato), \textit{murgujja} (Konso), \textit{kultume} (Darasa), \textit{kultumme} (Sidamo).

five  

\textit{keni/ken} :: \textit{keni} (Konso), \textit{konoi} (Afar), \textit{hene} (Gidole), \textit{čan} (Galab, Arbore), \textit{šan} (Somali, Rendille, Galla). South Cushitic: \textit{ko'an} (Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa, Burunge), \textit{koane} (Ngomvia).
flower  
*bub* (Benadir),  
*bubbu* (Sidamo),  
*bubbe* (Galla, wind).

foot  
*lukka* (Somali),  
*lüh* (Rendille),  
*lak* (Saho),  
*luk* (Burji),  
*lukke-to* (Gidole),  
*loQa* (Konso),  
*lüh-te* (Warazi),  
*lüs-te* (Gawata),  
*lukko* (Hadiya, Gudella), etc.

four  
*afar/afrari* : Common East Cushitic.

full  
*migi* : *imako-da* (Gato),  
*imako-ta* (Konso),  
*innedo-ta* (Gidole),  
*imieke* (Bararetta Galla).  
Possibly Saho mangin and Afar mangu, “many”.

Galla  
*gerge* : The Galla people call themselves *oromo* or *orma*. Both *galla* and *gerge* probably mean “person, people”. Cf. Galab gal (person),  
gal-yiet (woman), Warazi *Qau-hu* (male person),  
Darasa gar-iče/gar-iče-te (old man/old woman),  
Sahmo ger-če (old person), Galla *jar-sa/jar-ti* (old man/old woman).

Gidicho island (Hano island on some maps)  
*oddola*

go, to  
siset-

goat  
arer : ri’ (Benadir),  
*riyyo* (Rendille),  
*ari* (Rendille, sheep),  
re’ (Galla).

God, creator-deity  
*wah* : This forms is widely distributed in southern Ethiopia and is usually treated as a borrowing from Galla *wak/waka*. However, it may be a much older East Cushitic form. Cf. also Rendille *wah*.

good  
*ka’idalla* : Possibly *u-Qaya* (Warazi) and *Qaiya* (Tsamai), with the Baiso root being *ka’ida*.

grass  
e:s : *’aus* (Somali),  
*hös* (Rendille),  
iš (Galab),  
aš-ko (Tsamai).

green  
*čarido* : West Cushitic:  
čiro (Janjero),  
čil (Gimira),  
čil-is (Maji),  
čilila (Gemu),  
čiello (Kafa, red),  
čale-mi/zale-mi (Ari: green, black),  
čalu (Hamar Koke, Banna: white). Central Cushitic:  
zar (Chamir),  
zar-ou (Khamta). Possibly Darasa *țillo*, “black”.

hair  
*ogorro* : Possibly dogoro (Isaq, hair of animals),  
dagur (Afar),  
tag (Saho).
adar :: orda (Darasa), ord (Burji), odda (Gudella, Hadiya, Marako).

hand

gene :: ga'an/a'an (Somali), jini (Jiddu, from *gini), gana-d (Yibir, Midgan).

Haruro (northern) harro :: harro (the Harro name for themselves). Cf. also Wallamo haruro for both the northern and southern islanders, and haruro (Wallamo boat).

Trading on Lake Abaya is by boat.

he

usu/usu :: usu (Somali), us/usu (Rendille).

hikina (cf. "this").

head

mete :: mlakah (Rendille), mlakah (Somali), mite (Mogogodo), mata' (Galla), matta (Konso), matta (Gato), masha (Gidole).

heart

wizena :: wazana (Kambatta), woqini (Galab), wazana (Saho), wadana (Sidamo, Burji), wadane (Mijurtein), wadna (Benadir), wayam(?) (Rendille) etc.

hen (fowl)

lukale :: lukku (southern and eastern Galla).

hippopotamus

dulo :: duša (Mijurtein, Benadir : from *dul-ta) do:l (Jabarti, "ein grosses krokodil?"), duulu (Afar), tul-peta (Konso), dohuli (Burji, leopard).

his

ka-kesa (cf. II.B).

hoce :: hego-i (Mogogodo, axe).

horn, of animal

masa

horse

faradi :: farda (Galla); faras (Amharic).

house

min :: maa (Rendille), min (Benadir, room of house), min (Jabarti), minna (Tana Galla), manajmaara (other Galla), mine (Sidamo), etc.

husband

enter

hundred

bol :: ba'al (Jiddu), boqol/bogol (Somali), bo'ol (Afar).

I (subj. prn)

ani/ana/anni Common Cushitic.

island

oddola (cf. Gidicho island).

Kallu or high priest, chief sorcerer, wizard, theocratic chief

kill, to

lagad-[-lagad-]

knee

gilib/gilbo (cf. II.A).

knife

masa :: West Cushitic: masssa (Haruro of Kacha-
ma), *mas'ye* (Doko). Probably borrowed from Ometo.

**know, to**

*malab-*

**lake**

*beke dagara* (cf. "water ").

**leaf**

*balalo* :: *bala* (Galla). Cf. "feather ".

**leopard**

*kebih* :: *šabel* (Somali), *šuel* (Boni), *kab'i* (Afar), *kebel-čo* (Sidamo), *kabe-ččo* (Gudella), *šibin* (Mogogodo), *kobi-ččo* (Hadiya, lion), *kobi-ččo* (Gudella, lion, cf. *kabe-ččo*, above); North Cushitic: *kača* (Bedawie, wild cat); cf. also Arabic *sabeh/sabwa* (lion), which is unlikely as a source of Somali *šabel*.

**lion**

*luban* :: *libah* (Somali), *lubača* (Afar).

**liver**

*todo* :: *tido* (Darasa), *traw* (Somali, dialect of Wanle Weyn), *tiro* (Yibir), *tirau* (Saho), *tiru* (Afar), *tira* (Galla), *tira* (Gato, Konso), *šira* (Gidole), *čira* (Galab), *čire* (Warazi), *tire* (Gawata).

**long, tall**

*ka'eri* :: *kera* (Marako), *kera'-li* (Gudella), *kera'-la* (Hadiya), *kera'-ra* (Kambatta), *kerra-ke* (Darasa).

**louse**

*igiri* (cf. II.A).

**Maize, Zea**

*bàdela* :: Borrowed from Guji Galla, according to informants.

**man (general sense)**

*ul* :: Possibly Central Cushitic: *yir* (Dembea), *yir* (Kemant, person); West Cushitic: *ur-o* (Mocha, man), *ur-e* (Kafa, woman).

**man, "vir"**

*babar/babare* :: *barbar* (Benadir, young man).

**men**

*babar-jol*

**many**

*hamogani*

**meat**

*so/:sso* :: *so* (Somali), *so* (Galab), *sowa* (Konso), *soha* (Gato, Gidole), *fo-n* (Galla, from *so-n*).

**milk**

*è:no* :: Common East Cushitic.

**millet/sorghum**

*mašŋka* :: *misingo/misigo/misigga* (Somali), *misiŋ-kaj/bisīnga* (Galla). A common form in southern Ethiopia.

**monkey (Amharic, *tota*)**

*da'ér* :: *dayer* (Mijurtein, baboon), *dañer* (Benadir, baboon), *dañer* (Boni, monkey).

**moon**

*digini* :: Possibly West Cushitic: *tojenn* (Mocha, star)
Moslem

Islam :: Islam (Amharic, probably borrowed).

Mother

A:

Own mother

Ayo :: Common East Cushitic.

Mountain

Wodam/wodsami

Mouth

He:i :: A form apparently unique to Baiso.

Cf. Wallega Galla keDi (lip).

Mule

Ganje :: Ganje (Darasa, Galla: borrowed).

My (poss. prn.)

Ka-ke (m); cf. II.B.

ta-te (f).

Name

Medge :: Mge (Somali), mGga (Rendille), mig'a (Afar), miga (Saho), mka (Galla), mka (Burji), ma (Konso, Gato), m-k-ke 

(Tsamai), etc.

Neck, back of

Karankuri :: Possibly North Cushitic: kinkili (Bedawie).

Neck, whole

Margi :: mor-ma (Galla), mrma (Burji); West Cushitic: morkn (Maji, throat).

(Throat, q. v.)

Koke :: koke (Burji), konko (Darasa), konko (Galla), QonQe-ta (Konso). South Cushitic: koko (Sanye). West Cushitic: koke (Koyra), koko (Kafa).

Nine

Sagal :: Common East Cushitic.

Nose

Kononajkonana :: Possibly West Cushitic: kunke (Harro), kunka (Chara, mouth). Central Cushitic: kumba (Bilen), kumba (Quara), humba (Dembea), humba (Kemant). North Cushitic: ginuf (Beja).

Old man

Oddoti :: odai (Mediban), odei (Mijurtein), ado (Benadir, Father).

Old woman

Jartiti :: Jarti (Galla).

One

Ko'o/kou :: kow (Somali), ko (Rendille), kaya (Boni); West Cushitic: koi (Shako, Maji).

Our (poss. prn.)

Ka-ke (m) :: cf. II.B.

Penis

Manto (cf. "vagina").

Person

Ibadjibado.

Plain, flat country

Dida :: didda (Galla).

Pot

Tosa

Pot

Ulla

1) [Ved. p. 47, n. 1 - N.d.R.].
pull, to
push, to
plural suffix
rain (noun)
rain, to
red
rhinoceros
road
root
round
run, to
sacrifice
sand
Satan
say, to
see, to
seed
seven
she (subj. prn.)
shoulder

nat-
šaf– :: šaf– (Sidamo, to shake, move).
–jol :: –yal (Somali), –ul(o) (Rendille-?); West Cushitic: hul (Banna), hal (Maji).
idamo :: eryamo (Jabarti, cloud).
ubat– :: ubayo (Tambarro), uwayyo (Kambatta).
he:laki :: Possibly u–leha (Warazi, green).
gasi :: gaser (Rendille, buffalo), kis–ua (Boni, buffalo), gasi (Afar), possibly Galla gafar–sa (buffalo) from *gasar–sa. Cf. Galla gafá (horn) and other East Cushitic ges/gas, etc., “horn". Cf. also Ethiopic : geš (Chaha, buffalo), goš (Amharic, buffalo).
ra :: ra‘– (Somali, to go with, follow).
hididi (cf. “seed”) :: hidid (Somali), hiddá (Galla), hitina (Konso, Gato, Gidole), hesičě (Warazi), esite (Gawata), possibly Rendille háy, from* ḥād. Cf. III.A. Rendille Phonology.
maramure :: maro (Afar), merrero (Sidamo), marari (Warazi).
ti–
jarso :: soriyø (Boran Galla).
če:kale
fsalahe :: West Cushitic: tselehe (Zaysse, God), ḥalahe/zalahe (Ometo, Satan, spirit of the Omo river). Probably borrowed from Ometo.
amsr–jam–
din–id– :: West Cushitic: dëna– (Shinasha, to know).
wuta :: wiṭa/viṭa (Sidamo, borrowed).
totoba/todoba :: todoba/tadoba (Somali), teba (Rendille), torba (Galla), toiba (Tana Galla, Boni reported by Johnston).
ise/:ise :: ise (Sidamo group), iši–ni (Burji), iši (Afar), iš (Rendille), iša (Asrof), iši (Galla), iše (Konso), ize (Warazi).
atina (cf. “this”)
hanni
Sidamo

sidama :: sidama (Galla, stranger), Sidamo (name of Sidamo people, Burji-Sidamo speakers, living in the highlands north of Dilla).

Sister

abba :: abba–yyo (Hadiya, Gudella: Brother), obbole–sa(obbole–ti (Galla, Brother/Sister).

sit, to

amaż-
six

leh/lei :: leh (Somali), leh (Rendille), li (Jiddu), leh–a (Boni), lehei (Afar), leh (Gidole), loh (Gudella, Marako), le (Konso, Galab, Arbore, Sidamo), jah/jaã/jaa/dya (Galla, from *lah).

South Cushitic: lahö (Iraqw, Gorowa, Alagwa, Burunge). West Cushitic: lah (Ari, Karo, Banana, la:ho (Male), la (Ubamer), yaku (Maji, Shako, Nao, from *laku or *daku). Central Cushitic: lahù (Awiya Agau, one), lewa (Wag, one), laq (Kemant, one), lava (Quara, one), laflau (Chamir, Bilen: one).

skin (hide)
goga :: goga (Hadiya, Galla, Burji, Darasa, Tambaro, Kambatta, etc). Probably Galla in origin; widely borrowed in southern Ethiopia.

skin (human)
marka :: makar (Benadir, by metathesis).
ma:re :: maro (Somali, toga, dress).

sky
ile :: ir (Jabarti) ‘ir (Somali) ir (Galab).

sleep, to
hudor–udor– :: udor– (Rendille), hurud– (Benadir), hurd– (Mijuertein).

small
kičere

smoke
iyyi :: Possibly ṣiḥk (Mediban) by loss of uvulars or Burji-Sidamo hilili/vilili/vilili by palatalization.

soil
erre/fire (cf. “earth”) :: arro (Somali: earth, sand), harra (Rendille, earth), arroa (Afar, sand), irra (Tambaro, earth), ulla (Sidamo, Marako, Hadiya: earth), ulle-ta (Kambatta, earth).

West Cushitic: yellu (Maji, soil), alla’ (Harro).

Son
iri (cf. “Wife”).
sorghum/millet
masyka (cf. “millet/sorghum”).
spear
jerer (cf. “war”).

stand, to
all– :: al– (Benadir), ‘ell– (Gidole), ouncil– (Darasa), ur– (Kambatta, Sidamo), ull/ull– (Hadiya, Marako, Gudella).
star

baraja :: Possibly hurji/urji (Galla), urje (Darasa, stars). Or possibly by metathesis and palatalization, bakal (Rendille), ba\textsuperscript{k}al\textsuperscript{-}\textipa{ca} (Darasa), bolanka (Hadiya, Gudella, Marako). Cf. West Cushitic: bah\textsuperscript{w}u (Janjero) bikil (Dime, venus).

steer, ox

sanga :: sanga (Galla).

stone

e\textsuperscript{b}o :: Possibly u\textipa{b}-\textipa{c}i (Warazi, mountain); Central Cushitic: aba (Chamir, Khamta: mountain); North Cushitic: \textipa{\textasciitilde}awe (Bedawie, stone); West Cushitic: ama (Janjero, mountain).

sun

ari\textsuperscript{t}i :: are\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}} (Darasa), ari\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}i-\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}a (Tambaro), arri\textsuperscript{o} (Sidamo), ayro (Saho, Afar); West Cushitic: ari\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}e} (Gemu, but probably a borrowing from Burji-Sidamo).

swim, to

giris- :: giris- (Afar).

tail

de\textsuperscript{b}e :: da\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}}a-da (Mediban), dib (Jabarti), daba/ dabo (Benadir), dub (Rendille), tubo (Marako).

ten
tomon/toman :: tomon/tobon (Somali), tomon (Rendille), tabana (Afar), tamna (Burji), tom\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}o} (Marako), tonne (Sidamo), tommon (Galab, Arbore).

that (demon.)

hasu (cf. II.B).

their (poss. prn.)

ka-kiso (cf. II.B).

they (subj. prn.)

iso :: i\textsuperscript{o} (Rendille) i\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}o} (Asrof).

thigh

rera :: reale/d\textsuperscript{e}r\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}i (Afar).

this (demon.)

hikka (unspecific near thing); cf. II.B.

hikina (this, masc.); cf. II.B.

atina (this, fem.); cf. II.B.

thou (subj. prn.)

ati :: Common East Cushitic.

three

sedi :: sad\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}e}/sid\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}e} (Somali), seyyeh (Rendille), sedeh-\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}a (Boni), sid\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}u} (Afar), s\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}i} (Galla), sede (Galab), seze (Arbore). sesa (Konso).

throat

koke (cf. "neck").

thy (poss. prn.)

k\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}u}-ka (m); cf. II.B.

tomorrow

gebari :: Possibly = ge-\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}a}. Cf. ge (Somali, day) and hari/\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}a} (Somali: morning, tomorrow). Cf. also be\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}}a (Afar), bor/\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}u} (Galla), parre (Konso), buru (Burji).

tongue

irre\textsuperscript{\textipa{\textaccent ROCK}i} :: arrab/allab/anrab/arra/erre. Universal East Cushitic, a diagnostic word for that group.

tooth

ilko :: Universal East and Central Cushitic.
tree   gaa/ga (cf. "wood"): gey (Rendille), gay (Ji-du). Cf. also III.A. Rendille Phonology.

twenty lamatsn :: laba-tan/lab-a-tam (Somali).
lamatta
two lams/lamma :: Common East Cushitic.
vagina manteti :: –ti (feminine suffix), mute (Boran Galla, vagina), mula (Sidamo, penis); North Cushitic: mid (Bedawie, penis); West Cushitic: won’apa/ wonza (Ometo, penis).
virgin delel
want, to dot–/dat– :: don– (Somali).
war jjer (cf. "spear"): Possibly dirir– (Somali, to attack, make war). However, a Baiso /j/ and Somali /d/ correspondence is not otherwise indicated.
warm kolkolemna :: kulu/kulel (Somali), kullul (Rendille).
warrior ibado–ka–jerere
water beke (cf. II.A).
wealth gadd :: gadda–li (Afar, rich).
we (subj. prn.) no/nu :: Common East Cushitic.
what? giro
white gumara :: gobana (Marako).
who? aiyok = aiy–iki probably (cf. II.B).
Wife amine :: mine (Benadir, woman), minne (Galab, woman), men–ti (Sidamo, woman), amana (Burji, woman), men–ti–čo (Hadiya, Gudella: woman); South Cushitic: ameni (Iraqw, woman).
or, in or–tate (my Wife. Cf. also "Daughter" and "Son"): ar–ur (Somali, sons), ar[are (Sidamo, husband/wife), ar (Saho, house); West Cushitic: ar[are (Kafa, he/she), eri (Ari, house). Cf. also Hebrew arı (house).

Wollamo/Wallamo wallamo Name of the Wallamo people, Ometo-speakers, living in the highlands to the west of Lake Abaya. The Baiso and Wallamo trade by boat across Lake Abaya.

woman hilel/hilel
women hilel–jol
wood  ga (cf. "tree").
yellow buleti :: bulb (Mediban–green), bora (Galla), bur (Galab, red), hori (Konso, Gato, black), he–
hora (Gidole–black), and probably biol (Saho, blood); abal (Afar, blood); Central Cushitic: bir (Bilen, Chamir: blood), biri (Kemant, blood) ber (Khamta, blood), bri (Awiya Agau, blood), fri–z (Wag, blood); North Cushitic: boijbay (Bedawie, blood); South Cushitic: bor (Iraqw, black); West Cushitic: bir (Shinasha, red), bore (Male, white), foro (Janjero, white). The variable color cognates can be seen to be based on the range of color in blood itself—from yellow or light red to black or dark red—since proto–Cushitic *bir/*bor, “blood”, is undoubtedly the source of this cognate.

yesterday kele/kele (cf. II.A).
you (plural subj.prn.) isin/isin :: isin/issen/*insin (Digil), idin/isin (Benadir), izin (Tana Galla), issin (Afar).
young man wadala :: Possibly walal (Somali, Rendille: Brother).
your (poss. prn.) ka–kesini (cf. II.B).

III. – Rendille.

The Rendille (rendille), also written Randile and Rendile, are nomadic pastoralists living in the plains near and south of Marsabit in northeastern Kenya. They were first visited by von Höhnel in 1890. Subsequently, they were visited by Donaldson-Smith in 1896, Cavendish in 1898, Arkell–Hardwick in 1903, Tate in 1904, Stigand in 1910, and Hobley in 1910. These early reports contain virtually all that has been published on the Rendille.

Physically, they are described as light-colored, as resembling the Somali, as having aquiline noses and straight black hair, as being tall and well-built with slim and graceful figures, and Tate even mentions that some Rendille have “steel-blue” eyes. Culturally, they are described as having numerous herds and flocks of camels, cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and donkeys. They are said to be pagan or to have incipient Islam, to live mostly on milk, to practice circumcision but not tooth evulsion, to have “kraal” chiefs, to live at times in permanent villages which consist of low flat-roofed huts made of brush and reeds, to be polygamous, and to be warlike or to have been warlike until decimated by small-pox. Tate reported that the “Rendille villages resemble those of the Somali in every detail”. Although he believed Rendille
to be a corrupt form of Galla, Tate also reported that the Rendille denied any origin in common with the Galla.

The recent Rendille situation is summed up in Arkell-Hardwick (1903), page 370, as follows: "The Rendili were formerly a very powerful and warlike tribe, but are now so much reduced in numbers as to depend largely for protection on the Burkeneji (the Samburu, a distinct northern branch of the Masai-HF). The latter, when smallpox appeared, sent away their young men to separate camps and so saved them, while the Rendili, who required every hand to look after their enormous flocks, were unable to do this, and in consequence suffered very severely. The two tribes now live together, but the relations are remarkable, for the Burkeneji constantly raid the Rendili, who resent, but do not resist this treatment. The Burkeneji are very like the Masai in appearance,... speak Masai, but most of them understand the Rendili language, and they are gradually assuming the dress and so forth of the Rendili" 1).

Since Tate, who believed Rendille to be a corrupt form of Galla, two writers have briefly mentioned the linguistic affiliation of Rendille. Huntingford (1950, page 96) in a footnote says, "(b) Northern Frontier district.... In it live some Gala (Galla-HF)...., the Boran (Galla-HF)...., and a number of Somali who have spread over from the north-east, together with a people called Randile who are closely allied in language to the Somali". Prins (1953, page 4) also in a footnote says, "4) African population of Kenya, Census 1948; p. 58. The Rendille, a Hamitic tribe of N. Kenya are proto-Somali, and not Galla". The only published data on Rendille is the following in Hobley (1910, page 163): "Rendili names for the days of the week:

1st day of week Hahat
2nd " " " Hura hakhan (hura in Randile means sun)
3rd " " " Sere (sere = day)
4th " " " Kumat
5th " " " Ser hakhan
6th " " " Sere adi (the day of goats & sheep)
7th " " " Sere gal (the day of the camel)"

In June, 1960, while on a familiarization tour of British East Africa, I was fortunate enough to obtain access to a Rendille informant in Isiolo,

1) Rendille, as we can see from Arkell-Hardwick's statement and the geographical position of the Rendille, is almost certainly the source of many "Hamitic" words in Masai and probably other Nilotic languages. See below for discussion.
Northern Frontier Province, Kenya. Interrogation was limited to several hours and was conducted in Boran Galla, supplemented by Swahili. The object of the interrogation was solely that of a preliminary classification of Rendille.

In the opinion of my informant, Mr. Mamo Kisandan, and some Boran Galla onlookers there was no question about the Rendille relationship to Somali. Phonetically and lexically, Rendille is obviously closely allied to Somali. To maintain that it is a corrupt form of Galla would be equal to saying that Afrikaans is a corrupt form of Icelandic, instead of a separated member of the German dialect continuum! We are therefore more interested in the position of Rendille relative to Somali rather than in its classification within East Cushitic 1).

In view of the limitations of the data no attempt will be made at dissecting Rendille morphology. Primary attention will be paid to phonology and vocabulary.

III. A. – Rendille Phonology.

Phonetically, Rendille bears a close resemblance to Somali and Afar. With the exception of the absence of the post velar/uvular stop /q/, which the velar fricative /h/ replaces, the laryngeal, glottal and cacumenal sounds of Somali /h, ʼ, h, ʼ, D/ are present. Like Somali (and Afar) Rendille entirely lacks the glottalized consonant series /h, ʼ, k, p/, ordinarily found in Cushitic. The phones recorded are, as follows (sounds which are likely to be allophones of one phoneme are joined thus /: e.g., p/f).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labials</th>
<th>Velars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b, p/f, m</td>
<td>g, k, h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dental/Alveolars</th>
<th>Laryngeals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>t, d, s</td>
<td>ʼ, h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Palatals</th>
<th>Glottals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʼ, j, s</td>
<td>ʼ, h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cacumenals</th>
<th>Semi-Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>y, w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Laterals</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>r, l</td>
<td>a/ʌ, e/ɛ, i, ɔ/ʊ, ɒ/ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasals</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʼn, n/ŋ, m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vowel length and consonant doubling are presumed to be significant, as in other Cushitic languages, although no examples of contrastive pairings are found in the data. Nor are there any examples of significant contrast in stress or intonation.

1) It is felt that there is little to be gained here by a long and redundant elaboration of this obvious close relationship. There are even fewer grounds for attempting the demonstration that Rendille is East Cushitic. The reader will appreciate, I trust, after perusing the data, being spared the proofs of something he will readily perceive.
A number of correspondences with Somali seems clear. They are, as follows, with examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rendille /h/</th>
<th>Somali /q/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hanin-</td>
<td>gqanin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horiyo</td>
<td>qoryo (Darod)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luqum</td>
<td>luqun (Benadir)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rendille /c/</th>
<th>Somali /ʃ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čele</td>
<td>šeley (Benadir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čimbir</td>
<td>šimbir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rendille /y/</th>
<th>Somali /d/ and /y/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yeysa</td>
<td>daya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yumu</td>
<td>dim- (Mediban)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ʔ)yip</td>
<td>dibid (Benadir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gey</td>
<td>ged (Benadir)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>geyt (Beniban)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gay (Jiddu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seyyeh</td>
<td>sadde� (Mediban)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>seye (Jiddu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siyyet</td>
<td>ssidet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>siyet (Digil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wayam</td>
<td>wadna (Benadir)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rendille /i/</th>
<th>Somali /i/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>julb</td>
<td>jilib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jit</td>
<td>jid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>injir</td>
<td>injir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>incir (Mediban)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rendille /h/</th>
<th>Somali /'/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>höl</td>
<td>'ol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halesi</td>
<td>'aloša</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hös</td>
<td>'aus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hün-</td>
<td>'un-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hannu (probably)</td>
<td>'ano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/ is an error in transcribing /h/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>houla</th>
<th>hesulo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'osub</td>
<td>'osub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>new</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The remainder of Rendille sounds appear to vary little more from their equals in Somali than the dialects of Somali differ each from the other in this respect. The exception is Rendille word-initial /ŋ/, for which no Somali equivalents were found. The possibility that this /ŋ/ is associated with Nilotic borrowings remains, /ŋ/ being extremely common in Nilotic; however, no Nilotic counterparts for those Rendille words having the /ŋ/ were found.

In general terms Rendille differs phonetically from Somali scarcely more than the northern dialects of Somali differ from some of the southern, as for example, Jiddu.

III. B. – Rendille Morphology.

Only a brief listing of the forms which appear to be clearly bound up in grammatical process will be given, along with a listing of the pronouns and numbers obtained.

Nouns.

No article or particularizing nominal suffix was elicited. Noun forms tend to be CVC or CVCVC, with vowel endings less common.

Adjectives.

A number of adjectives obtained were of the form a----yehai (-iahai, -ihai, -iyihai). Thus, a–Da–iyihai (black), a–kulull–ihai ¹ (cold), a–kulul–yehai (warm), a–der–iahai (long), a–načul–iyihai (small). Two others contained suffixed –iyehai without initial a-. Thus, ‘ösus–iyahai (new) and hage–yehai (good). Several others contained prefixed a- but without suffixed –iyehai. Thus, abur (big), anjage (dry), arufoDa (cold). The suffix –yehai, with its variants, quite probably means “it is”, as in Somali (Benadir) –yahay, and is not an integral part of adjective formation.

Two adjectives contain word final –an. Thus, Dahan (all) and dahnan (white). Since –an is a common Somali verbal adjective formant, perhaps it has the same role in Rendille.

The prefixed a- is also found in verb forms and is probably not a part of adjective roots, excepting angage (dry) in which an initial vowel appears consistent with the form in Somali. Thus, Mediban ŋgijin (dry) and Mijurtein engeg (dry).

¹) [‘Nel ms., al posto di l è una l con ∨ sovrapposto. – N.d.R.].
Pronouns.

The subject pronouns are, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>we</th>
<th>thou</th>
<th>you (plural)</th>
<th>he</th>
<th>they</th>
<th>she</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ani/an</td>
<td>in/inno</td>
<td>ati/ate/at</td>
<td>atin</td>
<td>us/usu</td>
<td>ico/iču</td>
<td>iš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The forms *iš* and *ul* are exceptional and are perhaps bound to verbs, being found only in *iš* *ir-ate* (2nd person singular past of "to go", "thou didst go") and *ul* *ir-ata* (he goes). It is possible that *ul* relates to Somali (Mediban) *wu/wul*, the copula/auxiliary *wa* in the 3rd person singular masculine. But note *kulla* (that) below. The close resemblance of the subject pronouns to those of Baiso is notable.

Demonstratives.

The forms *kulla* and *kussa*, masculine and feminine respectively, were recorded for "that" and *kan*(m)/*kanantifidiyo*(f) were recorded for "this". It is most probable that the feminine form *kanantifidiyo* is erroneous, i.e., means more than "this". It is regrettable that more time was not available.

*kan* (m) is regular East Cushitic, with the demonstrative masculine base, *k*-, prefixed to *-an*, meaning "this". Thus Somali *k-an*, Burji *k-ani*, Galla *k-uni*, Sidamo *k-uni*; contrasting with the feminine forms *t-an*, *t-uni*, etc.

The other two demonstratives are decidedly atypical for Cushitic and unparalleled in East Cushitic. In *kulla* (m) one is reminded of the *ul* (3rd person masculine singular pronoun) mentioned before. Moreover, Baiso has *ul* meaning "man" in a general sense; Galab has *ello*, meaning "this"; Gato has a form *urra*, meaning "person" (normally male in East Cushitic); Khantia of Central Cushitic has a parallel pair in *an-il* (m) and *anič* (f), meaning "this"; and Male of West Cushitic has *loleke*, meaning "that". It is possible that *kulla/kussa* directly parallels Khantia *anič/,anič*, as an old Cushitic distinction between masculine and feminine. One is, however, reminded of the common Nilotic masculine demonstrative base, *loju* (this) and specifically of Masai *el-le* "this" (m). The possibility of *kulla* being a usage of borrowed Masai *el-le*, although doubtful in my opinion, cannot be ruled out as
yet; particularly since Galab, a neighboring East Cushitic language also in close contact with "Nilo-Hamites", has probably borrowed *ello* (this) from Turkana or Samburu.

**Interrogatives.**

The interrogative forms recorded are *amaňai* (what?) and *ataiyo* (who?). Without doubt *ataiyo* = *at–aiyo* (thou–who?). (Cf. pronouns above). Both forms are clearly close to Somali. Thus, Mediban *wa–mhai* (what?) and *wa–'ayof'aye* (who?); Benadir *maňa* (what?) and *ya* (who?). Cf. also Baiso *aiyo* (who?).

**Verb Morphology.**

Two short verbal paradigms were gathered. All other verbs were sought in either the imperative or 3rd person singular past tense, the forms usually closest to the verb root in East Cushitic.

The form, *a–*, as mentioned above, was also found prefixed in some verb forms. Thus, *a–gub–te* (it burns, or more likely, it burned), *a–yumu–i* (he died), *a–ňam–e* (he flew), *a–dag–ta* (hear!), *a–mut* (die!), *a–gis* (kill!), *a–ger–ta* (see!). A form *–o*/–*u* for the imperative singular was recorded in *ir–o* (go!), *fiddis–o* (sit!), *itolos–u* (stand!). In these forms we also find, in all probability, the causative suffix, *–s*, of common East Cushitic. Thus Somali (Mediban) *fAdi–s* (to sit) and (Benadir) *faDi–* (to be seated).

The verb paradigms are, as follows:

Present tense of "to go".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>an <em>er–da</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thou</td>
<td>at <em>ir–eta</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td><em>ul</em> <em>ir–la</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>in <em>ir–enna</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td><em>alın</em> <em>ir–elan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td><em>iču r–te</em> (probably an error)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Past tense of "to go".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>an <em>er–de</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thou</td>
<td><em>iž</em> <em>ir–ate</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td><em>us</em> <em>ir–te</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative Singular of "to go".

*ir–o*
Present tense of "to know".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>an gar-da</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou</td>
<td>ate gar-eta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>usu a-gar-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She</td>
<td>iš a-gar-eta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>in a-gar-enna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You (pl.)</td>
<td>ațin a-gar-elen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>ići a-gar-elan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Generally, the forms are those commonly found in East Cushitic, although –ta instead of –a for "I" and "he" is unusual. One is reminded of Baiso –ra, in the same context. The usual distinction between 1st person and 3rd person masculine singular on the one hand and 2nd person and 3rd person feminine singular on the other hand is maintained.

Other verb forms recorded are: hanin (bite!), kale (come!, identical with Mediban and Benadir kaley, the irregular imperative), aḥannanahai (I came: a doubtful form), Dam (drink!), hën (eat!), ken (give!), dah (say!), and udur (sleep!).

The phrase lohulo kilata (he went by foot) was recorded; this may be broken down into loh (foot), –ulo (a plural form or "by means of"), kila– or kil– (to go or travel), and –ta (3rd person singular masculine present suffix). The phrase probably means "he goes by foot", rather than "he went by foot".

**Numbers.**

The cardinal numbers obtained are, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Somali Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>kou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>lama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>seyyeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>afxr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>šan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>teba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>siyyel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>tomon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in the case of Baiso we are confronted with a set of numbers which all correspond to those of Somali. Again it should be pointed out that such complete agreement in the numbers is significant and not a matter to be lightly disregarded, because of the assumption of numerical instability.
III. C. – Rendille Vocabulary.

all 

Dahan :: Dan (Benadir).

animal 

bina’ :: binen-sa (Galla).

ashes 

ben :: West Cushitic: bindi (Ari), bidini (Hamar Koke), bedna (Janjero), bidin-ta (Wallamo).

axe 

Dagara :: Dagara (Boran Galla).

back 

garab :: garab (Somali, shoulder).

bad man, evil one 

sut :: Possibly so’a-ku (Warazi, sorceror), so’ai-ta (Konso, sorceror).

bark, of tree 

medah

beard 

dabdl :: debeni (Afar).

belly 

ur :: ur (Benadir).

bird 

ćimbir (cf. III.A. Rendille Phonology).

big 

abur

bite, to 

hanin– (cf. III.A).

black 

Da :: Possibly u’-i’Da (Warazi, red), yi’d  

(Tsamai, red), haDo (Galla, green).

blood 

Dig :: Dig (Somali).

bone 

laf :: laf (Somali).

bread 

kibis :: kimis (Somali).

breast, of woman 

nahas :: na:si (Baiso), nas-ka (Somali).

Brother 

walal :: walat (Somali).

buffalo, African 

gaser :: gAfar-sa (Galla, from *gasar-sa).

bull 

or :: are (Baiso).

burn, to 

gub– :: gob– (Somali).

butter 

subah (cf. “fat”).

chief 

ñaµ gudda :: nñaµ gudda (Boran Galla, borrowing).

child 

ñahut

chest, of body 

kače

claw 

gofan

cloud 

dubba: :: du:ba (Marako, Hadiya), dum (Saho), 

dume-sa/dumen-sa (Galla).

coffee 

burn, Arabic or Somali from Arabic; borrowing.

cold (temperature) 

rufoDa

come, to 

kale (irregular imperative) :: kaley (Somali).

aḥan nanahai (I came?).

cow 

saḥ :: sa’ (Somali).

cows/cattle 

lolyo :: lo’ad (Benadir), loli (Galla).

crocodile 

aḥam

Daughter 

albe
desert  

die, to  

doctor  

dog  

donkey  

drink, to  

dry  

ear  

ear–hole (Auditory Meatus)  

earth  

eat, to  

egg  

eight  

elephant  

eye  

family  

(family?–)  

fat, of meat  

Father  

feather  

fence  

field  

fire  

fish  
ive  

fly, to  

foot  

forest  

four  

fowl  

full  

giraffe  

yip (cf. III.A).

a–mut (die!).

a–yumu–i (he died). Cf. III.A.

daktari. From English, “doctor”.

kar :: kerre (Baiso).

ehel :: Possibly related to Yibir of Obbia al–hel (horse), from Arabic, but more probably it is related to an old Cushitic, “donkey”. Cf. hol–go (Kule), holl (Arbore), olo (Galab Marille), har–re (Galla); West Cushitic: kur (Gimira), kur–o (Kafa), kura (Nao, Shako), ukli (Karo), ukuli (Banna, Hamar Koke), ukli (Bako, Ari–mule).

Dam– :: Dam (Somali).

angage :: inggin (Mediban), engeg (Somali).

dogo :: dAg (Somali).

nabah :: nebe (Baiso).

harra (cf. “soil”).

hün– :: *un– (Somali).

ukun :: ukkun (Somali).

siyyet :: siyyed (Benadir).

arAp :: arba (Galla), aro (Benadir).

indo (plural?) :: inDo (Somali, eyes).

gob  

rer (Somali), worrajwarra (Galla).

worra/warra (Galla).

subah (cf. “butter”) :: subah (Somali).

aba :: Common East Cushitic.

kella (Darasa), kolla (Boran Galla). Cf.

also Nilotic, karor (Suk) and korr (Nandi).

o:t :: o:ti (Baiso).

dōu

dAb :: dAb (Somali).

yel

šan :: šan (Somali, Galla).

šam–

luk (Somali).

omar

afAr :: afar (Somali).

kuku

uruf

geri :: giri (Somali).
give, to  
  ken– :: ken–/kenn– (Galla), ken– (Somali, to bring).

go, to  
  ir–
  kilä/kil–

goat  
  riyyo :: ri’ (Benadir).

God  
  wah :: wak (Galla). Cf. Baiso “God”.

good  
  hage

grass  
  hös :: ‘aus (Somali).

green  
  rob :: rob (Somali, rain).

hair  
  tim :: tin/tim (Somali).

hand (hand only)  
  farro :: far/fer (Somali, finger). Rendille farro probably equals “fingers”.

hand (plus lower arm)  
  Dån

he (subj. prn.)  
  us/usu :: usu (Baiso).
  ul (cf. III.B).

head  
  msiah :: madoh (Somali).

hear, to  
  dag– (cf. “ear”).

heart  
  wayam (cf. III.A).

horn, of animal  
  gas :: ges (Somali).

horse  
  gange :: gange (Galla, mule).

house  
  min :: mn (Baiso).

hyena  
  waraba :: waråba (Benadir).

I (subj. prn.)  
  an/ani :: Common East Cushitic.

iron  
  bir :: bir (Somali).

kill, to  
  gis– :: giś– (Arbore), iges (Galla, from *iges).

knee  
  jilb :: jilib (Somali).

Kallu, or high priest  
  falo :: faal (Somali, Afar, to bewitch). Cf. also Rendille, “rain-maker” and Mijurtein faljal (sorceror).

wizard, theocratic chief  
  faljal (sorceror).

knife  
  mindil :: mindi’ (Somali).

know, to  
  gar– :: ark (Somali, to see), arg–/agar– (Galla, to see).

leaf  
  hodåh :: hodåh (Isaq, thorn).

lightning  
  anhad :: onkod (Isaq, thunder).

lion  
  båkasi

liver  
  hálesi :: ’alosa (Mediban, belly, liver. From *alol-ta).

long  
  der :: Der (Benadir), der (Mediban).

louse  
  injir :: injir (Somali).

man, “vir”  
  mejel :: Possibly magal (Benadir).

many  
  omar
meat  $ j̣id :: j̣id $ (Isaq: body, flesh, lean meat).
milk  $ hannu :: ̣ano $ (Benadir).
money, wealth  $ ḥówla :: keulo $ (Mediban: cattle, hence wealth).
moon  $ yeya $ (cf. III.A).
Mother  $ aiyō :: Common East Cushitic.
mountain  $ kur :: goru $ (Burji), garo/gorro (Sidamo), gara (Galla).
mouth  $ aj :: aj $ (Somali), common Cushitic.
mule  $ gange $ (cf. “horse”).
name  $ msaŋ'a :: mlaŋaḥ $ (Mediban).
neck  $ luḫum :: luqun $ (Benadir).
new  $ ̣osub :: ̣osub $ (Somali).
night  $ iben :: haben/hamin $ (Somali).
nine  $ sagal :: sagal $ (Somali).
nose  $ san :: san $ (Somali).
one  $ kou :: kow $ (Somali).
penis  $ ŋohur
person  $ iñeñet
python  $ horomarsi
rain  $ wah–atwej (?)
rain-maker  $ jafjal :: jañal $ (Mijurtein, sorceror). Cf. “Kallu”.
red  $ gudud :: gudud $ (Somali).
river  $ war :: war $ (Somali, swamp, marsh, quagmire).
road  $ jit :: jit $ (Somali).
root  $ ḫay :: (cf. Baiso “root”).
sacrifice  $ soriyo :: soriyo $ (Boran Galla).
salt  $ mlaŋat. Probably from Lake Magati, from which Rendille salt is traded in.
sand  $ yohanti
Satan  $ bṣaika
say, to  $ dah– :: dah/rah– $ (Somali).
see, to  $ ger– :: (cf. “to know”).
seven  $ teba :: Cf Baiso “seven”.
she (subj. prn.)  $ iš :: Cf. Baiso “she”.
sheep  $ ari :: eri $ (Somali).
sheep and goats  $ adi :: adi $ (Mediban: sheep, plural).
(Hobley)
shoulder  $ berber :: Possibly barbar $ (Benadir, young man).
           But not too probable semantically.
Sister  $ walasaiya :: walaša $ (Somali, from *walal-ta).
sit, to \( fiddiso \) (sit!) = \( fiddi\text{-}s \) (Mediban).
six \( leh \) = \( leh \) (Somali).
skin \( mahel \) = Possibly magar (Benadir).
sky \( sere \) (cf. also Hobley's \( sere \), "day") = Possibly \( šer \) (Somali, time). However, probably a cognate of the old Cushitic, "sky, God"; \( zar \) in Central Cushitic and \( dar/yer/čar \), etc. in West Cushitic.
slave \( miskin \) = \( miskin \) (Mediban, poor, from Arabic \( al \) \( miskin \)).
sleep, to \( udur- \) = \( udur-\text{-}hudur- \) (Baiso), \( hurud/hurd- \) (Somali).
small \( načul \)
smith, iron-worker \( tumal \) = \( tumal \) (Somali). Not a recent borrowing from Somali because mentioned by Stigand in 1910. Cf. also bir (iron). The usual assumption that iron-using cultures in Kenya derive from the advent of the Bantu is almost certainly wrong.
smoke \( um \)
snake \( tof \)
soil \( il \) = \( ul \) (Baiso, earth) and \( irreferre \) (Baiso, soil). Cf. Rendille \( harra \) (earth).
Son \( ŋakot \) (cf. "child").
spear \( hun \)
large spear \( tor \) = \( teri \) (Somali), \( tor \) (Mogogodo); South Cushitic: \( toro \) (Mbugu); West Cushitic: \( tora \) (Haruo of Kachama, Koyra, Zala, Doko). Cf. also Amharic \( tor \) (spear) and \( tor-\text{-}tnnet \) (war).
spear, to \( warhan- \) = \( waran \) (Somali, spear), \( woran \) (Galla, spear).
stand, to \( tolo-s \)
star \( bakal \) = \( bakal \) (Somali, Venus).
stone \( dágah \) = \( dágah \) (Somali).
sun \( orra \) = \( gorra/orrah \) (Somali).
\( hura \) (Hobley) = \( hula' \) (Jabarti, flame).
tail \( dub \) = \( dâb/dâb/dâip \) (Somali).
ten \( tomon \) = \( tomton/toban \) (Somali).
that (demon.) \( kulla \) (m) (cf. III.B).
\( kussa \) (f) (cf. III.B).
they (subj. prn.) \( ičọ\text{-}iču \) = \( iso \) (Baiso), \( išon \) (Asrof).
this (demon.) \( kan \) (m) (cf. III.B).
\( kanantifidiyo \) (f) ??
thou (subj. prn.)  
\[ ati/ate/at :: \text{Common East Cushitic.} \]
\[ ih :: –iki (Baiso, in aiyo–iki, "who?–thou"). \]
three  
\[ seyyeh :: siddeh (Somali). \]
Cf. III.A.
thunder  
\[ guga :: guga (Jabarti), kaka’o (Afar, lightning). \]
tomorrow  
\[ sata \]
tongue  
\[ harrsb :: \text{Universal East Cushitic.} \]
tooth  
\[ ilko :: ilko (Somali–teeth). \]
tree  
\[ gey :: gay (Jiddu), geyd (Mediban). \]
Cf. III.A.
two  
\[ lama :: lama/la(a) (Somali). \]
vagina  
\[ gel \]
war  
\[ höl :: ‘ol (Somali). \]
warm  
\[ kullul :: kolkolemna (Baiso), kulku/kulel (Somali). \]
warrior  
\[ dun :: Possibly dul (Somali: raid, war party), dula (Galla, war), and dul-tu (Galla, warrior). \]
water  
\[ biče’ :: beke (Baiso). \]
Cf. II.A.
we (subj. prn.)  
\[ in :: \text{Common East Cushitic.} \]
(independent)  
\[ inno \]
well (water source)  
\[ wor (cf. “river”). \]
wealth, money  
\[ hōula (cf. “money”). \]
what?  
\[ amaḥai (cf. III.B). \]
white  
\[ daḥnan \]
who?  
\[ aiyo :: aiyo (Baiso). \]
woman  
\[ obori :: barra (Afar), haber/habar (Somali, mother). \]
wood  
\[ ḥoriyo (cf. III.A). \]
yesterday  
\[ čele :: šeley (Somali), kele (Baiso). \]
you (subj. prn. pl.)  
\[ atin :: adin (Somali). \]

IV. Boni.

In southeastern Kenya in the area between the Tana river and the present Somalia-Kenya border several hunter groups, called Boni or WaBoni, were found in the 19th century by European explorers. These groups were living in a territory then occupied primarily by the Tana or Bararetta Galla and Bantu (Pokomo and the Swahili-speaking peoples). The movements of the Darod Somali had only very recently brought them into part occupancy of those areas where the Boni lived. It is significant that the two 19th century explorers, Fischer and Johnston, who published the only available data on the Boni, did not mention the Somali in their discussions of the Boni. Rather they concerned themselves with the Galla and Galla words in Boni.


Fischer distinguished the Boni from the Sanye, locating them respectively east and west of the Tana river. Moreover, the linguistic data, given by Fischer, quite clearly distinguishes the two. Boni and Sanye share perhaps half of the vocabulary items but less than half of the non-numerical items. There is considerable phonetic difference in some of the items shared. On the other hand Sanye is so close to the Galla, given by Fischer, for Galla to be indeed their mother-tongue, Boni is neither the same language as Sanye nor is it a dialect of Galla 3).

Another small Boni vocabulary was published by Johnston in 1886. Although he gave several names and locations with reference to the

1) The Sabaki or Galana (Galla for large river) rises in Kamba country, flows through the Tsavo area and has its mouth at Malindi, SW of Tana.
2) The Osi is a very short river which is properly the right or easterly channel of the two-mouthed Tana river.
3) In the same data the samples of Pokomo and Swahili show about 75% agreement which is about what one would expect from the closely related Bantu languages. Moreover, there is very little phonetic difference between cognate words, unlike the Boni-Sanye-Galla cognates.
Boni, presumably his data was obtained from the only Boni he actually saw – those east of the Tana river in the vicinity of Lamu. Thus the data is taken from the same geographical group as Fischer’s. Johnston’s Boni is somewhat different from Fischer’s, although it is either very closely related or another dialect of Boni. Fortunately, Johnston’s data supplements that of Fischer, thus increasing the material which we have to compare.

A relatively casual perusal of the available Boni data shows four kinds of words, viz., those close to Galla, those close to Somali, those close to Bantu, and those special to Boni. There are only 2 or 3 words of probable Bantu origin, obviously borrowed culture words. Except for a handful of words peculiar to Boni (plus Sanye in a few cases), all of the remaining words are clearly of Somali and/or Galla origin. However, the words of probable Somali origin distinctly outnumber those of probable Galla origin. Moreover, many words which could be of either Somali or Galla origin are phonetically closer to Somali, particularly in Fischer’s data. Finally, of course, since in no dialect of Galla nor in any language closely related to Galla are Somali-like forms as numerous as the native ones, how are we to account for all the “Somali” in Boni?

The vocabulary reported by Fischer is given here in full, save that the Pokomo and Swahili data is omitted, and Johnston’s vocabulary thereafter. Because virtually every word in Fischer’s data ends in either –a, –na, or –ya, these are treated as suffixes, suggestive of the suffixed articles of Somali. The Fischer vocabulary is, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kigala ¹)</th>
<th>Kisanie</th>
<th>Kiboni</th>
<th>Somali/Rendille</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a greeting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(wie gehts?)</td>
<td>negêa</td>
<td>negêa</td>
<td>faïyala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guten Tag)</td>
<td>loni/lawoni</td>
<td>lauwon</td>
<td>loî-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cattle</td>
<td>reh</td>
<td>lîles</td>
<td>kurbîš-ua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(kurbîča=kid)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>hola</td>
<td>hola</td>
<td>éri-ya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹) Entries given in parentheses are forms from other dialects of Galla. They are inserted where appropriate. Somali and Rendille forms are given for comparative purposes; they are not taken from Fischer’s or Johnston’s data. Forms followed by (F) in the Galla column of Johnston’s vocabulary are taken from Fischer’s Galla. Some few forms from Gato and Konso, which are closely related to Galla, and Baiso are given, when appropriate, as better representatives of their respective groups.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Kigala</th>
<th>Kisanie</th>
<th>Kiboni</th>
<th>Somali/Rendille</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>elephant</td>
<td>dárba</td>
<td>arb</td>
<td>morúri-ya</td>
<td>morodí-ga (Ben.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buffalo</td>
<td>gádersa</td>
<td>gáders</td>
<td>kí-s-ua</td>
<td>gáser (Rend.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion</td>
<td>néka</td>
<td>neka</td>
<td>dyúh-á</td>
<td>libah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leopard</td>
<td>kérentsa</td>
<td>kérents</td>
<td>šuél-á</td>
<td>šábel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hyena</td>
<td>wórbesa</td>
<td>wórubes</td>
<td>vuárí</td>
<td>waraba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>seriéni</td>
<td>séré</td>
<td>úi-ya</td>
<td>ei-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild cat</td>
<td>moróde</td>
<td>tštš-ia</td>
<td>déd-ua</td>
<td>jíras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>porcupine</td>
<td>kordái</td>
<td>dádo</td>
<td>dás-er-a</td>
<td>dañer (Ben.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baboon</td>
<td>géldea</td>
<td>gálde</td>
<td>gáler-a</td>
<td>hir (buffalo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pig</td>
<td>bóíye</td>
<td>búye</td>
<td>zégár-wa</td>
<td>sagáro (Digil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cephalophus</td>
<td>gugufitu</td>
<td>zegdr-wa</td>
<td>ságAro</td>
<td>hir (buffalo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donkey</td>
<td>háre</td>
<td>huán-a</td>
<td>damer/ehel</td>
<td>hír (buffalo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>férda</td>
<td>férđ</td>
<td>férán-ua</td>
<td>jíras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camel</td>
<td>gál</td>
<td>gál-ua</td>
<td>hál-gal</td>
<td>fárow-gi (zebra)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giraffe</td>
<td>sátáwe</td>
<td>sátáu</td>
<td>kíri-ya</td>
<td>geri/gerí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhinoceros</td>
<td>wórres</td>
<td>wérres</td>
<td>húl-a</td>
<td>hír (buffalo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rat, kind of</td>
<td>hamtáta</td>
<td>buidyrtu</td>
<td>bugíširt-ua</td>
<td>hír (buffalo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Aulacol. Swinder.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rat</td>
<td>dóta</td>
<td>pánia</td>
<td>lotó</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>bónfa</td>
<td>bof</td>
<td>móf-ua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>gurtúme</td>
<td>gortómi</td>
<td>maralé-ya</td>
<td>mallay (Ben.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>šímíre</td>
<td>šímíre</td>
<td>šímir-a</td>
<td>šímbir/šímbir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>lóko</td>
<td>ták</td>
<td>kay-a</td>
<td>kow/kóu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td>láma</td>
<td>lám</td>
<td>láw-a</td>
<td>laba, lamà/lama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>sédì</td>
<td>sédì</td>
<td>sédéh-a</td>
<td>saddeh, sídèh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td>áfúri</td>
<td>áfúr</td>
<td>áfar-a</td>
<td>afar/afar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td>šání</td>
<td>šán</td>
<td>šán-a</td>
<td>šán/šan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td>dýa, (jah/jaa)</td>
<td>nyo</td>
<td>leh-a</td>
<td>leh, lih/leh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td>toíba</td>
<td>toib</td>
<td>sedáw-a</td>
<td>todoba/teba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight</td>
<td>sediéri</td>
<td>sadiéd</td>
<td>siyir-a</td>
<td>saybe (Jiddu, from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*sadbe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>siyed (Digil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>siyyet (Rend.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The small vocabulary given by Johnston is reproduced here in full also. It shows more resemblance to Galla than does the Boni of Fischer, but still bears a strong resemblance to Somali. Johnston’s forms are given in comparison with those Somali and Galla forms which are cognate and reasonably close phonetically.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boni</th>
<th>Galla</th>
<th>Somali/Rendille</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>riga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>idoho</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman, as mother</td>
<td>nasa</td>
<td></td>
<td>na’as-ka (Jiddu), nas-ka (breast), nahas (Rend.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young unmarried girl</td>
<td>ojale</td>
<td>ijolle</td>
<td>(child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>lavon</td>
<td>lauwoni (F)</td>
<td>lo’ad/lołyo (cattle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buffalo</td>
<td>kadarasa</td>
<td>gadersa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elephant</td>
<td>mororie</td>
<td></td>
<td>morodi (Ben.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elephant</td>
<td>arba</td>
<td>arba</td>
<td>aro(Ben.)/arap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>road</td>
<td>derbo</td>
<td>dirbo</td>
<td>(Arabic, darab) (Tana Galla only)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>minga</td>
<td>minna (Tana)</td>
<td>min-ki(Digil)/min mana/mara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1) [Nel ms., al posto di ś è scritto š con un punto al disotto – *N.d.R.*].

---

**BASI0 AND RENDILLE: SOMALI OUTLIERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kigala</th>
<th>Kisanie</th>
<th>Kiboni</th>
<th>Somali/Rendille</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td>ságāli</td>
<td>sdger</td>
<td>ságil-a</td>
<td>sagal/sagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td>kudéni</td>
<td>kudén</td>
<td>tdun-a</td>
<td>toban, tomon/tomon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twenty</td>
<td>ilamáni</td>
<td>élama</td>
<td>lautaún-oa</td>
<td>labatun (Digil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thirty</td>
<td>sedietáma, sodóm</td>
<td>sedataún-oa</td>
<td>sodón</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forty</td>
<td>afurtáma</td>
<td>afurtám</td>
<td>afaartaún-oa</td>
<td>aflatun (Digil)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fifty</td>
<td>šantáma</td>
<td>šentām</td>
<td>šantaún-oa</td>
<td>konton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sixty</td>
<td>dyatáma</td>
<td>dyartām</td>
<td>letaún-oa</td>
<td>lehdan (Ben.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventy</td>
<td>tobatáma</td>
<td>tobatām</td>
<td>sēdataún-oa</td>
<td>todobatan (Ben.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighty</td>
<td>sedietáma</td>
<td>sedietām</td>
<td>siyirtaún-oa</td>
<td>siyyetan (Ben.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninety</td>
<td>sagaltáma</td>
<td>sagertām</td>
<td>sagellaún-oa</td>
<td>sagasān, sagaltan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hundred</td>
<td>dib</td>
<td>dib</td>
<td>lebetaún-oa</td>
<td>bogol, bogol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thousand</td>
<td>dibukum</td>
<td>dibukum</td>
<td>dēb-ua</td>
<td>kun, kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Boni</td>
<td>Galla</td>
<td>Somali/Rendille</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village</td>
<td><em>kiluani</em></td>
<td><em>adu</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Bantu?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td><em>hado</em></td>
<td><em>hadite</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(of the sun)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun setting</td>
<td><em>hadite</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rain</td>
<td><em>boke</em></td>
<td><em>bokoya</em></td>
<td>(Tana)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>boka</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake</td>
<td><em>biwesi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Bantu?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snuff</td>
<td><em>ruso</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Bantu?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td><em>surde</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat, to</td>
<td><em>ademe</em></td>
<td><em>dem−</em></td>
<td>(Gato)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Dam−</em></td>
<td>(Konso)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(to drink)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Rend.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Baiso)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Probably is)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a−dem−e,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“he ate”)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you</td>
<td><em>isi</em></td>
<td><em>izin</em></td>
<td>(Tana)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>isin</em></td>
<td>(Ben., Digil)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Baiso)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am well</td>
<td><em>fila</em></td>
<td><em>fayy−</em></td>
<td>(to be well)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Probably <em>fil−a</em>)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>fayle</em></td>
<td>(good, Digil)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>−a, present tense</td>
<td><em>−a</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>−ay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you well?</td>
<td><em>filalta</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(filal−ta?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you come</td>
<td><em>afarasi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a−fara−si?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have not</td>
<td><em>m’ovo</em></td>
<td><em>arg−</em></td>
<td>(to see)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I saw not</td>
<td><em>m’arne</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>−o (neg. suffix, 1st pers.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>−ne (neg. suffix)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>qob−</em> (to have)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>arg−</em> (to see)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td><em>koi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*kow</td>
<td>kou*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two</td>
<td><em>lama</em></td>
<td><em>lama</em></td>
<td>(labalama)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>lana</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td><em>sadi</em></td>
<td><em>sadi</em></td>
<td>(Digil)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>siddi</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four</td>
<td><em>afur</em></td>
<td><em>afur</em></td>
<td>(Digil)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>afar</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>five</td>
<td><em>šan</em></td>
<td><em>šan</em></td>
<td>(Digil)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*šan</td>
<td>šan*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>six</td>
<td><em>li</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Digil)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>li</em> (Jiddu), leh</td>
<td>leb*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven</td>
<td><em>toiba</em></td>
<td><em>toiba</em></td>
<td>(F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>toboa</td>
<td>leba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eight</td>
<td><em>siete</em></td>
<td><em>sediri</em></td>
<td>(F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>siyed (Digil)/siyyet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nine</td>
<td><em>sagala</em></td>
<td><em>sagali</em></td>
<td>(F)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sagal/sagal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ten</td>
<td><em>tobenna</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>toban, tomon</td>
<td>tomon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the basis of sheer lexical count, without allowing for phonetic similarity, the Boni of Johnston’s data shares 20 of 36 forms with Galla (12 of 26 non-numerical items and 8 of 10 numbers); it shares 22 of 36 forms with Somali (12 of 26 non-numerical items and 10 of 10 all of the numbers). However, in four comparisons the Boni cognate is Somali in form even though cognate with the Galla form. Thus, li (six), siete (eight), nasa (woman) and mina (house). Only in afur (four) do we have the converse 1). In derbo (road) we have a form which is of Arabic origin, although also found in the Tana river dialect of Galla (but not in other Galla dialects). Johnston’s data shows therefore fully as much resemblance to Somali as to Galla, if not more 2).

Fischer’s Boni is distinctly closer to Somali than is Johnston’s. In non-numerical items 17 of 25 are cognate with Somali, whereas 12 of 25 are cognate with Galla. Similarly 16 of the 20 numbers reported are manifestly cognate with Somali, while 12 are cognate with Galla. In 5 cases, where a number cognate is shared with both Somali and Galla, it is closer to Somali phonetically. Thus, sedeh-a (3), leh-a (6), siyr-a(8), letaun-oa (60) and siyirtaun-oa (80).

More significant than a gross statistical conclusion that Somali forms are somewhat more numerous than those of Galla in Boni is the nature of the Somali resemblances. These include all of the primary numbers, excepting sedauwa (seven) of Fischer’s data; the m– negative prefix; an a– verbal prefix similar to Rendille’s; a nominal suffix –ya which corresponds to Somali –ka|–ga|–ki; and many words of the basic vocabulary, e.g. man, woman, house, fish, bird, dog, to eat, to see, to have. Finally, many words for animals, domestic and wild, are Somali, e.g. sheep, cattle, elephant, buffalo, lion, leopard, baboon, giraffe, and rhinoceros. Other words such as, to be well, hyena, donkey, horse, and the pronoun “you”, are equally Galla or Somali. The fact that most of the Somali-like words are not close copies of their Somali equivalents, as are most of the Galla-like words, is also significant, since

1) Since English speakers frequently render /Δ/ with written u, it is possible that Johnston actually heard /afΔr/, the Somali form.

2) The Galla reported by both Fischer and Johnston is somewhat deviant from the other Galla dialects, particularly in replacing /r/ and /d/ with /y/ in several forms which is what Somali has done but other Galla has not done. This is not to say that Tana Galla has been “corrupted” by a Somali “influence”; rather the implication is that the same phonetic process is at work in both Galla and Somali. The deviance of Tana Galla is probably significant historically.
it implies genetic commonality and historical separation rather than recent borrowing.

When we again consider how to explain how so much of Boni came to be Somali-oid, the first natural hypothesis is to attribute this to borrowing from the Somali in the mid-19th century. However, since the Somali migrants to eastern Kenya were Darod or originally northern Somali and since Boni resembles south Somali phonetically more than northern, we may reject the Darod hypothesis. Moreover, the number of years that the Darod dominated the Tana area is small, perhaps thirty at the most, and too short a time to account for so many borrowings. On the other hand since much of Boni bears a special resemblance to Tana Galla 1), we may attribute this to borrowing, particularly since it is generally accepted that the Galla have been in eastern Kenya for at least several centuries.

Since Boni is neither Galla nor proper Somali, but does have a general affinity towards Somali/Rendille, we may further conclude that it represents a "lost" dialect of Somali. I propose that Boni bears the same sort of relationship to Somali as Dorobo does to Nandi 2), a conclusion which seems inherent in the very name Boni, which is surely relatable to bon (hunter, hunter caste) of southern and southwestern Somali dialects.

V. – LINGUISTIC DISCUSSION.

A. – Rendille and Boni.

The obvious close relationship existing between Rendille and Somali is, in my opinion, not subject to serious dispute. The very close phonetic agreement and the mass of lexical resemblances extending to the most basic concepts, precludes any but an hypothesis of common genetic origin and relatively recent separation. Moreover, the conclusions of linguistic analysis are in high correlation with the great similarity be-

1) The Sanye reported by Fischer also bears an even stronger special resemblance to Tana Galla and should be classified as Galla, in so many words. The Sanye of Damman (1950), however, is not Galla but rather is classifiable with South Cushitic. This is also Greenberg's conclusion.

2) The reader will recall that the Dorobo language consists of several distinct dialects which are related in varying degrees of closeness to Nandi of the South Nilotic linguistic group (Southern Nilo-Hamitic). The Dorobo are hunters and some of their groups live, as Nandi-speaking enclaves, in Masai and Kikuyu territory, as, for example, the Mosiro of northern Tanga-nyika.
between the Rendille and the Somali in race and culture. The one great cultural difference, to which many differences in cultural detail undoubtedly adhere, is in relation to the Arabs. The Somali are at least nominally Moslem and acculturated to Moslem Arabic culture; the Rendille are not. This being the case, the Rendille should be of decided ethnographic interest, especially for studies of culture change and acculturation.

The question of defining more closely the relationship between Rendille and Somali remains. Are we, for example, to call Rendille another dialect in the Somali dialect cluster or are we to follow Prins in calling Rendille "proto-Somali"? At the outset we may disregard the specific phrase "proto-Somali", except as a figure of speech, because the parental Somali language is not known, except as we reconstruct it or luckily find written documents from an earlier Somali. Moreover, from a phonetic standpoint, we would probably find northern Somali (e.g., Mediban, Isaq, etc.) closer to Ur-Somali than either Rendille or the southern dialects (cf. the phonetic shift from d to y, above). However, the sense of Prins's remark can be retained, namely, Rendille has a special status in relation to the cluster of dialects called Somali. It is more divergent from each of them, than they are each from the other. Thus Benadir and Jiddu, while each has notable phonetic and lexical differences with Isaq or Mediban, have fewer differences therewith than Rendille has with either them or Isaq or Mediban. Rendille stands in about the same relationship to the Somali dialect cluster as Friesian stands in relation to the many dialects of English.

It is more difficult to be precise in the case of Boni, given the paucity of the data and the strong influence of Galla on Boni, particularly that reported by Johnston. Were it not for the probability that Boni is not reported with phonetic accuracy by either Fischer or Johnston, which we may presume from their rendering of Galla without cacumenal or ejective stops, we might judge Boni to be very divergent phonetically from Somali and Rendille. We are left therefore with the vocabulary as our guide. The vocabulary, containing as it does such forms as šuel (leopard) and moruri (fish) found only in Somali proper, indicates that Boni is fundamentally closer to the main Somali dialect cluster than is Rendille. Such a conclusion may be all that we will ever be able to make, since it is likely that "Somali" Boni has by now been replaced by "Galla" Boni or "Bantu" Boni in the Tana river area.

The classification of both Rendille and Boni as languages "closely allied" to Somali, to borrow Huntingford's terms, greatly extends the parameters of the Somali-speaking cluster. Surely we must now perforce think in terms of two coordinate "Somali" groups, constituted as follows:
a) Rendille and b) Somali-Boni, with Somali-Boni consisting of, 1) northern Somali (Isaq, Mediban, Darod, Mijurtein, etal), 2) southern Somali or Sab (Hawiya, Benadir, Digil, Asrof, Jiddu, Tunni, etal) and 3) Boni. There is, of course, no sharp break between northern and southern Somali; rather this classification bisects the Somali dialect cluster primarily for convenience. The two sections do reflect the traditional divisions of "Noble Somali" (primarily northern) and "Sab" (primarily southern). Given the rather greater profusion of divergent forms in the southern dialects, the Somali/Sab division, if anything, overestimates the linguistic importance of the northern dialects. This classification is a conservative one which presumes perhaps too much linguistic difference between the extremes of the Somali dialect cluster. A more correct sub-classification might have Boni as one coordinate branch of Somali-Boni, as opposed to the rest of Somali proper.

B. – Baiso.

The problem with which we are confronted in the case of Baiso is not whether Baiso bears numerous resemblances to Somali, which it clearly does, but rather whether Baiso has a special relationship with Somali as opposed to the remaining East Cushitic languages. In a word is Baiso more like Somali than it is like Galla, Konso, Sidamo or Afar? I believe that we can say that such a special Baiso-Somali relationship exists.

In terms of the morphology described and the vocabulary we find that Baiso has the following groups of morphemes:

a) those of common East Cushitic;

b) those shared with only some East Cushitic languages, other than Somali–Rendille; here Galla, there Sidamo or Afar, etc.;

c) those shared only with Somali and Rendille;

d) those not shared with other East Cushitic languages.

Much of Baiso is common East Cushitic. Some items are shared only with Galla-Konso group, a smaller number only with Burji-Sidamo, and a few only with Saho-Afar. But a great many forms are shared with Somali and Rendille; some of them exclusively and some fewer also shared with the Galla-Konso group. And the most basic concepts are among those either shared exclusively with Somali-Rendille or, if also shared with others, closer to the phonetic form of Somali and/or Rendille. The Baiso pronoun sets, both subject and possessive, and the numbers are very close to Somali and/or Rendille. Most of the elements of the verbal conjugation and many of the common verb roots are close to
Somali or Rendille. More of the elemental noun and adjective forms, such as the body parts, are shared with Somali-Rendille than with any other single group of East Cushitic languages. Finally, in gross lexicostatistical terms 1), a higher percentage of Baiso forms find cognates with Somali-Rendille than with other groups. The figures obtained are, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language 1</th>
<th>Language 2</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baiso compared with Benadir</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baiso compared with Mediban</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baiso compared with Rendille</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baiso compared with Boran Galla</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baiso compared with Konso</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baiso compared with Afar/Saho</td>
<td>21% (averaged)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baiso compared with Sidamo 2)</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baiso compared with Burji 2)</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparable figures for other languages, which may assist the reader in estimating the degrees of relationship involved here, are, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language 1</th>
<th>Language 2</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rendille compared with Mediban</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rendille compared with Benadir</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediban compared with Benadir</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galla compared with Konso</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burji compared with Darasa</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is the meaning of this disproportionate resemblance to Somali? May we say that Baiso has borrowed heavily from Somali? Perhaps we may invoke that favorite a d h o c assumption of the Ethiopianists, the old military colony; in this case Somali of the time of Ahmed Grany? I believe not, because in many words we are confronted with an irreversible phonetic factor. Where Baiso /k/ and /g/ equal Somali /$k$/ and /$)$, we can hardly attribute the correspondence to borrowing. How could proto-Somali forms be borrowed from recent Somali? Yet it is clear from both the Baiso forms, from the forms of other East Cushitic and Cushitic languages, and from occasional internal evidence from Somali itself (e.g. san, "five" and koton, "fifty") that such forms as san (five), simbir (bird), jilib (knee), etc., are historically secondary, arising

1) All comparisons are made on a standard lexicostatistical or glotto-chronological list. The list used here is from Swadesh (1955), which has 100 items.

2) Two forms in Baiso, bululo (ashes) and wuta (seed), were judged to be borrowings from Burji-Sidamo and hence not scored as true cognates.
from the palatalization of velars. If then the linguistic affinity between Somali and Baiso cannot be attributed to borrowing, we can hardly doubt that a special genetic relationship does in fact exist between the two languages.

It is perhaps important to review the meaning of a special affinity or relationship in matters of languages because of the historical consequences which flow from this. The special affinity between Baiso and Somali means that both are derived from an earlier speech community which had become differentiated from the rest of East Cushitic and underwent a period of independent development before the later differentiations into Baiso, Rendille, and the numerous dialects of Somali. Baiso and Somali are derived from a reconstructable proto-Baiso-Somali, a language distinct from proto-Galla-Konso, proto-Burji-Sidamo, or proto-Saho-Afar but closely related to them. It is difficult to see how else we might interpret the Baiso-Somali relationship.

C. – The Position of Baiso and Somali within East Cushitic.

In the present discussion the classification of Cushitic first formulated by Moreno (1941) and accepted by Greenberg (1948, 1955), is assumed. This is the generally accepted American classification of Cushitic. Within the Moreno classification an East Cushitic group is set up, consisting of Burji-Sidamo, Low Cushitic (Saho-Afar, Galla and Somali), and a group of poorly known languages called **Lingue Varieté** (Konso, Gardulla, Gidole, Galab or Gheleba?, Arbore, Dume?, Gowaze?, etc.). Because of the considerable recent expansion of our knowledge of the languages of southern Ethiopia and northern Kenya, I believe we must modify the internal classification of East Cushitic somewhat. While no demonstration of evidence to justify this new sub-classification will be attempted here 1), a brief outline will be made so as to show the positions of Baiso and Somali-Rendille within it. In a future article I hope to present the evidence supporting this classification.

East Cushitic consists of two primary sub-groups, Burji–Sidamo and the remaining languages which can be called collectively Lowland East Cushitic, Moreno’s **Basso Cuscitico** joined with his **Lingue Varieté**. Lowland East Cushitic consists of Macro-Oromo (Moreno’s **Lingue Varieté plus** Galla), Saho-Afar, and Macro-Somali. In-

1) Greenberg’s latest classification of East Cushitic (1963) is in general agreement with that given here, although our sub-classifications were arrived at independently.
included in Macro-Oromo are Warazi, Gawata, Tsamai, and the long ignored Mogogodo of central Kenya 1). The Macro-Somali group with which we have been concerned is a clear linguistic unity; indeed after Saho-Afar the unity of Baiso, Rendille and Somali is the clearest in East Cushitic. The Macro-Oromo group has much greater internal differentiation and might profitably be broken up into two groups.

The position of Baiso within Macro-Somali is clearly that of a coordinate branch, i.e. the differences between Baiso and any other member of the group distinctly exceed the differences between the other members. Thus, to conclude the internal classification of the Somali group, begun with the classification of Rendille and Boni, we may state the internal relationship, as follows:

Macro-Somali 2):

A) Baiso (and presumably Shigima)

B) Somali

1) Rendille

2) Somali proper
   a) northern Somali (Isaq, Mediban, Darod, Isa, Mijurtein)
   b) southern Somali (Hawiya, Benadir, Asrof, Digil, Tunni, Jiddu, etal)
   c) Boni (perhaps distinct or coordinate to the rest of Somali proper)

VI. – HISTORICAL COMMENT.

A. – Somali Origins.

Many writers, particularly Cerulli and I. M. Lewis, have supposed that the Somali originated in the northern part of their present area and have been spreading south and southwestwards at the expense of the Bantu and of the Galla, whom they suppose were the first Cushitic occupants of the Horn. The autochthones of the Horn, or at least the southern Horn, have been supposed to be Negro agriculturalists of Bantu stock. Murdock (1959) assigned ultimate Somali origins to the southeastern highlands of Ethiopia and presumed that the Somali had followed the Galla in occupying the Horn. He further held that the Coastal Bantu


2) Greenberg has also concluded that Baiso is a member of a larger Somali group which includes Rendille and Boni. Personal communication (1963) and Greenberg (1963).
(Swahili, Bajuni, Shebelle, Shidle, Pokomo, etal) had spread up into the riverain areas of the Horn prior to the advent of the Galla and Somali. H. S. Lewis has recently criticised the hypothesis that the Galla preceded the Somali into the Horn.

To the extent that one restricts the discussion to the Moslem northern Somali, the Cerulli-I. M. Lewis hypothesis is correct. Both historical accounts and the present distribution of the Darod indicate a spread of northern Somali from a locus south and east of Harar in Ethiopia. The Darod also displaced Galla in the western Ogaden and between the Juba river of Somalia and the Tana of Kenya. This much seems well attested to historically. But this is only one very recent movement, closely connected with Islam and the defeat of the Somali-Moslem Abyssinian invasion of central Ethiopia at the time of Ahmed Grany 1). In the south the Darod undoubtedly met with riverain Bantu. But they just as surely met with other Somali who must have been present already — the Sab or southern Somali.

The Sab were in occupancy of most of the coast from Obbia to Brava and most of the interior of southern Somalia; this follows from the large number of tribelets and considerable dialect differentiation in the Mogadishu area and its interior. The diversity of the Sab can no more be accounted for by the recent Somali movement from the north than Sicilian and Calabrian can be attributed to a movement of Italians from Milan to the Greek-speaking south.

The movements of the Darod are merely the most recent of several "Somali" movements. The geographical position of neither Boni nor Rendille can be accounted for in the same breath with the Darod movements. The earlier speech community of the Somali proper must have extended as far as the Tana river in eastern Kenya, where we find the Boni enclave in Galla territory. Moreover, the substantially older speech community of Somali-Rendille, or proto-Somali, probably extended from Lake Rudolf on the west to the Benadir coast on the east, and from the Tana river on the south to probably the Ogaden, or possibly Harar, on the north. In this general lowland area, which in time came to include the easternmost Horn, the Somali internal dialect differentiation took place. Were it not for the separation between Rendille and Somali, we would perhaps have today an old much dialected area of

1) Cf. MURDOCK (1959, page 324). Murdock speaks of the Somali invasion but it is likely that Moslem Abyssinians (Harari and their close kin of eastern "Gurage", viz., Silte and Walani) and some of the Afar were also involved.
"Somali" from Lake Rudolf to the tip of the Horn, an area whose analogue may be seen in Burji-Sidamo or in the Ometo-Gimira area of West Cushitic.

What created the separation between Rendille and its eastern kin? Are we to suppose that the Rendille are a fairly recent migration across Boran Galla territory from the main Somali group? This problem requires for its solution a discussion of the Galla who intervene between the Rendille and the western Somali. In the 19th century, when European explorers first contacted the Galla, Somali, and Rendille, the Galla occupied a very large territory — indeed all the area — between the western Somali and the Rendille. The average width of the intervening Galla territory was about 200 miles and it extended from the southeastern Ethiopian highlands to the Indian Ocean. Yet the Galla from near Lake Chamo to the northern Tana river area were little differentiated, culturally or linguistically; all were apparently speakers of the Boran dialect of Galla. The Boran dialect in turn is not yet unintelligible to Ethiopian Galla as far away as Wallega 1). What the Galla (Boran and Bararetta) represent here is evidently an intrusion. The considerably more differentiated Macro-Somali languages are separated one from the other by a virtually undifferentiated foreigner, Galla. Moreover, one of the Macro-Somali languages, Boni, is found as an enclave in Galla territory. On the whole this is a perfectly ordinary intrusion situation and there is little need for ad hoc assumptions such as might be entailed by a postulated special Rendille migration from the main Somali area across Boran territory.

To reconstruct the entire sequence of developments implied by the above conclusions we may specify four periods in the peopling of the Kenya-Ethiopia-Somalia borders territory, as follows:

a) An original occupancy by Old and/or Proto-Somali-Rendille speakers, probably non-Moslem pastoralists. It is not unlikely that this occupancy separated the Mogogodo from their northern Macro-Oromo kin.

b) A period of on-the-spot dialect differentiating during which the far western dialect fringe, now represented by Rendille, developed

1) An observation field-tested in Ethiopia and northern Kenya several times. For example, Andrzejewski’s Borana text (1957, page 374) was readily understood by a Shoan Galla. From an examination of Bararetta or Tana Galla it would appear that Bararetta would also be intelligible to a Boran. Conversely, my Mediban informant (north Somali) said that he could not understand Benadir (south Somali). Somali dialecting in general appears to have progressed much farther than in Galla.
into a separate language. It is likely that during this period the eastern dialects began to acquire Islam and varying degrees of acculturation to the Arabs and Moslem Abyssinians in the north and to the Arabs on the southern coast. It is possibly during this period that the entire area acquired the camel.

c) The period of Galla intrusion and ascendency in the west. During this period it is likely that many dialects linking Rendille and Boni with Somali proper were submerged by the Galla Intrusion. For example, Maud (1904) refers to several Boran groups as being of Somali origin. It is during this period that the linguistic acculturation of the Boni to the Galla began, the source of later difficulty in classifying Boni 1). This period is almost certainly contemporaneous with the main Galla invasion of highland Ethiopia and can be assigned an approximate date of from the fifteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century.

d) The very recent period of the Somali expansion to the west, south from the standpoint of the northern Somali, during which time more than half of the old Somali territory previously lost to the Galla was re-acquired.

In considering the earliest origins of the old Somali, one naturally ponders the question of how the Somali came to be located south and east of the Galla in the first place. Were they, for example, ultimately derived from Arabia or "the north", as the generality of older ethnologists were wont to assume? It is here that Neumann's opinion that the Gidicho (Baiso) were important in relation to Somali history is well taken. It is here also that Murdock's hypothesis of a Somali origin in the southeast Ethiopian highlands is relevant. Baiso, as a distant kin of Somali, is necessarily involved in Somali origins and a consideration of Baiso is crucial to a reconstruction of those Somali origins.

If the reconstructed distribution of old Somali-Rendille is mapped — essentially by adding the present Kenya Galla and Rendille territory to that of Somali —, the relationship with Baiso is immediately apparent. Baiso is west and slightly south of the center of the distribution. Moreover, since Rendille pulls the true linguistic center of proto-Somali westward to the Juba-Shebelle region, the location of Baiso is striking; it is just beyond the headwaters of the Juba river. Since we may pre-

1) There are suggestions in the similarities between Sanye and Boni that the Boni were originally Sanye (South Cushitic) speakers who were linguistically acculturated to the old east Kenya Somali. Bi-lingualism would seem to be demanded of client hunter and other out-caste groups whenever the speech of the dominant group differs from that of the client.
assume that the ancestral Baiso were not always confined to little Gidicho island, if only because they once were part of the primitive Macro-Somali community, where was their mainland territory? This is actually a very difficult question because the southern Rift Valley region of Ethiopia is also the region of greatest Cushitic differentiation. There is little space in the reconstructable past for Baiso when Burji-Sidamo, Galla-Konso, and Ometo are represented in strength in the same area.

On the strength of Kuls's information ¹ that the Baiso (Gidicho) are agriculturalists who build terraces and irrigate, which seems hardly necessary on a low island, it is reasonable to assume that the Baiso once lived in mountainous or hilly country. If the Baiso are to be joined to the rest of Macro-Somali, the most likely highland area in which to locate them is the region to the east, on the highlands which constitute the Juba watershed. Either the highland area to the east of the Gana Dorya, i.e. the Mendebo mountains, or that to the west, i.e. the Jam Jam Galla country, or both, are the most probable locations for the ancestral Baiso. In general we may conclude that the watershed of the Juba river as far south as the present Somalia border, is the homeland of proto-Macro-Somali.

This hypothesis, of the location of the "Somali" homeland, is tentative and is advanced to explain the distribution of the Baiso, Rendille, and Somali. Moreover, it is in conformity with Murdock's hypothesis ² that the Somali were originally agricultural, along with other East Cushites, living in the southeast highlands of Ethiopia, from which they spread into the lowland Horn. Murdock correlates the Somali occupation of the Horn with their acquisition of cattle milking techniques from the South Arabians ³. Presuming that such contact with South Arabians would have originated in the Harar area, there is good reason to believe that old Saho-Afar would have been the first to borrow milking techniques and that the Somali in the Juba watershed would have borrowed the techniques before the ancestral Galla for reasons of sheer geography; they were closer to the Harar area than the Galla were.

However, there are problems associated with this hypothesis of the Macro-Somali homeland. First, we must in some way account for the fact that Baiso is found only on a tiny island in the Rift Valley with Galla, Darasa, and Sidamo living between them and the Somali over

¹ Kuls, 1958, pages 126-129.
² Murdock, 1959, pages 319-320, 323-324.
³ One might correlate this period with the acquisition of desert-adapted zebu cattle, ultimately from India.
the highlands down on the Juba river. Secondly, the area chosen for
the old Macro-Somali homeland lies, in its highland part, in the traditional
and distributional homeland of the Galla nation! We are permitted a
strong doubt that Macro-Somali and Galla have the same homeland.
Yet, if we look at the Mendeko or Bale region archeologically, so to
speak, we can accommodate both the Macro-Somali and ancestral Galla
in or near the same region. To begin with, the Bale area is the most
economical 1) region in which to locate the ancestral Baiso and Somali;
it is also the region which best suits the distributional problems of the
far-flung Somali. Secondly, Macro-Somali must be a distinctly older
community, viewed in an archeological sense, than that of ancestral
Galla; in the same sense that Italic is an older community than Spanish.
Finally, although Bale and Walabo (the land of the Abba Muda) is undeniably the source from which the Arussi and all northern Galla are
derived, there are three good reasons for assigning the original Galla
homeland to Borana land; namely, a) the Galla reach what is for them
their greatest linguistic differentiation in the south with Bararetta being
the most "different", b) all of the close linguistic (and cultural) kin of
the Galla live between Lake Chamo and Lake Stefanie, most importantly
the Konso, Gato, and Gidole, and c) north Galla tradition in genealogy
constantly refers back to Borana, which, since Galla countries are nor-
mally named after descent groups, implies the only large Galla country
so named, the land of the Boran. Within the last 500-600 years the
ancestors of the Arussi crossed the headwaters of the Juba and settled
the Bale region, which then became the homeland of the northern
Galla. We do not know if any Macro-Somali speakers remained when
the old Arussi arrived.

With regard to the first problem, of explaining how the Baiso came
to be restricted to their little island, one part of the problem is attribut-
able to displacement from the eastern mainland lowlands by the Guji
Galla. We will again have to reason archeologically in order to connect
up the Baiso with the watershed of the Juba river. The core of the
intervening highland area is occupied by the Burji-Sidamo branch of
East Cushitic, whose presence is certainly older than that of the two
Galla peoples (Guji and JamJam) to the west and east of them respec-
tively. Both Guji and JamJam are off-shoots of Boran with which both
have territorial continuity, Guji at the expense of the southern Darasa.

1) Economical in the sense of that which best follows the scientific
Law of Parsimony (William of Occam's Razor) in keeping unnecessary
and unwarranted or special (ad hoc) assumptions to a minimum.
But at some time more than perhaps 1000 years ago one of two things happened; either the ancestral Baiso crossed the Burji-Sidamo-occupied highlands from the east or the Sidamo and Darasa occupied the highlands to the east of Lake Abaya, thus displacing the ancestral Baiso who occupied those highlands. This is an exceedingly important problem in the history of southern Ethiopia and one quite difficult to solve.

Since space does not permit a full reasoning out of the problem herein, I propose to attempt to outline the problem as it appears rather than trying to solve it. This is done in the interests of calling attention to the rather snarled linguistic situation which exists in the Lake Abaya and Lake Chamo region. It is hoped that future research, particularly ethno-linguistic, will propose a solution or solutions to the problem.

To begin with, the problem involves a clear definition of the location of proto-East Cushitic in relation to West Cushitic. We need to know if the ancestral Ometo, particularly those of its Eastern branch (Badditu or Koyra, Kachama, Harro, and Zayssse), were originally in possession of the highlands to the east of Lake Abaya. At the present time Ometo speakers live on the islands of Lake Abaya and in the Amaro mountains to the east of Lake Chamo. The entire Ometo region from the Amaro mountains to the borders of Kafa (Kaffa) is one dialect continuum of considerable implied historical depth in situ. Secondly, we need to know the locations of the four branches of East Cushitic, in relation to each other and to West Cushitic, in their early or proto-periods. Burji-Sidamo is particularly problematic. Its known present distribution, from Addis Ababa (Qabena) to the same Amaro mountains mentioned before (Burji), implies that it is the northwestern branch of East Cushitic, in geographical terms. Its earlier area in relation to West Cushitic (particularly Janjero), to Saho-Afar, and to Central Cushitic is important to the solution of problems in central Ethiopia. Yet the greatest apparent linguistic gap in Burji-Sidamo is between Burji in the far south and the rest (Darassa, Sidamo, Kambatta, Hadiya, etc.), with the implication being that the oldest region occupied by Burji-Sidamo is the Lake Abaya region in the eastern highlands. That area is precisely the area where the problem of the origin of the Baiso is focused. We have one historical datum which we may use to peel off the most recent historical layer, so to speak, so as to more readily determine earlier regional distributions. We can say with some confidence that there were no Galla north of Lake Chamo or the Neghelli portion of Borana-land 700-1000 years ago.

Perhaps we may finally have to invoke the "Guji Gap", that lower area with its river basin which lies between the Amaro mountains and
Darasa, in order to explain the presence of the Baiso in Lake Abaya. That gap was obviously used by the Guji Galla in their intrusion into the Lake Abaya lowlands and is presently occupied by them. In that case we should be in the position of saying that the Baiso, apparently originally highland farmers, followed an essentially pastoral route from north Borana-land around the Darasa highlands and occupied the same lowlands where the Guji Galla live now. That may be the way it happened. But this solution impresses me as essentially ad hoc and one which begs many questions).

B. – A note on the Nilo-Hamites.

As stated above (Introduction, and III. Rendille) the significance of “Somali” as a source of loan words in Nilo-Hamitic languages has been ignored by those writers who hypothesize a recent and northern origin for the Somali. It is perplexing in the extreme how one group of scholars will stoutly maintain that the Nilotic languages of Kenya and the southernmost Sudan are so permeated by “Hamitic” influence and vocabulary, particularly that of Somali and Galla, as to be unclassifiable; while on the other hand another group of scholars will totally ignore this viewpoint in dealing with Somali history! Most assuredly, the Somali cannot be both a source of loan words in Nilotic languages as far west as northern Uganda and also a recent expansion from ex-British Somaliland 1000 kilometers from the very nearest Nilo-Hamite!

The fact that Somali is one of the sources of “Hamitic” loan words in at least some of the Nilotic languages is not seriously disputed. Greenberg, for example, who has been critical of the Nilo-Hamitic hypothesis, gives Somali as a source of loan words in Turkana and Masai. He states (1955, page 72) that, “Borrowing by the Turkana from the Somali has been particularly significant, by the Masai and Nandi somewhat less so”. On page 67, in discussing Meinhof’s treatment of Masai, he says, “Finally the Masai formation of multiples of ten by a suffix –tam is compared (by Meinhof–HF) to the similar construction of Somali. This is clearly an instance of borrowing since Masai only resembles

1) In struggling with this problem one is handicapped by the sad condition of most ethnographic and linguistic maps of the Rift Valley region of southern Ethiopia. Those in English are particularly bad. One needs both accurate locations of all the peoples or linguistic groups and maps in sharp or clear relief of the important physical features of the sharply etched south Ethiopian terrain. One of the maps best available is in Jensen (1959).
the neighboring Somali among the host of Hamito-Semitic languages and because it is evident that Masai has borrowed all its numerals from six upward from the Somali-Galla group of Cushitic languages". Although Greenberg, speaking as the critic of the Nilo-Hamitic hypothesis, gives us sufficient basis for believing in the existence of Somali loan words in Nilo-Hamitic, we are left with the suggestion in the last line cited that Greenberg perhaps meant Lowland East Cushitic instead of Somali as such. While it makes practically no difference in the classification of Nilotic languages, for our present purposes it is important to know whether or not Macro-Somali is a source of specific loan words. However, it can hardly be doubted that there are several possible sources of Cushitic loan words in Nilotic, viz., Macro-Oromo, particularly Galab, Arbore, Galla, and Mogogodo of central Kenya; South Cushitic; West Cushitic, particularly Maji and the Ari-Banna group (Bako group); and Macro-Somali. It is not intended that Somali be considered the only source.

The odds are very good that at least four words in Nilo-Hamitic are of Macro-Somali, and more specifically Somali-Rendille, origin. They are, "ten" commonly found as tomon, "hair" found as i-tim in Teso, "fifty" found as konton in Masai, and "hundred" found as pokol in Nandi and Suk. The corresponding Somali forms are respectively, tomon/toban, tim/tin, konton, and bogol/bogol. None of these forms are current in Macro-Oromo or in South Cushitic, save only Galab/Arbore tomon "ten". It is certain that other forms could be mustered but for our purposes these are sufficient. They permit us to conclude that specifically Somali forms are present among the Cushitic loan words in Nilo-Hamitic.

No attempt will be made here to discuss the many possible ramifications of the Somali loan words in Nilo-Hamitic. Suffice it to say, the existence of the Rendille in eastern Kenya — west of the Galla — is underscored by the presence of Somali words among the Nilotic tribes farther west. Our hypothesis of an early Somali occupancy of the southern Horn and eastern Kenya is supported by the very existence of the Nilo-Hamitic problem.

C. — A Note on the Somali-land Bantu.

A part of the traditional hypothesis on Somali origins has been the assumption that Negro or Bantu farmers or hoe-cultivators occupied the southern Horn prior to the advent of the Somali. It has been repeated enough times to be virtually axiomatic in the thinking done
about the history of the Somali. This assumption would appear to arise from two sources: a) the general uncritical assumption of a Negro priority in occupation everywhere in Africa south of Egypt and b) from medieval Arab accounts of coastal Bantu, supplemented by the presence of the Swahili-Nyika-Pokomo groups on the coast and along the rivers of Somalia and Kenya. Yet this assumption draws support only from those two sources and is otherwise completely untenable.

The assumption of a Negro priority in the Horn is not supported archeologically (cf. Cole, 1954, Murdock's review of this problem in Murdock, 1959, and Coon, 1962). Secondly, the medieval Arab sources are not very old in terms of the history of East Africa. Finally, the very evident age and distribution of the many branches of Cushitic in this area greatly exceeds that of Bantu. The Somalia Bantu tongues (Shebeli, Shidle, Gosha, etal) are variously said to be related to Bajuni, to Swahili or Nyika, or to Pokomo. Yet the differences between Bajuni, Swahili, Nyika, and Pokomo do not exceed those attained between the dialects of Somali proper. The differences within Somali generally (Rendille, Boni, and Somali proper) distinctly exceed those obtaining among the Coastal Bantu and are not greatly exceeded by East African Bantu differentiation generally. If the reader doubt this, he need only compare Bajuni with Swahili or Pokomo, or on a broader scale, with Kikuyu, Chaga or Ganda.

No priority can be given to the Bantu in any part of Somaliland, from the Tana river to the upper Shebeli. They are surely relatively recent immigrants, occupying those areas along the coast and interior rivers closely associated with Arab commercial activities. Undoubtedly, much of Somali-land was uninhabited prior to the Somali arrival from the Ethiopian highlands. Perhaps various Bushmenoid groups, related to the Hadza and Sandawe of northern Tanganyika, occupied portions of the Horn. But the most likely candidates for occupancy prior to the Somali would be South Cushitic speakers, e.g. the Sanye of Damman, in southeastern Kenya and the lower Juba area. In northeastern Kenya the inhabitants prior to the Somali were probably Macro-Oromo speakers, particularly the ancestral Mogogodo.

It is hoped that the reader in his shock at so much challenge to so many traditional historical assumptions will not reject the hypotheses given here, solely from shock. Most of the hypotheses advanced are derived from routine application of the assumptions of modern linguistic dispersal-area theory, part and parcel of traditional Indo-European comparative and historical linguistic science. Their application to Africa was sorely lacking until Greenberg (1948) and Murdock
D. – A Note on Yibir, Midgan and Boni.

Both Kirk (1905) and Cerulli (1959, pp. 101-103) have called attention to the "jargon" spoken by the Yibir and Midgan, out-caste hunter and artisan groups of the eastern Horn. They agreed that the "jargon" spoken by these groups was simply Somali in slang or argot form, although Cerulli also pointed out that the "jargon" contained many words not found in ordinary Somali. Since it is also a Somali tradition that the Yibir were found living in the bush when the Somali arrived, the language of both Yibir and Midgan is of historical interest and naturally pertinent to the classification of Boni.

After investigating this matter at some length, I find that I agree with Cerulli's hypothesis. There are no grounds apparent for treating Yibir and Midgan as anything other than Somali jargon or slang. Moreover, an expected special affinity with Boni was not found; nor was any special affinity with either Rendille or Baiso found. Although this conclusion is rather disappointing from an historical viewpoint, given Somali tradition, still the apparent fact that the alleged autochthones speak nothing but Somali is itself significant. We remain with no linguistic grounds for supposing that any population other than Somali have lived in the eastern Horn for a long time.

However, there are three reasons for supposing that the Somali are not the true autochthones of the eastern Horn. First, the archeological and cultural suggestion that Bushmanoid hunters originally inhabited much of the Horn. Secondly, the possibility that the South Cushites occupied much of the Horn before the Somali. Finally, the possibility that very early Cushitic hunting groups, perhaps the bearers of the Kenya Capsian archeological culture, occupied much of the Horn, with their later descendents displaced or absorbed by East Cushitic pastoralists from the highlands of southeastern Ethiopia.

We may yet find in either Yibir, Midgan or Boni a hint or two of earlier populations of the Horn. None of these languages or jargons have been studied with attention focused on the most likely source of historical information, viz., animal and plant names or specialized terms of hunting and related activities. We may hope that future research will give us grounds for inferring the pre-Somali inhabitants of the Horn.
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