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RASSEGNA DI STUDI ETIOPICI – RIVISTA FONDATA DA CARLO CONTI ROSSINI

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Ai lettori

Questo fascicolo della *Rassegna* contiene buona parte delle comunicazioni presentate in occasione del seminario italo-eritreo *The Eritrean Cultural Heritage: Facts and Projects*, organizzato e tenuto presso l'Università di Napoli "L'Orientale" il 12 e 13 dicembre 2017.

L'evento scientifico rientra nei programmi dell'Accordo di scambio e collaborazione firmato il 5 febbraio 2008 tra il Research and Documentation Center of Eritrea (RDC) e l'Università di Napoli "L'Orientale" con il fine di stabilire un legame duraturo fra le due istituzioni culturali e accademiche, sviluppando programmi di ricerca e attività didattiche per la conservazione e la promozione del patrimonio nazionale eritreo. In questo contesto, negli anni scorsi a Napoli sono state celebrate due conferenze: *History and Language of Tigre-speaking peoples* (2008, atti pubblicati nel 2010) e *Eritrean Studies: Past and Present* (2010, atti pubblicati nel 2012); corsi avanzati per lo studio dei manoscritti Gə'əz sono stati tenuti in Asmara da docenti italiani; studenti dell'Università di Napoli "L'Orientale" si sono recati in Eritrea per completare la loro formazione e studiosi eritrei hanno visitato l'Università di Napoli "L'Orientale" e hanno tenuto lezioni e seminari su argomenti di linguistica eritrea.

Convocando studiosi da entrambi i Paesi, dando loro l'opportunità di scambiare esperienze e progetti circa la conservazione del patrimonio culturale eritreo, il seminario *The Eritrean Cultural Heritage: Facts and Projects* ha inteso una volta ancora dare concretezza agli scopi e alle finalità dell'Accordo di scambio e collaborazione italo-eritreo. Pertanto, per aver partecipato all'evento scientifico dobbiamo esser grati alle autorità delle due istituzioni: Azeb Tewolde, Direttrice del Research and Documentation Center of Eritrea, Giorgio Banti, Vice-Rettore dell'Università di Napoli "L'Orientale" e Michele Bernardini, Direttore del Dipartimento Asia, Africa e Mediterraneo della stessa Università. In ugual misura, vogliamo esprimere il nostro più sincero ringraziamento nei confronti dei rappresentanti del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, in particolare del Dr. Raffaele De Lutio, già Direttore Centrale per i Paesi dell'Africa Sub-Sahariana, che ha porto ai convegnisti il proprio saluto e il proprio augurio di buon lavoro.

Il programma della conferenza ha incluso due relazioni introduttive di Azeb Tewolde e Gianfrancesco Lusini, e comunicazioni di storia (Silvana Palma), antropologia (Gianni Dore – Moreno Vergari), archeologia (Andrea Manzo, Chiara Zazzaro), filologia (Massimo Villa), storia dell'arte (Lorenza Mazzei), linguistica semitica (Tesfay Tewolde, Saleh Mahmud Idris) e linguistica nilo-sahariana (Gilda Ferrandino, Giorgio Banti e Graziano Savà).

Con questo fascicolo la redazione della *Rassegna* punta a contribuire al rafforzamento della cooperazione scientifica tra istituzioni italiane ed eritree, assumendo che il patrimonio culturale non sia soltanto un fattore identitario, ma anche un'occasione concreta di sviluppo per Paesi come l'Eritrea che conservano grandi tesori artistici, archeologici, linguistici e storici.

Con tristezza dobbiamo registrare una grave perdita per la comunità scientifica internazionale, e in particolare per l'africanistica all'Università di Napoli "L'Orientale". Mentre si completava la redazione di questo volume, il 23 marzo 2018 è mancato il Prof. Rodolfo Fattovich, a lungo professore ordinario di Archeologia etiopica nel nostro Ateneo, membro del Consiglio scientifico della nostra rivista, uno tra i maggiori indagatori e conoscitori della protostoria e dell'antichità del Corno d'Africa, autentico creatore di una scuola accademica di primissimo livello, che a Napoli viene mantenuta viva e vitale da un gruppo di studiosi formati grazie al suo insegnamento. La redazione della *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* si unisce al cordoglio di quanti, in Italia e nel mondo, avendone apprezzato gli straordinari meriti scientifici, piangono la sua scomparsa e avvertono il vuoto lasciato dalla sua dipartita.

Il Direttore

To the readers

This issue of the *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* contains the largest part of the papers delivered on the occasion of the Italo-Eritrean workshop *The Eritrean Cultural Heritage: Facts and Projects*, organized and held at the Università di Napoli “L’Orientale” on 12th and 13th December 2017.

The scientific event fits into the programs of the Exchange and collaboration agreement signed on February 5th, 2008 between the Research and Documentation Center of Eritrea (RDC) and the Università di Napoli “L’Orientale” with the aim of establishing permanent ties between the two cultural and academic institutions, developing research projects and teaching activities for the preservation and promotion of the Eritrean national heritage. In this context, in the past years two conferences were held in Naples: *History and Language of Tigre-speaking peoples* (2008, proceedings published in 2010) and *Eritrean Studies: Past and Present* (2010, proceedings published in 2012); advanced courses for the study of Gəʼəz manuscripts were given in Asmara by Italian scholars; students from the Università di Napoli “L’Orientale” went to Eritrea to complete their researches; Eritrean scholars visited the Università di Napoli “L’Orientale” to give lessons and seminars in the field of Eritrean linguistics.

By gathering scholars from the two countries, giving them the opportunity to exchange experiences and projects about the preservation of the Eritrean cultural heritage, the workshop *The Eritrean Cultural Heritage: Facts and Projects* aimed once again at actualizing the scope and the purpose of the Italo-Eritrean Exchange and collaboration agreement. Therefore, for their presence on the occasion of that scientific event we have to be grateful to the authorities of both institutions: Azeb Tewelde, Director of the Research and Documentation Center of Eritrea, Giorgio Banti, Vice-Rector of the Università di Napoli “L’Orientale” and Michele Bernardini, Head of the Department Asian, African and Mediterranean Studies of the same University. Equally, we want to express our most sincere thanks to the representatives of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, particularly Dr. Raffaele De Lutio, former Direttore Centrale per i Paesi dell’Africa Sub-Sahariana, who presented his greetings and wishes for a good work to the conference attendees.

The program of the conference included two introductory speeches by Azeb Tewolde and Gianfrancesco Lusini, and papers in History (Silvana Palma), Anthropology (Gianni Dore – Moreno Vergari), Archaeology (Andrea Manzo, Chiara Zazzaro), Philology (Massimo Villa), Arts (Lorenza Mazzei), Semitic Linguistics (Tesfay Tewolde, Saleh Mahmud Idris), Nilo-Saharan Linguistics (Gilda Ferrandino, Giorgio Banti and Graziano Savà).

With this issue the Editorial Board of the *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* is engaged in strengthening the scientific cooperation between Italian and Eritrean institutions, assuming that the cultural heritage is not only an identity-building factor, but a real occasion of development for countries like Eritrea holders of great artistic, archaeological, linguistic and historical treasures.

Sadly, we have to register a serious loss for the international scientific community, particularly for the African studies in the Università di Napoli “L’Orientale”. Before the editing of this volume was completed, 23 March 2018, Prof. Rodolfo Fattovich passed away. Full professor of Archaeology of Ethiopia in our University for many years, a member of the Scientific committee of our journal, he was one of the best investigators and experts of the Horn of Africa’s proto-history and antiquity. In Naples Prof. Fattovich created of a high rank academic school, still living and active thanks to a team of scholars raised through his teaching. Members of the Editorial board of the *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* associate themselves to the regret of those who, in Italy as in the rest of the world, having appreciated his outstanding scientific merits, mourn his passing and feel the gap left by his demise.

The Director

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GENDERED SPACES, GRINDSTONES AND BAKING AMONG THE SAHO-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

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Abstract

This essay studies the grinding process and grindstones in the context of housing and dwelling among the Saho-speaking communities in a historical and comparative perspective. This cultural experience should be inserted and interpreted in a broader context which is the Eritrean eastern slopes and the macro-region of Təgray. Ethnoarchaeologists did field research in north-eastern Təgray interviewing several housekeepers on grinding and food processing comparing their information with the archaeological records. They provided a deep analysis of the complex relations between gender, domestic spaces, grinding and cooking in a specific sociological and ecological milieu. Comparing our field information with the bulk of data of the contemporary ethnoarchaeological studies we can better understand the similar material culture of the Saho-speaking communities in a larger technological continuum, albeit a specific lexicon at least among the Saho of Eritrea has been documented. In fact the lexicon related to the grinding process of the Irob living east of 'Addigrat is almost identical to the Tigrayan one. The glossary alleged here is an adapted selection from the richer one which will be published in the forthcoming monograph on dwelling and housing among the Saho-speaking communities.

Keywords

Material culture – Gender – Milling – Baking – Saho language

Introduction

In 2007 started in Eritrea the project *Atlas of the Traditional Material Culture of the Saho* (ATMCS) that involves a team of linguists and anthropologists, with the aim of documenting seven cycles of their daily activities.¹ The research on the topics of this article was made in the Eritrean villages of Kaaribossa² (2008), Saafira (2008, 2011), Thiisha (2008), and Buyya (2010), located both in the highland and in the lowland areas where the Saho-speaking people live, covering all the main varieties of their language. For comparative reasons, another investigation was carried out in Ethiopia, in the Irob village of Kallacasa (2014) (Fig. 1).

This article is a short version of one of the contents of the book, that is under preparation, edited by Moreno Vergari, with the contributions of Axmedsacad Maxammad Cumar, Giorgio Banti, Gianni Dore, Moreno Vergari, and Roberta Vergari, titled *Housing and dwelling among the Saho-speaking communities of Eritrea and Ethiopia. History and linguistic anthropology*.³

¹ For more details, see Vergari (2017) and Banti, Vergari (2010). The authors would like to thank Axmedsacad Maxammad Cumar, Giorgio Banti and Roberta Vergari, our colleagues during all the phases of the research in the field and for the preparation of this article, as well as our main informants: the late ‘Xajji’ Suleymaan Cumar Maxammad, Maxammadcali Axmad Maxammad, Cumardiin Ibraahim Ismaacil, Jumca Maxammad Ismaacil, Maryam Cumar Cali, Tesfay Misginna, and Desta Berhe. Thanks also to Alem Gebray, Desta Sebbat, Dori Asgedom, Kidane Hagos, Kumenit Medhin, and Meles Hays for their help.

² Saho words of places, personal nouns and other words are spelt with their official Eritrean Saho [correctly, Saaho] orthography. Notice in particular that *c* = [ʃ], *ch* = [tʃ̣], *č* = [tʃ], *dh* = [d] and its allophone *rh* = [ɾ], *gn* = [ɲ], *j* = [dʒ], *kh* = [x], *q* = [kʰ], *qh* = [xʰ], *sh* = [ʃ], *th* = [tʰ], *ts* = [sʰ], *x* = [h]. A dieresis is used to distinguish some feminine nouns with a final pitch accent from their masculine counterparts that have penultimate pitch accent. Long vowels and consonant gemination are indicated doubling the letters. In Ethiopia the Irob-Saho is written with a *fidäl*-based orthography. It doubles long vowels by means of the symbol < ~ > after the vowel, and the geminated consonants by means of the 6th order followed by the required order.

³ The terminology connected with the house and its annexes, not present in the lexicon here included, will be fully explained in the mentioned forthcoming book. For more information, see Vergari, Vergari (2003), and Dore, Vergari (2016).

Houses, domestic labor and gendered division of spaces

In the most stable and refined *daasa* Saho women seal the inside foundations, molding, and sometimes painting and plastering the interior with clay and ochre (Dore, Vergari 2016). The environmental habitat dictates the availability of building materials that are suited to the climate and to pastoral activities. Skins are scraped clean and sewn by the women, while other products, such as canvas and mats, may also be obtained through trade with the outside world. Within these boundaries, there can also be cultural and familial variability. These natural materials, paired with a precise technique, define the processing, environmental know-how, times and gendered division of labor.

The *daasa*, then, cannot be interpreted in purely evolutionary terms; rather, it coexists with another type, the *naxsa*, because it continues to satisfy specific necessities in certain phases of pastoralism or agro-pastoralism. The *daasa* and its variants satisfy the need to define fundamentally gendered micro-spaces that follow gender categories. It is possible to define a threshold that has its own symbolic and functional value even in a monocellular space of limited size. A barrier separates the two parts: it is made of wood (*gidgid-da* or *gidgido*), or *dimca*, if of stone, or *goleena* when it is just a curtain. In the *daasa* called *soqhlo*, since it is larger, there is an entrance, *ifee*, for each of the two spaces. The relevant term for the women's area, designated mainly for the processing of food, is *gooxo* or even *addat-care*, while the open area outdoors is called the *makaado* or *ivot-care*. In the *gooxo* is where the active and passive equipment for food processing is found, and some *sinistira* can be provided in its walls, which are recesses where objects can be stored.

Old diagrams sketched at the very beginning of the last century show the relational position of the quern, portable grindstone, in the interior of a *daasa* and the mill in a more complex house like the *naxsa* or *hidmo* (Fig. 2, 3, 4).

Even the immediate outside of a *daasa* functions as an open-space laboratory for different domestic techniques. A picture taken in the same survey (1905–1906) portrays a Saho woman processing pottery with a quern used as a multifunctional grindstone (Fig. 5), while another picture shows a woman grinding foodstuff (Fig. 6).

The *naxsa*, which is a residential and a consumption unit, from a structural standpoint must respond to a combination of agricultural activities and the endurance of pastoral undertakings. The current configuration is then the result of a detailed effort, a redefinition of the functional gendered spaces, of an apposition of courtyards and porticoes that are more or less elaborate, of annexes that are home to household chores, potentially including an enclosure for beehives, as well. From the monocellular reality of the old *daasa*, there is a transition to an ideal bicellular reality, which comes into play in both the division of male and female spaces and the opening to hospitality; on the other hand, the spatial introversion of women's activities emerges. The result, then, is respectively the *makaado*, male and extroverted, and the *gooxo*, female and tendentially introverted. To complicate the picture, the introversion must be defined with more clarity: the *gooxo* opens on the side towards the external area where space can be found both for a chicken-coop and a mobile hearth that supplements the indoor fires. This side entrance is also open to a female presence. This is the case of a *naxsa* of the Saho village of Kaaribossa, where the exit of the *gooxo* remains outside of the enclosure of the *gabala*, even when this has been completed and holds the main entrance. It is necessary, however, to keep in mind that the individual constructions can show variation at least in the details.

In each case, Saho oral literature, especially in its formalized outputs like proverbs, expressively and effectively renders the socio-spatial and symbolic significance of the two housing categories, *makaado* and *gooxo*, and expresses in an exemplary way the ideology of gender relations and family roles in housing and dwellings. In different proverbs, *makaado* is used as a synecdoche to represent the entire house, evidently because its masculinized connotation, which is open to the outside world and hospitality, establishes it as a preferred reference. A Saho proverb says: *Ina hin makaano kee gunde hin makaado sittiyaako ashshinnexe xeewo, yan*, 'a place without a mother and a *makaado* without a seasoned log to burn are orphans, they say'. The *makaado* is identified in turn with its main sociologic and functional element, the burning hearth, and the log of seasoned wood, which burns slowly and a long time, heating and lighting the house as a mother does for her family's well-being. As the mistress of the house, *cari baclä*, is firmly set, according to the gendered division of work and roles, inside the home. The position of the *gooxo*, which is not just an area where food is processed, but al-

so a hoard for foodstuffs and the tools depicts the social value of the family and the centrality of the woman of the house. The good management qualities of the house, which are the concern of both the man and the woman, in accordance with the asymmetrical division of labor, are decisive for the good running of the house, as the proverb admonishes: *Abxoyti ishi care rada*, 'a weak or bad person destroys their own house'.

The external enclosure, the *gabala*, a perfected version of the *tazbab* awning, is the multifunctional open space and characterizes the style and prestige of a house: it houses the livestock and tools and is at the same time an extension of the inside as a primarily male, but in part also female, work space.

In a *naxsa* of the town of Saafira, on the Qooxayto, inside the *gooxo* two functional microspaces can be distinguished. The part with the lower flooring is *igix*, with the *carcarto*, the protection made a raised area of earth or stones, generally three, where the *miskillix*, the cooking fire, is located, while the raised area is the *gooxot cara*. Here are the passive and active tools for the processing and cooking of food which will be found also in the *hidmo*.

An essential piece of equipment in every household is the *gasa*, the grid-dle for cooking breads (*ximbashsha*, *bokkoco*, *qichcha*, *xabaza*, etc.).

However, this cooking process follows the milling which is a pivotal female activity and the specific equipment is also settled into the *gooxo*. The mortar, *mogoorh*, is another indispensable tool for handling grains. The grinding tools are related to the household life-cycle: its equipment is changeable during the time. A good milling equipment shows the social value of a family and is an indicator of the phase in the life-cycle of a family: a newly established couple will have a weak kit and will exploit the grindstones of their relatives. The type can be more or less refined depending on the financial means of the family. *Libdo* is the structure with the platform equipment for milling, the *marhxan* (or *sifaalo*). The two slabs where different grains are ground with two stones are called *araaracisheenä*, the larger one with a concave surface for the first stage of processing, and *siyyaacish-eeenä*, the smaller one for refining. The two active stones are necessary for grinding coarse grained cereals or small grained cereals (or beans, spices, oily plants, coffee...) or for refining (respectively *araaracisheena* and *siyyaacisheena*).

Moodod is the term to indicate the upper grinding stone of a *marhxan* and

it summarizes the entirety of the grain processing activities in a proverb that says: *Xato geyte cari bacla, moodod taacure*, ‘a housewife who got help/support, hides her grindstone’. One gloss explains it like this: the housewife who asks for help, fears that she will have to share the fruit of her grinding. It can also refer to those who do not trust others or those who scorn others, thinking they can do better, or refuse the help and advice of others. In any case, the proverb places the milling of grain in the center to express the ambivalence of the exchange of help in female work processes, both the positive and negative implications of mutual assistance or the uncertainty in the choice of an impossible self-sufficiency in rural society, with which one presumes to avoid the burden of reciprocity.

Mädit is an alternative, used by the Tigrinya-speakers, for the upper stone. The rounded shape of the *moodod* or *mädit* increases handling, to make grasping more comfortable for a woman. Shaping, reshaping or rehabilitating the use surface is usually the output of the interaction between the male craftsman and the female operator. A well done artifact is at the same time aesthetically appreciated.

On the millstone, there are two recesses, *bokhra*, for collecting the first grinding of the grains, and for refining. *Dhaafi* (*Eragrostis abyssinica*), when available, corn (*cilbo*), sorghum, (*maseela*), and barley (*cadeelaw*), need a sieve for sifting. At least two different sieves (*mixe* and *mamfiyo*) are required according to the size of the foodstuff. They are usually made of woven willow wands. *Mixe* has larger holes than the *mamfiyo* sifter. A Saho proverb states: *mixe mamfiyod tammikkixe*, ‘the bigger sieve prides itself over the smaller one’, which means that a *mixe* boasts erroneously because its holes are larger than the ones of *mamfiyo*, so more impurities can pass through it. The internal gloss explains: who judges superficially should not boast his judgment because it is less accurate than that of those who judge more carefully.

An efficient position of the grindstones inside the *goxo* should let the woman observe and control at the same time the other processes like cooking. Multi-tasking is an inescapable mark of the whole female work. Manual milling is female time consuming. J. McCann in his invaluable historical study on Ethiopian agriculture quotes a sympathetic view from the Portuguese traveller Manuel de Almeida:

Simple as this food seems it is no small labour to prepare it in Ethiopia, primarily because they have no mills to grind the meal. It is all ground by hand and it is the women work; men even slaves will not grind at any price [...] A woman grind every day enough for 40-50 apas (*enjera*) [...] Grinding meal and making apas, grinding more for sava⁴ or beer they drink (which uses a lot of meal) and making that, all this is work which calls for many slave women. (McCann 1995: 75).

Since the very beginning of the seventeenth century things have not changed much. Muscular strength and body's endurance are required for hours and repetition of the identical elementary gesture and monotony denote this feminized operational sequence of food processing. According to the Tigrinya-speakers consultants interviewed by Nixon-Darcus «an average time spent grinding was reported to have been as many as 8 hours and as few as 3 hours, with an average of 5.44 hours, every day except days» (Nixon-Darcus 2014: 109, 189). The variability depends on the fertility of the agricultural year, the seasonal time and the size of the family during its life-cycle; ceremonies demand an extra work. Women were compelled to grind during the night because the day time was exploited for other domestic tasks. As a housekeeper explained to the researcher: «we had to grind so much because there was no alternative, life depends on it» (Nixon-Darcus 2014: 110). Female labor time has less value and could be broadened to extremes. A social cleavage within the households could lighten the burden of the richest women: «local widow women were grinding in the wealthiest households for wages in kind. This was conducted openly and secretly with and without the knowledge of the husband of the employer» (Gebre Teklu 2012: 52).

Observing and taking part in a grinding session Nixon-Darcus describes the bodily *habitus*, involving hands, shoulders, arms, hips, legs, and absorbing appropriate rhythmical motions. An apt skill reduces time and energy consuming. The interplay between palm, fingers and wrist is crucial in learning the correct technique. The standing position is more ergonomic and efficient over the kneeling posture, according to experimentations reported in cross cultural studies, but, as we have noticed, only a portable grindstone fits the needs during the pastoral transhumance. Leather strips, which tie wrists together as they work back and forth to maintain a uniform straight motion

⁴ Tigrinya *səwwa*.

and diminish muscular contractions and fatigue, are a common accessory (Fig. 14). This technical device exploits the kinetic energy controlling the centrifugal force and avoids waste of potential force. Different food stuffs require more or less pressure, but not change bodily posture and the rectilinear motion. A break of the continuous motion is required every so often to lighten the hard work. This intensive labor involved physical damage of the hands of the grinder because of the friction.

Since the 1990s, communal mills have been established and have allowed groups of women to do their milling together, without entirely replacing in-home activities using manual equipment. In Buyya, Saho village in the eastern Eritrean lowlands, the *marhxan* (grindstone for standing position) and the *maysafali* (for kneeling position) have been replaced by a mill machine (*thaaxuuna*) and they are used only if the electricity supply stops. In Saafira a private mechanical mill has replaced the domestic milling raising controversial opinions about social losses and gains (Fig. 18). Social implications of this critical change are quite similar to those depicted among the Tigrinya-speakers by the ethnoarchaeologists (Nixon-Darcus 2014: 205-06).

Females undergo release or decreasing of night work, but consequently take part in community programmes and take over daughters' tasks who can attend at school. They feel loss of socializing, experience even a loss of sensorial and bodily skills, moving to a more reliant cash economy where milling is 'masculinized' (Fig. 19). There are evidences in cross cultural comparative studies that every time a new material or an improved technology is introduced to replace the former one and is available in the cash exchange males manage to control the matter. The passage to the mechanical mill 'defeminizes' milling. These changes in techniques and materials reproduce gendered identities within a different configuration of the technological environment.

Women are the ones who mold even important passive tools like frames for the hearth and supports for the grinding stones and cooking griddles out of clay (Lyons, D'Andrea 2003; Gebre Teklu 2012; Nixon-Darcus 2014). Even the work of experts, grinding stone makers, must have had a bidirectional relationship with expert women who had to perform milling operations of both grains and other seeds, especially oily ones like linseed and the native *nihug* (*Guizoa abyssinica*), or salt and spices. Evaluation of the type of stone (basalt, sandstone, chert, silicified siltstone), of its vulnerability to

wear with use and the maintenance, thickness, size, shape of the sheets and the mortar-stones, all essential values for effectiveness in relation to the type of grain to be ground, must have required the judgment of women and taken their bodies into account. *Maṭhan* (S. *marhxaṇ*) for grains and *madqos* (S. (Irob) *mothqos*) for spices, salt, seeds and the second refinement of grains like barley and corn, and their respective active tools, *mādit* and *wūddi mādqos* (S. (Irob) *mothqos barha*) must be of different sizes and have different concavities (Gebre Teklu 2012; Nixon-Darcus 2014). The rounded stones must be of a size that can both achieve their purpose of smashing and fit well into female hands at work.

Manufacturing is essentially work for male experts. Male craftsmen control the tools (cisel, hammer, pick axe) that make the tools which females shall use. However, the grindstones makers have in mind the user needs, her body size, they may consult with the women (Nixon-Darcus 2014: 183 *et passim*). Knowledge of the quarries and selecting the raw material is the first step; for instance, in Saafira (Qooxayto plateau) the stones are collected from some wadis not far from the village. Making the suitable design and manageable shape, like angling of *quern* download to the processor are sequences of the entire *chaîne opératoire* of the craftsman. The operator gives efficiency to the grindstone varying performances according to different variables like grinding small or large grained of foodstuff. The raw material-stuff affects the grindstone durability and its knowledge is crucial, as Nixon-Darcus points out in her research in Gulo Mākāda.

Hidmo domestic spaces among the Irob

The *gabala*, a partially porticoed internal courtyard, is particularly important for its multifunctionality. Its centrality, as we will see, is also confirmed in the Irob *hidmo*. We take in account an elaborated homestead in Kallacasa.

The roof of the *gabala* leaves a central courtyard uncovered, which is made up of functionally interpenetrating parts. This is where the chicken coop, made of earth and clay, is located; protected by poles as if it were a *dagge*, under the porch roof to the East and set against the perimeter wall, is the kitchen, *kishshina*, with grindstone, fires, griddles and the *mogogo*.

The opposite side of the *gabala*, with access from outside, forms the *maybet*, which in a very narrow sense indicates the wooden pillar, or rather the area included between the two horizontal poles, as the Italian geographer Dainelli observed at his time (1905–1906), which he considered to be a nave of the portico in the Tigrayan *hədmə* (in general three, or at the most four, without special boundaries between them). Here, more comprehensively, *maybet* means the porticoed aisle of space, with the thatched roof and the succession of wooden columns. This is made up of two spatially and functionally distinct parts, but in reality it includes a third part, as well, a central one, since the two short sides of the main door become a compartment with the racks, which hold the agricultural and artisan work tools when not in use. To the right of the entrance, the *maybet* is open to socialization, which is highlighted by the well-formed raised flooring. *Maybet* can mean room or even by synecdoche the entire family in the households of Tigrayan farmers. Together, this part of the *gabala* corresponds in function to the *makaado* of the Saho *naxsa*. In the lowered section, there are other seats (now sometimes plastic ones) and there can also be the *fernello*, a mobile burner for making coffee, or a *mosob*, for serving guests who might come.

The second section, to the left of the entrance, which is also defined by the raised floor, forms a decisively female space, which, in contrast to the previous one, corresponds approximately to the *wushshaathe* of the Tigrinya-speakers *hədmə*. Here for cooking and processing, we find the *miskillix*, a hearth for the preparation of *buun* and *saahi* and for heating foods, the *moogorh*, a mortar with a large pestle (*moogorh naa*) for grains, clay containers and other tools, shelves or *sareegalla*, like the *mederder*, for keeping the tea set, *saahit nuway*, the coffee set or *buun nuway*, as well as the cups, *figgan*, and the *madagdag*, the small mortar, and the pestle, *maataka*. This spatial realm is the *daraba*, which they define to be a ‘semi-kitchen’, that is, only one of the two parts of the functional set needed for food transformation and cooking.

In fact, compared to the *gooxo* of the Saho *naxsa*, but also compared to the other more basic *hidmo*, here we have feminized functional sections that are broken down spatially, because the section designated for cooking, the *kishshina*, with the metal griddle, *gasa*, and the burners, with pots, such as those of terracotta (*tsaxla*), is on the other side, set against the opposite perimeter wall. And in any case, there is a continual coming and going in the

uncovered section of the courtyard between them which connects them according to the *chaîne opératoire* in place.

However, things are more complicated in this gendered spatial organization. In fact, the two closed quarters, that is, the two juxtaposed basic houses, also have within them an interaction of raised floors that highlight different functions and passages, where aesthetic purposes are also involved. As we have seen in the two parts of the *maybet*, the raised sections are an architectural element that was present in the *naxsa*, especially in the *makaado*, but in this *hidmo* the element is more complicated.

According to Nixon-Darcus data, which document that 46% of household places the milling stones in the storage room, we observed that the first room now houses the grain mills, made of clay, where the woman works from a standing position, as well as jars that can be quite large and sacks containing foodstuffs, especially flours.

This is also a storage area for accessories like mechanical parts for pressing, impeded by the limits in electricity, which is often unavailable, which witness to the failed and interrupted attempt of the owner to modernize these operations and replace traditional manual milling with mechanical processing. This space can be used by men and women. For this reason, the former is called *nuwayti care*, storage room. The term *makhaazino*, warehouse or storage area, is also used, mainly, although not exclusively, because there is also a *carat* bed, for resting, which can even be used for a guest who could not otherwise be hosted in the raised area of the *maybet* with mattresses.

Between the two rooms, in the gendered division of spaces, that for which the generic term *agabi care*, women's room, is used, or else *gooxo*, or even *saygudet care*, and which in Tigrinya is called *wushshaathe*, is the room that holds the mills and the flour and the grain stores, even though only part of the processing of food takes place here and none of cooking of food, as we have seen. This – another expression says – is the *macure*, the treasure place, where women keep 'their things'. This is a significant expression because the management and calculation of food stores, and the reasoning behind their use, usually fall into the range of women's decision-making.

McCann observed that in particular situations of male labor shortness or «in particular microagronomic zones, women have provided the additional labor to intensify cultivation, blurring the lines of gender roles (...) Women

in some cases, however, play role in managing field preparation by expressing household needs which are counter to their husband's concern for the market or rotation». However, the barrier of plowing has not crossed, albeit some critical contingencies required female plowing although denied by the ideological memory of male peasants. For instance, when women built broad beds to drag waterlogged vertisols they had been compelled to do it by hand (McCann 1995: 75-77). The rule of relational under-equipment of women is confirmed in a specific technical environment.

In this sense, it would be correct to avoid the terms 'complementarity' and even 'interdependence' because they are too ideologically marked and used, often in anthropological literature, to hide the true inequality in the gendered division of labor, which is unbalanced in favor of males. The training of boys and girls follows the gendered division from a very early age, bestowing dexterities that are not easily reversible, building bodies that are so trained that the differences are 'naturalized' in the end. Once a boy has been trained for masculinized tasks, he will always take an advantage over a female, which will seem to be a natural ability. So, the gender gap is prolonged over time and even resists political and legislative attempts to change it (Tabet 2015). We can at least speak of asymmetrical or unbalanced interdependence.

In the Saho and Irob households the gendered division of labor follows expected lines of attribution and, as far as farm labor is concerned, is essentially similar to the past and in any case common to all of the households analyzed in Eritrea and Tigray by Tronvoll for the Akkälä Guzay and by the ethno-archaeologists Lyons, D'Andrea, Nixon-Darcus for the north-eastern Təgray.

Domestic tasks are gendered or not absolutely gendered with nuances which reveal the essential position in this sexual labor division. Iteration of the same 'technic atom' for a long time, elementary gesture, monotony attending at the mortar or grindstone or picking and sifting the flour are the markers of feminized operations. However passive skills should not be underestimated: 'stealing with the eye' can allow a woman, in exceptional circumstances, to replicate male operations. When men have simulated the back and forth movement with the straps, for demonstration purposes, they have made it clear that they, too, 'stealing with their eyes' can replicate woman's crafts (Fig. 15).

Food transformation practices are crucial for the reproduction of the members of the household and they mold the greater part of the living quarters. For this reason, we will take the time to focus on the tools and equipment, which are of significant social importance. Rural cooking includes not only the selection and processing of food, the recipe collection, but also the methods and tools for cooking. The kitchen summarizes manual and botanical, as well as practical physical and chemical knowledge that places the woman at the center. Moreover, these practices are able to activate forms of help among women, which tend to disappear with rise of industrial milling as far as grinding is concerned.

This is the final segment of agricultural work and the operations of gathering, which opens up to female skills and decision-making. In reality, kitchen (including milling) experience has always had feedback for choices in agricultural production, modernization and the selection of edible plants and grain species: in this bidirectional process, in this cultural area, as well, women have had a fundamental and disregarded role, which is active and not passive. As elsewhere, agricultural history in this area should recover the silent, but essential role of women in confirming or contrasting the choices of crops experimented by male farmers. Women are the ones who know the different properties of the various plants and grains, who evaluate species that come from abroad; women are the ones who have historically tested their edibility and effective use as food, as well as the most appropriate equipment. As Teklu points out, analysing decision-making roles and barley production, «women's contribution is greater than previously perceived» in terms of knowledge selection and use of biodiversity (Teklu 2012: 312-16). We are speaking of territories historically exposed to droughts, bio-stress, degraded soils: the plant management and the food processing are strictly interdependent and both men and women have been and are still involved and their practices intertwined.

Lyons and D'Andrea in their ethno-archeological inquiry, with experimental trials, have demonstrated how the predomination of the griddle over the oven in baking bread in historical Ethiopia has an explanation in relation to the physical and chemical properties of the staple foods and especially of *taf*, which is the preferred native grain for the preparation of the iconic bread of this grain-based culture, that is the *ənğära* (Tigr. *ṭayta*, S. *thaabita*). The strong association between *taf* in its different varieties, a gluten-free grain,

and the griddle as a more efficient cooking method for the iconic bread, has therefore continued to the present day, unlike in other areas. In the observed kitchens, both griddles and ovens are essential (Lyons, D’Andrea 2003). Other grains like barley, durum wheat, sorghum, and finger millet are treated and included in dishes in both ordinary and festive cuisine. Barley has a central place both in Saho and Irob communities. A study documents 24 varieties of barley cultivated in Təgray, some of them quite rare (Fetien Abay *et al.* 2008).

Situations of shortages and scarcity bring into play substitutions among preferred grains and others, which bring out the flexibility of the women. Barley can replace *dhaafi* in *engeera*, corn can replace sorghum in the preparation of beer, *malab*. Both in Saho and in Irob families, barley is widely used in bread making. In the Irob area, barley is the substance of a dish that lends itself to the sharing of a common meal: the dish *thixlo*, made of roasted pellets of barley flour, which are dipped into a pot of sauce, usually with *qamam*, a mixture of spices with *barbare*, using special skewers; this requires alternated and coordinated access for each fellow diner, as is also the case with the *engeera* dish and which supports the *shiro* or a meat stew. This is also an act of social reproduction, which takes place in the home, enabling cultural reproduction, distinctiveness and cultural continuity.

Saho lexicon on grinding and bakery activities

Sources, abbreviations, and symbols:

→	see entry
<	from
~	variant
<i>Af</i>	Afar (Parker 2009)
<i>AfMor</i>	Afar (Morin 2012)
<i>Am</i>	Amharic (Kane 1990)
<i>AmLes</i>	Amharic (Leslau 1976)
<i>Ar</i>	Arabic (Wehr 1994)
<i>cf</i>	compare
<i>CS</i>	Central Saho
<i>etc</i>	etcetera

<i>f</i>	feminine
<i>G</i>	Gə'əz (Leslau 1991)
<i>It</i>	Italian
<i>lit</i>	literally
<i>m</i>	masculine
<i>n</i>	noun
<i>NS</i>	Northern Saho
<i>pl</i>	plural
<i>rel to</i>	related to
<i>sgtv</i>	singulative
<i>S.</i>	Saho
<i>SS</i>	Southern Saho
<i>syn of</i>	synonym of
<i>Ti</i>	Tigre (Littman, Höfner 1962)
<i>TiSM</i>	Tigre (Saleh Mahmud Idris 2015)
<i>Ty</i>	Tigrinya (Kane 2000)
<i>vI</i>	class I verbs (prefix-conjugated)
<i>vII</i>	class II verbs (suffix-conjugated)
<i>vIII</i>	class III verbs (stative)
<i>vIV</i>	class IV verbs (compound)

ale *vII* roast, toast; *rel to* **alo**.

{*Af* ale 'pop (corn), roast'; *AfMor* alaye 'cuire; mûrir'}.

alo *nf* roasted grain or beans; *rel to* **ale**; *cf* **dhixin**, **laclaaco**, **zagxe**.

{*Af* alo 'parched/popped/roasted grain'; *AfMor* alo 'grains de céréales grillés'}.

araaracishe *vII* grind, crush something, especially cereals like maize [**cil-bo**→] and sorghum [**maseela**→]; *rel to* **araaracisheena**, **araaracisheena**, **araaracta**.

After having ground the grain on the **araaracisheena**→ slab with the **araaracisheena**→, it is mixed with water to form a dough [**araaracta**→] ready to be cooked on the **gasa**→. If the dough has to be conserved for more time, the mixture is left to dry and then ground again on the **siy-yaaxisheena**→ in order to produce a finer flour called **cagun bulul** [**ca-gun**→].

araaracisheena *nm* the upper grinding stone of the **marhxañ**→, made of **arcaze**→ stone; *pl* **araaracisheenit** *m*; *syn* **moodod**→; *rel to* **araaracishe**.

araaracisheenä *nf* the largest of the two grinding slabs on the **libdo**→, made of **arcaze**→ stone; *pl* **araaracisheenit** *m*; *syn of* **marhxañ**→; *rel to* **araaracishe**.

araaracta *nm* coarsely ground grain, mixed with water; *rel to* **araaracishe**.

aras *nm* sourdough, yeast, leaven; *cf* **ayco**, **leebito**.

{*Am* **ḏḥṣ** [əršo] ‘leaven, yeast, ferment (often a small quantity of fermented batter used as a starter for fresh batch)’}.

arcaze *nf NS*, *CS* ~ **arcade** *SS* coarse and hard stone used for the two grinding parts of the **marhxañ**→, sandstone; *sgtv* **arcazetta** *NS* ~ **arcazeyta** *CS*, *SS* ~ **arcadeyta** *SS m*.

Normally the **a**. is collected from a wadi, a place where water runs only during periods of rainfall. Near Saafira, on the Qooxayto plateau, the **a**. is collected from the bed of the Arbaabac, a tributary of the Komayle river, or from Tsixillo, between the villages of Booze and Gubi Saaro (AM). In Irob, in the area of Calliteena, **a**. is collected in Cado Dhawoc (lit. ‘white **dhawoc**’, where **dhawoc** (also spelled **rhawoc**) is a place where there is some water, in a stony terrain. Hence, **cadoorhawca** has the meaning of ‘a valley without water’).

{*Ti* **ḏḥṣ** [’ar’aze] ‘sandstone’}.

ayco *nf* yeast, leaven; *cf* **aras**, **leebito**.

{*AfMor* **aycu** ‘levain, lait caillé ajoute au lait frais pour le faire cailler’}.

baani *nf* loaf of bread *f*; *sgtv* **baanitto** ~ **baaniito** *NS CS* ~ **baaniyto** *SS f*; *pl* **baaniita** *SS f*; *cf* **bokkoco**, **burkutta**, **buufet-folo**, **cadubla**, **engeera**, **hanza**, **kinnas**, **luxlux**, **qichcha**, **tandur-folo**, **thaabita**, **xabaza**, **ximbashsha**.

{*Af* **baani** ‘bread’; *TiSM* **ḏḥ** [bāni] ‘loaf of bread’; *Ty* **ḏḥ** [bani] ‘bread (raised, European-style)’ (< *It* **pane** ‘bread’)}.

bokkoco *nf* a kind of leavened bread; *cf* **baani**, **burkutta**, **buufet-folo**, **cadubla**, **engeera**, **hanza**, **kinnas**, **luxlux**, **qichcha**, **tandur-folo**, **thaabita**, **xabaza**, **ximbashsha**.

{*Ty* **ḏḥṣ** [buk^w’o] ‘a kind of thick bread’}.

bokhra *nf* NS, CS1 ~ **bokra** CS2, SS hollow place where flour or dough is collected when grain is ground on a **marhxa**→; the raised border around the surface of the **libdo**→; *pl* **bokhrar** *m* ~ **bokrit** SS (*Irob*) *f*.

{Ty ቡኽራ [bukra], በኸራ [bäk^wra], በኸራ [bākora], ቡኽራ [bokra] ‘depression at the bottom of a grinding slab in which ground meal collects; depression in the top of a grinding slab platform in which unground grain is placed during grinding’}.

bultug *nm* millet (*Pennisetum* species); *sgtv* **bultugto** *m* (seed), **bultugtö** *f* (plant; bread made of **b.**).

{Ti ቡልቲብ [bəltub] ‘a sort of corn’; Ty ቡልቲግ [bultug] ~ ብልቲግ [bəltug] ‘kind of *durra* or millet having very large grains and ears’}.

bulul *nm* powder, flour; *rel to* **bululuse**.

— **cagun bulul** *nm* dried dough, flour, ground grain, normally of **cilbo**→ (for preparing **dagxa**→) or **maseela**→.

For making the **c. b.**, first, women grind the grain manually on the millstone [**marhxa**→], and accumulate the large amount of flour. Then, they mix the flour with water to make dough [**cagun**→]. Then they let the dough dry and grind it again so as to make fine flour, used for preparing the **dagxa**→. This method was especially common years ago, when mechanized millstones were unavailable, and it was also used when people traveled from one place to another.

{Af bulul ‘powder’; AfMor bulul ‘farine’}.

bululuse *vII* pound into powder; *rel to* **bulul**.

— **cagun bululuse** *vII* the process of preparing **cagun bulul**→.

{Af buluse ‘pound into powder’; AfMor bululuse ~ buluse ‘ecrasere, réduire en an poudre’}.

burkutta *nf* bread cooked on the coals with a hot pebble inside the dough; *sgtv* **burkuttayto** SS (*Irob*) *f*; *pl* **burkut** *m* ~ **burkuute** *m~f* ~ **burkuttat** *m* ~ **burkuttit** SS (*Irob*) *f*; *cf* **baani**, **bokkoco**, **buufet-folo**, **cadubla**, **engeera**, **hanza**, **kinnas**, **luxlux**, **qichcha**, **tandur-folo**, **thaabita**, **xabaza**, **ximbashsha**.

The **b.** is the typical bread made of **cadeelaw**→ or **sinraa**→ flour prepared during transhumance or other journeys. It can be made and cooked in a few minutes (see further details below in the Tigrinya definition).

{Ty ᠨᠠᠳᠤᠰᠤᠨ [bærk^wətta] ‘bread made of lumps of dough kneaded on a hide [...] the lump is indented, a hot pebble inserted therein, the indentation closed over the lump placed over the coals’}.

buufe *nf* 1. earth oven for baking bread 2. the bread baked in the **b.**; *pl* **buufef** *m*; *cf* 1. **oton**, **tandur** 2. **buufet-folo**.

The **b.** is constructed by making a circular hole in the ground and by covering the inner part with flat stones, which are joined together with mortar or similar; the surface is smoothed and small reinforcement stones and mortar are placed, among other things, to keep out water.

To cook, a fire is lit inside with wood suitable for making good coal [**dhirhxin**→]. When the stones are sufficiently hot, the fire is extinguished, pieces of charcoal or wood that are still active and/or steaming are removed, and the dough (typically of **sinraa**→ and **cadeelaw**→) is baked on the flat stones. Then the **b.** is covered with a flat stone or a metal lid and the cracks are sealed with pieces of cloth. Once ready, the bread is extracted by hand or using a bifurcated branch or metal spring [**maqharqar**].

— **buufet-folo** *see folo*.

{*Af* **buufe** ~ **muufe** ~ **nuufe** ‘charcoal stove for baking bread (two kinds are common: 1. above ground and constructed from metal or clay 2. bucket or can set in a hole in the ground’; *AfMor* **buufe** ~ **muufe** ‘four creusé dans le sol’}.

buuleena *nm* *NS* lid; *pl* **buuleenit** *m*; *rel to* **buule** *vII* ‘cover’; *syn* **mogde**; *cf* **alfeena**.

B. is used as a lid for the **mogoogo**→ and the **gasa**→.

{*Af* **buule** ‘cover, hide, pack away, put away, store, stock’}.

cadeelaw *nf* ~ **cadiilaw** *m* barley; *sgtv* **cadeelawto** *m* (seed grain), **cadeelawtö** *f* (from **cado** *vIII* ‘be white’ and **ilaw**→ ‘grain’); *syn of* (from Ty) **sigem**.

There are several kinds of **c.**, generally classified as **cado** (‘white’), **casa** (‘red’), and **dat** (‘black’) **c.**, but also known by more specific names, such as **atana**, **caatsa**, **damhaa**, **guunaza**, **sacsaca**, etc.

{*AfMor* **cadiilaw** ‘orge’}.

cadubla *nf* 1. unleavened bread 2. flour of **cilbo**→ or **maseela**→ after second pounding *SS*; *sgtv* **cadublatto** *NS*, *CS* ~ **cadublayto** *SS f.* *cf* 1. **baani**, **bokkoco**, **burkutta**, **buufet-folo**, **engeera**, **hanza**, **kinnas**, **lux-**

lux, qichcha, tandur-folo, thaabita, xabaza, ximbashsha 2. **cagun bulul** [bulul→].

{Af cadbula ‘white flour’ (<cado bula = white powder); AfMor cadbula ‘farine de dourah (sorgho) après deuxième pilage, prête pour faire de la bouillie’}.

cagun *nm* dough of ground grain, batter; *sgtv* **cagunta** *f* ~ *m*.

— **cagun bulul** *see* **bulul**.

— **cagun bululuse** *see* **bululuse**.

{Af cagina ‘batter; dough; moist, ground grain ready for cooking’}.

cara *nf* place, area, space, floor; *pl* **carur** *m*~*f*⁵.

— **girat cara** *nf* fireplace, can be used to refer both to the **miskillix**→ and to the **makaado**→; *syn of* **mindad**.

cawda *nm* threshing floor; *pl* **cawdit** *m* ~ **caawid** *SS* (*Irob*) *f*.

{*G* ሳውድ [‘awəd] ‘threshing floor’; *Ti* ዐውድ [‘awəd]; *Ty* ሳውዲ [‘awdi] ‘threshing floor for threshing grain (around which oxen are driven in a circle); arena; etc.’}.

cilbo *nf* maize; *sgtv* **cilbottä** *NS* ~ **cilboytä** *CS, SS* *f*; **cilbotta** *NS* ~ **cilboyta** *CS, SS* *m* (seed/grain); *cf* **baxarom**.

{Af celbo ‘type of maize’}.

dagaxe *vII* make **dagxa**→.

dagxa *nf* kind of traditional porridge; *sgtv* **dagxatto** *NS* ~ **dagxayto** *CS, SS* *f*; *pl* **dagux** *m*~*f*; *rel to* **dagaxe**; *cf* **thixlo**.

The **d.** is prepared from different types of grain flour, such as maize [**cilbo**→], wheat [**sinraa**→], sorghum [**maseela**→], barley [**cadeelaw**→], etc., It can also change names on the basis of the grain used for making it, e.g., **cilbot dagxa** ‘maize porridge’, **sinraa dagxa** ‘wheat porridge’, **maseeli dagxa** ‘sorghum porridge’, etc. The maize flour is the most favorable for making **d.** among the Saho, just as the roasted barley flour [**laclaaco**→] is preferred by the Tigrinya-speakers for making the *gä‘at*. The flour for making the **d.** should be as fine as possible. If it is poorly ground, then the sifter [**mamfiyo**→] is used to collect or separate the finest portion of the flour from the rest. The other flour from which the **d.**

⁵ In the Irob-Saho of Ethiopia the plural of the nouns is always of feminine gender, while in Eritrean Saho it can be of either gender. So, after a plural form, the abbreviation *m*~*f* indicates that the gender is masculine in Eritrean Saho and feminine in Irob-Saho.

was made from is called **cagun bulul** (see under **bulul** for the procedure for making it).

Then, the right amount of flour should be parched on the fire using the griddle [**gasa**→]. In the meantime, the right amount of water is boiled in a clay pot [**inx**e] or steel pan [**dishti**] together with some salt [**mulxu**]. Three round stones called **miskillix**→ are used to support the **inx**e on the fire. After that, the flour is added to the boiling water, and it is well stirred/mixed up using the ladle [**zibeena**], while it is on the fire. The hot water is added as necessary while it is stirred/mixed up continuously, so as to be cooked well. It takes about 30 minutes for the **d.** to be ready and served. It is served with the buttermilk [**xangazza**] and butter in particular wooden bowles called **galadda** or **koora** or, nowadays, on a metal/zinc bowl [**shaxan**]. The **d.** served with the butter is called **wayla-male** (lit. ‘that has no white spot’) referring to milk. Before the **d.** is served, it is well prepared in the bowl in the shape of a cylinder with a crater shape sink on the top, for putting the butter and spices, called **matsaafat**.

The **d.** served without **xangazza** and butter is called **gonfoo**→. The leftover of the **d.** is called **saaringida**.

Preparing a **d.** is a women’s job and should be prepared by a skilled woman [**aqhcazit**], particularly on special occasions, such as a wedding. The **d.** has to be cooked and mixed well with water without leaving unmixed parts of the flour in it. It is a kind of taboo [**caybe**] if an unmixed flour or rolling parts are found in a **d.** prepared for special occasions.

{*Af* dagxa ‘porridge’; *AfMor* dagxa ‘bouillie épaisse’ de céréales’}.

dhaafi *nf* ~ **rhaafi** *SS* (*Irob*) teff, a species of lovegrass (*Eragrostis tef*, *Eragrostis abyssinica*, *Poa abyssinica*, *Poa tef*); *sgtv* **dhaafitto** *NS* ~ **dhaafiyto** *CS*, *SS* ~ **dhaafiyta** ~ **rhaafiyta** *SS* (*Irob*) *m* (seed/grain), **dhaafittö** ~ **dhaafiytä** *SS* (*Irob*) *f* (1. plant 2. a piece of **engeera**→ made of **d.**).

{*AfMor* taaf ‘cereals (*Eragrostis abyssinica*)’; *Ti* ጥፍ [taf] ‘a sort of corn’; *Ty* ጥፍ [taf] ‘a very fine millet-like grain from which *əngera*-bread is made (*Poa abyssinica*)’}.

dhexeena *nf* ~ **dhixeena** grinding, milling; *rel to* **irhxine**.

dhikandhik *nm* 1. bump(s), lump(s) 2. *SS* heartstone, hearth in the **gooxo**→ with three triangularly placed stones; 2. *syn of* **miskillix**.

dhirhxin *nm* ~ **dhirhxino** *f* charcoal; *sgtv* **dhirhxinto** ~ **dhirhxinta** *m*; *pl* **dhirhaaxin** *m*; *cf* **faxam**.

dhixin *nm* ~ **rhixin** *SS* (*Irob*) flour from roasted barley [**cadeelaw**→] used for preparing **koosaaso**→ and **thixlo**→; *rel to* **irhxine**; *cf* **alo**, **laclaaco**, **zagxe**.

To make the **dh.**, first any unnecessary things, such as sand [**xootsa**] and tares [**kirdad**], should be removed from the barley, using the **mixe**→ and **manfiyo**→ sifters, so as to make it pure and clean. After having pounded [**moogorhe**] it, the barley is boiled in the water for about 30 minutes. Then it is spread on the mat and put under the sun. Putting it in the water allows the barley to absorb the water and make it larger. After a little while, it is roasted on the **gasa**→, and mixed with some sand to prevent burning (it is not roasted as much as the **alo**→ or **laclaaco**→). At this stage the roasted barley is called **zagxe**. Then it is ground with the traditional millstone [**marhxan**→] or the modern one [**tarhxine makiina**→]. After that, it is sifted [**imfiye**→] to separate the chaff from the flour. The **dh.** is served in a bowl [**shaxan**] mixed with some water. Salt is added as necessary. **Dh.** is the name given to roasted barley flour, but when the **dh.** is mixed with water and prepared for eating, it is called **koosaaso**. The **dh.**, more thoroughly kneaded and with more water, is ready for the **thixlo**→.

{Ty ጥሕፒ [təhni] ‘roasted barley flour (ordinarily carried on trips when it is mixed with water and eaten uncooked with a little salt)’}.

engeera *nf* ~ **injeera** pancake-like bread made of batter; equivalent to **thaabita**→; *sgtv* **engeeratto** *NS* ~ **engeerayto** *CS, SS f*; *pl* **enger** *m~f*; *cf* **baani**, **bokkoco**, **burkutta**, **buufet-folo**, **cadubla**, **hanza**, **kinnas**, **lux-lux**, **qichcha**, **tandur-folo**, **xabaza**, **ximbashsha**.

Normally the **e.** is made with **dhaafi**→, but often other grains, especially **maseela**→, are used. **E.** is also used as a generic name for indicating **qichcha**→ and **ximbashsha**→.

— **kafin engeera** *nf* dry **engeera**

{Am እንጀራ [ənṅära] ‘a large, moist, slightly sour pancake-like bread of *tef* flour which is baked on a covered griddle (unlike a pancake, it is too large to be turned over’; Ti እንጌራ [ənṅera] ‘bread’; Ty እንጌራ [ənṅera] ‘bread (actually a large, flat, pancake-like comestible made of batter, not dough)’}.

farnello *nf* ~ **fernello** cooking stove, brazier; *pl* **farnellol** ~ **fernello** *m* ~ **fernellit** *SS* (*Irob*) *f*.

{*Ty* ፈርኔሎ [färnello] or ፌርኔሎ [fernello] ‘brazier’ (< *It* fornello ‘stove’)}.

faxam *nm* charcoal; *sgtv* **faxamto** *m*; *cf* **dhirhxin**.

{*Af* faxmi ‘charcoal’; *AfMor* faxami ~ faxmi ‘charbon de bois’; *Ar* fahm ‘charcoal’; *Ti* ፈሐም [fāham] ‘charcoal’; *Ty* ፈሐም [fāham] or ፍሐም [fəham] ‘coals, charcoal, coals banked with earth’}.

firtito *nm* unleavened bread cut into pieces (in a bowl) mixed with butter served as a meal, typically for a bride and a bridegroom; *syn of* **rimso**.

{*Ti* ፍርትት [fərtət] ‘crumb, small piece’; *Ty* ፍርትት [fərtət] ‘crumbled (bread)’}.

folo *nf* ~ **felo** *SS* (*Irob*) 1. food, meal 2. bread; *sgtv* **folotta** *SS*, *CS* 1 ~ **foloyta** *CS* 2, *SS* *f* ~ **feloyta** *SS* (*Irob*) *m*; *pl* **folol** *m*; 1. **felol** *SS* (*Irob*) *f*.

— **buufet-folo** *nf* kind of bread cooked in the **buufe**→. Also called **buufetta** *NS* ~ **buufeyta** *CS*, *SS* *f*, or simply **buufe**, as the oven.

— **tandur-folo** *nf* kind of bread cooked in the **tandur**→; *cf* **baani**, **bokkoco**, **burkutta**, **cadubla**, **hanza**, **engeera**, **kinnas**, **qichcha**, **thaabita**, **xabaza**, **ximbashsha**.

{*AfMor* folo ‘repas’}.

gadca *nf* ~ **gidac** ~ **gidca** 1. fresh and soft animal dung, manure 2. beehive made with **g**; *sgtv* **gadcatto** *NS* ~ **gadcayto** *CS*, *SS* **gidcatto** ~ **gidacto** *NS* ~ **gidcayto** *CS*, *SS* *f*.

G. is used, when is dry, as a combustible. It is also mixed with water and used for painting the lower part of the inner walls of the **naxsa**→ below the ribbon of **casa buure** (→**buure**) or for the floor, mixed with soil.

For the *Irob*, the **g**. is only that produced by cattle.

{*Af* gudaace ‘dung, manure’; *AfMor* godaace ~ gidaace ~ gudaace ‘1. crottes séchées utilisées le feu. 2. bouse de vache humide (= *laahi xaara*) dont on enduit le pis d’un vache pour empêcher son petit de téter’}.

gamad *nm* *NS*, *CS* ~ **gamat** *SS* lid, cover; *pl* **gamud** *m~f* ~ **gamoodi** *SS* (*Irob*) *f*.

— **gibaabot gamad** *nm* lid of basket plate for **engeera**→.

{*Af* gamad ‘buttock, end, rear’}.

gasa *nm* flat metal or clay plate used for cooking, griddle; *pl* **gaasa** *f* ~ **gasiite** *SS* (*Irob*) *f*; *cf* **mogoogo**.

— **birti gasa** *nm* metal griddle for backing **engeera**→.

— **kallat gasa** *nm* clay plate for baking.

{*Af* gasa ‘frying pan, iron griddle (used for cooking pancake-style bread)’}.

girib *nm* grain container made of leather or fibre, bigger than **lakoota**→; *pl* **giriiba** ~ **girooba** *f*.

{*Af* girib ‘leather bag for carrying food’; *AfMor* girib ‘outre, récipient de cuir tanné, sans poils, pour les matières sèches (grains), vêtements’}.

gomfite *vII* ~ **gonfite** prepare **gonfoo**→.

gonfoo *nf* ~ **gomfoo** ~ **gomfo** *m* *SS* (*Irob*) a **dagxa**→ prepared without **xangazza**→ and butter; *sgtv* **gonfotta** *NS* ~ **gonfoyta** *CS*, *SS* ~ **gomfotta** *NS* **gomfoyta** *CS*, *SS* *f~m*; *rel to* **gomfite**.

{*Af* gonfo ‘dry food (i.e., bread without jam/sauce)’; *AfMor* gonfo ‘nourriture sèche, mets non assaisonné (pain sans ragoût, bouillie non accompagnée)’; *AmLes* 776: [gänfo] ‘porridge (of wheat, barley, oats)’}.

hanza *nf* ~ **handa** *SS* two **thaabita**→ attached and cooked together to become one flat bread; *sgtv* **hanzatto** *NS* ~ **hanzayto** *CS*, *SS* ~ **handayto** *SS* (*Irob*) *f*; *pl* **hanzaz** ~ **hanzuz** *m* ~ **hanoz** ~ **hanod** *SS* (*Irob*) *f*; *cf* **baani**, **bokkoko**, **burkutta**, **buufet-folo**, **cadubla**, **engeera**, **kinnas**, **luxlux**, **qichcha**, **tandur-folo**, **thaabita**, **xabaza**, **ximbashsha**.

{*Ti* ፱፻፶፱ [hanza] ‘large bread’; *Ty* ፶፻፶፱ [hanza] ‘a layered bread made by pouring batter on top of newly baked *əngēra*’}.

hirgeena *nm* *SS* (*Irob*) loop of rope used for preventing the hands from spreading too widely apart while grinding with the **moodod**→ or the **siy-yaaxisheena**→; *pl* **hirgeenit** *m~f* ~ **hirgen** *f* *SS* (*Irob*); *rel to* **hiriige** *vII* ‘to pull, to drag (along)’; *syn of* **xateena**.

ilaw *nm* grain, corn; *sgtv* **ilawto** *m*.

— **ilaw dagge** *see* **dagge**.

{*AfMor* ilaw ‘grains, céréales’}.

ilbide *vI* 1. close, complete, finish 2. put the traditional millstone on its support; *rel to* **libdo**→.

In *Irob* only meaning 2.

{*Ty* ፳፬፪ [lābādā] ‘put or set in place the grinding slab (፳፻፲፭ [māṭhan]); pound the earth, compact the soil; etc.’}.

imfiye *vI* ~ **infiye** sift; *rel to* **mamfiyo**.

irhxine *vI* grind, pulverize, mill, turn into powder; *rel to* **dhexeena**, **dhixin**, **marhxan**; *cf* **araaracishe**.

The result of grinding grain, such as wheat [**sinraa**→] and barley [**cadeelaw**→], with a **marhxan**→ is a fine flour [**xarich**→].

— **tarhxine makiina** *nf* modern mill; *syn of* **thaaxuuna**.

{*Ar* ṭāḥana ‘grind, mill, bray, pulverize; crush, ruin, destroy; etc.’; *G* ṁḥḥ [tāḥanā] ‘grind flour, grind fine’; *Ti* ṁḥḥ [tāḥanā] ‘grind’; *Ty* ṁḥḥ [tāḥanā] ‘grind grain, grind, pulverize, smash, crush bits, mill’}.

kinnas *nm* loaf of bread; *pl* **kinnos** *m*; *cf* **baani**, **bokkoco**, **burkutta**, **buufet-folo**, **cadubla**, **engeera**, **hanza**, **luxlux**, **qichcha**, **tandur-folo**, **xabaza**, **ximbashsha**.

koosaaso *nf* flour made from roasted barley.

When the roasted barley flour **dhixin**→ is mixed with water and prepared for eating, it is called **k**. Not known among the Irob.

laclaae *vII* roast (barley); *rel to* **lace** *vII* ‘become hot’, **laclaaco**.

{*AfMor* laclae ‘passer au feu, faire rôtir (incomplètement); griller (grains de café avant mouture)’}.

laclaaco *nf* roasted barley, used for preparing **dagxa**→; *rel to* **laclaae**; *cf* **alo**, **dhixin**, **zagxe**.

{*AfMor* laclaco ‘passage au feu, rôtissage, notam. cuisson du pain en galettes (*goggo*) tour à tour sur les deux faces’}.

The **l**., differently from **zagxe**→ or **dhixin**→ is not roasted with sand.

leebito *nf* yeast; *cf* **aras**, **ayco**.

{*Ty* ḏḏ.ṭ [läbito] or ḏḏ.ṭ [lävito] ‘yeast’; (< *It* lievito ‘yeast’)}.

libdo *nf* ~ **libaado** platform for the **marhxan**→, with its upright parts, made of **arcaze** → stone, and wood placed horizontally; it is coated with clay and is usually located in the **gooxo**→; *pl* **libdod** *m* ~ **libdit** *SS* (*Irob*) *f*; *syn of* **marhxan care**; *rel to* **ilbide**.

{*Ty* see under **ilbide**}.

luxlux *nm* chapati bread; *cf* **baani**, **bokkoco**, **burkutta**, **buufet-folo**, **cadubla**, **engeera**, **hanza**, **kinnas**, **qichcha**, **tandur-folo**, **thaabita**, **xabaza**.

{*Af* luxlux ‘chapati (Afar type)’; *AfMor* luxlux ~ luxux ~ loxlox ‘gallettes, crêpes’}.

malanqatha *nm SS* (*Irob*) ~ **malankata** the upper grinding stone of the smaller one of the two grinding slabs in a **libdo**→/**marhxan**→, made of

arcaze→ stone, used for making dough (of maize flour) softer *pl* **malanqathit** ~ **malankatit** *f*; *syn of* **mothqos barha**, **siyyaaxisheena**.

The Buknayti Care (Irob) say **malanqathi barha** to distinguish it from **malanqathä**.

{Ty መለንቀጢ [mälänqäti] ‘referring to grinding, means for having flour ground coarsely, serving for moist crushing or grinding, grindstone’}.

malanqathä *nf SS (Irob)* ~ **malankatä** the smaller one of the two lower grinding slabs in a **libdo**→/**marhxa**n→, made of **arcaze**→ stone, used for further grinding grain, after wetting them; *pl* **malanqathit** *f*; *syn of* **mothqos**, **siyyaaxisheena**.

{Ty see previous entry}.

mamfiyo *nf* ~ **manfiyo** sifter, sieve, with holes smaller than the ones of **mixe**→; *pl* **mamfiyoy** *m* ~ **mamfi** ~ **manfiyoy** *SS (Irob)* *f*; *rel to* **imfiye**.

{AfMor mamfiyo ‘crible, tamis’; Ty መንፈት [mänfit] ‘sieve’}.

marhxan *nf* 1. grinding slab made with **arcaze** → stone 2. hand-operated mill, quern; *pl* **marhaaxin** *m~f*; *syn of* 1. **araaracisheena**, **sifaalo** 2. **libdo**; *rel to* **irhxine**.

The **m.** is properly only the grinding slab, but indicates also, by metonymy, the whole grinding quern, with the upper mobile grinding handstone **modood**→ or **araaracisheena**→. It can be inserted on a platform [**libdo**→] or it can be used without it. Often on a **libdo** there are two **m.**, one for rough grinding of grain, like maize [**cilbo**→] or others, and another, smaller one, for more refined grinding. Grinding [**dhexeena**→] is a woman’s duty. She grinds the grain using the **modood/araaracisheena** by rubbing on the grinding slab horizontally.

— **marhxa**n care *nf* millstone support; *syn of* **libdo**

{Af taaxuuna ‘mill’; Ar maṭḥana ~ miṭḥana ‘mill, grinder’; Ti መጥሐን [mäṭḥan] ‘mill; the lower millstone’; Ty መጥሐን [mäṭḥan] ‘grinding slab on which grain is ground by rubbing with a smaller stone, *mädid*, which is held in both hands, mill, grinder’}.

maseela *nm* ~ **masheela** sorghum, durra (*Sorghum vulgare*); *sgtv* **maselto** (seed/grain) ~ **maseelayto** *SS (Irob)* *m*; **maseltö** ~ **maseelaytö** *SS (Irob)* *f* (plant/cob; field of **m.**; bread made of **m.**); *pl* **masel** ~ **maseelit** *m~f*.

— **cado maseela** *nf* white sorghum.

— **casa maseela** *nf* red sorghum.

{*Af* maseela ‘sorghum’; *AfMor* masela ‘dourah (sorgho)’; *Am* ማሻላ [mašəla] ‘white sorghum (*Sorgum vulgare*)’; *Ti* ማሻላይ [masäläy] ‘a sort of corn similar to durra’; *Ty* ማሻላ [mašäla] ~ ሞሻላ [məšäla] ~ መሻላ [mäšälla] ‘sorghum (*Andropogon sorghum*)’}.

masfala *nf* ~ **masfal** a piece of leather or plastic mat, used to place a **siy-yaacisheenä**→, or **araaracisheenä**→ (or **malanqhati barha**→ or **mothqos barha**→) while grinding the grain or softening the ground flour mixed with water; *rel to sifaalo*.

mashrafit *nf* fan for feeding the fire *pl mashrafiita f*; *syn of mayrawwaxa, waneena*; *rel to ishirife vI* ‘fan the fire, ventilating it with a **m**.’

{*Af* masarfa ‘round woven coloured mat used as a fan or for carrying or covering food’; *AfMor* masarfa ‘round en paille tressée colorée servant de couvercle pour les plats, ou servant à souffler le feu, ou d’éventail; panier’; *Ty* መሻራፋት [mäšräfät] ‘instrument for fanning *taf* to blow away the chaff or for fanning a fire’}.

mashshafale *nf* *NS, CS* ~ **maysafale** ~ **maysafali** *SS* grinding slab which is not fixed on the **libdo**→ *pl mashshafalit* ~ **maysafalit** *m*; *rel to sifaalo*.

mayrawwaxa *nf* ~ **marawwaxa** 1. fan for feeding the fire; *pl mayrawwaxax* ~ **marawwaxit** *m*; *syn mashrafit, waneena*.

mindad *nm* fireplace; *pl mindod m~f*; *syn of girat cara*.

miskillix *nm~f* heartstone, hearth in the **gooxo**→ with three triangularly placed stones; *sgtv miskillixta m*; *syn of dhikandhik*.

mixe *nf* wide basket used for winnowing grain, with a sort of vegetal fibre net on its bottom, sieve, with holes larger than the ones of **mamfiyo**→; *pl mixex m~f*.

{*Ty* ሚሐ [mihe] ‘small sieve with large orifices made of woven willow wands for winnowing wheat, barley, etc., winnowing basket, sifter, strainer; screen; riddle’}.

moodod *nm* the upper grinding stone of a **marhxa**→, made of **arcaze**→ stone; *pl moodaadi m~f*; *syn of araaracisheena*.

{*Ti* ሞደት [mæddät] ‘the upper grind-stone of the hand-mill’; *Ty* መዲድ [mädid] ‘small grindstone which is held in both hands and rubbed against the grinding slab’}.

mothqos *nm SS (Irob)* ~ **motkos** grinding slab, made of **arcaze**→ stone; *pl mothaqaos* ~ **mothqoosa** ~ **motaakos** ~ **motkoosa** *f*; *syn of malanqhatä, siyyaxisheenä*; *cf araracisheenä, marhxa*.

— **mothqos barha** upper grinding stone used on the grinding slab, made of **arcaze** → stone; *syn of malanqhata, malanqhati barha, siyyaxish-eena.*

{Ty መድቆስ [mädqos] in ወዲ መድቆስ [wäddi mädqos] ‘a rounded piece of stone flat on one side and held in the hand, used for grinding grain on a grinding slab’ from ደቂስ [däq^wäsä] ‘to pound, to grind to a powder (salt, pepper, etc.), to pulverize, to crush, to bite, to break to pieces’}.

qichcha *nf NS, CS ~ qitstsa ~ kissa SS* unleavened flat bread; *sgtv qichchatto NS ~ qitstsayto CS, SS ~ kissayto SS (Irob) f; pl qichchach NS, CS ~ qitstsats SS m/f ~ kissas SS (Irob) f; cf baani, bokkoco, burkutta, buufet-folo, cadubla, engeera, hanza, kinnas, luxlux, tandur-folo, thaabita, xabaza, ximbashsha.*

{Ti ቅጭ [qəčča] ‘a kind of unleavened bread’; Ty ቅጭ [qəčča] ~ ቀጭ [qäčča] ~ ቀጭ [qičča] ‘cake of unleavened bread cooked on a *moqlo*-griddle (usually made when time is lacking for preparing regular *əngēra*-bread. This is tasty when hot, but loses flavor when cold)’}.

rimso *nf* unleavened bread cut into pieces (in a bowl) mixed with butter served as a meal, typically for a bride and a bridegroom; *sgtv rimsoyta SS (Irob) m; pl rimsos m; syn of firtito.*

sifaalo *nf* millstone, hand-operated mill, quern, made of **arcaze** → stone; *pl sifaalol m ~ sifaalit SS (Irob) f; rel to masfala, mashshafale, ushshufule; syn of marhxan.*

The Irob also call the first ground **ilaw** → **s**.

{?Af sifaal ~ siffal ‘mat (with a hole in the centre, used for covering a *boodo*, putting under a grindstone)’; ?AfMor sifaal ‘(Nord) Natte ronde avec un trou au milieu que l’on met au-dessus du trou des fumigations; (Sud) Natte, plateau de vannerie que l’on met sous la meule pour recueillir la farine’; Ti ስፋል [səfal] ‘mill’; Ty ስፋል [səfal] ‘small amount of grain placed on a grinding slab to indicate that it is taken’}.

sigem *nm SS* barley; *sgtv sigemta m* (seed/grain), **sigemtä** *f* (plant); *cf cadeelaw.*

S. is the Tigrinya word for barley, but is commonly used by the Saho, particularly in SS.

{Ti ስገም [səgām] ‘barley’; Ty ስገም [səgām] ‘common barley; loaf of unleavened barley bread’}.

sinraa *nm* ~ **sirray** weath; *sgtv* **sinratto** *NS* ~ **sinrayto** *CS*, *SS* ~ **sirrayto** *SS* *m* (seed), **sinrattö** *NS* ~ **sinraytö** *CS*, *SS* ~ **sirraytö** *SS* *m* (plant, field of s., bread made of s.).

{*AfMor* **sirray** ‘blé en grains, froment’; *Ti* ሽርፍፍ [šərnay] ‘wheat’; *Ty* ስርፍፍ [sərnay] ‘wheat (the cereal used to make the Host), grain’}.

siyyaxishe *vII* soften the ground flour, mixing it with water, for making **ca-gun**→; *rel to* **siyyaaxisheena**, **siyyaaxisheenä**.

siyyaaxisheena *nm* the upper grinding stone of the smaller one of the two grinding slabs in a **libdo**→/**marhxan**→, made of **arcaze**→ stone, used for making dough softer; *pl* **siyyaaxisheenit** *m*; *syn of* **malanqhata**, **malanqhati barha**, **mothqos barha**; *rel to* **siyyaxishe**.

{*Ty* ሰይሔ [säyyəhe] ‘to get moldy (bread or a plant); to grind grain a second time after having soaked it; to pulverize’}.

siyyaaxisheenä *nf* the smaller one of the two lower grinding slabs in a **libdo**→/**marhxan**→, made of **arcaze**→ stone, used for making dough softer; *pl* **siyyaaxisheenit** *m*; *syn of* **malanqhatä**, **mothqos**; *rel to* **siyyaxishe**.

tandur *nm* cylindrical clay or metal oven used in cooking and baking; *sgtv* **tandurta** *nf*; *cf* **buufe**, **oton**.

— **tandur-folo** see **folo**.

{*Ar* **tannūr** ‘a kind of baking oven, a pit, usually clay-lined, for baking bread’; *Ti* ተንዱር [tändur] ‘oven’}.

thaabita *nf* pancake-like bread made of batter, equivalent to **engeera**→; *pl* **thaabit** *m*; *cf* **baani**, **buufe**, **bokkoco**, **burkutta**, **buufet-folo**, **cadubla**, **engeera**, **hanza**, **luxlux**, **kinnas**, **qichcha**, **tandur-folo**, **xabaza**, **ximbashsha**.

{*Am* ጣቢታ [ṭabita] ‘large pancake-like bread made from fermented batter similar to *əngära*-bread’; *Ti* ጣቢታ ‘a certain kind of bread’; *Ty* ጣቢታ [ṭabita] ‘*əngära*-bread smaller than the regular *əngära*’}.

thaaxuuna *nf* modern mill; *pl* **thaaxuunan** *m*; *syn of* **tarhxine makiina** [see under **irhxine**].

{see connected etymologies under **irhxine**}.

thixlo *nf* kind of porridge prepared with roasted barley flour; *pl* **thixol** *m~f*; *cf* **dagxa**.

For the preparation of the **th**. see under **dhixin** and the following Tigri-nya definition.

{Ty **ፕሕሎ** [təḥlo] ~ **ጡሕሎ** [tuḥlo] ‘a kind of pudding made by mixing roast barley flour with water then forming little balls that are skewered on thin forked sticks and dipped in *zəgni*-sauce (used especially in Agame)’}.

ushshufule *vI* *NS*, *CS* ~ **issifile** *SS* (*Irob*) set up a **sifaalo**→; *rel to mashshafale, sifaalo*.

{Ty **ሰፈለ** [sāfālā] ‘be laid out, begun (grain on a grinding slab)’}.

wakkare *vII* engrave, carve the stone, make rough surface.

{*Ti* **ወቀረ** [wāqārā] ‘cut (stone), chisel’; *Ty* **ወቐረ** [wāqārā] ‘sculpt, carve; pound a grinding slab worn smooth with a pointed rock in order to make it grind better; level, smooth a stone; engrave; hammer’}.

wakkareena *nm* kind of hard stone used for making the **sifaalo**→ or **marhxan**→ rough; *pl wakkareenit* *m~f*; *rel to wakkare*.

Nowadays a hammer may also be used for the same purpose.

waneena *nm* *SS* fan for feeding the fire; *pl waneenit* ~ **wanen** *f*; *syn of mashrafit, mayrawwaxa*.

xabaza *nf* *NS*, *CS* ~ **xabada** *SS* 1. honey comb 2. flat bread; *sgtv xabazatto* *NS* ~ **xabazayto** *CS1* ~ **xabadayto** *CS2*, *SS* *f*; *pl xabuz* *NS*; *CS* *m* ~ **xabud** *SS* *m~f*; *cf baani, bakkoco, burkutta, buufet-folo, cadubla, engeera, hanza, kinnas, luxlux, tandur-folo, thaabita, ximbashsha*.

{*Af* xabada ‘bread’; *AfMor* xabda ‘galette’; *Ti* **ሕሽዛት** [ḥavāzāt] ‘thick round bread’}.

xarich *nm* *NS*, *CS* ~ **xarij** *NS* (Tharuuca) ~ **xarid** *SS* flour; *sgtv xarichcho* *NS*, *CS* ~ **xariddo** *SS* *m*; *pl xariicha* *NS*, *CS* ~ **xariida** *SS* *f*.

{*Ty* **ሓሪፑ** [ḥarič] ~ **ሓርፑ** [ḥarəč] ~ **ሕርፑ** [ḥəruč] ‘flour, powder’}.

xateena *nm* 1. helper 2. loop of rope used for preventing the hands from spreading too widely apart while grinding with the **moodod**→ or the **siyyaaxisheena**→; *pl xateenit* *m* *syn of hirgeena*; *rel to xate* *vII* ‘help’.

{*Af* xateena ‘defender, helper, helpful person, helping hand’; *AfMor* xateyna ‘celui qui est secourable, qui vient en aide; aide, adjoint, auxiliaire; adjudant’}.

ximbashsha *nf* ~ **ximboshsha** ~ **xomboshsha** *NS*, *CS* ~ **ximboysha** *CS* ~ **ximbaysa** *SS* flat sort of bread made of different kinds of grain, typically with yeast; *sgtv ximbashshatto* ~ **ximboshatto** ~ **xomboshatto** *NS* ~ **ximbashshayto** ~ **ximboshshayto** ~ **xomboshshayto** *CS* ~ **ximboyshayto** *CS* ~ **ximbaysayto** *SS* *f*; *pl ximbos* *SS* (*Irob*) *f*; *cf baani, bakkoco*,

burkutta, buufet-folo, cadubla, engeera, hanza, kinnas, luxlux, qichcha, tandur-folo, thaabita, xabaza.

{*Ti ሕምባሻ* [həmbašša] ‘flat bread made of wheat’; *Ty ሕምባሻ* [həmbašša] ~ *ሓምብሻ* [hambəšša] ‘bread of wheat or *taf* made in a round flat cake about two cm. thick’}.

zagxe *nf* ~ **zegxi** ~ **dagxe** ~ **degxi** *m* (all *SS (Irob)* variants) roasted barley for making **thixlo**→; *sgtv* **zagxedda** ~ **zegxidda** ~ **dagxedda** ~ **degxidda** (all *SS (Irob)* variants); *cf* **alo**, **dhixin**, **laclaaco**.

The barley is roasted on the griddle **kallat gasa** [**gasa**→] (which has a raised part all around it), with clean, specially chosen sand. When the sand gets sufficiently warm, the barley [**cadeelaw**→] is mixed with the sand. In this way the barley is roasted without being burned and remains clear. After the barley is roasted, it is swept away in a basket. The sand, which is heavier than the barley grains, remains on the **kallat gasa**. Afterwards, the **z.** is put through a sieve [**mixe**→] to be sure it is free of sand grains. Then the **z.** is ready to be mixed with water for preparing **thixlo**→.

{*Ty ዘግሐ*, [zäghì] ‘flour made from parched barley’}.

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Fig. 1 - Saho-speaking area and places of investigations.

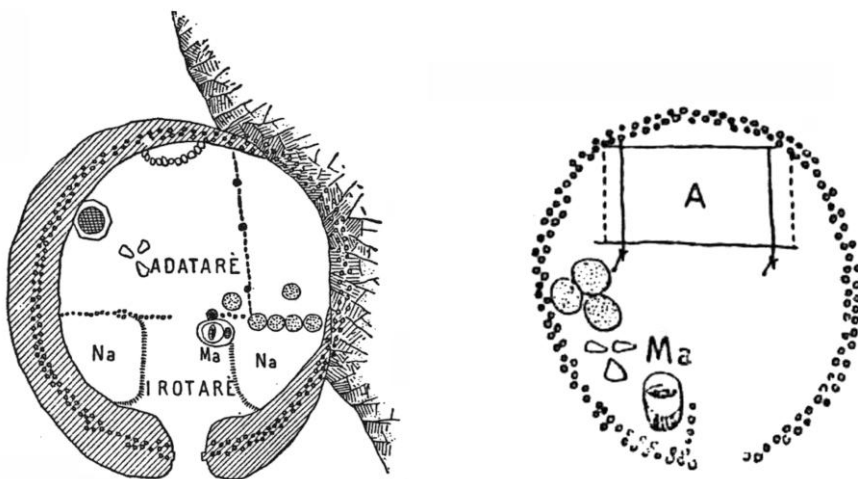


Fig. 2 - Diagram of a *care* and a *daasa* of Forho. The *marhxa* is indicated with the abbreviation Ma. Source: Dainelli, Marinelli (1912: 421-22).

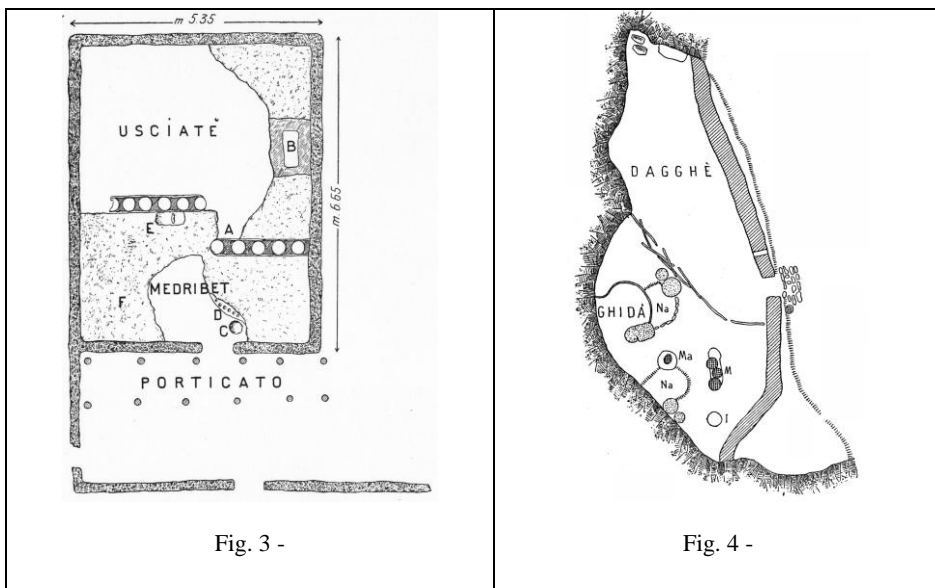


Fig. 3 -

Fig. 4 -

Fig. 3 - Diagram of a *hidmo (naxsa)* Saho in Berhenet.

The *marhxa*n is indicated with the letter E. Source: Venieri (1935: 11).

Fig. 4 - Diagram of an inhabited cave in Golo, on Soyra plateau.

The *marhxa*n is indicated with the abbreviation Ma. Source: Dainelli, Marinelli (1912: 425).

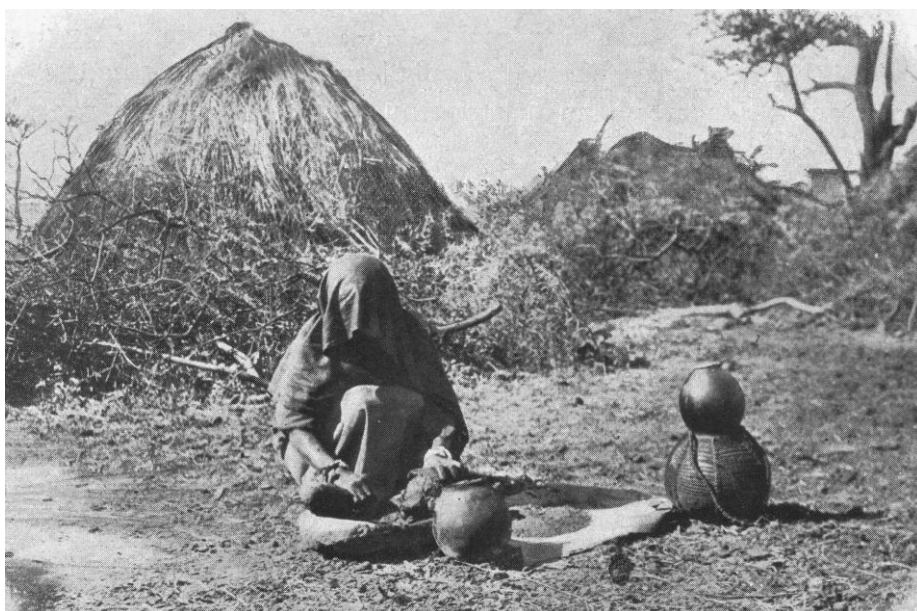


Fig. 5 - A Saho woman grinding soil for the preparation of jars. Source: Dainelli (1908: 160).



Fig. 6 - A Saho woman grinding. Source: Dainelli (1910: 127).



Fig. 7 - Internal of a *goodoo* with the grinding slab and the fireplace (*miskillix*).
Kaaribossa, 2011 (photo M. Vergari).



Fig. 8 – The grinding slab, with denominations and measurements.
Saafira, 2008 (photo M. Vergari).



Fig. 9 - The upper part of the grinding slab, with denominations and measurements.
Saafira, 2008 (photo M. Vergari).



Fig. 10 - The quern with the handstone. Buyya, 2010 (photo M. Vergari).



Fig. 11 - Grinding slab and quern. Thiisha, 2008 (photo M. Vergari).



mamfiyo~manfiyo

mixe

Fig. 12 - Two kind of sieves. Kallacasa, 2014 (photo M. Vergari).



Fig. 13 - Hollow place of the grinding slab in which ground meal collects. Kallacasa, 2014 (photo M. Vergari).



Fig. 14 - Standing position while grinding. Kallacasa, 2014 (photo M. Vergari).



Fig. 15 – Replication of a women's rhythmic grinding motion. Thiisha, 2008 (photo M. Vergari).



Fig. 16 - Interview in Buyya, 2010 (photo M. Vergari).



Fig. 17 - Kneeling position while grinding. Buyya, 2010 (photo M. Vergari).



Fig. 18 - People waiting in front of the public mill. Saafira, 2010 (photo M. Vergari).



Fig. 18 - Electric milling with a male operator.

Source: https://twitter.com/erisolar_/status/533947911885701121 (accessed 12.04.2018).



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