

LANGUAGE REFORM

History and Future

LA RÉFORME DES LANGUES

Histoire et Avenir

SPRACHREFORM

Geschichte und Zukunft

With a Preface by

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LANGUAGE REFORM IN SOMALIA
AND THE MODERNIZATION
OF THE SOMALI VOCABULARY

Pronunciation Guide

Symbols	IPA
c	ʃ
dh	d
j	dʒ
sh	f
x	h
y	j

Double letters denote length.

1. INTRODUCTION

The most striking characteristic of the Somali language reform is the speed with which it has been carried out. Till 1972 there was no official orthography, and foreign languages were used in all aspects of public life and education. Today Somali is the sole official language and the medium of instruction in all but the last two years of pre-university level education.

The motivation for this language reform was patriotic, and arose from the love and respect the Somali people have for their language. There is as well, among some intellectuals, a desire to counteract what they term "Gumeysi maskaxeed", ("Colonization of the brain"), by which they mean excessive admiration of foreign languages and cultures, even leading sometimes to a belief that African languages are not adequate to meet the challenges of the modern world.

Somalia set itself a target of 100 per cent literacy, even in the rural areas, and this could obviously only be achieved through the medium of the mother tongue. The government allocates a large proportion of its resources to language reform and backs it with vigour and determination, so that the language is rapidly adapting itself to modern needs. Although it is difficult to gauge Somali public opinion there seems little doubt that the reform enjoys the full support of the majority, including the agricultural and

nomadic population, to whom the benefits of literacy have become accessible on a large scale.

2. HISTORY OF THE LANGUAGE REFORM

When the Somali government introduced a national orthography in 1972 it had at its disposal two inestimably valuable advantages: that all Somalis speak the same language (with the exception of minute linguistic minorities), and that there is a type of dialect in the language which transcends all regional differences and is used for purposes of wider communication throughout all the Somali-speaking territories. This type of dialect, described in Andrzejewski (1971) and Andrzejewski and Lewis (1964) as Common or Standard Somali, was probably used in this way long before the advent of the colonial powers, developing through contacts between different groups of Somalis. The evidence of oral tradition suggests that in pre-colonial times the Somali nation was a loosely knit commonwealth of territorial or clan groups of varying degrees of sovereignty and interdependence which were linked by alliances and divided by feuds; there was much sending of missions to make peace, to win support or to intrigue. Intermarriage, trade and the constant movement of itinerant Islamic teachers accompanied by their disciples all contributed to the development of a lingua franca type of dialect, and even more important was the role of the oral poets and poetry reciters who met at rallies and contests and sent their verbal messages across the country, as can be seen from the accounts given in Andrzejewski and Galaal (1963), Andrzejewski and Lewis (1964) and Andrzejewski (1972).

In spite of such an extensive use, there existed in Somali society until 1972 a dichotomy between speech and writing: Somali was used in all spoken communication while foreign languages were used for writing. Before the coming of the colonial powers the written language used in communication was Arabic, and it continued to be so used during the colonial partitions, though it found very powerful rivals later in English and Italian, especially after the Second World War when secular education was introduced on a large scale through the medium of these two languages.

Before the introduction of the national orthography several unofficial systems of written Somali had been in use, but within a very limited scope. Among them the system developed in the early 1920s and called «Far Soomaali» or «Osmania» had the largest number of adherents, who by 1969 probably numbered some 40,000, but it was somewhat unevenly spread throughout the country. It was taught in voluntary literacy classes and was used in private correspondence, in accounts and in the journal called «Sahan» («Reconnaissance»), which later changed its name to «Horseed»

("Vanguard"). Far Soomaali used completely new, invented symbols and fitted the Somali phonology very well, as a result of prolonged experimentation with "minimal pairs" in its early stages.

Far Soomaali was invented by Cismaan Yuusuf Keenadiid, who died at an advanced age early in the second half of this century. He was a member of a prominent Somali family of Hobyo (Obbia) and had only traditional Islamic education through the medium of Arabic. His achievement in producing a very highly efficient system of writing is remarkable in view of his total lack of knowledge of linguistics. A detailed description of Far Soomaali can be found in Moreno (1955: 290-297).

Next in importance was the Latin script, which was used actively by a very few, though culturally influential, people whose main concern was the collecting of the rich Somali oral literature, especially the older works, to save them from oblivion. The number of active users of the Latin script probably did not exceed a hundred people, though there were several thousand who could read it with reasonable ease. Among the chief proponents of the Latin script was Muuse Xaaji Ismaaciil Galaal, who began his researches in 1950, and Shire Jaamac Axmed, who followed his lead some ten years later. The first of these two scholars was engaged in extensive research into Somali at the Department of Education at Sheikh in Somalia (1950-1951), in collaboration with the author of this paper, and later worked as a research assistant at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London (1951-1954) where he continued his researches and studied phonetics in his spare time. The second, after a six months' research course at the same school (1959-1960) pursued his philological and literary studies in the United States and the Soviet Union for some five years. The system of writing which they used and which finally became the Somali national orthography is a derivative of the International Phonetic Alphabet, but it replaces the special letters of that alphabet by digraphs or by single letters with changed pronunciation values. Thus, for example, the special letters *ɗ*, *ʃ*, *ħ* and *ʕ* were replaced by *dh*, *sh*, *x* and *c* respectively. The length of vowels is indicated by the doubling of the vowel letters, a measure due to the influence of the Practical Orthography for African Languages, propagated by the International African Institute. The great advantage of this system is that it has no diacritics of any kind and thus does not require any modifications to the Latin alphabet keyboards of typewriters and printing machines available in Somalia.

The Arabic script, which seems an obvious choice in a Muslim country, was used for Somali only on a very limited scale, rather as a personal aid to memorization for collectors of oral poetry than as a medium of communication. Various systems of adaptation were used but none won general acceptance and in most cases only the writer himself could read what he had

written. The Arabic script is inadequate for representing the Somali vowel system without substantial modifications, and these were resisted by traditionally minded men of religion, some of whom in any case viewed with suspicion the possible effect which written Somali would have on their position in society.

In addition to Far Soomaali over a dozen different newly invented scripts were introduced during this century, but none had more than a handful of users and some were used by the inventor only.

The users of all the methods of writing Somali, though they often quarrelled bitterly among themselves, were united in their zeal in transcribing and preserving for posterity the riches of the oral literature of the country.

When the former Somaliland Protectorate and the Italian UNO Trusteeship Territory of Somalia united and became independent in 1960, the new state faced serious problems arising from the fact that it had inherited two different languages for the written medium of its administration and education. Many civil servants and teachers, though they all spoke Somali, could not communicate with one another in writing since very few of them knew both English and Italian. The use of Arabic as the official written language could have solved the problem, but unfortunately many members of the civil service and the police had only a rudimentary knowledge of the language.

The government of independent Somalia took some steps towards introducing a national orthography. It set up a language commission and a Cultural Department in the Ministry of Education, where a team of full-time researchers into oral literature were employed. In spite of these positive steps, it was very difficult to do anything about the orthography since the choice of script became a highly controversial political issue. Reluctant to back a decision by the use of force, the government procrastinated while the great debate over the script raged in the press and at public meetings.

In October 1969 a Supreme Revolutionary Council took power in Somalia and one of the articles of its original charter promised the nation the introduction of written Somali. It set up a new, enlarged language commission and entrusted them with the preparation of schoolbooks and adult literary texts. On 21st October 1972, the third anniversary of the Revolution, the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council announced the decision to use the Latin script. Leaflets with the new orthography were showered from helicopters upon the crowds while they were listening to the President's speech, and rallies were organized throughout the country to create enthusiasm for the new orthography and to silence any opposition. Somali was declared to be the sole official language of the state and all government employees, whatever their rank, were told that they would have to pass a literacy test within three months: failure meant dismissal.

The press gradually began to use Somali instead of foreign languages and within a few months the national daily, «Xiddigta Oktoobar» ("October Star"), was using Somali exclusively. The literacy campaign was conducted with the help of the radio, which gave talks, dictation and instruction concerning word division, punctuation and spelling. Poets rallied to the support of the new script and many poems, set to music, were broadcast by Somali radio appealing to the patriotism of the listeners and their desire for the progress of the country.

The success of the new orthography was due to a large extent to the fact that it fits the phonology of Somali well and is very easy to learn. It uses the letters of the Latin alphabet without any diacritics or shape modifications, though in order to meet the needs of the phonology it makes use of digraphs and attaches unusual pronunciation value to certain letters. Details of the system can be found in Andrzejewski (1974 and 1975a).

In 1973 Somali was introduced as the sole medium of instruction in the lower forms of primary schools and in books for adult education; the Somali Language Commission produced a large number of schoolbooks, which were printed by the National Printing Agency. A literacy campaign was launched, at first in towns, mainly relying on volunteers who were offered certificates of honour if their pupils passed the state literacy test.

In the same year two important administrative steps were taken. The Ministry of Education was divided into two separate bodies, the Ministries of Higher Education and Culture, and of Education and Youth Training. Under the aegis of the former an Academy of Culture was established which took over and expanded the duties of the Cultural Department in the old Ministry of Education. The Academy is a research and publishing institute with a full-time staff whose work consists of collecting oral literature and traditions concerning the history and cultural heritage of the country. It also encourages new authorship by subsidizing publications and offering substantial financial rewards to the authors, irrespective of the commercial possibilities of their works. Another important change was the entrusting of the preparation of schoolbooks to the Curriculum Department of the Ministry of Education and Youth Training, and of literacy materials to the Adult Education Department. The Somali Language Commission, now a body whose members follow other full-time employment, only discusses and oversees matters concerning the language itself.

Since 1973 both the Academy and the Curriculum Department have a substantial record of achievement in the publication of books, some in very large editions. There are now schoolbooks for all subjects taught in schools up to the last two forms of secondary school (i.e. the last two years of the 12-year cycle of lower education), and books for the latter are now in preparation.

The number of schools has grown all over the country and in 1974-1975 a mass rural literacy campaign brought spectacular results, so much so that all over Somalia, even in the most remote parts, local government affairs are all conducted in written Somali. In government departments and the armed forces records are kept in Somali, as are those of law proceedings. In addition to the national daily newspaper and several weekly and monthly periodicals, the local communities issue mimeographed information sheets or journals which appear at irregular intervals, to provide the public with reading matter and news of topical interest.

In 1976 a Department of Somali Language and Literature was set up in the National University of Somalia, the students of which can take Somali as one of the subjects for a BA degree. Though still in the pioneering stage, substantial progress has already been made by the preparation of mimeographed teaching materials and the use of students' research essays, which are fed back into the teaching programme if they are of an appropriate standard.

3. MODERNIZATION OF THE VOCABULARY

It seems only natural that the modernization of the Somali vocabulary should progress in proportion to the changes which were taking place in the society itself. Till the Second World War the Somali-speaking territories had not changed much since precolonial times: in this society of nomadic pastoralists and agriculturalists towns were few and thinly populated, there was hardly any modern secular education and contacts with the world outside were limited to some Arab countries, in particular those of the Arabian Peninsula. The language slowly adjusted itself throughout the ages by adopting words, mainly from Arabic, in the fields of Muslim theology and practice and of the urban style of life. It also took from some languages, again mainly from Arabic, words for such technological innovations as paper, pen, gunpowder, rifle and airplane. Loanwords from European languages were few, and even fewer spread throughout the language away from the colonial administrative centres.

During the Second World War Somalia found itself in contact with the world outside through the introduction of broadcasting, and it was only then that modernization began in the full sense of the word. Somali broadcasters, faced with the task of translating news bulletins emanating from foreign radio stations or news agencies, had to draw their listeners, the vast majority of whom were monolingual and illiterate, into the new age of science and technology. There was no official policy as to how the broadcasters were to cope with the problem of translating modern terms for

which there were no equivalents in Somali, but soon a usage developed, it seems spontaneously, of coining words from the existing resources of the language rather than borrowing from foreign ones.

They had two main reasons for adopting this course of action. One was the patriotic pride which the Somali people have in their language, strongly reinforced at that time by the nationalist struggle for the reunification of all the Somali-speaking territories. The second reason, just as important, was the association between broadcasters and oral poets and poetry reciters. Soon after the introduction of broadcasting it was realised that oral poetry provided a readily available and practically inexhaustible source of programme material which was highly attractive to all listeners. In Somalia poets are traditionally regarded as the highest authorities on the language and as the guardians of aesthetic standards, and at the new radio stations it was they who were the undisputed judges of linguistic purity and aptness and who acted as advisers to the translators. They usually have a great deal of experience in word-coining, for in order to meet the exacting demands of alliteration and scansion in Somali verse they use such techniques as making new words from existing roots and affixes, reviving archaisms and shifting the semantic ranges of ordinary words.

The new words which the broadcasters created were restricted to those fields of discourse which fall within the scope of radio journalism. They covered the modern expressions which in industrialized societies would be used by ordinary members of the public, without venturing into any highly specialized fields of knowledge, and did their work so well that when the first newspapers and journals appeared in Somali in 1972 there was no difficulty whatsoever so far as the vocabulary was concerned; all the modern terms were familiar from broadcasts, which are widely listened to even in the remotest parts of the nomadic interior. Of course, the process of modernization continued after the introduction of written Somali both through the radio and the press, but the foundations had been laid in the early years of broadcasting.

When new terms were introduced on the radio they were explained by short circumlocutory phrases if their context did not already make them clear; even though some might already be familiar in English, Italian or Arabic to a section of the public, their foreign versions were not quoted. In schoolbooks, and even in teachers' handbooks, definition and context enable the reader to grasp the new meanings, and explanations in foreign languages are hardly ever used.

In educational policy the ideal of using the existing resources of the language for creating modern terms is not carried to extremes. At the lower levels of education and in the vocabulary designed for public use, such as political terms, this principle is closely adhered to on the assumption that in

addition to other advantages, such as the strengthening of patriotic feelings and self-confidence, new terms which are of purely Somali origin have mnemonic value. The experience so far gained from teaching in schools as well as in adult general knowledge courses seems to confirm this assumption. At higher levels of specialization, however, where mnemonic considerations are marginal, loanwords are freely admitted, and it is of interest to note that in the fields of mathematics and natural sciences they are usually taken from English and adapted to the requirements of Somali phonology. Thus, for example, the trigonometrical terms *sayn*, *kosayn*, *taanjenti* are taken from the English *sine*, *cosine* and *tangent*, and the names of elements in physics are also from English, as in *oksijeen* 'oxygen'.

It is very difficult to make even an approximate calculation of the percentage of the whole vocabulary represented by the new terms introduced since the 1940s, when large-scale language modernization began. There is as yet no comprehensive dictionary of Somali, and the published materials cannot yet be regarded as representative of the whole language. My own impressionist assessment, based on reading and on listening to broadcasts, public speeches and conversations, suggests that any computation to be at all significant would have to take into account the fields of discourse from which the samples would be taken. Thus in handbooks of advanced mathematics and science the percentage of new words would be perhaps 10 per cent of the text, while in ordinary conversations in the setting of interpersonal relations, domestic life, traditional pastoralism or agriculture it could be nil. Any increase in the number of new terms would be related to the impact which the modern institutions have had on a particular sphere of life. In the traditional spheres there is hardly any need for introducing new terms since Somali has vast lexical resources which include a large number of archaic words preserved in oral poetry.

4. METHODS OF LEXICAL MODERNIZATION

In adapting their vocabulary to modern needs Somalis have used three main methods of creating new terms:

- i. Composition, i.e. coining new words out of existing components; the particular combinations are entirely new but in their structure they follow the existing patterns of internal derivation.

The term «composition» is employed here in a somewhat unusual way. It covers the type of vocabulary expansion subsumed under the heading "Morphemic means of word coining" in the paper on Hungarian contributed to this volume by István Fodor. Thus it includes derivation (i.e. combining roots and affixes into previously unused sequences) and back formation (i.e. combinations in which one of the components is the affix Ø).

Since all the examples of composition given later in this section are compared with the existing roots and affixes readers will have no difficulty in interpreting them according to various sub-classifications which have been proposed.

ii. Semantic shift, i.e. giving the existing ordinary or archaic words new, specialized meanings; this method includes both single words and phrases.

iii. Borrowing from other languages.

These three methods can be combined with each other, especially when borrowed words enter into combinations with Somali components. It should be noted, however, that borrowing is the least used of the three methods and is characterized by the fact that Somali tends to adopt whole, "ready-made" words and does not normally borrow foreign roots as material for compounding as is done commonly among scholars in Europe in relation to Latin and Classical Greek.

The main methods of vocabulary expansion used in Somali are illustrated here by a selection of modern terms arranged into groups according to the field of discourse to which they belong. They are taken from publications which have appeared in Somalia since 1972, including schoolbooks. The selection of fields is obviously not exhaustive, but the methods of word formation are representative of the whole language.

In the list below, the lefthand column gives the modern terms, together with their English translations which give only the specialized meaning of the terms according to the particular field of discourse. In the righthand column information is provided which shows how the terms were created. If composition was involved this material enables the reader to identify through comparison the components used. If, on the other hand, semantic shift has taken place the ordinary, non-specialized meaning of the word is given, thus showing the nature of the change. In the case of borrowing, the entries in the righthand column identify the source language. The etymon is given only when that language is not English; the English etymons are obvious from the translation.

The citation forms for nouns are those which occur in isolation, and for verbs are the gerundial forms; the latter are translated by the English gerund forms ending in *-ing*.

In the annotations the following abbreviations and signs are used:

C	composition	nom.	nominal
S	semantic shift	part.	participial
B	borrowing	Ø	zero, i.e. absence of an affix,
O	ordinary, i.e. non-specialized		when this is significant within
	meaning of a word		the structure of the language
aff.	affix		

Politics and public life

madaxweyne (S) 'president'

(O) (archaic) 'outstanding leader';
cf. *madax* 'leader', 'head', *weyn*
'great' and nom. aff. *-e*

jamhuuriyad (B) 'republic'

Arabic: *jumhūriyyah*

xisbi (B) 'political party'

Arabic: *ḥizb*

gole (S) 'committee'

(O) 'open space', 'assembly ground',
'assembly'

guulwade 'achiever of victory' (member of a socio-political youth organization called *Guulwadayaal*, pl. of *guulwade*)

guul 'victory', *wadiid* 'driving', 'performing' and nom. aff. *-e* which normally refers to a person who performs or experiences what is described by the root

kacaan (C) 'revolution'

kicid 'rising up' and nom. aff. *-aan*

jaalle (S) 'citizen', 'Mr', 'Mrs', 'Miss' (title applied to everyone, irrespective of sex, since the Revolution of 1969)

(O) (archaic) 'friend', 'supporter', 'helpmate'; this word is still used in children's games in its original sense when the captains choose their teams

dabadhilif (C) 'political stooge'

dabo 'tail' and *dhilif* 'tip of sheep's tail'; note that Somali sheep have a flat hump just below the tail, on which the tip rests, and this adds to the satirical force of the neologism

agaasime (C/S) 'director'

agaasimid 'arranging', 'caring for' (applied especially to animal husbandry) and nom. aff. *-e* (see above)

garsoore (C) 'judge'

gar 'law', 'suit', 'justice', *soorid* 'feeding', 'entertaining' and nom. aff. *-e*

degmo (S) 'administrative district'

(O) 'settlement', 'village', 'group of scattered households'

Mathematics

eber (S) 'zero'

(O) 'being empty', 'being exhausted' (e.g. of supplies), 'nothing'

togan (S) 'positive' (said of numbers)

(O) 'stretched', 'arranged in the proper order'

<i>taban</i> (C/S) 'negative' (said of numbers)	<i>tebid</i> 'missing', 'noticing that something is missing' and part. aff. - <i>an</i>
<i>isir</i> (S) 'factor'	(O) 'genealogical origin', 'ancestry'
<i>urur</i> (S) 'set'	(O) 'group', 'set', 'cluster'
<i>hormo</i> (S) 'subset'	(O) 'group taken first from another group', 'advance party'; this word is used especially when watering camels and refers to a group extracted from the herd and made ready to be admitted to a watering trough
<i>duleed</i> (S) 'complement'	(O) 'open space outside huts in an enclosure'
<i>kulanno</i> (S) 'rectangular coordinates'	(O) 'meetings', 'meeting places'
<i>ordinayt</i> (B) 'ordinate'	English
<i>absiisa</i> (B) 'abscissa'	English
<i>isle'eg</i> (C) 'equation'	<i>is</i> 'each other' and <i>le'eg</i> 'equal to'
<i>xidid</i> (S) 'root'	(O) 'root of a plant'
<i>sallax</i> (S) 'plane'	(O) 'smooth, flat surface of a rock'
<i>logardam</i> (B) 'logarithm'	English

Physics

<i>halbeeg</i> (C) 'unit of measurement'	<i>hal</i> 'one', <i>beegid</i> 'measuring' and nom. aff. -Ø
<i>culays</i> (S) 'weight'	(O) 'heaviness', 'heavy weight'
<i>cuf</i> (S) 'mass'	(O) 'stuff', 'stuffing' (of a cushion or mattress), 'any dense but yielding substance'
<i>xawaare</i> (S) 'speed'	(O) 'top speed in running' (said especially of a horse)
<i>kaynaan</i> (S) 'velocity'	(O) 'travel without stopping, except for brief periods of rest, to a particular destination' (applied especially to movements of this type in nomadic migration)
<i>ammin</i> (S) 'time'	(O) (Western Somali dialect word) 'time', 'occasion'
<i>xoog</i> (S) 'force'	(O) 'force', 'strength'
<i>tamar</i> (S) 'energy'	(O) 'strength', 'ability to do something'
<i>hawl</i> (S) 'work'	(O) 'work', 'labour'

cadaadis (S) 'pressure'

cadaadiska hawada (S) 'atmospheric pressure'

dhuljiidad (C) 'terrestrial gravity'

niyuutan (B) 'newton'

juul (B) 'joule'

heerkulbeeg (C) 'thermometer'

Chemistry

summada (S) 'chemical symbol'

naanays (S) 'formula'

curiye (C) 'element'

molikiyuul (B) 'molecule'

atam (B) 'atom'

culays-atam (S/B) 'atomic weight'

tiro-atam (C/B) 'atomic number'

kaaftoon (S/C) 'valency'

maatar (B) 'matter'

wejiyada maatar (S/B) 'the states of matter'

adke (C) 'solid'

(O) 'pressing down', 'pressing'

(O) *cadaadis* (as above), def. art. *-ka*, *hawo* 'air' and def. art. *-da*

dhul 'ground', 'earth', *jiidasho* 'pulling towards oneself' and nom. aff. *-ad*; *-ka* and *-da* are suffixed forms of the definite articles *ka* and *ta*, the former being masculine and the latter feminine. The variant *-da* of the def. art. *ta* occurs when it is preceded by a vowel or by certain consonants. Note that the definite articles are often suffixed to nouns and gerunds used in a generic sense.

English

English

heer 'level', *kul* 'heat', *beegid* 'measuring' and nom. aff. *-Ø*

(O) 'mark', 'mark branded on a domestic animal to show ownership'

(O) 'nickname'

curin 'creating for the first time', 'originating', 'beginning' and nom. aff. *-e*

English

English

(O) *culays* 'heaviness', 'heavy weight' and (B) *atam* (see above)

(O) *tiro* 'number' and (B) *atam* (see above)

(O) *ka kaaftoomid* 'becoming self-sufficient'; note that *ka* 'from' always precedes the verb *kaaftoomid*

English

(O) *wejiyo* 'faces', def. art. *-da*, (B) *maatar* (see above) and def. art. *-ka* *adag* 'hard', 'strong' and nom. aff. *-e*

<i>hoor</i> (S) 'liquid'	(O) 'outpour', 'flooding', 'water from rain or condensation'
<i>neef</i> (S) 'gas'	(O) 'breath'
<i>fosfoor</i> (B) 'phosphorus'	English
<i>haydarojiin</i> (B) 'hydrogen'	English
<i>salfar</i> (B) 'sulphur'	English
<i>yuraaniyam</i> (B) 'uranium'	English
<i>iskujir</i> (C) 'mixture'	<i>isku</i> 'together', <i>jirid</i> 'being' and nom. aff. -Ø
<i>iskudhis</i> (C) 'compound'	<i>isku</i> 'together', <i>dhisid</i> 'constructing', 'building' and nom. aff. -Ø
<i>dhuun hubsasho</i> (S) 'test tube'	(O) <i>dhuun</i> , 'pipe', 'reed' and <i>hubsasho</i> 'making sure', 'ascertaining'

Linguistics

<i>fal</i> (C) 'verb'	<i>falid</i> 'acting', 'doing' and nom. aff. -Ø
<i>magac</i> (S) 'noun'	(O) 'name'
<i>magacuyaal</i> (C) 'pronoun'	<i>magac</i> (see above), <i>u</i> 'for' and <i>yaal</i> 3rd person singular of the verb <i>oollimaad</i> 'being [in a place]'
<i>yeele</i> (C) 'subject'	<i>yeelid</i> 'doing', 'acting' and nom. aff. -e
<i>layeele</i> (C) 'object'	<i>la</i> 'someone', <i>yeelid</i> (as above) and nom. aff. -e; note that the whole compound suggests the meaning 'a person or object towards whom or which someone's action is directed'
<i>suge</i> (C/S) 'indicator particle', 'phrasal particle'	<i>sugid</i> 'fixing', 'setting', 'making certain' and nom. aff. -e
<i>codle</i> (C) 'voiced'	<i>cod</i> 'voice' and nom. aff. -le 'having'
<i>codlaawe</i> (C) 'unvoiced'	<i>cod</i> (as above) and nom. aff. -laawe 'being without'
<i>codayn</i> (S/C) 'phonetics'	<i>cod</i> (as above) and nom. aff. -ayn 'applying', 'using'
<i>sankabaxe</i> (C) 'nasal'	<i>san</i> 'nose', <i>ka</i> 'from', <i>bixid</i> 'coming out' and nom. aff. -e
<i>gariire</i> (C) 'trill', 'rolled consonant'	<i>gariirid</i> 'trembling', 'experiencing a tremor' and nom. aff. -e
<i>sabbeeye</i> (C/S) 'fricative consonant'	<i>sabbayn</i> 'floating' and nom. aff. -e
<i>xoojin</i> (S) 'stress'	(O) 'strengthening'

<i>toon</i> (B) 'tone'	English
<i>eraybixin</i> (C) 'forming new words' (either by composition or borrowing in the process of modernizing the vocabulary)	<i>eray</i> 'word' and <i>bixin</i> 'causing to come out'

5. BIBLIOGRAPHY

Further information on the reform and modernization of Somali, as well as on the linguistic and cultural background, can be found in the works listed below. Schoolbooks and handbooks are not included; they are, of course, available in various places in Somalia, including the library of the College of Education at the National University, while outside Somalia the largest collection is to be found in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Since the names of the authors are not always shown on these publications they are listed in the catalogue under the general entry «Somalia».

It should be noted that the names of Somali authors in the list below are not inverted, since surnames are normally not used in Somalia. This fact is not generally known by cataloguers and booksellers and the reader must take that into account if he embarks on bibliographical enquiries.

June 18th, 1978

Postscript:

Since this paper was submitted for publication, the Somalization of the curricula has been completed for the whole system of pre-university education, for which there are now textbooks in Somali for all subjects and all grades.

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