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# Reference and Pedagogical Resources for 'Standard' Somali

Christopher Green  
*University of Maryland*

Michelle E. Morrison  
*University of Maryland*

Nikki B. Adams  
*University of Maryland*

Erin Smith Crabb  
*University of Maryland*

Evan Jones  
*University of Maryland*

*See next page for additional authors*

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# Reference and Pedagogical Resources for 'Standard' Somali

## **Authors**

Christopher Green, Michelle E. Morrison, Nikki B. Adams, Erin Smith Crabb, Evan Jones, and Valerie Novak

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**Christopher R. Green, Michelle E. Morrison, Nikki B. Adams, Erin Smith Crabb, Evan Jones, and Valerie Novak**, *University of Maryland, Center for Advanced Study of Language (CASL)*

### Introduction

Somali [Af-Soomaali, iso:som] is perhaps the best documented Cushitic language in the linguistic literature, with early descriptions dating back to the late nineteenth century (e.g. Hunter 1880; Schleicher 1892). The language is located genetically within the Eastern Cushitic branch of the larger Afro-Asiatic language family. It is estimated that Somali is spoken by approximately seventeen million people, mainly in the Republic of Somalia, but also in neighboring Kenya, Djibouti, and Ethiopia, as well as by large emigrant populations in the United States, Canada, and in parts of Europe and the Middle East (Lewis, Simon & Fennig 2013).

Somali was designated an official language of Somalia in 1973, and its Roman-script orthography was standardized to some degree shortly beforehand in 1972 (Andrzejewski 1978; Caney 1984), though even today there continues to be significant variation in the application of orthographic conventions among users of the language. It is well-understood that ‘standard’ Somali is the variety spoken in the northern regions of the country, including the region that is now referred to by some as Somaliland (Abdullahi 2000). Closely related and considered to be largely mutually intelligible with ‘standard’ Somali is the Benaadir (coastal or southern) dialect, which is also spoken in the national capital, Mogadishu (Muqdisho). Another widely spoken but less mutually intelligible language variety within the ‘Somali’ group of Eastern Cushitic is Maay [Af-Maay, iso:ymm]. As implied by the fact that Maay has its own iso code, while Benaadir does not, Maay is often considered to be a separate language. Several other small languages spoken by clans in southern Somalia include Dabarre [iso:dbrr], Garre [iso:gex], Jiiddu [iso:jii], and Tunni [iso:tqq].

While Somali has been fairly well-documented, at least in comparison with most other African languages, materials describing the language are often difficult to access for a variety of reasons. For instance, much of the early foundational documentation of Somali is found in books and monographs that have long since fallen out of publication. Other descriptive works are located in difficult to obtain conference proceedings. A further issue to tackle is that the literature on Somali is written in a wide variety of languages, including English, French, Russian, Italian, German, and Somali itself. A number of important articles on Somali are found in journals and other periodicals that are no longer published, and are therefore somewhat difficult obtain. Finally, some of the more sophisticated, contemporary work on the language that addresses longstanding controversies or anomalies about Somali are yet unpublished, being located in conference handouts and unpublished dissertations and theses. The sum total of this state of affairs makes it prohibitively difficult for a linguist or pedagogue with interest in descriptive, analytical, or theoretical topics in Somali to continue work on the language or to explore it further.

### **Motivations and Scope**

This bibliography, to the best of our ability, compiles and accounts for the current state of knowledge on Somali, with a particular focus on characteristics of the 'standard,' northern variety of the language. The purpose of undertaking this work is to complement our own ongoing descriptive work on Somali with the goal of producing a comprehensive, contemporary reference grammar for the language. We include in this bibliography all published materials (e.g. journal articles, book chapters, conference proceedings) on standard Somali known to us, as well as a number of unpublished materials (e.g. conference talks, theses, dissertations) to which we have been able to gain access via the internet and university services such as interlibrary loan.

In order to keep the scope of the bibliography and its contents relevant to the contemporary study of Somali, we begin our annotations with Armstrong's seminal (1934) book on Somali phonetics and continue through the literature ending with materials so recent that some are still 'to appear.' We have, nonetheless, included citations for several older resources, for the reference of those interested. Our annotations cover resources in both English and French while setting aside (but still providing references for) what we find to be the most often-cited works in other languages on Somali. We provide reference for, but do not annotate, resources whose focus is on non-standard varieties of Somali (e.g. Benaadir or Central Somali) and closely related languages (e.g. Maay). In just a few instances, we were unable to obtain and therefore unable to annotate resources in English published after Armstrong (1934); we still include references for these materials.

For each piece of literature, we provide a brief annotation of the work, indicating what we believe to be its key contributions to the overall state of descriptive (and oftentimes theoretical) knowledge on Somali. We aim to offer a largely unbiased summary of each piece of literature, with the exception of pedagogical and reference resources, for which we comment on perceived shortcomings. We have obtained a copy of every resource annotated in this bibliography, whether in hard or soft copy. Thus, we are confident that the persistent researcher could similarly gain access to each of these items through some means. We intend for our annotations to provide linguists and other Somali language researchers with a concise and coherent description of the Somali literature that will assist them to more expediently identify those resources that may further aid them in their ongoing work. While our audience is primarily academic researchers, teachers and learners of Somali may find portions of the bibliography to be useful.

## Organization

This bibliography is organized as follows: The first section contains annotated references for both published and unpublished resources that are primarily descriptive or theoretical works from the linguistics literature. The second section contains annotated references for reference and pedagogical materials. The remaining three sections are comprised of references without annotations for materials pre-dating Armstrong (1934), those in English that we were unable to obtain, those in languages other than English and French, and finally those references pertaining to non-standard Somali and other related languages.

## Theoretical and Descriptive Resources

1. Abu-Manga, Al-Amin, and Herrmann Jungraithmayr. "On the Middle Voice in African Languages (Fulfulde and Somali)." *Journal of West African Languages* 18, no. 1 (1988): 65-72.

This paper briefly discusses middle voice verbs in Fulfulde and Somali in comparison to other better-described Indo-European languages. The authors explain that Somali has active and middle voice but lacks a syntactic passive. They point out, however, that middle voice verbs may have a passive-like meaning; middle voice verbs can be transitive or intransitive in Somali.

2. Ajello, Roberto. "Substantives as Predicates in Somali." In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 83-99. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1984.

Ajello discusses the use of substantives (i.e. nouns) as predicate nominals and in relative clauses. There is brief discussion about the presence vs. absence of a copula in some 'focus indicator' (i.e. waa) sentences in present vs. past tenses. While Ajello assumes that the copula is absent in present tense declarative sentences, later analyses assume that the *ah* portion of the copula is simply deleted, which leads to a null form in some sentences. The behavior of adjective+yahay (adjectival verb) constructions is illustrated, as well as changes to sentential syntax that result from subject focus. The second half of the paper explores 'predicative qualificative substantives' which are essentially abstract nouns that bring about unique requirements depending on whether they are used as a subject or predicate.

3. Ajello, Roberto, and Annarita Puglielli. "More on "Hybrid Verbs" in Somali." In *Cushitic-Omoti: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Cologne, January 6-9, 1986, edited by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Fritz Serzisko, 537-54. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1988.

Ajello and Puglielli argue that the category of words referred to previously in the literature (Andrzejewski 1969) as 'hybrid' verbs are best considered to be members of two subtypes of adjectives: radical and derived. The authors describe similarities and differences between these two categories in reference to their syntax, morphology, and semantics. Hybrid verbs are said to be adjectives based largely on the criterion that they require a copula (yahay) to function as a predicate; in the past tense, the copula is becoming grammaticalized, while in the present tense,

forms of the copula are transforming verbs into adjectives. Thus, while Somali has a limited set of 'radical' (i.e. lexical) adjectives, the language has a fairly productive means of deriving adjectives from lexical nouns and verbs via affixation.

4. Andrzejewski, Bogumil W. "Accentual Patterns in Verbal Forms in the Isaaq Dialect of Somali." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 18, no. 1 (1956): 103-29.

This paper applies earlier work by Armstrong (1934) on the tonal characteristics of Somali nouns to Isaaq verbs. The characteristics are considered from an accentual perspective. The author defines five Accentual Units (i.e. pitch contours) which he claims depend on their relation to pause. This dichotomy, however, is refuted by Le Gac (2003). Furthermore, two of the five Accentual Units are stated to be rare. Nine Accentual Patterns are defined in verbs, comprised of Accentual Units which are said to depend on certain phonological conditions. These patterns are described in terms of a 'neutral style' of pronunciation but are said to apply (to some extent) with a number of general modifications, in other speech styles. The paper is a good reference for information on the extent of verbal forms that are possible in Somali; however the findings in the paper have been disputed by more recent work.

5. ———. *The Case System in Somali*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1979.

This work is among the first attempts to offer a comprehensive description of the characteristics and nuances of the Somali case system. Much research has been done since the completion of this book on Somali case, and while the majority the material presented by Andrzejewski has been confirmed, some of his observations have since been refuted. Furthermore, Andrzejewski posits that intonation plays a discursive or pragmatic (rather than contrastive) role in Somali, but the details of this claim remain largely unexplored, with the exception of recent work by Le Gac. Part two of this work is devoted to describing the 'case forms' of different parts of speech, i.e. providing words in their 'default' isolation form and then illustrating how they are altered both segmentally and tonally when marked for 'subject' case. Part three covers the relationship between case marking in focus constructions, as well as in instances of nominal clusters and coordination. Part four contains a large number of glossed examples, while Part five briefly considers parallel structure in other related languages.

6. ———. *The Declensions of Somali Nouns*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1964.

Many of the substantive assertions in this paper have been trumped and/or refuted in more recent work. An important criticism of this paper voiced by Le Gac (2003) is that Andrzejewski defines two particular sets of Accentual Units for nouns, the second of which asserts that the pre-pause position in Somali affects tone. This assertion is not borne out in Le Gac's more recent experimental work. In effect, without reference to tonal differences in the pre-pause position, Andrzejewski's Accentual Units one and four are identical, and likewise, Accentual Units three and five are identical. This brings the number of distinctive Accentual Units to just three (although these are also redefined in later work). The author also suggests eight declension classes for Somali nouns; although three of these are said to be rare. This classification roughly corresponds to the five classes proposed by Banti (1988). Nominal constructions are defined as

different types of 'clusters,' where nouns within a cluster have different 'settings' according to their place within the cluster. Nouns and their clusters are further defined in terms of their 'configuration,' or their proximity to other words and structures within an utterance. Nouns are further divided by 'case,' although these are not necessarily defined as prototypical grammatical cases. Most of the categorical definitions given are defined by 'lack of X' rather than some more concrete identifiable properties. The information presented in this thesis also appears in Andrzejewski (1979).

7. ———. "Inflectional Characteristics of the So-Called 'Weak Verbs' in Somali." *African Language Studies* 9 (1968): 1-51.

Andrzejewski presents a detailed analysis of Somali weak verbs (those with unchanging roots), which form the majority of the Somali verb lexicon. In his description, he states that verbs can be separated into three main parts: root, extension and termination. The extension includes lexical affixes such as the causative and autobenefactive, although he states that some of the affixes listed are not productive and can be optionally added to a verb root to change its meaning. The termination of a verb includes the progressive marker (which is optional and described as the 'intermedial'), the subject agreement morpheme (titled the 'link'), and the tense, aspect, or mood marker, which is always word-final and also agrees with the subject's person and number. Additionally, the tense-aspect-mood suffixes may be realized differently when they occur on verbs in dependent clauses, rather than main ones. Throughout his discussion, Andrzejewski points out the variety of phonological changes that verbs and their associated parts undergo. He concludes the paper by analyzing each weak verb in a piece of Somali prose.

8. ———. "Notes on the Substantive Pronouns in Somali." *African Language Studies* 2 (1961): 80-99.

Andrzejewski provides one of the first detailed descriptions of 'substantive' or independent pronouns in standard, northern Somali. The author illustrates that such pronouns, themselves, are bound morphemes that must occur with some determiner (definite, interrogative, demonstrative), or otherwise with certain conjunctions, adverbs, or focus markers (often in a coalesced form). Andrzejewski discusses the distribution of substantive pronouns with reference to 'blocked' vs. 'open' positions; the distinction relates in large part to whether or not the pronoun (functioning as a noun) is in focus and therefore whether or not it can take subject case marking. To this effect, the author defines 'nominal clusters' which contain a head and whose last component ('marker') plays a special role in that it has the ability to carry case marking. Finally, Andrzejewski defines the ability of nominal clusters to stand in one of four different types of relationships that relate to their (in)ability to trigger concordial agreement with verbal forms.

9. ———. "The Problem of Vowel Representation in the Isaaq Dialect of Somali." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 17, no. 3 (1955): 567-80.

This article provides information on the characteristics and distribution of Somali nouns, as well as processes relevant to them. Its intent is to provide recommendations for the representation of vowels for different purposes, ranging from academic study to orthography. The author describes two series of vowels (A (back) and B (advanced)) which contain five distinct qualities and two

degrees of length. The series are described as 'harmonic groups' wherein a groups' constituent vowels belong to the same harmonic series. There are no clear statements made as to conditions affecting a change in harmonic quality or which component within a span is responsible for triggering harmony or assimilation. The author states that factors influencing the change of harmonic series are variable but may be related to pause or speed of pronunciation; they may also vary between speakers. The behavior of harmonic groups within compounds is unclear, although it is stated that rare compounds are found in which each constituent comprises its own (non-agreeing) harmonic group. A key contribution of this paper is the discussion of 'harmonic tendencies,' that is the tendency for Series A vowels to assimilate or harmonize to Series B vowels under certain conditions. Series A vowels tends to harmonize to Series B when they are followed by Series B forms within the same, uninterrupted utterance. Furthermore, Series A vowels may harmonize to Series B when they are preceded by Series B forms and followed immediately by a pause. In other instances, Series A and B vowels are unaffected by one another.

10. ———. "The Role of Indicator Particles in Somali." *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 1, no. 6 (1975): 1-69.

This work provides an overview of 'indicator particles' in Somali, most of which have since come to be known as focus and declarative markers in more recent works. Andrzejewski illustrates that one of the main functions of the *baa* particle is to select for or against the 'restrictive' or 'extensive' verb paradigm, i.e. reduced vs. full verb agreement. Sections 2, 3, and 4 of the paper introduce word classes and some preliminaries on the morphosyntax of 'word clusters' and 'nominal and verbal units,' respectively. Section 5 illustrates that case marking distinctions are neutralized in contexts where a noun is followed by an 'indicator.' Section 6 attempts to ascribe semantic functions to various 'indicators,' while Sections 7 and 8 describe 'indicator centered cores,' or complexes of an 'indicator' and other sentence elements required when a particular particle is employed in the sentence (e.g. when followed by a personal pronoun, coalescence occurs). Section 9, on the other hand, discusses those limited instances where an utterance contains no indicator. The remainder of the paper provides an array of examples illustrating various indicator particles and their uses.

11. ———. "Some Observations on Hybrid Verbs in Somali." *African Language Studies* 10 (1969): 47-89.

Andrzejewski takes up a new perspective on 'hybrid' verbs, which he defines as a unitary class of words in Somali composed of an adjective plus the verb *yahay* 'to be.' Rather than treating such sequences separately, the author considers hybrid verbs to be composed of an adjectival stem, modified by a reduced inflectional paradigm built on *yahay*. The author points out that, like other verbs, hybrid verbs can be further modified by a number of diverse derivational extensions that immediately follow the adjectival root. A large portion of the paper is spent providing a careful description of lexical phonological alternations occurring at morpheme boundaries upon affixation of extensions or an inflected form of *yahay*. An impressive amount of examples are given to illustrate the many forms of these words.

12. ———. "Verbs with Vocalic Mutation in Somali and their Significance for Hamito-Semitic Comparative Studies." In *Hamito-Semitic*, edited by James Bynon and Theodora Bynon, 361-74. The Hague: Mouton, 1975.

This paper describes 'mutating' verbs in Somali, which in later works are referred to as 'strong' verbs, as their stem vowels are subject to ablaut or mutation. Related forms of the same verb in different tenses are described as 'grades,' while those found in different phonological environments are simply described as 'variants.' The author offers a brief comparison to other Cushitic languages, pointing out that such mutation is not otherwise common within the group.

13. Angoujard, Jean-Pierre, and Mohamed Moallin Hassan. "Qualité Vocalique, Rythme et Genre Grammatical en Somali." *Linguistique Africaine* 6 (1991): 11-49.

This paper aims to formalize two phenomena in Somali: vowel harmony and the presence vs. absence of word-final consonant release. The authors provide an account of the Somali vowel system using a combination of distinctive features and a precursor to Element Theory, such that abstract elements having the feature [+/- radical] are meant to account for the vowel harmony observed in the language. The paper does not address a trigger or bounds of the process. Second, the authors appeal to a precursor of Strict-CV Phonology to motivate the details of word-final consonant release. In their analysis, the authors propose that an unreleased word-final consonant in masculine nouns is due to the fact that in such words the final consonant occupies a syllabic slot with no nucleus. Conversely, the final consonant of feminine nouns occupies a syllabic slot containing a nucleus, thus placing it in a different environment which is susceptible to release. This analysis is reminiscent of later work by Lampitelli that proposes a different structure for feminine nouns that affect their accentual and agreement behavior.

14. Antinucci, Francesco. "The Syntax of Indicator Particles in Somali, Part Two: The Construction of Interrogative, Negative, and Negative-Interrogative Clauses." *Studies in African Linguistics* 11, no. 1 (1980): 1-37.

This paper is an extension to Antinucci & Puglielli (1980) which considers the parallels between the syntax of simple declarative and focused-NP clauses and that of interrogative and negative clauses. Antinucci provides clear examples illustrating similarities between the declarative/predicate focus marker *waa* and its correspondent *ma*, as well as those instances where *ma* can co-occur with *baa*. Differences between *waa* and *ma* are attributed to the fact that *ma* cannot mark 'focus of assertion' in the way that *waa* focuses a predicate; *baa* must be used for this purpose instead. Also considered is the behavior of the *aan* and *ma* negative markers, the latter of which must co-occur with the NP focus marker *baa*; *ma* instead occurs with the verbal complex, following the object pronoun/adposition clitic cluster, but preceding subject pronouns, which may cliticize to it. The final section of the paper explores negative focus marker *miyaa* (*ma+ayaa*), whose syntax differs from the corresponding *baa* focus marker, due in large part to coalescence of the two morphemes.

15. Antinucci, Francesco, and Annarita Puglielli. "Relative Clause Construction in Somali: A Comparison between the Northern and the Coastal Dialects." In *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic*

Linguistics: Papers of the 3rd International Hamito-Semitic Congress, edited by James Bynon, 17-31. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1984.

This paper compares and contrasts the morphosyntax of relative clauses in standard and coastal Somali. Theoretically, the authors claim that relative clauses are derived from main clauses via deletion of a noun phrase that is, itself, headed by the same noun as the main clause. The authors posit that because every Somali declarative sentence requires a focus or declarative marker, focus markers accompanying a relative clause noun phrase are also removed along with the noun. The remainder of the article highlights additional characteristics of relative clauses, including restricted verb inflection and subject marking of clause-final elements.

16. ———. "The Syntax of Indicator Particles in Somali: Relative Clause Construction." *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 7, no. 3 (1980): 1-18.

This paper argues that relative clauses, subordinate clauses, and some noun modifier constructions are derived from the same underlying syntactic structure. In each instance, the authors posit that the underlying sentences contain a subject head noun phrase followed by the 'indicator' or focus particle *baa*. In the formation of one of the three aforementioned clauses (which they argue are rightfully relative clauses), the head noun phrase and its focus marker are deleted. The authors motivate this argument with data illustrating differences in pronoun agreement patterns, reduced verb agreement, and the presence vs. absence of *yahay* in 'adjectival' constructions.

17. Appleyard, David L. "Possessive Pronoun Suffixes in Somali and their Cognates in Other Cushitic Languages." In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 115-33. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1984.

This paper discusses the morphemic components of the Somali possession 'suffix complex,' as comprised of a gender marker plus a pronominal element. Appleyard provides a historical reconstructive viewpoint on the cognates and common origin of these elements across several related Cushitic languages.

18. ———. "Prepositional Particles in Somali and their Cognates in Other Cushitic Languages." *African Languages and Cultures* 3, no. 1 (1990): 15-31.

Appleyard discusses the peculiarities of the preverbal adposition cluster in Somali, several of its dialects, and other closely related Cushitic languages. While the author states that the adpositional clusters and more complex clusters containing deictic markers, object verbal pronouns, and the pronouns *la* and *is* exhibit defined morphophonemic changes, the details of their complex morphosyntactic changes are not discussed in detail. Appleyard discusses important differences between adpositional clusters in Somali dialects, illustrating differences in pronominal fusion, pronunciation, and the fact that not all particles are distinctive in each dialect. Cognates to these particles are described for Boni, Rendille, Elmolo, Arbore, and Dasenech.

19. Armstrong, Liliias Eveline. *The Phonetic Structure of Somali*. Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg Press Inc., 1934/1964.

This book provides basic information about the distribution and pronunciation of standard, Northern Somali by two speakers. Allophony and some alternations are discussed. There appear to be significantly different manifestations of /l/, /r/, and /n/ that are not captured in other descriptive works. There is also more detail in the description of vowels than in other works. Four 'main' tones are discussed, and a list of nouns, verbs, and phrases with tonal minimal pairs are provided. The author proposes that stress and pitch are closely related, with stress being correlated with high or falling pitch. For vowel harmony, the author notes that the process is root-controlled and affects structures both preceding and following the verb.

20. Banti, Giorgio. "Adjectives in East Cushitic." In *Cushitic-Omotiic: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic, 1986*, edited by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Fritz Serzisko, 203-59. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1988.

This paper offers a detailed look at a number of characteristics that aiming to describe and define 'adjective'-like words in Somali (and Oromo). Banti illustrates that words that are typically considered to be adjectives in other better-described languages in fact fall into (at least) three morphosyntactic categories in Somali, namely 'C4 verbs,' 'predicates,' and 'local attributives.' The author discusses each category in turn, indicating a number of syntactic, morphological, and phonological criteria defining them. Banti concludes that Somali has a number of adjectival classes that are historically linked to genitive constructions.

21. ———. "Possessive Affixes in the Somali Area." In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 135-54. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1984.

Banti offers another perspective on the diachronic development of the possession marker complex among closely related Cushitic languages, including several different varieties of Somali. This perspective offered in this paper, while similar to Appleyard (1984) provides a more detailed, comparative phonological account of proposed process.

22. ———. "Two Cushitic Systems: Somali and Oromo Nouns." In *Autosegmental Studies on Pitch Accent*, edited by Harry van der Hulst and Norval Smith, 11-50. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988.

Banti explores the typology of tone/stress systems in Cushitic languages by considering in detail the noun systems of the two languages best described in the literature, Somali and Oromo. These tonal systems are said to be primarily morphosyntactic in nature, with alternations introduced via grammatical gender, case, number, tense/aspect/mood, and focus. Banti follows Hyman's (1981) proposal that the Somali tone bearing unit is the mora and that falling tones observed over long vowels are therefore sequences of High(H)+Low(L) tones. Short syllables have a H vs. L contrast only, while long syllables have a threefold contrast of H vs. HL vs. L. Long H sequences may be underlyingly H or LH, and contours may be optionally simplified. Five declension classes are proposed to describe inflectional behavior; however word size introduces predictable exceptions.

23. Bendjaballah, Sabrina. "La Palatalisation en Somali." *Linguistique Africaine* 21 (1998): 1-48.

Bendjaballah offers a Government Phonology based analysis of palatalization in Somali. The phenomenon under consideration is that palatalization of [g] and [q] occur only when followed by the causative morpheme /-i(s)/, while the process fails to apply when such sounds are followed by the infinitive, nominative, and deverbal morphemes, which are segmentally nearly identical to the causative. Furthermore, the author argues that palatalization applies only in some instances, i.e. when the Somali syllable reduction rule has not applied. Bendjaballah posits that these differences result from different skeletal configurations related to unique causative vs. infinitive suffixes and principles of 'proper government.'

24. Bendjaballah, Sabrina, and Patricia Cabredo Hofherr. "Modification of the Noun in Somali: Comparative Evidence from Other Cushitic Languages." Paper presented at the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society 2010.

This paper discusses certain characteristics of Somali noun modification, comparing modification by enclitics vs. other 'autonomous' words (e.g. adjectives and verbs). After presenting the relevant Somali material, the authors consider how Somali noun modification compares to the phenomenon in other Cushitic languages. The authors determine that Somali is unique among related languages in that, although its modifiers occupy a single syntactic position, their ordering is free and multiple modifiers must be linked via coordination. The authors provide a variety of examples illustrating different types of noun modification; however the characteristics that they use to define modification by enclitics seem incomplete in relation to a potentially differing status of -ka/-ta vs. -kii/-tii determiners, as well as demonstratives, in the language. Furthermore, the authors do not explore the finer details of coordination by oo vs. ee, stating that they are merely variants. From a syntactic perspective, the authors argue that Somali nouns combine with their modifiers in verbal clausal constructions such that autonomous modifiers function as predicates with no finite verb.

25. Biber, Douglas. "The Diachronic Development of Preverbal Case Markers in Somali." *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 6 (1984): 47-61.

This paper offers a diachronic proposal containing roughly six steps by which Somali developed its system of preverbal pronoun clitics and 3rd person zero anaphora. Evidence for this proposal is drawn largely from synchronic data in a number of Eastern Cushitic languages related to Somali. Biber discusses the complex interactions between clitic pronouns, adpositional particles, and their referents, which while sometimes in a fixed order, may be altered in instances where ambiguity could arise.

26. ———. "Dimensions of Register Variation in Somali." *Language Variation and Change* 4, no. 1 (1992): 41-75.

This paper reports on a corpus-based analysis of variation in linguistic features separated into five major dimensions across a number of different written and spoken registers (i.e. genres) in Somali. The analysis is based on a diverse, grammatically-tagged corpus, from which the author calculated co-occurrence of features within and across dimensions and registers. Prominence of particular linguistic features within a given dimension is also reported. In following with

analogous corpus-based research on other languages, Biber illustrates that the relationships between features across various dimensions is complex.

27. Bourdin, Pascal. "The Marking of Directional Deixis in Somali." *Studies in African Linguistic Typology* 64 (2005): 13.

Bourdin analyzes the Somali particles *soo* and *sii*. Though these markers can broadly be described as directional deictics (where *soo* is ventive and *sii* is itive), Bourdin breaks down the semantics, pragmatics, and implicature of these two particles, arguing that they are much more complex than simple indicators of directional deixis. Instead, critical roles are played by both exophoric anchoring (relating to whether or not the deictic center is the ultimate goal of the motion event) and endophoric anchoring (whether the individual involved in the motion event described by the particle is the same as that involved in the process indicated by the verb). This also results in some fairly nuanced notions of implicature; *sii* is often associated with notions of temporariness, while *soo* typically implies recency, continuation, and persistence.

28. Bruno, Biancamaria. "Notes on Denominal Verbal Derivation in Somali." In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 69-81. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1984.

This paper briefly explores the morphophonemics of the agentive-causative and reflexive-middle affixes in Somali. The author argues that the *-ays/-ee* and *-is/-i* agentive-causative suffixes are allomorphs, with the latter occurring with consonant-final stems. Furthermore, Bruno rejects earlier notions that the use of *-at* for deverbal and denominal derivation stems from two different yet homophonous affixes.

29. Bruno, Biancamaria, and Annarita Puglielli. "Middle Voice in Somali." In *Cushitic-Omoti: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, edited by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Fritz Serzisko, 515-36. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1988.

Bruno argues that, in addition to the causative and middle voice, Somali has a 'root extension' *-am* that marks the passive and which differs semantically from the *-at* middle voice or 'autobenefactive' affix. Bruno states that both affixes are valency reducing; however the middle voice and proposed passive affixes differ in that the subject of a middle voice marked verb is a 'location' where a change in state takes place; the passive subject, on the other hand, must be marked for the default, absolutive case, as such verbs can encode only a 'potential' change in state.

30. Caney, John Charles. *The Modernisation of Somali Vocabulary with Particular Reference to the Period from 1972 to the Present*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1984.

This book follows from Caney's (1981) dissertation from the University of London. The author details a number of methods adopted by Somalis to introduce contemporary vocabulary into the language. The book serves one of the only resources in the Somali literature that explores the productive process of compounding for new word formation. In addition to providing a substantial list of modernized vocabulary divided into topical categories, Caney also discusses

the role of radio, newspaper, and school textbooks in the development and propagation of new Somali vocabulary.

31. Dhoorre, Cabdulqaadir Salaad, and Mauro Tosco. "111 Somali Ideophones." *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 11, no. 2 (1998): 125-56.

This paper provides a thorough description of Somali ideophones, including a typological comparison to common ideophone characteristics in other languages. The authors describe the phonology, morphosyntax, and semantics of ideophones and arrive at a number of key generalizations. Important among these are that, while Somali ideophones may be mono- or polysyllable, they have a fairly well-defined shape and can be completely or partially reduplicated. Certain phonological alternations common in other parts of speech do not affect ideophones. Perhaps most interesting among the authors' findings are that Somali ideophones function as nouns; they take definite or anaphoric determiners, have feminine gender, and can be focused. They may not, however, be pluralized. The paper closes, as the title suggests, with detailed illustrative examples for 111 ideophones.

32. Edmondson, Jerold A., John H. Esling, and Jimmy G. Harris. "Supraglottal Cavity Shape, Linguistic Register, and Other Phonetic Features of Somali." MS, <http://ling.uta.edu/~jerry/somali.pdf> (retrieved 12 May 2010) (2004).

This manuscript is one of the only contemporary, detailed phonetic descriptions of Somali. The authors aim is to define the 'tense' vs. 'lax' distinction in Somali vowels in terms of supraglottal cavity shape related to two phonetic registers, i.e. sphincterized vs. expanded aryepiglottic folds. The experimental laryngoscopy work illustrates that this distinction is achieved via complex articulation and is affected by articulatory environment and tone/accent.

33. Frascarelli, M. "Scope Marking and Focus in Somali." *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 10, no. 1 (2010): 78-116.

The behavior of focus markers in Somali is a topic which has been addressed by numerous scholars, but which continues to be disputed. Frascarelli gives an analysis of wax (and its relationship to waxaa and baa), arguing that wax should not be treated as a true focus marker (in the same sense as baa) but rather serves to mark scope. She treats waxaa as introducing cleft-like constructions which can be used to focus 'macro-constituents,' such as those commonly used to provide contextual information at the beginning of narratives. In contrast, baa generally has much narrower nominal focus.

34. Frascarelli, Mara, and Annarita Puglielli. "Focus Markers and Universal Grammar." (2007).

This paper offers evidence aligning the Somali focus system with analogous systems found in other languages. The authors illustrate that the 'anti-agreement' effects related to extensive vs. restrictive paradigm verb agreement in some constructions, as well as the reversal of such effects in instances of 'long movement,' are a common occurrence in polysynthetic focus-prominent languages. Also discussed are predicted differences between agreement and resumptive pronoun acceptability in sentences where a noun vs. a verb is in focus. It is argued that such effects relate

to the underlying syntactic configuration of a focus phrase in the predicate of a 'small clause,' while the head of the small clause itself is an empty pronoun; when the focus phrase is raised, it is only reinterpreted as a subject but is not formally so.

35. Gebert, Lucyna. *Absolute Constructions in Somali*. Edited by Thomas Labahn, *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1984.

This paper aims to motivate the presence of 'absolute constructions' in Somali, which the author defines as "constructions...composed of a nominal subject and a participial predicate." Gebert explains that such constructions are not marked overtly by a conjunction or other subordinator. Absolute constructions in Somali are noun phrases modified by a relative clauses, may contain the coordinator *oo*, and the head noun of the phrase is most often marked by the 'anaphoric article' *-kii/-tii*. These constructions function as a type of adverbial and can therefore take on nominal characteristics, as other adverbs in Somali do. In addition, Somali absolute constructions cannot be case-marked; they have a default present tense verb. In this way, they differ from relative clauses, which may contain a past tense verb.

36. ———. "Focus and Word Order in Somali." *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 5 (1986): 43-69.

The aim of this paper is to refute earlier claims that word order in Somali is arbitrary by showing that, while some elements have more flexible placement within a sentence, they are otherwise constrained by pragmatic intent. In order to demonstrate this, Gebert sets out to prove that the default (unmarked) word order is SOV. She shows that different permutations are found based on the distribution of focus markers. Gebert argues that certain permutations of word order, rather than necessarily being ungrammatical, are simply inappropriate in particular contexts. Furthermore, the author posits that the 'default' Somali word order (i.e. Subject + Focus + Object + Verb) is the result of 'grammaticalization of the unmarked.'

37. Gibbs, Tara Leigh. "Somali as a Subject Pro-Drop Language: Similarities between Spanish and Somali in the Syntactic Structure of the Subject Position." MA thesis, University of Minnesota, 2007.

Gibbs takes as her starting point the productions of Somali students in the English as a Second Language (ESL) classroom. The author attributes the propensity of her students to omit subjects as evidence that Somali, like Spanish, is a pro-drop language. She argues that because Somali verbs are inflected for person, number, and gender, pro-drop is possible, as in Romance language. Furthermore, Gibbs states that subject pronouns must simply be agreement particles, rather than filling theta roles. Unfortunately, the account proposed works only for Somali main, declarative clauses, and otherwise fails to account for restricted paradigm verb agreement in subordinate and relative clauses.

38. Hayward, Richard J., and John Saeed. "NP Focus in Somali and Dirayta: A Comparison of *baa* and *pa*." In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 1-21. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1984.

This paper is a precursor to Saeed (1984) and offers an analysis in which phrases containing the focus marker *baa* are argued to be derived from cleft constructions. Support for this argument is drawn from the fact that several important, yet seemingly idiosyncratic characteristics of *baa* sentences parallel what is observed in *waxa*-cleft sentences, relative clauses, and negative sentences. Saeed suggests that *baa* sentences are derived by leftward noun phrase movement and the subsequent replacement of *waxa* by *baa*. By deriving sentences in such a way, Saeed aims to account for the similarities between different sentence types related to reduced verb agreement, nominal marking, co-referential pronoun clitics, and choice of negative marker.

39. Hetzron, Robert. "The Particle *bàa* in Northern Somali." *Journal of African Languages* 4, no. 2 (1965): 119-30.

This paper discusses the forms and use of *baa* in 'mainly Isaaq' Somali. Much of what is included in this paper is spelled out more concisely in successive works by other authors. Hetzron discusses that *baa* is normally used only once in a sentence and exists in its either its uninflected or conjugated form to agree with an explicit or implicit subject. It focuses or emphasizes a preceding tagmeme. The uninflected form follows a subject, while inflected forms are used elsewhere. This paper focuses largely on the behavior of *baa* in verbal sentences where it occurs after non-subject elements.

40. ———. "Phonology in Syntax." *Journal of Linguistics* 8, no. 2 (1972): 251-65.

See comments in Zwicky & Pullum (1983).

41. ———. "Typological Peculiarities in Somali." *Folia Linguistica* 23, no. 1-2 (1989): 7-26.

This paper discusses several well-known properties of Somali from a typological perspective, indicating several (mainly) morphosyntactic and syntactic ways in which Somali (and presumably several other related Cushitic languages) are unusual in comparison to better-described languages. Characteristics discussed include case marking, adposition clusters, 'adjectives,' and the position of numerals.

42. Hofherr, Patricia Cabredo. "Impersonal Pronouns in French, German and Somali." Paper presented at *Syntax of the World's Languages 1* 2004.

Hofherr offers a fairly detailed look at the properties of Somali *la*, which she claims is an impersonal subject pronoun with 'special syntax.' The author discusses morphosyntax, co-reference, and phonological properties of *la*, including limitations on its use in various instances. Some key points include: *la* cannot be related to expressions for humans; *la* triggers 3rd person masculine singular verbal agreement but not corresponding resumptive pronoun clitics; *la* is part of the preverbal field but functions as a proclitic, rather than an enclitic, as other adpositional clitics in the verb group; and *la* is used only as a subject and cannot be the antecedent of a possessive pronoun or other 3rd person singular pronoun.

43. Hofherr, Patricia Cabredo. "Reciprocals in Somali." Paper presented at Reciprocals Cross-Linguistically, Berlin 2007.

This conference paper discusses the particle *is*, which ambiguously marks reciprocity and reflexivity, and other ways to mark reciprocity in Somali. Highlights of the talk include: i) to avoid ambiguity, a periphrastic construction using mid 'one' can be used; ii) the reciprocal *is* can be used with collective nouns; iii) *is* can be a direct or indirect object; iv) *is* is part of the preverbal field or verbal complex; it is not used in noun phrases; and v) Somali has other specialized preverbal particles that have a reciprocal component.

44. Hyman, Larry M. "Tonal Accent in Somali." *Studies in African Linguistics* 12, no. 2 (1981).

Hyman describes Somali as a tonal accent language in which accent is assigned to vowels (or moras) and is realized, invariably as H tone. There are, however, conditions under which words lack an accent, and therefore H tone. Hyman assigns accents to the penult or final vowel, after which rules of shift or reduction are invoked to account for other configurations. Underlying forms are not marked for tone or accent such that accent is assigned by morphological rules that correspond to categories, features, and constructions. Hyman dismisses earlier proposals concerning Somali noun classes and settles on a three declension class system: Declension 1 has either penultimate or final accent, depending on whether the noun is masculine or feminine; Declension 2 has penultimate accent; and Declension 3 has only final accent. The paper is further divided into discussion of nouns, verb, and other words and particles.

45. Johnson, John William. "Somali Prosodic Systems." *Horn of Africa* 2, no. 3 (1979): 46-54.

Johnson offers an overview of Somali prosody grounded in its relationship to metrical units found in Somali poetry. These characteristics offer support for the definition of the mora as the smallest unit of temporal duration in the language, upon which foot and other units are constructed.

46. Lampitelli, Nicola. "The Decomposition of Somali Nouns." *Brill's Annual on Afro-Asiatic Languages and Linguistics* 5, no. 1 (to appear).

Lampitelli's goal in this paper is to distill Somali nouns into five inflectional classes, each of which can be identified by a unique feature configuration. As such, each morpheme (plural, feminine, etc.) or lack thereof (referred to as Vocabulary Items) can also be attributed a particular configuration. Lampitelli employs a skeletal CV approach to motivate seemingly templatic characteristics of Somali nouns, as well as the vocalic alternations observed in stem-final syllables in some nouns upon suffixation. Lampitelli explains the pluralization and inflectional behavior of different noun classes in terms of their lexically-assigned skeletal template (or lack thereof), the presence vs. absence of the plural morpheme *-o*, as well as the presence vs. absence of the 'feminine exponent' *-i*. The author also proposes a complex syntactic 'head and linearization' structure to explain four outstanding issues not addressed in earlier approaches. The approach appears promising, but there are many details omitted that should be supported with more discussion and examples.

47. ———. "Evaluative Morphology in Somali." In *The Edinburgh Handbook of Evaluative Morphology*, edited by Nicola Grandi and Livia Kortvelyessy. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014.

Lampitelli discusses 'evaluative morphology' in Somali, better known as the expression of diminution and augmentation. The author points out that Somali does not, in fact, have any particular morphological components that are used specifically to indicate such evaluation; however other mechanisms are used to do so. In nouns, for example relative clauses containing the adjectives *yar* 'small' and *weyn* 'big' can express 'smallness,' 'bigness,' or 'approximation.' Reduplication, on the other hand, is used evaluatively for verbs and adjectives to express approximation, reduction, or attenuation.

48. ———. "Forme Phonologique, Exposants Morphologiques et Structures Nominales: Étude Comparée de l'Italien, du Bosnien et du Somali." PhD dissertation, Université Paris Diderot, 2006.

The fourth chapter of Lampitelli's thesis is devoted to discussing Somali nominal morphology. The chapter includes a well-described overview of Somali phonological alternations, accent, and other important concepts needed to begin delving into deeper work on the language. The analysis presented (much of which is discussed more recently in Lampitelli (to appear)) is grounded in Distributed Morphology and Element Theory (and a bit of Optimality Theory) and aims to define a principled schema to define Somali nouns into classes based on their morphophonological behavior, as opposed to simply phonological or syntactic characteristics, as done in earlier analyses.

49. ———. "The Morpho-Phonology of Somali Nouns." Paper presented at the 14th Italian Meeting of Afro-Asiatic Linguistics, Torino, Italy 2011.

This conference presentation is a precursor to Lampitelli (to appear) and offers a preliminary glimpse of the author's forthcoming analysis of Somali nouns. The key arguments and assumptions underlying the analysis are articulated in more detail in the larger manuscript.

50. Le Gac, David. "Marques Prosodiques de la Focalisation Contrastive en Somali." In *Fonction et Moyens d'Expression de la Focalisation à Travers les Langues*, *Mémoires de la Société Linguistique de Paris*, edited by A. Lacheret-Dujour and J. François. Leuven: Belgium, 2003.

This is by far one of the most systematic looks at Somali tone found in the literature. The paper provides an overview of the issues at play and the focus/topic structure, detailing how it interplays with the tonal and intonational systems of the language. Following from a large body of work, Le Gac defines Somali as a language employing Focus (new information) marking and Topic (known information). Three focus markers are defined: i) *waa* (verb or predicate); ii) *baa/ayaa* (which are interchangeable, chosen stylistically, and used to focus the entire phrase); and iii) *waxaa* (creates clefts). By using question/answer pairs, the author demonstrates acceptable vs. unacceptable focus marker use. Le Gac demonstrates some instances where focus marking alone cannot adequately distinguish between or predict given interpretations, thus pointing to the possibility that intonation has a role to play in the language.

51. ———. "Tonal Alternations and Prosodic Structure in Somali." Paper presented at the Speech Prosody International Conference 2002.

This paper is a shorter, more concise version of Le Gac (2001) and fleshes out many of the same points. Some additional points include the fact that the lowering observed in final focus in both conditions is due to a phonetic process of final lowering at the end of sentences. The fact that Low focus triggers alternations in Class 3 nouns illustrates that it is not a phonetic default tone, but rather a morphological entity. Likewise, downdrift is attributed to the informational weight of a phrase, rather than being a phonetic or physiological process. Downdrift is also observed within defined syntactic domains, as noted previously in Hyman (1981). Le Gac illustrates the behavior of Somali tone/intonation in relation to prosodic/intonational structure. Prosodic words are said to be right-bounded by High tones of the tonal accent and are grouped into intonational phrases which in turn are right-bounded by intonative tones (e.g. L focus, H%). These form a hierarchical structure into with successive intonational phrases are groups where the leftmost prosodic word is the head of an intonation phrase. The intonation phrase bearing focus is the head of the entire structure. The intonation phrase bearing focus is viewed as the tonal primitive in that all other tones are derived from it according to rules of tone inversion and tone copy. Tone copy governs downdrift, and is said to be generally applicable between any two inflectional phrases.

52. ———. "Tonal Alternations in Somali." In *Research in Afroasiatic Grammar 2*, edited by Jacqueline Lecarme, 287-304. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2003.

In this paper, Le Gac proposes only three accentual classes in Somali and their relationship to [+/-Subject], [+/-Focus], and the 'focussor.' He states that the tonal behavior in [+Focus/-Subject] is due to tonal deletion, while alternations are due to Low focus. The vowel is proposed as the tone bearing unit. Le Gac argues that the tonal patterns described apply only to indefinite or proper nouns, i.e. the tonal accent of definite nouns does not change. In this paper, Le Gac presents elicited sentences for all conditions and provides an explicit description of the tonal alternations (or lack thereof) observed in a full set of sentence types involving Class 3 nouns. The paper points out shortcomings particularly in Hyman (1981) and Banti (1988), which are the only two earlier studies to propose a phonological approach to Somali tone/accent. Accents mark the prosodic head of a morpheme at the lexical level. A somewhat different approach to the prosodic hierarchy is offered, compared to Le Gac (2002). Le Gac faults Hyman and Banti for resorting to ad hoc rules to explain the behavior of pattern 3 nouns; however it seems that he does the same thing in proposing the Subject Disassociation Rule, although perhaps because this also explains the alternations (or lack thereof) in other classes, it is less ad hoc. In terms of intonation, the author demonstrates the tonal behavior in various contexts. He states that in focus final sentences, the pitch minimum is located on the last vowel of the focused noun if the vowel doesn't have H tone. Rather than referencing the intonation phrase, Le Gac proposes that the prosodic constituent to which L focus associates is the intermediate phrase, and to its right edge.

53. Lecarme, Jacqueline. "Focus en Somali: Syntaxe et Interprétation." *Linguistique Africaine* 7 (1991): 33-63.

Lecarme discusses characteristics of focus marking in Somali, positing that focus marking is a pragmatic notion tied intimately to information structure. Focus marking is used to indicate new and/or contrastive information and helps to frame it alongside other topical information. Lecarme offers a syntactic analysis of Somali's focus markers, illustrating that *waa* is the head of an inflectional phrase, while focus markers are the head of the complementizer phrase; expletive or cleft-focus by *waxa* is structurally located in the specifier position of the complementizer phrase [Spec,CP].

54. ———. "Focus et Effets «Verbe Second» en Somali." *Recherches Linguistiques de Vincennes*, no. 23 (1994): 25-44.

In this article, Lecarme discusses the role of the focus marker in a Somali sentence. She makes two primary conclusions: first, that focus markers assert the declarativeness of declarative sentences and, second, that they aid in phrasal cohesion by functioning as complements. In this role, they construct a relationship of predication between the determiner phrase (DP) which precedes them and the verb, although the precise relationship varies by marker. This is supported by the fact that the pronominals which bear the thematic role assignments for the DPs they represent cliticize to the focus marker, and are independent from the verb.

55. ———. "Focus in Somali." In *The Grammar of Focus*, edited by G. Rebuschi and L. Tuller, 275-310. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999.

Lecarme offers a new perspective on focus in Somali, asserting that longstanding discourse functional analyses on this topic fail to account for both the role and distribution of the language's focus markers. Instead, she argues for a more formal syntactic approach wherein the Somali focus system is one of case-licensing and where focus markers occupy a structural position as 'pre-sentential' particles that allow for a unified account of *waa*, *baa*, and *waxa*. She argues that this also provides an explanation for the behavior of noun phrases as adjuncts, rather than arguments, in the language.

56. ———. "Gender 'Polarity': Theoretical Aspects of Somali Nominal Morphology." *Many Morphologies* (2002): 109-41.

This paper argues against longstanding empirical, historical, and theoretical perspectives on the phenomenon known as 'gender polarity' in Afroasiatic languages. Lecarme points out a number of shortcomings of previous analyses and argues that Gender and Number are distinct entities in Somali. The author illustrates that while nouns may have inherent gender, their gender following inflection or derivation is entirely predictable from the gender of its final suffix, including one of several pluralizing suffixes. This aims to explain the agreement patterns following from Somali's many types of pluralization (including 'plural of plural'). Lecarme argues that plural suffixes can best be thought of as functional stems containing no root, but having a specification for gender.

57. ———. "L'Accord Restrictif en Somali." *Langues Orientales Anciennes Philologie et Linguistique* 5-6 (1995): 133-52.

This paper motivates observed morphological and syntactic structures related to the restrictive verbal paradigm in Somali relative clauses and other subject-focused clauses. Lecarme analyzes syntactic movement and agreement by appealing to the theories of Government & Binding, Incorporation, and Baker's Mirror Principle. The author argues that declarative and focus markers are syntactically unique, thereby explaining their complementarity. Lecarme discusses differences not only between the restrictive and extensive verbal paradigm, but also offers an explanation for an 'independent' sub-paradigm with the extensive paradigm itself. This aims to explain optional subject clitic agreement on declarative markers. The analysis of syntactic movement illustrates that Person and Number are distinct entities in Somali. As such, only Person and Gender (not Number) are encoded in the restrictive paradigm; Number is instead represented only in a subject clitic.

58. ———. "On Somali Complement Constructions." In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 37-54. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1984.

This paper offers a fairly comprehensive overview of Somali sentences containing complement clauses. Lecarme explains the use of the in- complementizer in a number of different clause types, indicating that the complement clauses that it introduces may either be subjects or objects, depending on the properties of the verb in the matrix clause. Furthermore, the author illustrates the use of complement clauses in embedded questions and purpose clauses. Lecarme proposes that while the in- complementizer is derived from the noun in 'part, amount, thing,' it acts as an invariable morpheme with a specialized grammatical function, just as its counterpart *inta* 'while, until' has a specialized adverbial meaning. The analysis proposed differs from earlier work by Antinucci & Puglielli (1980) which considers in- to be a noun at the head of a relative clause. Lecarme supports this assertion in a number of ways, among them that noun phrase topicalization outside of an in- clause has no grammatical function and are fairly free; the situation is more restricted in relative clauses, potentially yielding ungrammatical outcomes.

59. ———. "Tense and Modality in Nominals." In *Time and Modality*, edited by Jacqueline Guéron and Jacqueline Lecarme, 195-225. Dordrecht: Springer, 2008.

Somali has a series of definite articles (realized as nominal prefixes) that have been traditionally analyzed as encoding a past/non-past distinction. Lecarme expands upon this notion, arguing that these nominal suffixes encode much more than tense; instead they also have a wide range of functions related to modality (and more specifically, evidentiality). Thus the 'past' definite article in Somali can also be used to reflect a speaker's presupposition about something, encode habituals, describe 'inherent generics,' mark objects of attitude verbs expressing ignorance or uncertainty, encode free relatives (a function which can then be extended to conditionals), and indicate non-visibility of a referent.

60. ———. "Tense and Modality in Nominals." Paper presented at *Time and Modality*, Paris 2005.

This paper explicates a number of proposed uses for the 'remote past' definite determiner in Somali nouns. Lecarme argues that the -tii/-kii determiner represents the 'nominal past' and therefore carries both temporal and non-temporal meaning. The morpheme is also argued to have a diverse array of modal and evidential meanings. Some important points raised include that

while 'nominal tense' is a feature of any noun, tense is marked only on the head of a noun phrase, while definiteness is marked on all nouns. The scope of nominal tense, however, is the determiner phrase. The points argued for in this paper fit into a larger discussion about these determiners, which others suggest is best attributed to use with 'known' referents.

61. ———. "Tense in the Nominal System: The Somali DP." *Studies in Afroasiatic grammar* (1996): 159-78.

Lecarme presents an analysis of so-called 'tense-marking' on Somali nouns, where nouns are marked (via a suffix) for a past/non-past distinction. She uses a formal syntactic approach and argues for the necessity of a Tense category which can be applied to nouns, independently of verbal tense. In support of this analysis, she describes a number of properties related to tense in nominals, including agreement properties of adjectives which inflect for tense, properties of relative clauses, the interplay between tense-marking and definiteness, discourse properties of tense-marked nouns, and the types of nouns which cannot receive tense-marking (including kinship terms, inalienably possessed nouns, and certain quantifiers). Lecarme illustrates that tense of nominals is a distinct system from that of Somali clauses, and the formal analysis she presents (whereby noun phrases are DPs with their own articulated internal structure) facilitates this distinction.

62. Livnat, Michal. "Focus Constructions in Somali." PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1984.

(This resource was unavailable.)

63. Maffi, Luisa. "Somali Color Term Evolution: Grammatical and Semantic Evidence." *Anthropological linguistics* (1990): 316-34.

This paper analyzes two groups of Somali color terms, referentially general terms and cattle color terms, as originally outlined in Maffi (1984). The author argues that Somali color terms are positively correlated with psychological salience and illustrates that Somali has no terms for 'derived basic' colors. Maffi describes basic color terms, highlighting those for which there are two terms that have been generated via one of two derivational processes; the most basic terms (black, white, and red) have a verbal root. Color mapping to universal color categories and areal biases for color terms are also discussed.

64. ———. "Somali Colour Terminology: An Outline." In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 299-312. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1984.

This short paper offers a preliminary description of color terminology in Somali. Importantly, colors are divided into three main groups which include a generic set of color terms used for describing nouns from an array of semantic classes, as well as two more specified sets of color terms used only to describe cattle or humans (i.e. skin color, hair color, etc.).

65. Morin, Didier. "Marques et Relations en Somali: Le Problème des «Déclinaisons»." *Linguistique Africaine* 6 (1991): 75-102.

The motivation behind this paper is to reexamine the longstanding, yet inappropriate use of the terms declension, case, gender, etc. in descriptions and analyses of Somali nouns and the complex nominal system of the language. He points out the arguments made in earlier works that 'declension' classes are perhaps better thought of in terms of their inflectional behavior, and furthermore, discussions of gender in Somali (and related languages) have little to do with notional grammatical gender, but rather have been used for mnemonic purposes. Morin calls into question certain mechanisms of accent assignment, namely mora counting, which he 'doubts' is possible by speakers. It is well known that such (sometimes complicated) mechanisms come into play in Bantu verbal tonology. The account here differs from others in suggesting that the tonal/accental patterns observed on Somali nouns are solely syntactic in nature, rather than being paradigmatic declensions. It is proposed that subject/principal/non-focused/indefinite groups are 'less high' while non-subject/subordinate/focused/definite groups are 'more high.' Morin proposes that accents of intensity can be located within a 'zone' of the final two vowels (in indefinites) or the final three (presumably, although no examples are given) vowels (in definites). Morin attempts to pare down the possibilities to show that the accentuation zone is composed, by and large, by three positions which can be occupied by various syllabic components, depending on the word. The necessity to retain a distinction between masculine v. feminine is motivated by the need to ascribe where the position of the accent is placed in a word based on syllabic/structural composition.

66. Nimaan, Abdillahi, Pascal Nocera, and Jean-Francois Bonastre. "Towards Automatic Transcription of Somali Language." In *Proceedings of the 5th Edition of the International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation*, 131-34, 2006.

In this article, Nimaan et al. describe the process they used to develop a preliminary automatic speech recognition tool for 'standard' Somali, as spoken in Djibouti. The Somali acoustic model was based on a French system, which was adapted by creating a concordance table mapping Somali phonemes to French ones. This was then combined with a language model composed of 726,000 bigrams and 1.75 million trigrams. The authors used the existing tool Speeral to handle speech decoding, and then tested their system, although their test data was only comprised of thirty minutes of speech. One of the most important factors in their success was normalization of the textual corpora they collected; because Somali was so recently written, the writing system is not entirely normalized, and this inflated the word error rate. Once the normalization process was complete, they were able to achieve a word error rate of approximately 20.9%.

67. Orwin, Martin. "Aspects of Somali Phonology." PhD Dissertation, University of London., 1994.

This dissertation analyzes Somali segmental phonology in the framework of Feature Geometry. The author then draws on a number of theoretical propositions to tackle Somali's prosodic phonology, including Hyman's Theory of Phonological Weight, Hayes' Compensatory Lengthening in Moraic Phonology, and several viewpoints on the prosodic hierarchy. The result is a skeletal moraic tier dominated by a syllabic tier where constituents are in turn associated with feature nodes.

68. ———. "A Moraic Model of the Prosodic Phonology of Somali." *African Languages and Cultures. Supplement* (1996): 51-71.

This paper offers a very terse overview of prosodic phenomena in Somali that stand in support of the mora. Orwin points to reduplication, tonal accent, poetic meter, and the behavior of diphthongs and semivowels to forward his argument and analysis. The premise of his argument stems loosely from Hyman's (1984) and Hayes' (1989) model of moraic phonology, i.e. underlying moraicity of all segments and language specific Weight-by-Position, respectively. This is couched in the formation of an onset creation rule and subsequent margin creation rule. The reduplication process appears to be particularly important in analyzing Somali prosodic phonology.

69. ———. "On Consonants in Somali Metrics." *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 65 (2001): 103-27.

Orwin raises a challenge to the long-held belief that Somali syllable codas carry not weight for the purposes of both phonological and poetic meter. He points out off-hand references to this possibility in well-respected extant literature on Somali poetry, but indicates that this possibility is often ignored, dismissed, or overlooked in more recent work. Orwin calls for a more systematic look at the questionable behavior of presumably heavy CVC syllables, including the finer details of constraints against their distribution.

70. ———. "Phonation in Somali." *Anthropologie Somalienne* (1993): 251-57.

Orwin describes the feature inventory of Somali consonants, arguing that a binary distinction in the feature [voice] cannot adequately describe phonation specification in such phones. The inadequacy of this distinction is predicated on the assumption that the number of consonants in Somali's inventory points toward voiced fricatives being the 'marked' series in Somali, while voiceless stops are also 'marked.' Orwin quickly steps away from this distribution-based argument, positing instead that because there is no constraint on positional distribution of voiced vs. voiceless fricatives, the [+voice] default is applicable to both consonant types. The author then discusses that, despite this argument for unmarked [+voice], some accounts of Somali consonants argue that 'voiced' stops exhibit only little voicing. Orwin suggests, alternatively, because voiceless stops are often heavily aspirated, that a more appropriate featural distinction is [+/- spread glottis].

71. Orwin, Martin, and Maxamed Cabdhullaahi Riiraash. "An Approach to Relationships between Somali Metre Types." *African Languages and Cultures* 10, no. 1 (1997): 83-100.

This paper concerns itself mainly with Somali meter in different poetry styles, with particular reference to contemporary scholarship on Somali poetry discussed among researchers in Djibouti. Comparative speaking, it is a precursor to some of Orwin's later work that offers a challenge to long-held viewpoints on principles of Somali metrical structure.

72. Pia, John Joseph. "Somali Sounds and Inflections." PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1965.

This dissertation offers only a cursory overview of the Burao subdialect of northern, 'standard' Somali from the viewpoint of impressionistic phonetic description, basic segmental phonological processes, and to some extent basic morphological and syntactic constructions. The work is based on a two small corpora containing tape interviews, transcribed texts, stories, and proverbs. The analysis is couched in a generative approach to grammar.

73. ———. "Two Principles of Phonology and a Somali Sandhi Rule." *Journal of African Languages* 9 (1970): 77-82.

This article discusses motivations for the alternation between underlying stem-final /m/ and surface [n] before pause. The author offers, as a counterpoint, previous refuted analyses arguing that /n/ is the underlying segment which becomes [m] intervocalically.

74. Puglielli, Annarita. "Derived Nouns in Somali: Part 1." In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 55-68, 1984.

Puglielli provides an overview of nominal derivation via suffixation focusing only on Noun + Suffix sequences. The author attributes the behavior of different types of nouns to their specification for [+Noun] and [+/- Verb]; further specifications are provided based on syntactic features. [+Noun, -Verb] words are 'true nouns,' while the [+Noun, +Verb] group contains adjective-like words. The third class, [-Noun, -Verb] is counterintuitive, as it contains items that are "neither nouns or verbs but can be used both as nouns and verbs." The last group, [-Noun+Verb], contains only verbs. Puglielli discusses the derivation of abstract nouns from Class 1 via -nimo, and the analogous derivation of abstract nouns from Classes 2 and 3 via -tooyo. Also discussed are derivations by -le, -low, and -ey.

75. Saeed, John I. "Adpositional Clitics and Word Order in Somali." *Transactions of the Philological Society* 91, no. 1 (1993): 63-93.

Saeed discusses characteristics of Somali's four adpositional clitics: u, ku, ka, and la. While their function is to assign of semantic or thematic role to noun phrases, these clitics always occur in a preverbal clitic cluster. Saeed offers several diagnostics to characterize clitics and clitic clusters, pointing out that these morphemes behave in unique way both phonologically and morphosyntactically. It is shown that clitics coalesce with one another, as well as with other pronoun clitics, and do so in a number of ways that do not appear to be governed strictly by morphosyntax. Saeed also notes differences between clitics and derivational affixes, important among them being that adpositional clitic clusters are not subject to particular phonological processes otherwise found in word formation via derivation. Saeed argues that the addition of particular clitics to nouns and verbs is semantically predictable, have a lexically consistent value, and indeed create specialized meanings.

76. ———. "The Focus Structure of Somali." In *RRG 2004 Books of Proceedings - Linguistic Theory and Practice: Description, Implementation, and Processing*, edited by Brian Nolan. Dublin, Ireland: Institute of Technology Blanchardstown, 2004.

Saeed revisits fairly well-established characteristics of Somali focus and relates them to a framework of Role and Reference Grammar. The paper adds little new information to what is currently understood about Somali focus, with the exception of an explication of focus domains as they relate to clause structure. Saeed reminds the reader, however, of some key features of Somali, including the fact that complement clauses can be analyzed as relative clauses, thereby helping to explain why they do not have a focus domain. As a result of this, because question words must receive narrow focus, they cannot occur in subordinate clauses. The examples that Saeed includes are loosely and/or inconsistently glossed based on comparison to his earlier works, including Saeed (1999) and (2002).

77. ———. "Head-Marking and Pronominal Clitics in Somali." *African Languages and Cultures*. Supplement (1996): 37-49.

This article outlines arguments for Somali as a head-marking language, with special attention paid to the behavior of preverbal subject and absolutive pronoun clitics. The referential and structural characteristics of these clitics are defined and their relationship to preverbal adpositional clitics discussed. Saeed argues that pronominal clitics are part of the argument structure of the verb, as opposed to an external nominal, because clitics are obligatory while the nominal is not. On another point, Saeed points out that co-referential subject clitics are disallowed with a focused subject. The author offers fairly clear definitions of the morphosyntax of noun phrases, as well as clitics and other morphemes found within the verbal piece. This includes the resolution of situations where one or both clitic pronoun is a null third person form, as well as the ambiguous referential behavior of first versus second series object clitics in some contexts. That is, when two object clitics occur, Saeed states that there appears to be no strict correlation between which is governed by the verb and which is governed by an adpositional clitic.

78. ———. "The Semantics of Middle Voice in Somali." *African Languages and Cultures* 8, no. 1 (1995): 61-85.

This article present a fairly detailed description of verbs containing the -at/-o affix, which has been referred to by a number of conflicting names in the literature. Saeed discusses the historical literature on this affix, arguing that because of its range of at least six meanings, it is best referred to as the 'middle affix.' The affix itself generally has a detransfying affect, yet transitive uses are also common. The six meanings attributed to the middle affix include: i) action inherently reflexive; ii) action is inherently reciprocal (financial relations, games, ceremonies, family forming, family strengthening); iii) action affects the body of the subject (motion, posture, ingesting, grooming, clothing); iv) action affects mind/emotion (love, anger, loss of control, speech); v) action benefits the subject (autobenefactives); and vi) subject undergoes a process but has no control over it. Saeed explains that reflexive instances of non-inherently reflexive or reciprocal verbs take the is affix instead.

79. ———. "Somali Morphology." In *Morphologies of Asia and Africa*, edited by Alan S. Kaye, 547-86. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007.

This chapter provides a cursory overview of a number of general topics related to the phonology and grammatical structure of Somali. Assumedly, due to space constraints, morpheme glossing is minimal, as are sufficient examples to illustrate some particularly difficult structural concepts in the language. A sizable portion of the chapter is devoted to tables aiming to explicate an array of verb conjugations in Somali's strong and weak verbs.

80. ———. *The Syntax of Focus & Topic in Somali*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1984.

This book is a published version of Saeed's 1982 dissertation on the same subject from the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. Saeed covers focus and topic, with specific chapters devoted to the *baa/ayaa* focus markers, the *waxa* cleft construction, the *waa* verb 'focus' markers, and certain derivational and transformational topics grounded in syntactic theory. Much of what is contained in this work is later reiterated in Saeed's (1993) pedagogical grammar and (1999) reference grammar on Somali.

81. Sasse, Hugh J. "The Pragmatics of Noun Incorporation in Eastern Cushitic Languages." In *Objects: Towards a Theory of Grammatical Relations*, edited by Plank F., 243-68. London: Academic Press, 1984.

This paper considers semantic vs. pragmatic motivations and restrictions in three East Cushitic languages (Dullay, Dasenech, and Boni), the latter two of which are genetically quite closely related to Somali. The author explains that while noun+verb compounds are fairly uncommon in Cushitic languages, various types of noun (i.e. complement) incorporation are more common. Sasse discusses characteristics of incorporation in three languages that differ in the degree to which semantics and pragmatics play a role in the incorporation process. Typical restrictions in Cushitic are that a nominal complement is most often an adverb of space or is used with a semantically-empty verb (although these appear much more like light verb constructions). While no specific information is provided about Somali, the paper provides a basis on which to explore the phenomenon further.

82. Serzisko, Fritz. "Collective and Transnumeral Nouns in Somali." In *Proceedings of the First International Congress of Somali Studies*, edited by H. A. Adam and C. L. Gesheker, 516-30. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992.

This article describes countable, collective, transnumeral, and mass nouns in Somali. He demonstrates the differences between these nouns using contrastive example phrases and sentences. The author looks at how these nouns are counted (directly or indirectly, using unit counters) and their number agreement with modifiers and verbs to justify this four-way classification. In addition to this, Serzisko compares this phenomenon with other Eastern Cushitic languages and concludes that this distinction appears among other languages in this family, as well.

83. ———. "Possession in Somali." In *Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Somali Studies*, edited by Thomas Labahn, 101-14. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1984.

Serzisko considers unmarked (possessum-possessor) vs. marked (possessor-possessum) nominal possession phrases in Somali, providing some details as to their use and restrictions. The paper provides new insight on the subject, which contradicts an earlier argument by Gebert (1981) that the two constructions are freely variable. An important characteristic pointed out in this chapter is that the marked possession phrase is used in those instances where the possessor modified by additional elements other than solely the possessum. Another is that certain lexicalized (and seemingly incorporated) sequences require use of the unmarked phrase. Similarly, expressions of kinship require use of the marked phrase. Additional details are provided about constructions referencing body parts and 'have' constructions where changes in focus marking generate ungrammatical sentences in some key instances, which the author posits is due to inherent vs. established possession.

84. Solami Mewis, Catherine. "On Classifying Somali Nouns by their Plural Forms." In *Cushitic-Omoti: Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, edited by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Fritz Serzisko, 555-66. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1988.

This work provides a limited quantitative look at the distribution of Somali nouns, divided into five main classes based on their method of pluralization. This is largely a permutation of other work on the subject, describing criteria such as syllable number and the nature of a stem-final consonant as important factors defining the pluralization class of a particular noun.

85. Svolacchia, Marco, Lunella Mereu, and Annarita Puglielli. "Aspects of Discourse Configurability in Somali." In *Discourse Configurational Languages*, edited by K. Kiss, 65-98. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

In the paper, the authors take up several long-disputed and oftentimes controversial theoretical claims related to Somali focus and word order. The paper is perhaps the most comprehensive and clear discussion of the topic in the literature, as the authors present a thorough discussion of alternative analyses alongside their own. The discussion is grounded in theoretical syntax and information structure which permits both a structural and pragmatic interpretation of Somali word order. Some important arguments include: i) the Somali verbal complex is the result of 'massive' incorporation; ii) focus markers are more closely linked syntactically to verbs than to the nouns that they place into focus; iii) *waxa* 'cleft' sentences are expletive noun phrases, rather than a full lexical noun phrase heading a relative clause; iv) the *waa* 'verbal focus' marker is incorporated into the verbal complex except in instances where no overt verb is found; v) left-edge pre-topic focalization is the result of CP recursivity; and vi) right-edge aftertopic dislocation is due to IP adjunction while heavy topic adjunction is due to CP adjunction.

86. Svolacchia, Marco, and Annarita Puglielli. "Somali as a Polysynthetic Language." In *Boundaries of Morphology and Syntax*, edited by Lunella Mereu, 97-120. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999.

This paper describes Somali as a 'clitic polysynthetic language' in reference to the typology of language types offered in Baker (1996). The authors provide a number of compelling arguments in favor of this analysis and supported by principles of generative syntax. Important perspectives articulated in this paper include that Somali's SOV underlying structure is captured in the verbal

complex such that obligatory object clitics act as verbal arguments; full determiner phrases, on the other hand, function as syntactic adjuncts, thereby explaining Somali's 'free' word order. Also, the ability of adposition clusters to incorporate into verbs, subject clitics to incorporate into adposition clusters, and infinites to incorporate in auxiliary constructions are argued to be due to syntactic movement. A number of other justifications for this analysis are provided related to limitations on non-finite clauses, focus prominence, as well as more abstract theoretical syntactic concepts related to government and binding.

87. Tosco, Mauro. "A Whole Lotta Focusin' Goin' On: Information Packaging in Somali Texts." *Studies in African Linguistics* 31, no. 1 & 2 (2002).

This article centers on the pragmatics of focus marking and offers some interesting extensions to earlier work. Throughout, Tosco comments on seminal work by Puglielli, Gebert, and Saeed and indicates where his analysis differs. One important point is that Tosco claims that *waa* is not a focus marker, but rather sentences containing this marker have verb-predicate focus owing to a 'lack of nominal focus' or 'backgrounding,' which is somewhat in line with Saeed's 'declarative classifier' analysis. In such constructions, attention is said to be on the action itself, with all other information detopicalized. In this way, nominal focus markers are described as 'foregrounding particles.' Tosco lays out seven rules of focus marking in Somali, pointing out that work on Somali has often focused on 'narrow focus' but larger units have seldom been considered.

88. Zwicky, Arnold M., and Geoffrey K. Pullum. "Phonology in Syntax: The Somali Optional Agreement Rule." *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 1, no. 3 (1983): 385-402.

This article is a particularly scathing argument against the proposed relationship between syntax and phonology in the definition of the Optional Agreement Rule in Somali feminine plurals offered in Hetzron (1972). The authors lay out the facts of Somali plurals and sub-plurals as presented in earlier works, focusing on three groups of sub-plurals: those with special suffixes (i.e. Arabic borrowings ending in *-iin*, rare suffixes ending in *-(a)an*), broken plurals, and plurals with tonal alternations. For certain Somali feminine nouns, there is an option between suffixed plurals and tonal alternation plurals (which may be linked to slight semantic differences or other stylistic choices). Hetzron (1972) claims that plural agreement in these nouns must take place after the speaker has generated the phonetic/phonological form of the word. The authors argue that this is inadequate and that it is more appropriate to cite the need for a morphological, rather than phonological access. Hetzron's paper suggests that the optional agreement rule arose due to 'playful abuse' of morphology that later became grammaticalized. Zwicky and Pullum show that the phenomenon under investigation is not necessarily unusual in languages, and furthermore it might be predicted based on analogy to Qoranic Arabic and borrowings from Arabic. The authors suggest that Hetzron's account is more satisfactorily a description of a historical process.

## Reference and Pedagogical Resources

89. Abdinoor, Abdullahi. *Af Soomaali aan ku Hadalno (Hadallo): A Multidimensional Approach to the Teaching and Learning of Somali as a Foreign Language*. Madison, WI: NALRC, 2007.

This textbook is one of a series of textbooks for less commonly taught languages and is meant to fill the gap of available resources for these languages. The author has targeted beginning learners with this book and provides a background of the language and orthography for his reader. Each lesson has clear objectives listed on the first page and is divided into various modules that include narratives, dialogues, exercises, grammar, and cultural sidenotes. The author claims all the texts used are authentic and could be used by Somalis in conversation, although many earlier ones do resemble standard constructed dialogues so common to language textbooks. As lessons progress, the book presents more Somali material, that certainly is authentic, and an English translation after for students to be able to check what the in-line target language glosses beside the text do not clarify for them. New vocabulary is included at the end of each lesson and compiled into a bidirectional glossary at the end of the textbook. The text does not have answer keys for its exercises, but does have concise grammar reference tables in the appendix.

90. Abdullahi, Mohamed Diriye. *Parlons Somali*. L'Harmattan Edition, 1996.

This book is a useful pedagogical resource for Somali language students. In addition to offering transparent descriptions of key grammatical topics, including many illustrative examples, the first section of the work provides an overview of Somalia's history. Compared to other pedagogical works on Somali, this resource provides a more thorough illustration of paradigms and comprehensive charts of verb forms and agreement patterns. The last two sections of the book offer sample conversational dialogues and a short lexicon of common words.

91. Ahmad, Liban A. *A Dictionary of Somali Verbs in Everyday Contexts*: Author House, 2012.

This Somali-English dictionary was intended to be a reference for Somali verbs, but is not comprehensive. Instead, the text contains just over 250 verbs used often in Somali with detailed entries. The entries include multiple meanings if the verb has multiple interpretations, an example sentence in Somali for each meaning in context, and the English translations of that sentence. After this section, the author presents verb paradigms with examples of several types of regular verbs, all four irregular verbs, and a defective verb. The paradigms show the variations in all of these verbs in the present, present continuous, past, and past continuous tenses with different paradigms for the positive and negative polarities as well as the reduced forms. After the paradigms, the dictionary runs through the construction of the imperative, verbal nouns, and infinitives in Somali. The text also provides notes on the potential construction of verbs, how to use the reflexive, and the deictic markers *soo* and *sii* with a series of example sentences to illustrate the usage. Lastly, there is an index of all the verbs in the dictionary listed by their English.

92. Awde, Nicholas, Cabdulqaadir Xaaji Cali Xaaji Axmed, and Martin Orwin. *Somali-English, English-Somali Dictionary and Phrasebook*. New York: Hippocrene, 1999.

This pocket dictionary is perhaps better defined as a lexicon, as it contains fewer than fifty pages of simple, core vocabulary translated with no information on part of speech, pronunciation, agreement patterns, example usage, and other such supplementary information found in most standard dictionaries. The book also has a very cursory (six pages) grammatical overview and

general pronunciation guide. Approximately half of the book is comprised of a 'quick reference' phrase book suitable for travelers.

93. Bell, Christopher Richard Vincent. *The Somali Language*. London: Longmans, Green, 1953.

This is a short pedagogical grammar of Somali with sections devoted to discreet topics which contain sample exercises. The work is purely descriptive, with little to no theoretical discussion about the complex aspects of the language. The author describes Somali as an intonation language, rather than a tone/accent language, as discussed in more recent works. Verb paradigm charts, a key to sample exercises, and English-Somali/Somali-English lexicons follows the main text.

94. Hashi, Abdirahman, and Awil Hashi. *Fiqi's Somali English Dictionary: FIQI Educational Materials*, 1995.

While this dictionary is written for Somali speakers learning English, it is also a helpful resource for English students of Somali. The dictionary contains a number of more contemporary vocabulary items not found in resources preceding it. Of note, dh and kh are not treated as separate letters in headwords, rather they occur alphabetically within pages for d and k. This dictionary also includes a number of illustrative examples and easy to follow conventions for indicating plural type and corresponding singular vs. plural agreement patterns.

95. Issa, Abdullahi A. *Somali Common Expressions*: Dunwoody Press, 1987.

This textbook intends to present full sentences for everyday usage by those traveling to Somalia. There is a short preface explaining in linguistic terminology the difference in orthography and then the subsequent sections, beginning with greetings, provide one sentence in English with the Somali equivalent. The reader is not provided with a breakdown of the Somali, so these phrases are likely meant simply to be memorized and repeated as needed. This book presents 16 lessons on topics such as everyday language, traveling and sightseeing, visiting a doctor, banker, or barber, and local public transportation, among others. In total, the text contains 600 entries and an additional 20 blank pages at the end of the book for notes the reader may make.

96. Issa, Abdullahi A., and John D. Murphy. *Somali Newspaper Reader*. Kensington, MD: Dunwoody Press, 1984.

The Somali newspaper reader was developed for intermediate learners and contains three parts. The first part includes 51 target language texts with a table of useful vocabulary after each and, if necessary, brief grammatical explanations. These texts vary from as short as three lines for the first entry to as long as three pages for the second entry increasing in difficulty throughout the book. The second part provides English translations that are not idiomatic, but rather more literal translations so that the learner can see the Somali structure more literally. In some situations, a verbatim translation is even given in brackets for the reader's benefit. The final section is an alphabetized Somali-English glossary of vocabulary terms used throughout the text.

97. Orwin, Martin. *Colloquial Somali*: Routledge, 1995.

This textbook is one of the most readily available resources on the market to learn basic Somali. The course itself appears geared towards foreigners that plan to visit Somalia based on the fact that lessons cover such things as introductions, local transportation, making reservations, changing money, and general illnesses, among other topics. Each lesson includes dialogues and exercises, often with grammatical instruction, such as verb conjugations, and cultural notes, like comments on interaction between men and women, interspersed throughout the text. Towards the end of the book, the articles presented for the chapters on Somali media are more challenging and seem authentic. Some of the spellings are inconsistent and verbs are presented late in the book, but the information is highly accessible to readers. At the end of the text, the author includes grammatical tables, a bidirectional glossary, and a key to the exercises included in the book. This last feature is excellent for the reader to get some feedback on their performance and is often lacking in other materials.

98. Osman, Madina M., and R. David P. Zorc. *Somali Handbook*: Dunwoody Press, 1992.

This handbook aims to provide military, medical, or relief personnel residing in Somalia with an introduction to the language and a fast pocket resource for common day-to-day needs. The author lists basic sentences for introductions and other basic phrases such as vocabulary for getting directions, telling time, and family relations. Afterwards, the handbook includes profession-specific rote sentences and phrases that may come up on a regular basis. The beginning of the book has a glossary of individual words from English to Somali and the end of the book has its Somali-English counterpart.

99. Puglielli, Annarita, and Cabdalla Mansur, Cumar. *Qaamuuska Af-Soomaaliga*. Rome: RomaTrE, 2012.

This book is a monolingual Somali-Somali dictionary meant for use by native speakers. A resource this thorough did not previously exist in wide distribution. The introductory section of the dictionary describes the background and motivation for the project, layout and formatting of the dictionary, and list the abbreviations used in Somali, Italian, and English. It is also stated that entries beginning with digraphs such as <dh>, <kh>, or <sh> are not listed separately, but rather listed under <d>, <k>, and <s>. Next, the editors present a short explanation of the grammar of verbal conjugations, infinitive forms, and how to find derived forms of verbs. The body of the dictionary lists detailed entries with part of speech and also accounts for homophones and polysemous words. For verbs, the conjugations are also listed in these entries, as are plural morphemes for nouns, and synonyms or variant spellings where necessary. Following the dictionary entries, the editors have provided a grammatical sketch of Somali nouns, determiners, pronouns, verbs, and particles such as conjunctions, focus markers, and adpositions. Lastly, the editors have even provided a comprehensive set of tables with example verbal paradigms for all of the various patterns of verbs.

100. Qoorsheel, Maxamud Jaamac. *English-Somali, Somali-English Dictionary*. 2nd ed: Simon Wallenberg, 2007.

This is a recently published dictionary that aims to provide what many Somali bilingual dictionaries lack, specifically better representations of scientific and technical terms and a more up-to-date lexicon than that provided in traditional texts. On top of this, the author tried to limit the size of the dictionary simultaneously by omitting highly technical jargon, uncommon/rare derived forms, and synonyms of previous entries. This dictionary was successful in that it provides many technical terms that are difficult to find in other existing Somali bilingual dictionaries and when needed the Somali translations even give phrasal entries for those English technical terms that are difficult to translate in just one word or simply do not exist as a single word in Somali. This dictionary also has its downsides. For example, in an attempt to limit the size of entries, the author has excluded parts of speech, which is difficult when trying to distinguish the usage of a word that has multiple meanings. On a related note, the author also left out example sentences and in many cases listed a Somali verbal noun as the translation for an English imperative verb.

101. Saeed, John I. Somali. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999.

This grammar is a more linguistically-sophisticated version of Saeed's earlier published grammar that is more pedagogical in nature. This version of the grammar covers roughly the same topics at the earlier grammar, yet the theoretical and analytical assumptions that the author makes are more clearly articulated for an academic audience. Nonetheless, this grammar still suffers from fairly terse descriptions of a number of topics and does not widely draw upon other contemporary literature on the language.

102. ———. Somali Reference Grammar. Kensington, MD: Dunwoody Press, 1993.

Despite its title, this version of Saeed's Somali grammar is suitable perhaps only for pedagogical use by beginning Somali language learners, as it offers a very cursory overview of key topics, while setting many others aside. In what appears to be an attempt at accommodating more native, non-linguist students, the author tends toward ill-suited terminology, mnemonic devices, incomplete glosses, and space-saving omission of examples which greatly decrease the utility of this resource.

103. Zorc, R. David P., and Abdullahi A. Issa. Somali Textbook. Kensington, MD: Dunwoody Press, 1990.

This textbook loosely follows material contained in other Somali instructional resources produced by Dunwoody Press, although many of the conventions adopted (e.g. verb groups and noun declension classes) differ between them and often contradict one another. The book contains fifty chapters and three appendices which include grammatical paradigms, folktale translations, and 'survival dialogs.' Chapters introduce discreet topics and provide exercises, grammatical notes, and 'pattern and transformation drills'; however there is little cohesion and no clear conceptual evolution throughout the lesson chapters.

104. Zorc, R. David P., and Madina M. Osman. Somali-English Dictionary with English Index. Hyattsville, MD: Dunwoody Press, 1993.

This is a general purpose Somali-English bilingual dictionary. The beginning of the dictionary contains a brief outline of Somali grammar, including the abbreviations that are used in dictionary entries to represent indicate different grammatical categories. Entries are then comprised of the Somali headword, alternate forms (if applicable), the part of speech, the English sense, any cross references and dialectal or language borrowing information, if applicable. Although there is an English index, this dictionary is primarily Somali to English, not vice versa. Head words which are spelled the same way but have distinct meanings are listed under separate entries.

### Other Materials

105. Agostini, F., A. Puglielli, and Moxamed Ciise. *Dizionario Somalo-Italiano*. Rome: Gangemi, 1986.
106. Banti, Giorgio. *Lineamenti Di Fonologia, Morfologia E Sintassi Del Somali E Dei Suoi Dialetti*. Rome: University of Rome, 1985.
107. Barillot, X. "Alternances "Voyelle-Zéro" et Gémiation Consonantique en Somali." *Université Paris 7*, 1997.
108. Berchem, Jorg. *Referenzgrammatik des Somali*. Köln: Omimee Intercultural, 1992.
109. Desampont, C. F. *Grammaire Somalie: Berbera*, 1905.
110. El-Somali-Mewis, Catherine. *Lehrbuch des Somali*. Leipzig: VEB Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1987.
111. Godon, Elsa. "Aspects de la Morphologie Nominale du Somali: La Formation du Pluriel." *Université Paris 7*, 1998.
112. Hunter, F. M. *A Grammar of the Somali Languages*. Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1880.
113. Kirk, J. W. C. *A Grammar of the Somali Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905.
114. Lamberti, M. *Die Somali-Dialekte*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske, 1986.
115. Mansur, Abdalla Omar, and Annarita Puglielli. *Barashada Naxwaha Af Soomaaliga: A Somali School Grammar*. London: Haan Associates, 1999.
116. Palermo, Giovanni Maria da. *Grammatica Della Lingua Somala*. Asmara: Tipografia Franceseana, 1914.
117. Panza, Bruno. *Af Soomaali: Grammatica Della Lingua Somala Con Piccolo Vocabulario in Appendice*. Florence: Le Monnier, 1974.
118. Reinisch, Leo. *Die Somali Sprache*. Vienna: Alfred Hölder, 1903.

119. Schleicher, A. W. *Die Somali Sprache*. Berlin: Theodor Frölich, 1892.
120. Zholkovsky, A. K. *Sintaksis Somali*. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1971.

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