

PAPERS IN HONOUR OF R.C. ABRAHAM (1890-1963)

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REFLECTIONS ON R.C. ABRAHAM'S *SOMALI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY*

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1. Introduction

Roy C. Abraham is the author of the *Somali-English Dictionary* (1964) and *English-Somali Dictionary* (1967), and though he completed the first, he died before the second was finished. The *Somali-English Dictionary* represents a substantial contribution to Somali lexicography, but the *English-Somali Dictionary* is an unfinished work, published as he left it, without any editing and checking of the accuracy of translations. Many entries in it are mere notes in English by the author to himself as to how he should deal with the translation of a particular word. It can, however, be of use to learners of Somali or to Somali learners of English if they are sufficiently advanced to cope with its idiosyncratic and incomplete state. It can also be of value, as a source of inspiration, to future compilers of English-Somali dictionaries, on account of its innovative technique of presentation. Instead of giving Somali equivalents of English words in isolation, Abraham often puts them in whole sentences, thus introducing the reader to Somali phraseology and explaining the meaning at the same time.

It would be unfair to pass any judgment on a work which the author left unfinished, and as there seems little else that can be said about Abraham's *English-Somali Dictionary* I shall confine my attention here exclusively to his *Somali-English Dictionary*. In any assessment of a scholar's work, it is essential to place it in the context of his time. We have to examine the state of knowledge which preceded his contribution and take into account the circumstances under which his work was conducted. As I shall endeavour to show in this paper, Abraham's work was of a truly pioneering nature and was carried out under very difficult conditions.

2. Abraham's predecessors in Somali lexicography

Abraham began his lexicographical research into Somali some time in 1948, at first as an adjunct to his work on Somali grammar, and it continued until 1960, when it culminated in the completion of the typescript of his *Somali-English Dictionary*. At that time, the Somali language had no official orthography and all written communication in Somali-speaking territories was conducted in Italian, English, French or Arabic, even though all Somalis shared the same spoken language and had at their disposal a dialect type used as a lingua franca in all regions, accepted as standard by all radio stations

which broadcast in the language. In Somalia, some private systems of writing were used, but there were hardly any publications available in them. The texts published by European scholars were very few and most of them were not entirely reliable.¹ Thus Abraham did not have the possibility of using the method which is recognised as the best in lexicographical research, namely, the scanning of a large body of texts in search of words.

When he began his research there were only three dictionaries of Somali in existence, those of Leo Reinisch (1902), Fr. Evangeliste de Larajasse (1897) and Fr. Giovanni Maria da Palermo (1915). None was of such a standard of accuracy that its data could be immediately incorporated in a new dictionary without being thoroughly checked with language informants. Although Reinisch was a very prominent academic linguist in his time, he did not work long enough on Somali to arrive at a completely satisfactory analysis of its phonology and tonology, and this was reflected in the transcription he used. De Larajasse and da Palermo spent a long time among Somalis but were amateur linguists, and their ways of writing Somali were far from satisfactory. In view of this, Abraham had to collect or to verify all his data from language informants, by no means an easy task.

3. Abraham's language informants

Between 1948 and 1960 there were hardly any Somalis whose command of English was of such a standard that they could act as research partners with Abraham in the full sense of the word. There were no Somalis with training in linguistics who could check his data for him, help him with editing his dictionary, or with whom he could discuss the theoretical issues involved in his work.

All his research into Somali was done in London with two informants, Saleebaan Warsame and Cali Garaad Jaamac, whose names in their Anglicised spelling are Solomon Warsama and Ali Garad Jama. I had the privilege of knowing them personally; the former was a café proprietor in the East End of London who had hardly any formal education but was fluent in spoken, though not always correct, English. The latter had some government school education in the Somaliland Protectorate and came to England in the hope of getting into a university or polytechnic, but the private arrangements on which he relied failed and he had to maintain himself by taking up casual work. His English was quite good but not of such a standard that his translations of the more difficult words in Somali could be used without editing.

The educational shortcomings of Abraham's informants were richly compensated by their excellent command of Somali. Though he had lived in England for a long time, Saleebaan Warsame was in constant touch with those

¹ For bibliographical guidance to these publications see Lamberti (1986) and DeLancey et al. (1988).

countrymen of his who frequented his café; they were either sailors or shore workers, many of them recent arrivals from Somalia. He was a lively and witty conversationalist and had a good knowledge of the traditional Somali way of life. Cali Garaad came from a well-known and influential family in the then British Somaliland Protectorate and was a fully integrated member of his community. After Somalia became independent in 1960 he held, for a brief period, the post of Minister of Education. Like Saleebaan Warsame, he was eloquent and had a full command of his mother tongue.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, these two men are no longer alive. This is very unfortunate since their reminiscences of working with Abraham would have been of great interest to this Symposium.

4. *Circumstances under which Abraham worked on his 'Dictionary'*

Abraham's work on Somali began when he was on the academic staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies from April 1948 till the end of the 1950-51 session as Lecturer in Amharic. I am not sure whether he received any financial assistance from the School for his Somali research, but I doubt it. At that time the prevailing policy of the School was to subsidise research only if it was related to the subject for which the particular member of staff was appointed. After his retirement in 1951, Abraham subsidised all his research from his own resources, which do not seem to have been abundant. Only when his *Somali-English Dictionary* was approaching completion did he obtain a contract with the government of the British Somaliland Protectorate, which, as far as I know, covered the cost of publication but did not include any research expenses or remuneration. What seems certain, however, is that his expenses must have been considerable, since presumably neither of his two informants would have worked for him without payment.

During the late 1950s, Abraham's health deteriorated progressively, and in the final stages of preparing his *Dictionary* it was only his remarkable tenacity of will and indomitable enthusiasm that kept him at his work.

5. *A digression on the selection of the verbal lemma in Somali*

To understand an important aspect of the *Somali-English Dictionary*, it is necessary to take into account the problem which faces all lexicographers of Somali, namely the choice of the verbal lemma, i.e. the form which represents all the forms of a verb and is used in lexical entries.²

Unlike such languages as Italian, French, German or Russian, Somali has no infinitive which by itself could constitute a meaningful utterance. There are no equivalents of such forms as *cantare*, *chanter*, *singen*, *pyet*, or even of the English phrasal form 'to sing'. There are verbal nouns (gerunds) such as

² This problem is discussed at length in Agostini et al. (1981) and Andrzejewski (1987).

heesid 'singing',³ but not all verbs have them, and there is some overlapping when two conjugations share the same type of verbal noun, e.g. baaris 'searching' and karis 'cooking', corresponding to the verbs baar (1st conj.) and kari (2nd conj.), so that one cannot predict from the form of the verbal noun what the corresponding verb will be.

The only verbal forms which can by themselves constitute meaningful utterances are those of the Independent Past Tense and the Positive Imperative. The former are not very suitable to provide a lemma since they are archaic and not very frequently used. The 2nd Person Singular of the Positive Imperative would be eminently suitable to serve as a lemma since it is composed only of the root of the verb and the root extension, if any, and it has been used in fact for that purpose in the dictionaries compiled by Reinisch (1902), de Larajasse (1897), Agostini et al. (1985), and Luling (1987).

This form has, however, the great disadvantage that many Somalis reject the possibility of its occurrence in numerous verbs. They find such forms as biyow 'turn into water', madoobow 'become black' or furan 'open' (intransitive) faintly ridiculous since they could not be addressed to a person. It is only when such forms are put in the context of fables, accounts of supernatural events, curses, blessings or concessive phrases, that they are accepted.

These objections need not seem at all frivolous when we consider that early lexicographers of English also did not accept such improbable lemmas. In Samuel Johnson's dictionary all verbal entries are preceded by the word 'to', which is disregarded, however, in the alphabetical arrangement of entries. The two parts of such entries were graphically differentiated, e.g. 'to WALK'. It was only in the 19th century that the Singular Imperative form was universally accepted as the verbal lemma in English dictionaries, but its acceptance made it necessary for it to be accompanied by a grammatical identification label showing that it was a verbal lemma.

6. *Organisation of Abraham's 'Somali-English Dictionary'*

An important feature of the *Dictionary* is that it includes an outline of Somali grammar in the form of an appendix to which frequent references are made in the *Dictionary* itself, thus reducing the length of entries in those cases where full explanations would have made them lengthy and unwieldy, e.g. the entries relating to syntactic particles (indicators). The *Dictionary* is well organised and provides all the essential information about individual words. Nouns are provided with the definite articles which identify their gender, and all the plural forms are quoted, which is important since they are often quite unpredictable.

³ For information on all the grammatical terms and designations referred to in this paper, see Saeed (1987).

Abraham's treatment of the lemma for the verbs is highly efficient, though unusual, and its use is possible only because of the grammatical appendix to the *Dictionary*. He selected for it the 3rd Person Singular Present Continuous Tense, even though this form cannot by itself constitute a meaningful utterance. It can, however, be easily supplied mentally with a minimum context by the user of the *Dictionary* if he looks up the information about verbs in the grammatical appendix. What is more, Abraham frequently gives short sentences to explain and illustrate the meaning of his verb entries, and thus places the lemmas in contexts in which they are fully meaningful. The lemma form chosen by Abraham has the great advantage that all the other forms of a verb can be predicted from it.

7. *An assessment of the 'Somali-English Dictionary'*

The *Dictionary* is a very important contribution to Somali lexicography and represents an advance on its predecessors. It contains some 8,000 entries and his translations of Somali words show a high degree of accuracy. The only entries which have to be treated with great caution are botanical and ornithological terms, since no entirely reliable documentation of Somali nomenclature in these fields is available even now. Abraham does not state his sources of information but it is obvious that he could not have done the requisite research in London.

Somali accentual patterns consisting of combinations of tone and stress play an important role as exponents of grammatical forms. Even though the accentual patterns, with rare exceptions, are entirely predictable if the grammatical forms are identified, it is very useful to mark them in a dictionary. Abraham uses tone marks (which also imply the occurrence of stress) throughout his *Dictionary*, and in the main entries they are quite reliable. In the examples of combinations of words, phrases or whole sentences, however, they are often inaccurate. Inaccuracies also occur in his treatment of the final vowels of verbs, e.g. *furayya instead of furayyaa, where difference of length is grammatically important. In the length of roots of words, however, his *Dictionary* is highly accurate.

Another shortcoming of his *Dictionary* is that his transcription does not recognise the difference between fronted and retracted variants of the basic vowels in those cases where it results in a divergence in meaning, e.g. diidayya (with front vowel variants) 'he is refusing', and diidayya (with retracted vowel variants) 'he is fainting'.⁴

The value of the *Dictionary* is very much enhanced by the use of exemplifying sentences, and the explanations of meaning show a high degree

⁴ In the dictionary compiled by Agostini et al. (1985), the words with fronted vowel variants are marked by a subscript cedilla, and those with retracted vowel variants by its absence. Yaasiin C. Keenadiid uses a raised circle for the same purpose. For an explanation of these diacritics see Saeed (1987: 18-19).

of sensitivity to the ethnographic background; some of the examples are proverbs, though this is not stated.

8. *Delay in publication*

Although the typescript of Abraham's *Dictionary* was ready for the printers by 1960, there was a considerable delay in its publication. The reason was that when Abraham was assured by the Somaliland Protectorate Government that they would subsidise publication, he assigned the copyright to them. The Somaliland Protectorate was granted independence in 1960, earlier than anyone expected, and merged immediately with the former Italian Trusteeship Territory of Somalia. As a result of this historical event, the obligations and rights of the former Somaliland Protectorate passed to the newly-formed Somali Republic.

Unfortunately, its government did not honour the publication contract given to Abraham. This was, in my view, mainly due to the fact that in Somalia the question of a choice of script for an official orthography, which the government had promised to introduce, was at the time a highly sensitive political issue. A large section of the population was fiercely opposed to the use of the Latin script on religious grounds, and subsidising Abraham's *Dictionary* might have been construed by some people as a sign of the government's hidden intentions.

Originally, publication was going to be arranged by the Crown Agents for the Colonies in London, but with the independence of Somalia they ceased to be responsible for the matter. Abraham took his work to the University of London Press, who were about to publish it in 1962 when a new difficulty arose. As the copyright was now held by the Somali Government, the Press had to obtain permission from them to publish it. For reasons already explained, the Somali Government were afraid to release the copyright and numerous letters from the University of London Press and Abraham himself remained unanswered. The book was already printed and bound in 1964, a year after Abraham's death, but it could not be sold in bookshops. The University of London Press approached me, hoping that because of my contacts with Somalia I could persuade the Somali Government to release the copyright. It would have been impossible for me to do anything about it had it not been for the help I received from my friend and colleague, Muuse Xaaji Ismaaciil Galaal, with whom I worked from 1950 to 1954 in Somalia and at the School of Oriental and African Studies. Muuse by then was a well-regarded scholar and was the Chairman of the Somali Language Commission appointed by the Ministry of Education.

In 1966 I visited Somalia and explained to him the difficulties about the copyright. As he knew his way about the newly-established corridors of power and had friends in high places, he managed to obtain a signature on a

letter releasing the copyright, and Abraham's *Somali-English Dictionary* then became available in bookshops.

9. *Somali lexicography since 1966*

In the year when Abraham's *Somali-English Dictionary* finally became available, A. Keene Spitler and Helen Spitler published their *English-Somali Dictionary* (1966). Though modest in scope and written in a phonetically inaccurate transcription, it was a useful adjunct to Abraham's work, since his own *English-Somali Dictionary*, which appeared a year later, was an uncompleted work. In 1969 Stepachenko and Maxamed Xaaji Cusmaan published their *Somali-Russian and Russian-Somali Dictionary*, a modest but competent and useful work, written in a reliable transcription.

In 1972 an event occurred which has influenced very substantially the development of Somali lexicography. In that year Somalia introduced an official orthography in Latin script, which was the result of over two decades of linguistic research. At the same time, Somali became the sole official language of the state in all public business, and within a few years it replaced English and Italian as the medium of instruction in all pre-university education. Intensive work was undertaken by the Somali Language Commission and the Ministry of Education to create modern technical and scientific terms for Somali (see Caney 1984), and at the National University a Department of Somali Language and Literature was established, and training in linguistics was provided with special reference to Somali.

As a result of these developments (see Andrzejewski 1983), there were now Somalis fully literate in their own language and some had linguistic training. They were capable of undertaking lexicographical research by themselves, and if they worked with expatriates they could act as their partners and not merely as language informants. What is more, since the introduction of the official orthography, the State Printing Agency has published numerous books and journals and a national daily in Somali has been established. Lexicographers thus had at their disposal a large body of texts which they could scan in search of words left out by their predecessors.

Several dictionaries have been published since the introduction of the official orthography of Somali. In 1976 three were compiled, two of a modest size: a monolingual dictionary of Somali by Cabdulqaadir Faarax Bootaan (1976), and a Somali-French dictionary by C. Philibert (1976). The third was a major work of lexicography, an illustrated monolingual Somali dictionary by Yaasiin Cusmaan Keenadiid (1976). In 1978, two Somali scholars, Muuse Xuseen Askar and Aadan Ciise Cali, compiled a dictionary of scientific terms in the field of physics and chemistry, but unfortunately because of lack of funds it still remains unpublished.

The 1980s were very fruitful years for Somali lexicography. In c. 1980 a Somali-English dictionary was published by Cabduraxmaan Ciise Oomaar and

Saciid Warsame Xirsi, and in 1983 a two volume French-Somali dictionary was produced by Maxamed Cabdi Maxamed. In 1985 the publication of a large Somali-Italian dictionary by Agostini et al. was a landmark in the history of Somali lexicography. It was compiled by a 39-strong Somalo-Italian team, working over a period of some seven years, and was sponsored by three institutions: the Somali National University, the Somali Academy of Sciences, Arts and Literature, and the University of Rome 'La Sapienza'. It had generous financial and logistic support from Italian Government aid funds and from the Somali Government. The team included academic linguists, both Italian and Somali, and traditional experts on oral literature and culture, as well as scanners who examined a large body of published texts in search of words, and who checked the entries in previously published dictionaries, including those in Abraham's *Somali-English Dictionary*.

In the same decade three more dictionaries were compiled: in 1987 a Somali-French dictionary by Maxamed Cabdi Maxamed; in 1988 an illustrated Somali-English dictionary by Cabdiraxmaan Cabdillaahi Barwaaqo, which still awaits publication; and in 1987 a Somali-English dictionary compiled by Virginia Luling, based to a large extent on Yaasiin Cismaan's work and of comparable importance. Taken together, the dictionaries which were compiled after 1966 contain many more words than were recorded in Abraham's work. The dictionary compiled by Agostini et al. (1985) has about four times as many entries in its 655 double-column pages.

These comparisons show that Abraham's work has many gaps, but if we take into account the conditions under which he worked we cannot but admire his achievement. We must also observe that the dictionaries compiled after the introduction of the official orthography also have numerous gaps in spite of the intensive lexicographic research which took place. These gaps are not only in the spheres of mathematics, natural sciences and technology, for which a new terminology has been created by Somali scholars and educationalists since 1972, but are even more numerous in the older layers of the language which had existed before Somali became a written language. Anyone who reads Somali novels, short stories, transcripts of oral narratives or collections of poems, or who listens to radio or television programmes on Somali traditional culture or technologies, will readily concur with this observation. The gaps in all the existing dictionaries point to the fact that Somali has very large lexical resources most of which existed long before it became a written language.

10. A postscript: some general observations

My experience of using dictionaries of Somali, including Abraham's, prompts me to offer some general reflections on lexicographical work on unwritten languages or on those which have acquired national orthographies in relatively recent times.

It is an incontrovertible fact that it is impossible to compile a near-comprehensive dictionary of a language unless it has a very large body of written texts. In this context, by 'near-comprehensiveness' I mean the state of lexicography in such languages as English, French or Italian, when one rarely fails to find an unfamiliar word if one consults dictionaries. Even when there is an abundance of texts, lexicographical research on a massive scale is needed to reach near-comprehensiveness. It is a task far beyond the powers of a single individual and has to be undertaken by a large team working over many years. The history of lexicography in major European languages fully supports this view.

From these observations it follows that it is impossible to assess with any degree of accuracy the size of the lexical resources of any unwritten or recently written language in which only a limited amount of texts is available. Claims that a comprehensive or definitive dictionary of any such language has been compiled would be totally misleading.

The experience of Somali lexicography throws doubt on the general assumptions of the alleged poverty of unwritten languages which are encountered among the general public of literacy-oriented societies, and even among some scholars. A good example of this is a statement found in the otherwise well-documented book *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, by Walter J. Ong (1985), where we find a statement: 'A simply oral dialect will commonly have resources of only a few thousand words ...' (p. 8). To give scientific validity to a statement of this kind one would have to find several sample communities throughout the world and take a massive amount of tape-recordings from their speakers, covering all circumstances of their lives. The next step would be to employ a group of scanners for each language, who would then register all the words they encounter. I have no knowledge of any experiments of that type having ever been carried out.

The realisation of the impossibility of making a near-comprehensive dictionary without research on a massive scale can have a beneficial effect on single-handed and insufficiently supported lexicographers. It can free them from the unjustified sense of inadequacy and irritation, at times amounting to despair, with the never-ending inflow of new lexical data even after many years of work. It can also help the users of dictionaries which fall short of the ideal of near-comprehensiveness to cope with their frustration and disappointment. They will no longer be irritated by the gaps they encounter and by the never-ceasing need for filling them by questioning the speakers of the languages concerned. They will then refrain from making adverse comparisons with the dictionaries of major European languages which are the cumulative result of three or four centuries of continuous and extensive lexicographical research. Instead, they may be filled with gratitude and respect for lexicographical pioneers such as Roy Abraham.

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