

While in Europe, Täfäri sent Š.Š. on a diplomatic mission to Germany. In 1924/25 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to the League of Nations.

In 1928/29, Š.Š. was appointed Director General of the Ministry of Education and was given the task of reorganizing the institution with a view to placing it on a modern footing. The same year he became head of the Ethiopian delegation to Alexandria for the final negotiations concerning the consecration of Ethiopian monks as bishops.

Following the proclamation of the Constitution and the creation of Parliament in July 1931, Š.Š. became Vice President of the Senate. From 1932 to 1935 Š.Š. was the Minister of Education and particularly promoted primary education.

Š.Š. surrendered to the Italians in June 1936 and remained in Addis Abäba until he was deported alongside other notables and intellectuals in the aftermath of the Graziani assassination attempt in 1937. He stayed in Italy until 1939 and continued working for the Italians until the Liberation in 1941.

According to family sources and his friend Märšä'e Həzān Wäldä Qirqos, Š.Š. was sick for several years after 1941, and this unspecified illness kept him from government service. However, his absence from public life may well be due to his collaboration with the Italians (Marcus in HSLife II).

Š.Š. returned to public life in ca. 1955 when he was appointed President of the Board of Directors of the Dərre Dawa Cement Factory. In 1956 he became the Chief of the National Library and Museum. In 1959, Həylä Šəllase gave him the sinecure post of Senator.

His funeral at Mänbärä Nəgəšt Qəddəst Qwəsqam church in Addis Abäba was attended by the Emperor, the Prime Minister and other high ranking officials.

Src.: HSLife I, II; *Nəgarit Gazeta* 7, 30 March 1959, 34; obituary read by Märšä'e Həzān Wäldä Qirqos at the funeral, *Addis Zämən*, 5 *Miyaziya* 1963; *Kəbur blatten geta Šahle Šädalu, 1879–1963*, commemorative family booklet, 21 May 1971.

Lit.: MARTIN RIKLI, *Wie ich Abessinien sah*, Berlin 1935, 19 (ill).

Shiferaw Bekele

Šahləkä

Š. (ሥላሴ, lit. 'Your clemence', referring to the incipit of Ps 50) is a type of *qəne*. It is the short subtype of the *qəne*. It has three *bet*-verses and is always sung in *gə'əz* chanting mode. There is also a *Dəggwa* element of the same name, usually performed together with Š. *qəne*.

Š. is performed only during the *Məwəddəs addäraräs* (Sunday office); it is inserted if the *Arba'at* does not provide *maltan*. The singers chant the text of the *qəne* 22 times. The aim of Š. *qəne* is to pray for the rulers or local authorities, either civil or religious.

Its performance used to be followed by the litany of the *mästäbqwa* type for the king (*bä'əntä nəguś*, Yəhəyyəs Wärqe 1967/68:16, Alemayyehu Moges 1973:106), but has now been replaced by the intercession 'for peace' (*bä'əntä sälam*).

The Š. is composed by elderly people, well versed in *qəne* tradition, in interpretation and in history. The Š. is never practised at the *qəne bet* schools, but rather during religious services.

Lit.: ADMASU ĞÄMBÄRE, ሥላሴ: ቅኔ: (ዝክር: ሊቃውንት) (*Məšhafä qəne [zəkerä liqawənt]*, 'The Book of the Qəne [The Memory of the Scholars]'), Addis Abäba 1963 A.M. [1970/71 A.D.]; ALEMAYYEHU MOGES, "Geez and Amharic Study without Qəne is Incomplete", in: *PICES* 3, vol. 2, 99–116; ID., "Language Teaching and Curricula in Traditional Education of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church", *The Ethiopian Journal of Education* 4, 1, 1973, 87–114; ERIC GODET, "La métrique du qənē guēze", *Abbay* 12, 1983–84, 117–203, esp. 158 167, 184ff.; HabTent 104f.; HabUff 215f.; HƏRUY WÄLDÄ ŠƏLLASE, ሥላሴ: ቅኔ (*Məšhafä qəne*, 'The Book of the Qəne'), Addis Abäba 1918 A.M. [1926/27 A.D.]; *māmbəw* YƏHƏYYƏS WÄRQE, ንብ: ወትርጓዜ: ዘቅኔያት፤ አዕግደ: ምስጢራት (*Nəbab wätərgwame zəqəneyat: a'madä məstirat*, 'Text and Interpretation of the Qəne: the Pillars of Mysteries'), Addis Abäba 1960 A.M. [1967/68 A.D.]; VelMe II.

Habtemichael Kidane

Sāho

Sāho language

S. language (*Saahót waani* 'language of the S.' or *Saahót lux'á* 'id.') is the term used for the group of varieties spoken by the S. in central and south-eastern Eritrea and north-eastern Təgray. Together with the Afar language they form a dialect continuum that is commonly regarded as a subgroup within Lowland East Cushitic (for location s. Idda, EAE vol. 3).

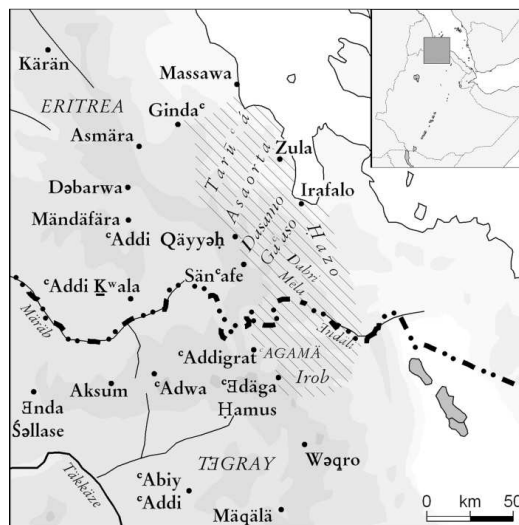
Northern S. dialects distinctively preserve *z in several inherited East Cushitic words, e.g., *mízga* 'right (side)' vs. southern S. and Afar *mídga* (and *mígda*), Somali *midig*, Rendille *müig*, Oromo *mirga*, Diraasša *miskitt*, etc. Some southern S. speakers also have z in this and a few other words as an individual variant. Northern S. dialects also have several occurrences of š after *i or *y in inherited words and morphemes, e.g., *bīšo* 'colour, appearance' vs. southern S. *bíso*, Afar *bísu*, Oromo *bifa*, Konso *pisa* 'flower', etc.;

northern S. *-iš-* suffixal causative root extension vs. southern S. and °Afar *-is-*, Somali *-iy- ~ -š-*, Oromo *-s-*, Konso *-š-*, etc. Furthermore, northern and central S. varieties differ from southern S. and °Afar ones in displaying ejective consonants, the velar fricative *x* and palatal affricates, mainly in loanwords from northern / Ethio-Semitic languages, Arabic and Italian (cf. also Morin 1994).

The S.-°Afar dialect continuum extends from south of / Massawa to / Awaš in central Ethiopia, and counts ca. 1,300,000 native speakers according to Lewis (2009), of which ca. 191,000 speakers of S. in Eritrea and ca. 23,000 in Ethiopia (/ Irob). S. is also spoken in diaspora communities in Sudan, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the United Kingdom, the USA, etc. Most S. speakers in Ethiopia are bilingual in / Təgrəñña and occasionally use an adapted form of the *fidäl* for writing S. Yet there are very few publications; children use only Təgrəñña at school. In Eritrea, liberation movements opted for a Latin orthography for S. already in the early 1980s and introduced it in elementary schools (cf. Banti – Vergari 2008:70). There, a written form of S. mainly based upon the northern dialects established itself in the following decades and is now used in S. schools as well as in several publications. There are still several monolingual speakers of S. in Eritrea, especially in smaller settlements and among the female population. Performances of S. oral literature are common during feasts and other celebrations, and audio recordings of popular S. secular and religious singers can be found in music shops in Asmära as well as in the S.-speaking areas. S. music and dramas are produced both in Eritrea and Ethiopia and in the Diaspora.

The first data on S. are short word-lists in accounts of European travellers from the beginning of the 19th cent. (e.g., SalTrav 404ff.), but the first comprehensive descriptions of the grammar and lexicon of this language were produced by / Reinisch (1878, 1878, 1890), who also published the first extensive collections of texts (1889). S. lexicography has since been advanced in recent years by Vergari – Vergari (2003), who are also preparing a major dictionary. A new reference grammar of the written language and of its major dialects remains a desideratum.

All varieties of S. have long and short *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and the diphthongs *ay*, *ey*, *oy* and *aw*, *ew*, *ow*. The consonant phonemes common to all varieties are (differing Eritrean Latin spelling in brackets): plain stops *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, ³ (-); retroflex stop *q* (*dh*), realized as *ɽ* (*rh*) after vowels and in a few other



contexts; fricatives *f*, *s*, *z*, *h* (*x*), ^c (*c*), *b*; nasals *m*, *n*; liquids *l*, *r*; glides *y*, *w*. The consonant phonemes that occur only in northern and central S. are: *t* (*th*), *q*, *č* (*ch*), *s* (*ts*), *q* (*qh*), *ḥ* (*kh*), *č* and *ǰ* (*j*). Vowel length and consonant gemination are phonemic.

Hayward (1997:69ff.) describes central and southern S. varieties as having a system of pitch accent with either high or low tones on short vowels and also falling and rising tones on long vowels. Only one syllable generally bears a high, falling or rising tone in each word, and tonal sandhi operates within complex noun phrases (NPs).

Personal pronouns have separate nominative (or subject) and oblique forms: (nominative) 1st pers. sg. *anú*, 2nd pers. sg. *atú*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. *usúk*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. *isé*, 1st pers. pl. *nanú*, 2nd pers. pl. *atín*, 3rd pers. pl. *usún*; (oblique) 1st pers. sg. *yí*, 2nd pers. sg. *kú*, 3rd pers. sg. masc. *káa*, 3rd pers. sg. fem. *tée*, 1st pers. pl. *ní*, 2nd pers. pl. *sín*, 3rd pers. pl. *tén*. Dialectal variants of *isé* are *isí*, *isé*, *isí*. Oblique pronouns are used both as direct objects and as possessives: *yí tublé* ‘she saw me’, *yí baṛá* ‘my daughter’. Oblique pronouns are also used with postpositions, e.g., *yí + -k* ‘to’ → *yók* in *yók yén* ‘they told me’, *ní + -lih* ‘with’ in *nóolih yemeetín* ‘they arrived with us’. So-called emphatic forms are used, e.g., as NP predicates and in conjoining: *yettá, kinní₂* ‘it’s₂ me₁’, *kóo₁ kee₂ kw₃-ábba₄* ‘you₁ and₂ your₃ father₄’.

Demonstratives lack gender and number agreement and occur only as modifiers. Three of them are strictly deictic: *tá* ‘this’ (near to the speaker), *tó* ‘this’ (near to the addressee), *tóo* ‘that’ (far from both). *Amáa ~ tamáa* is anaphoric. The main interrogative words are: *míya* and *íyya* ‘who?’.

áy and *áyim* ‘what?’, *áymih* ‘why?’ (*áyim* + the postposition *-h*), *aaginab*, ‘how?’ (*aa* ‘which’ + *gína* ‘kind’ + *-h*), *áwla* and *álle* ‘where?’, *mánda* and *ánda* ‘when?’.

The cardinal numbers beyond those shown below in the ten word list are: *afár* ‘4’, *köon* ‘5’, *lih* ‘6’, *malhín* ‘7’, *bahár* ‘8’, *sagál* ‘9’, *táman* ‘10’, *lamaatánna* ‘20’, *soddóm* or *sazzám* ‘30’, *marootóm* ‘40’, *kontóm* ‘50’, *lahtám* ‘60’, *malhintómon* ‘70’, *bohörtómon* ‘80’, *sagalatáman* or *bool ságla* ‘90’, *bóol* ‘100’, *šüh* ‘1000’.

The two genders, masculine and feminine, are marked on nouns, personal pronouns and 3rd pers. sg. verb forms. Several nouns and indefinites distinguish sg. masc. from sg. fem. tonally, e.g., *bára* ‘son’ vs. *bařá* ‘daughter’, *ta-tíya* ‘this one (masc.)’ vs. *tá-tiyá* ‘this one (fem.)’. There are two numbers, singular and plural. Pl. forms are derived from sg. ones by means of suffixes or internal modification: *éela* masc. ‘well’ vs. *éelit* masc. and *elwá* fem. ‘wells’, *okká* fem. ‘ear’ vs. *ókkak* masc., *anráb* masc. ‘tongue’ vs. *ánrub* masc. ‘tongues’, *ábba* masc. ‘father’ vs. *ábbub* pl. ‘fathers’. It appears that pl. verb agreement occurs mainly with pl. nouns indicating humans, whereas other pl. forms take either masc. or fem. agreement. Number-indifferent nouns such as *okólo* masc. ‘donkey(s)’ have singulative forms in *-ótta* masc., *-ottá* fem. or in *-átto*, *-attó* like *zella* ‘male monkey’ from *zella* fem. ‘monkey(s)’ in northern S., while central and southern S. have *-óyta*, *-oytá* and *-áyto*, *-aytó*. The core cases are absolutive (for direct objects, N predicates, etc.), nominative and genitive, that are distinguished by means of inflectional endings and tonal alternations. Other syntactic relationships are indicated by means of postpositions.

Like Afar, S. has three major inflectional classes of verbs: prefix-conjugated verbs (C1), suffix-conjugated verbs (C2) and stative verbs (C3). Almost 42 % of all verbs are C1, and mark subject concord by means of prefixes and suffixes, like *ublé* ‘see’. Ca. 50 % of verbs are C2, and mark subject concord by means of a set of suffixes, like *abé* ‘do’. C3 verbs are ca. 6 % and indicate subject concord by means of a different set of suffixes, like *kihíná* ‘love, like’. C3 verbs have only a non-past and a participle (simultaneous converb), and express other tenses and moods by means of compound forms; many C3 verbs have adjectival meanings like *adó* ‘be white’ or *ilishá* ‘be heavy’. (There are no adjectives *stricto sensu* in S., cf. Vergari 2008). C1 verbs have stem

ablaut, e.g., *y-ablé* ‘he sees’ vs. *y-ublé* ‘he saw’, or *n-amüté* ‘we arrive’ vs. *n-emeeté* ‘we arrived’.

non-past	<i>ublé</i> ‘see’	<i>abé</i> ‘do’	<i>kihíná</i> ‘love’
1 st pers. sg.	<i>abl-é</i>	<i>ab-á</i>	<i>kihín-iyó</i>
2 nd pers. sg.	<i>t-abl-é</i>	<i>ab-tá</i>	<i>kihín-itó</i>
3 rd pers. sg. masc.	<i>y-abl-é</i>	<i>ab-á</i>	<i>kihíná</i>
3 rd pers. sg. fem.	<i>t-abl-é</i>	<i>ab-tá</i>	<i>kihíná</i>
1 st pers. pl.	<i>n-abl-é</i>	<i>ab-ná</i>	<i>kihín-inó</i>
2 nd pers. pl.	<i>t-abl-in</i>	<i>ab-tán</i>	<i>kihín-itín</i>
3 rd pers. pl.	<i>y-abl-in</i>	<i>ab-án</i>	<i>kihín-on</i>

C1 and C2 have a considerable number of simple and compound forms both with and without subject agreement: e.g., non-past, past, subjunctive, jussive, imperative, etc. [-compound, +subjct.agr.], infinitive and invariable participle [-compound, -subjct.agr.], future [+compound, +subjct.agr.], etc. Most tenses and moods have completely different affirmative and negative forms: e.g., aff. impt. sg. *áb* ‘do!’, pl. *ába* vs. neg. impt. sg. *mâabín* ‘don’t do!’, pl. *mâabína*; aff. jussive 3rd pers. sg. masc. *yablóo* ‘he should see!’ vs. neg. jussive 3rd pers. sg. masc. *ablé wâw* ‘he should not see!’ (infinitive + aff. jussive of the auxiliary *wayé* ‘lack’).

Like all Cushitic languages, S. has a system of stem extensions for deriving verbs from other verbs and nouns. The most important categories are causative, middle, passive and inchoative. In most cases C1 verbs have prefixal stem extensions while C2 verbs have suffixal ones. Many C3 verbs have C1 or C2 inchoatives, from which other derived verbs are formed. For instance, C1 *igdifé* ‘kill’ → C1 *isgidife* ‘cause to kill’, but C2 *aré* ‘grow up’ → C2 *ariše* ‘rear’; C3 *deerá* ‘be long’ → C1 *ereeré* ‘become long’ → C1 *eyreeré* ‘lengthen’. Multiple stem extensions can co-occur as in C2 *baabé* ‘aggregate’ → C2 *baabiše* ‘cause to aggregate’ → C2 *baabišité* ‘cause to aggregate for one’s own benefit’.

Word order is strictly Subject-Object-Verb both at NP and at sentence level. E.g., *káa₁ inahí₂ migá₃* ‘his₁ mother’s₂ name₃’; *hán₁ baabá₂ hiya-wtí₃ yemeeté₄* ‘the man₃ who brings₂ the milk₁ arrived₄’ where the heads are always NP-final; *ziz-zaalé₁ agiirá₂ kin₃ kaddámte₄ kinón₅* ‘bees₁ are₂ skillful₂ (lit. ‘that are₃ skilled persons’) workers₄’.

The suffix *-m* converts a sentence into a subject/complement clause or a free relative, e.g., *tamiüté₁-m kó₂-h₃ me’é₄* ‘it’s better₄ for₃ you₂ that (-m) you come₁’, *béera₁ tamiüté₂-m mangón₃* ‘those who (-m) come₂ tomorrow₁ are many₃’. Focalization is generally expressed by means of

(pseudo-)clefts with free relatives marked by *-m*, as in *béera₁ tamüité₂-m* °*Alü₃-kee₄ Roblé₅ kinón₆* ‘it is₆ Ali₃ and₄ Roble₅ who (-*m*) come₂ tomorrow₁’ (also °*Alü-kee Roblé kinón béera tamüité-m*).

Like most languages in the Horn of Africa, S. has ideophones indicating particular sounds, movements, tastes etc., that form complex transitive or intransitive predicates with the help of auxiliaries (*išé* or *iššé* ‘do’ for transitive predicates, *eḣhé* ‘say’ or *é* ‘id.’ for intransitive ones). E.g., *sík₁ káa₂ iššé₃* ‘she silenced (lit. ‘did₃ *sík*’) him₂’; *baská₁ basák₂ ta₃ ma^caašá₄ kinní₅* ‘honey₁ is₅ a sweet (lit. ‘that says₃ *basáké*) food₄’. Such constructions are generally treated as a fourth conjugational (C4) class in S.-°Afar linguistics.

The ten-word list for S. is: *inik* ‘one’; *lammáa* ‘two’; *adóh* ‘three’; *girá* ‘fire’; *lay* ~ *layé* ‘water’; *álsa* ‘moon’; *ayró* ‘sun’; *biúlo* ‘blood’; *anráb* ~ *anráb* ‘tongue’; *ikó* ‘tooth’.

Src.: M. PAUL LEWIS (ed.), *Ethnologue – Languages of the World – Sixteenth edition*, Dallas 2009; LEO REINISCH, *Die Saho-Sprache*, vol. 1: *Texte*, vol. 2: *Wörterbuch*, Wien 1889, 1890; SalTrav; MORENO VERGARI, *Dilksbineeri amneefecituk Saaho labcad* (‘Practice Saho while Using the Dictionary’), Asmara 2005.

Lit.: GIORGIO BANTI – MORENO VERGARI, “A Sketch of Saho Grammar”, *Journal of Eritrean Studies* 4, 2005, 100–31; ID., “Italianismi lessicali in saho”, *Ethnorréma* 4, 2008, 67–93; ILARIO CAPOMAZZA, “L’assaorta-saho – Vocabolario italiano-assaorta-saho ed assaorta-saho-italiano”, *Bollettino della Società Africana d’Italia* 29, 1910, 166–81 and 213–24, 30, 1911, 131–39 and 173–81; CARLO CONTI ROSSINI, “Schizzo del dialetto saho dell’Alta Assaorta in Eritrea”, *RRALm* ser. 5, 22, 1913, 151–246; RICHARD J. HAYWARD, “External Sandhi in the Saho Noun Phrase”, *AAP* 50, 1997, 53–80; ID. – MARTIN ORWIN, “The Prefix Conjugation in Qafar-Saho: the Survival and Revival of a Paradigm – Part I”, *African Languages and Cultures* 4/2, 1991, 157–76; MARCELLO LAMBERTI, “Some Word Order Principles of Saho-Afar”, *RSE* 34, 1990 [1992], 127–68; DIDIER MORIN, “Dialectologie de l’afar-saho”, in: GIDEON GOLDENBERG – SHLOMO RAZ (eds.), *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*, Wiesbaden 1994, 252–66; ID., “Des paroles douces comme la soie”. *Introduction aux contes dans l’aire couchitique (bedja, afar, saho, somali)*, Louvain – Paris 1995; HERMA PLAZIKOWSKY – EWALD WAGNER, “Studien zur Sprache der Irob”, *ZDMG* 103, 1953, 378–93; LEO REINISCH, “Die Saho Sprache”, *ibid.* 32, 1878, 415–64; ID., “Die Sprache der Irob-Saho in Abessinien”, *Sitzungsberichte der Phil.-Hist. Classe der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften* 90, 1878, 89–142; MORENO VERGARI, “How to Express ‘Adjectives’ in Saho”, in: GABOR TAKÁCS (ed.), *Semito-Hamitic Festschrift for A.B. Dolgopolsky and H. Jungraithmayr*, Berlin 2008, 337–46; ID. – ROBERTA VERGARI, *A Basic Saho-English-Italian Dictionary*, Asmara 2003; WILLIAM EVERT WELMERS, “Notes on the Structure of Saho”, *Word* 8, 1952, 145–62 and 236–51; ANDRZEJ ZABORSKI, “‘Afar-Saho Linguistics – an Overview’”, in: HANS G. MUKAROVSKY (ed.), *Leo Reimisch – Werk und Erbe*, Vienna 1987, 85–95.

Giorgio Banti – Moreno Vergari

Säho ethnography

Introduction

The S. (Sähó, sg. masc.: *Sāhóyta*, fem.: *Sāhoytá*) are an ethno-linguistic formation, composed of sometimes quite distinct groups. The most prominent of them are ↗Tarū^cá, °Asawǝrta/°Asaurta (↗Asaorta), ↗Dabrimēla, ↗Minifire, ↗Ḥazo, ↗Irob, ↗Idda and ↗Iddäfer. The ethnonym S. is probably linked to the °Afar verb *sabha* (‘to be refreshed’), referring to the mountainous zone (*Sāho-t ḥangul*) from where the S. traditionally move towards the coastal grazing lands in winter. S. refers to both the language and the people. Language and ↗Islam are important aspects of S. ethnic identity but the Dabrimēla (Labhale-t °Are clan) and the ↗Irob, the southernmost S.-speaking group, are Orthodox Christians. The S. practise mixed subsistence economy with a high importance of transhumant animal raising.

Today the majority of the S. lives in ↗Eritrea, although some S. communities are also found in Ethiopia, especially in ↗°Agamā, Təgray (Irob and partially Ḥazo). Most Eritrean S. inhabit the former province of ↗Akkälā Guzay (and in the Ḍasamó plain partially belonging to ↗Säraye). Several S. groups live near the coast at the northern borders of ↗Ḥamasen and others in ↗Sämhar. A small number of S.-speakers is to be found in the eastern Sudan. They are known as *Sab Lālit* (‘people of the highlands’) and have their own chief (*nāzir*). The S. Tarū^cá and the °Afar ↗Ḥasōbá, in the southern °Afar-speaking territories (↗Awaš valley in Ethiopia, Djibouti), share genealogical links (MorDicAfar 190).

As a consequence of the long Ethio-Eritrean conflicts and the dispersion of refugees who returned from Sudanese refugee camps after Eritrea’s independence many S. today do no longer live in their original homeland.

Population structure

The S. speak a variety of dialects collectively referred to as S. language and belonging to the ↗°Afar language continuum of ↗Lowland East Cushitic (s. the subarticle). Each of the main S. groups speak one or more of the three S. dialects along with other languages, such as Təgrāñña or Arabic. Northern dialect: Tarū^cá and °Asawǝrta; Central (Mina, Minifire) dialect: Ḍazamó/Ḍasamó, Ga^casó and Dabrimēla; Southern dialect: Ḥazo and Irob.

Many groups have experienced language change, e.g., the now ↗Təgre-speaking Iddäfer