

From Kitaab-Hollandsch to Kitaab-Afrikaans: The evolution of a non-white literary variety at the Cape (1856-1940)

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1. Introduction

The first significant appearance of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans as a literary medium has been situated in the satirical dialogues published in the journalist Meurant's *Cradocksche Nieuwsblad* from 1860 onwards (Pienaar 1943: 73; Scholtz 1964: 170). The focus of the academic community on the White and Christian-dominated Afrikaans language movements means that little attention has been paid to the evidence of an older Cape Dutch/Afrikaans literary tradition cultivated among Muslim Cape Coloureds, often referred to as "Cape Malays". Descending mainly from the Asian slaves brought by the VOC, the Cape Malays developed from an early stage a distinct religious culture through their cultivation of Islam, as well as a distinct linguistic identity through their connections with the Dutch East Indies and the Islamic world. These cultural idiosyncrasies resulted in a relatively late nativization of Cape Dutch, as well as the appearance in the early 19th century of a local Muslim literature that used as a linguistic medium a distinct variety of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans. This variety was known, among others, as "Kitaab-Hollandsch", a term which stressed its vernacular identity, as well as its literary and religious character (Davids 1992: 101). This variety initially used only the Arabic alphabet, until knowledge of the Roman alphabet spread among the Cape

Malay intelligentsia in the latter part of the 19th century. The use of *Kitaab-Hollandsch*, in both its Arabic and Roman forms, seems to have endured up until the mid 20th century.

Due to the particular socio-cultural settings of its evolution, *Kitaab-Hollandsch* offers an interesting perspective on the process of standardization of the non-White varieties of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans. In the absence of a thorough diachronic survey, the research presented here compiled a range of Cape Malay Afrikaans religious texts covering roughly one century, from the mid 19th century up to the mid 20th century, the period in which there was a gradual transition from Dutch to Afrikaans as the official norm.

This paper presents the socio-historical and linguistic context of Muslim Cape Dutch/Afrikaans literature, using the same texts as in Stell, Luffin, and Rakiep (2007). It then focuses on the areas of greatest diachronic variation in the phonology, lexicon, idiomaticity, morphology, and syntax of the Cape Malay texts. Finally, it attempts to place that variation within the perspective of the evolution of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans.

2. Socio-historical and linguistic context of Muslim Cape Dutch/Afrikaans literature

Despite the Nusantara connection that their name suggests, the Cape Malays cannot be depicted as a purely Nusantara ethnic group. Emphasizing the diversity of their Asian background, Bradlow and Cairns (1978: 83) point out that "although a good proportion of them did come from what was known as the 'Malay Archipelago', a larger proportion came from India". Mayson (1855 in Kähler 1971: 4, 7) mentions the visible signs of miscegenation with other non-Asian groups, observing that "some of the present generation are the immediate offspring of female slaves and their Dutch masters", and further that "the term 'Malay' is ... locally applied to all Mahommedans. These include Arabs, Mozambique prize-negroes, Hottentots, and Christian perverts". This extension of the label "Malay" cannot only be the consequence of ignorance on the part of European observers, as it is reported that non-Nusantaran groups converted to Islam considered themselves Malays.¹ It thus seems that the ethnic denotation of the label "Malay" was not always as well-defined as its religious one (Haron 2000). The use of the label "Malay" may still be justifiable today on linguistic grounds,² despite the racist overtones acquired by the Malay imagery during Apartheid.³

Cape Malay ethnic and religious imagery traces its origins to the time when the Dutch were practising slavery across the Indian Ocean. Aiming to turn the Cape into a self-supporting VOC outpost, Commander van Riebeeck resolved in the 1650s to address the labour shortage by importing slaves. Because of the large gaps in the records surviving from the Dutch period, it is not easy to reconstruct a breakdown of the Cape slaves according to their ethnic origins, as sources of supply were subject to variation, and a growing number of slaves were born at the Cape. According to Armstrong and Worden (1979: 120-121), Madagascar was the main regional source of Cape slaves during the VOC period, whereas India (chiefly Bengal, followed by Malabar and Coromandel) and the Nusantara archipelago (chiefly Macassar and Batavia) contributed much smaller numbers. However, computing various records covering the whole VOC period, Shell (1994: 41) arrived at the following proportions of slave imports to the Cape: 26.4% continental Africans, 25.1% Malagasies, 25.9% Indians, and 22.7% Nusantarans. These figures suggest an even balance between the African and Asian components.

Despite the diversity of the Asian component, it seems that early Dutch records broadly referred to Asians as "Javaansche" or "Bataviaansche slaven", more in reflection of the geographic location of the VOC administrative headquarters than of their actual place of origin (Shell 1994:83). It is probable that the term "Malay" came to be used as a common term for Cape Asians as a result of the wholesale use made by Cape authorities of Malay imagery in reference to Asia (*ibid.*). The socio-economic and cultural commonalities visibly shared by Cape Asians probably strengthened the ethnic generalizations made by the authorities. In turn, those same commonalities helped the Cape Asians to eventually form a close-knit community.

Nusantarans, among all slaves, generally shared the highest social status with their Indian counterparts, because of the specific skills Asians contributed to the Colony. As a result, there was a preponderance of Asians in domestic or semi-skilled labour, as opposed to Malagasy and African slaves who were predominantly put to work as fieldhands (Armstrong and Worden 1979: 147; Elphick and Shell 1979: 208; Vink 2003: 162). Moreover, Asian slaves born in Asia, with roughly equal proportions of Nusantarans and Indians, had a disproportionately large share in the number of manumissions, by far exceeding the share of manumitted slaves from Madagascar and Africa throughout most of the 18th century (Elphick

and Shell 1979: 207). In view of their privileged status, the growing population of *Vrijezwarten* (manumitted slaves) was allowed to concentrate in Cape Town. From the late 18th century they formed a distinct residential community in the Bo-Kaap area (Boëseken 1977: 77-97; Elphick and Shell 1979: 212, 218, 224).

An obvious cultural commonality was Islam, that both Nusantarans and Indians practised from an early stage. Examining their regions of origin, Bradlow (1978: 103-105) speculates that a large proportion of the Indians and most of the Nusantarans imported to the Cape were already Muslims by the time of their arrival, as opposed to the Malagasies, for example, whose region of origin by the end of the VOC period had been only superficially influenced by Islam. The practice of Islam brought the different Asian groups together; Bradlow (1978: 80-81) notes the representation of both Indian and Nusantaran components in the early Bo-Kaap Muslim clergy of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

Cape Town Asians' socio-economic conditions, their often shared Muslim background, as well as their geographic concentration, helped them to weave a common linguistic identity. On account of their original ethnic diversity, their linguistic identity remained pluriglossic until the turn of the 19th century, primarily associated with Malay, Creole Portuguese, and an increasingly nativized variety of Dutch (Valkhoff 1966: 261-264; Elphick and Shell 1979: 230; Ponelis 1993: 15-17). Probably a cornerstone of the label "Cape Malay" as a group denominator, Malay was the Asian language most prestigious and widespread among the established Asian Cape Muslim community. This language enjoyed some prestige outside of that group as well (Valkhoff 1966). On the other hand, Asian Portuguese Creole may have served predominantly as an oral link among the constant inflow of Asians from geographic zones where Malay was not usual (Ponelis 1993). The fact that Malay was the medium of instruction at the early *madaris* (Islamic schools), and remained so until the early 19th century (Davids 1987: 46; Ponelis 1993), suggests that it was in a position to subsume all locally represented Austronesian varieties from the Malay Archipelago. As a *lingua franca* among Nusantarans, Malay was bound to become more widespread than its mutually unintelligible Indian contenders.⁴ Its genetic proximity to Malagasy, the numerically strongest Austronesian language in the Colony in terms of native speakers, may have further strengthened its leading position.

Knowledge of Dutch was probably not uncommon among the early Muslim community. Dutch possessed a high social status in the colony, and its diffusion was probably stimulated by the close contact and miscegenation between Asians and Dutch-speaking Hottentots.⁵

The turn of the 18th century brought major social change that considerably broadened the ethnic and linguistic connotations of the label "Cape Malay". This social change originated in the promulgation of the 1770 amendment to the 1642 *Statuten van Indië*, which stipulated that Christians were to instruct their slaves in the Christian religion, and that, once baptized, those slaves were to be given the right of purchasing their freedom. The fear of Christian slave owners of losing their property encouraged a laissez-faire attitude that left the field wide open for Mohammedan proselytisation (Elphick and Shell 1979: 191; Shell 1994: 356-362). As the British began to abolish slavery during the early 19th century, large numbers of "new" Muslims of non-Asian extraction were released from their rural bondage and re-settled in Cape Town, which, at the time, was the only Islamic centre in the Colony (Shell 1997: 275).

The fact that the label "Cape Malay" survived the ethnic diversification of Cape Muslims is probably due to Cape Town's Muslim social establishment remaining of Asian extraction. The Asian identity of that establishment could be cultivated, as it was perceived by new converts as worth identifying with (Franken 1953: 41-79, 116-122; Davids 1980: 5-6, 1987: 42-43). It seems, however, that the core of established Cape Muslims had to make cultural concessions to accommodate the new ethnic components of the community by gradually relinquishing its Asian linguistic connection in favour of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans. Among the factors contributing to this change was the British ban on slave imports in 1808 which severely reduced the functionality of Creole Portuguese and Malay as oral links with non-assimilated newcomers from Asia. A second factor was the rural origin of the non-Asian Muslims. Many of the new Muslims had been more subject to Dutch influence and had possibly been linguistically assimilated into the European community (Elphick and Shell 1979: 225-226). However, despite the presumable linguistic barriers, the new ethnic groups that settled in the Bo-Kaap by the early 19th century appear not to have been prevented from social interaction with the Asian group, although they may for a while have continued to be perceived as distinct.⁶ The disappearance of both Malay and Creole Portuguese by the turn of the 20th century confirms that the components forming the Cape Muslim community may have merged into an ethnically all-inclusive Cape Malay group, of which a certain variant of Cape

Dutch/Afrikaans was the most natural linguistic attribute (Ponelis 1993: 17). The rise of that Cape Dutch/Afrikaans as a lingua franca among the Cape Muslim community in the 19th century is confirmed by its gradual introduction as both oral and written medium in *madaris*, which facilitated the perpetuation and transmission of its idiosyncrasies. These idiosyncrasies could be cultivated for as long as Coloureds were left in a state of relative exclusion from the government-sponsored education system, through which Standard (Std.) Dutch/Afrikaans and English could be learned (Horrell 1970: 10, 14; Davids 1980: 45; 1987: 44-45, 49; Hoosain Ebrahim 2004: 54-57).

3. Overview of Cape Malay Dutch/Afrikaans literature and the corpus

The Cape Malay Dutch/Afrikaans literary heritage is not readily accessible. Efforts to trace it for academic research are quite recent, ranging from Van Selms (1951) to Davids (1992). Davids (1987: 49) puts the figure of discovered Cape Dutch/Afrikaans texts using the Arabic alphabet at 74, and the number of texts discovered in Roman alphabet, which can be called "Cape Malay" in terms of linguistic features, around 20. Most of these texts are devoted to strictly religious matters, and a few to linguistic matters revolving around the Arabic language (Muller 1962: 39-41).

The oldest yet discovered Cape Malay text is Ishmuni's *Betroubare Woord*, which Van Selms (1953) tentatively dates to 1856. Abu Bakr Effendi's *Bayanûddin*, completed in 1869 and printed in 1879, is widely acknowledged as a major milestone in the Cape Malay literary tradition (Muller 1962: 36-39; Davids 1987: 48-49, 1992: 110, 115). Beyond these defining dates, authors disagree over the timeframes within which Cape Malay literature flourished. With respect to Cape Malay Dutch/Afrikaans literature using the Arabic alphabet, Muller (1962: 39-40) suggests that the printing of the *Bayanûddin* marked the beginning of a period of inertia lasting until 1890. Davids (1987: 49), in contrast, proposes that "writing in Arabic-Afrikaans was one continuous process which started in 1815 and continued until 1957". The origin of "Arabic-Afrikaans"⁷ as a graphic variety of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans can be traced back to the need for a comprehensible written medium of instruction for the use of Cape Town's *madaris*. Initially using Malay, *madrasah* students gradually replaced the Malay language with their Dutch-based vernacular, which they transposed into the Arabic alphabet in their notebooks (Davids 1987: 47, 1992: 109). The cultivation of this written tradition can

be regarded as the Cape Muslim intelligentsia's response to the inaccessibility and/or unacceptability of English-dominated secular education amongst its members, i.e. the only environment in which the Roman alphabet could be learned formally (Horell 1970: 14; Davids 1992: 150-151; Hoosain Ebrahim 2004: 56-57).

The government's steps towards compulsory education for Coloureds, as well as a gradual change in community attitude, are the factors that favoured the introduction of the Roman alphabet into Cape Malay literature, inaugurated with the publication in 1898 of Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar's *Kitâb Tarajomatarrîyaadil Badîati* (Kähler 1971: 196; Davids 1992: 96, 99)⁸. Texts in Cape Dutch, and later on in Afrikaans, have continued appearing ever since.

The most thorough diachronic survey of evolutionary trends affecting the Cape Malay literary varieties is that by Davids (1992), whose main focus of attention is restricted to orthographic matters. Davids (1992: 110) identifies two evolutionary stages in Arabic-Afrikaans literature. The first stage is characterized by the use of the *Jawi* script, imported from Nusantara, as well as conflicting approaches to vocalisation. The later stage is characterized by a general compliance with the new orthographic conventions fixed by Abu Bakr Effendi in his *Bayanûddin*. The first texts in Roman alphabet seem to have been lacking in orthographic consistency, despite an observable pursuit of Dutch conventions. Dutch conventions were totally superseded by Afrikaans ones only from the 1940s onwards (Muller 1962: 40; Davids 1992: 110).⁹

Other areas, such as lexicon, morphology and syntax, have so far received attention in Ponelis (1981), Kotzé (1984), Waher (1994), and Davids (1992). Despite their fragmentary character, Davids' (1992) observations in these respects provide interesting clues. Davids (1992) presents evidence of strong idiolectal differentiation between authors. For example, the variety used by Abu Bakr Effendi in his *Bayanûddin* displays syntactic features found nowhere else in Cape Malay literature. Further, the remarkably frequent use of the Malay lexicon by one author from Port Elizabeth leads Davids (1992: 156-159) to speculate on the existence of an Eastern Cape literary variety opposed to a Western Cape literary variety. Regardless of idiolectal specificities and chronology, the author assumes the existence of a linguistic gap between Roman and Arabic texts. Cape Malay Afrikaans texts using the Roman

alphabet would bear distinctive marks of Std. Dutch, whereas Cape Malay Afrikaans texts using the Arabic alphabet would form a more accurate reflection of real Cape Malay spoken usage (Davids 1992: 97-98; Muller 1962: 5). Putting his observations in a diachronic perspective, Davids (1987: 50-52) finds that the literary varieties used by Cape Malay authors have been moving ever closer to a Std. Afrikaans (Std. Af.) target.

This is the claim to be substantiated here. The texts singled out for the present study span roughly one century, from Ishmuni's *Betroubare Woord* (1856) to Shaykh Hanif Edwards' *Die sterke fondament* (written in the 1950s). The corpus comprises 22 texts. Of these texts, 11 are written in the Arabic alphabet, and 11 in the Roman alphabet. To facilitate a diachronic comparison, the texts were ordered into five successive "periods". In fact, the first two periods may rather be called "points in time", as they are each comprised of only one text (as no other contemporary text is available), i.e. *die Betroubare Woord* (1856) and the *Bayanûddin* (1869). The point of giving special treatment to *die Betroubare Woord* is to illustrate Davids' observation of "pre-*Bayanûddin* tendencies". Since it is perceived as a turning point in Arabic-Afrikaans literature, the *Bayanûddin* is treated separately. First among the "post-*Bayanûddin*" periods, the third period is comprised of five texts written exclusively in the Arabic alphabet, and covers the years 1881 to 1894. The following period is comprised of six texts in both the Arabic and Roman alphabets, and covers 19 years, starting from 1898, i.e. the year in which the first Cape Malay Dutch publication in the Roman alphabet is believed to have seen the light. Finally, the last period is comprised of texts in both the Arabic and Roman alphabet, all written by Shaykh Hanif Edwards (1906-1958) (Stell et al. 2007). The works of a total of 15 authors are involved in the study.

All the texts deal with religious issues related to the practice of Islam and the nature of faith. All the texts are translations from Arabic originals. With the exception of Abu Bakr Effendi, all authors may be assumed to be native to Cape Town and surrounding areas.

The varieties used in the texts generally display such a strong Afrikaans character throughout the period involved, that the current norms of Std. Af. were used as a yardstick for identifying primary features, rather than those of Std. Dutch. For the sake of conciseness, an effort has been made to mention only statistically significant non-standard features. The extent of variation is only quantified for selected features that are deemed representative of general

trends. Regardless of statistical significance, mention is also made of those non-standard morphological and syntactic features described by Ponelis (1981) in his account of the *Bayanûddin's* variety, or singled out by Deumert (2003: 221-222) for frequency analysis from the *Corpus of Cape Dutch Correspondence* (CCDC). Other useful points of comparison, especially in the realms of morphology and syntax, are the *Straatpraatjes* columns from the APO newspaper (1909-1922), the early 20th century platform of the Coloured political elite (Adhikari 1996; Pheiffer 1996; Ponelis 1996), and *Di Patriot* (1875-1905), an early mouthpiece of Afrikaner nationalism (Steyn 1931).

3.1 Phonological characteristics of the corpus

The matching of orthographic practices with dialect descriptions is the only means to speculate on the phonological patterns of Cape Muslim Dutch/Afrikaans. One can summarize the evolution of the Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet as a two-stage process, the first being experimental, and the second being marked by a higher degree of conventionalisation inspired by Abu Bakr Effendi's work (Davids 1991, 1992: 110-111).

Davids (1992: 301-302) assumes that Arabic-Afrikaans texts were closer to Cape Malay spoken usage than Roman texts. This claim may be supported by the transcription through the Arabic alphabet of certain features characteristic of general spoken Dutch/Afrikaans, which are not graphically represented in Std. Dutch/Afrikaans (Std. Dutch/Af.) or in the Roman texts. Such features are the voiceless realization of word-final <d> transcribed as [t], the syllabization of the clusters [rk], [rm], and [lm], and the rhoticization of intervocalic [d] (Le Roux 1962: xxix; Ponelis 1998: 8). It is otherwise not always easy to ascertain whether the phonetic value of a given Arabic character accurately reflects the actual phonetic values of the time. What remains is conjecture that the authors may have attempted to approximate certain phonological features characteristic of their variety, choosing from the options offered by the Arabic alphabet.

Among the phonological features of South Western Afrikaans, of which we find unequivocal evidence in the present Arabic-Afrikaans texts, are the following:

- The raising of the close-mid long vowel [o:] into [u:] (Ponelis 1993: 65; 1998: 15). Just like the author studied by Van Selms (1951), our Cape Malay writers only in

exceptional cases attempt to approximate the close-mid character of Std. Af. [o:] through the combination *fatḥa* + *wāw* (aw) (ibid. 44-45). Rather, they use the combination *damma* + *wāw* (ū), or only a *damma* (u). This occurs in forms such as *sūrt* × *surt*¹⁰ ("sort", Std. Dutch/Af. *soort* [so:rt]).

- The realization of diminutive suffixes by means of the Arabic signs for [t] and [·] as in *bitshi* ("a bit", Std. Dutch *beetje* [be:tjə], Std. Af. *bietjie* [biki] × [bici]) (Ponelis 1998: 15).

Phonological features more typical of Cape Malay Dutch/Afrikaans proper are:

- The large-scale syllabization of word-initial consonant clusters occurring in the pre-*Bayanūddin* period and in the *Bayanūddin* itself. In texts from those periods, forms such as *sukun* ("clean", Std. Dutch *schoon*, Std. Af. *skoon*) or *pelek* ("place", Std. Dutch/Af. *plek*) are not uncommon. Syllabization may reflect the tendency (possibly to be attributed to Malay influence) noted by Kloppers (1983: 284-285) in the speech of older Cape Muslim generations.
- The systematic transcription of the Std. Dutch/Af. past participle suffix *ge-* ([xə]) as *kha* ([xa]) as in *khafūrm* ("formed", Std. Dutch/Af. *gevorm(d)* [xəforəm(t)]) mirrors the Cape Malay realization of that morpheme as [xa] (Davids 1992: 281). If they were aiming to render a schwa, our Cape Malay writers could just as well have used the combination *fatḥa* + *kasra* ([e]) which, from the *Bayanūddin* onwards, had become the common means for transcribing Std. Dutch/Af. schwas (Davids 1991).
- The systematic transcription of Std. Dutch/Af. <j> by using the consonant *jīm*, as in *djaw* (Std. Dutch/Af. *jou*, "you"), reflects the characteristic Cape Malay alveopalatal affricative [d·], attributed to Malay influence (Ponelis 1993: 65, 1998: 15). If in such instances the authors were aiming to transcribe a Std. Dutch/Af. [j], they could have easily used a *kasra* or *yā'* instead of *jīm*. Therefore, *jīm* was clearly intended for something else than [j].
- The maintenance of intervocalic [kh] recorded by Kotzé as characteristic of CMA (1989: 257), as in *di hūkhe Alā* ("the great Allah", Std. Dutch *de hoge Allah*, Std. Af. *die hoë Allah*), *khataykha* ("witnesses", Std. Dutch *getuigen*, Std. Af. *getuie*), *nakhil* ("nail", Std. Dutch *nagel*, Std. Af. *nael*).

The Roman texts in the present study were ordered into a "Dutch period", represented by the texts covering the years 1898-1930, and an "Afrikaans period", represented by the work of Hanif Edwards. In the texts from the Dutch period, there is a certain degree of compliance with general Dutch orthographic conventions, as illustrated by the use of <ij>, <z>, and <ch>. In a time when "Classical Dutch" and "Kollewijnian Dutch" were competing in South Africa (De Villiers 1936: 160-187), there is also substantial free variation in the transcription of long vowels in open syllables: <oo> and <ee> cohabit with <e> and <o>, respectively. Certain words are also found in the form which they later acquired in Std. Af. spelling (e.g. *het*, "have", instead of Std. Dutch *heb*). Hanif Edwards obviously discarded Dutch conventions in favour of Std. Af. ones. Deviations from Dutch and Afrikaans orthographic conventions, potentially indicating local phonological characteristics, include the following:

- The graphemic combination <oe>, used where in Std. Dutch/Af. <o> or <oo> would be expected, as in *soe* (Std Af. *so*, "so"), *hoegste* (Std. Af. *hoogste*, "highest"), *gloewe* (Std. Af. *gelowe*, "beliefs"). These orthographic irregularities may have been intended as a means to render the South Western Afrikaans raising of close mid vowels.
- An intervocalic <g> is encountered where Arabic texts have an intervocalic [kh]. Intervocalic <g> was described as optional by the early editions of the *Afrikaanse Woordelys en Spelreëls (AWS)*, until it was eventually scrapped in the 1968 edition. We thus find *segen* ("blessing", Std. Dutch *zegen*, Std. Af. before 1968: *seën* replace *segen*), *hoge* ("high", Std. Dutch *hoge*, Std. Af. before 1968: *hoë* replace *hoge*).

To visualize some of the orthographic/phonological trends over the timespan covered by the corpus, the evolution of the syllabisation of word-initial and word-final consonant clusters in the Arabic texts (respectively A and B), and the same two features in the Roman texts (respectively C and D), were reproduced, as reflected by Figure 1.



Figure 1. Syllabisation of word-initial and word-final consonant clusters in Arabic and Roman texts

As Figure 1 shows, Abu Bakr Effendi followed and even amplified a pre-existing graphic tradition of syllabizing word-initial and word-final consonant clusters (A and B). From Hanif Edwards onwards, syllabization of word-initial consonant clusters almost completely disappears, which may reflect the decline of that (possibly Malay) feature in real spoken usage, as observed by Kloppers (1983: 284-285). On the other hand, syllabization of word-final clusters remains stable, but is strikingly less represented in Hanif Edwards' work, even though this phonological phenomenon is still commonly affecting today's spoken Afrikaans. In contrast, there are only marginal traces of syllabization in Roman texts (C and D in Figure 1). The observed mismatch between Arabic and Roman texts may confirm Davids' view that the Arabic and the Roman varieties were not intended to reflect Cape Malay Dutch/Afrikaans speech in similar terms.

3.2 Lexical characteristics of the corpus

Reflecting the linguistic background of the Cape Malay community, the corpus contains loanwords from Classical Arabic, Malay, and English. These loanwords are embedded in a Dutch/Afrikaans-based matrix lexical variety, which may differ in its characteristics from the Std. Dutch/Af. lexical varieties.

Part of the Dutch lexical stock, but never recognized as standard by Afrikaans lexical sources, there are a few lexical forms that appeared to be in widespread use across the Cape Dutch/Afrikaans speech community. Among these are the variant *mut* ("with", Std. Dutch/Af. *met*) and the assimilated form *lat* (Std. Dutch/Af. subordinate conjunction *dat*). There may also be lexicalized non-standard derivatives, such as the comparative determiner *meerder*

(Std. Dutch/Af. *meer*), the adjective *selte* ("same", Std. Dutch/Af. (*z*)*selfde*), and the pronoun *diegenage* ("the one", Std. Dutch/Af. *de-/diegene*).

A few Dutch/Afrikaans words are found in a non-standard semantic use. Examples are *beginsel* with the meaning of "beginning" (Std. Dutch/Af. *begin*, *aanvang*), and *aanmerking* with the meaning of "characteristic" (Std. Dutch/Af. *kenmerk*).

The Arabic lexical component is mostly comprised of substantives/adjectives referring to Islamic concepts, such as *ḥalāl* ("any action or thing which is permitted or lawful"), *ramaḍān* ("the ninth month of the Islamic calendar during which fasting is required"), *wājib* (as substandard "obligation", "necessity", as adjective "obligatory", "necessary"). Other than isolated words, Classical Arabic religious formulae regularly occur, such as *muhammad sallā –llāhu ‘alaihi uasallama* ("Mohammed, may Allah bless and hail him").

A number of recognizable Malay words occur, albeit on a limited scale, such as the substantive *saksi* ("witness"), the verb *batjah* ("to recite"), and the determiner *banjak* ("much/many"). Incidentally, an Arabic lexical item may be used in its Malay form, such as *djakāt* ("compulsory duty of charity", Arabic *zakāt*). The subordinate conjunction *māski/maskie* (Std. Af. *alhoewel*, *al*, "although, albeit") may have been relayed through Malay, although it has been labelled Creole Portuguese by Valkhoff (1966: 218).

The English lexical component is diverse, but is mainly comprised of content words. Examples are the adjective *permit* ("allowed", Std. Dutch/Af. *toegestaan*), the noun *koort* ("court", Std. Dutch/Af. *gerechts-/geregshof*), and the verb *translate* ("to translate", Std. Dutch *vertalen*, Std. Af. *vertaal*). English function words are rare, but may occur in the form of, for example, the subordinate conjunctions *āftir* ("after") or *wānever* ("whenever") instead of Std. Dutch/Af. *nadat* and *wanneer ook al*. Interesting is that English lexical items may undergo some degree of morphological adaptation, such as *trawelaar* ("traveller", Std. Af. *reisiger*) in the Roman texts, or *ūder* ("order", Std. Af. *orde*) in the Arabic texts.

Forming the bulk of the non-standard Dutch/Afrikaans lexicon, lexical innovations occur regularly. Those innovations may be derivatives of Dutch/Afrikaans stems, such as *verleiry* ("temptation", Std. Dutch/Af. *verleiding*), *tevredeskap* ("satisfaction", Std. Dutch/Af.

tevredenheid), *gevoelte* ("feeling", Std. Dutch/Af. *gevoel*), *sterkheid* ("strength", Std. Dutch/Af. *sterkte*), *getuiging* ("testimony", Std. Dutch/Af. *getui(g)enis*), and *gewetenskap* ("science, knowledge", Std. Dutch/Af. *wetens(ch/k)ap, kennis*).

Some of the lexical innovations are Dutch/Afrikaans-based compounds, such as *maakloon* ("creature/creation", Std. Dutch/Af. *s(ch/k)epsel*), *afreeken dag* ("day of reckoning", Std. Dutch/Af. *dag van vergelding/afrekening*).

Other innovations involve lexical stems foreign to Dutch/Afrikaans, to which is appended an Afrikaans derivative morpheme. This goes for the Arabic-based *wājibkhayt* ("necessity", from Arabic *wājib* + *heid*, Std. Dutch/Af. *nodigheid*), the Malay-based *baiangheid* ("multiplicity", Malay *baiang* + *heid*, Std. Dutch/Af. *veelvuldigheid*), and the English-based *miksel* ("mixture", from English *mix* + *sel*, Std. Dutch/ Af. *mengsel*).

Figure 2 illustrates the evolving shares of Arabic, English, Malay, Dutch/Afrikaans-based and "mixed" lemmata (excluding function-words, proper nouns and formulae) in the non-standard lexicon found in the corpus.



Figure 2. Arabic, English, Malay, Dutch/Afrikaans-based and "mixed" non-standard lemmata

Dominant in the non-standard lexicon is the Arabic lexical component. However, that component decreases constantly, and eventually equals in proportion the soaring Afrikaans-based component. The increase of the Afrikaans-based component can be explained by a developing practice of replacing Arabic terms with Std. Dutch/Af. ones (*voorwaarde* "condition" instead of *shurūt*), and coining new Afrikaans-based terms to translate Arabic ones (*manierte* "attribute" instead of *sifa/sifāt*). The non-standard Dutch/Afrikaans component

is relatively underrepresented in Abu Bakr Effendi's work (possibly imputable to the author's defective lexical knowledge of Cape Dutch). As regards the English component, there is a slight increase in its frequency, as well as a diversification of its content, perhaps in reflection of the authors' improving knowledge of English. The English lexical component of the texts does not seem to be as frequent and diversified as that attested, but unfortunately not quantified, in *Straatpraatjes* (Ponelis 1996: 135-138; Pheiffer 1996: 154-158).

The Malay component remains stable, although it shows a trend towards impoverishment. This is reverberated in Greef's (1951:7) observations, according to which "the capacity to always use Malay words correctly is diminishing (...) as the knowledge of Malay is dying out together with the older generation".

There is a range of morphophonological similarities observable across our texts and other corpora. Our corpus contains phonologically deviant monosyllabic forms, such as [*mut*] ("with", Std. Dutch/Af. *met*) and *lat* (subordinate conjunct "that", Std. Dutch/Af. *dat*), attested in comparable forms in *Di Patriot* and in the late 19th century Transvaal press (Steyn 1931: 23; Van Rensburg and Combrink 1984: 118, 129).

The absence of the Creole Portuguese lexical component (*maskie* being of questionable Creole origin) is perhaps more reflective of the low status that Creole Portuguese may have possessed, than of a completed decline; as suggested above, Malay and Creole Portuguese both died out as spoken languages by the turn of the 20th century. On the other hand, Malay lexicon was still used on account of its religious significance. As a final remark, no significant difference can be found between the lexical trends affecting the Arabic and the Roman parts of the corpus.

3.3 Idiomatic characteristics of the corpus

The term "idiomatic" is used here to include both idioms and habitual collocations (Fernando 1996: 33-37). Although idiomaticity implies a degree of conventionalization that cannot be systematically deduced from the data, the source of Cape Malay Afrikaans idiomaticity is considered here, i.e. patterns of literal or non-literal lexicogrammatical sequencing which are not reverberated in Std. Dutch/Af. Among the lexicogrammatical sequences which occur in the texts, separable verbs, prepositional verbs, sequences of verb + [+human]/[+animate]

marker *vir*, sentence adverbials involving a preposition, and finally semantic units which in terms of their composition could qualify as semi-clausal expressions (fixed collocational sequence noun/adjective/adverb + verb) were singled out for study (Fernando 1996: 41).

All separable verbs that occur in the corpus do exist in Std. Dutch/Af., albeit sometimes with a different meaning, as is the case with *uitwys*, which occurs with the meaning of "to refer" (Std. Dutch/Af. *verwijzen/verwys*). Sometimes, such semantically modified or recomposed separable verbs seem inspired from English phrasal verbs, such as *afhou*, which occurs with the sense of "to keep off" (Std. Dutch/Af. *wegblijven/bly van*).

Prepositional verbs can be followed by an unpredicted preposition, as in *geloof van* ("to believe in", Std. Dutch/Af. *gelooven/glo aan*). That preposition may semantically reflect the English preposition associated with the English synonym, as in *twyfel in* ("to doubt in", Std. Dutch/Af. *twijfelen/twyfel aan*), or the Classical Arabic synonym, as in *praat op* ("to talk about", Std. Dutch/Af. *praten/praat oor*, Arabic *takallama 'an*).

A number of normally transitive Dutch/Afrikaans verbs occur with non-transitive properties, for example *volvoer met* (Std. Af. *volvoer(en)*), as in (1). Conversely, a number of normally intransitive verbs appear to be transitive, such as *voldoen* (Std. Dutch/Af. *voldoen aan*, "to meet/live up to/satisfy") in (2).

(1) *om te volvoer met belofte*
to fulfil the promise

(2) *om te voldoen hulle verlange*
in order to meet their desires

Alongside copular verbs occurring with the expletive subject *dit*, *op* often occurs in regular alternation with *vir* as a role-marking preposition following the predicative adjective, as in (3), whereas Std. Af. assigns that function only to *vir*.

(3) *...om te maak in syn tyd al die ietse wat (...) is wajib op hom*
...in order to perform in its time all those things (...) which he must do

Regarded as a remnant from a previous interlectal stage, possibly under Creole Portuguese or Malay influence, *vir* is regularly found functioning as a [+human]/[+animate] object marker in association with verbs, which sometimes may theoretically be transitive (Raidt 1976: 84-93; Den Besten 1980: 141-179; Ponelis 1996: 272-275). This use of *vir* is illustrated by the sentences in (4).

- (4) *Allāhu ta 'ālā het duidelik gemaak het die vertel vir nabī Muhammad...*
 Allah explained the story of the creation to the Prophet Mohammed
Allāhu ta 'ālā sal maak vir hom lewendig
 Allah will call him into being

The prepositions used by the authors to introduce sentence adverbials, i.e. "semantic prepositions" underdetermined by the verb, may not reflect Std. Dutch/Af. collocation patterns. This is illustrated by the misuse of *by* in the prepositional phrase in (5), whose nominal element normally requires *in* as a head.

- (5) *die meening van die oemrah by die taal van die Arab is om te besoek*
 the meaning of umrā in the Arab's language is to visit

The bulk of non-standard semi-clausal expressions occurs in the form of paraphrastic formulations, such as *twyfelheid maak in* (Std. Dutch/Af. *twyfel/twijfelen aan*, "to doubt in"), *maatskappy wees met* (Std. Dutch/Af. *begelei(den)*, "to accompany"), *gelykens maak* (Std. Af. *vergeelyk*, "to compare"). A number of semi-clausal expressions can incidentally bear the mark of Arabic, such as *salaat maak* ("to perform the Islamic ritual prayer"). In other cases, we find loan translations from English, as in *dra getuie van* (Std. Af. *getuig van*, "to bear witness to").

Figure 3 reflects the frequencies of prepositions used in incorrect association with prepositional verbs (A), of *vir* occurring as [+human]/[+animate] object marker in the dative case (B), and of non-standard semi-clausal expressions (C).

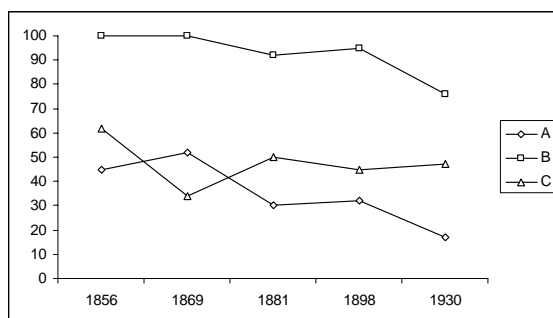


Figure 3. Frequencies of idiomatic characteristics

Prepositional verbs seem to undergo some measure of standardization. The high frequency of *vir* as a [+human]/[+animate] object marker in the dative case in the Dutch period of the corpus, compared with its relative underrepresentation in the CCDC, seems to confirm its previous status as a basilectal non-white speech marker (Raidt 1976: 92-93; Deumert 2003: 209-211). The use of non-standard semi-clausal expressions decreases only slightly. This can be ascribed to the persistence of a relatively stable core of semi-clausal expressions featuring an Arabic element.

Abu Bakr again shows his linguistic originality in an over-representation of non-standard prepositional verbs, and in an under-representation of non-standard semi-clausal expressions. This could be accounted for by the author's defective knowledge of both standard Dutch and Cape Malay idiomaticity.

3.4 Morphological characteristics of the corpus

Standard Dutch and Std. Af. morphology differ considerably. However, not all morphological variation in the corpus can be directly attributed to the effects of competition between Std. Dutch and Std. Af. morphological rules. Some of the morphological variation may be ascribed to the free variation which was characteristic of early Std. Af. Besides this, some of the non-standard features in the corpus may be of Malay or Classical Arabic origin.

The most unmistakable traces of Dutch influence, i.e. of the kind that was condemned by early editions of the *AWS*, occur before Hanif Edwards. Among them are a few bound morphemes, such as the plural marker *-en* in *dagen* ("days", Std. Af. *dae*), the ending *-en* in the infinitive form *wassen* ("to wash", Std. Af. *was*), and in the past participle *vergelyken* (Std. Dutch *vergeleken*, Std. Af. *vergelyk/vergeleke*). There are also traces in the early Roman

writings of verb agreement, in the form of the 3rd person singular *-t* in *begint* ("begins", Std. Af. *begin*), and the 1st person form *heb* of the auxiliary/main verb *hebben* ("to have", Std. Af. *hê*).

Reflecting the hesitation in feature selection that characterized early written Afrikaans, one finds many of the "archaizing" features on which the *AWS* did not originally take a clear stance. Among these features are the preserved etymologic fricatives and gutturals in stem-final position, as in *seg* ("to say", Std. Dutch *zeggen*, from *AWS* 1991 onwards only *sê*),¹¹ or in intervocalic position, as in *tyd/tyde* ("time/times", Std. Dutch *tijd/tijden*, Std. Af. *tye*). Intervocalic [x/g] (cf. section 3.1) is present throughout the corpus and enjoys complete hegemony in the inflectional paradigm (*hoog* > *hoge*) until Hanif Edwards. From Hanif Edwards onwards it finds itself increasingly challenged by the Std. Af. pattern of [x/g]-deletion in similar contexts (*hoog* > *hoë*). At the pronominal level, we find the long possessive forms *myn* and *syn* (Std. Af. *my* and *sy* from *AWS* 1921). At the level of verbal morphology, mostly during the Dutch period, we find evidence of irregular assignment of the 3rd person singular ending *-t* to atematic verbs (*gaan*, *staan*, *slaan*, *sien*, *doen*). That morpheme may be used indiscriminately in its historically correct function (e.g. *hy gaat* "he goes", from 1991 *AWS* onwards only *hy gaan*), as a plural person marker (e.g. *hulle gaat* "they go", from 1991 *AWS* onwards only *hulle gaan*), or as a past participle suffix (e.g. *hulle het gegaat* "they went", Std. Af. *hulle het gegaan*).¹² There are some instances of verbs indicating movement or change of state which, instead of taking *het* as a conjugated tense auxiliary, take the non-concord form, reminiscent of the Dutch use of *zijn*.¹³

The corpus contains a number of un-Dutch morphological features which have never been recorded in the *AWS* or other prescriptive grammars. Among these features are unexpected plural morphemes, such as *-s* in *daghs* ("days", Std. Dutch *dagen*, Std. Af. *da(g)e*), and the juxtaposed plural endings *e + s* in *plekkes* ("places", Std. Dutch/Af. *plekke(n)*). The realm of adjectival inflection, which can no longer be called Dutch in the corpus, since there are no remaining traces of noun gender, exhibits irregularities. There are regular cases of irregular suffixes, as in *'n lange reis* (Std. Af. *'n lang reis*), and irregular zero-inflection, as in *die spesiaal ietse* ("the special matters", Std. Af. would here expect *spesiale*). As regards pronominal forms, there are a few occurrences of the colloquial Dutch *zulle* (appearing in only one Roman text from 1914), while *hulle* is firmly established in both subject and object

positions. Further, we find the pronominal form *myn* with either a possessive or an object function. Despite being Dutch in form, the determiner *deze* occurs, mainly in the Dutch period of the corpus, stripped of its gender-agreement property, i.e. before theoretically neutral nouns in Dutch. This also goes for the relative pronouns *die* or *dat*, likewise Dutch in form. Both occur in a few cases instead of *wat*, irrespective of the historical gender of their antecedents, before completely disappearing in the Afrikaans period. Irregular cases of past participle prefixation occur throughout the corpus in the form of the particle *ge-* affixed to atonic verbal prefixes, as in *verdeel/geverdeel* ("divided", Std. Dutch/Af. *verdeel(d)*) or *geondersoek* ("researched, investigated", Std. Dutch *onderzocht*, Std. Af. *ondersoek*).

There is a range of features, non-standard in both Dutch and Afrikaans terms, which are not quoted by Steyn (1931) and Deumert (2003). At the level of lexical derivation, there are regular cases of irregular generalization of prefixes/suffixes (cf. section 3.1), and a cumulation of suffixes, as in *wetlikigheid* ("legality", Std. Dutch/Af. *wet(te)li(j)kheid*; cf. Waher 1994). Cases of irregular plural formation with the suffix forms *-heide* or *-geite* occurring instead of Std. Dutch/Af. *-hede(n)*, or with stems ending in <d> (to be realized [t] in stem-final position and [d] in the flecional paradigm), as in *afgotte* (Std. Dutch/Af. *afgode(n)*, "idols", from the singular Std. Dutch/Af. form *afgod*),¹⁴ are also found in each period. At the pronominal level, especially in the Dutch period, are the periphrastic possessives *hulle syn/se* and *onse* (possibly a derivate of *ons se*), which may have been inherited from an interlectal/Creole developmental stage.¹⁵ In all periods, adverbial pronouns may occasionally be sequenced along a nucleus-satellite order without featuring the R-element, as in *a(ch)gter dit, op dit*, instead of Std. Dutch/Af. *daara(ch)gter, daarop*. At the verbal level, we find the form *het* (main verb "to have") fulfilling an infinitive function instead of the Std. Af. infinitive *hê* or its Dutch counterpart *hebben*.

Arabic lexical items may sometimes remain subject to Arabic morphological rules. In this line, we find Arabic nouns displaying the Arabic plural morpheme *-in*, the "sound plural" or "broken plural" marker, as in the substantives *muslim*, whose plural form is found as *muslimin*, *sifa* ("attribute") that becomes *sifāt* and *rukṅ* ("pillar") that becomes *'arkān*. The plural morpheme *-s* may nonetheless occur for the plural marking of Arabic lexical stems, as in *'ālims* ("learned ones", Arabic *'ulamā*, singular *'ālim*). Less frequent is the unequivocally Afrikaans desinence *-e*, as in *kitābe* ("books"). A frequent phenomenon is the juxtaposition of

the Arabic plural ending with the *-s* suffix as in *sifāts* ("attributes", Arabic *sifāt*, singular *sifa*). Arabic substantives may be verbalized, as shown by *hukum* ("law") that becomes *gahukum* ("legislated").

The only Malay lexical item occurring in a plural form, *lebarang*, is found with an *-s*, while in Malay no plural suffix existed.¹⁶ Malay verbs are fit into the Afrikaans verbal derivation pattern, as shown in *gabatjah* ("read", from Dutch/Af. *ge-* + Mal. *batjah*).

English loanwords mostly carry the suffix *-s*. It cannot be said with certainty whether this suffix is the normal English plural suffix or an overgeneralized Afrikaans *-s* plural suffix. Examples are *numbars* ("numbers") and *trewels* ("travels"). Interestingly, some English lemmata are morphologically adapted to Dutch/Afrikaans, as shown by *seimste* ("same", *same* + *ste*) or *seimde* ("same", *same* + *de*).

Most non-standard morphological patterns in the corpus can also be found in the CCDC. Certain meso-/acrolectal features from the CCDC discussed by Deumert (2003) may be represented in the present texts, albeit sometimes to a negligible extent. These features comprise personal and relative pronouns whose basilectal forms are firmly established throughout the corpus, and only have to compete occasionally with mesolectal/Dutch forms (respectively *zulle*, *die/dat* without gender-agreement property) during the Dutch period (Deumert 2003: 185-187, 189-193). There is no visible competition between the Dutch and the Afrikaans patterns of adjectival inflection, in the sense that suffixing with *-e* is generalized, save in the case of a few polysyllabic Latinate adjectives (Deumert 2003: 169-175). Variation at the level of verbal person agreement is very limited, except in the early Roman writings and in the case of atematic verbs (Deumert 2003: 143-145). A striking similarity between the CCDC and our corpus is the sudden appearance of Std. Af. *hier-/daardie*. These demonstratives remain unknown up until the Afrikaans period, at which stage they totally obliterate the previous mesolectal form *deze*. Finally, some of the meso-/acrolectal forms identified in the CCDC do not occur at all in the present texts, particularly the preterite (the only preterite form occurring in the corpus is that of the copula *wees*) and irregular past participle formation. Some doublets discussed in Deumert (2003: 187-188), such as *my* and the formerly widespread possessive and object pronoun *myn*, unfortunately occur too sporadically in the present corpus to allow any meaningful cross-comparison.

There are further similarities with other corpora. These similarities involve the instances of irregular plural-marking, which are represented in *Di Patriot* (save in the case of the irregular plural formation of *-heid* into *g/heite* (Steyn 1931: 49)). Attested in *Straatpraatjes* and/or now recognized as characteristic of South Western Afrikaans, are instances of possessive forms involving an expletive enclitic *syn/se* (Pheiffer 1996: 150; Ponelis 1996: 229-230), irregular *ge-* prefixation of atonic verbal prefixes (Pheiffer 1996: 151-152), and the use of *het* as infinitival (Pheiffer 1996: 151).

3.5 Syntactic characteristics of the corpus

The main areas of syntactic variation found in the texts involve the position of the verbal element and the order of succession of its components, and negation patterns. Alongside SOV order, characteristic of both Std. Dutch and Std. Af., a cursory glance at the corpus reveals a strong presence of non-standard VX in the form of SVO, as in (6).

- (6) *waarlik Allah [het laat afkom]V [die kitape]OBJ*
truly Allah sent down the kitaabs

Such examples suggest that the elements which in Std. Dutch/Af. should form the central boundary (i.e. the whole verbal element in dependent order, the infinitival, the verbal particles) are placed in a position contiguous to the core (i.e. mainly the subject, the pivot verb, free adverbials), thus preceding the midfield (i.e. mainly the direct or indirect object, free adverbials).¹⁷ The adverbial component of what should be the central boundary may likewise be contiguous to the core, along a nucleus-satellite order, as in (7). It therefore seems that the notion of a central boundary in Std. Dutch/Af. terms does not universally apply to the syntactic varieties that we are presented with.

- (7) *dan moet [gooi]V uit van die put...*
then you must throw out of the well...

On the other hand, evidence of influence from the typically Classical Arabic VSO pattern can be found in the early stages of the corpus – especially in the *Bayanūddīn* – as in (8).

- (8) *[gaat]V in die istignai [elf sifaats]SUBJ*
the divine absolute is comprised of eleven attributes

If we leave out of consideration these sporadic instances of VSO, the corpus presents a continuum of compromise forms between SXV and SVX, which do not seem to reflect any syntactic logic other than that of an interlingual stage. In its full extent, that range of variants is best observable in independent clauses featuring an infinitival, and in dependent clauses. In such SVO clauses, there may be traces of a satellite-nucleus order (Ponelis 1979: 527-533). Adjectival predicates/adverbials are mostly found preceding the pivot verb, as in (9).

- (9) *die moeslim (...) moet staanbaar [maak]V [die pilare (van sy geloof)]OBJ*
the Muslim has to maintain the pillars (of his faith) (Hanif Edwards)

In accordance with Std. Dutch/Af., stranded prepositions are also mostly found before the verbal element, but do sometimes occur after the verbal element in apparent reflection of the English pattern, as in (10).

- (10) *een skuld [wat]REL jy nie bewysen [het]V voor nie*
a guilt that you have no evidence for

As regards the ordering of elements within verbal strings, consistent conformity with aspects of the Std. Dutch/Af. "relict" satellite-nucleus order may be found in the positioning of auxiliaries vs. past participles in dependent clauses. *Wees* ("to be") and *word* ("to be/become") generally move away as passive auxiliaries from the V₂ position when they function as pivot, infinitival, or past participle, and occur to the right of the main verb's past participle. The tense auxiliary *het* (Std. Af. *hê*, "to have") is also – except in a few cases in the *Bayanûddin* – systematically found moving away as tense auxiliary from the V₂ position in dependent clauses. It occurs to the right of the past participle, as in the examples in (11).

- (11) *wat weens [gemaak]PP is (...) moet [bygesit]PP word*
the profits made must be put aside
die Nabie (...) het gesé toe hy [gevra]PP [gewees]AUXPP [het]AUX...
the prophet (...) said when he was asked...

The rightward movement of the auxiliaries *wees*, *word* and *het* does still allow argument (object or subject) extraposition, as in (12) and (13).

- (12) *ook as hy vir die aarme [gegee]PP [het]AUX [iets]OBJ*
also if he has given something to the poor
- (13) *in die tweede blaas sal lewendig word [al die mahluqatas]SUBJ*
at the second blow all mahluqatas will come into being¹⁸ (1856)

With regard to negation, there are three competing patterns in the corpus. Alongside the Std. Af. pattern of double negation, there are occurrences of a single operator *nie(t)*, especially in the period 1881-1930, as illustrated in (14). Multiple negation may also occur, especially in the period 1856-1881, as in (15).

- (14) *is niet nodig manne spuit*
men need not spit
- (15) *...en om nie kwaai vriende te bly nie meer as drie dage nie*
...and not to remain enemies for longer than three days

As regards other syntactic features, some patterns quoted by Ponelis (1981: 76) from the *Bayanūddīn* can be found, such as elision of the 3rd person singular subject, which occurs to a significant extent until the end of the 19th century. Some of the other features characteristic of the *Bayanūddīn* occur only exceptionally or not at all in the other parts of the corpus, namely article-deletion, raising of interrogative pronouns, lack of inversion, positioning of *nie-l* before the pivot verb in independent clauses, expression of past tense by means of past participles unaccompanied by a tense auxiliary. The construction of dependent clauses as independent clauses is likewise exceptional or absent, save in the case of conjunctive clauses where Std. Af. (as opposed to Dutch) allows *dat*-deletion, as in (16).

- (16) *bayang van mai vriende het gevraag vir my ø ek moet vertaal die riesalaat*
many of my friends have asked me to translate the risalaat

The diachronic relation between SVX and SXV throughout the corpus is illustrated in Figure 4, where (A) reflects the frequency of clauses in which the adverbial particle or predicative adjective incorrectly occurs after their governing verb, and (B) reflects the frequency of clauses in which the verb incorrectly occurs before the direct object.

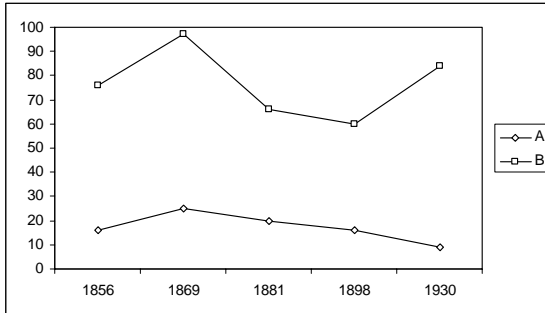


Figure 4. The diachronic relation between SVX and SXV

It appears that the positioning of adverbial particles/predicative adjectives becomes more and more normalized along the Std. Dutch/Af. patterns, from which it otherwise did not stand too far at the earliest stage of the corpus. The *Bayanûddin* stands out by slightly amplifying the non-standard tendency in the positioning of adverbials and predicative adjectives. Non-standard positioning of direct objects is much more frequent throughout the corpus, and an observable tendency towards normalization along the Std. Dutch/Af. pattern from the *Bayanûddin* onwards finds itself reverted in Hanif Edwards' work. With respect to SVO order, which is attested in *Straatpraatjes* (Pheiffer 1996: 153), and is nowadays observable in spoken Cape Malay Afrikaans, Klopper (1983: 289) notes that "(w)hereas Standard Afrikaans in subordinate clauses as well as in main clauses featuring an auxiliary/modal is characterized by an (S)OV order, we find evidence of (S)VO, again under influence of English, in the lects of mainly working class Malays and Coloureds who have grown up in the Cape Town area."

Since SVO is found consistently from the earliest stages of the present corpus, it is not certain that English played a role in establishing that pattern.¹⁹ A more likely source could in fact be Malay, which is of the SVO type.²⁰ The prevalence of SVX order with X=direct object may initially have been inspired by Malay. The decline of that language at a time when English had still not taken a firm hold among the Cape Malay community may have left the field open for standardization towards Std. Dutch/Af. That process of standardization may eventually have lost its momentum as a result of growing familiarity with English. Another hypothesis is

that SVX represents a vestige of a Creole SVO stage, in which substrate and superstrate did not have a direct influence (Muysken 1988: 290). English, again, would have revived that remnant structure.

Not represented in Figure 4, on account of its statistical insignificance, VSO appears mainly in the early part of the corpus. It reaches a peak in the *Bayanūddin* and subsequently disappears, probably as a result of the perfecting practice of translating from Classical Arabic into the vernacular.

The distribution of negating patterns is represented in Figure 5, where (A) represents single negation, (B) double negation, and (C) multiple negation.

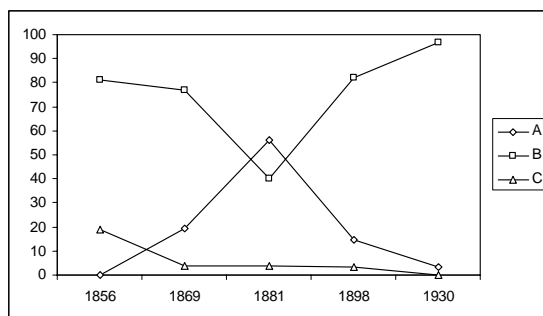


Figure 5. Distribution of negating patterns

The highest occurrence of multiple negation is located in *Die Betroubare Woord* (1856) and then recedes before being completely obliterated in Hanif Edwards. Single negation appears in the *Bayanūddin* and reaches a peak in the period 1881-1898, before almost disappearing in Hanif Edwards. The Std. Af. double negation is generally firmly established, save in the period 1881-1898, where single negation temporarily gains the upper hand. Whereas we can ascribe single negation to Std. Dutch influence, the origins of multiple negation are more problematic. Deumert (2003) makes no mention of it in the CCDC, whereas it is attested in *Straatpraatjes* (Pheiffer 1996: 152-153). The diffusion of multiple negation in our corpus as well as its common occurrence in Creoles suggest that it may, as much as double negation, have been a basilectal feature inherited from an interlectal stage (Bickerton 1977: 60-61). The dominance of *nie-2* in our corpus (except in the period 1881-1898) contrasts sharply with its relatively low frequency in the CCDC, where only 21% of all negative clauses contain the Afrikaans brace negation (Deumert 2003: 202). This diffusion of *nie-2* may confirm the

"strong association with persons of color and with the lowest socioeconomic strata of Europeans" that has been seen in that feature (Roberge 2000: 145).

Certain meso-/acrolectal syntactic features attested in Deumert (2003) are not represented in the corpus. These features are the use of *te* where Std. Af. prescribes the sequence *om te* (Deumert 2003: 204-207). Some paradigms of syntactic use described in other corpora are unfortunately underrepresented or not represented at all in the present corpus. As a result, the Cape Malay positioning of the particle *te* within the infinitive clause, at a time when a large amount of cross-lectal variation was noted in this regard (Steyn 1931: 32; Deumert 2003: 205), cannot be documented.

4. Overview

In reaction to the traditional view that Cape Dutch had by the late 18th century assumed a stable form essentially identical with that of today's Afrikaans, attempts have been made to demonstrate that, instead, Cape Dutch constituted a converging linguistic continuum in which basilectal and acrolectal features were potentially cohabiting in individual repertoires (Den Besten 1989: 234; Roberge 1994: 156, 1995: 81-83). Partial to complete knowledge of both basilect and acrolect in actual spoken usage is attested by observations such as those by Swaving (1830 in Scholtz 1951: 19), according to whom the "Bastard Dutch" from the Cape "is not totally foreign to even the most civilized members of the Christian upperclass", whereas on formal occasions trouble may be taken "to shed the most salient features of Cape speech". Also, despite evidence of an enduring ethnic differentiation of Cape Dutch varieties, it seems that that "Bastard Dutch" may have been spoken across the colour barrier as a nativized variety (Von Wielligh 1925: 94; Scholtz 1964: 170; Hahn 1982: 84). The valorization of the Afrikaans standard, and eventually its officialization in 1925, entailed the "legalization" of an array of basilectal features which in the process became stylistically neutral, or sometimes acknowledged colloquial forms.

This gradual evolution is reflected in written sources from the 19th and early 20th centuries, such as journalistic prose, private correspondence, and literature, which present us with evidence of cohabiting basilectal and acrolectal features. In the period preceding the establishment of the new Afrikaans norm, the graphic occurrence of basilectal features could

be an involuntary indicator of a lower-class social origin, in a society where conformity with metropolitan Dutch was still regarded as a worthy pursuit. In its conscious written use, however, the use of the basilect could also obey jocular motives, or, in White society, convey an attachment to the rising Afrikaner ideology, as heralded by the nationalist press-organ *Di Patriot* (1876-1905). In the latter case, the idealized quest for a distinct (White) ethnic identity provided the framework for a "standard ideology" (cf. Milroy 2001), through which basilectal features were fed into a composite written norm, the ancestor of Std. Af., representing a standardizing compromise between local speech and Std. Dutch (Steyn 1931; Pienaar 1931: 163-171, 184; Deumert 2003: 236-240).

Despite some attempts at political rapprochement with Afrikaner nationalism, the political and cultural elite of the Coloured community did not overtly commit to the Afrikaans language ideal in the pre-recognition period (Davids 1987: 53-58). Therefore, the press-organ of the APO (1909-1922), i.e. the privileged political platform of Capetonian Coloureds, allowed the self-conscious use of the basilect only in its parodial *Straatpraatjes* columns, whereas meso-/acrolectal forms and English remained the natural medium of formality (Adhikari 1996: 6-7; Ponelis 1996: 132-135).

In contradiction to the values governing contemporary secular writing, the high concentration of basilectal features in the religious texts of the present corpus suggests that a Cape Dutch basilectal base could lend itself to formal functions in an in-group context. As those yardsticks for language dignity provided to Europeans by the *Statenbijbel* could not have an immediate value in the perspective of Islam, Muslim writers were inclined to carve a new High register out of their Cape Dutch variety and Classical Arabic. Dignification of the vernacular was ensured originally by the use of the Arabic alphabet (Davids 1991: 97-98), and more generally by its amalgamation with a sacralized Classical Arabic lexicon, or its semantic reflection of Islamic concepts. A process of stylistic engineering along in-group references is most conspicuous in the growing amount of Dutch/Afrikaans morphological derivations of Arabic lexical roots (e.g. *wajibheid* from Arabic *wājib* + Dutch/Afr. *heid*), and of new coinages replacing Arabic religious terms (e.g. *manierte* instead of *sifāt*) (cf. section 3.4). Arbitrary stylistic diversification is further illustrated by the occasional use of Classical Arabic VSO order (cf. section 3.5).

In-group language engineering did not stop Cape Malay Dutch/Afrikaans from converging towards its superstrates. Convergence towards Std. Dutch/Af. is illustrated at the phonological level by the phenomenon of desyllabization of consonant clusters (e.g. *pelek* > *plek*, cf. section 3.1). At the morphological level, we find in the Dutch period the generalized mesolectal gender-neutral *deze*, the use of which probably reflects a wish to approximate Std. Dutch norms (cf. section 3.4). At the syntactic level, we find multiple negation, stereotypical of Coloured usage, fading into a Dutch-modelled single negation pattern. Both multiple and single negation patterns subsequently disappear in favour of a Std. Af. double negation pattern (cf. section 3.5). Finally, we find increasing conformity to Std. Dutch/Af. in the positioning of separable verb particles and the positioning of verbs (the latter only during the period 1856-1930, cf. section 3.4).

Because Std. Af. substituted itself for Dutch as an official target norm in the early 20th century, traces can also be found of what one could term a process of "restandardization", affecting a range of Dutch-like features which are firmly established in the early parts of the corpus. An illustration of this "norm re-setting" at the lexical level is the sudden replacement of *deze* with Std. Af. *hier-/daardie* in Hanif Edwards's texts (cf. section 3.1). At the morphological level, intervocalic [g/x], a historical Dutch feature, eventually competes with the pattern of [g/x]-deletion in intervocalic position favoured by the *AWS* (e.g. *hoge* > *hoë*, cf. 3.1). Also, the widespread deflected verbal pattern which occasionally cohabits with (often irregularly assigned) Dutch person agreement markers in the early Roman writings eventually achieves complete hegemony in Hanif Edwards (cf. section 3.4). The occasional relative pronoun *die* eventually gives way to Std. Af. *wat* (cf. section 3.5). At the syntactic level, the occasional single negation *nie(t)* disappears in favour of the Std. Af. double negation *nie...nie* from Hanif Edwards onwards.

The use of *vir* as an object marker is the only feature whose frequency remains relatively stable across the corpus (cf. section 3.3). The reason for this is probably that *vir* was legalized in its object-marking function in the new Afrikaans norm, as a result of which no more convergence towards the Dutch model was needed.

Linguistic trends in the corpus do not always follow a linear curve towards the standard target. Falling in that category, the diachronic relation between SOV and SVO could be

described as a case of "destandardization". The Dutch/Afrikaans SOV order seems to make headway only during the period 1881-1930, before eventually losing ground to SVO. On the other hand, certain non-standard features seem to stand their ground in the face of their standard counterparts. An example is objective *vir* as used with transitive verbs, where Std. Af. advocates unmarked/direct objects (cf. section 3.3), or *ge-* prefixation of atonic verbal prefixes (cf. section 3.5).

Last but not least, the present texts exhibit influence from an extraneous linguistic reference, i.e. that of Classical Arabic. This influence mostly comes to bear at the lexical level, where it does not seem to assimilate completely into the Dutch/Afrikaans matrix. This lack of assimilation finds expression in the increasing use of Arabic plural markers (cf. sections 3.2 and 3.3). As indicated earlier, possible traces of the Arabic VSO order are found, which do however decrease in frequency over the period covered.

Most features quantified here are relatively overrepresented in the *Bayanûddin*, which suggests that Abu Bakr Effendi's idiolect may not have been representative of his linguistic environment. Some of the un-Dutch/Afrikaans features quoted by Ponelis (1981: 75-78) as characteristic of the *Bayanûddin*, particularly elision of the past auxiliary, lack of inversion, anteverbal positioning of first negation, and VSO, are marginally or not at all represented in the other parts of the corpus.

Although perhaps not justified on the grounds of stylistic incompatibility, a comparison between the data from the present corpus and those from the (mainly White) CCDC can yield interesting insights. Some acrolectal/mesolectal features represented in the CCDC are remarkably absent in the present data (Deumert 2003: 221-222). The absent features include among other things gender distinction, instead of which is found the generalized Afrikaans article *die* or demonstrative *deze* (cf. section 3.2). Neither is the preterite tense form represented, except where it is nowadays allowed in Std. Af. (cf. section 3.5). Other features found in the CCDC occur only exceptionally, such as the verbal infinitive ending *-en* (only four occurrences), and, predominantly in the early Roman texts, verbal markers of person agreement (cf. section 3.4). Conversely, some features shared by both corpora are more represented in our corpus. Among these are features which have become part of Std. Af., such as the subject/object pronoun *hulle*, dative object marking *vir* (cf. section 3.3), and the use of

om as edge of infinite clauses (cf. section 3.5). Also more typical of our corpus than of the CCDC are certain features which have never been explicitly recognized by Std. Af. sources, such as the use of *vir* as [+animate] object marker with transitive verbs (cf. section 3.3), and *ge* prefixation of atonic verbal prefixes (cf. section 3.4). Unfortunately, Deumert's (2003) data do not contain quantified indications on trends in the positioning of verbal particles and verbals, but to the present author's knowledge, no studies of (White) text corpora from the 19th/early 20th centuries have revealed a significant presence of SVO.

Another interesting source of comparison is the *Straatpraatjes* columns. Although unfortunately not quantified, the *Straatpraatjes*' primary features enumerated by Pheiffer (1996) are all represented in the present corpus, including the tendency to use multiple negation and SVO (cf. section 3.5). Equally absent in the present corpus and in *Straatpraatjes* is the preterite tense form. The only point of significant contrast between the present corpus and *Straatpraatjes* is the nature of the English lexicon, much more diversified and apparently also much more frequent in the latter than in the present texts (cf. section 3.2; Ponelis 1996: 135-138; Pheiffer 1996: 154-158).

In summary, the relative underrepresentation of meso-/acrolectal features in the Dutch period of the present corpus seems to show that the mobility of Cape Malay writers along the Cape Dutch stylistic continuum was limited. In terms of language acquisition, this could be explained by the relatively late stage at which the *Vrijezwarten* and descendants of Asian slaves nativized Dutch, as a result of which substratal influence from their original languages could make itself felt in their Dutch varieties. This is best suggested in the present corpus by those non-standard features which cannot be found in Orange River Afrikaans (ORA), i.e. a variety which underwent minimal influence from Slave Dutch and *a posteriori* Asian languages (Ponelis 1998: 14-15). Among those non-standard features foreign to ORA, we find syllabisation of consonant clusters, which could be caused by Malay phonotactic constraints (cf. 3.1), and SVO order, which, in the early stage of the corpus, could either have been caused by the partial transposition of the Malay syntactic order, or formed a case of Creole linearization. The difficulty in approximating the standard targets must also be read in the context of the Muslim community enjoying marginal access to secular education, as well as the status of English, Classical Malay and Classical Arabic as highly revered High varieties. Generally, conformity to the White Cape Dutch/Afrikaans High norms may originally have

been a secondary question in the eyes of Cape Malay writers. A state of linguistic insulation could be cultivated to some extent, as still illustrated by today's linguistic tendencies among the Cape Malay community.²¹ That this state of insulation should not be overstated is suggested by the visible concern on the part of Cape Malay writers for identification with Std. Af. rather than Std. Dutch when the former achieved recognition.

5. Conclusion

If placed within the perspective of the standardization of Afrikaans, the data extracted from the present Cape Malay texts present a basilectal variety evolving in the direction of Std. Dutch and afterwards Std. Af. Interesting, though, is that standardization in the direction of the superstrate is seconded, or sometimes even thwarted, by an autonomous process of feature selection and language engineering. *Kitaab-Hollandsch* has thus functioned as an "elevated basilect" in the shadow of Dutch and emerging Std. Af., deriving its in-group High status from its extraneous Qu'ranic and Classical Arabic references. Placing the present data within the perspective of the formation of Afrikaans, one finds in the Dutch period evidence of unfamiliarity with meso-/acrolectal varieties. This evidence provides insight into the limits of bidialectalism among the Cape Malay community in the period preceding the recognition of Afrikaans. One also finds suggestions of differences between the Cape Malays' spoken varieties and ORA, which may provide meaningful insights into the possible differentiation between early Slave Dutch and Hottentot Dutch. For these reasons, further research on the early history of Afrikaans can no longer afford to dispense with the Cape Malay writing tradition.

Acknowledgements

I am particularly indebted to X. Luffin (ULB) and M. Rakiép (Cape Town) for the transliteration of a few Arabic-Afrikaans texts.

Notes

1. Reflecting the prestige of the "Malay imagery" among non-Asian Cape Muslims, a British observer noted in 1848 of a group of Muslim Mozambicans that they "loved to be considered as Malays" (in Shell 1997: 276).
2. Klopper (1983) talks of "Kaapse Maleierafrikaans" as a variety proper to Cape Muslim Coloureds and distinct from that of Cape Christian Coloureds.
3. The Nusantara connection of the Cape Muslims has provided the materials for a "Malayist" ethnic imagery, purposefully exploited during the 20th century to justify a specific political treatment from South Africa's White authorities (Davids 1987: 56-57; Haron 2000; Hoosain Ebrahim 2004: 47). The overstatement of "Malayism" in a racial sense also served the Apartheid government to justify a separate "Cape Malay" subcategory of the population group it was referring to as "Coloureds" (Kähler 1971: 4).
4. The main regions of origin of the early Cape Indians suggest that they were comprised of an Indo-European-speaking group and a Dravidian-speaking group (Bradlow 1978: 103).
5. In the court cases reviewed by Den Besten (2000: 958) (up to 1772), about one fifth of slaves knew Dutch and over two thirds knew either Creole Portuguese or Malay
6. An early 19th century British observer could still make out ethnic contrasts among one Mosque congregation in Cape Town, noting that the service he was witnessing was attended by "chiefly slaves, Malays and Madagascars" (in Tayob 1999: 29).
7. The expression was first coined by Van Selms (1951), in specific reference to the version of the Arabic alphabet devised for vernacular writings. The sense in which Van Selms used the term "Afrikaans" included "Cape Dutch".
8. The majority of Coloured pupils were attending Christian mission schools by the turn of the 19th century, while government schools had "to all intents and purposes become reserved for white children only" (Horrell 1970: 14, 33). Lack of accessibility and fear of Christian indoctrination were addressed by the network of predominantly Malay, and afterwards Dutch/Afrikaans-medium, *madaris* (Davids 1992: 150; Hoosain Ebrahim 2004: 56-57). The first secular learning institution earmarked for Muslim children was the *Rahmaneyeh Institute*, founded in 1913 (Davids 1992: 150-151). Education for Coloureds was made compulsory only in 1945 (Horrell 1970: 37).
9. Afrikaans spelling became effectively official as of 1925.

10. Example words drawn from texts in the Arabic alphabet are rendered by using the DIN 31635 convention. In the subsequent sections of this article which are not relevant to phonology, example words or sentences from Arabic texts are rendered by using approximate Std. Af. Spelling, except in the case of Arabic lemmata or formulae.
11. Interestingly, the forms *seg* and *leg* are described by Malherbe (1917: 55) as not very common and confined to the north as mainly past participle stems, whereas the forms *sê* and *lê* would be more characteristically used in the Boland. The question arises as to whether Cape Town usage may in this regard have differed from that in the Boland, or whether the authors attempted to approximate Dutch when using these forms.
12. Although some early grammarians mention the possibility of inflecting atematic verbs (Bouman and Pienaar 1924: 113), the *AWS* has only tolerated free variation between *gaan* and its 3rd person form *gaat* without grammatical specification until its 1991 edition, where the fossilized conjugated form was scrapped. The past participle *gegaat* has never earned recognition. Variation between inflectional *-t* and *-n* in that verbal paradigm is common in the CCDC (Deumert 2003: 144-145) and *Straatpraatjes* (Adhikari 1996: 150-151).
13. Van Oostrum and Kritzinger (1923: 97) mention that "some verbs use *is* instead of *het*: *die trein is om agtuur aangekom*. This usage does however sound contrived and is therefore in the process of disappearing".
14. That paradigm has survived in Std. Af. free variants such as *saad/saat* replace *sade/sate* ("seed/seeds"). In many cases, local Afrikaans forms have been assigned a semantic value different from that of their conservative etymologic cognates, justifying separate entries in dictionaries. This can be illustrated by graphically differentiated doublets such as *stad/stede* ("city") vs. *stat/statte* ("township") or *raad/rade* ("advice") vs. *raat/rate* ("remedy/remedies").
15. Le Roux (1923) found in that periphrastic use of enclitics a reflection of the Hottentot structure pronoun + *ã/di* (98). Valkhoff (1966: 228) also spotted a similarity with the Creole Portuguese structure pronoun + *suwa*, or the Malay structure pronoun + *punja* (also see Ponelis 1996: 244-245).
16. Modern Indonesian and Malaysian, which constitute modern continuations of Malay, form their plurals by duplication, or do not mark it when it is inferable from the context.

17. See Ponelis (1979: 506-523) for definitions of "kernel" (*kern*), "midfield" (*middeldeel*), "central boundary" (*sentrumgrens*) and "end-zone" (*uitloop*).
18. Den Besten (2002) built a case for the possibility of an interlingual identification having been operated by Khoikhoi speakers between the Dutch and the Khoikhoi SXV orders. The author identified Khoikhoi post-verbal particles serving as past or passive markers on the basis of which the Afrikaans VP-final position of *het* and *word* in dependent word order could have been established in the Cape interlectal continuum (cf. also Ponelis 1993: 313).
19. Cf. section 2.
20. Just like modern Malaysian and Indonesian, the purest forms of Malay must have been of the SVO type. Cape Malay may not have been different, but its Ceylonese and Indian secondary speakers may have been familiar with the SOV type (Den Besten 1989: 228). Creole Portuguese, which does not seem to have been nativized at the Cape (Ponelis 1993: 15-17), may have known a great deal of syntactic variation induced by contact with the primary languages of its speakers.
21. Kloppers (1980, 1983) has found that the spoken Afrikaans variety of Cape Muslims ("Kaapmaleierafrikaans") has not yet come as close to the Std. Af. target as has the variety of the Western Cape Christian Coloureds. In Klopper's (1983: 98) terms, the linguistic gap between the two groups must be explained in terms of the Muslims' "strong identification with their religion", which makes them "less receptive to social pressure", whereas "Christian Coloureds, who belong to a wide range of denominations and generally aspire to the same values as do the whites, are more sensitive to social pressure" (cf. also Kotzé 1989: 253).

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