THE AFRIKAANS OF THE CAPE MUSLIMS
FROM 1815 TO 1915

A SOCIO-LINGUISTIC STUDY

ACHMAT DAVIDS

Presented in accordance with the requirements
for the degree of

MASTERS OF ARTS

in the

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
(Department Afrikaans and Nederlands)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
(DURBAN)

Promoter :   L T du Plessis

Durban
December, 1991.

And among His Signs is the creation of the heavens and
the earth, and the variations in your languages And your
colours; verily in that are Signs For those who know.

(*Al-Qur'ân* : Chapter 30 verse 22 - Translation Y Ali)

This work is dedicated to :

My late father, Mu'awiah Davids, who first
taught me to recognise the Arabic letters;

and

Two brave Afrikaners, Professor A van Selms and Dr Piet Muller
for having had the courage to have focussed the attention of
Afrikaners on the Arabic-Afrikaans publications during the hey-
days of Apartheid in the 1950s and 1960s.

＊　　＊　　＊　　＊　　＊

C O N T E N T S

https://etd.uwc.ac.za

CHAPTER 3 (page 86)

THE AFRIKAANS LITERATURE OF THE CAPE MUSLIMS - 1845 TO 1915

CHAPTER 6 (page 297)

OBSERVATIONS, COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

UNIVERSITY *of the* WESTERN CAPE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Bismilâhir-rahmânir-rahim
In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful

Alhamdu lillâhi rab-bil âlamîn wassalâtu wassalâmu alâ ashrafil mursalîn sayyidinâ wanabiyyinâ wamaulânâ Muhammadin wa alâ âlihi wa ashâbihi.

All praise and thanks is due to the Lord of the worlds, and may his peace and blessings be upon the prophet Muhammad, his family and friends. We ask Allah to bestow His peace and blessings upon all the prophets of the world who have guided humanity to salvation.

Having expressed due thanks to the Almighty, and prayed for the blessings and peace on all the prophets, which is required from Muslims in accordance with the traditions of Islamic scholarship, let me now immediately express my sincere thanks to my promoter, Mr Theo du Plessis. Without Theo du Plessis this study would probably never have been written nor explored so many facets of the linguistic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. I am grateful to him for his understanding, patience, encouragement and the confidence he had in me. I sincerely hope that the friendship which developed between us will only grow stronger in the future.

Another person who was a great inspiration was my friend and cousin, the late Professor Muhammad Ajam. His analytical mind was an invaluable asset in the beginning in helping me to determine the direction and structure this study need to take. He too displayed a tremendous confidence in my ability, and demonstrated this confidence by giving me, as a present, a personal computer word processor, which greatly eased my task. My sad regret is that he did not see the completed work. I pray to the Almighty Allah to ease the burdens of his departed soul.

Imam Abdurahmaan Bassier needs special mention. Not only did he provide invaluable source material; but as an expert in Arabic-Afrikaans reading, it was extremely useful to have him virtually daily at hand to solve my major problems. My sincere thanks to him for his assistance and nagging me to get on with it and get this study done.

Many people opened their cupboards of family heirlooms and allowed me to search through their private family papers for examples of early Arabic-Afrikaans writings. In this way some of the rare items in this study was discovered. It is impossible to mention them all, but to them is extended my deep felt appreciation. I need, however, to mention in name Hadjie Yusuf Ahmad, Hadjie Mustapha Davids, Unus Abrahams, Hajie Yusuf Da Costa and Imam 'Sep' Ebrahim Davids.

A B S T R A C T

This study looks at the Afrikaans of the Cape Muslim Community from 1815 to 1915. In the process of this examination various aspects of this variety of Afrikaans are focussed upon. The basic objective, however, is to draw attention to the literary tradition of Arabic-Afrikaans, - a unique process of writing Afrikaans in Arabic script.

The historical development of this literary tradition is explored. This is done by looking at the places of origin of the Cape slaves, the ancestors of the Cape Muslim community. Particular attention is paid to the languages spoken by these slaves; the literary traditions of these languages, the cultural and linguistic traits which emerged as a result of acculturation and linguistic contact; and the transmission and perpetuation of these traits through their social and religious institutions.

The establishment of the first Muslim school or *madrasah* and its basic theological philosophy, as well as its rote learning method of teaching, is discussed. New insights into the important role of the theological philosophy in providing the matrix of the milieu of the Cape slave world and maintaining the delicate balance in the relationship between Free Black slave-owner and slave are provided. It was in this slave cultural milieu that the literary tradition of Arabic-Afrikaans was nurtured; to explode, after emancipation, as an extensively used and sophisticated means of written communication.

Attention is thus focussed on the Afrikaans literary exploits of this community from 1840, immediately after emancipation. Both their Arabic-Afrikaans and Afrikaans in Roman script works received attention. These publications and written scripts are contextualized. The social circumstances around their publication and appearance is discussed, and some biographic data about their authors are provided. From the Arabic-Afrikaans works, three distinct writing traditions are identified. The works are evaluated in terms of the writing tradition in which they are categorized. With the Afrikaans in Roman script publication, the first of which appeared in 1898, the metamorphosis from *de gemixte taal* (a

Dutch sounding Afrikaans), to an Afrikaans which conforms more closely to Standard-Afrikaans is traced. The influence of the Muslim state-aided mission school on the demise of the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition is critically evaluated.

On the technical side the development of the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition is explored. Detailed expositions on how the Arabic phonetic script and rules of the phonetic science of *tajwîd* are applied and manipulated, to create orthographic representations of distinctive Afrikaans sounds, are provided. A systematic exploration of the development of the distinctive Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet is embarked upon. In an attempt to explain what is happening, a new linguistic concept, called innovative orthographic engineering, is postulated. The essential processes of this concept of innovative orthographic engineering appears to be evident in all languages which have adopted the Arabic orthography as a means of writing. This linguistic concept and its application in the making of these alphabets have never been explored before.

Having established how the Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet came into existence and having identified its distinctive components, the issue of transcription was embarked upon. The various international systems of transliteration from Arabic to Roman script are evaluated in terms of their adequacy and inadequacy for transcriptions in Afrikaans. Because of the similarity in sound between the Arabic vowel graphemes and diphthongs and their equivalents in Afrikaans, the system of transliteration which emerged in the community was considered more suited for transcription. An attempt to standardize this system of transliteration is made.

In terms of this system of transliteration, three examples of Arabic-Afrikaans are selected for extensive annotated transcription. From these transcriptions some observations of the phonology, and syntax of Cape Muslim Afrikaans are made. The lexicon is more extensively discussed. Atttention is paid to lexical items inherited from the Malayo-Polynesian ancestral languages of this community; borrowings from Arabic and other languages of contact and the process of neology. Finally, a list of Cape Muslim idiomatic expressions is provided.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION :
SETTING THE SCENE AND DEFINING THE CONCEPTS

Ever since Professor A van Selms (1951:7) discovered that Afrikaans was indeed written in Arabic script, and termed this very interesting phenomenon, "Arabic-Afrikaans", his discovery has been subject to endless debate. Yet, since 1951, when this discovery was made, very little research, to broaden our understanding of this phenomenon, has been conducted. There have, however, been many transcriptions (Van Selms, 1951, 1953, 1979: Kähler, 1971: Ponelis, 1981 and Dangor, 1990). All these transcriptions basically followed the system of transliteration from Arabic to Afrikaans as suggested by Van Selms. It is unfortunate that in doing so these transcriptions also perpetuated the original errors made by Van Selms.

In depth socio-historical and socio-linguistic studies on Arabic-Afrikaans are lacking. Some useful studies were conducted by Van Selms (1951, 1953), Muller (1960), Ponelis (1983) and Du Plessis (1986); but on the whole, the subject of "Arabic-Afrikaans" was generally avoided by Afrikaans academics. The reason for this is, that the majority Afrikaans academics do not read nor understand the Arabic script. Nevertheless, Afrikaans, as a language of communication and as a vehicle for the transmission of religious ideas, seems to have been extensively used by the Cape Muslim community from early on in the nineteenth century. From the available evidence, it would appear that the Afrikaans language movement of the Cape Muslim community, therefore, started much early than 1869, the year suggested by Theo du Plessis (1986).

This lack of intensive academic work on the Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims, and its literary tradition of Arabic-Afrikaans, also resulted in the questions raised by Professor van Selms in 1951, some forty years ago, remaining unanswered. These questions could, however, only be answered once the issue of the correct reading of the Arabic-Afrikaans script has been

---

clarified. It is, however, useful to reproduce these questions as a stimulus for future research. The questions are :

> "1. Is hierdie taal 'n groeptaal, beperk net tot die
>   kringe van die Kaapse Maleiers, of weerspieël dit 'n
>   stadium in die algemene ontwikkeling van Afrikaans ?
>
> 2. Is die Nederlandismes 'n gevolg van die invloed van
>   die offisiële Nederlands in Kaapse publikasies of egte
>   oorblyfsels van die Nederlandse spreektaal van vroeër
>   eeue aan die Kaap ?
>
> 3. Kan aan hierdie literatuur argumente ontleen word voor
>   of teen die bestaande teorië omtrent die ontstaan van
>   Afrikaans ?" (Van Selms, 1951:11)

This study will not attempt to answer these questions. Only an extensive comparative philological study could effectively provide answers to these question raised by Professor A Van Selms. My intention is not to make a philological analysis or study of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Nor do I intend to provide evidence to support any of the existing theories on the development of Afrikaans. What I hope this study will do is to evoke an awareness of the existence of Cape Muslim Afrikaans as a useful source for broadening our understanding of the linguistic nature of Cape Afrikaans; and provide the basis to facilitate the pursuance of intensive philological studies in both Cape Muslim and Cape Afrikaans.

1.1. WHAT IS INTENDED

The main focus of this study is the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition of the Cape Muslim community. I will look historically at the emergence of this tradition at the Cape of Good Hope. I will also look at the social vehicles in which it emerged and through which it was perpetuated. In the process of doing this, I will focus on the literature, in the form of manuscripts and publications, it generated during the first hundred years.

I will also look at the development of the distinctive Arabic alphabet which was used to accurately convey this community's mother tongue, Afrikaans. The main objective of this study is to facilitate the reading of the Arabic-Afrikaans texts for those who may not be proficient in Arabic reading.

Because of my concern for accurate reading and hence transcriptions of these Arabic-Afrikaans texts, I will also look at some systems of transcription used internationally for the transliteration of Arabic to Roman script languages. More specifically I will look at the system of transliteration from Arabic to Afrikaans, which emerged at the Cape. This system appears to be very useful for transcriptions of Arabic-Afrikaans to Afrikaans in Roman script. The communal system, however, is in need of standardization. I will make some suggestions in this regard.

Part of the excercise is to improve on the system, of reading and trans- cription of Arabic-Afrikaans suggested by Professor van Selms (1951). This I believe to be important before a philological study, in response to his questions, could be embarked upon. His inaccuracies in reading and transcriptions created erroneous impressions, and findings. This is indeed evident in the case of Ponelis' (1981) linguistic study, *Vokale en diftonge by Abu Bakr,* where the erroneous transcription of some of the vowels indicates erroneous intensities of their sounds. More accurate transcriptions of the Arabic-Afrikaans texts could been obtained if the transcriptions are done in conformity with the linguistic traditions in which they were written.

It is not generally realised that the Arabic-Afrikaans publications and manuscripts are most frequently written in Arabic phonetic script. They, therefore, are almost audio-tape recordings of the spoken Afrikaans of the Cape Muslim community. The fact that they were extensively using vocalised Arabic script, a script which does to Arabic writing what phonetics does to Roman script, is an indication that the writers were concerned about expressing the Afrikaans sounds as accurately as possible in Arabic script. It was, therefore, that I look intensely at how the Arabic-Afrikaans

writers used the Arabic phonetic script to adequately express the sounds of the Afrikaans they were writing.

Many of the Afrikaans sounds which the Arabic-Afrikaans writers had to produce, do not exist in the Arabic language. There are thus no lettering symbol to represent them in Arabic script. Arabic lettering symbols for these sounds had to be created. They were, however, created in accordance with the rules of the Arabic phonetic science called, *tajwid*. Therefore, to determine how the Arabic lettering symbols of the Afrikaans sounds of nineteenth century Cape Muslim Afrikaans were created, it was necessary for me to examine the use and manipulation of the rules of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwid* by the Arabic-Afrikaans writers. Through this examination I discovered a consistency of usage by the writers in the process of creating Arabic vocalisms to represent certain Afrikaans sounds. I also discovered, that through their consistency, the Arabic-Afrikaans writers developed a consistent and distinctive Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet. The development of this alphabet, with its distinctive vowels and consonants, is extensively discussed.

1.2. CLARIFYING SOME CONCEPTS

This study necessitated the use of concepts and terms, which is either derived from Arabic or emerged in the community or were created to convey precise meanings and ideas. As some of these terms are not commonly used in philological or linguistic studies; or express connotations which may differ in meanings expressed in linguistic dictionaries (Pei and Gaynor,1980), it is, therefore, deemed necessary to clarify these concepts and terms. Hopefully this will help to avoid confusion and create for the reader, a clearer insight into the arguments presented.

1.2.1. Arabic-Afrikaans

Probably the most important, and the term most extensively used in this study, is *Arabic-Afrikaans*. The term, Arabic-Afrikaans, was coined by Van Selms as a convenient label to describe the literary tradition of the Cape

Muslims of writing Afrikaans in Arabic script which he discovered in 1951.
Commenting on this newly discovered literary tradition, he writes :

> *"Onder "Arabies-Afrikaanse Literatuur" verstaan ons in*
> *hierdie studies letterkundige werke wat in Afrikaans*
> *geskrywe is met Arabiese letters. Die benaming "Arabies-*
> *Afrikaans" kan met goeie reg gekritiseer word, maar is*
> *hier by gebrek aan 'n beter term gekies."* (Van Selms, 1951:7)

After having scrutinised several of the over 70 Arabic-Afrikaans texts
known to be existing (Kähler, 1971, Davids, 1990), I have no problem with
the term "Arabic-Afrikaans". To me it is an accurate descriptive reflec-
tion of both the language used and the mode of transcription. I have,
therefore, retained the term "Arabic-Afrikaans", using it in the same
descriptive sense as used by Van Selms, with his definition of 'Afrikaans
written in Arabic script' (1951:7).

It might be useful to look at some of the other labels used for this
phenomenon of writing Afrikaans in Arabic script. Amongst the labels
suggested is *"Islaams-Afrikaans"* (Van Selms, 1951:7); *"Maleier-Afrikaans"*
(Muller, 1960) and *"Cape Malay Afrikaans"* (Weis, 1988:33). These labels
have been rejected for reasons discussed below.

The term, "Islaams-Afrikaans", apart from the fact that the main component
of the writing, Arabic, is not mentioned, is far too inadequate. The
suffix 'Islaams', itself, is too restrictive. The word 'Islaams' tends to
suggest that the writing of Afrikaans in Arabic script was restricted to
religious texts. This was not the case. The letter of Achmat Effendi
(1894), written after his defeat for the Cape Town seat in the Cape
Parliament (Davids,1980:180), in which he expresses his disappointment, and
compares himself to Cecil John Rhodes as a politician, is certainly not
religious writing. Similarly, the letter of demand, written by Awaldien
(1915), the fez-maker of Shortmarket Street, is also not religious writing.
Both these letters were written in Afrikaans in Arabic script. They would
suggest that the Arabic script for writing Afrikaans was used more
extensively than just for religious purposes. In any case Arabic is not

the exclusive language of Muslims. There are many non-Muslims Arabs, even other non-Muslim, who read and write Arabic.

With the labels, "Cape Malay Afrikaans" and "Maleier-Afrikaans", as a name for the distinctive literary tradition or the Afrikaans variety of the Cape Muslims, I have serious racial and cultural problems. Although the terms "Malay" and "Cape Malays", have since the early part of the nineteenth century been used as a substitute for "Muslim" or a follower of the religion of Islam (Shell,1974), it neither reflects the religious or ancestral origins of these people. By the same token, this community had also been referred to as the Boughies, for they spoke and wrote the Buganese language in eighteenth century Cape Town (Rochlin, 1934). Boughies was, however, never used as a substitute for "Muslim". The use of labels, such as "Cape Malay" or "Malay", because of the racial overtones they have acquired in our unequal society, are, therefore, regarded as racially repugnant by this community. They prefer to be called *"Cape Muslim"*. For the same reason, the conceptual terms, "Cape Malay Afrikaans" or "Maleier-Afrikaans", are, therefore, at best avoided.

To avoid the racial and cultural controversies around labels such as "Islaams-Afrikaans", "Maleier-Afrikaans" and "Cape Malay Afrikaans", I thought it better to use the term "Arabic-Afrikaans", for the literary tradition of Afrikaans written in Arabic script, and "Cape Muslim Afrikaans" for the Afrikaans variety of the Cape Muslim community.

1.2.2. The Concept *Tajwid*

Another concept extensively used in this study is *tajwid* (تَـجْويْدْ). In terms of its dictionary meaning, *tajwid* implies the "art of reciting the Koran, Koran reading (in accordance with established rules of pronunciation and intonation)"(Hans Wehr, 1980:146). In his *'A Course in the Science of Reciting the Quran'*, Muhammed Ibrahim Surty (1988:15) tells us that the word *tajwid* is a verbal noun derived from the verb *jawwada,* which literally means 'to make better' or 'to improve'. *Tajwid* in its technical sense carries two meanings. The one is correct and good pronunciation in

recitation; the other, a mode of recitation of medium speed (Von Denffer, 1983:169).

Muhammad Ibrahim Surty points out that not only is *tajwîd* one of the most prominent sciences of the Quran, but it is governed by deep-rooted static rules. These rules, in terms of Islamic tradition, were derived from the oral recitation of the Quran by the Prophet of Islam (P.B.U.H.),[1] after hearing the revelation from the Angel Gabriel. These rules, are therefore regarded as sacred by Muslims.

The function of tajwîd is to preserve the meaning of the revealed words of the Quran; preserve their sounds and expressions, and to protect these words from any alteration in utterance and pronunciation. At the same time *tajwid* is applied to retain the unique method of recitation - the melodious tone. *Tajwid* thus deals with the accent, phonetics, rhythm and temper of Quranic recitation (Surty,1988:15). The Quran in Chapter 73 verse 4 directs that it shall be read "in slow, measured rhythmic tones". A mode of recitation or reading which could only be achieved through *tajwid*. Hence it is argued that divine ordinance establishes the recitation of the Quran.

Ahmad von Denffer (1983:170) divides the science of *tajwid* into two branches :

*   "The correct pronunciation of various letters in
        different places.

*   The correct length and emphasis given to the vowels
        under different circumstances."

Both these branches come to play in the reading of Arabic-Afrikaans. Like in Arabic reading, the sounds of the letters in Arabic-Afrikaans are also determined by their position in the speech organs or Makhraj (Zardad, 1978:31,32). Hence in the creation of lettering symbols of Afrikaans sounds not found in the Arabic alphabet, letters, situated in close proximity to each other in the speech organs, are at times clustered to convey representations of sounds closely resembling an Afrikaans sound not

represented by a lettering symbol in the Arabic alphabet. This is seen in the creation of the Afrikaans diphthong 'ui'.

Although the full range of lengths and emphasis is not used in Arabic-Afrikaans; it is the manipulation of the symbols indicating lengths and emphasis which led to the development of Arabic representations of Afrikaans vowels, not normally indicated by a lettering symbol in Arabic script. The most typical example is the creation of the Afrikaans letter 'e' in Arabic script. It is this manipulation which is one of the most important aspects of this study; and which gave rise to a process which I identify is happening in the writing of Arabic-Afrikaans; and which I called *innovative orthographic engineering*.

The concept *tajwid*, and its application as a phonetic science, did not exist prior to the advent of Islam. The Arabic script during the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad (P B U H) consisted of very basic symbols, which ambiguously indicate only the consonantal structure of a word. Vowel indicators, and even diacritical points, were non-existent. This made the pre-Islamic Arabic script, despite its distinctive styles like *Kufi*, *Maghribi*, *Naqsh*, etc., very difficult to read (Von Denffer, 1983, 57).

Then too, the absence of constraining vowel indicators, let alone diacritical points, led to many errors in reading. Ahmad Von Denffer (1983:58) writes: "when more and more Muslims of non-Arab origin and also many ignorant Arabs studied the Qur'ân, faulty pronunciation and wrong readings began to increase." Faulty pronunciation and misreadings in Arabic, leads in most cases to changes in the meaning. The misreading of the Quran could create erroneous conceptions of Quranic law. Misreading of the words or verses of the Quran invalidates the prayer. Correct pronunciation of the Arabic word is thus of great importance in Islamic ritual practice.

Possibly the classical example of misreading of the Quran stems from Basra during the second half of the first century of Islam. It is related that, someone in Basra, at the time, read verse 3 chapter 9 of the Quran in a faulty way and changed the meaning completely. Instead of his reading of the verse conveying the meaning, "That God and his apostle dissolve

obligations with the pagans", with the change in pronunciation of the word from *rasûluhu* to *rasûlihi*, the meaning of this sentence changed to, "That God dissolves obligations with the pagans and the apostle". This change in meaning might have continued had people not committed the correct pronunciation of the chapters and verses of the Quran to memory (Von Denffer, 1983:58). What is illustrated is that in terms of its gross acoustic features, as defined by Pei and Gaynor, 1969:5), Arabic is a "distinctive language". This means that it is a language in which correct pronunciation is essential for the transmission of correct meaning in speech.

To avoid such misreadings, it was decided, early in the history of Islam, to formalise Arabic reading by introducing the *tashkil* (تَشْكِيل), or signs indicating the vowels in Arabic script. At about the same time too, diacritical points, to indicate differences in the consonants, were also introduced (Hughes, 1895:687). Although these vowel indicators or *tashkil*, were primitive in the beginning, it gave rise to the involved phonetic science of *tajwîd* (Abbott, N, 1939:39).

Modern Arabic, apart from its various calligraphic styles, could thus be written in two kinds of script. One need, therefore, to distinguish between Arabic *graphic* and Arabic *phonetic* writing. Arabic graphic script is essentially writing without the *tashkil*. It is essentially consonantal writing, and for which sound production depends on the grammatical construction of the consonants. A knowledge of the Arabic language is thus a prerequisite for the reading of Arabic graphic script.

Arabic phonetic script is fully vocalized writing in which the pronunciation is governed by *tashkil* or *harakât* i.e. *vocalisms* and *vowel graphemes*. The pronunciation of the word remains constant, for the written word must be pronounced in terms of the *harakah* which accommodates the consonants, but within the predetermined rules of the phonetic science of *tajwîd*. The use of the *harakât*, and the constraint which the rules of *tajwîd* place on pronunciation, ensures constancy in pronunciation, irrespective of the Arabic dialect of the reader. Arabic phonetic script thus performs for the Arabic language the same function which phonetics does for Roman script.

Arabic-Afrikaans is written in both Arabic graphic and Arabic phonetic script. For the reading of Arabic-Afrikaans without *ḥarakah* (i.e. Arabic graphic script), a knowledge of both Arabic and Afrikaans grammar is necessary. As Arabic-Afrikaans graphic script is not governed by the constraints of the *ḥarakah*, constancy in pronunciation of the words cannot be guaranteed. The reader, in the pronunciation of the Afrikaans words, is influenced by his particular orthoepic practice. I have provided an interesting reading analysis of Arabic graphic script in Chapter 4.

In Arabic-Afrikaans phonetic script the pronunciation of the words are constrained by the *ḥarakah*. Arabic-Afrikaans phonetic script could, however, be regarded as phonetically analytic. This results from the fact that not all the sounds of Afrikaans exist in the Arabic language, and thus no appropriate *ḥarakah* exists to indicate these sounds. The writer, therefore, has to analyse the sound and create Arabic symbols as representations of the sound. This is done by combinations of vowel graphemes, or combinations of vocalisms and vowel graphemes, or clustering of letters. This process is also extensively dealt with in Chapter 4.

Arabic phonetic script seemed to have been the preferred script of the Arabic-Afrikaans writers. This could be attributed to the fact that their reading audience could not read Arabic graphic script, simply because they did not understand Arabic grammar. We still have a situation where many people could read the vocalized Arabic Quran, but are unable to read the Arabic graphic script. Because the greater majority of the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts and publications were written in the Arabic phonetic script, this study devotes a lot of attention to this mode of writing. Through the correct reading of the Arabic-Afrikaans phonetic scripts, an accurate linguistic rendering of Cape Muslim Afrikaans of the nineteenth and early twentieth century is obtained.

1.2.3. The concept *ḥarakah*

The term *ḥarakah* (حَرَكَة) is an Arabic linguistic concept. It is the *ḥarakāt* (plural) which transforms Arabic writing from graphic script into

Arabic phonetic script. The correct use of the *ḥarakāt* in Arabic script is thus important to the phonetic science of *tajwîd*.

The word *ḥarakah*, according the *Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage*, (1987:794) means 'movement', though Hans Wehr (1980;171) also translate it as 'vowel'. There are thus three terms in Arabic for vowel. These terms are : *tashkîl* (Von Denffer, 1983:57); *ḥuruful 'illah* (Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary, 1987, 1345) and *ḥarakah*. Of the three, *ḥarakah* seems to be the one which is most extensively used. It is, however, not used only to mean 'vowel' but as a term to describe the vocalic symbols which places constraint on the pronunciation of the words in Arabic phonetic script. The Arabic consonants on their own cannot convey a sound. Sounds are produced in terms of the morphological composition of the consonants in Arabic graphic script; and in terms of the vocalic symbol or *ḥarakah* which accommodates the letter in Arabic phonetic script.

In Arabic there are, however, only three true vowel graphemes. These are the *fatḥa*, the *kasra* and the *ḍamma*. They are used as lettering symbols accommodating the consonants whose sounds they are determining. Thus, if the *kasra*, *fatḥa* and *ḍamma* were the only symbols accommodating the consonants and influencing their sounds, the translation 'vowel' for '*ḥarakah*' might have been adequate. But this is not the case. Arabic phonetic writing has a complete system of phonetic symbols, composed of three vowel graphemes and several vocalic symbols. Al the phonetic symbols play a role in the pronunciation of the words written in phonetic script.

The three true vowel graphemes are used to indicate the Arabic short vowels, [a]; [i] and [u]. The Arabic long vowel, [a:], [e:] and [o:], sounds are either, structurally created, involving the Arabic consonants, '*alif*, (ا), *yâ* (ى) and *wâw* (و), known as the *ḥuruful madd* or letters of elongation (Jardien, 1983:41), in combination with the true vowel graphemes; or are indicated by vocalic symbols generally known as *madda*. But apart from the *madda* and the *ḥuruful madd structures*, there are other vocalic symbols, which in themselves do not indicate a sound, but in combination with the vowel graphemes and the consonants they accommodate, are vital for sound production. These symbols are the *sukûn*

and the *tashdíd*. Then again nasal intonations are indicated by the vocalic symbols called the *nûn-tanwîn* or *tanwîn*. Similarly the punctuation marks or more appropriately, stop or *waqaf* signs, are also indicated as if they are vocalic symbols. The vowel graphemes and vocalic symbols will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4. It is, however, important to note that collectively they are known as the *harakât*

Whenever any one of the vowel graphemes or vocalic symbols accommodates an consonant, the consonant is said to be *mutaharik* (مُتَحَرِّك). All letters which are *mutaharik* must be pronounced in the utterance of the word. The letters which are *mutaharik*, are accommodated with a *harakah*. The concept *mutaharik* is defined as "pronounced with following vowel" or "vowelized" (Hans Wehr, 1980:171), but not all *harakât* are vowels. Thus from my previous paragraph it is obvious that a *harakah* is much more than a vowel. *Harakah* in fact, implies a vocalic system - a combination of the vowel graphemes and vocalic symbols involved in the pronunciation process in Arabic reading. In defining *harakah*, Jardine (198:27) writes :

> "The letters are all consonants and their pronunciation is
> dependent on the vowel-signs accordingly. GARAKAAT (sic)
> literally means to MOVE and the letters are moveable only
> with the garakaat (sic) with which they are used."

I have used the term vocalism as a translation for *harakah*. "Vocalism" by its dictionary definition is "a vocalic system" (Funk & Wagnalls, 1963:1407), and it is in terms of this definition that the words *harakah* or *vocalism* are used in this study. My definition of "vocalism" thus differ from the definition given in the *Dictionary of Linguistics*. Mario Pei and Frank Gaynor (1980:228) in their *Dictionary of Linguistics* defines "vocalism" as "the scientific study, historical or descriptive, of the vowel system of a language or dialect." This is certainly not what the concept *harakah* implies.

Thus, to summarise, the term "vocalism", as a translation for the Arabic word *harakah*, is used as a descriptive name for the system of vowel graphemes and vocalic symbols used in Arabic phonetic writing.

1.2.4. The concept 'innovative orthographic engineering'

Probably the most exciting aspect of this study is the manipulation of the
barakāt by the Arabic-Afrikaans writers to create Arabic vocalic symbols
for the sounds of Afrikaans vowels and diphthongs which do not exist in
Arabic, and therefore, are not represented as lettering symbols in the
Arabic phonetic alphabet. Such Arabic vocalic symbols for Afrikaans
sounds also did not exist in the Malaysian and Persian-Turkish adapted
Arabic alphabets which were known to the Arabic-Afrikaans writers and used
by them for the projection of Afrikaans sounds in Arabic script.
Lettering or vocalic symbols thus also had to be created.

This process of lettering symbol construction was, however, not only
confined to the creation of Arabic-Afrikaans vocalic symbols. It was also
used in the creation of distinctive consonants when such consonants were
needed to indicate distinctive Afrikaans sounds. It was the effective and
consistent use of what could be regarded as an orthographic manipulative
process, which led to the development of a distinctive adapted Arabic
alphabet for Arabic-Afrikaans.

This orthographic manipulative process is a unique aspect to Arabic-
Afrikaans. It has never been fully examined before. This study is,
therefore, the first to look at the processes involved in the creation of
lettering and vocalic symbols to represent distinctive Afrikaans sounds
with the use of the orthography of a foreign alphabet. The approach of the
Arabic-Afrikaans writers was essentially a phonetic analytic one. The
writer was first required to determine and analyse the Afrikaans sound.
Then he had to manipulate the vocalic and lettering symbols of the Arabic
phonetic script. This manipulation, however, had to be done in such a way
that the emerging created lettering cluster could be read to produce,
(within the constraints of the rules of _tajwīd_), a sound, which as
accurately as possible, resemble the Afrikaans sound intended.

In reality the process was one which involved both phonetic and
orthographic considerations. At the same time the writer had to be
creative and innovative. This process, as observed from their alphabets,

also appeared to have occurred with the creation of the adapted Persian-Turkish, Malaysian and Urdu adapted Arabic alphabets. As far as I know, as a linguistic phenomenon, this orthographic manipulative process has never been studied before. There is thus no phonetic or linguistic term which adequately conceptualise it.

Because of the manipulation of the Arabic orthography and the creativity and inventiveness of the Arabic-Afrikaans writers, I have called this process, *innovative orthographic engineering*. To clarify the exact meaning of my coinage, I defined the concept of *innovative orthographic engineering* as:

> *'a process by which a foreign alphabet and its vowel system is restructured and adapted to produce orthographic representations of the sounds of the vowels, diphthongs and letters of an indegenous tongue written with that foreign alphabet.'*

It is the exploration of the operation of this process which is the main thrust of this study.
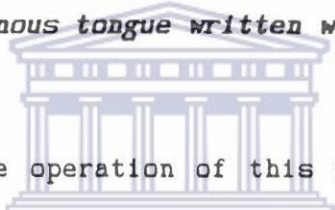
1.3. ARABIC TO ROMAN SCRIPT TRANSLITERATIONS

One problem with the studies of this nature is always the system of Arabic to Roman script transliteration which need to be adopted. One needs a system of transliteration which would facilitate the reading for as wide a possible audience. It is unfortunate that there is as yet no single international system of Arabic to Roman script transliteration. What seems to be happening is, that with the several systems of transliteration normally accepted by the international community, there is conformity with the transcription into Roman script of the greatest number of letters of the Arabic alphabet.

Arabic is one of the few languages which has pharyngealized consonants, i.e. consonants, whose sounds are produced by changing the size of the upper throat, or pharynx. By moving the root of the tongue back, the

pharyngeal cavity can be greatly constricted. Consonantal sounds which are accompanied by this constriction are regarded to be pharyngealized. (Langacker, 1973:151)

There are, therefore, certain Arabic consonants which just cannot be adequately represented in Roman script. Jardine identifies them as "the GA (ح) in MUGAMMAD - GHA (خ) hard guttural - SOD (ص) - DHOD (ض) - TAU (ط)- THAU (ظ) - EIN (ع) as in Einstein, GHEIN (غ) Drag in the throat like gargling - Thal (ذ) as in that. THA (ث) as in through" (Jardine, 1983:11). In their Roman script transliteration, the Roman script lettering symbols to indicate these letters of the Arabic alphabet are either underlined, accommodated with a macron or accommodated with diacritical marks. These accommodations are used to indicate that there is a difference in pronunciation, other than the normal pronunciation, of the letter. Then too their projection in systems of transliteration can differ from one system of transliteration to another.

Fortunately for the Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet, of the twenty consonants which are borrowed directly from the Arabic alphabet to eventually constitute the consonants of this alphabet, only the kha (خ) (Jardine's Gha above), of the letters which present difficulties with transcription, is included. Of the remainder, the Ṣâd (ص) and the Ṭâ (ط) (Jardine's Sod and Tau above) are used only by Abubakr Effendi (1869) and pre-Effendi writers. Thus the transcriptions of the consonants of Arabic-Afrikaans, on the whole, conforms very closely to the transcription of most of the internationally approved systems of Arabic to Roman script transliteration.

For the Arabic to English system of transliteration I have confined myself to the use of basically two of the systems of transliteration approved by the international community. These system are, the one suggested by the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (JMES) which is issued by the Middle East Studies Association of North America and printed by the Cambridge University Press. The other is the system suggested by the *Journal of Islamic Studies* issued by the Centre for Islamic Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University. Thus when I, in this study, refer to 'the international system of transliteration', I mean those systems generally

accepted by the international community and in which there are a convergence with regard to the transcription of the majority of the Arabic consonants.

With the writing of the names of the letters of the Arabic alphabet in Roman script, I have adopted the spelling suggested by Kapliwatski (1982:56). Figure 1 – 'The Arabic Consonants in Transcription – therefore, have been designed to give the reader a summary of the Arabic letters, their names written in Roman script and their Roman script lettering symbols.

All systems of transliteration of Arabic to Roman script virtually agree in their transcriptions of the Arabic vowels and diphthongs. Unfortunately these transcription, which are based on the international phonetic system, do not always suit the morphological appearance of Arabic-Afrikaans words transcribed into Roman script Afrikaans. Thus for Afrikaans transcriptions in this study the local or communal system of transliteration is used.

We thus have a position where basically two different systems of transliteration are applied. I have used the international system for English and the communal system for Afrikaans. A comparative illustration is given in Figure 2 – 'Comparative Transcriptions Vowels and Diphthongs to English and Afrikaans'.

I deemed this discussion on the systems of transliteration necessary at this early stage of the study. It is useful for the reader to have an idea of the systems of transliteration used right at the beginning. A more detailed exposition of the issues of transliteration, and especially the system of transliterations which developed in the Cape for Arabic to Afrikaans script, will be dealt with in Chapter 5.

Arabic letters (Their different forms)	Name of Letter	Roman Script Symbol	
		Kapliwatsky	J M E S #
ٵ ا ا ء	'alif/hamza	'	'
ب ب ب	bâ	b	b
ت ت ت	tâ	t	t
ث ث	thâ	th	th
ج ج	ǧim	ǧ	j
ح ح	ḥâ	ḥ	ḥ
خ خ	khâ	kh	kh
د	dal	d	d
ذ	dhal	dh	dh
ر	râ	r	r
ز	zai	z	z
س س	sîn	s	s
ش ش	shî	sh	sh
ص ص	ṣâd	ṣ	ṣ
ض ض	ḍâd	d	d
ط	ṭâ	ṭ	ṭ
ظ	ẓâ	ẓ	ẓ
ع ع ع ع	'ain	'	'
غ غ غ غ	ghain	gh	gh
ف ف	fâ	f	f
ق ق	qâf	q	q
ک	kâf	k	k
ل ل	lâm	l	l
م م	mîm	m	m
ن ن ن ن	nûn	n	n
ه ھ ھ ه	hâ	h	h
و	wâw	w	w
ی ی ی ی ی	yâ	y	y

FIGURE   1   -   THE ARABIC CONSONANTS IN TRANSCRIPTION

(# J M E S = Journal of Middle East Studies)

4. THE STRUCTURE OF THIS STUDY

While Chapter 1 has merely looked at the perimeters of this study and clarified some of the basic concepts, from Chapter 2 onwards, more detailed aspects of the Cape Muslim Afrikaans variety emerge and are discussed. The study is actually divided into two parts. Part one (Chapters 2 and 3) confines itself to the Cape Muslim Afrikaans variety, the historical and linguistic development of its distinctive literary tradition, the vehicles through which this tradition was perpetuated and the literature which was produced up to 1915.

Arabic Symbol	Name of Vowel or Diphthong	System of Transcription		Phonetic Sound
		English	Afrikaans	
َ	*fatḥa*	a	a	[a]
ِ	*kasra*	i	ie	[i]
ُ	*damma*	u	oe	[u]
اَ	*ḥurûful madd a*	â	aa	[a:]
ِيْ	*ḥurûful madd ee*	î	ee	[e:]
ُوْ	*ḥurûful madd oo*	û	oo	[o:]
َيْ	*madd lain yâ*	ay	ai	[ɔi]
َوْ	*madd lain wâw*	au/aw	ou	[œu]

FIGURE 2 - COMPARATIVE TRANSCRIPTION OF THE ARABIC VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS TO ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS

The second part (Chapters 4 and 5) of the study looked at the development of Arabic-Afrikaans as a written script with a distinctive alphabet. It looks at how this script ought to be read and transcribed into Roman script lettering. This section wants to determine what the Cape Muslim Afrikaans variety sounded like in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This, I believe can be determined by the correct reading and transcription of the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts.

In a concluding chapter the relationship between the language and the literature of the Cape Muslim Afrikaans variety is commented upon.

For an understanding of the emergence of the Cape Muslim Afrikaans variety, and understanding of, (a) the development of the Cape Muslim community, and (b), the milieu in which this community developed, are necessary. Chapter 2 will thus look at the places of origin of the slaves, the ancestors of the Cape Muslim community. Of particular interest in this chapter are the languages the slaves spoke; the literary traditions of these languages, the process of acculturation in their new social milieu; and the perpetuation of the new cultural and linguistic traits, and their transmission through various social vehicles. Of central importance are their theological philosophy and the establishment of their first religious school.

Chapter 3 will look at the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts, the manuscripts, books and lithographs produced between 1840 and 1915. This chapter will look at both the Arabic-Afrikaans and the Roman script publications and scripts which start to emerge from 1898 onwards. The differences in the Afrikaans usage in the Arabic-Afrikaans and Afrikaans in Roman script are noted. This chapter also places the Arabic-Afrikaans publications in a social context. Some interesting features of the socio-linguistic, historical and religious life of the authors and the community are discussed.

Chapter 4 concentrates on the reading of the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts. It notes some problems of pronunciation in the reading of Arabic-Afrikaans graphic script. The major concentration in this chapter is the exploration of the development of the writing traditions of Arabic-Afrikaans. The Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet, created through the process on innovative

orthographic engineering and within the constraints of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwid*, is systematically examined. It is concluded that not only did the Cape Muslim community gave Afrikaans its first spelling system, albeit in the Arabic script; but the use of the Arabic phonetic script has retained for prosterity almost audio-tape recordings of the pronunciation of Afrikaans words by the Cape Muslims in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The usefulness of the Arabic-Afrikaans script for future research is going to depend on how well these scripts are going to be transcribed into Roman script. Chapter 5, therefore, devotes itself to the question of the transliteration of Arabic to Roman script. The international system of transliteration of Arabic script is examined and critically evaluated for their usefulness to Arabic-Afrikaans transcriptions. A similar in depth look is taken at the Arabic to Afrikaans system of transliteration which started to developed in the Cape Muslim community from 1898 onwards. This system seems to have developed **Afrikaans Roman** script representations for the Arabic vocalisms which represents true reflections of the Arabic sounds.

By taking the best elements of the international system of Arabic transliterations and the Cape Muslim Afrikaans system of Arabic transliteration, a new standardized system of transliteration is developed and suggested. In accordance with this system of transliteration, an extensive annotated transcription of three examples, selected from the Arabic-Afrikaans publications, is embarked upon. From these transcriptions the acoustic nature, i.e. the sounds of the words as they are produced in pronunciation, could be determined. These transcriptions also allows for an examination of some of the phonetic, syntactical and lexical aspects of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Some interesting observations are made. The Chapter ends with a list of distinctive Cape Muslim idiomatic expressions.

1.5. THE POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study opens opportunities for several new areas of research on Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Apart from providing the basis for finding answers to Van Selms' 1951 questions, other philological and phonetic research projects could be embarked upon. Such research projects, if correctly structured, could provide greater insights into Cape Muslim Afrikaans and Cape Afrikaans generally.

The creation of new words, by the Arabic-Afrikaans writers, when their limited vocabulary proved inadequate to succinctly express some or other social, philosophical or theological concepts, would be an exciting study to embark upon. One need only to look at early non-standard words like *beesachtag* (= enormous, huge) or *opbouwens* (= systematic construction) or *rieziek-giever* (= the giver of bounty), to appreciate their creativity in neology. Some of the issues involved in the process of neology are briefly discussed. A study in historical vocabulary development could be an interesting spin off from this study. A more intensive study of the lexicon of Cape Muslim Afrikaans is definitely needed.

The question may well be asked to what extent the grammatical structures of the ancestral Malayo-Polynesian languages, or Arabic have on the syntax of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Or what influence their earlier pidgin have on their current Afrikaans grammatical usage. The syntactical arrangement and grammatical usage provides yet another virgin area of research for an astute researcher.

One could also now more closely examine how the Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims conforms to the Afrikaans or creolized Dutch reflected in the publications by Professor Changuion and Sausso de Lima in 1844. Maybe the controversy on '*De Taal de Kapenaren*' which reigned between these gentlemen in 1844 could, in the light of this new look at Cape Muslim Afrikaans, for once and all be resolved.

Maybe this study will also inspire a researcher to revisit the Malayo-Portuguese theory of the origin of Afrikaans advanced by Hesseling (1899)

and supported by Valkhoff (1972) and possibly reassess the entire question of the origins of Afrikaans from a nonconventional perspective. This study provides some new evidence as to the dominance of Malayu, though not the only slave language at the Cape of Good Hope at the end of the eighteenth century.

Finally this study shows that the Afrikaans variety of the Cape Muslims, like their artisan skill and culinary arts, developed at the Cape of Good Hope, and could be regarded to be truly rooted in the soil of Africa.

FOOTNOTE: ' (P B U H) = Peace be upon him. A salutation conferred by Muslim on the Prophet of Islam.

O-O-O-O-O-O-O-O-O-O-O

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

CHAPTER 2

THE WORLD THE CAPE SLAVES MADE :

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CULTURE AND LITERARY
TRADITION OF THE CAPE MUSLIM COMMUNITY.

2.1. INTRODUCTION

By the middle of the nineteenth century the Cape Muslims who have their
ancestral origins in the slaves, and eastern political exiles and convicts,
brought to the Cape of Good Hope by the Dutch East India Company, were
using the Arabic script to transcribe their spoken creolized Dutch
phonetically. During the remainder of the century, up to the late 1950s,
this practice developed into a distinctive literary tradition, leading to
the writing and publication of several manuscripts and religious text-books
in Afrikaans in Arabic script. Of these publications and manuscripts, thus
far, 74 have been discovered and identified - 64 by Hans Kähler (1971), Van
Selms (1951) and Muller (1960) and 10 by this writer. The greater number of
these scripts were produced between 1868 and 1910, and as such constitute
an important part of the early literature of the Afrikaans language.

The discovery of these manuscripts and publications, now generally referred
to as, Arabic-Afrikaans literature (Van Selms, 1951:7), raised some
interesting socio-linguistic and historical linguistic questions.
Answering these questions is not really the aim of this study. What this
study is concerned about is the reading of these scripts and their accurate
transcription in the Roman script orthography. It is also concerned about
placing some of these early Arabic-Afrikaans writings in a social and
historical context. Before this can be done, it is useful to know
something about the people, their culture and the history of their literary
tradition. This chapter, therefore, will look at the historical development
of Cape Muslim Afrikaans, and its literary tradition Arabic-Afrikaans, by
looking at the historical development of the Cape Muslim community.

I am convinced that Cape Muslim Afrikaans, which is an important component of Cape Afrikaans, emerged from the creolized Dutch spoken by the Free Blacks, the Khoe-khoen, the slaves and the lower classes in Cape Town (Swaving, 1830:302,303), and the farmers, slaves and Khoe-khoen in the immediate interior (Teenstra, 1830:364), during the beginning of the nineteenth century. This creolized Dutch in turn resulted from the social relations between master and slave, colonist and Khoesan during the early years of white settlement. Social, cultural and historical factors thus played an important role. I am, therefore, not convinced that Afrikaans was a transplant or genetic extension of the dialects of southern Holland during the seventeenth century, as maintained by some Afrikaans academics (Combrinck, 1979,75.). Such neo-Social-Darwinist explanations of the origin of Afrikaans tends to ignore the need for survival through social contact in a polyglot society.

In such societies cultural fusion, which results from the accommodation of different cultural traits, results in contact change. The nature of the changes which occurs are directly dependent on the intensity or degree of fusion. This fusion of cultural traits is an important aspect of the social phenomenon known as "acculturation". By 'acculturation' thus is meant "the phenomena which results when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, resulting in subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Spicer, 1968:22); and the emergence of new cultural traits. This happened with virtually every aspect of South African life since white contact with the Cape from 1488 onwards. The creolization of Dutch is one aspect of this process. Another more cogent aspect is the emergence of some of the distinctive features of the cultures of the individual groupings of the South African nation, but before we look at these features, let us first look briefly at the inadequacy of the genetical extension and philological approaches to the origin of Afrikaans.

2.1.1. The philological approach

The historical inadequacies of the genetic extension and philological approaches to the origin of Afrikaans is excellently expounded by David

Brown. In his response to Combrinck's (1978;75) philological argument that Malayo-Portuguese contributed to less than one percent of the vocabulary of Afrikaans, and that, therefore, social contact played a lesser role in the origin of the language, he writes :

"*This shying away from pidgin and creole linguistics in discuss-
ing the genesis of Afrikaans has been an essential component
of the invented continuity of Afrikaner culture and neo-Social
Darwinist explanations of the origin of Afrikaans, which
dominated Afrikaans historical linguistics in South Africa.
Writers such as Combrinck were engaged in establishing a "his-
toricity" for Afrikaans based on a philological scientism
rather than a social and historical linguistics. Such
explanations of the social historical origins of creoles are
not uncommon but they are an invention of linguistic tradition
in the desire of creole people to boost their sense of origin
in the face of metropolitan prejudice.*" (Brown: 1988:38)

David Brown's postulation certainly tends to ring true, if one considers the omission from Standard Afrikaans of words such as *uiwe* (onions), *maskie* (perhaps), *ver-effe* (a little while ago) *werksloon* (good deeds) etc. (Elfers, 1908:93ff), which were in general use prior to the establishment in 1875 of the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (GRA). Or the omission of Malayu words, such as *ghielap* (from Malayu *kilat* - lightning), *ghoentoem* (from the Malayu guntur - thunder), *mannie-kamer* (from *kammar-mandi* - bathroom). and *slamblie-er* (use as a noun - slaughter, but from the Malayu verb *slamblee* - to slaughter, to which an Afrikaans suffix -er is added to form the noun), or simply *djamang* (toilet) or *graa-na* (eclipse), which had acquired a distinct Afrikaans pronunciation, and which were already in the nineteenth century bridged into the Afrikaans of the Cape Muslim community (Muller, 1960:38). Or even older words such as *kasm* (= oath), listed by Swaving (1830:336) and *memme* (= foster mother), listed by Teenstra (1830:348), which were already in use in the 1820s. These words, which are still in daily use, show the inadequacy of the philological approach. In all probability these words, despite their persistent use by a vast section of Afrikaans speakers, were ommited from Standard Afrikaans, possibly because

---

they amplify the creole nature of the language too strongly. Nevertheless, they tend to confirm Valkhoff's (1966) assertion that Afrikaans conforms to the linguistic process evident in creolization and pidginization.

2.1.2. The influence of acculturation

Given the exciting melting pot of cultures the Cape was during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, processes of acculturation - apart from philology - must have influenced the creolization of Dutch. This more so if we consider that it was the interaction of various cultures and the borrowing of cultural traits, which gave rise to the very distinct South African culture. It is known for instance that *boeremusiek* has its origin in the *krontjong* of Java (Van Selms: 1953b:12); *velskoene* and biltong are borrowings from the Khoe-koen and the San (Branford, 1980:323 & 324); that South African cuisine, especially *sosaties*, *bredie*, and *bobotie*, is the creation of the eastern slaves (Rood, 1978:1 - 4); and Cape Muslim secular music, which persisted since their slavery, has its origin in the Netherlands (Van Warmelo, 1964:21). If there had been such strong exchanges of cultural traits on the social level, then surely the extension of this pattern on the linguistic level must have been stronger. In view of these processes of acculturation and the polyglot nature of Cape society during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I am forced to support Ronnie Belcher's view that the history of Afrikaans is to a large extent the story of communication between the white and the coloured races in the early years of South African history (Belcher, 1987:16).

Thus, to understand the historical developoment of Cape Muslim Afrikaans, we need to look at the creolized Dutch spoken by the slaves and their descendents. After emancipation, the vast majority of these people living in Cape Town became adherent to the Islamic faith. By 1842 this community, the Cape Muslims, constituted a third of the population of the mother city (*Cape of Good Hope Almanac*, 1842:Xll) and were by then already busy transcribing, phonetically, their spoken Afrikaans in Arabic script. Their Arabic-Afrikaans writings, apart from giving us almost an audio-tape recording of their spoken word, also gave Cape Dutch - or more precisely Cape Afrikaans - its first spelling arrangement, albeit in the Arabic

script. The roots of this distinctive literary tradition will be traced by looking at the literacy of the slaves who lived in Cape Town from the mid-eighteenth century to emancipation. But first I will look at the origin and the development of the Cape Muslim community and the distinctive world the Cape slaves made.

2.2. THE WORLD THE CAPE SLAVES MADE -
THE EMERGENCE OF THE CAPE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

2.2.1. The spatial origins and acculturation

The Cape Muslim community has its origin in the slaves, brought to this southern tip of the African continent from five main regions of the world. These regions - it is generally agreed by historians - are the Indonesian Archipelago, Bengal, the South Indian coast and Sri Lanka, Madagaskar, and the East African coast (Ross, 1983:13). Here at the Cape they came to create a world of their own - a world which was distinct from that of their masters, with a cultural orientation which has its roots in Islam.

The very fact that they were brought from several different cultural regions implies a diversity of cultures and a diversity of languages. Therefore right from the beginning there must have been an exchange of cultural traits, be this through cohabitation in the Company's slave quarters or interaction in small groupings in private homes, the fields where they worked, and in the growing town where they met. Such exchanges would have been necessary for survival; and resulted in the emergence of new cultural traits which in turn were transmitted to their children.

Inasmuch as the slaves had to acculturate to each other, they also had to acculturate to their masters (Ross, 1983:14). But there were differences in intensity of interaction between slave and master, and slave and slave. These differences resulted from differences in their social relationships. The social relationship between master and slave was governed by labour. The social relationship between slave and slave was much more personal and intimate, and was governed by the need for protection and comfort from the very brutality which slavery entails. One needs only to look at the

hardships which the Cape slaves endured, to understand the need of comfort and protection. Being broken on the wheel, impalled through the anus and disemboweled are but examples of this brutality (Ross, 1983, Worden, 1985, Shell 1989).

Be that as it may, these differences in intensity of interaction led to differences in accommodation of cultural traits. Therefore, while the slaves largely resisted the white master's culture, though some became Christian and adopted his life-style, the white master, through force of circumstances, had to accommodate some of the cultural traits of the slaves. This is evident from the fact that *atjar*, an eastern salad, was a necessity on the tables of the colonists in 1825 (Teeanstra, 1830:371), and the creolization of Dutch was already noticed in the seventeenth century, when slave masters adopted slave words in their spoken Dutch (Raidt, 1983:127).

2.2.2. Syncretic mysticism - a result of acculturation

The slaves more readily acculturated to each other. It is this acculturation which is my concern, for it is this acculturation which gives the present-day Muslim community in Cape Town its distinctive culture. Aspects of the cultural traits, created by the slaves, are still discernable in some of the cultural practices of the Cape Muslims. Thus for example, the cutting of the orange leaves on the birthday of the Prophet of Islam (P B U H) - called *Maulûd-an-nabî* - is a practice unique to the Muslims of Cape Town. It is frowned upon by the Muslim purists, but survived as a cultural tradition. The practice is called *rampie-sny*, and the product a *rampie*, which is the cut and scented orange leaves folded in a colourful sachet. The *rampies* are prepared by the ladies in the mosque during the afternoon and distributed to the congregation during the evening service.

The word *rampie*, which has no Islamic base, must be derived from Rampa, which in Hindu mythology is the name given to three heroes, especially Ramachadra (Funk & Wagnalls, 1963:1043). The possibility exists that the association of *rampie-sny* with the Prophet's birthday must have attracted

some of the Hindu slaves to the fold of Islam. This possibility gains tremendous substance when it is considered that the epic poems recited during the cutting of the orange leaves and the making of the *rampies* expounds the heroic deeds of the Prophet Muhammed (P B U H). These poems are called, **maulids**, and are comprehensive liturgies, the first of which was written by Sulaiman Chelibi, a Turkish Sufi, who was a member of the *Khalwathia* order of the *Naqsbandia Tariqa* (i.e. the Islamic sufi brotherhood called *Naqsbandia*) (Trimingham, 1971). This was the same sufi brotherhood to which Sheikh Yusuf of Macassar belonged (Von Kleist, 1986). It was probably he who introduced these liturgies at the Cape. I have one of these early **maulid** liturgies, written by a slave in Cape Town in 1830, in my possession. The most popular of the liturgies recited in Cape Town is the *Maulid-Barzanzi, also called the Ruwayats*, which was written by Jaffar ibn Hasan al Barzanji in the eighteen century, and introduced at the Cape at the end of the nineteenth century as part of the liturgies of the *Qadariah Sufi* brotherhood.

Nevertheless, Thunberg's description of a Cape Muslim festival, which he observed on 28 June 1772 (Rochlin, 1939:124), contains all the elements of a **Maulûd-an-nabî** or Prophet's birthday celebration as practised by the present-day Cape Muslim community. The column of coloured and gilted paper could only have been the **rampies**, which is still displayed in front of the mosques. Nosegays, which are distributed with the **rampies,** are displayed in front of the column or pile of **rampies** even today. The chanting of the **thikrs** or spiritual songs, are rendered in unison, followed by individual reading of the **maulid** from a book. Even the starting time and the serving of tea have remained constant. From this evidence it is clear that the distinctive manner of the Cape Muslim celebration of the Prophet's birthday is deeply rooted in the history of slavery. It is an interesting example of a cultural trait which resulted from the process of acculturation which took place between two diverse mystical orders at the Cape of Good Hope – Hindu mythology and Islamic spiritualism.

From at least one early-nineteenth century observer we have the evidence that the Cape Muslim's distinct way of celebrating the **Maulû-an-nabî** is not an importation from the South East Asian Archipelago. Crawfurd informs us

that the Archipelago's way of celebrating the Prophet's birthday conformed with that of other Muslim countries of the time. There was certainly no *rampies.* His evidence is particularly reliable, for he was keen to observe the influence of Hinduism, and other forms of animistic worship, on the practice of Islam in the South East Asian Islands. Thus for instance, he noted that the word *puwasa*, which is used to indicate the fast of *Ramadaan*, and used by all seven of the main languages of the Archipelago, is of Hindu origin. It is interesting to note that the word *poewasa* is strongly bridged into the spoken Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims, and is used extensively to indicate fasting (Crawfurd, 1820:261 - 2 Vol 2).

The cutting of *rampies* is but one example of a cultural innovation which resulted from the contact of cultures during the early years of slavery at the Cape. Another is the *Khalifa* or *Ratiep*, which involves the hitting of the body with sharp skewers, without causing the flow of blood, to the chanting of Arabic spiritual recitations. *Ratiep* is frowned upon by the present-day Cape Muslim clergy, and not regarded as part of the religious practices of Islam. Hence it is dying out. It was, nevertheless, popularly practised in nineteenth-century Cape Town, leading to a major dispute between the community and the authorities - who, in 1854, wanted to disallow it because of the associated noise. Except for the Achmat brothers, Mochamat, Gamiem and Sadiek, all the other Imams of the time conceded that it was not an integral part of their religion, but requested that it be allowed on one day of the year, the twelfth day of the Muslim month of *Rabil Ahir* (Lima de Sausso, 1856), a day which since then became known as *amantu ablas* (the twelfth night).

In essence *Ratiep* is a synthesis of two distinct cultural components, Islamic spiritual recitation and animistic ritual practices, and was in all probability used by the Muslims to attract the non-Muslim slaves to their fold. Attractive indeed it must have been, for despite the bondage of slavery, *Ratiep* would have given the slaves a personal power over their bodies, a power which would have established for them a dignity. But at the same time, it must be remembered, many slaves came from non-Muslim cultures in Africa and the South East Asian Archipelagpo. Their socio-religious milieus of origin were thus steeped in mystical practices. These

practices had to be accommodated. Hence at the Cape such practices as *Ratiep* gained popularity. *Ratiep*, therefore, like "Malay Magic" which manifested itself strongly in the socio-cultural life of the nineteenth-century Cape Muslim community (Mayson, 1865:28), shows the syncretic mysticism which emerged in this community as a result of the process of acculturation.

2.2.3.   The slave's failure to organise as a community

But the new cultural traits which emerged, right from the early days of slavery at the Cape, never agglutinated into a slave world of its own. It was only by the 1770s, in terms of the available evidence (Rochlin, 1939:214), that there appeared to be some sense of cultural belonging among the slaves; and it was only at the end of the eighteenth century when Islam suddenly took root to become the religion of the slaves in the mother city.

The failure of the slaves in Cape Town to agglutinate into a world of its own in the beginning, despite their relative freedom of movement (Ross, 1983:19), is one of the most puzzling aspects of the history of slavery in the Cape Colony.   Ross, in trying to explain the failure of the urban slaves to organise themselves for religion and rebellion posits the following :

> "the slave community had no ascriptive leaders, no one who
> stood out from his fellows for any qualities other than
> the force of his personality. The difference in status
> between a Javanese royal and a south Indian untouchable,
> for instance, was too great for effective communal action,
> even had the Dutch not kept a careful watch over the
> exiles' activities to prevent any such coalition" (1983:20)

Although I will agree that the slaves had no ascriptive leaders, and that social distance between the eastern exiles and slaves existed - though not for the same reason as suggested by Ross - the non-emergence of a world made by the slaves cannot be understood in such simplistic terms.   The answer is much more complex, and in all probability lies in the social

relations between the Free Black slave owners and their slaves in Cape Town, for it was in the city where these relations existed.

This, unfortunately, is an area of research which is sadly lacking. Hence, we far too often assume that the relationship between slave and Free Black slave-master was cordial; and that the Free Blacks treated their slaves better than the whites, and that they purchased slaves merely to set them free (*Imperial Blue Book*, 1835:207 - 210). We tend to peg our assumptions on the evidence of Imam Achmat of Bengal, himself a freed slave (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798), given by him and Imam Muding to the Colebrooke and Bigge Commission in 1825 (*Imperial Blue Book*, 1835:207 - 210). But slavery is slavery, and the very notion of one person owning another conveys exploitation, if not brutality. We cannot, therefore, be certain as to what extent the evidence of the two Imams express a cultrural or a statistical norm. From a mere glance at the Slave Registers in the Cape Archives (SO 6/12), we note several prominent early nineteenth century Cape Muslim personalities having a considerable number of slaves. It is evident from these documents that these slaves were not merely purchased for manumission. Their very occupation indicate that they were acquired for investment and capital production. (See Figure 3)

2.2.4. Who were the Free Blacks ?

But before I analyse the relationship between Free Black slave-owner and slave, let me first determine who the Free Blacks were. Many of them were manumitted slaves or their descendants, but there were also amongst them easterners who fell foul of the Dutch East India Company laws and were banished to the Cape. An analysis of their origins indicates that less than 2% were African, just over 50% were Cape born and the remainder Indian or Indonesian (Worden, 1985:144). There is no certainty as to their numbers, but it appear as if they increased during the eighteenth century (Elphick & Shell in Worden, 1985:144). Their numbers probably increased after the smallpox epidemic of 1713, when those convicts who survived were

1. **Imam Abdullah (Tuan Guru):** Founder of the Dorp Street Mosque and the Dorp Street *Madrasah*. A Leading Cape Muslim. These slaves became the property of his sons, Abdol Rakiep and Abdol Rauf when he died in 1807

HIS SLAVES

1.	Mawaa	Female	about 55 years	From Trinate	Housemaid
2.	Rachbat	Female	about 26 years	From Mozambique	Washmaid
3.	Damon	Male	about 45 years	From Boughies	Fisherman
4.	Maubara	Male	about 5 years	Cape born	
5.	Sarkernat	Male	11 October, 1816	Cape, of Rachbat	
6.	Fakier	Male	21 October, 1817	Cape, of Rachbat	
7.	Misschie	Male	10 October, 1820	Cape, of Rachbat	
8.	Asenat	Female	11 April, 1822	Cape, of Rachbat	
9.	Pwakal	Male	2 March, 1824	Cape, of Rachbat	
10.	Saietoe	Female	25 March, 1827	Cape, of Rachbat	
11.	Crieb	Male	23 October, 1828	Cape, of Rachbat	

2. **Abdol Wasie :** A prominent Cape Muslim. Executor to the estate of Imam Abdullah (Tuan Guru). Involved in the Dorp Street Mosque and *Madrasah* Also an Imam.

SEVEN OF HIS TEN SLAVES :

1.	Pamela	Female	about 29 years	Cape born	Housemaid
2.	Soucour	Male	about 33 years	Cape born	Shoemaker
3.	Isaac	Male	about 39 years	Cape born	Houseboy
4.	Soonie	Female	about 61 years	Batavia	Housemaid
5.	Jeck	Male	about 34 years	Cape born	Tailor
6.	Floris	Male	about 28 years	Mozambique	Painter
7.	Daniel	Male	about 43 years	Cape born	Tailor

3. **Jan of Boughies :** A very prominent Cape Muslim. Founder of the Palm Tree Mosque in Long Street. Arabic teacher at Dort Street *Madrasah*.

TWELFE OF HIS SIXTEEN SLAVES

1.	Mey	Male	about 41 years	Boughies	Fisherman
2.	Said	Male	about 50 years	Batavia	Hawker
3.	Willem	Male	about 15 years	Cape born	Tallow Chan.
4.	Landerlu	Male	about 60 years	Madagascar	Labourer
5.	Phillis	Male	about 45 years	Malabar	Coolie
6.	Joemat	Male	about 60 years	Batavia	Coolie
7.	August	Male	about 60 years	Boughies	Fisherman
8.	January	Male	about 70 years	Balie	Hawker
9.	Aletta	Female	about 50 years	Boughies	Housemaid
10.	Slammat	Male	about 61 years	Batavia	Basket maker
11.	May	Male	about 60 years	Batavia	Painter
12.	Regina	Female	about 48 years	Cape born	Seamstress

FIGURE 3 : THE SLAVES OF SOME PROMINENT CAPE MUSLIMS. SHOWING SEX, AGE PLACE OF ORIGIN AND OCCUPATION. (FROM SLAVE REGISTERS – CAPE ARCHIVES) – AGES OF SLAVES AT 1816.

released from the Castle of Good Hope (Shell, 1974). Worden (1985:146) indicates that there were 350 Free Blacks in Cape Town in 1773, while Elphick and Shell (in Worden, 1985:144) maintain that they constitute between 15% and 20% of the Free Burger population. Their numbers increased considerably after 1800, and according to Teenstra (1830:355) they constituted 1 905 out of a total population of 18 173 in Cape Town in 1818.

In view of this statistical data, and the fact that there were no ascribed leaders amongst the slaves, we would have expected that such leadership as was needed for the slaves to make their world would have emerged from the eastern Free Blacks early in the eighteenth century. They were in many instances enemies of the Dutch, brought here by force. Amongst them were also Imams and learned Islamic teachers (Ross, 1983:20). They were, therefore, in a position to help the slaves to create a world of their own, if not for rebellion, then for the consolidation of their religion (Ross, 1983:20). The latter more so, as religious freedom was not one of the virtues of Dutch East India Company rule. This did not happen in the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it was only after the 1750s that Free Black Imams started to assume leadership roles amongst the slaves and the Free Blacks in the mother city (Davids, 1985).

2.2.5. The Free Blacks as slave-owner

The Free Blacks, however, had the right to purchase slaves, and in this regard were afforded the same protection in law as given to the white colonists (Worden, 1985:147). Many of them became slave owners, owning anything between one and fifteen slaves (Cape Archives SO 6/12). While it is true that 25% of manumissions in the eighteenth century were executed by Free Blacks (Worden, 1985:144), we do not know what percentage of these were slaves manumitted by family members. From the cases for which reasons for manumission are given, the percentage seems to be high (Leibbrant, 1905).

It was expensive to manumit a slave. A slave owner had to pay vast sums of money to the Diaconij, the 'welfare' wing of the Dutch Reformed Church, to cover the cost of assistance a freed slave might seek as poor relief

(Worden, 1985:145). This condition certainly influenced the rate of manumission in the Colony which, in any case, was relatively low (Worden, 1985:147). We would, however, have expected that those Free Blacks with many slaves would have been more liberal in their approach to manumission. This does not appear to have been the case. Thus for instance the very prominent Cape Imam, Abdullah ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam (better known as Tuan Guru), though reminded by his attorney during the compilation of his will in 1801 that those slaves who adopted Christianity, according to the law, could not be retained in slavery (Cape Archives, MOOC 7/1/53 No 66), still passed on his slaves as his estate to his children. There is no reason to suggest that his slaves adopted Christianity, for except those who died in slavery, the remainder were only manumitted on the death of his son, Abdol Rakiep, in 1834 (Cape Archives, SO 3/37 Nos 468 - 72). There is also no reason to believe that he did not have the means to provide the sum, 50 rix-dollars required by the Diaconij for on 20 January 1806 he took transfer of the thirty-five-year-old slave, Damon of Boughies, whom he purchased for 320 rix-dollars (Cape Archives SO 6/23 page 25).

Tuan Guru's purchase of Damon of Boughies is an interesting one, for Tuan Guru was certainly an opinion maker, whose influence is felt even today when divergent theological issues are discussed. On further investigation I discovered that Damon of Boughies was purchased a year prior to Tuan Guru's death, during the time that his second son, Abdol Rauf, was five years old. A condition of the purchase was that Damon be manumitted as soon as the purchase price was redeemed. He was manumitted in 1816 (Cape Archives, SO 12/3 No 4). At the time Abdol Rauf was 15 years old, and his brother, Abdol Rakiep, a 23 year old tailor in the mother city. It would appear that Damon was specifically purchased as a means of securing a steady income to provide for the income of Tuan Guru's children after his death. He wanted them to have a good education and be cared for until they marry or are able to provide for themselves (Cape Archives, MOOC 7/1/53 No 66), and this had to be secured. His two other slaves were household slaves. Maawa of Trinate, the housekeeper, was already 44 yrears old, while Rachbat of Mozambique, the washmaid, was 17 (Cape Archives, SO 6/12 page 15). They were hardly capable of producing the capital which would have been required, hence Damon of Boughies, a fisherman, had to be

purchased. Fish having been a staple commodity with the Muslims at the time (*Imperial Blue Book*, 1835:209), would have secured a steady income. Rachbat, however, increased the value of the estate considerably. She became the mother of seven slave children, three of whom died, the remaining four gaining their freedom with their mother in 1834 (Cape Archives, SO 3/37 Nos 469 - 72).

This case study of the slaves of Tuan Guru clearly shows that the Free Blacks were using their slaves as an investment. Their investment in slaves was probably motivated by the fact that, as non-Christians, they were not allowed to have landed property without the special permission of the Governor (Rochlin, 1959). Investment in slaves might thus have been the easiest means of capital accumulation. Such investment were common throughout the eighteenth century, becoming an established tradition by the end of that century.

The slaves of the Free Blacks were thus not merely purchased to be freed. There might have been exceptional cases, but on the whole they were purchased for security and as an investment for capital accumulation. This determines a new set of social relations between Free Black slave-owner and slave, other than that which is normally accepted. Apart from creating a social distance and class structure the slaves were also looked upon as an economic investment.

It is, therefore, unlikely that the Free Blacks would have become involved in the organisation of the slaves in any kind of structure which might be deemed resistant. If the slaves were to be organized into a social entity, a matrix accommodating both their and the Free Black slave master's needs, was needed. It must by necessity make the slaves comfortable in their subjugation, giving them sufficient space for social mobility and at the same time protect the Free Black's ownership rights. Such a matrix does not seem to have been clearly defined prior to 1793.

2.2.6. The Ash'arite philosophy as the matrix of the milieu

Islam, though present at the Cape from the beginning, never became a vibrant binding force between slave and Free Black, except maybe for a short period around Sheikh Yusuf's settlement at Faure at the end of the seventeenth century - but it was of short duration (Davids, 1980:39). From the description of the two religious functions of the Cape Muslims of the 1770s (Rochlin, 1939:214), we get the impression of a ceremonial, rather than a resistant, Islam being practised. This would have been in conformity with the needs of both the slaves and the Free Blacks - both of whom needed religion as a cultural expression.

This ceremonial approach still dominates the cultural-religious practices of the Cape Muslims, and is seen in such activities as *rampie-sny, doopmal,* (the naming ceremony, with all its trimmings, of the new-born baby, with crow-foot like insignia drawn on the forehead, being carried on a tray decorated with flowers), and *kersopstiek* (the ceremonial lighting of candles on the twenty-seventh night of the month of *Ramadaan*). These practices show how strong the syncretic mysticism of the eighteenth century, which resulted from acculturation, left its mark on the cultural life of the community.

That the followers of Islam remained a small group during the eighteenth century is evident from a statement by Abdol Barrie, one of the first students of the Dorp Street *Madrasah.* He stated that in 1793, with the establishment of the school, there were only a few students, but they increased so rapidly that soon - in 1795 - a mosque was required (*South African Commercial Advertiser*, 27 February, 1836). This school and mosque were the first institutions of the Cape Muslims, providing them with a vehicle and cultural ecological base for the transmission of their cultural-religious ideas. The phenomenal success could be ascribed to the theological-philosophical base provided by the founder, Tuan Guru. His philosophical theology provided the matrix for the slaves and Free Blacks to function together as a cultural-religious entity without threathening their respective stations in life. Yet at the same time, this theological philosophy provided for the slaves a possibility of social mobility; and a

---

fair degree of protection from the harsh treatment of their Free Black slave-masters. From this embryo, Islam at the Cape developed to become the religion of a third of the population in Cape Town in 1842.

The basic elements of this matrix were drawn from the rational traditional philosophy of the eighth-century *Ash'arite* dogmatic position of *Sunnism*, of which Tuan Guru was a follower, and which philosophy he extensively expounds in the *Marifatul Islami wal Imani*, the manuscript he compiled in 1781, while still incarcerated on Robben Island. This manuscript became the main textbook of the school, and greatly stimulated writing amongst the slaves as parts were copied as student note-books. Through over 600 pages, the Ash'arite concepts of *taqdir* (predetermination), *iradah* (the will of God), *taqwah* (piety, attained through fearing the wrath of God, and being submissive to His commands), and *iktisab* (aquisition - in the sense that God created the acts of man, and man acquire them) - all linked to *qadá* (the judgement of God) and *qadar* (the power of God) - Tuan Guru manages to wave a system of social relations in which the slaves and their Free Black slave-owners could harmoniously coexist. In terms of this system of social relations, it was possible for a slave to be appointed the Imam of a congregation or an assistant Imam of a mosque, for differences between men were not measured in terms of social station or material possession, but differences in the acquisition of degrees of piety (*taqwah*) (ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam, 1781)

Thus Tuan Guru, in the year before he died, 1806, appointed Achmat of Bengal as the assistant Imam at the Dorp Street Mosque (*South African Commercial Advertiser*, 27 February 1836),though he was still a slave (Cape Archives, CO 3884.798), while the Simonstown Muslims appointed the slave Abdolgaviel, as Imam of their congregation in 1823 (Deed No SIQI 47/1823). It was in terms of his appointment as Imam that the slave Abdolgaviel applied for a piece of burial ground for his congregation; and becoming the first slave ever in favour of whom a land grant was made (Deed No SIQI 47/1823).

The point is, being slaves would not have prevented them from asserting their authority, for such authority would be in their *iradah*, i.e. the Will

of God as being determined for a person, further substantiated by the Quran
- "Obey God, and obey the Apostle, and those charged with authority among
you" (Ali, 1983 : Chapter lV, verse 59). In terms of Islamic jurisprudence
or *fiqa*, they would not be able to lead the Friday congregational or
Juma'ah prayers, for which freedom from slavery was a prerequisite
(Effendi, 1877:178; Ganief, 1928). It was argued that the slave - being
excempted from paying the compulsory poor rate (*zakah*), even though he has
a *nisab* (taxable property) (Effendi H, 1894a:6) - is 'incomplete' (the
communal word is *onvolkoem*) with regard to expressing the four basic
principles of faith - belief, prayer, paying the poor rate, and fasting -
required from the person who leads the *Juma'ah* prayer. This explains why
Achmat of Bengal, who was still a slave, though a most pious man, was not
immediately appointed to the position of Imam; and why Jan of Boughies in
1836 disputed that he was ever appointed as Imam (Cape Archives, CO
3984.798). Nevertheless, within the system of social relations, suggested
by Tuan Guru, there was sufficient space for the social mobility of the
slaves within the Islamic structure.

The *Marifatul Islami wal Imani* had a profound influence on the social life
of the Cape Muslims during the nineteenth century. It was their basic
reference on religious issues, even cited as such in a Cape Supreme Court
litigation in 1873 (Cape Archives, CSC 2/1/1/156 No 37). Its basic
philosophical position still forms the approach to *aqîda* (the Islamic
belief system), and became the subject of several Arabic-Afrikaans and
Afrikaans (in Roman script) publication in the late nineteenth and
throughout the twentieth century. The most recent of these publications is
the *Akiedatoel Moesliem - 'n kietaab oor Tougied* by Sheikh M A Fakier, and
was published in Afrikaans in Roman script in 1983.

I will, however, look more intensely at the Ash'arite philosophical
theology, and Tuan Guru's exposition of it, further on. At this point it
is sufficient to note that this philosophical theology provided the matrix
of the milieu of the Cape slave world; and explains the Cape Muslims'
determinism towards calamities or even politics, articulated in terms of
Alles is in die takdier van Allah (everything is predetermined by God); or
every happening being articulated in terms of this perception of

predetermination – *alles is in die kadar en kadaa van Allah* (everything is in the power and the judgement of God).

2.3. THE LANGUAGES OF THE SLAVES

2.3.1. Language and acculturation

It was in the world of the slaves, which from the available evidence emerged only from 1793 onwards, that Cape Muslim Afrikaans and its distinctive literary tradition, Arabic-Afrikaans was nutured and developed. What is obvious, is the tremendous influence of the Malayo-Polynesian langauges on the vocabulary of Cape Muslim Afrikaans.   These languages, which were brought along from the east with the eastern slaves, had esta-blished literary traditions when they were brought to the Cape. Here at the Cape, as they made contact with the languages of Europe and Africa, chan-ges in their own languages occurred.   One need only to look at the memo-rial, written by Jan of Boughies in 1836 (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798), to fully comprehend the influence of language contact change. (See Figure 4). I also wonder to what extent the colloquialism, *'innie'* for the Afrikaans *'in die'* had been influenced by the Malayu, 'eenie', which means *'in this'*.

But be that as it may, within the Cape milieu there was a need for communication, (which emerge out of a need for survival), not only between slave and white master, but also between slave and Khoi and slave and slave. For this communication to take place, amongst a group of people who speaks a diversity of languages, acceptance, adaptations and adjustment; as well as selections and integrations in their different orthoepic practices becomes a necessity. These features are the basis for the process of acculturation (Spicer, 1968:22) It, therefore, implies that a replacement and reorganisation of patterns of speech and pronunciation, combinations of words or segments of words and the borrowing of concepts was bound to have occurred.   Thus having observed how the process of acculturation provided the matrix of the milieu of the Cape slave world; the excercise now turns to the influence of acculturation on the development of the literary tradition and Afrikaans of the Cape Muslim community.

One need only to look at the word segments, which makeup the morphological structures of the following concepts to appreciate the influence of acculturation :

rieziek-giever (رِزْقِ خِفَرُ) = giver of bounty [*rieziek* = Arabic; *giever* = Dutch];

kiri-slaam (كِرِ سَلَمُ) = best greetings [*kiri* = Sunda; *slaam* = Arabic];

mannie-kamer (مِنِّدِ كَامَرُ) = bathroom [*mannie* = Malayu; *kamer* = Dutch];

rasoelskap (رَسُلُسَكَّتْ) = prophethood [*rasoel* = Arabic; *skap* = Afrikaans]; and

slamblie-er (سَلَمْبِلِيَرُ) = slaughterer [*slamblie* = Malayu; *er* = Afrikaans]

These word concepts are still extensively used in Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

It was also the process of acculturation which influenced changes in pronunciation of :

terimakasih [tərimakasi] (= thank you) = Malayu to *tramakasie* [tramakasi] Afrikaans;

gerhana [xərha:na] (= eclipse) = Malayu to *ghraana* [xra:na] = Afrikaans;

maskawin [maskavin] (= dowry) = Malayu to *maskawie* [maska:vi] = Afrikaans;

kilat [kilat] (= lightning) = Malayu to *ghielap* [xilap] = Afrikaans

latjur [laču͡r] (= bad luck) = Malayu to *lat-tjoe* [lat'ču] = Afrikaans

mandi [mandi] (= to bath) = Malayu to *mannie* [mani] = Afrikaans

when these words were absorbed into the spoken Afrikaans of the Cape Muslim community. These words, however, also indicate the pidgin stage which must have existed in Cape Muslim Afrikaans. The need of the slaves to linguistically acculturate becomes even clearer if we look at the diversity of languages spoken by them prior to their adoption of the creolized Dutch.

2.3.2. A diversity of languages

The very diversity of origin suggests a diversity of languages amongst the slaves. Those who were brought from the South East Asian Archipelago alone, had a possibility of seven main languages and fourteen different dialects (Crawfurd, 1820:130f Vol. 2). Of these languages, Bugis, Macasar,Sunda, and Javanese, had distinct alphabets and long standing literary traditions. Their vocabularies, literature and alphabets, were to a lesser or greater degree influenced by Sanskrit. The other language with a distinctive alphabet was Malayu. Its vocabulary too was also influenced by Sanskrit, but unlike the other languages, its alphabet was based on the Arabic one (Crawfurd, 130f 1820, Vol 2). From Cape Archival evidence, it would appear as if Malayu, Sunda, Bugis and Macasar were definitely written, and spoken, at the Cape of Good Hope (CO 3984; SO 12/3 No 51; MOOC 7/1/187 No59 & SO 12/3 No 6).

Crawfurd (1820:73 Vol. 2), commenting on the Malayo-Polynesian languages and dialects and the simplicity of its grammatical forms, writes :

> "The languages are invariably simple of structure.
> There is not one tongue within the whole Archipelago of
> complex form, like the great (sic) original languages of
> Europe and Asia. The relations of the nouns are formed
> by prepositions; the tenses of verbs by auxiliaries;
> the passive forms by the prefixing of participles; and
> the transitive by affixing them in a manner extremely
> analogous in all. The adjective always follow the noun;
> and the first of the two nouns are invariably the
> governing one."

The influence of the simple grammatical structure of the Malayo-Polynesian languages must therefore not be overlooked as having facilitated the changes which occurred in Dutch and led to its creolization at the Cape. A creolized language usually incorporates a simplified vocabulary from the dominant language into the grammatical system of the native tongue.

FIGURE 4 : EXAMPLES OF THE WRITING FORMS AND ALPHABETS OF THE MALYAO-POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES (Crawfurd, 1820)

The very diversity of the languages of the eastern slaves, also suggests that we must be careful not to assume that every word borrowed from this family of Malayo-Polynesian languages was borrowed from Malay or Malayu. Malayu is one language of this family, though I acknowledge that the term 'Malay' is used in the generic, rather than in the specific, sense. This tendency creates confusion in Afrikaans etymology, and creates the impression that a single language, Malayu, was spoken by all the eastern slaves. Thus, for instance, the Afrikaans etymologists tell us that the Afrikaans word *tronk* (prison) is derived from Malay. This is half the truth. The Malayu word for prison is *panjara,* while 'prison' in Buganese and Sunda, a dialect of Bali, is *tarunka*. The word *tronk* could thus have come into Afrikaans through Buganese or the Balian slaves.

Apart from the slaves who came from the Southeast Asian Archipelago, there were several slaves who also came from the African coastland. As Valkhoff (1966) correctly observed, the contact that these people had with the Portuguese mariners has left an impact on their languages. Thus a variety of Portuguese creoles must have been spoken by these slaves. Similarly, there were several slaves who came from Sri Lanka and the coastland of India. Boëseken (1978) calculated that more than 50% of the slaves who arrived prior to 1700 came from these regions. The possibility, therefore, exists that Bengali, and some other of the Indian languages, must also have been spoken at the Cape. Add to this Khoesan, and the various languages of the colonists - Dutch, German, French and later English, it is difficult to imagine a more polyglot society. Under such circumstances, and considering the need of the Dutch speaking colonists to communicate with their slaves, the dominant Dutch could not help but to become creolized.

By the eighteenth century, Ross tells us that there were only three languages in general use at the Cape : Dutch, Malay and Portuguese Creole (Ross, 1983:14 & 15). This might be true in general terms but 'Malay', at this time, was in fact divided into two distinct languages, Bugis or Buganese and Malayu. This is clearly evident from the evidence produced by Franken (1953:70-3), though he does not draw this distinction himself. From the evidence he produced it is clear that the slaves communicated in at least three languages: Malayu, Buganese and Portuguese - and from the

evidence of Gedult van de Kaap, who testified in the Smuts murder case, and could speak Malayu, it is obvious that the Buganese slaves spoke Bugis, which was not generally understood by the non-Buganese slaves. Gedult said:

> "........ *op sijn kooij wacker geleegen hebbende, hun discours in de Boegihese Taal onder de Boegiheesen geweest is, hebbende egte nu en dan wel een woord maleijts meede voorgebraght ..... zoo veel verstaan konde*" (Franken, 1953:69).

Buganese or Bugis was not only spoken by the Buganese slaves, as assumed by Ross. It might not have been generally understood, but it could have been understood by a select group of non-Buganese slaves. Thus, in Tuan Guru's *Marifatul Islami wal Imani*, I found passages of Buganese in Arabic script. These passage I could not translate. Similarly Buganese inscriptions are to be found, in Buganese script, in a 1806 student notebook in my possession while Jan of Boughies, as late as 1843, signed his will in the Buganese script (MOOC 7/1/187 No 59). Neither is Ross correct in his claim that the script was 'ancient', and by implication, not in use. Crawfurd in 1820 indicates that not only was Buganese commonly used in the Celebese, it was not one of the ancient scripts of the Archipelago which he identifies (Crawfurd, 1820:210 plate 31 Vol 2).

Having established that both Malayu and Buganese or Bugis were spoken by the eighteenth-century slaves, let me turn my attention now to the Portuguese creoles. Maccrone (1937:75) is of the opinion that the Portuguese creole generally spoken by the slaves at the Cape was Malayo-Portuguese; and that this lingua franca was also used by the colonists in their communication with their slaves. There is no evidence to suggest that this was not the case. Malayo-Portuguese must have been understood by the eastern slaves. It was already a trading language used in their region of origin, stretching from New Guinea to Madagascar, prior to the arrival of the Dutch in the region (Bird, 1883:19 - 21).

As far as I know, Malayo-Portuguese was never used as a written medium by the Cape slaves, though the influence of Portuguese is clearly discernable

in the very interesting memorial, written by Jan of Boughies to Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in Malayu in Arabic script. This memorial contains a sprinkling of Portuguese and Afrikaans words (See Figure 5).

Malayo-Portuguese seemed to have died out by the last decade of the nineteenth century, when Malayu, as a spoken and written language in Arabic script, came to dominate the scene.

Thus of the slave languages which were used during the eighteenth century, Malayu seemed to have outstripped the others by the end of the century. This could be attributed to the fact that it became the vehicle for the transmission of religious ideas among the slaves. Though this transmission was essentially oral, from the slave student notebooks which remained extant, it was certainly also written. The development of Malayu, as a written means of communication at the Cape, could thus only be understood if we look at the literary traditions of the two dominant eighteenth century Cape eastern slave languages - Malayu and Buganese.

2.3.3. The Malayu literary tradition

Malayu was the spoken language of the Malay Peninsula, and as the Peninsula was the natural route for the migration of the people of Eurasia to the Islands of the Archipelago, Malayu spread very early throughout the region (Bone, 1973:271). By the end of the sixteenth century, when Dutch first made its appearance in the East Indies, a Malayu creole was already a trading language, established in the region (Bird, 1883:19 - 22).

Malayu - which has twenty consonants; five vowels; and two diphthongs, was essentially a spoken language. It never developed a literary tradition or a distinct alphabet. What is clear from its vocabulary, is that it came virtually under the same influence of Sanskrit as the other languages in the region. A literary tradition appeared to have emerged only after 1276, when Sultan Muhammad Shah ascended to the throne of Malacca, and became the ruler of the first noteable Malaysian Empire which was established by Iskander Shah in the thirteenth century (Crawfurd, 1820:340). As a result of Arab traders, who started to make an appearance in the region, Iskander

اين سُورَة مَبْتَاكَنْ يَغْ جَانْ فَنْ بُوْكِسْ دَاتَغْ دَرِيْ بَتَاوِيَ ...

Transcription : *eenie soerat majietaaka jang Jan wan Boekies daatang darie Batavia da ang kaval Batavier Kaptien Louriens Kaptien Loetnan vaner Plaats dari ientoe koetiegan goeroe van die Graaf vieskaal iesatier darie ientoe koetiegan ghanieraal Doendas darie sietoe koetiegan Iemam Abdullah soeda ankat priester Rajab dan Jan van Boekies jadi priester. Goewoenoeroe Jansan soerda maasoek die dienst koetigan ientoe koemoediejan goewoenoerce soeroe manjoeroe para Iemam Abdoellah dalan masjied boewa kries sanjaata majahoe toewan Iemam goewa lama manjoeroe oerang maa na soeka kaasie Iemam Abdoellah majoehoe Frans koemoediejan soeda tariemakaasie Ou Frans maa waa doe Frans tajoewn die kries oewoer wat Jan van Boekies*

Translation : This letter mentions that Jan of Boughies came from Batavia in the vessel Batavier. Captain Lourens - Lieutenant Captain van der Plaats. At the time the Governor was named Van der Graaf, the Fiscal Exeter in the time of General Dundas. At that time Imam Abdullah made Rajab a priest and also Jan of Boughies a priest. At the time Govenor Janssen requested (or called) the service of the community. The Governor (Janssen) sent the mayor to Imam Abdullah to lead the people of the time. The priest Imam Abdullah was in the mosque when he was offered the krist. The Imam said thank you but I am an old man. The mayor ask who shall lead. Imam Abdullah said Frans shall lead the community, thank you, Old Frans. After a time (or later) Frans handed the krist over to Jan of Boughies

FIGURE 5 : THE MALAYU MEMORIAL OF JAN OF BOUGHIES TO SIR BENJAMIN D'URBAN IN JAWI SCRIPT,WRITTEN IN 1836

Shah adopted Islam, under which banner he embarked on an extensive military campaign. By the end of the thirteenth century, Malacca was not only the greatest military power in the Malay Peninsula, but was the most important centre for trade and Islamic missionary activity. In 1511, the flourishing Malaccan Sultanate was suddenly destroyed by the Portuguese, and subsequently, in 1641, Malacca was finally captured by the Dutch. By this time the Muslim influence of the Malaccan Sultanate had already made an impact on the many islands in the region, and Malayu in Arabic script, which was called *Jawi*, was the established religious script in the region (Bone, 1973:261).

Malayan literature can be divided into two kinds: (a) that which was written in classical Malayu or Jawi, the script of the Malayu-speaking Muslim communities scattered along the coast of Southeast Asia, but mainly on the straits of Malacca; and (b) a modern Malaysian-Malay which started to displace *Jawi* from 1920 onwards. The earliest recorded writing in Sumatran, one of the Malaysian varieties, dates to the late seventh century, and was written in the *Pallava* alphabet of southern India. There appear to be no wriiten works in Malayu during the Hindu period, from the forth century to the advent of Islam (Britannica Vol 7 page 727).

The variety of Malayu, spoken in the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, forms the basis of the official language of the Republic of Indonesia today. It is called, *Bahasa Indonesia*, or simply *Indonesian*. Although modern Malaysia and Indonesia have adopted two slightly different forms of the Roman alphabet, *Jawi* is still used in some parts of Sumatra.

Nevertheless, the adaptation of the Arabic alphabet to suit the Malaysian tongue, started by Sultan Muhammad Shah, was to leave its mark on the Arabic-Afrikaans writings of the Cape Muslims. On the whole the Arabic vowel system suited that of Malayu, as much as it suited the basic vowel sounds of Afrikaans. There, were, however, Malayu sounds which the Arabic alphabet could not convey. The creation of lettering symbols to represent these sounds were needed. This was achieved through the modification of the existing Arabic letters by the addition of diacritical points, resulting in the Malaysian adapted Arabic alphabet having 32, instead of

the normal 29 letters of the Arabic alphabet. This Malaysian adaptation of the Arabic alphabet, with further modifications, became the alphabet which was used by the Arabic-Afrikaans writers at the Cape in the beginning.

2.3.4. The literary tradition of the Celebes

Buganese or Bugis by contrast was the language of the people who occupied the south-western limb of the Celebes. The Boeghies or Buganese were probably the most advanced people of the Southeast Asian Archipelago, for apart from having domesticated animals, they knew how to work metals, cultivate cotton and manufacture cloth. They had a solar calender of 365 days divided into 12 months of mainly 30 to 31 days and 1 month with 32 days. Above all they possessed the art of writing, and had the ability to express with adequate precision the sounds of their language which was softer than Malayu (Rochlin, 1934:96). Of the languages of the Celebese, Bugis is the most cultivated and copious. Its sister language, Macasar, is more simple in structure, abounds less in synonyms, and its literature is more scanty. Nevertheless, these two languages are regarded as the two great languages of the Celebes (Crawfurd, 1820:60 Vol 2).

Bugis shares with Macasar basically a similar alphabet, consisting of eighteen consonants and five vowels, to which are added, sometimes, four supplementary consonants and an additional vowel, to create the aspirate. The alphabets of the two great languages of the Celebes, Buganese (Bugis) and Macasar, is extensively based on the peculiar and technical classification of Sanskrit (Crawfurd, 1820:60 Vol 2).

The Boughies had a highly developed literary tradition. Their body of literature consists of tales and romances founded on national legends and traditions but also included translations of romances from Malayu and Javanese. The Boughies recorded their history and transaction; and since their adoption of Islam, produced literary works on Islamic law from the Arabic original (Crawfurd, 1820:62 Vol 2). The Boughies and Macasarians, thus had advanced literary traditions when the Dutch entered the Southeast Asian region. It is, therefore, not suprising that the Buganese slaves communicated with each other in writing, using their native alphabet

(Franken, 1953:68). I suspect that written communication must also have existed amongst the Macasarian and Balian slaves at the Cape. The fact that signatures, in Macasar and Sunda (i.e. language of the slaves from Bali), are found on letters of manumission in the Cape Archives (SO 12/3 No 6 and SO 12/3 No 51), strongly suggests the possibility of such written communication.

The existence of literary traditions amongst the eastern slaves, especially the Buganese, the Macasarians and the Balians, must have facilitated the development of writing skills in Malayu in Arabic script, when Malayu was adopted by Tuan Guru as the medium of instruction at the Dorp Street *Madrasah* in 1793. The adoption of Malayu as the medium of instruction was not without consideration. Buganese, Javanese, Sunda and Macasar were not generally used for the propogation of Islam in the Southeast Asian Archipelago. The Malaysians at the time, in any case, pride themselves on the circumstance that *Jawi* - Malayu in Arabic script - was in the lettering characters of the Quran; and viewed with some contempt those who expressed Islamic learning in a 'profane' alphabet (Crawfurd; 1820:58 V.2).

The established religious language, Malayu, was the one more radily understood by the majority of slaves, and would have facilitated the spread of the religion amongst the eastern slave population in the Cape slave world. The adoption of Malayu did not mean that the Buganese slaves immediately abandoned their language and written tradition. On the contrary, they continued to use their language, as it is clear from the evidence already produced (Cape Archives, MOOC 7/1/187 No 59). This is further substantiated in the morphological and orthoepic changes observable in the development of that extensively used Afrikaans word *'baie'* (many).

The word *baie*, which began to appear regularly in the reports of the field-cornets from 1750 onwards, is derived from the Malayu word *bannyak* meaning 'many'. The Buganese word for 'many' is *maiga*, but Crawfurd observes that the Buganese and the Macasarians never end a word with a consonant. They use instead a vowel, or an aspirate orthe soft nasal 'ng'. He writes :

"the organs of these people seems hardly capable to producing
a consonant so structured, (i.e. a consonant at the end of a
word - AD), so that even foreign words, when adopted in the
language must undergo the change implied in this principle
of orthoepy, whether they be from the guttural Arab, the
grunting Dutch or the hissing English" (1820:61 Vol 2)

The Boughies in Cape Town, when they adopted the word **bannyak**, probably
changed its pronunciation to conform with their linguistic tradition. It
is in this changed from **bai-ing**, that the word came to be absorbed into the
nineteenth-century Cape Afrikaans; being even pronounced as **bai-ing** by the
students of the University of Stellenbosch in their colloquial Afrikaans in
1906 (*Ons Land*, 3 November 1906). It is interesting to note that the
traveller, Teenstra, in his transcription of the conversation he had with
the farmer and his wife in Caledon in 1825, renders the word as **banja**
(1830:360); while the word **baie** as a substitute for the Dutch word **zeer**
(many) is recorded as **banje, baiing,** and **banjang** in eighteenth-century
documents (Raidt, 1983:112). One notices here already the vowel ending, as
a possible stage in the orthoepic development to the nasal 'ng'.

2.3.5. Creolized Dutch spoken by the slaves

The use of Afrikaans or creolized Dutch cannot be overlooked, when looking
at the languages spoken by the slaves. Many of the words they created, are
today absorbed into Standard Afrikaans. The very socio-economic
circumstances in which they found themselves as slaves, required that they
communicate in Dutch. Though this Dutch might in the beginning have been a
pidgin, it certainly had a bearing on the changes which occurred in Dutch,
resulting in that language to become creolized. Den Besten is convinced
that such a pidgin existed amongst the Khoe-khoen and the slaves, some time
after contact, and argues that though the Dutch of the colonists never
developed into a pidgin, their contact with the Khoe-khoen and the slaves
led to the creolization of their spoken tongue (Den Besten, 1987:86).

From the earliest recordings of the creolized Dutch spoken by the slaves, I
observed grammatical constructions which would today be regarded as

Afrikaans. The change in the Dutch word *wij* (we) to the Afrikaans *ons* is already seen in the words of the slave, Pieter of Madagaskar, who in 1691 said : "Neen, *ons* niet weer omkomen" (No, we will not return): and again in 1721, a slave said : "....... *ons het* so lank bij malkanderen gebleeven tot dat (zijl) *ons* gevangen *het* ....' (we have lived together so long until [you] captured us) (Raidt, 1983:112). Although I agree with Edith Raidt that Afrikaans did not have its present grammatical form in the early eighteenth century, I find it difficult to accept that these grammatical changes were copied from the colonists speaking a Dutch dialect. Firstly, I do not have any evidence of Cape Dutch sources to indicate that *wij* was substituted by *ons* in the spoken language of the colonists at the time: secondly, if I agree with her, I ignore the fact that the Malayo-Polynesian grammar is remarkably simple and could possibly have influence this change. The use of *ons* for the Dutch subjective *wij* could be a reflection of the Malayo-Polynesian grammar, in which languages words are not modified or changed by inflection to express case, number or gender. Hence the eastern slaves were more likely to have applied a rule of grammar known to them, and used one word, *ons* for the pronoun 'we', instead of two different words *wij* and *onz(e)* for a single concept.

Nevertheless, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, a creolized Dutch was observed to be widely spoken at the Cape; and travellers found it necessary to know Dutch, in accordance with the Cape style, to communicate freely with the people (Scholtz, 1970:110). Teenstra, who visited the Cape during the early years of the nineteenth century, is often accused of creating the impression that there were differences between the Dutch spoken by the slaves and the colonists at the Cape. Those who support this view always refer to the differences in the speech of the farmer and his wife of Caledon and that of their slave, November (1830; 363 & 364).

November, however, was not the only slave who spoke in Teenstra's letters. In his fifth letter, Teenstra also puts words in the mouth of the old female slave, "Memme" (meaning foster mother), who was about to be sold on the block in Cape Towm. Teenstra relates : :

"Ik kan (zeide de oude slaaf) niet meer doen nie, - Ik ......
oude mensch kan niet anders dan in de combuis vat vuur aanhou-
den en aardappelen schilden - Och Seuer ! (riep zij aan eenen
bieders) waarom gij mij dan koop."

Commenting on her language, Teenstra attributed her Dutch to her
"langdeirigen omgang met Hollanders kende zij die taal wijgoed" (long
association she had with the Dutch, she knew the language well) (Teenstra,
1830:348). The nature of her Dutch, the double negative, *niet...nie*, her
name *'memme'*, (called out by her fifteen year old foster child, the son of
her deceased daughter, when he was sold to a farmer from the interior, and
whom she will never see again), and the use of words like *combuis* and
seuer, and her last sentence, *waarom gij mij dan koop*, are all indicative
of the creolized Dutch spoken by the slaves in the 1820s, and from which
creole, Afrikaans emerged (Teenstra, 1830:248 - 9).

The famous sentence which Teenstra puts in the mouth of slave November
(1830:363 & 364), was, therefore, even by Teenstra, not a general
reflection of the Afrikaans of the slaves in nineteenth century Cape Town.
The sentence: *"Ja sueur ! die aap at te danig listig, rech, rech, hij niet
spreek, om hij gaan boodschap doen wil nie"* is more a reflection of the
pidgin that those slaves who were recent arrivals in the country, and who
had as yet not mastered the language of their new social milieu, spoke.
Even today, foreigners living in Bo-Kaap, after years of residence, do not
fully master the local dialect.

My assumption, that the creolized Dutch was widely spoken by the slaves in
Cape Town at the beginning of the nineteenth century, is not without
historical foundation. There was a tendency on the part of journalists,
such as Meurant, Boniface and Baine, to put the creolized Dutch in the
mouth of 'non-white' speakers, using it exclusively for comic effect
(Davids, 1987a). This tends to amount to an admission that it was the
language of the Khoe-khoen, slaves and Free Blacks, the largest section of
the population in Cape Town which in 1818 was calculated to be 18 173 ; of
which 7 460 were white, 536 Khoe-khoen, 7 462 slave, 810 prize-slaves and
1 905 Free Blacks (Teenstra, 1830:355).

The creolized Dutch, called by Sausso de Lima (1844:9) the language of the *'onbeschaafde volksklasse'* (lower classes), was generally looked upon with derision by the white sector of the population. This position seemed to prevail throughout the nineteenth century. A year after the establishment of the GRA (Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners), the *Cape Argus* writes in the following vein :

"An attempt is being made by a number of jokers near Cape Town to reduce the "plat Hollands" of the street and kitchen to a written language and perpetuate it. They are carrying their joke well. They have a newspaper, have published a history of the Colony, an almanak, and to crown the joke - a grammar. It is impossible to read these productions without laughing, because one cannot help feeling while reading that the writers are themselves laughing while they write. The spelling, the words, the idiom, the grammar - all such may at any time be taken from the mouth of any old Hottentot (*sic*). Add to this that there is an evident effort on the part of the writers to say what they have to say with all the dry sly humour of that gentleman, especially if he is "een bietje gedrenk" The promoters of the *Patriot* (accent the last syllable) movement are laughed and ridiculed by their sensible countrymen, but they stick to their joke. .... But these jokers carry their joke unto profanity. They say, "Ons toekoms is in Gods hand. Ons hoop de Heere zal ons Genootskap lei op zyn weg, tot zyn eer!" "Met gebed gesluit." This is scandalous, and worthy of men who because they see no possibility of maintaining, or, rather, of restoring among the mass of the old Colonists the language of Holland, would keep out English by trying to make the lingo and slang of the lowest Hottentots (*sic*) the language of these people - even South Africa."
(*Cape Argus*, 13 September, 1877)

Cape Dutch, as the creolized Dutch was referred to during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century, was extensively used by the slaves and the Free Blacks in Cape Town. However, it did not immediately replace Malayu, though it came to coexist with Malayu until about 1880. Thus by the 1870s, when the Christian missionary, John Arnold, who spoke Malayu, arrived at the Cape to evangelise, he found his linguistic talents useless. "I am sorry", he wrote in a mission newsletter, "to find that most of the Malays scarcely know anything of their native tongue, their language being generally a sort of corrupt Dutch patois which I will have to learn." (Shell, 1983:24).

The use of Cape Dutch, as a vehicle for verbal and written communication, by the slaves and Free Blacks in Cape Town during the early years of the nineteenth century is evident from a report in the *Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette* in 1830. The *Literary Gazette* reports that when an Englishman, W T Robertson, tried to print his English translation of the *Hidayutool Islaam* (sic) in Cape Town in 1830, he had to consider a version in the "Dutch tongue for the benefit of the Malay Moslims (sic) throughout the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope'. The report also mentions that the attempt had to be abandoned as there were no suitable presses in Cape Town which could print Arabic lettering at the time. (1830:18, Vol 1 No 2).

From this report, apart from the most obvious conclusion, that Cape Dutch or Afrikaans was extensively used by the slaves and Free Blacks, who constituted the bulk of the Cape Muslims; the report also tends to indicate that they were then already busy to transcribe their spoken Cape Dutch in the Arabic script.

Arabic-Afrikaans, the name given to this script, must have greatly facilitated the spread of Islam during the early years of the nineteenth century, drawing young Cape-born slaves, who probably had a limited understanding of Malayu, to the fold of the religion. Considering that it takes time for a spoken language to appear in script, I suspect that this process must have started some time during the second decade of the

nineteenth century. From the first Arabic-Afrikaans manuscript which I discovered, written in the 1840s, it is obvious that a formal system of spelling was already operative at the time. This spelling system, in the Arabic phonetic tradition, called *tajwid*, remains fairly constant up to the appearance of the last publication, the **Bayani salati Thuri ba'adal Juma'ati** (An explanation of the compulsory Friday congregational prayer), by Sheikh Achmad Behardien which appeared in 1957.

It is clear, that from the diversity of languages spoken by the slaves at the Cape, only two were extensively used at emancipation - Malayu and Cape Dutch, both of which were elevated to the status of religious languages. Malayu too, was eventually to die out. Nevertheless, it left its influence as a religious langauge on Cape Muslim Afrikaans. The Malaysian religious terminology and expressions of respect are strongly bridged into the Afrikaans of the Cape Muslim. Today these terms, together with other Malayo-Polenesian inherited lexical items, are in fact the distinquishing feature of the Muslim variety of Cape Afrikaans.

2.4. THE CAPE MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

2.4.1 An institution of assimilation and cultural transmission

Up to now I have been looking at the milieu in which, and the literary traditions from which, the Afrikaans of the Cape Muslim community emerged. To understand how it was perpetuated, and why and how it developed its distinctive literary tradition of Arabic-Afrikaans, one need to look at the history and development of the Cape Muslim educational system. It is my opinion that had it not been for the strong and organised *madrasah* education system which prevailed during the first six decades of the nineteenth century (Mayson, 1864), Arabic-Afrikaans, as a literary tradition might not have emerged, let alone developed.

It was also through the *madrasah* that the distinctive cultural traits of the community, some directly from the religion of Islam, others from the processors of acculturation and accommodation in a new social milieu,

---

were re-enforced and transmitted. The *madaris* (plural for *madrasah*), by virtue of their uniformity in educational approach (Mayson, 1864) and its attractiveness to vast sections of the slave and Free Black population in Cape Town (Shell, 1983:18), provided the ideal ecological base for the transmission of cultural and religious ideas. As a result of their transmission and perpetuation in the *madaris*, and its enactment through the mosques, these cultural traits became assimilated and formed an intrinsic part of the communal social life of the slaves and Free Blacks living in Cape Town during the early years of the nineteenth century.

Such an important role did the *madaris* play as a cementing force in their communal relatedness, that in 1838, the Reverend James Willis Sanders, a Christian missionary at Stellenbosch, was moved to admiration for the educational efforts of the Cape Muslim community, especially the role of their Imams. He writes:
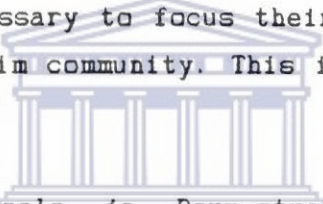
> "...... they have always deeply sympathized with their
> brethren in slavery. They have raised a fund to make as
> many as they could free, and have opened schools for the
> instruction of the coloured children.... the black man
> has no desire to enter into the Christian Church whose
> gates have been so long shut against him, he prefers
> joining with those who have been his friends in his
> distress, who invited and encourage him to bring his
> children to the same school, to attend the same mosque,
> and to look forward to meeting again in the same paradise."
> (*Classified Digest..*, 1893:278)

The success of the *madaris*, however, was a threat to the Christian missionary effort, and from 1830, first a lower infant school and later a juvinile school was established in Dorp Street by the Auxiliary Committee to the London Mission Society. These schools, which were aimed at the Chritianization of the slaves and Free Blacks, only started to attract Muslim children from 1839, when the principles of the Christian faith were taught in English, but fully "explained to them in

the Dutch language". Thus in 1847, of the 100 children present for examination at the infant school, 60 were "Mohammedan". (Report of Auxiliary Committee, 1847:6).

The Auxiliary Committee of the London Missionary Society certainly recognised the importance of the medium of instruction as a vehicle for the transmission of religious ideas. Whether or not they switched from English to Dutch to compete with the Dorp Street *Madrasah*, a rival religious school in the same street, is difficult to ascertain. What, however, is known is that in the 1840s the medium of instruction at the very successful Dorp Street *Madrasah* was already Dutch (Angus, 1849) - obviously the creolized Dutch as is seen in the student notebooks in my possession.

Then too in 1846, the Auxiliary Committee of the London Missionary Society, also deemed it necessary to focus their linguistic mediums of instruction at the Cape Muslim community. This is clearly evident from the 1847 report, which reads:

"The week-day Evening Schools in Dorp-street and Barrack-street conducted in the Malay and Arabic languages are attended by considerable but fluctuating numbers of Malay men, women, and children. On these occassions, when the reading and spelling classes have finished their exercises, portions of the Scriptures, tracts etc., are read, and translated and explained in the Dutch language for the benefit of such as are present who do not understand Malay, and the engagements close with prayer in the Malay language, and the mutual Arabic salutation, "Peace be with you"."

Further the Report indicates that the directors of the mission had acquired a lithographic press which enabled them to distribute short tracts on the word of God, which were "anxiously sought after, and diligently read by the Mohammedans". Though the report does not mention it, it would appear as if these tracts were printed in the Arabic script.

The Cape Muslim were certainly considered an important target community by the London Mission Society, for the Report concludes :

> *"It is believed that there are about 6 000 professors of Islamism in Cape Town. They are an industrious, thriving people, many of them wealthy, and, generally speaking, they manifest an intelligence superior to most of the other classes of the coloured population."*
> (Report of the Auxiliary Committee, 1847:7)

Yet despite these efforts of the Christian missionaries, and their concentration on propagation amongst Muslim women, who were observed to be reading Christian prayers to their children (Lightfoot, 1900:24), Christianity did not gain many proselytes from Islam, though the converse seems to be true (Zwemer, 1925:566). Shell, (1983:25) argues that Muslim education encouraged conversions in many ways. The *madaris* were opened to all, irrespective of race, and thereby drawing, otherwise excluded children into the fold of Islam. Islam in fact provided an alternative education for those suspicious of the Christianity of the State. But most important, however, he said, was the fact that the Imams were conducting lessons in Afrikaans, which appealed to the largest linguistic pool at the Cape at the time (Shell, 1983:25). The *madaris*, therefore, played an important role as institutions of assimilation and as vehicles for the transmission of religious and cultural ideas. It was through the *madrasah* education system that the matrix of the slave world was maintained.

2.4.2. Reading and writing - the rote learning modes

Organised *madrasah* education at the Cape seems to have emerged only in 1793, with the establishment of a religious school in the warehouse of the home of Coridon of Ceylon in Dorp Street, the same premises, which two years later, was to double up as the first mosque, the *Auwal* Mosque, in the southern hemisphere. Prior to this, religious education was probably conducted in the homes of the Free Blacks, with the only possibility of an organised system at Sheikh Yusuf sanctuary at Faure in 1694.

It was at Faure during Sheikh Yusuf's time, according to oral tradition, that the Quran was first recited in South Africa (Davids, 1980).

Nevertheless, like most aspects of their socio-cultural life, their system of education, as first developed at the *Madrasah* in Dorp Street, also remained fairly static. The educational method was essentially a rote learning process, and the Malayu rhythmic mnemonics - imported from the Southeast Asian Archipelago during their days of slavery, and used for the teaching of the consonant and vowel sounds of the Arabic alphabet - was until recently still used in Cape Town. There is thus hardly a Cape Muslim, over the age of 30 years, who has not been taught Arabic reading in this manner, and does not remember these rhythmic mnemonics. Here is a part of one of them, (read in Afrikaans):

> *Alief dettis 'a', alief bouwa 'ie'; alief dappan 'oe';*
> *'a', 'ie', 'oe'*
> *Bah dettis 'bah'; bah bouwa 'bieh'; Bah dappan 'boeh';*
> *'bah', 'bieh', 'boeh'*
> *Ta dettis 'ta'; ta bouwa 'tie'; ta dappan 'toe';*
> *'ta', 'tie', 'toe'*
> *Tha dettis 'tha'; tha bouwa 'thie'; tha dappan 'thoe';*
> *'tha', 'thie', 'thoe'*
> *(and so on until the end of the Arabic alphabet)*

The rote learning approach is, however, more clearly amplified in the method of the **koples boek**. In terms of this method, the student is required to transcribe a lesson, either from a chalkboard or dictation by a teacher, in a book called the **koples boek**. The student is then required to memorize it at home (getting the lesson into his head or *kop* in the literal sense) and recite it from memory to the teacher on the next occassion. If his/her retention is good, the student is given a new lesson and the process is repeated.

It was from these student notebooks or *koples boeke*, which have survived, that we are able to gain some knowledge of the teaching method used during the early days of *madrasah* education at the Cape. I have

two such notebooks, dated 1806 and 1808, and several others from various times in the nineteenth century, in my possession. These student notebooks show the continuity of the educational method which existed in the nineteenth century. From them one, however, could also trace the changes of mediums of instruction, from Malayu to Afrikaans, in nineteenth century Cape *madrasah* education.

Although Islamic education today is terribly fragmented and dis-organised, there was a time in their nineteenth-century Cape history that the Cape Muslims had a highly organised system of education (Mayson, 1865:24). It was through this system of education that the Afrikaans language variety of the Cape Muslim community was perpetuated, and as noted earlier, the matrix of the slave world maintained. Then too through the education concepts and the basic philosophy of this system of education, the needs of the slaves and the needs of the Free Black slave-owners were held in equilibrium.

2.4.3. *Madrasah* education - its organisation in the nineteenth century.

The Cape Muslim Islamic education system started with the establishment of the Dorp Street *Madrasah* in 1793. As the first institution of the Cape Muslims it proved tremendously successful. By 1807, this *madrasah* or school had a student population of 372 slave and Free Black students (Horrell, 1970:10), a number which was to increase to 491 by 1825 (*Imperial Blue Book*, 1835:210). If we consider that, despite the intense Christian missionary activity, only 86 slaves out of a possibility of 35 698 in the Cape Colony were baptized between 1810 and 1824, approximately six per year (Shell, 1974), the tremendous influence of the school on the slave and Free Black community becomes clearly evident. One could thus understand the concern of the Earl of Caledon about the activities of the Imams who were teaching the slaves precepts from the Quran and to read and write Arabic (Horrell, 1970:10).

By 1825, there were two major Islamic schools in Cape Town, and one or two smaller ones. It would appear, from the available evidence (*Imperial Blue Book*, 1835, 209 - 210), that though these schools were

rivals of each other, they offered basically the same education system; and from a perusal of a student notebook used at the school at Simonstown, pursued the same method of education. Nevertheless *madaris* - in the homes of several Imams - continued to emerge in Cape Town and by 1832 no less than 12 Muslim schools existed in the mother city (Davids, 1987a:24 - *Cape Almanak*, 1832).

This proliferation of *madaris* necessitated some sort of co-ordination of the education system. Such co-ordination seemed to have taken place, for by 1854, Islamic education at the Cape was exceptionally well organised and under the control of a single '*Imam Moota*' (Mayson, 1865:24), or a 'superintendent general of education' in today's parlance. Not only was it the responsibility of the '*Imam Moota*' to look after the *madaris*, but it was also his responsibility to co-ordinate the educational activities of the schools which were started by white converts to Islam, and which apart from their Islamic component, were giving "instruction in English and Dutch, writing and 'accounts'", and which was, "perhaps equal to that of the Christian schools." (Mayson, 1856:24).

This organised system of education, however, started to disintegrate with the coming of Abubakr Effendi in 1862. The Ottoman Theological School, which he established in 1863 (Du Plessis, 1986) never became part of the mainstream educational system; and possibly started the rivalry between Abubakr Effendi and Achmat Sadik Achmat, who was the "*Imam Moota*" at the time (Cape Archives, CSC 2/1/1/156 No 37).

By the end of the nineteenth century the organisation of the *Madrasah* education as a single system was no longer existing, and Islamic education was provided by several independent *madaris*, operating mainly from the mosques in Cape Town. The method of the *koples boek* and the Malayu rhythmic mnemonics were still in used. A new innovation was the production of printed readers in Arabic-Afrikaans for the students. Thus, for example, in 1894, Hisham Neamatullah Effendi caused three Arabic-Afrikaans publications (Muller, 1960), as children readers, to be printed in Turkey; while in 1907, Imam Abdurahmaan Kassiem Gamieldien, who was the principal of both the *Habibiyah Madrasah* in Athlone and the

Al Azhar Mosque school in District Six, published readers for his students (Kähler, 1971). Nevertheless, *madrasah* education in the nineteenth century left the Cape Muslim Islamic education with three distinctive Malayu terms used even to this day. These terms are : *toellies* = to write; *ai-yab* = to spell; and *batcha* = to read.

2.4.4. The educational philosophy

The tremendous success of the Dorp Street *Madrasah*, as the first educational institution of the Cape Muslims, is attributed to the verve and enthusiasm of its founding Imams. Most of them were slave-owners; and all of them under the leadership of Imam Abdullah ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam. It was his efforts in the establishment of the school which earned for Imam Abdullah ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam the nickname "Tuan Guru", meaning "Mister Teacher". It was also his philosophical theology which formed the philosophy of Islamic education at the Cape, a philosophy still pursued even to this day.

Tuan Guru was, according to his will (Cape Archives, MOOC 7/1/53 No 66) a *geweesent prins vant' landschap Tidore in Ternaten* (a former prince of the principality of Tidore in the Ternate Islands). Why he was brought to the Cape is difficult to ascertain. From the few details thus far discovered in the Cape Archives, he and three others were banished to the Cape for conspiring with the British against the Dutch. They arrived here on 6 April 1780, and were incarcerated on Robben Island (Cape Archives, CJ 2568 dated 25 April, 1781). While in prison, Tuan Guru wrote the *Marifatul Islami wal Imani* (Manifestations of Islsam and faith), an extensive and comprehensive exposition of the Ash'arite dogmatic creed of Sunnism which he completed in 1781. On his release from prison, Tuan Guru went to settle in Dorp Street, Cape Town, where he established the *madrasah* (Cape Archives, RDG 155).

Tuan Guru's philosophical theology, which formed the matrix of the Cape slave world, and the basic philosophy of the educational approach at the Dorp Street *Madrasah*, is extensively discussed in the *Marifatul Islami wal Imani*. In this book, Tuan Guru declares that he is a Shafi'ite in

---

theology and an Ash'arite in dogmatics. By this he implied that in ritual practice (fiqa), or jurisprudence, he was a follower of Imam Shafi, one of the four Imams of the Ahli Sunni wal Jamât or Traditionalists. In dogma of belief (aqîda) he was a follower of Abu'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Isma'il al-Ash'ari. This makes Tuan Guru a Rational-Traditionalist. Therefore to understand the rational philosophical-theological arguments of the dogma of belief, as expounded in the *Marifatul Islami wal Imani*, and which inturn influenced the socio-religious life of the slaves and Free Blacks, it is useful to look briefly at the historical traditions from which these theological-philo-sophical arguments emerged.

The founder of Tuan Guru's rational-traditional dogmatic school, Abu 'l-Hasan 'Ali ibn Isma'l al-Ash'ari, was born in Basra in 873. He was originally a Mu'atazilite, and thus an Islamic theological philosopher who - with others in this philosophical mould - were combining certain Islamic dogmas with Greek philosophical conceptions and to whom reason and logic were more important than tradition (i.e. the practices of the Prophet) and revelation (i.e. the teachings of the Quran). In 912, al-Ash'ari abandoned the Mu'atazilites and adopted the teachings of the Ahli Sunni wal Jamât, being greatly influenced by Imam Ahmad Hambal, the founder of the conservative Hambilite school of Sunnism.

Hereafter he devoted himself to the intellectual defence of the Sunni dogmatic position until his death in 935 (Watt, 1962:82-9). It is said that the movement towards a rational defence of the central dogma of belief of Sunnism (i.e. the Sunni concepts of *aqîda*) found its climax in the teachings of two great theological philosophers, al-Maturidi and al-Ash'ari (Watt, 1962:82)

The 'conversion' of al-Ash'ari to Sunnism and his subsequent differences with the Mu'atazilites need not be discussed in detail. It is sufficient to note that the essential difference between al-Ash'ari and the Mu'atazilites was the rejection of their notion that the Quran was created; in fact al-Ash'ari declared that it was uncreated and the very speech of God (Watt, 1962:85). Al-Ashari never totally abandoned reason,

but worked out a position which may best be described as the support of revelation and tradition by reason, with reason being subordinate to revelation. It is around this conceptualization that the Ash'arite philosophical theology developed its concepts of *aqida* (belief). And it is in terms of this philosophical background that Tuan Guru wrote the *Marifatul Islami wal Imani* in 1781.

The *Marifatul Islami wal Imani* deals exclusively with the concepts of belief (*aqida*) and as such deals with that part of the *Shari'ah* (Islamic law) known as the *Ilmul Kalam* i.e. the principles of belief or the knowledge of the existence of God - the *Shari'ah* being divided into two distinct parts, the *Ilmul Kalam* and *fiqa*. *Fiqa* is concerned with the practices of the religion, governing its rules and regulations, and hence projected as Islamic jurisprudence.

The manuscript is written in Arabic with interlineal translations in Malayu, occassionally Buganese, in Arabic script. It is vibrant with theological arguments grappling with the concepts of belief, with each argument, true to the Ash'arite tradition, supported by reason and *dalil*, i.e. the Quran and Traditions. The main concepts of belief are excellently illustrated by diagrammatic explanatory representations. For the reader an understanding is created that in the final analysis, man's station in life, his material position and well being, his very existence, are determined by the will of God; and it is only in His power to change the destiny of man. Man, however, has been given reason and the power to discriminate between good and evil, both of which are created by God, but man must strive to acquire (*iktisab*) good by being submissive to God's will and attain piety (*takwah*). This is the basic philosophy of the *Marifatul Islami wal Imani*.

The main theme of the first section of the manuscript, after the concepts of Islam and faith (*Imân*) have been clarified, are the will of God and the power of God. The entire social structure functions around these two concepts; and man's primary concern is to acquire good and attain piety (*takwah*) which is in God's judgement (*qadâ*) and God's power (*qadar*). These concepts are given Quranic support (*dalil*) by an

extensive explanatory translation of Chapter LXVll, (*Sûrah Mulk - Chapter Dominion*) of the Quran, which chapter expounds the power of God and the will of God. Man in his struggle to attain piety may, in his sufferings and afflictions, appeal to God who is just and merciful. In terms of this, Tuan Guru formulates medicinal spiritual prescriptions, i.e. *azimats* (talismans) and *ishârah* (remedies) as a means of appealing to God.

These medicinal spiritual prescriptions, to which no more than 10 out of the 600 pages of the manuscript are devoted, are strategically placed throughout the book, each to confirm and emphasize the will and the power of God. This does not make Tuan Guru a member of any *Tariqa* or Sufi mystical order, but is in fact a Rational-Traditional Ash'arite response to two basic verses of the Quran. The Quran clearly states that in its words are healing powers (Chapter XVll verse 82); and refers to the power granted by God to the Prophet Jesus to heal the sick by His permission and His will (Chapter V verse 113).

It is the determinism inherent in the Ash'arite Rational-Traditional philosophical theology which conditioned the slaves in the acceptance of their subjugation; and assured for them good treatment from their Free Black slave-masters, who feared the 'acquisition' (*iktisab*) of evil which they might attain through injustice and illtreatment of their slaves. This explains, apart from the fact that this system gave them social mobility, why the slaves never resisted their slavery, even after the formation of the Cape slave world.

It also explains why the nineteen-century Cape Muslims never organized politically, as a community, against the state formation; but resisted the regulations imposed upon them during the nineteenth-century smallpox epidemics, and the closure of their urban cemeteries in 1886 (Davids, 1983, 1985). It was only when the state regulations were perceived as being contrary to *takdir* (i.e. the predetermined will of God), that the Cape Muslims reacted. Inteference in God's will (*iradah*) is contrary to a tenet of belief. It is - in Tuan Guru's terms - attributing to God *karabah*, defined by him as "the persuasion of God against his will"

which he says is "impossible" (*mustakhil*) as an attribute of God (ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam, 1781).

The second section, if we can call it a section (for the manuscript is not divided into sections or chapters), starts with a biography of Muhammad Yusuf ibn As-Sunusî, who was born in Tlemsen, Algeria in 1486. He was a foremost Ash'arite Sufi theological philosopher who formulated a short creed on belief called the 'Sunusiyya'. Muhammad Yusuf ibn As-Sunusî must not be confused with Sidi-Muhammad ibn Ali as-Sunusî, the fouder of the nineteenth century sufic order, the *Sunusiyya Tariqa* i.e. the *Sunusiyya* Sufi brotherhood (Watt 1962:155). The militaristic philosophy of this brotherhood contradicts the determisism of the Ash'arites. In any case, Tuan Guru could not have been a member of this Sufi brotherhood which emerged only late in the nineteenth century.

The *Sunusiyya*, which was formulated by Muhammad Yusuf ibn as-Sunusî, and which became known in Cape Town as the *twintagh siefaats* (i.e. the 20 attributes), asserts that every believer must know 20 attributes (*sifah*) necessary in respect of God, and 20 attributes impossible (*mustakhil*) for Him. The Sunusiyya is extensively philosophical, for within the twenty attributes necessary for God are seven attributes of form, which have to be distinguished from seven very similar attributes pertaining to form. Within its reasoning context, the Sunusiyya gives recognition to all 99 attributes which Muslims, according to the Quran, ought to recognize as basic principles of belief.

The Sunusiyya, as formulated by as-Sunusi, is reproduced *in toto* in the manuscript, and translated by Tuan Guru in Malayu in Arabic script. It acts as a convenient embodiment of the basic philosophy which Tuan Guru expounds in the first section of the manuscript.

It is the Sunusiyya which proved the most popular and convenient part of the manuscript for rote learning; and several copies were transcribed from the original *Marifatul Islami wal Imani*, with the Malayu translations, as handbooks and readers for the students at the Dorp Street *Madrasah*. I have two such copies in my possession and I have

examined several others, including the one used by the slave Imam, Abdolgaviel, of Simonstown, which have remained extant. It represents the most extensive examples of the literary exploits of the Cape Muslim slaves prior to emancipation.

It is also my contention that the Sunusiyya or *twintagh siefaats* provided the slaves with an understanding of a rational unitary God, which the Christian missionaries with the concept of Trinity could not penetrate. Most important, however, is the fact that the Sunusiyya remained the main teaching subject of the *madaris* in Cape Town until well into the 1950s - 1960s, when we as children were required to memorize its concepts and reasoning context without fully comprehending them.

Tuan Guru's *Marifatul Islami wal Imani*, especially the portion dealing with the 20 attributes or the Sunusiyya, became the main text of the Dorp Street *Madrasah* during its founding years. The other important subject was Arabic reading. At least one handwritten Arabic primer of the school has survived, and is currently filed in the Grey Collection in the South African Library.

Arabic as a language does not appear to have been taught, though Jan of Boughies was designated Arabic teacher (*South African Commercial Advertiser*, 13 February, 1836). His duties probably involved teaching the students to read the Arabic Quran. Several handwritten copies of the Arabic Quran were written from memory by Tuan Guru and the former slave, Rajab of Boughies, as additional readers. The recitation of the Arabic Quran is a spiritual requirement, necessary for the reading of the prayers. This does not necessitate a knowledge of the Arabic language. That Arabic, as a language, was not taught is evident from the very few Arabic loan-words in Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Such loan-words from Arabic are mainly confined to religious terminology, where these words were already inflected in Malayu from which language they were bridged into Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Then too, the need for Malayu translations indicate the limited knowledge the students had of the Arabic language.

From one of the student notebooks in my possession, it would appear that the basic aspects of ritual ablution and prayers were taught. *Fiqa* or Islamic jurisprudence seems to have been introduced only after 1797, when Tuan Guru translated the *Al-thilmisani*; and in 1798, the *Talilul-Ghairah* into Malayu in Arabic script. Both these manuscripts deal extensively with Islamic ritual practice and the related laws. It was, nevertheless, the *Marifatul wal Imani* which seemed to have had the greatest impact on the Cape slave and Free Black community; and which provided the impetus for Islamic education at the Cape.

If one single factor have to be identified for the survival of Islam in nineteenth century Cape Town, the factor is obviously the strength of the organised *madrasah* education system. Through this system with its Rational-Traditional theological philosophy the communal cultural and religious traits were re-enforced and perpetuated. The Sunusiyya in particular played a vital role. It gave the Cape Muslims rational answers for their belief in a inconceivable spiritual unitary God. The Sunusiyya, as we shall see later, became the main text for translation by the Arabic-Afrikaans writers.

2.5. LITERACY AMONGST THE SLAVES

2.5.1. In the beginning

We have very little evidence from which to determine with accuracy the extent of literarcy amongst the slaves prior to 1750. This does not mean that the eastern slaves, who were brought to the Cape in the beginning, did not have the ability to read and write. They, however, came from a background steeped in literary traditions, and among whose people it was common practice to record their folklore in their specific script. This was probably a result of the contact which the islands of the Archipelago had with Hinduism, prior to the advent of Islam, and thus the literary tradition of Sanskrit, which had left its mark if not on the structuring of its alphabets, then the vocabulary of its languages. There was, as Crawfurd observes, differences in the extent of these literary traditions, with the most developed being that

of the people of the Celebese - the Buganese and the Macasarians (Crawfurd, 1820:59-65). Coming from such a background, steeped in literary traditions, there might have been amongst the early eastern slaves those who had an ability to read and write, albeit in an eastern script.

The first evidence we have of a possibility of a literary process amongst the slaves, comes from Sheikh Yusuf's sanctuary at Macasar, near Faure. Oral history relates that those fugitive slaves who rallied around Sheikh Yusuf at Zandvleit, Macasar, were taught to read the Quran. At the shrine (*karamat*) of Sheikh Yusuf at Faure there is an obelisk commemorating this reading of the Quran.

The Sheikh is known to have been a prolific writer, and many of his tracts, in both Arabic and Macasar, had been preserved at the archives at Leiden. Some of these tracts forms the basis of a MA dissertation by Edwald von Kleist, at the Albert Ludwigs University in Freiburg, Germany, and from which work I gained some idea of the thinking of Sheikh Yusuf (Von Kleist, 1986). There is no certainty as to whether some of these works were written in Cape Town. In my interview with Von Kleist, when he handed me a copy of his dissertation, this issue could not be clarified. But even if none of these works were written in Cape Town, a prolific writer like Sheikh Yusuf would certainly have appreciated the value of the written word as a facilitator in the education process of the slaves who rallied around his sanctuary.

From the Arabic annextures of Van Kleist's thesis, I came to know that Sheikh Yusuf was a Sufi, i.e. an Islamic spiritualist, and an adherent of the *Khalwathia* order of the *Naqsbandiyah Tariqa* (spiritual brotherhood) Central to the *Khalwathia* order is obedience of the followers to the direction and instructions of the spiritual leader. One of its practices is the recitation of spiritual hymns (*thikrs*) on the third, seventh and fortieth night at the grave of a departed soul.

That both these practices still exists, is indicative of the influence of Sheikh Yusuf in the Cape Muslim community. In the absence of

historical evidence it is, however, difficult to determine how these practices were transmitted through the community. This is particularly true with the transmission of the spiritual hymns. The first evidence which I have that it might have been transmitted by the written word through the eighteenth century, is the appearance of the main core of these spiritual hymns (called the *arrawah*) in my 1808 student notebook. It is in a different handwriting to the other entries in this book. Hence I am not certain as to when it was written.

These practices, however, gave rise to two important word concepts in Cape Muslim spiritual life. The one is **merang**, which is derived from the Javanese word *reme-an*, meaning feast, and which in the Cape Muslim Afrikaans came to be applied for both the practice of participating in the recitation of the spiritual hymns of the *arrawah* and the accompanied feasting.

The other concept is **bangoeroe**. It is used in the sense of membership of a mosque congregation under the leadership of a specific Imam. The word *bangoeroe* is derived from Buganese and Macasar, in which languages it implies spiritual teacher or leader, with specific reference to the spiritual order. There is, however, a distinct difference between the meaning of the word in its original context and as it came to be applied by the Cape Muslims. In the first instance a spiritual connection between the person and the spiritual leaders is implied. In the second instance, or Cape usage, the emphasis is on membership to a broader congregation under a leadership. This is expressed as : *Ek bangoeroe by Imam Bassier se Masiet* (I belong to the congregation of the mosque of Imam Bassier).

The shift in the meaning of the word *bangoeroe* has important historical implications. It is at least one indication that the *Turuq* (plural for *Tariqa*) or spiritual brotherhoods did not play a major role in the making of the Cape slave world. Probably the strongest evidence which discount the possibility of the *Turuq* acting as matrix for the emergence of the Cape slave world is the syncretic mysticism evident in so many of the Cape Muslim's cultural practices. Such practices as **doekoem-werk** or

'Malay black magic', which became an inherent part of the culture of the nineteenth-century Cape Muslims (Mayson, 1865:28), contradicts the purity of the spiritualism which the *Turug* generates and nutures. Such contradictory spiritual practices like *doekoem-werk*, could be accommodated in the Ash'arite concept of *iktisab* - aquisition - in this instance the acquisition of evil, which is deemed a hinderance to the acquisition of piety.

But be that as it may, from the available evidence it would appear that the only *Turuq* practised at the Cape in the beginning was the *Khalwathia* order. It was, therefore, the only spiritual order, which could, and possibly did, provide a focal point for gathering of groupings of slaves, inculcating in them a degree of consciousness of kind; and thus created a milieu in which reading and writing could possibly have taken place. Many aspects of the *Khalwathia* order were incorporated into the spiritual life of the Cape Muslims, though the order itself did not act as a matrix for the Cape slave world. The very quietism inherent in its nature tends to make it individualistic. The one mystery is still the transmission of the spiritual hymns (*thikrs*) of the Khalwathia order in the slave community. Was it transmitted orally or in writing. I do not know for certain.

What is known with certainty is that the Radja of Tambora (Sultan Abdul Basi) was the only eastern political exile, during the first fifty years of white settlement at the Cape, who is known to have written a copy of the Quran from memory. Valentyn, the traveller, who witness this event at *Vergelegen*, the residence of Simon van der Stell, in 1705, comments as follows:

> "*To my suprise I found here the King of Tambora and his wife,*
> *of whom we tell more fully in writing of the affairs of*
> *Macassar and Batavia. He was busy writing out the Coraan*
> *or Alcoraan very neatly for H E (i.e. the Governor = AD), and*
> *his wife who had some sort of oversight over the household. He*
> *was banished here because of his bad behaviour on Bima, and*
> *she followed for love of him. They were glad to see me, so*

> that they could speak with me there for some time in the
> Malay tongue, and the Governor was much astonished to hear
> how, after being so long out of the Indies, I still spoke so
> fluently." (Valentyn, 1973:151 - 3)

An interesting observation from this passage is the fact that the Radja of Tambora and his wife conversed in Dutch at the Cape. One wonders to what extent the language code switching of the political exiles contributed towards the creolization of Dutch. In the case of the Radja of Tambora and his wife, Sitina Sara Marouff, who are the progenitors of the Afrikaner 'de Haan' family (Hoge, 1952), and whose son Ibraim Adahan, is an ancestor of the Voortrekker leader, Piet Retief (Shell, 1974), their language code switching could have contributed considerably to the creolization of Dutch.

2.5.2. Slave writings

The first real evidence we have of literacy amongst the slaves, is Franken's famous Buganese letter (Franken, 1953:69). That this letter remained extant could be attributed to its use as evidence in the case of the murder of Michiel Smuts, the Company's bookkeeper. Smuts was murdered by a group of runaway slaves under the leadership of Alexander of Sumatra, in 1760 (Ross, 1983:19). Franken suggests that this letter was written by September of Boughies (1953:67). From the contents, it would appear that the letter was written by another hand and addressed to September. (See Figure 6)

Nevertheless, the letter gives us an idea of the status September of Boughies enjoyed amongst the Buganese slaves in Cape Town. He was looked upon as their 'doctor' and advice giver - the one person willing to listen to the sufferings they endured. More important, however, is that the letter tells us that September of Boughies had the ability to read and write, and that he was communicating in writing with other Buganese slaves in the Colony. This in turn implies that he was not the only literate Buganese slave in Cape Town.

TRANSLATION (Based on the Malayu of Franken, 1953:68 - 9)

This letter comes as a message from Stellenbosch. You sent me. Brother September, I announce that I have been sick for two months and that no human medicine (can cure me). Brother September I seek encouragement from you because I know you care about our Buganese people. I request from you brother, if you have compassion, actually for your Buganese race, because I know from the time we spoke with our fellow Buganese people, you said we were suffering and that this concerned you, for we are a broken, suffering people in misrable conditions, thus my request to you brother September, if you are compassionate for your suffering Buganese compatriots will you lead the children who came from the places of boeloe boeloe and Sanja-c.

FIGURE 6 :   THE LETTER OF 1760 USED AS EVIDENCE IN THE MICHIEL SMUTS
            MURDER CASE   (Cape Archives CJ 737)

That writing was a common activity with September, is confirmed by the slaves Gedult of the Cape. September, we are told, had the habit of sitting on his bed writing (Franken, 1953:69). A network of written correspondence must have existed amongst the Buganese slaves, and although this may be the only letter which survived, I do not believe it was the only one written.

Nor do I believe that a network of correspondence existed only amongst the Buganese slaves. From the 1770s account of reading by slaves at the religious festivals visited by Foster and Thunberg (Rochlin, 1939:214), we gain the impression that reading of the Arabic script might have occurred much more frequently then normally suspected.

The Arabic script was also the one used for Malayu, and if they could read the Arabic script, there is no reason why it could not have been used for Malayu correspondence amongst the Malayu-speaking slaves. Foster in particular mentions that the slaves gathered in the homes of Free Blacks, to read and chant the Arabic prayer (Rochlin, 1939:214). However, I have to admit that without hard-core evidence it is difficult to prove this point.

What I do know is that the ability to read and write was wide spread amongst the slaves. This is confirmed from the signatures to various letters of manumission in the Cape Archives. We have examples of, Sunda in the signature of Baatjoe of Batavia (SO 12/3 No 51); Buganese in the signature of Jan and Limpar (SO 12/3 No 6) and Arabic in the signature of Abdul Malik of Batavia (SO 12/3 No 132). There is, however, no evidence to indicate how extensively they used their literal abilities. An indication of the extensive use of the Arabic script, apart from the student notebooks, by slaves, is the *maulid surat* (Book of litugaries) which was written in Cape Town in the 1830s. (Figure 7)

2.5.3. Literacy and the Dorp Street *Madrasah*

It was, however, with the establishment of the Dorp Street *Madrasah* that we started to get an idea of the real extent of literacy amongst the

slaves. We know that with Tuan Guru there were numerous former slaves who had the ability to read and write. This ability was not necessarily acquired at the Cape, but in all probability was acquired in the literary traditions of their ancestral homelands. I have already looked at these traditions. Men such as Frans of Bengal, Jan of Boughies, Rajab of Boughies, Abdol Wasie and Abdol Malik of Batavia must have had the ability to read and write when they became involved in the Dorp Street *Madrasah*.

Frans of Bengal, who have been a slave (Cape Archives, A604), and who in 1806 lead the Javaansche Artillery at the Battle of Blouberg, must have been able to read and write to have assumed, and eventually nominated by Tuan Guru (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798), to play the leadership role he did. In his memorial to Sir George Young in 1800, in which he requested a mosque site in Vanderleur Street, District Six (Cape Archives, BO 154 item 236; BRD 17), he presents us with the first indication that there was a willingness on the part of the slaves and Free Blacks to write their vernacular Dutch in the Arabic script - a process which ultimately developed into Arabic-Afrikaans. His knowledge of Malayu, and his ability to write this language in the Arabic script, is demonstrated when he was called upon, on 2 May 1807, to transcribe in Malayu a codicil in Arabic script of Tuan Guru's will for the official records of the Master's Office (Cape Archives, MOOC 7/1/53 No 66½). But it is his signature on his 1800 memorial, when he signed his name using the Arabic letters *fā* (ف); *rā* (ر); *'alif* (ا); *nūn* (ن); and *sīn* (س) = Fraans (فراـنس) (Cape Archives, BRD 17), which indicate to me that there was a process happening in which they were willing to transcribe the creolized Dutch in their sacred script.

Riejaab or Rajab of Boughies, who was appointed by Tuan Guru in 1798 as his successor as Imam at the Auwal Mosque in Dorp Street, could also not have acquired his literacy ability at the Dorp Street *Madrasah*. In fact he was called upon to write copies of the Quran as additional readers for the students; an indication that he did not only know the Quran, but was proficient enough to be entrusted with this very important responsibility. The misreading of the Quran not only invalidates the

prayer, but is considered a serious spiritual offence. Hence, accuracy in transcription was vitally important. A copy of one of his handwritten Qurans shows his accuracy, and is presently in the possession of Imam Yaaseen Harris, the Secretary of the Muslim Judicial Council. It is unfortunate that he died prior to him having been able to assume the Imamship when the position became vacant in 1807 (Cape Archives CO 3984.798).

Probably the most talented linguist amongst those around Tuan Guru at the Dorp Street *Madrasah* was Jan of Boughies. He was a slave who arrived here in 1786 on the Dutch vessel the *Batavier*, not from the Celebese, as his name suggests, but from Batavia (Cape Archives CO 3984.798). Here he was purchased by the free woman, Salia of Macasar. She too must have been a former slave. Fortune seemed to have favoured him, for slave and slave-mistress fell in love, and were married in accordance with the Islamic rites. This marriage earned Jan his freedom (Cape Archives, RDG - Opgaafrolle, 1800 and MOOC 7/1/187 No 59). Of his background in Batavia and the Celebese, nothing is known. What is known, is that he had an exceptional talent with languages.

He wrote and spoke Buganese, as indicated by the codicil to his will (Cape Archives, MOOC 7/1/187 No 59); spoke and wrote Malayu, as indicated by his 1836 memorial (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798); and was the designated Arabic teacher at the Dorp Street *Madrasah* (*South African Commercial Advertiser*, 13 February, 1836)., I cannot imagine that he learned all these languages here, for he was only a recent arrival when the Dorp Street *Madrasah* was established. At the Cape, however, he came to learn the creolized Dutch, as his Dutch letter to the *South African Commercial Advertiser* in 1836 indicates. Jan of Boughies broke away from the Dorp Street institutions (Davids, 1980) and established his own mosque and *madrasah* at what is today the Palm Tree Mosque in Long Street (*Imperial Blue Book*, 1835).

Of major importance to this linguistic study is the memorial he wrote, in Malayu in Arabic or *Jawi* script, to Sir Benjamin D'Urban in 1836 (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798). This memorial is probably the only

example we have, showing the influence of Dutch on the spoken Malayu of the slaves. From this example, of which a copy with transcription and translation is reproduced as an illustration (Figure 5), we can conclude that there was a willingness to accommodate, and ultimately replace, Malayu with the dominant Dutch of the common social milieu, by the slaves. Phrases and words such as *die dienst* (the service), *priester* (priest), *kaptien* (captain), *ghanaraal* (general), *die kriest oewar* (the krist over), etc., which puncture the Malayu of the memorial, indicate accommodation and replacement, socio-cultural functions directly related to the process of acculturation.

With such literacy talents amongst its teachers, it was obvious that the Dorp Street *Madrasah* would have encouraged the art of reading and writing amongst its students. The students were thus taught to read and write the Arabic script, as the Earl of Caledon so correctly observed (Horrell, 1970:10). But it was not with the purpose of understanding the Arabic language. The purpose was to teach the Arabic script for the reading and the writing of Malayu, so that the religious concepts could be remembered clearly in a language known to the students.

Whatever Arabic they learned in the process, was purely a bonus. Hence the use of translations in Malayu, together with the Arabic text, is an outstanding feature of the student notebooks or *koples boeke* which have remained extant. In one of these, dated 1808, a bright student wrote the following in Arabic on the inside cover : *Hatha kitabu-'l-Wilagh* which, when translated into English reads : 'This book belongs to Wilagh'. The name 'Wilagh' is an interesting one, and is not normally used in Arabic or Malayu as a name of a person. This was probably the slave name of the student, for 'Wilagh' in Afrikaans means *weeluis* (bed bug), and was probably a result of the dehumanization which slaves had to endure as part of the process of slavery. The Arabic does not sound that negative, and was probably his way to protect his dignified self.

A diligent student of the Dorp Street *Madrasah*, and one who was to write his own manuscripts and copies of the Quran, was Jan Berdien, the ancestor of the prominent Bardien/Berdien family of Port Elizabeth
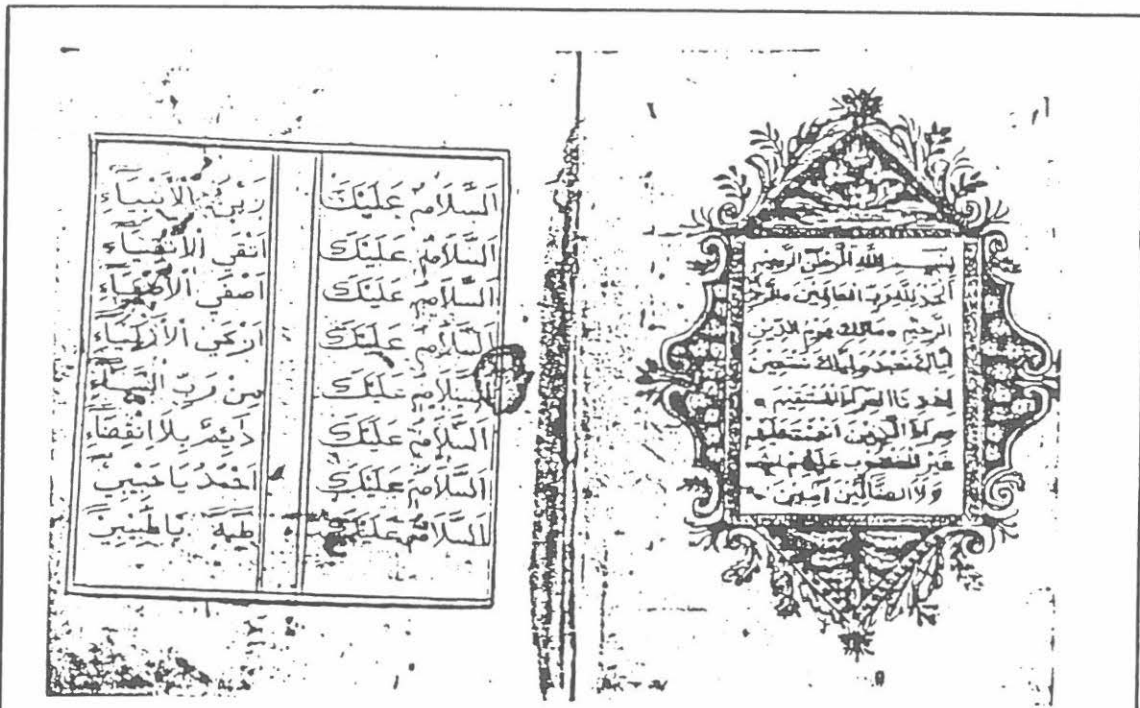
PAGES FROM A MAULID SURAT WRITTEN BY A SLAVE IN 1830
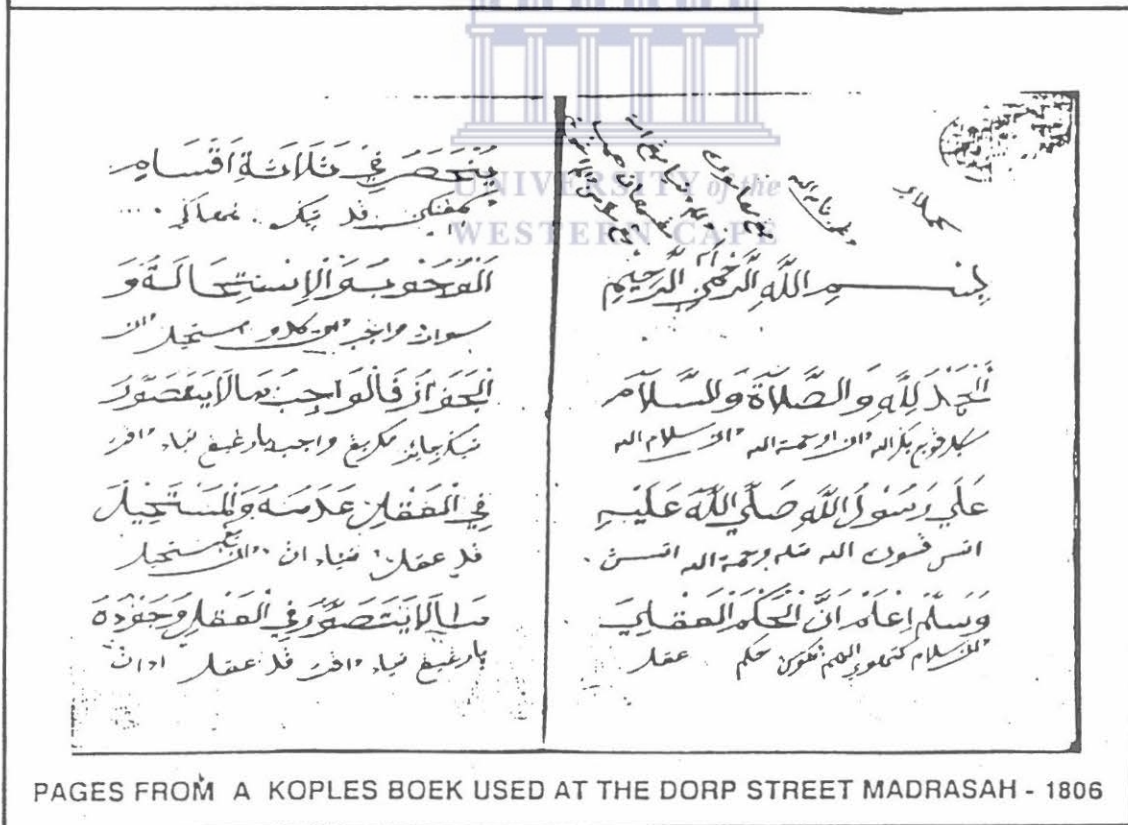
PAGES FROM A KOPLES BOEK USED AT THE DORP STREET MADRASAH - 1806

FIGURE 7 : EXAMPLES OF CAPE SLAVE WRITINGS - (a) A PAGE FROM A MAULID SURAT
(b) A PAGE FROM A STUDENT NOTEBOOK (KOPLES BOEK)

(Abrahams, 1988). Jan Berdien was born in Cape Town. His mother was a slave, Eva by name, who never experienced the feeling of freedom. She died while still the property of one Jacobs Joseph Peroo, a slave-owner resident in Church Street, Cape Town, around 1818 (Cape Archives, SO 4/2 No 102, SO 3/27 & 6/23). It would appear as if the entire family was owned by Peroo. When and how Jan Berdien obtained his freedom has as yet not been established, but in 1828 he made an application to purchase the freedom of his three sisters, Rachet, Rosina and Galati, from the estate of Peroo (Cape Archives, SO 4/2 No 102).

With the increase in hostilities on the eastern frontier during the Battle of the Axe in 1846, Jan Berdien and his two illustrious sons were conscripted, and after the hostilities settled in Uitenhage. Here he assumed the name Jabarudien, and became the first Imam of the first mosque built on the Eastern Cape (*Queenstown Free Press*, 9 June 1869). From his manuscripts, written in Arabic with Malayu translations, the influence of the teachings and philosophy of the Dorp Street *Madrasah* is clearly discernable. It shows how extensive the teachings of Tuan Guru spread amongst the Muslims in the Cape Colony; and explains why there is so little difference between the Cape Muslims in Cape Town and those on the Eastern Cape in their approaches to the principles of belief.

2.6   A NEW LITERARY TRADITION

Thus from the humble beginnings of trying to teach the slaves to read and write in the Arabic script, a literary tradition, which was virtually fully developed in 1838 with the final emancipation of the slaves, Arabic-Afrikaans, had emerged. During the next four decades of the nineteenth century numerous manuscripts, in both *Javi* (Malayu in Arabic script) and Arabic-Afrikaans were written as Malayu and Afrikaans were vying with each other for dominancy as the religious language. But Afrikaans, as Angus (1849:19) in the 1840s observed, was then already gaining on Malayu. Angus wites :   .

"All the Malays in Cape Town speak Dutch,
but the better class understand and write
Arabic and Malay."

This Dutch of course was a creolized Dutch, the Cape Muslim variety of Cape Afrikaans. It was by then the language most predominantly used as a medium of instruction in their religious schools and written in the Arabic script as the three student notebooks in my possesion indicates.

With such a potential for writing, and a desire for reading in the community, the need for printing became a necessity. The first attempt at Arabic printing was made in Cape Town in 1856. Though no copy of this work remained extant, it is believed to have been the first printed book in Afrikaans (Van Selms, 1953a). From the newpaper reports which announced this event, the only certainty is that it was printed in Arabic lettering (*Het Volkblad*, 2 February 1856). There are at least three possible languages in which this book could have been written - Arabic, Malayu and Afrikaans - and in the absence of a copy, it is thus difficult to ascertain the language medium with certainty.

It was, however, only after the *Bayânudîn* (An Explanation of the Religion) by Abubakr Effendi was printed in Constantinople in 1877, almost ten years after the book was circulated as loose handwritten pages in the Cape Muslim community (Cape Archives, CSC 2/1/1/160 No 62), that Arabic-Afrikaans publications started to appear regularly. By the end of the nineteenth century, no less than 11 Arabic-Afrikaans works were produced. To Abubakr Effendi's *Bayânudîn* is accredited the distinction of being the first Arabic-Afrikaans works to have been published.

But it was as a spoken language that Cape Muslim Afrikaans flourished after the emancipation of slavery. When Pannevis started to contemplate the use of Afrikaans for Bible translation in 1872, Afrikaans was already an established religious language in the Cape Muslim community. But not only was it by now used as a language of instruction in their religious schools, and the language for translation for their holy

sermons in their holy mosques, more important for the language itself, was its use as a medium of communication in their social and economic life. Afrikaans was rapidly replacing Malayu, so much so that Malayu was no longer a spoken language in Cape Town in 1903 (*Cape Times*, 3 March, 1903).

From the late nineteenth century, Afrikaans was used by the Cape Muslims for advertising their commercial wares as the *handbill* in Arabic-Afrikaans, discovered by Piet Muller (1960:43), so clearly illustrate. At the same time it was used for letter writing, of which we have the letter of Achmat Effendi as an example. But it was also used by the housewife for the compilation of her simple grocery list and keeping of his accounts by Awaldien the Fezmaker, as his account book so vividly illustrate.

The use of the Arabic script for their written communications is an indication of the esteem they had for the language. The Arabic script is regarded by Muslims as a sacred script, selected by God for the writing of their Holy Quran, and hence have a place of reverence in their socio-religious life. It was, therefore, not the Cape Muslims who looked upon Afrikaans as a language of inferiority, or coined for it its negative names of *kombuistaal* (kitchen language) or *Hotnotstaal*. They saw Afrikaans as an inherent part of their psyche, and were prepared to transmit it in writing, using their sacred Arabic script.

When Afrikaans started to be extensively used by the Cape Muslim community, is difficult to say. From the pre-1860 student notebooks in my possession; the fact that it was the established medium of instruction in the religious schools by the 1840s (Angus, 1849); and that by as early as 1845, the students were already using a fairly formulized spelling system for writing Afrikaans in the Arabic script, it would appear that Cape Muslim Afrikaans and its Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition had its beginnings in the early years of the nineteenth century.

By 1880, the spoken Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims had assumed a modern
idiom, relatively free from the strong Dutch orthography, still evident
in the written Afrikaans of the other communities speaking this
language. This is illustrated by the following passage, from a
manuscript written by Ghatieb Magmoud, a Cape Muslim religious teacher,
in 1880 :

NO 1   *'En die Arkaan (principles) van Ieslaam is vyf. En om te
          glo waarlik lat daar nie een ander Allah ta aala (God the
          most high) is om voor opregh iebaadat (worship) te maak nie
          as mnaar net Allah ta aala a-leen. En waarlik lat nabee
          (prophet) Moegammad een be-steering is van Allah ta aala.
          Allah ta aala se-teer (Malayu - order; this term is no
          longer in use) ons om te maak vyf salaah (five prayers)
          op in dagh toet ons dood. En Allah ta aala see-teer ons
          moet zakaat (give charity) as ons veertagh pont het en
          dit is een djaar voelkoem wegh ghasit het dan moet ons
          gheef vir arme mense een pont.'*

Except for the letters *v* and *f*, which in Arabic is indicated by the same
letter, the Arabic *fâ* (ف), and the use of the Roman letter *y* for the
Arabic diphthong *ai* in the Afrikaans word *vyf*. I have tried to
transcribe the passage with Roman lettering which conforms as closely as
possible to the Arabic lettering used in the original text.
Nevertheless, it was the use of this kind of Afrikaans idiom which
caused Herbertus Elfers, a Dutch grammarian, to write as follows in
1908:

   "Perhaps the best representative of Cape Dutch (Cape Afrikaans
   - AD) are *(sic) to be found among the Malay population of the
   Cape Peninsula, whose worship is conducted in a foreign tongue,
   and the Bastards (sic) born and bred at German mission stations
   where Cape Dutch forms the only medium of expression. Among
   either of these classes one may find a readiness of speech
   unalloyed with foreign elements, which provide easy vent for
   all sentiments and every feeling, though confined to the narrow*

limits of a patois" (1908:6).

It was through the Arabic-Afrikaans manuscripts and publications that the distinctive vocabulary and orthoepic practice of Cape Muslim Afrikaans were transmitted and perpetuated from generation to generation in the Cape Muslim community. I am convinced that without the presence of the slaves, as one of the important components, (the other being the Khoi), the creolization of Dutch would not have been so rapid as to emerge into a new language, Cape Afrikaans. Then too, I am convinced, that without the presence of the slaves in Cape Town, and their formation of a distinctive slave world, with its distinctive cultural orientation as functional matrix, there would not have been a distinctive literary tradition called 'Arabic-Afrikaans'.

2.7. CONCLUDING COMMENT

This chapter looked at the social milieu in which the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition emerged. It started of by pointing out the inadequacies of the philological approach to appreciate the contribution of the Cape Muslims towards the development of Afrikaans. It is suggested that the social environment played an important role in the creolization of Dutch, and, therefore, social factors must have had a bearing on the linguistic changes which occurred and ultimate resulted in Afrikaans. The process of acculturation is particularly focussed upon. It is argued that if acculturation played such an important role in the development of the distinctive features of South African culture; acculturation could also have taken place on the linguistic level, as a result of the very close and intense contact of the various languages spoken by the colonist, the slaves and the Khoesan, in the Cape social setting.

As the concern was the emergence of the literary tradition of Arabic-Afrikaans, it is postulated that a literary tradition does not emerge in isolation of socio-historic and socio-linguistic factors. For this reason the distinctive world the Cape slaves made is intensely discuss. The available historical evidence suggests that a distinctive slave

world in Cape Town emerged only from 1793 onwards, with the establishment of the Dorp Street *Madrasah*. The functional matrix of this slave world was the Ash'arite theological philosophy. This Islamic theo-philosophy allowed the slaves ample social mobility in the hierarchal structure of the Islamic society at the Cape. Social status could be attained by the acquisition of piety. The pursuance of Islamic knowledge and the development of literary skills were new social objectives the slaves could strive for.

The slaves brought with them distinctive languages with distinctive literary traditions. Literacy among the slaves, and the literary traditions of their ancestral languages are examined. The change of language usage, from their ancestral languages to the creolized Dutch, is also evaluated. But most important, however, is the role played by the *madrasah* as an institution of assimilation and as a vehicle for the transmission of religious and cultural ideas. It was in the *madrasah* that the switch from Malayu to the creolized Dutch occurred; and it was through the *madresah* education system that the literary tradition of Arabic-Afrikaans was developed and nutured during the final decades of slavery. It was also from the *madaris*, that Arabic-Afrikaans exploded to become a cogent aspect of the culture of Cape Muslim after emancipation.

0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0

CHAPTER 3

THE AFRIKAANS LITERATURE OF
THE CAPE MUSLIMS - 1845 TO 1915.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It is extremely difficult to determine when exactly the tradition of
writing Afrikaans in Arabic script began, or who was responsible for the
popularization of this very interesting phenomenon and cogent aspect of
Cape Muslim culture, called Arabic-Afrikaans. What we do know is that
by the final emancipation of slavery in 1838, not only was Cape
Afrikaans or rather Cape Dutch, the dominant language spoken by the
slaves and Free Blacks in Cape Town; but was written in the Arabic
script. The use of this creolized Dutch or Cape Dutch, as a medium of
communication, was so extensive, that even the London Mission Society,
an Anglican Church establishment, had to use Cape Dutch for their
proselytism and educational efforts directed at the "Malays" in Cape
Town (Report of Auxiliary Committee, 1839).

It does appear that the practice of writing their mother tongue Dutch in
Arabic script was fairly common amongst the Cape Muslims in the 1830s,
though no work in Arabic-Afrikaans, dated earlier than 1845, had as yet
been discovered. However, from a report in the *Cape of Good Hope
Literary Gazette*, in January 1830 (1830:18, Vol 1 No 2), as I have noted
earlier, W T Robertson, of the Bengal Civil Service, had to abandon his
idea of a Dutch version of his English translation of the *Hidaayutool
Islaam* (Right Guidance of Islam) for the 'Moslem Malays' of Cape Town.
There were no Arabic letter presses in Cape Town which could handle the
printing. Was this publication to be printed in Cape Dutch in Arabic
script ? From the report, this appears to have been the case, and if
it was printed, could possibly have been the first Arabic-Afrikaans
printed work.

Nevertheless, the distinction of being the first Arabic-Afrikaans publication belongs to Abubakr Effendi's *Bayânudîn* (An Explanation of the Religion). "At Constantinople, in 1877", writes Rochlin, "the Turkish Ministry of Education issued an Arabic-written publication in the Cape Malay dialect to serve as a handbook of the principles of the Islamic religion." (1933:53). This was twelfe years after the *Bayânudîn* first appeared as loose pages of study notes issued to students at the Ottomam Theological School in Cape Town (Cape Archives, CSC 2/1/160 No 62). The book was printed as a gift from the Sublime Porte of the Ottoman Empire to the Cape Muslim community (Davids, 1980:20).

The *Bayânudîn* was not the first attempt at writing Cape Afrikaans in Arabic script. Abubakr Effendi, in writing this book, in fact latched on to a lively tradition of writing Afrikaans in Arabic script which existed in Cape Town, and which was in wide use in the *madaris* in the mother city. This is evident from the three pre-1860 Arabic-Afrikaans student notebooks in my possession. Then too, according to Kähler (1971;159), the *Bayânudîn* was also preceded by the *Tuḥfatul Aḥwâm* (A Gift for friends), a manuscript written in 1868 by Imam Abdul Kahaar ibn Abdul Malik. Imam Abdul Kahaar ibn Abdul Malik was the son of Jan Berdien alias Jabarudien, the founder of the first mosque in Uitenhage (Abrahams, 1988). This manuscript was taken to Germany by Kähler, hence I could not verify the alledged date. If this manuscript was written in 1868, a year before the completion of the *Bayânudîn*, it would have been written in Port Elizabeth, in which city Imam Abdul Kahaar ibn Abdul Malik resided at the time (Cape Archives,MOOC 6/9/777 No 414 see also Davids, 1989:56).

An Arabic-Afrikaans publication reputed to have been printed prior to 1860 is the *Kitâbu 'l-Qawâli 'l-Matîni* (Book of the truthful word). Professor van Selms in his very interesting article, *'Die oudste boek in Afrikaans: Isjmoeni se "Betroubare Woord"'*, describes how he discovered this publication. He assumed that this 1910 publication was a reprint of the *Gablomaliem*, which printing was reported in *Het Volksblad* of 24 February, 1856. I, in an article in the *South African Journal of Linguistics* (1987) provided further circumstantial evidence in support

of Professor Van Selms' case.   This was prior to me having had an
opportunity to examine an original copy of this publication.

Subsequently to my 1987 article, I was given a complete copy of this
publication, with title page intact, as a present by a friend.   This is
one of the very few copies of the *Kitâbu 'l-Qawâli 'l-Matini* which has
remained extant. I have, therefore, donated it to the South African
Library for safe keeping.   The pages of this original is exactly the
same as the pages of micro-filmed illustrations in Van Selms' article,
with the same date 1910 or rather the "19 of *Rabi'athâni* 1328"   on the
last page.   From the fancy calligraphy on the title page I discovered
that the translator was Sheikh Abubakr ibn Abdullah ibn Abdurauf (See
Figure 8).   He in 1910 was the principal of the   *Madrasatul Falah* and
the assistant Imam at the Claremont Main Road Mosque (Fakier, 1983:161).
Sheikh Abubakr ibn Abdullah ibn Abdurauf (Cape Archives, MOOC 6/9/2313
No 1707) was not even born in 1856 when the *Gablomaliem* was written.

From this discovery it means that the *Bayânudin* is still the oldest of
the extant Arabic-Afrikaans publications.   The practice of writing their
creolized Dutch in the Arabic script, however, existed long before the
Bayânudîn was printed.   The problem, therefore, is still the date of
commencement of the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition.   It is my
belief that this tradition started shortly after 1815, the date when the
last pair of students entered their names in the 1806 Malayu-Arabic or
Jawi koples boek in my possession (See Figure 7 Chapter 2).   This gives
a period of about fifteen years to 1830 when the *Cape of Good Hope
Literary Gazette* first noted the extensive use of Dutch as a spoken
language amongst the "Moslem Malays" and the lack of Arabic letter-
presses to print the *Hidayutool Islaam* in their vernacular Dutch
(1830:18).   This is a reasonable period for a script to be consolidated
in a community.   From the pre-1860 student notebooks in my possession,
a fairly organised spelling arrangement is evident. What is also evident
is that the basic Malayu-Arabic or *Jawi* script used for the writing of
their spoken Afrikaans or creolized Dutch is already modified to project
lettering representations of Afrikaans sounds not found in Malayu.

FIGURE 8: THE TITLE PAGE OF THE *AL-QAWLU 'L-MATIN* WRITTEN BY SHEIKH ABUBAKR IBN ABDULLAH IBN ABDURAUF IN 1910. HIS NAME IS IN-DICATED IN THE FANCY CALLIGRAPHIC BLOCK ON THE RIGHT HAND SIDE.

3.2. THE INVENTORIES OF ARABIC-AFRIKAANS WORKS

Nevertheless, many Arabic-Afrikaans scripts, either as student note-books, or lithographic and letter-pressed publications or manuscripts, dated from 1845 onwards, have remained extant. To date, up to 74 of these scripts, written between 1845 and 1957, have been discovered and identified. Among them are some good examples of the early literature of the Afrikaans language. The most comprehensive inventory of these works, is Kähler's list which appears in his *Studien über die Kultur und die Arabisch-Afrikaansche Literatur der Kap-Malaien* and which was published in 1971.

Van Selms in 1951 listed the 10 publications he discovered at the time. Four of which were filed as Africana in the Merensky Library at the University of Pretoria. Two of these, the *Risâlatun fî áqâ'idat-tauhîdi* (A message on the belief in the unity of God) and *risâlatun mustamilatun 'alâ ziyâratil-quburi* (A message on behaviour in burial grounds), are rare. They are not listed by Kähler (1971) or Muller (1960,1962) nor could I locate copies of either of them. The works which Van Selms found in the library of the Azavia Mosque seemed to have disappeared. The greeting cards, listed by Van Selms (1951:15) but not by Kähler (1971) are more common, and are reputed to have been written and printed by Sheikh Muhammad 'Geyer' Isaacs in the late 1930s, early 1940s.

Piet Muller in his two aticles does not give us a list of scripts and publication, but noted that by 1960, twenty-one of these Arabic-Afrikaans scripts were discovered. He mentions three works completed by Hisham Neamatullah Effendi and *"'n advertensie van die hand van imam Abdurachman"* (1960:39). Kähler does not mention this 'handbill', which is the first indication of Arabic-Afrikaans being used for purposes other then the writing of religious tracts.

Kähler's list of 64 Arabic-Afrikaans works, apart from being the most comprehensive inventory, also provide the reader with exciting additional information. The works are listed in alphabetical order, giving the names of publication, names of translator and/or original

---

authors, number of pages each work consists of or the number of pages he managed to locate, and if available, year of publication or written. With most of the listings, a brief extract from the work has been transcribed. Kähler (1971:189) also gives us a list of authors of these Arabic-Afrikaans works, systematically catalogued (1971:189).

To Kähler's inventory I would add the following scripts, which I discovered and which has as yet not been listed :

1.   Three student notebooks or *koples boeke*. These books are made-up of lessons normally taught to children. Such subjects as the simple supplications on entering or leaving the toilet; the existence of angels; recitations of intentions of prayers; prophets and the books revealed to them and simple *doahs* (supplications) and prayer, are covered. None of them have a title page. The first one is dated 1845 and consist of 31 pages which have remained extant. The script is unvocalized. The other two are vocalized and dated 1860. Of the one, 61 pages remains extant; of the other only 24.

2.   A manuscript written in red and black ink with a colourful calli-graphic design on the first page. It is an interesting manuscript with interlineal translations partly in *Jawi* i.e. Malayu in Arabic script and partially in Afrikaans. A wide range of subjects are covered. It was obviously a handbook used by an Imam. The writer was Ghatieb Magmoed, who on his Death Notice is identified as a "schoolmaster" (Cape Archives, 6/9/753 No 141:). The manuscript is dated 1880 and is written in a very modern Afrikaans (see Transcription No 1 Chapter 2).

3. *Die Boek van Tougeed* (Book on the Unity of God) by Imam Abdullah ibn Abdurauf. This book was written and lithographed in Cape Town in 1890; and in terms of its date of publication, is the second Arabic-Afrikaans publication. The copy which I have in my possession consists of 54 pages. The script is not vocalized. A transcription from page 7, reads:

NO 2   *En dit is moestahiel* (impossible) *op Allah ta 'aalaa* (God
         the most high) *lat Allah ta 'aalaa verlee is vir een plek
         en vir een maaker; en dee seste siefat vir Allah ta 'aala
         is wahdaanieya ..... dee meening Allah ta 'aalaa is aleen
         bai sain selwe en bai sain maneerte en bai sain werk....*

4. A single page letter written by Achmat Effendi to a friend in Cape
Town after his defeat in the Cape Parliamentary Elections of 1894 (*Cape
Argus*, 30 January, 1894), and before he left to become the Turkish
Consul General at Singapore, where he was killed in a traffic accident
in the early hours of 11th November, 1903 (Van Selms in Brandel-Syrier,
1960:1X) remains extant.   A few lines from the letter is here
transcribed:

NO. 3   *Ek is bajang vir ander. Ek het vandag ghahoor een nabee*
         (prophet) *kan noewait hoegh ghawort het nie is sain gha-*
         boortende plek soe saal ek noewait in Afriqaa van nou
         weer talank blai. Ek het nou ander poleesie (policy)
         en as ek verais in plek van Afriqaa dan sal ek djou ook en
         plek laat krai. Vandag is ek 29 neege en twintagh djaar
         out. Als wat ek ghadoen het is voor ek dertagh djaar
         out ghawees waas. Mister Roudes (Mister Rhodes or Cecil
         John Rhodes) *het als ghadoen aghter hai dertagh ghawort*
         het soe hoop ek laat ek regh sal sekoewel aghter ek
         dertagh djaar is, nie in die Kaap nie maar in Bataawie-jaa
         Djawaa, nat ek gheef dee boutret vir ouai present as is
         ek ghaat kaijoer daan draagh ek soe. Alghaarwat an
         die palais wort kan dragh dee ..?.. koewee-as
         ..?..... alghaar wat dee poetret ghasien het....?.....
              (.....?..... means word cannot be deciphered)

5.   *Tuḥfatul atfâl* (A gift for children) written in 1900 by Sheikh
Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraki.   This lithograph, consisting of 24
pages was printed in green ink in Cape Town.   It is the first Arabic-
Afrikaans publication which deals with the Arabic phonetic science of
tajwid. Here follows a transcription of page 2:

NO. 4   ... van dee noen saakien en dee hoekoem van tanween
          en dee hoekoem (rulings) van moedoe...... en hai het
          ghagheef naam vir dee kietaab toehfatoel atfaal en
          hai het ghavat dee kietaab van sain oestaad (teacher)
          wat sain naam is Shaigh Noeroeldeen al-Maiheed wat
          volkoem is van biesteerte en van maneerte.......

6. *Tartíbus-ṣaláh* (Perfection in prayer) by Imam Abdurahmaan Cassiem
Gamieldien. A fifteen page lithograph printed in Cape Town in 1907 and
distributed by the South African Malay Association. The publication is
authenticated by Sheikh Muhammad Talaboedien. Fully vocalized, a
transcription from page 1 reads:

NO. 5   *Prais is vir Allah dee baas van aldee ghaskaape van
          mens en djien (spirits) en malaa-iekat (angels) .....
          en dank wat toekoom vir Allah sain ghoedeghait en 'n
          dank wat ghalaik is vir dee vir-mie-yadering van .....
          ...... en seeghent en ghalok op onse Moegammad en op
          sain vamielgies en op sain sahaabah (companions)......*

7. A letter of demand written by Awaldien the Fezmaker of *'31
Kortemarkstraat'* which is not vocalized. This single page letter is
undated but was possibly written between 1915 and 1920 when Awaldien had
his fez business in Shortmarket Street.

8. *'I-lán* (A Message) by the hand of Abdurahmaan. A single page chain
letter relating a dream of *'Shaigh Ahmad dee opaster van onse operste
nabee Moegammad (P B U H) sain qoeboer (grave)"*. This chain letter is
dated 1919.

My intention here is obviously not to create another inventory of
Arabic-Afrikaans publications. Kähler has done an excellent job in this
regard, and hence my suggestion that whatever Arabic-Afrikaans scripts I
discovered must just be added to Kähler's list. This does not mean that
there are no inadequacies with Kähler's list. For one, I do not always

agree with his transcriptions. Then too there are a few errors with name of publication to name of author, but these are minor errors.

Probably the major failure of the Arabic-Afrikaans inventories, including Kâhler's, is that they do not contextualize these writings, and thus fail to fit them into the milieu in which they occurred. The result is that an invaluable source of social history, which could, amongst others, help explain the persistence of the use of the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition, is lost.

An issue to which very little attention has been paid is the way the Arabic-Afrikaans writers had to cope with the limited vocabulary at their disposal to create reasonably clear explanations of the involved religious philosophical concepts they were writing about. This important linguistic issue is not adequately dealt with or indicated to be existing in the available Arabic-Afrikaans inventories; and will be dealt with in a bit more detail in Chapter 5. At this point it is sufficient to note that at times the Arabic-Afrikaans writers were required to extend their spoken language to express involved philosophical ideas. This was achieved through the creation of word concepts. Thus in the Arabic-Afrikaans publications word concepts, like *opbouwens* (أُوۡپَـبَوۡوِنَـسۡ), for 'systematic construction' (H Effendi; 1894:5); or the creation of abstract nouns such as *verghienskaap* (فَرِخِنۡـسۡكَاپۡ), for 'a gift of divine providence'; (Gamieldien A, 1907:2) or *warraiskap* (فَرَّيۡـسۡكَپۡ), for 'being in a state of worry' (Abdurakib Berdien, 1900:11) or merely giving Arabic words an Afrikaans ring through word clustering as the concept *saheebste* (صَحِيۡخۡـسۡتى), for 'the most correct' (H Effendi, 1894a:7), are frequently encountered.

This wide practice of neology shows the creativeness of the Cape Muslim Arabic-Afrikaans writers with linguistic processors. This creativity is more clearly seen in their creation of a distinctive alphabet for Arabic-Afrikaans, a development I will deal with in great detail further on. Nevertheless, various stages in the development of this alphabet could be identified by looking at the process of Arabic-Afrikaans writing in its historical context.

Copy of letter written by Achmat Effendi after his defeat for a seat in the Cape Parliament in 1894.

A chain letter circulated in Cape Town in 1919. The Dream of Sheikh Ahmad keeper of the grave of the Prophet (P.B.U.H)

FIGURE 9:   TWO RECENTLY DISCOVERED ARABIC-AFRIKAANS LETTERS

3.3. THE LITERATURE OF THE CAPE MUSLIMS

3.3.1. Afrikaans in Roman script

Afrikaans in Arabic script was not the only form of writing indulged in
by the Cape Muslims.   From 1898 onwards, with the publication of the
Kitâb Tarajomatarriyaadil Badiati by Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar
(Kähler, 1971:196), a new tradition of writing religious publications
in Afrikaans in Roman script emerged.   Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar
in the writing of this publication followed a language practice in
writing which seems to have been common with the Christian Afrikaans
community when they were discussing religious ideas.   Hubertus Elfers
1908:4), a Dutch grammarian, comments on this practice as follows:

> *"On the other hand the influence of Biblical language on*
> *a religious people was great and marked.   The patois (i.e.*
> *their spoken Afrikaans - AD) they had accepted as a medium*
> *of exchange of ordinary thought to a large extent made*
> *room for better language whenever loftier themes were*
> *handled or prayers offered.   Then the Scriptures were their*
> *guide, from which they borrowed every expression of reve-*
> *rence, and each word which in their limited every-day*
> *vocabulary found no place."*

This example of language usage by the non-Muslim community probably
motivated Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar to abandon the Cape Muslim
Afrikaans which he again came to use in the *Kitab arryâd al bâdi'a* (Book
of the wonderful garden), which he wrote in Arabic-Afrikaans in 1900.
It is difficult to postulate reasons for the abandonment of the communal
colloquial Afrikaans for the use of this percular Afrikaans of the early
Roman script publications.   Posssibly he took his reading audience into
consideration.   Muller (1962:5), claims that these Roman script
publications were written for the considerably large numbers of white
converts to Islam in Cape Town in the beginning of the twentieth
century.   This may well have been the case for Shell (1983:29) argues
that conversion through marriage continued from 1808 to 1915, the period

he studied, despite Muslim marriages not being legally recognised in the Colony. Then too, Kollish (1867:26) writes:

> "Malays do not infrequently intermarry with
> European girls - more especially the English
> - on which occassion it is always understood
> that the bride embraces the Mahomedan faith."

These converts possibly could not read the Arabic script and hence literature to them in Roman script might have been requested. These Roman script Afrikaans religious publications could possibly have been directed at these converts, taking into account that many of these Roman script publication were also printed in the Arabic-Afrikaans script. This possibility gains further considerable strength if it is considered that in 1913 the first English language religious publication, by a Cape Muslim writer, appeared. This publication was the *Islam and Iman*, written in Roman script English by Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar. English was not a language generally used by the Cape Muslim community. It was looked upon by them as the language of the infidel (*Cape Argus*, 5 January 1897); and strongly protested against when in 1913 it was introduced as the language medium at the Rahmaneyeh Institute, the first Muslim mission secular school established by Dr A Abdurahman in that year (Cape Archives, SGE 1/1064).

It is also possible that these Roman script publications were directed at the Muslim women folk. They had a better secular education than the males, who were removed from the mission schools at a much earlier age (Mayson, 1865). They were also more frequently the targets of the Christian mission efforts, and were attracted to Christianity through such parochial activities as clothing clubs, medical care and 'similar institutions'. A few Muslim women were gained, through these activities, for Christianity (Lightfoot, 1900:43). The threat of the Christian missionary activities was already responded to by Abubakr Effendi when he in 1864 established the ladies class at the Ottoman Theological School (Cape Archives, CSC 2/1/1/138 No 84). Thus it is not suprising that in 1915 Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien, also directed

his Roman script publication, *Die O'erzitting van die kitab 'Da Kaa Ikol Agbaar*, specifically at women. In his dedication he writes:

NO 6   "...*Nou achter dit, het ik o'ergezit, deze kitab wat*
          genoem is "Da Ka-ikol Agbaar, Fie Zikril Jannatie
          Wannaar," naar de Hollandse taal ver vrouwens dat hulle
          moet lees deze kitab in de tijde wanneer hulle niks
          ander tedoen het. Dit zul beter wis als om te lees de
          Engelse storie boeke en novels en zul een groote
          voordeel wis, vir de genige wat door de kitab gaan en
          ontouw de praatte daar van."

I believe, that for whatever motive the publication was written, the choice of language, in the *Kitáb Tarajomatarriyaadil Badiati* (Book on the explanatory translation of the Wonderful Garden), was deliberate. Imam Abdurakib needed to raise the language to what was considered a dignified one by his initial target community. The street language image of Afrikaans, as projected in satirical columns as, *Straat Praatjes*, in the *A.P.O.*, the official organ of the African People's Organisation (5 June 1909), was a negative one. Hence their spoken Afrikaans would not have suited his objective. Imam Abdurakib needed a sophisticated language, which would add sophistication to the religious ideas he was trying to convey. This he could only achieve by adopting a mode of language considered by his target community to be dignified, and in this way attracting them to the fold. Thus the language he needed to use to project Islam in Roman script had to be on *par* with the mode of language used by the Christians to express 'loftier themes', (Elfers, 1908:4). This resulted in his poor attempt at writing Dutch, as illustrated by this example :

NO 7   " ..... *dat ik moet translate die risaala .... van de*
          kindige menier ash shayg Gasabullaw, van de Arab taal,
          na de gemixte taal, gedenk ek is van die koer's zijn
          rijter's, en nu waarlijk mij waarde in de fik is min
          en maar dit ek heppen, verzoek help mit Allah, en dit
          is gezeg wie gekend steld, dan het hij staan gemaak

> *en schijf, en nu hopen ek van de genige die oorgaan*
>
> *die kitaab van mijn, dat hij moet laat zak de soom*
>
> *van zijn bedekken op de misverstaande ...."*

With Afrikaans in Arabic script the Cape Muslim writers did not have this problem. The Arabic-Afrikaans publications, in any case, were read by committed Muslims, in a language mode generally used by them. Whatever dignity this language mode needed, was provided by the Arabic script. This script was regarded as sacred by the Cape Muslims and, therefore, lends dignity to the words.

Nevertheless, with his Roman script *Kitâb Tarajomataariyaadil Badîati*, Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar (Berdien) started a language tradition which was followed by subsequent writers. In 1906 Sheikh Mohamed Salie Hendricks, a very popular religious leader in the early twentieth century, wrote *Deze Ketab es van Salaah op de Madhab van Emaam Shafvia*, in Roman script, using the same language mode as Imam Abdurakib. This is illustrated from the following passage of his Roman script *kitaab* (book) :

NO 8   *"De zeven waters, woord verdeel aan veir. (De eerste)*
        es water wat net de naam het van schoone peure water.
        Dat es de water wat moet verbruik woord om apdass te
        neem, en om te mandee, en om schoon temaak mij. (De
        tweede) es wat goed es o teverbruik, maar hij is
        (makroo) om teverbruik, dat es water wat en en ijster,
        of kooper, of en, en lootte tank es, en, en waarme
        land, en hij het baaiyan waram gewoord van de zon,
        dan es de waster makroo om teverbruik en de tijt wat
        hij warm es, maar als hij afgekool es, dan es hij
        goed om teverbruik....."

A similar language mode is seen in the Roman script publication, *Die Kessatieleesrau wal-meragie* (The story of the Ascension and Miraculous journey) by Imam Hassiem Su-aib (Sahibo), the Imam of the Jamia Mosque,

the largest in Cape Town (Davids, 1980:146), in 1908. An extract from
this publication reads :

NO 9   *"En die tyd wat Rosolollahie was en die Gejeriel*
            Esmail by die Kaaba wat die nabie geleegt het op
            zyn zy, tusschen twee Mans. Eene was zyn oom
            Ghamja en eene was zyn oom sijn Kind Jaarfaar.
            Ebono Abetalieb. Toen Kom by die nabie Jeberiel
            en Mekaul en daar was saam met helle twee een
            ander Malakat. Sommige ollama segt is Ezeraveel
            toe draagt helle ver hem toet laat helle met hem
            koem toet by die zam zam. toe laat helle ver hem
            agter oor leegt op zyn reeg."

These three publications, together with a Roman script production of the
Kitâbu 'l-kauli 'l-matin (Book of the truthful word), published by Imam
Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar in 1905, constituted the limit of Roman
script publications during the first decade of the twentieth century. In
the second decade of the century three Roman script publications were
produced. These were the *Tarjamatas Sunusi fi ilmittowgied* (Translation
of the knowledge of the unity of God) by Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar
in 1912; *Die O'erzitting van die kitab 'Da Kaa Ikol Agbaar Part 1 & 2,*
by Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien in 1915 and 1916, when he was the
Arabic and religious teacher at the Rahmaneyeh Institute (Cape Archives
SGE 1/1064); and the *Kitaab van Towheed* (Book of the unity of God), by
Sheikh Achmad Behardien in 1918. Sheikh Achmad Behardien also saw the
necessity of producing this publication in the Arabic-Afrikaans script
in the same year under the title, *Su'âl wa jawâb* (Questions and
Answers), which latter work became the subject of the first Arabic-
Afrikaans study of Van Selms. It is a pity that Van Selms did not see
the relationship between these two publications. If he did, his
transcriptions in his *Arabies-Afrikaans Studies 1. 'n Tweetalige
(Arabies en Afrikaans) Katigismus* (1951) might have been different.

The nineteen-twenties saw only two Afrikaans works in Roman script. Both of these, the *Arkaans van Hadj* (The principles of the pilgrimage) by Sheikh Mohamed Salie Hendricks, and the *Kitaaboes Sooem* (Book on fasting) by Mogamat Noor Hassiem Shahibo, were published in 1921. For interest sake the last page of the *Kitaaboes Sooem* is here produced :

NO 10   *Ek is klaar met de Kitaab* (book)

daarin staan van poewasa (fasting) *zijn sawaab* (blessings)

as U powasa volgens deze kitaab

Dan U krijg van ramaldaan zijn sawaab

ver deze ketaaben (writer) *doa* (supplication) *vraag ek ver U*

lat Allah moet bewaar ver mij en ook ver U

Allah moet ok bewaar mijn oders (parents)

en moslim zuster en broeders

(brackets are mine = AD)

These Roman script Afrikaans religious publications were not so prolifically produced as the Arabic-Afrikaans publication in the beginning of the twentieth century. During the same period, from 1898 to 1921, no less than twenty-three Arabic-Afrikaans works, as compared to the nine Roman script publications, were produced. Nevertheless, with his publication of the *Kitâb Tarajomatarriyaadil Badiati*, Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar started a language tradition in the Roman script publication of religious books or *kitaabs* which was continously used up to the 1940s.

An interesting observation from these early twentieth century Roman script religious publications, apart from the uncertainty and inconsistency of spelling, is the strong adherence to the Dutch orthography. Interestingly too, these early twentieth century Roman script publications are still regarded as "*Hollandse kietaape*" (Dutch Books), in the Cape Muslim community. Then too, it was the Afrikaans in Roman script, not the Afrikaans in Arabic script, which made its presence felt in the Transvaal. In 1927, the '*Jam-i-tool Oloma*' (the Supreme religious Council of the Transvaal) of the Transvaal published the Roman script publication, *Kitaabo Tartibos Salaat Alaa Mazhabil*

Emaam Shaafi gamaklijk gamaak voor naamlik ver kinders omte begent en ok al ver anders. A extract from page 1 is here reproduced:

NO 11   *Die arkaan van Islaam is vijf die eerste omte geloof*
         waarlijk dat daar niet ander Allah is om voor oprecht
         ibaadat temaak as net Allah alleen en omte geloof
         warlijk dat Nabie Mogammad en besteerink is van Allah
         die twee de omte maak sallat vijf keer tusschen dag
         en nacht moet zijn arkaan en shurut die derde om te
         gief zakaat an de toekomers die vierde om te Powaasa
         de maand van ramadaan die vijfde om te gaat gajjie
         bij de bij tollah as krag het om te gaan.

It would appear that the Cape Muslim Afrikaans influence certainly made its presence felt in other parts of the country.   This booklet was probably prepared by Cape Muslim religious teachers, among them Imam Abdol Malik Achmat, great-grandson of Achmat of Bengal of the Dorp Street Mosque in Bo-Kaap (Davids, 1980:113), who went to settle in the Transvaal from the beginning of the twentieth century (Naude, 1982:25).

But be that as it may, it was only in the late 1940s when the Cape Muslim community started to look at this language usage as 'archaic', and a language style, more in conformity with Standard-Afrikaans, but nevertheless retaining major elements of the Cape Muslim Afrikaans variety, began to be preferred. In 1948, Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien saw it necessary to re-write his 1915 - 1916 Roman script publication, **Da Kaa Ikol Agbaar**, in a more Standard-Afrikaans.   The Sheikh's re-write of No 6 above is here reproduced:

NO 12   *Ek het hierdie kitaab wat genoem is 'Daqaa'iqol*
         Agbaar fie Zikril Djannati wan Naar' deur Imam
         Abdurragiem Bin Agmad al-Qadie, na Afrikaans oor-
         gesit met die doel om aan my Moslim broers en
         susters te herrinder aan die onvermydelike dood
         en die gevaar wat daaran toebehoor.   Dit sal better

> *wees vir hulle om hulle kostelike tyd met hierdie*
> *boekie deur te bring as om hulle tyd te vermos om*
> *nag en dag te lees die Engelse storie en romanse*
> *boeke. Dit sal vir hulle meer aanspoor goedheid te*
> *doen en dit sal ook vir hulle laat gereed maak vir*
> *die dood wat enige tyd oor hulle kan kom.*

The virtual absence of the Dutch orthography in the passage above shows the complete metamorphosis of their Roman script writings from the *'gemixte taal'* of Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar in 1898 to the *'Afrikaans'* of Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien in 1948.

The use of the Roman script for *kitaab* or religious book writing started to gain momentum during the 1930s, with prolific writers like Salie Saliem, Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien, and Sheikh Ismail Ganief producing work in both Afrikaans in Roman script and Arabic-Afrikaans. By the 1950s, the tradition of writing Afrikaans in Arabic script was rapidly dying out. It came to an end with Sheikh Achmad Behardien's *Bayâni salâti thuri ba'dal jum'ati* in 1957 (Kähler, 1971). The need for Islamic literature in Roman script now emerged as more and more Cape Muslims acquired a secular school education.

The demise of Arabic-Afrikaans as a literary tradition, and the rapid production of Afrikaans *kitaabs* in Roman script was a result of the rapid growth of the Muslim mission primary-school movement. This movement started in 1913 with the establishment of the state-aided Rahmaneyeh Institute in Distric Six. The Muslim-mission school movement extended the ability to read and write in Roman script to a wider section of the Cape Muslim community. By the 1930s there were several, at least seven, state-aided Muslim-mission primary schools in the Cape Peninsula (Ajam,1986). A distinctive feature of these schools was the employment of a religious teacher whose salary was funded by the community (Cape Archives, SGE 1/1158). Thus, with the increase in provision of secular education, and thus a larger reading audience, the production of religious literature in Roman script in the Cape Muslim community was excellerated.

The Afrikaans in Roman script *kitaabs* of the Cape Muslims, produced during the early years of the twentieth century, presents an interesting facet of the Afrikaans language development of this community. It is an area of Cape Muslim literature which is in need of extensive research. All that I have done was to show the extent of its presence; and to explore the reason why this type of publication was produced in the community. More intensive studies on language usage or its socio-linguistic importance, for instance, need to be embarked upon. This is beyond the limits of this study. The major concern here is the identification of the literary works of the Cape Muslims and the use of Arabic-Afrikaans as a literary tradition during the period 1815 to 1915.

3.3.2. Factors which favoured and stimulated the production of Arabic-Afrikaans publications

The production of literary works in Afrikaans in Arabic, as well as Afrikaans in Roman script, lettering seems to excellerate from 1890 onwards. Of the two types of writings produced during the first four decades of this century, Afrikaans in Arabic script predominated. Such production of literary works could only happen in a reading community. Commenting on the degree of literacy in the Cape Muslim community in 1925, S M Swemer (1925:349) writes :

> "A larger percentage of the people are literate than
> perhaps in any other section of the Moslem world. In
> the schools Arabic is taught, and for the instruction
> of children and especially women, the Moslems at the
> Cape have prepared brief catechisms setting forth the
> principles of Islam in popular form.
>
> Some of these books are printed in diglot, Arabic and
> Urdu, Arabic and Gujerati. We also find Cape-Dutch
> printed in the Arabic character. This latter sort
> apparently has a large circulation, but is unintel-
> ligible to those who do not know the principles of

Arabic grammar and of Afrikaans."

There are two possible reasons, apart from the literacy level of the Cape Muslim community, which, however, could be postulated for this wide circulation of the Arabic-Afrikaans publications, or as Swemer puts it, 'Cape-Dutch printed in the Arabic character'. Firstly, Arabic-Afrikaans was the written language medium used at most of the *madaris* or religious schools in Cape Town. Handbooks for the students in Arabic-Afrikaans were, therefore, regularly produced to facilitate the education process. A typical example is the *Kitâbul mutâla'ati litadrîsi* (A book on moral behaviour for children), which was written by Imam Abdurahman Kassiem Gamieldien in 1907 as a handbook for the children at the *Habibiya Madrasah* (see Muller,1962 for a transcription). I will look in more detail at the madaris, teachers and their publications further on.

Publications were also written in response to various religious issues which confronted the community from time to time. In 1897 a major dispute errupted at the mosque in Paarl. The Imam, Hadje Habiel Domingo, was accused of mispronunciation of the Arabic recitation during prayer. This was a serious accusation, for mispronunciation of the Arabic recitations invalidates the prayers. Some members, being dissatisfied with the Imam, sued to have him removed from office. Despite the very strong evidence of the Imam's incompetence; and support for their case from the *Muschat-ul-Masabah*, a book used in a previous doctrinal case by the Cape Supreme Court, the court nevertheless, ruled in favour of the Imam. The Imam, in terms of the ruling, could only be removed by a majority of bona fide members of the congregation giving him due notice.

There was great interest in this case with many of the Cape Town Imams being called to give expert evidence on the competency of Imam Habiel Domingo to recite the Arabic prayers. They were all in agreement in their evidence. (Cape of Good Hope Law Reports Vol Vll page 134). It, however, dawned on them that there was no suitable literature to guide a young person in the Arabic pronunciation. Two years later, in 1900 Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraqi responded to this need with his Arabic-Afrikaans publication of the *Tuḥfatul atfal* (A gift for

children). This book deals with the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwîd*,
a most appropriate guide for the correct pronunciation of the Arabic
language.

An issue which resulted in conflicting responses from the pens of Cape
Muslim writers is the Cape Shafi'ite *Juma'ah* Question. The issue
revolves around the necessity or otherwise to perform the ordinary mid-
day prayer after the congregational prayer on Fridays, the Muslim
sabath. This problem, for which a solution was first sought in 1875 by
Imam Shahibo in Mecca during his pilgrimage in that year (*Cape Town
Daily News* 21 July 1875), was a recurring one in the Cape Shafi'ite
Muslim community, and is extensively dealt with in my book, *The Mosques
of Bo-Kaap* (Davids, 1980).

Of the four schools of thought of the Traditionalists, the Shafi'ite
school have the strongest adherents at the Cape. Thus when the Cape
Shafee *Juma'ah* question is raised, the result is always an intense
debate. These debates led to the production of at least three
publications on the Shafi'ite *Jum'ah* Question. The first was the
Ḥidâyatul-wahhabi litarikis-sawâba (Guidance in accordance with the way
of the Wahabis) which was written and published by Sheikh Abdurahim ibn
Muhammad al Iraqi in 1911 (Muller, 1962:4). Sheikh Abdurahim, a very
popular theologian at the time, argued against the need to perform the
mid-day prayer after the congregational prayers on Fridays.

Whether or not this publication opened old wounds is difficult to say.
However, in 1914, after a request from the Shafi'ite Cape Muslims to the
Grand *Mufti* (religious head) of Mecca, who referred the question for
arbitration to Kadi Sayed Ahmad bin Smeit, the head of religious affairs
in Zanzibar, a deputation was sent to Cape Town. The head of this
deputation was Sheikh Abdullah bin Mohammed Bakathier of Zanzibar.
After his investigation Bakathier ruled that there shall only be one
Shafi'ite *Jum'ah* in Cape Town, and that under such circumstances the
mid-day prayers on Friday would be unnecessary (*Cape Times*, 26 January,
1914). There was great elation in Cape Town, and to make this message

"JUMA-AH" ONDERRICHTEN

FIGURE 9: THE SHAFI'ITE JUM'AH AGREEMENT OF 1914

known; a wall chart, entitled, *Juma-ah Onderrichten*, in Roman script lettering, was distributed to all families (See Figure 9).

Bakathier apparently did not fully appreciate the intense personality differences in the various Shafi'ite factions in Cape Town. He also did not consider that Amienodien Gamja-Achmat, as Imam of the oldest mosque, the Auwal Mosque, had a legitimate claim for the Juma'ah to be performed at his mosque. The result of this was that Bakathier had barely left, when his agreement, known as the *hiempu* (*Malayu* = *alternate*), disintegrated.

One of the first problems which confronted the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC), after its formation on 10 February, 1945 (*Cape Standard*, 27 February, 1945), was the Shafi'ite *Juma'ah* Question. The MJC never resolved the issue, but, in the interest of its internal unity, took a position where it allowed the Juma'ah question to be left to the discretion of the various Imams at the various mosques (Lubbe, 1989:148). This ruling apparently did not satisfy all its members, and when the issue was again debated in the 1950s, Sheikh Achmad Behardien, in opposition to the general ruling of the MJC, that the issue again be left to the discretion of the Imams, published the *Bayâni salâti thuri ba'adal Jum'ati* (Explanation of the mid-day prayer after the Friday congregational prayer). In this publication he clarified his position, and argued that the mid-day prayers is necessary after the Friday con-gregational prayer.

Ironically, the factors which favoured the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition during the first four decades of the twentieth century was later also to favour the production of Islamic literature in Roman script. From the 1940s onwards, more and more people acquired literary skills in the western mode, and *koples*, was no longer written in Arabic-Afrikaans. By 1952 the Muslim Teachers' Association, a body of secularly trained teachers, was looking towards the modernisation of Islamic education and in the process of preparing a uniform syllabus and handbooks in English and Afrikaans in Roman script. The project never got off the ground, despite the fact that handbooks were prepared.

The majority of the *madaris* were still conducted in private homes; and the rote learning system, introduced at the Dorp Street *Madrasah* during its founding years in late eighteenth century, was happily continued, with the *koples* now written in an excercise book in Roman script.

3.3.3. Stages in the development of the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition.

As already stated, the exact date of birth of the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition cannot be determined from the available historical evidence. What is known, is that Arabic-Afrikaans was already used for writing in the Cape *madaris* or Muslim schools during the 1840s. From the student notebooks of these madaris which have remained extant, two processors in the early development of Arabic-Afrikaans as a literary tradition can be observed - i) its emergence from *Jawi;* and ii) a process of adaptation and adjustment in its spelling arrangement.

The Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition, from the spelling mode of the pre-1860 *koples boeke,* has its roots in the literary tradition of *Jawi.* The *Jawi* (Malaysian) adaptation of the Arabic alphabet was initially used for the writing of the creolized Dutch. In this regard I differ with Van Selms (1951:37) who writes: "dat die Afrikaans-Arabiese literatuur wat sy skriftelike optekening betref, nie onder invloed van die Maleise literatuur tot stand gekom het nie, maar veeleer onder manne wat die Turkse alfabet geken het."

Firstly, Professor van Selms overlooks the fact that *Jawi*, like the Turkish Arabic alphabet, also turned to Persian for its adaptations (Crawfurd, 1820). The use, therefore, of the Persian-Turkish 'ng' (ڭ) is not an indisputable indication of Turkish influence. He admits (Van Selms 1951:37) that there are no Turkish loan-words in the vocabulary. In any case, the *Su'âl wa jawâb* (Questions and answers), the text he handled was written in 1918 by Sheikh Ahmad Behardien, who was proficient in Persian. Then too, to deny the influence of *Jawi* on Arabic-Afrikaans, is to deny a pertinent fact of Cape Muslim linguistic history. *Jawi*, from the available evidence of the 1806 and 1808 student

notebooks in my possession, preceded Arabic-Afrikaans as the writing tradition.

Then too, there was already a process of adaptation in motion to adjust the *Jawi* alphabet to convey distinctive Afrikaans sounds. At this early stage already the Malaysian or *Jawi p* (ڤ), which Van Selms admits, is not a letter in the Persian or Turkish alphabets, is being used to indicate the Afrikaans labial *w*. This letter he writes: *"is vir die skrywer van hierdie verhandeling* (i.e. Van Selms = AD) *nie duidelik nie"* (Van Selms, 1951:40). Thus in these early *koples boeke* the process of innovative orthographic engineering is already seen to be operative. This is illustrated with the omission of the *sukūn in the creation of the Afrikaans o* [ɔ] as in *om* [ɔm]; and the clustering of the *madd lain* in the creation of the diphthong *ui*. I will look at the process of innovative orthographic engineering in the next chapter.

What is also distinctively clear is that from the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts in my possession, apart from the differences between the vocalized and unvocalized scripts, there are marked differences in approaches to spelling between those scripts written prior to Abubakr Effendi in 1862, and those scripts written after his sojourn at the Cape of Good Hope. Abubakr Effendi, with the *Bayânudîn*, introduced some lettering adaptations to accurately reflect distinctive Afrikaans sounds. The lettering symbols he created mainly concerned the appropriate representation of the sound of the Afrikaans letter *e* as it appears in different words or the syllables of the same word.

While the pre-Abubakr Effendi writers did not have the *Bayânudin* as a model, the post-Abubakr Effendi writers certainly drew on some of the lettering symbols he created and rejected others. Then too, following the precedents which he sets in the *Bayânudîn,* they more willingly adapted the Arabic lettering to create representations for certain Afrikaans sounds. A typical example is the *ḍamma-fatḥa* combination to indicate the Afrikaans *o* [ɔ]. This combination involves the same principles used by Abubakr Effendi when he created the *fatḥa-kasra* combination to represent the Afrikaans *e*. The marked difference between

the pre- and post-Abubakr Effendi Arabic-Afrikaans writings is the
absence of a distinctive Arabic vocalism indicating *e*.

3.3.4.   The pre-Abubakr Effendi Arabic-Afrikaans scripts

Of the three Arabic-Afrikaans scripts in my possession only two are
vocalized.   Unvocalized or graphic script does not constrain the
pronunciation, hence from the oldest one, in which the graphic script is
used, the pronunciation cannot accurately be determined.   An examination
of the other two reveals the struggle the early Cape Muslim Arabic-
Afrikaans writers had in presenting the Afrikaans vowel *e* in Arabic
script.   This vowel sound does exist in the Arabic language, and
therefore, is not included as a lettering symbol in the Arabic alphabet.
But neither does it exist in Malayu, whose adapted Arabic alphabet,
Jawi, was relied upon by the pre-Abubakr Effendi Arabic-Afrikaans
writers.   The alphabets of both these languages are inadequate to convey
all the Afrikaans sounds with their existing vocalisms, and therefore
needed modification.

In the pre-Abubakr Effendi writings such modification is observed in the
clustering of the two Arabic diphthong letters , the *madd lain*, (*wâw-
sâkin* وْ *and yâ-sâkin* نْ) with their governing grapheme, the *fatḥa*
(＿), to create a rather clumsy *wai* or *ouai* Arabic-Afrikaans for the
Afrikaans diphthong *ui*.   This is illustrated by the Arabic spelling of
the Afrikaans words *buiten* (except) = بُوَيْتَنْ = *boewaiten*; *uitspraak*
(pronunciation) = أَوَيْتْ سَپْرَاكْ = *oeaitspraak*; *luister* (listen) = لُوَيْسْتَرَ
= *loewaister*.   There is no evidence of any further manipulation of the
Arabic vowel indicator system, the *ḥarakah*, except with the omission of
the *sukûn* from the *wâw* (و), to indicate the *o* [ɔ], at this early
stage of Arabic-Afrikaans writing

Vocalisms to represent the different sounds of the Afrikaans letter *e* in
different words were not attempted by the pre-Abubakr Effendi Arabic-
Afrikaans writers.   From Figure 10, which is an illustration of a page
from a pre-1860 *koples boek*,   the Arabic short vowel *ie* [i], the *kasra*
(＿) is used to indicate the Afrikaans *e*, irrespective of phonetic

---

sound. The *kasra*, in Arabic, gives the sound *ie* as in 'belief' (Jardine, 1983:29), and in Arabic to Afrikaans transcription it is indicated as *ie*. In sound the *kasra* is equal to the Afrikaans short vowel *ie*, as in *skiet*. In the transcriptions of the pre-Abubakr Effendi Arabic-Afrikaans scripts, we have no option but to transcribe the *kasra* as *ie*.

This leads to transcriptions of *lienkier* (لِنْـكِرْ) for *linker* (left), *weerk* (فِـيْـرْك) for *werk* (work), (where *kasra* is used in combination with *yā*) , and so on, which is not necessarily an indication of how these words were pronounced in the Cape Muslim community at the time. From Changuion's word list (1844), which Suasso de Lima (1844:9) criticizes as the language of the *'onbeschaafde volksklasse'* (lower classes) we are able to get a good idea of the Afrikaans possibly spoken by the Cape Muslims. This community constituted a third of the total population in Cape Town in 1842 (*Cape Almanac*, 1842: xii), and thus the bulk of Sausso de Lima's lower classes.

The use of the *kasra*, nevertheless resulted in the production of words such as *miet, iek* and *diet* which we tend, without consideration at times to attribute to the influence of the Dutch orthography on pre-Abubakr Effendi Arabic-Afrikaans. The production of these words could, however, also have been the result of these writers not being able to indicate the various sounds of the Afrikaans letter *e* in Arabic script; and therefore not being able to write *met, ek* and *dit*, (with the *i* in *dit* being equal in sound to the *e* in *hande*). Yet to deny that there was an influence of the Dutch orthography on the early Arabic-Afrikaans writing of the Cape Muslims, is to deny a part of the roots of Cape Afrikaans. We must, therefore, be careful with definite conclusions.

It was in the Dutch linguistic milieu that Afrikaans emerged. Dutch, therefore, provided the essential core vocabulary of the Afrikaans language. Hence I suspect that the early Arabic-Afrikaans writers sincerely believed that they were writing Dutch. This is evident from the Dutch *wij* (*wai* in Arabic script), instead of the Afrikaans *ons*. But it was a creolized Dutch to which they were accustomed. This was a form of Dutch which had already moved away from the pristine purity of the

original language (Changuion, 1944). Evidence of the creole nature of this Dutch is clearly discernable from this passage taken from one of the 1860 *koples boeke* in my possession :

NO 14   Vierghiefnies van al die koewaat (evil)..... wai vier-
          wai viersoek van Oeai wietienskap van ghoet en koewaat
          .... wai ghoeloef oeai ies maar een, oeai hiet niet
          oeai hiet niet ghalaikienies miet gha-nie-saam-nie (no-
          body, Afrikaans = niemand nie).......wai bierou van al
          die koewaat. wai loe-waister oeai ghiebot..... wai ghoe-
          loef in wat waimiekeer diet ghief oeai, wai viersoek van
          oeai a-leen wat ghoet ies vier ons ....

What is interesting from this short passage is the nineteenth century etymological roots of some very frequently used Cape Muslim Afrikaans words. The Cape Muslim Afrikaans word *'ghaniemand'* (nobody; S. Afrikaans = *niemand)* is obviously derived from *gha-nie-saam*. Similarly, *'ghawietenskap'* (use in the sense of 'knowledge'; S Afrikaans = *kennis)* is obviously derived from the nineteenth century usage *wietienskap*. Similarly, the sentence, *'Allah ta 'aalaa het nie ghaleikenis nie'* for 'God the most high has no partner', is still used in a Bo-Kaap *madrasah*. The word *ghaleikenis* (equal; S Afrikaans *gelyke)* is also a remnant of nineteenth century usage. These words are an indication of the creole stage which Den Besten argued, existed in the development of Afrikaans (Den Besten, 1987:86).

3.3.5. The *Bayânudîn*

Of all the Arabic-Afrikaans publications and manuscripts, the *Bayânudîn* (An explanation of the religion) is probably the best known. It was written by Abubakr Effendi, a Turkish religious scholar, who on a re-quest from Queen Victoria to the Ottoman Empire, was sent as a religious guide to the Cape Muslim community (Brandel-Syrier, 1960-viii). The *Bayânudîn* was completed in manuscript form in 1869 and published, as a free gift publication to the Muslims of Cape Town, in Constantinople on the authority of the Sublime Porte of the Ottoman Empire in 1877.

فَامِلْجِي اِنَّتَ حَمِيدٌ مَجِيدٌ فَامْرِكْ

اۏۏ اِس حِيرَيْسْ اِنَّ اِس اَحْمُوفْ

اَللَّهُمَّ بَارِكْ يَا اَللَّهُ فَنْ مِيرْ مَااۏۏ

بَمْ مَتْنِيتْ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ اۏۏ مُحَمَّدْ

وَعَلَى آلِ مُحَمَّدٍ اِنَّ اۏۏ سِيْنْ فَامِلْجِي

كَمَا بَارَكْتَ بِنْ صُوَالْمُلْ اۏۏ خِدَانْ

هِتْ عَلَى اِبْرَاهِيمَ اۏۏ نَبِي اِبْرَاهِيمْ

NO. 15   waarliek ouai ies ghapierais ien ies ghoeroet ......
Ja Allah viermeerdie ouai barmataghait ....op
Moegammad ien op sain faamielghie ......niet soewals
ouai ghiedaan hiet op Nabee Iebraheem (......truly
thou art praised and elevated .... O God increase
your generosity ...... on Muhammad and on his family
.... just as ypou had done for Prophet Abraham).

FIGURE :   A PAGE FROM A RECENTLY DISCOVERED 1860 STUDENT NOTE.OOK
(KOPLES BOEK) WITH TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

The book consists of 353 pages and covers a wide range of subjects and starts with ritual ablution, followed by the prayer, poor-tax and fasting. Further such subjects as slaughtering of animals for consumption; hunting and religious prohibitions on clothing, eating and drinking are covered. It is a translation from a bigger work, the *Multaqâ*, written by a fourteenth century Hanafite scholar, Ibrahim al Halabi (Van Selms, 1979:x).

The *Bayânudîn* is certainly an important publication in the early history of the literature of Arabic-Afrikaans. It is the oldest extant Afrikaans in Arabic script publication; and the most extensive book in the early history of the Afrikaans language. It was preceded by the *Zamespraak tusschen Klaas Waarzegger en Jan Twijfelaar*, published in 1860, and which is generally regarded as the first book in Afrikaans. The essential differences between the two publications are: i) *Zamespraak*, use the language for comic effect, the *Bayânudîn* used Afrikaans to convey serious religious ideas; ii) *Zamespraak* uses Roman script and the *Bayânudîn* uses Arabic lettering.

The importance of the *Bayânudîn* to the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition stems from its breaking away from the language usage, and extending the spelling system of the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts which preceded its appearance. With the writing of the *Bayânudîn*, Abubakr Effendi created Arabic vocalisms to accurately indicate the different sounds of the Afrikaans letter *e* as it appears in the morphology of different words. He thus added new lettering symbols to the existing symbols of the Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet of the time.

In terms of its language usage, the *Bayânudîn* breaks from the very strong influence of Dutch evident in the *koples boeke* of the pre-1860 period. This does not mean that the *Bayânudîn* is entirely free from the influence of Dutch. Evidence of Dutch orthography is still to be found in the *Bayânudîn* and can be detected in the difference in spelling of the Dutch article *de* co-existing with the Afrikaans *die*. The influence of Dutch is also seen in the use of the Dutch pronoun *hem* ('as moesallie kerap vir hem deree keer aghter makaar' - page 130); and the use of the

word *'waasen'* (page 3 of the *Bayânudîn*) for the Dutch and Afrikaans *'was'*. I can only attribute the strange use of *waasen* in the sentence:

> *"dere [dɛrə] fards is waasen jiele ghasegh een keer an waasen*
> *tewee hande saam met de almboeghs een keer an waasen tewee*
> *voete saam met de kenoekles een keer."(A Effendi, 1877:3),*

to the fact that Abubakr Effendi believed that he was writing Dutch, which ofcourse was a creolized Dutch, the language more generally understood by the Cape Muslims at the time.

Commenting on the Afrikaans of the *Bayânudîn*, Brandel-Syrier (1960:xxxvi & xxxvii) writes :

> "Abu Bakr's Afrikaans strikes one as adequate, though some-
> times unnecessarily clumsy. Naturally, as is the custom in
> most non-Arabic speaking Muslim communities, no effort is
> made to translate the keywords or fundamental concepts of
> Islamic thought. Sometimes, however, he seems to stretch
> this custom further than is usual. This may be due to the
> fact that there were, at times, no Afrikaans equivalents
> in existence or the fact that Afrikaans was for him a new
> language to study of which he devoted considerable effort,
> as he mentions in his own Introduction. Sometimes he circum-
> scribes a word, where it would seem that an Afrikaans term
> was available. Sometimes also he uses an English word,
> whether because this was the word used by his students or
> whether because he did not know the Afrikaans term is con-
> jectural. ....
> ....
> On the otherhand, he appears to have acquired an appreci-
> able proficiency in Afrikaans even to the point of being
> able to use pertinently certain idiomatic expressions which
> are generally difficult for foreigners to grasp in their
> exact meaning and correct usage.

On the whole the above comment is a fair reflection of the Afrikaans of Abubakr Effendi. What, however, is not generally appreciated, is that Abubakr Effendi's preferred medium of communication at the Cape was English. For a year after his arrival at the Cape, he married the fifteen year old Rukea Maker and communicated with her using Arabic-English dictionary (Cape Archives, CSC 2/1/1/138 No 84). Then too, he wrote fairly efficient English in the two letters published by the *Cape Argus* (8 January, 1870; see also Davids, 1991). This preferred usage of English made a greater impact on his Afrikaans than the English words listed by Brandel-Syrier (1960:xxxviii), for there existed a tendency among Cape Dutch speakers to draw on English for the extension of their vocabulary. This tendency is already noted in 1844 by Sausso de Lima (1844:7). It is, therefore, not so much the influence of English on the vocabulary of Abubakr Effendi which is of concern, but the influence of English on the syntax of his sentences, (hence the clumsiness), and the phonetic spelling of some of the words in the *Bayânudin*. What, however, is also noted, is that English words are more frequently used in the *Bayânudin*, than in any of the other Arabic-Afrikaans manuscripts and publications.
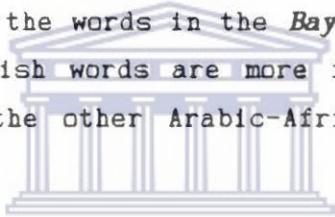
The clearest example of the influence of English on the Afrikaans used in the *Bayânudin* was the tendency of Abubakr Effendi to drop the auxiliary verb. This is seen in the sentence :

'*Allah ta-aalaa ghamaak vaif salaats fard....*'

اَ للّه تَعَا لى خَمَا كْ فَيْفْ صَلَا تْنْ فَرْضْ

as appearing on page 66 of the *Bayânudin*. The sentence should have read:

'*Allah ta-aalaa het ghamaak vaif salaats fard...*'

اَ للّه تَعَا لى هَتْ خَمَا كْ فَيْفْ صَلَا تْنْ فَرْضْ

or more correctly :

'Allah ta-aalaa het vaif salaats fard ghamaak....'

اَ اللّٰه تَعَا لٰى هَتْ فَيْفْ صَلَا تْسْ فَرْضْ خَمَا كْ

to have made grammatical sense. When the sentence *'Allah ta-aalaa
ghamaak vaif salaats fard....'* is directly translated into English, it
reads: 'God the most high made five prayers compulsory', and is
grammatically correct. In the word-for-word English translation of
Abubakr Effendi's sentence it is obvious that there is no need for an
auxiliary verb to convey the past perfect tense of the action. It is
unlikely that the dropping of the auxiliary verb was a tendency of Cape
Muslim Afrikaans. It does not happen in the pre-Abubakr Effendi Arabic-
Afrikaans writings. Then too, the use of the auxiliary verb *het* is
already noticed in slave Afrikaans as early as 1721 (Raidt,1983:112).
The dropping of the auxiliary verb is more a tendency of a foreigner who
knows English and is learning to speak Afrikaans.

Similarly one sees the influence of English in word constructions such
as *an een* (اَنْ إِينْ) which Abubakr Effendi used to reflect the English
'and in', instead of the Afrikaans *en in* (اِنْ اَنْ). His spelling of
the Afrikaans preposition *in* (اِنْ) as *een* (اِينْ) and the Afrikaans
conjunction *en* (اَنْ) as *an* (اَنْ) is an indication that he was hearing
the English *an in* (and in). My postulation of this claim is not without
reason. The pre-Abubakr Effendi Arabic-Afrikaans writers had great
difficulty in indicating the Afrikaans letters *e* and *i* in Arabic script.
The sounds of these letters do not exist in Arabic or Malayu, and hence
the alphabets of these languages do not have vocalisms which could be
used to indicate them in the Arabic-Afrikaans script.
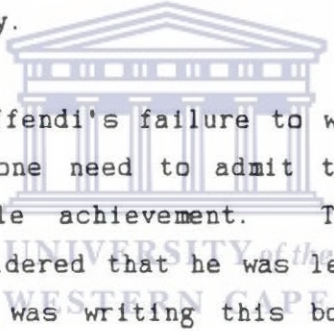
Abubakr Effendi resolved this difficulty (the process I will discuss in
Chapter 4) by creating two vocalisms to indicate the Afrikaans letters *e*
and *i*. This he did by using the Arabic vowel graphemes, the *fatha*

(ﹷ) giving the *a* sound, and the *kasra* (ﹻ) giving the *ie* sound, in combination on a single letter, to create a 'double *harakah*' (ﹷﹻ) arrangement. Alternatively, he uses the *kasratul-qâim* (ﹻ) the *kasra* prolongation sign, in combination with a *sukûn*-less *yâ*, to create a *kasratul-qâim* preceding *yâ* arrangement. In terms of his own creation, the Afrikaans word *en* could therefore be spelt with the 'double *harakah*' – *fatha-kasra* arrangement (اَنْ = *en*), or the *kasratul-qâim-yâ* combination (اِينْ = *en*). The difficulty is that these created vocalisms, for reasons which will become clear later, were also used to indicate the Afrikaans letter *i* as in the Afrikaans preposition *in*. The result is that the Afrikaans words *en* and *in* are spelt in the same way in Arabic script (اَنْ or اِينْ). The fact that Abubakr Effendi ignores his own created vocalisms and uses the *fatha* to spell *an* and the classical Arabic long vowel e (ﹻى) to spell *een* (اِينْ) is deliberate; and an indication that he heard 'an(d) een (in)". It is also possible that when he spoke Abubakr Effendi uses the English construction 'an(d) een (in) agaama (اَنْ اِينْ اَكَاْمْ) instead of 'en in agaama' (اَنْ اِنْ اَكَاْمْ) for it is the 'English' construction which appears in the *Bayânudîn* (1877:66).
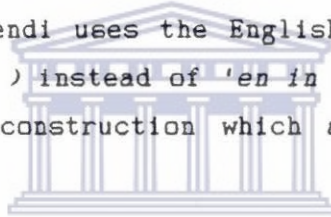
But the influence of English on the Afrikaans of Abubakr Effendi is no more clearly seen than in his spelling of the Afrikaans word *water*. It was already an established practice in the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition to use the Malaysian or *Jawi* p (ڤ) for the Afrikaans labial *w*, when Abubakr Effendi arrived at the Cape. Only when a more rounded *w* is required, as in the Afrikaans word *kwaad*, the Arabic wâw (و), is used – thus *kwaad* = (كَوَاتْ). The Afrikaans word *water* is normally spelt = (فَاْيَرْ) = and pronounced *water* [vaːtər]. When Abubakr Effendi spells *water* as (وَاْطِرْ), *and uses the* wâw (و) instead of the Jawi p (ڤ), he was in fact using a lettering structure which conforms to his English pronunciation of the word, *water* = [waːtər]. This becomes more obvious if we look at his spelling of the Afrikaans words, *wanneer (when)* = (ثَـنِـيـر) = *waner* [vanər]; and *was* (wash) = (فَاْسْ) = *waas* [vaːs]. In both these instances the Jawi p is used to indicate a labial *w*.

We must, therefore, be careful not to look at the Afrikaans of the *Bayânudîn* as typical of the Afrikaans spoken by the Cape Muslims at the time. Abubakr Effendi certainly tries to meet his language commitment, *"dan is nooragh ek moet skraibe met dee taal wat meere dee pelek is toesen hoewaile laat hoewaile kan weet agaama met ghamaklik op dee reghte maniere"*, which he express in his Afrikaans Introduction to the book. However, from the examples cited above, his Afrikaans was certainly not free from the English which he learned to speak while he was writing the *Bayânudin*. The influence of English, on the writing tradition of the post-Abubakr Effendi publications, is hardly discernable. From this, and their attitude towards 'English' (*Cape Argus*, 5 January, 1897), I can confirm that the language of the *Bayânudîn* is not typical of Cape Muslim Afrikaans in the 1860s. I need, however, to concede that Abubakr Effendi's Afrikaans was comprehensible to the Cape Muslims of the time, as it is indeed still comprehensible to present day members of the Cape Muslim community.

In mitigation of Abubakr Effendi's failure to write the Afrikaans, as spoken by the community, one need to admit that the writing of the *Bayânudîn* was a remarkable achievement. This becomes even more remarkable when it is considered that he was learning English and Cape Muslim Afrikaans while he was writing this book. He was indeed an exceptional linguist. [1]

3.3.6. The *Bayânudîn* and the Muslim Community

The *Bayânudîn*, nevertheless, remains an important, and for a long time, the only, Arabic-Afrikaans publication of the Cape Muslim community. It was only in 1890, with the appearance of the *Kitâbut-tauḥid* (Book on the unity of God), by Sheikh Abdullah ibn Abdurauf, that people like Hisham Neamatullah Effendi, Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar and Sheikh

---

Footnote :
1. Abubakr Effendi is reputed to have written another work, the *Narasîddîn* (Observation of religion). In his Introduction to the *Bayânudîn* he claims that this publication was completed and already published. No copy of it has as yet been traced.

Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraki started to publish their Afrikaans works in Arabic script. Some of these works were printed by Cape lithographers, others again in Bombay, Turkey and Cairo. These publications were mainly produced as handbooks for the *madaris* which were conducted by the authors. Many of them, in terms of content, were pitched at children, and therefore, deal with the basics of Islam. There are also amongst these Arabic-Afrikaans publications studies and translations of involved aspects of Islamic law and religious practices. These were obviously produced for an adult readership.

The *Bayânudîn* too was prepared as a handbook for the students as at the Ottoman Theological School. In terms of oral tradition, this *madrasah*, was in fact a seminary for higher Islamic education. This possibly explains the involved contents of the *Bayânudîn*. The book originally appeared as loose sheets of student notes (Cape Archives, CSC 2/1/1/160 No 62), the contents of which caused a major theological controversy in Cape Town. Up to the appearance of the *Bayânudîn*, the Cape Muslims were adherents to the Shafi'ite school of the *Ahli Sunni wal Jamâh*. This sect, also known as the Traditionalists, is divided into four schools of thought - Hanafi, Shafi, Malaki and Hambali, with each school of thought named after its founding Imam. With the circulation of the notes, Abubakr Effendi's intention of wanting to introduce the Hanafite teachings became clear. This intention was resisted by the Cape Muslim community. The intensification of the differences between the followers of Abubakr Effendi and the other members of the community, ultimately ended in a Cape Supreme Court litigation (Cape Archives, CSC 2/1/1/156 No 37).

It is not the intention to discuss the ramifications of this dispute. This I have done elsewhere (Davids, 1980, 1991). My current concern is the influence which this Cape theological dispute had on the process of Arabic-Afrikaans writing and publication.

Piet Muller claims that there was a reluctance on the part of the Cape Muslims to publish any Arabic-Afrikaans works after the appearance of the *Bayânudîn*, and during the life of Abubakr Effendi. He attributes

this to what he regards as the superior knowledge of Abubakr Effendi; and from this perception argues that the Cape Muslim Shafee Imams were reluctant to cross swords with the Turkish religious scholar (Muller, 1962:3). Piet Muller's claim is some what influence by Abubakr Effendi's view of the scant knowledge of the Cape Muslims as expressed in the Introduction to the *Bayânudîn* (Van Selms, 1951:14).

But Abubakr Effendi was erroneous in his perception of the level of Islamic knowledge at the Cape when he arrived here in 1862. For despite their personal differences, the Cape Muslim community, judging from their extant Jawi manuscripts, had a thorough knowledge of Islam. For though no Arabic-Afrikaans publications appeared during the life-time of Abubakr Effendi, the views he expressed in the *Bayânudîn*, was not left unchallenged. In 1870, Achmat Saddik Achmat, the son of Achmat of Bengal, who was in charge of the community's Islamic programme as 'Imam Moota' (Mayson, 1864:24), wrote a Malayu in Jawi translation of the *Al Shilmitani*. This translation unfortunately remained in manuscript form. It, nevertheless, seriously challenged Abubakr Effendi's strong Hanafite stance. Apart from this, it also clearly articulates the religious legal right of a Sunni Muslim to follow any one of the four schools of thought; and clarifies the right of Sunni Muslims to change from his original school to any other one of the four for convenience, with the right to revert to his original school of thought.

Abubakr Effendi's strong Hanafite stance, and his vigorous condemnation of the Cape Muslims' legitimate religious practices, led to him being rejected as a religious leader by the Cape Muslim community. Abubakr Effendi does not declare his Hanafite leanings, but on page 288 of the *Bayânudîn*, he writes: *"En Shafee het ghamaak net soes dee Jahoed en Nasaara wat gharoebel Allah-ta-aalaa sain kietaab aghter hoewaile sain nabies wegh gha-ghat"* (and Shafi did as the Jews and the Christians who changed God's books after the advent of their prophets = translation, AD). This disparaging remark about the founder of their school of thought could not be tolerated by the Cape Shafi'ite Muslim community. The result was that the *Bayânudîn*, the most extensive book in the early

history of Afrikaans and Arabic-Afrikaans printing, was hardly read by the community for which it was intended.

The only reason which could be advanced for the non-appearance of any printed works in Arabic-Afrikaans during the period 1869 and 1890 was the lack of suitable printing presses to produce such work in Cape Town. Even Abubakr Effendi found it necessary to have his work printed in Turkey. Then too, the printing cost of the *Bayânudîn* was sponsored by the Ottoman Government. It would have been virtually impossible for Cape Muslim writers, without any Turkish connections, to have had their books printed and paid for in that country.

3.3.7. The post-Abubakr Effendi writers

3.3.7.1. The manuscript of Ghatieb Magmoed

There, however, exists several Arabic-Afrikaans and Malayu in *Jawi* script manuscripts which were written between 1869 and 1880. A most interesting one being the manuscript written by Ghatieb Magmoed. It was written in 1880. It consists of a collection of lessons which the student receives from his teacher. Two mediums of translation, Afrikaans and Malayu, are being used. Ghatieb Magmoed was a popular religious leader in Cape Town during the 1870s to his death in 1914, and on his Death Notice his profession is given as schoolteacher (Cape Archives, MOOC 6/9/753 No 1411). Ghatieb Magmoed resided at 71 Wale Street, the same property which is today the Bo-Kaap Museum.

In contents, Ghatieb Magmoed's manuscript covers a diversity of subjects. It was obviously not designed as a children's handbook or a publication for circulation in the community. It was very carefully prepared, written in red and black ink. The different levels of pitch and the diversity of the content, indicate that it was a teacher's handbook, probably prepared for private use.

The writer was proficient in both Malayu and Afrikaans, the two languages are used interchangeably for the translation. What the

manuscript demonstrates is that Malayu and Afrikaans co-existed as religious languages in the Cape Muslim community in the 1870s-1880s. Aspeling (1883:15) observed that in 1883 the Cape Muslims spoke an admixture of Dutch and Malayu. By this time, according to oral tradition, Malayu as a spoken language, was already begining to die out, with *Jawi* having become an exclusive language of a religious elite. By 1903, with the formation of the South African Moslims' Association, Hisham, Neamatullah Effendi tells us that they had become a Cape Dutch speaking people (Cape Times, March, 1903).

The Afrikaans used by Ghatieb Magmoed is remarkably modern and simple. Unlike the *Bayânudin*, in which the sentence construction is somewhat clumsy, Ghatieb Magmoed's syntax is almost perfect. This is understandable. When Abubakr Effendi started to write the *Bayânudin,* he was barely three years in Cape Town (Cape Archives CSC 2/1/1/160 No 62) and had not mastered the spoken language of the community. On the other hand Ghatieb Magmoed was born in Cape Town. His Afrikaans, therefore, is more a reflection of the colloquial language of the community. Ghatieb Magmoed's Afrikaans is also an indication of the extensive use of the language for communication in his community during this period.

As an illustration of the Afrikaans used by Ghatieb Magmoed, two pages of his manuscript, a translation of the first four verses of Chapter 67 of the Quran, is here transcribed:

NO 16   *"En die koningskap is bai dee hoege Allah ta-aalaa. En*
        waarlik Allah ta-aalaa is baas vir al dee ietse. En
        Allah-ta-aalaa het kragh op al dee ietse. En Allah ta-
        aalaa het ghamaak dee dood en dee lewe, al bai. Om te
        pebeer (try) en toet openbaar kom bai dee mense wat lais-
        ter vir Allah ta-aalaa sain oider (command). En al wat
        Allah ta-aalaa maak het voordeel. En Allah ta-aalaa ver-
        ghiewe vir dee ghienage wat toubat (Arabic = repentance)
        maak. En Allah ta-aalaa het ghamaak die seewe heemels een
        boe dee ander en dit raak an makaarn (each other). En kan
        sien dar-in (therein) daveren (English = different) wat

Allah ta aalaa ghamaak het nie maar dit is ghalaik. En as
dee mense kaik naa die heemels, wat sal djai (you) sien
dar-in, djai sal nie sien ghat-te (holes) nie en oek nie
sloote (gulleys) nie. En dan weer ghakaik na dee heemels
toet die oe-ge (eyes) lam word, dan sal djai nie sien
daveren van dee heemels nie."

Ghatieb Magmoed's *tafsir* or explanatory translation of *Sûratûl Mulk* or
the Chapter Dominion, the 67th chapter of the Quran, is probably the
first translation of a complete chapter of the Quran. Like Abubakr
Effendi, who adds his own interpretation to the text, and which addition
Van Selms calls 'his spritual vision' (1968), Ghatieb Magmoed also
extends the texts with his own spiritual vision. Such explanatory
extensions are within the traditions of *tafsir*. In essence this
translation compares well with the translation of the same verses in
Alama Yusuf Ali's English translation of *The Holy Quran – Text,*
Translation and Commentary (1983:1576 – 7). The difference, however, is
that whereas Yusuf Ali gives a straight translation of the Arabic texts
and uses footnotes to clarify the spiritual and theological concepts,
Ghatieb Magmoed builds these concepts into his translation.

My concern is the Afrikaans writing tradition used by Ghatieb Magmoed.
His Afrikaans is similar to the Afrikaans used by such writers as Sheikh
Abdullah ibn Abdurauf, his son Imam Abubakr ibn Abdullah, Sheikh
Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraki, Hisham Neamatullah Effendi, Imam
Abdurahmaan Kassiem Gamieldien and Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien, who
published Arabic-Afrikaans works between 1890 and 1915. From their
Arabic-Afrikaans publications it could be established that the Cape
Muslim variety of Afrikaans must have been relatively free from a strong
Dutch influence from the 1870s onwards. It was by then already a
distinct variety of Dutch.

What I found equally interesting is that some words and language usage
noted by Changioun in 1844 have persisted in the Cape Muslim Afrikaans
variety. The usage, *"Ek bly in die Bo-kaap"* (Changioun, 1844:ix)
instead of the Standard-Afrikaans, *"Ek woon in die Bo-Kaap"*, seems to be

preferred; similarly, the usage *"Jy is nie fair nie"* (Changioun, 1844:xii) is still popular. While the construction used by Ahmat Effendi (see No 3), *ghawees was* is still commonly used, sometimes with variation such as *"gewees 'et"*; *"gewees het"* of *"gewees is"*. Then too words like *paddak* (frog); *moddras* (mud); *ampertjies* (almost); *danebol* (pinecone) and *maskie* (maybe) which are listed by Changioun in his *Proeve van Kaapsch Taaleigen*, and appear regularly in the Arabic-Afrikaans publications, are still in use in Cape Muslim Afrikaans. One could attribute the persistent use of these words to the tremendous influence of the Arabic-Afrikaans publications on the orthoepic practice of the Cape Muslims.

3.3.7.2. The Eastern Cape writing tradition.

From the manuscript, the *Tuhfâtul Ahwam* (A gift for friends), written by Imam Abdul Kahaar ibn Abdul Malik in Port Elizabeth in 1868; and of which a passage had been transcribed by Hans Kähler (1971:158 - 64), the impression is gained that a different writing tradition, to that of Cape Town during the same period, was followed. Characteristic of this writing tradition is the frequent use of Malayu words bridged into the Afrikaans. Was this possibly a stage through which Arabic-Afrikaans passed in Cape Town during the 1830s ? I do not know. What is known is that in 1836 Jan of Boughies, a prominent Imam and religious teacher in Cape Town wrote a Malayu memorial in *Jawi* to Sir Benjamin D'Urban. This memorial, as I have noted in Chapter 2, was punctured with Afrikaans words (Cape Archives, CO 3984.798).

What I also know is that Imam Abdul Kahaar was resident in Cape Town in the 1830s, and in all probability attended one of the *madaris* which at the time operated in the city. He was the son of Jan Berdien, also known as Jabarudien ibn Abdul Malik and Galia, and was born in Cape Town in 1814 (Cape Archives, MOOC 6/9/777 No 414). In 1846, he, his father Jan Berdien and his brother, Abdol Karriem, were conscripted for duty (Cory, 1919) during the War of the Axe on the Eastern Frontier. Aldridge (1972) writes that the "Malay Corps", (of which they were part), rebelled and refused to go into battle. The military authority at the

Castle of Good Hope had apparently not honoured their promises to maintain their families while they were on the Eastern Frontier. The "Malay Corps" was, nevertheless, honourably discharged, though some of its members elected to remain in Uitenhage (Aldridge, 1971). Here Jan Berdien became the first Imam of the first mosque of this community, and as was customary, trained his sons as his successors. On his death on 3 June 1868, Jan Berdien alias Jabarudien, was succeeded by his son Abdol Karriem (*Queenstown Free Press*, 9 June, 1868).

It would appear from his death notice that Abdul Kahaar, on his marriage to Afiva, left Uitenhage and went to stay in Port Elizabeth, where his illustrious son, Imam Abdurakib, was born on 17 March, 1861. How long Abdul Kahaar resided in Port Elizabeth is difficult to say, though the dates of the birth of his children on his death notice confirm that this manuscript, the *Tuhfatul Ahwam*, was written in Port Elizabeth. Imam Abdul Kahaar ibn Abdul Malik (Berdien) died at 115 Hout Street, Bo-Kaap on 20 June 1884. He had no regular congregation and was a tailor by profession (Cape Archives, MOOC 6/9/777 No 414). The 1910 manuscript, *Nuru'l-Islam* (Light of Islam), attributed to him by Kähler (1971:105), must have been written earlier or by another hand. There is a distinct difference in the writing tradition, and a noticeable absence of Malayu bridging words.

In any case our attention is focused on the writing tradition in the *Tuhfâtul Ahwam* (A gift for friends), which according to Kähler was written in 1868. To what extent Abdul Kahaar's writing tradition was influenced by his absence from Cape Town or a reflection of the Cape Muslim Afrikaans variety spoken in Cape Town prior to the 1830s, is difficult to say. What I do know is that the pre-Abubakr Effendi *koples boeke* do not show a strong influence of Malayu in the vocabulary of those students. What I also know is that even today, it is recognised that the Muslims from the Eastern Cape speak a different variety of Afrikaans from those resident in Cape Town. The strong influence of Malayu in the *Tahfâtul Ahwam* could, therefore have been a remnant of his own *madrasah* education in Cape Town during the 1820s early 1830s or it could have been an influence from the Eastern Cape. Imam Ighsaan

Nackerdien of the Pier Street Mosque, and a student of Hisham Neamatullah Effendi, remembers there was a tendency among the older people, (the Imam himself is past 70), to lace their Afrikaans with Malayu words when he was a child (Telephonic interview with the Imam).

A section of Kähler´s (1971:158) transcription reads:

NO 17   "....... maar al die tuans (Malayu = gentlemen) wat die kitâb Tahfatu'l -ahwam batja (Malayu = read) in war its makir moet karnâ Allah karnâ rasûl (Malayu = with the help of God, with the help of the Prophet) right mak moet djamar ghait sam war oer sagh ik soe aldie minsi .... alti mit hit ik oek .... daar oer karnâ Allah karnâ rasûl ik mintaken (Malayu = hope) ...... ai broers mu'min (Arabic = believers) ik het die kitâb ghalir war oer oens sai land sai minsi voer stan nie almal Arab in Hindi nie daar oer hit ik hadji Abdu'l Kahar b Abdu'l Malik moeiete ghamaak om dit toe lir .... af toe skraif bai main ûstat (Arabic = teacher) hagi Pasa lit oens almal dit kin vir stan in wie die kitâb batja war hai dingk dat dit is voer kirt hai moet toegh karnâ Allah karnâ rasûl fatiha (Arabic = supplication) mak oeb oens doei'e minsi in djili moet die kitâb moeie oeb pas in voer minsi dar in lit kaik in lit lir ai tuangs as ik its voer kirt ghamak het indie kitâb ik mintakan lit Allah in rasûl (Arabic = prophet) mai mu'afa (Malayu = pardon) ghie voer die aarmi stoemi swaki hambâ (Malayu = servant)

No 17 is an interesting passage in many ways. I do not know how accurate Kähler´s transcription is. This is difficult to say. I do, however, know that he transcribed the *yâ* preceded by *kasra* as *i* instead of *ee*. This is a common tendency in all his other transcriptions, and is an error he inherited from Van Selms (1951). His transcription of this passage, therefore, is not my main issue, but rather the archaic forms of the Malayu words used by the translator. The form *"karnâ Allah karnâ rasûl"*, for the simple *"please"* in English, is not remembered to

have been used by their previous generations by the octogenarians I
have spoken too. In fact this form of usage is not known to them. They
use the simple form *"kanallah"* for "please", having learned this
expression of etiquette from their parents. The Malayu word *hamba*,
which Kähler translate as "servant", is also of obscure origin.
Similarly the word *mintaken* (hope), when bridged into Afrikaans by the
other Arabic-Afrikaans writers is expressed as *mienta*. It is also as
mienta, that the word is used in present day Cape Muslim Afrikaans; for
example: *"Ek mienta Allah moet ghie dat djy salaa-mat moet kom voor die
beitoellah"* (I hope that God grants you safety to reach the Great Mosque
in Mecca). There are other examples in Kähler's transcription of use
of Malayu terms by Imam Abdul Kahaar. It is the preference and usage of
Malayu terms which distinquishes this Eastern Cape manuscript from
Arabic-Afrikaans works written in Cape Town; and indicates to me that
the Eastern Cape Muslims might have had a different writing tradition
than the Muslims in the Cape Peninsula. But we only have this one
document, and one swallow seldom makes a summer.

3.3.7.3. Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar and *de gemixte taal*

With the classification of the work of Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar
into a writing tradition, I do have a problem. Of the two books he
wrote in Arabic-Afrikaans, both translations of works of scholars from
Hadralmaut in Southern Yemen, one is written in the writing tradition of
his contemporaries; the other in an exclusive writing tradition. It is
this exclusive writing tradition, which he use for the *Safinatun naja* (A
boat to success), in 1894, and which he came to use again as the
'gemixte taal', when he started to publish works in Roman script in
1898. I have shown earlier, how this *'gemixte taal'* writing tradition
was copied to become a distinctive writing style for Afrikaans in Roman
script publications up to the 1940s. His break from the writing
tradition of his contemporary Arabic-Afrikaans writers, appears not to
have been popularly accepted. In 1900, with the publication of the *Kitâb
arryâd al bâdi'á* (Book on the Wonderful Garden), Imam Abdurakib ibn
Abdul Kahaar conforms to the writing tradition of his contemporaries.

It is difficult to explain his break from the established writing tradition. Imam Abdurakib possibly had problems with Afrikaans, or the spoken venacular, as a vehicle to convey dignified ideas. Possibly too, the break with the establish writing tradition was probably related to the nature of the content of the book he was translating. The *Safinatun naja*, deals with the issue of maintaining the dignity of the Arabic pronunciation of the Opening Chapter of the Quran during prayers; and how the mispronunciation of a single word invalidates the prayer. To discuss such delicate issues of the Arabic language usage, he possibly thought it necessary to raise the literary standard of the language. Hence he decided to use the *Hoelansieke taal*, as the medium of translation.

Maybe we need to understand Imam Abdurakib and his works to understand his uncertainties with the contemparary writing tradition. Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar, also known as Imam Abdurakib Berdien, if not the first, was definitely an early Imam at the Yusufia Mosque in Wynberg. He was the son of Imam Abdul Kahaar and was born in Port Elizabeth on 17 March, 1861 (Cape Archives, MOOC 6/9/777 No 414). Imam Abdurakib, like his father, Abdul Kahaar, believed in the written word as a powerful instrument for the transmission of religious ideas. Unlike his father, he had a formal Islamic education at Mecca (*Cape Argus, 4 May, 1903*). He also had a secular education, judging from his publications in English and Afrikaans in Roman script, and the keen interest he showed in the education of his teacher training son, Salie Berdien (Cape Archives, SGE 1/1158). Imam Abdurakib was a prolific writer, producing two books in Arabic-Afrikaans, three Roman-script Afrikaans publications and one book in English in Roman script. To Imam Abdurakib belongs the distinction of having been the first Cape Muslim writer to produce works in all three writing mediums he had at his disposal.

It was probably his secular education, or his interest in secular education, which made Imam Abdurakib concerned about the use of the spoken Afrikaans of his community as a medium for the transmission of sophisticated and dignified religious ideas. He was certainly not happy with

this language, even though it was effective as a medium for written and verbal communication. He, it would appear, believed that a literary language must aspire to literary standards. Thus when he translated the *Safinatun naja* in 1894, he decided that his language shall be Dutch or *"Hoelansieke"*. But High Dutch would hardly have been understood by his community. Hence a compromise - the use of Dutch sounding words in a sentence construction which was essentially Afrikaans. A language usage, for the expression of "loftier themes", which is known to have been existing at the time (Elfers, 1908:4).

Imam Abdurakib was faced with the language dilemma. This language dilemma must have been of concern to many Afrikaans speakers during this period of South African history. For as Hubertus Elfers (1908:5) pointed out in 1908:

> *"There are now two distinct varieties of Dutch used in South*
> *Africa. The one may be set down as a real patois, low and*
> *undeveloped, dependent on circumstances and locality, and in*
> *some parts becoming more and more anglicised; - the other, a*
> *language lacking the grammatical niceties of the Dutch of*
> *Holland, and the shades of meaning which necessarily adorn a*
> *tongue of which the learned make use, besides discarding much*
> *of the idiom of the North and replacing it by its own - but*
> *none the less expressive, and with a scope scarcely, if at all,*
> *diminished; a language fit for daily use, though lacking some-*
> *what in expressions for modern ideas, as well as in technical*
> *terms.*
> *This language is used in churches and in courts; it is the*
> *language heard in Parliament, and taught in schools. The*
> *other - the real patois - is a much-needed accomplishment for*
> *travellers, settlers and everyone else whose lot connects him*
> *with up-country life. It may in fact be called indispensible*
> *to all South Africans."*

It was, however, Elfer's 'real patois' which became the language we today call Afrikaans; and this in spite of calls from people like Jan H

Hofmeyr for education, "*ook in het Hollandsch .... IN DE TAAL DER KERK WAARTOE ZIJ BEHOOREN.*" (Hofmeyr, 1905:14)

But the dilemma which Imam Abdurakib had with these varieties of Cape Dutch become clearly evident, when with the publication of his Roman script *Kitâb Tarajomatarriyaadil Badiati*, he calls the language he uses the *gemixte taal*; though this language was the same as the *Hoelansieke taal* which was used for the writing of the *Safinatun naja*. Later still, with the writing of the *Kitâb arryâd-al-badi'a* (The wonderful garden), which appeared in 1900; and which in writing tradition conforms to that of his contemporaries, he calls the language *"Falamank"*, which is the Arabic for 'Flemish'.

The name *Falamank* for the Afrikaans in the Arabic-Afrikaans publication was first used by Hisham Neamatullah Effendi in the three student handbooks he published in Constantinople in 1894. Hisham Neamatullah Effendi must have been aware of the Flemish political-linguistic struggle of the 1880s. He, having studied in Mecca and there received his diploma in theology in 1890, and then proceeding on to Constantinople where he passed his final examination in 1894. In Constantinople he was decorated by the Khalifa Sultan Abdul Hamid with the Turkish Order, the Medjidia Star for being an exceptional student (*Cape Argus*, 4 May, 1903). It was while he was in Constantinople that he published his three Arabic-Afrikaans works. He could, therefore, have been influenced in the selection of the name *Falamank* by his Turkish printer, who recognised that the language was closer to Flemish than to Dutch.

It is more likely, however, that he adopted the name *Falamank* for the language of his translations, as an inspiration for his own political aspirations. In 1893, his brother Achmat Effendi declared his intentions to contest the seat for Cape Town in the Cape Parliamentary elections of 1894 (Davids, 1980:174). Then too, in 1903, when he, as politician, established the South African Moslims' Association, language and group exclusivity were the integrated cornerstones of his political policy. The South African Moslims' Association was to be an exclusive political organisation for 'Dutch speaking Malays', and thus he declared:

"The majority of the Moslems may be said to be decendants of Malays.
Their language used to be the Malay language. They have lost it.
They are a Dutch speaking community of different nationalities and
races....." (*Cape Times*, 20 March, 1903)

The language which he calls 'Dutch, was in fact the Cape Muslim variety
of Afrikaans.

If we further analyse this inaugural speech, delivered on the founding
of the South African Moslims' Association, the elements necessary for a
language movement as described by Steyn is clearly evident. Steyn
writes: "*Die geskiedenis leer dat 'n taalbeweging nie kan slaag sonder
'n stryd aan die politieke, ekonomise en kulturele front nie.*" (Steyn in
Du Plessis, 1986:5). Hisham Neamatullah Effendi's inaugral speech shows
that the objective of the South African Moslims' Association was the
political, economic and cultural upliftment of the Cape Muslim
community; and this he claimed could only be achieved through compulsory
education (*Cape Times*, 20 March, 1903).

Taking these historical facts into consideration, and bearing in mind
that the Flemish language movement was given a considerable boost when
Belgium was granted the franchise rights in 1893, Hisham Neamatullah
Effendi's use of *Falamank* as the language of his translations, could not
have been without political consideration.

Nevertheless, the name *Falamank*, for Afrikaans, certainly gave Imam Abdu-
rakib a way out of his language dilemma. Thus with the publication of
the **Kitâb arryâdal badi'a** (The book of the wonderful garden), Imam Abdu-
rakib ibn Abdul Kahaar not only imitate Hisham Neamatullah Effendi in
the name of the language of translation, but also in writing tradition.
The writing tradition in which the book was written, conformed with the
writing tradition favoured by the contemporary Arabic-Afrikaans writers.

Basically this writing tradition was in fact the communal spoken
language which was transcribed in Arabic script. But it was the Arabic
phonetic script which was used for the transcription. The writers were,

therefore, required to apply the rules of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwid* to the writing process. The result was that accurate pronunciations were captured in the written word. The post-Abubakr Effendi Arabic-Afrikaans publications are, therefore, almost audio-tape recordings of the communal orthoepic practice.

The rigid application of the rules of *tajwid* meant that the correct sound of the letters, not the grammatical usage of the words, was considered vitally important. The writers were, therefore, not concerned about a standard usage of grammar. What was important was the correct phonetic spelling and usage of grammar in conformity with their communal norms. Their primary objective was to transmit ideas and concepts in a language which could be clearly understood by their community. In the process of transmitting these ideas and concepts they captured for prosterity accurate renderings of the Cape Muslim variety of Afrikaans spoken at the time when they were writing.

The literature of the Cape Muslims, produced during the post-Abubakr Effendi era, especially the Arabic-Afrikaans publications, could be divided into two broad categories. There were those publications prepared for the *madaris*; and there were those publications meant for a general readership. In terms of writing tradition and language used, there is no difference between these two catogories. What both categories display is the ingenuity of the writers. Their ability to explain and clarify involved theological and religious concepts in a simple language with a restrictive language code. At times they became uncomfortable with this restrictive language code, as indeed is evident with the *Safinatun naja*, but on the whole, their communal language was effectively used as a medium of communication for the spoken as well as the written word.

Having grappled with the anomalies of this writing tradition, I will now proceed to discuss the post-Abubakr Effendi publications under the headings of the two categories for which they were prepared.

هِيْب اَنْ مَيْن حَفْرَاحْ سُوْمَنِى بُرُوْدَرْ س دَتْ اِيْكْ

مَتْ تِرَنْسِلَتْ دِيْ بِرْ سَالَةْ فَتْشَيْ نَامْ اِسْ سِيْنَةْ النَّجَاكْ اِنْبُو اُوْسُوْ الِّيْلْ

اِنْ فِقِيِهِ هُنْدِ شَيْخْ اَلْعَالِمْ اَلْفَاضِلْ سَالِمْ بِنْ سَمِيرِ الْحَضَرِى فَنُوْ عَرَبْ تَالْ

نَدِيْ هُوْ لَنْشِكِى تَالْ حِدَنْكَ اِيْكَ اِسْ فَنْدِ يِسْ نُوْرْس سِيْنْ رَيْتِرْ نْبَا

NO 18   Hep an main ghavraagh somaghe boeroeders dat ek moet translait
die riesaalat wat sain naam is safienatun naja fie en die oesoe
liel deen en fiekie van die Shaikh al aalie moel faadhieloe
saaliem bien Sameer al ghadrahmee van Arab taal na die
Hoelansieke taal ghiedank ek is van diese koers sain raiters

1898   *HAZAL KITAB TARAJAMATARRIYAADIL BADIAT*   GEMIXTE TAAL

NO 19   en nu waarlijk mij waarde in de fik is min en maar dit heppen
verzoek help mit Allah, en dit is gezeg wie gekend stel, dan
hij staan gemak en schijf, en nu hopen ek van de genige die
oorgaan die kitaab van mijn, dat hij moet laat zak de zoom van
zijn bedekkewn ..... (A Roman script Publication = AD)

1900   *KITAB ARRYADAL BADI'A*   FALAMANKS

دِمِيْخْ كَنْ طَهَارَة بَيْدِ تَالْ اِنْشَكُوْنْ تِقِسْ فَنْ فَيْلِيْتْ اِنْبَيْدِ فِتَّى اِسْكُوْنْ اَوْمْ

فِخْتِيْنَمْ فَيْرَ شِكَبْ فَتْ كُوْمْ كَنْ حَدَتْ اَوْنِ اَوْتَنْخَمِيْدْ لَا يَصِحُّ الوُضُوْءُ

اِسْنِتْ رَتْخِدْ اَبْدَنِنِى وَالْغُسَلْ اَنْد مُنْدِيْنِ وَاِزَالَةُ النَّجَاسَةِ

اِنْ فَيْلِخِيْتْ اَخَهَابِنْ اِلاَّ بِالمَاءِ الطَّهُوْرِ اِسْنِتْ مَتْ شَكُوْنَ فَارِزْ وَهُوَ

الَّذِيْ لَمْ تَقَعْ فِيْهِ نَجَاسَةٌ اِنْدِ تَنُوْدْ فَارِزْ فَتَّنِى فَبْلِخِيْتْ اَنْ خَلَقَتَنِى وَلَا

NO 20   die meening van taharat bai die taal is skoon te wies van
vailighait en bai die wette is dit om wegh te niem die warrai-
skap wat kom van gadath of onrainnighaid (......) is niet regh
die apdas nie (.....) en die mandie nie (......) en vaileghait
afte-haal nie (......) as net moet skoone water (........) en
dit is die water wat nie vaileghait in ghaval het nie

FIGURE 12 :   THE WRITING TRADITIONS OF IMAM ABDURAKIB IBN ABDUL
KAHAAR - FROM 'HOELANSIEKE TAAL' TO 'GEMIXTE TAAL'

3.4. Arabic-Afrikaans publications for community reading

Although all the Arabic-Afrikaans writers were engaged in *madrasah* education not all of them wrote exclusively for their *madaris*. Some used the notes prepared for their students and ultimately compiled them together into a book. According to Imam Abdurahman Bassier, who was a student of Sheikh Ismail Ganief Edwards, many of the publications of the Sheikh started as lecture notes, given to his students while they were reading a specific course. At the end of the course, these notes will be compiled together and a publication appears. Some writers again wrote their publications for the *madaris* they were conducting, with the name of the *madrasah* built into the title. For whatever reason, the idea behind the publication of Arabic-Afrikaans works was the dissemination of religious knowledge in the broader community. This indicates that there was a literate Cape Muslim community, ready to absorb the works of their religious teachers when their publications started to appear regularly from 1890 onwards.

A variety of religious subjects are covered, though some aspects of Cape Muslim religious life received more attention than others. A favourite subject for translation was Muhammad ibn Yusuf as-Sanusi's Ash'arite formulation of the concepts of belief. This formulation is the subject matter of Imam Abdullah ibn Abdurauf's 1890 publication, *Kitâbut-tauḥid* (Book on the unity of God). It is also the subject matter of *Kifiyatul awam* (Vital knowledge for the lay man) which appeared in 1898 and Sheikh Ahmad Behardien's *Su'al wa jawâb* (Questions and answers) which appeared in 1918. It was the same subject, with the same approach, which formed the matrix of the Cape slave world, and the philosophical theological educational base of the Dorp Street *Madrasah*, founded by Tuan Guru in 1793. This subject remained popular during the nineteenth century. It gave the Cape Muslims an understanding of a rational unitary God, which the Christian missionaries with the concept of Trinity could not penetrate.

This approach to belief or *aqida* is called the *Sunusiyya*, or in the local parlance, *"die twintagh siefaats"*. It asserts that every believer

must know twenty attributes necessary in respect of God and twenty attributes impossible for Him. The *Sunusiyya* is extensively philosophical. In its reasoning contexts of the twenty attributes, all the ninety-nine attributes which Muslim must know to recognise God is, embodied. It is the influence of the *Sunusiyya* in the *Su'al wa jawab*, which caused Van Selms to write :

"Daarlangs is dit ook opvallend dat die Islam tog nie so suiwer
'n 'boek-religie' is as wat wel gedink is nie. Die aantal Koran-
sitate is veel geringer as wat 'n Westerling sou vermoed, en
die 'redelike bewys' gaan in die kategimus altyd aan die 'Kora-
niese bewys' vooraf. Die vooronderstelling is natuurlik dat die
'bewys uit die rede' en die 'bewys uit die H. Skrif" altyd sal
ooreenstem, maar hierdie veronderstelling is op sigself al merk-
waardig in 'n religie, waar die gedagte van die woordelike open-
baring so groot 'n rol gespeel het." (1951:10).

But apart from the Ash'arite approach to *aqida* or belief, other approaches to this subject are also observed in the Arabic-Afrikaans literature. An example of such another approach is the *Kitâbu 'l-Qawâli 'l-Matini* (The truthful word), translated by Imam Abubakr ibn Abdullah Abdurauf in 1910. A Roman script version of this book, translated by Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar, appeared in 1905. It was a Shafi'ite Sheikh, Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien, who made the first translation of a book which expounds the Hanafite approach to *aqida*. Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien's 1910 translation of Abdul-Laith al-Samarqandi's short creed, the *Ma-sâ- 'il abi Laith* (The questions of Abi Laith), is a brave publication, coming at a time when the Hanafite-Shafi'ite antagonism was still rife. The Ash'arite approach to *aqida*, however, remained popular, and in the late 1930s Sheikh Ismail Ganief published his *Tuhfatul mûbtadin - die present vir die beginners van ait die wortels van die deen*, followed shortly by a Roman script publication, *Die Sterke Fondament*. Both publications dealing with the dogma of belief from the Ash'arite point of view and approach the subject from the perspective of the *Sunusiyya*.

Given the importance of the spiritual ablution, the daily prayers, fasting, the payment of the poor rate and pilgrimage in the life of a Muslim, and given the differences which prevails in the laws governing these practices betweem the Hanafites and the Shafi'ites, I expected more Arabic-Afrikaans publication on these practices than actually exists. In fact only three major works covering these practices were produced. These works are the *Bayânudîn* written by Abubakr Effendi in 1869, and two Shafi'ite publications, the *Kitâb arryâdal badi'a* (The book of the wonderful garden) by Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar, which appeared in 1900; and the *Al Mukaddimatul Hadramiyah* (An introduction to the practices of the people of Hadralmaut), which is a translation of a work by Abdurahman Bafadl by Sheikh Ismail Ganief, and which appeared in 1928. All three publications are extensive works. The *Kitâb arryâdal badi'a*, an 80 page lithograph, was still used as a reference until 1940s. While the *Al Mukaddimatul Hadramiyah*, which was printed in Cairo in 1928, was up to 1985 still used as a text book at the Boorhaanol *Madrasah*.

Of the three writers, the late Sheikh Ismail Ganief (Edwards) was a most prolific writer. He produced no less than 18 Arabic-Afrikaans publications and several tracts in Roman script. These works cover either one or other aspect of Islamic law, the Arabic language and ritual practices, and were produced between 1928 and 1952.

If the essential daily practices received scant attention, publications on Muslim personal law - marriages, divorce, inheritance - is virtually non-existent. The only book on personal law is Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraki's 1913 publication, the *Kitâb 'ilmi 'l-fara'd* (Book on the knowledge of inheritance). This book differs from most of the other Arabic-Afrikaans publication, in so far as it is not a translation, but the theological thoughts of Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraqi as author. The book is mis-named, for it does not confine itself purely to the conditions relating to inheritance. It discusses the religious legal issues of marriage, divorce and the procedure for pilgrimage.

The lack of publications dealing with the essential daily practices could be attributed to the fact that these practices were extensively covered at the *madaris*. There was thus no need for publications setting out these basic practices. From time to time a publication dealing with one or other aspect of these practices do appear. An example is the *At-tanbîhâtul la'iqatuh bi'khawalil muslimîn* (An appropriate instruction on concerns of the Muslims), written by Sheikh Abubakr ibn Abdullah Abdurauf in 1913. Again with regard to literature on Muslim personal law, the need possibly did not exist. As Mayson (1864:24) points out, marriages, divorce, the drafting of wills, any aspect of the individual's personal life was left to the *"all efficient"* Imams to resolve. Literature on Muslim personal law might, therefore, not have attracted a readership. The writers were, therefore, selective with their topics for publications, with many translations actually being requested by members of the community.

The production of publications from 1890 onwards was greatly inspired by the enthusiasm of Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraqi. Not only was he a most prolific writer of Arabic-Afrikaans scripts, having produced ten such works between 1898 and 1913, but encouraged others to publish their manuscripts. This is particularly evident from the works of Imam Abdullah Abdurauf and his son Imam Abubakr ibn Abdullah Abdurauf. It was under his inspiration that Imam Abdullah Abdurauf in 1890 published the *Kitâbut tauḥid* (Book on the unity of God). He also co-authored the *Aḥkamut tajwîd* (Manner of reciting (the Quran)), a book on the Arabic phonetic science, which was prepared as a reader for the *Madrasah-tul-Falah* in Claremont in 1906.

Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraqi, sometimes called Say-rie, was one of the most respected religious leaders who ever settled in Cape Town; and was not infrequently referred to as a "Professor of Moslem Theology" by Cape newspapers (*South African News*, 1/1/1912). He was an expert on Islamic jurisprudence, the ritual practices, *aqîda* or concepts of belief, the Arabic language and the phonetic science of *tajwid.* He was also a spiritualist and practised spiritual medicine. As a teacher he was in great demand. Many legends about his spiritual work abounds

in Cape Town. Most of the twentieth century Arabic-Afrikaans writers received their basic Islamic education from Sheikh Abdurahim. His influece is clearly discernable in the writings of Sheikh Achmat Behardien, Ta Ha Gamieldien, and Mogammad 'Geyer' Isaacs, though Sheikh Achmad Behardien disagreed with him on the Shafi'ite *Juma'ah Question*.

Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraqi came from Basra in Iraq. Little is known as to why he came to Cape Town, but according to the oral traditions of the Abdurauf family, he was persuaded to come to Cape Town by Imam Abdullah Abdurauf. He is said to have arrived here in the 1880s, and on his arrival married Hadjie Mariam, a local woman, said to be of Chinese decent (Interview with Sheikh Abdul Maliq Abdurauf, 1988). The couple had no children. They, however, conducted a very active *madrasah* at the home in New Church Street, Bo-Kaap. Sheikh Abdurahim also officiated as an Imam at the Zainatul Islam Mosque, in Muir Street, District Six. He died on 4 December, 1942 (Fakier, 1983).

Although an active *madrasah* teacher, Sheikh Abdurahim never published handbooks for his students. They, according to my sisters, who were his students, were taught in the rote learning mode and used *koples boeke*. Sheikh Abdurahim was more interested in providing publications in response to community needs. This is definitely the case with his *Tuḥfatul Atfal* (A gift for children) which appeared in 1900. The *Tuḥfatul atfal* is an interesting publication, printed in green ink. The preference for green ink is not explained by the writer, though the colour itself is associated by some Muslim with the vigorous growth of Islam. Despite its name, *A gift for children*, was not meant for children. Dealing with the subject of *tajwid*, and thus the correct pronunciation of the Arabic letters; the writer assumes that the reader has some knowledge of Arabic reading and merely proceeds to explain the rules. It is significant that the publication should appear after the problem of pronunciation of Arabic at the mosque in Paarl in 1898 (Cape of Good Hope Law Reports, Vol Vll page 134).

Similarly his *Ḥadāyatul-wahhabi litarikis-sawāba* (Guidance in accordance with the way of the Wahabis) which appeared in 1911 was in response to

the prevailing Shafi'ite *Juma'ah* question. While I suspect that his *Kitab 'ilmi 'l-fara'id* (Book on the knowledge of inheritance), written in 1910, was in response to the Oeslodien and others versus Mustapha estate and others, inheritance case in the Cape Supreme Court in 1908, (SALR, 1908:853). The wills of the main actors in this case, as well as in the Ajouhaar inheritance case (SALR, 1901:119), though all Imams, were not drafted in accordance with Islamic law. In 1905 Sheikh Abdurahim also produce translations of the Chapters, *Sûrah Yusuf*, and *Sûrah Yâsîn* (Chapter O Man), the 12th and 36th Chapters respectively of the Holy Quran.

Those who knew Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraqi, and read his Arabic-Afrikaans publications, informed me that the Sheikh wrote much better than he spoke (Interview, Imam A Bassier, 1988). From his publications, it would appear that he had a good command of the spoken Afrikaans of the Cape Muslim community. His writings certainly conforms to the writing traditions of his contemporaries. This is illustrated by the following passage from his 1898 publication, the *Kifiyatul awam* (Vital knowledge for the lay man):

No 21   *"en oek om te wiet wat wadjieb* (necessary) *is vir die rasoels* (prophets) *op hil-e sieghen en ghalik .... en wat nie kan wies nie en wat kan wies, en a-mal, diese is vaiftagh 'aka'ieda* (article of faith) *siefat* (attri- butes), *en dan soemaghe wat wadjieb is vir Allah ta-aalaa is twintagh siefaat ...... die eerste is woedjoed* (existence) *en die meening van woedjoed, waarlik lat die hoege Allahoe ta-aalaa is ...... en dit is moetakhiel* (impossible) *op Allahoe ta-aalaa lat nie is nie ......*

It is, however, in his ***'n Vaif talige woordelais en kort sinnetjies in Arab, Farsi, Hindistani, Afrikaa en Engels,*** that the Afrikaans, which he spoke as a foreigner comes to the fore. Like Abubakr Effendi, Sheikh Abdurahim also seems to have problems with his sentence construction. This problem is, however, not only confined to his Afrikaans sentences. It is also evident in his English. Thus the Afrikaan sentence : *hoeveel*

ghelt djai het, is given in English as, *how much money you got.* This
problem with syntax is not very obvious with his other publications.
Why, I do not know. Maybe he was assisted by his fiends, the Abduraufs,
who he inturn assisted with their publications. The *'n Vaif talige
woordelais* was written as a guide for the traveller to eastern
countries, especially the pilgrim to Mecca. It must have been a very
popular language guide for those on pilgrimage. No complete copy has as
yet been found. This publication and the two translated chapters from
the Quran were printed in Bombay.

'n Vaif talige woordelais, was the first and only word list in Arabic-
Afrikaans. It was also the first time that an Arabic-Afrikaans writer
connected the language he used for translation to the roots of Africa.
His name *'Afrikaa'*, for the Afrikaans language of the translation is
significant. The Cape Muslims regarded themselves as *Afferkaners*, used
in the sense of belonging to Africa, while whites generally were looked
upon as *oelanners*, probably a corruption for 'out landers' implying
foreigners (Interview, Mrs G Abrahams, 1988). The term *Afferkaner* is
still used as a substitute for 'Cape Malay' as opposed to "Muslim
Indian". Muslim 'Indians' being referred to as *"moore"* [mo:rə], a nega-
tive racial lable.
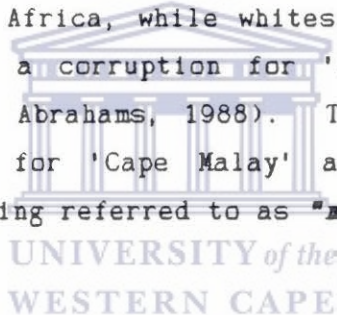
In his, *'n Vaif talige woordelais*, Sheikh Abdurahim lists words which
in pronunciation still lingers on in the Afrikaans variety of the Cape
Muslims. I note the following examples :

English	Afrikaans	Arabic Transcription	Phonetic Transcription	Cape Muslim Afrikaans
matches	vuurhoutjies	رَمَيـتْچِسْ	[mɛt'c̃i]	metjie
garlic	knoffel	كَنُفـّلَك	[kɔnɔflɔk]	konoflok
rabbit	konyn	كَنَيْـچِسْ	[kanəinci]	kanaintjie
onion	ui	اَيورِى	[əivə]	aiwe

3.5. The handbooks for the *madaris*

3.5.1. Hisham Neamatullah Effendi

If Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraqi was the inspiration for the production of literature for an adult readership, Moola Hisham Neamatullah Effendi provided the stimulus for the production of handbooks for the children attending *madaris*. While in Constantinople, in 1894, to receive from Sultan Abdul Hamid his medal, the Medjidia Star, for excellent scholarship, (*Cape Argus*, 4 May, 1894), he caused three publications to be printed. Whether these books were to be used by his brother, Achmat, who was conducting a *madrasah* in Kimberley (Shell, 1983:23) or for his own use, when he was to continue his father's school in Buitengracht Street, is difficult to say. What we do know is that one of these books, the *Hâtha 'ilmi hal Lissibyân* (This is the knowledge of matters for the young), was a translation of a Turkish school book. On the cover of the publication, he wrote: *dit is ghatra-anslait van die ghoerwermeent sain kietaap wat vir kieners sain sekoewal is.*

The *Hâtha ilmi hal lissibiyân* uses a simple easy language, with a very clear Arabic script to facilitate the reading. The content matter too is easy, explaining or rather, defining, such concepts as *wajib* (obligatory); *mubah* (permissible), *haram* (forbidden), *salah* (prayer); and explaining the very elementary aspects of *zakah*, the compulsory poor tax, and aspects of the *hadj* or the pilgrimage. A transcription from page 1 reads :

NO. 22   *dit is te-wiet wa-ner die weerelt nee ghawies het nee*
         het allaahoe ta'aalaa van niks die weerelt ghamaak en
         vir nabee (prophet) aadam van ghoernt ghamaak en met sain
         thoerreejat (decendants) wat banee aadam (children of Adam)
         is het allahoe ta'aalaa die weerelt moeai ghamaak en wat vir
         heelie noewaragh is van doenja een aaghierat sain af-veerens
         en om vir heelie te lat wiet het allaahoe ta'aalaa ait
         heelie vir pataing-e nabeeskap (prophethood) ghagheef .....

The second book was *Sirâjûl idâ 'i* (Light of enlightenment). which in content was more advance than the *Hâtha 'ilmi hal lissibiyân*, but which only covered two subjects, *zakah*, the poor tax; and *hadj*, the pilgrimage to Mecca. The pilgrimage is extensively discuss. Hisham Neamatullah Effendi probably saw it unnecessay to provide literature on the basic principles of ritual cleanliness, prayer and fasting. These subjects were adequately covered in his father's *Bayânudîn*; and would in any case be covered in the *madrasah*. The subject, *Hadj* or pilgrimage, has not been dealt with in the *Bayânudnîn*; though from 1870 onwards pilgrimages were more regularly undertaken by the Cape Muslims. Thus for instance, in 1874, Imam Shahibo took a large party of pilgrims to Mecca. (*Standard and Mail*, 11 June 1874, 13 June, 1874, *Cape Argus*, 13 April, 1878). With the increase in popularity of the pilgrimage, literature on the rituals involved with the pilgrimage, and classes on this subject, became a necessity. The pilgrimage became such an important issue that in 1898, when the Cape Muslim had cause to complain about the treatment they received in Mecca, a special committee, with Hisham Neamatullah Effendi as chairman, was elected to make presentation to the Sultan (*Cape Argus*, 9 March, 1898). The *Sirâjûl idâ'i* served the purpose of being both a *madrasah* text-book as well as a general reader.

The third publication is a book of supplications. As is typical with the teaching of supplication at *madaris*, only the Arabic is memorised and recited. This *Book of Doahs* is designed to suit this mode of teaching and, therefore, gives only the Arabic supplication; with the instruction as to when the suplication is to be read. The instruc- tions being given in Arabic-Afrikaans.

Apart from the school at the Buitengracht Mosque rooms, Robert Shell (1983:23) correctly indicates that the Effendis also began Muslim schools in Kimberley, Lourenco Margues and Port Elizabeth. How exten- sively these publications were used in the *madaris* which were established by the Effendi family in other places, is difficult to say. What is definitely known is that on his return from Constantinople, Hisham Neamatullah Effendi for some time stayed in Cape Town, teaching at the school of his late father, Abubakr, in Buitengracht Street.

It was while he was teaching at this school, that he, with the Anglo-Boer war in 1899, tried to mobilise the Cape Muslims in support of the British against the boers. He had the solid support of the local Imams. It was, therefore, not surprising, that after a long meeting, which was conducted entirely in Cape Dutch; Imam Gamja Achmat, who was a soldier, conscripted during the Battle of the Axe on the Eastern Frontier in 1846, should urge them to volunteer for services. He ended his speech by pointing out how good the British were to them by liberating them from slavery. Why, he demanded, "should they not now when the whole country is invaded by the boers (who would make slaves of all they could) rise as a united body and offer their services to the Queen ?" (*Cape Argus*, 28 October, 1899).

Their offer to fight on the British side was gracefully declined, but they, as a service, were urged by the Cape authorities to assist with the refugees (*Cape Argus*, 31 October, 1899). This support for the British did not cause them to abandon their Cape Dutch. In fact they, according to my late brother, Ebrahim, who was an authority on "Cape Malay" music, composed an heroic 'Cape Malay folksong' called the *"Suid Afrikaanse Lied"*, the words of which he dictated to me as follows :

> *"Suid Afrika ons niem 'n eed om vry vir jou te veg.*
> *om saam te woon en saam te dra vir vryheid en vir reg.*
> *Met majesteit en plegten trots, Met hart en met verstand.*
> *Al wiet ons niets, ons bly dat steeds, met volk en vaderland.*

How much these words had been modernised, I do not know. What I do know is that there is still a tendency amongst the 'Malay Choir' singers to compose songs relating to social and political situations.

Hisham Neamatullah Effendi after this continued to play a prominent role in Cape Muslim society. In 1903 he founded the South African Moslims' Association, on the premise of language and group exclusivity. The Association was to be independent of the existing political parties, but shall support the "most progressive policy towards the Moslems". (*Cape Argus*, 19 March, 1903). Hisham Neamatullah Effendi eventually agitated

that the Association must support the Progressive Party. This caused a split in the Association, and its eventual demise. The Cape Muslims had at the time strong sympathies with the Afrikaner Bond (*Cape Argus*, 18 April, 1903). With the demise of the South African Moslims Association, Neamatullah Effendi left Cape Town and went to settle in Port Elizabeth.

It was in Port Elizabeth where he made his great impact as a teacher. In 1910, however, he had a request from four Imams of Kimberley to take over the Imperial Ottoman School, started by his brother, Achmat Effendi in 1880s. This school or *madrasah* was up to 1909 supported by the Turkish Government, and a petition was directed to the Sultan of Turkey to now make this grant in favour of Hisham Neamatullah. The matter was then referred to the Colonial Secretary, who inturn referred the matter to the Cape Education Board. The children were to receive only religious education and were to seek secular education elsewhere and that "instruction is to be given in Arabic", The Cape Education Board could not see it way clear to make this grant. (Cape Archives, SGE 10/8).

Hisham Neamatullah Effendi continued with the school in Port Elizabeth. His liberal and efficient manner of teaching is still remembered by Mrs. Gadija Conradie, who was a student of his in the late 1930s, Hisham Neamatullah Effendi was an excellent and hard working teacher. He was very generous, and ever so often on a Friday he will distribute small gifts for the children. He was a staunch Hanafite, but had a thorough knowledge of all schools of thought. Hisham Neamatullah never forced the Hanafite code onto his students. He taught them in accordance with the school of thought of their parents. As Shafi'ites, she and her uncle, Imam Ighsan Nackerdien of the Pier Street Mosque, Port Elizabeth, were taught from the works of **Abû Shûjâ** and the *Sabîlan najâb* (The road to success). He used the rote method and designed his own rhythmic mnemonics to facilitate the retention of the transmitted facts. He was regarded as one of the most learned men in Port Elizabeth at the time. (interviews, Mrs G Conradie and Imam I Nackerdien, 1991). Both the texts, mentioned in the interviews, are generally regarded as Shafi'ite texts. The *Sabîlan najâb* was in 1912 translated by Imam Abdullah

Abdurauf and used as a handbook by the students at the *Madrasah-tul-Falah*, in Claremont, Cape Town. Hisham Neamatullah Effendi died in Port Elizabeth in the mid-1940s.

3.5.2. Abdurahman Kassiem Gamieldien

One *madrasah* teacher who was definitely inspired by Hisham Neamatullah Effendi was Imam Abdurahman Kassiem Gamieldien. He was the principal of the Habibia *Madrasah* in Thornhill, Athlone, and later became the principal and Imam at the Al Azhar Mosque, in Aspeling Street, District Six. The Habibia *Madrasah* was founded by Sufi Saheb, an Islamic spiritualist, who arrived from India in 1895 and established the *madrasah* and mosque complex in Athlone. Sufi Saheb later left for Durban, leaving his brother, Maulana Abdulatief in charge of the complex. Sufi Saheb died in 1910, and lies buried in a shrine at Riverside, Durban (Raoof, 1988: 8 - 10).

When Imam Abdurahman Kassiem Gamieldien became the first principal of the *Habibia Madrasah* in Thornhill, Athlone, he immediately saw the need for the creation of *madrasah*-texts to facilitate the teaching process. It was thus while he was the principal of the Habibia *Madrasah* that he in 1907 published the *Kitâbul mutâla âti li tradisi lamidati madrasati Habibiyâ* (Reader for the instruction in behaviour for the Habibia Madrasah). As the title indicates, it was a handbook on moral behaviour or *adaab*, a subject which was considered very important for children at the time (Muller, 1962:8).

In the same year, 1907, Imam Abdurahman Kassiem Gamieldien was also required to take over the duties and responsibilities as Imam and principal of the mosque founded by his family in 1886, the Al Azhar Mosque in Aspeling Street, District Six. Being now in control of two *madrasah* institutions, Imam Abdurahman saw the publication on the basics for children, vitally important. It was also at this time that the South African Cape Malay Association, out of the demise of the South African Moslims' Association, was founded. The President of the Cape Malay Association, Arshud Gamiet, though a tailor, was also a part-time

religious teacher. Imam Abdurahman Kassiem Gamieldien was the secretary.
A position he also held in the South African Moslims' Association. The
main objective of the organisation was to look after the political
needs of the Cape Muslims, but it was also interested in the promotion
of Arabic as a language of instruction for Muslim children attending
state secular schools (Fremantle, 1911:568).

In 1910, Arshud Gamiet in his evidence to the Fremantle Commission of
Education, made a passionate plea for the intruduction of Arabic at the
state secular school level. The evidence of Arshud Gamiet to the
education commission is particularly interesting. He wanted more
support for schools undertaken by private individuals especially in the
'Malay community'. These schools he said gave instructions in Arabic
and English. No Dutch were taught at these schools, despite the fact
that the home language of the children were Dutch. The reasons he
advanced was that these teachers did not find themselves competent to
teach in Dutch; and the employment of a Dutch teacher was beyond the
means of the community (Fremantle, 1911:569-70).

I do not believe that Arshud Gamiet was entirely truthful with his
evidence. By this time, the South African Malay Association was already
sponsoring the publication of Arabic-Afrikaans booklets which were
produced by the Al Azhar Mosque *Madrasah* (Gamieldien.1907). English
certainly was not the language of instruction in the *madaris*. He was
later, in 1912, to contradict himself at a protest meeting against the
founding of the Rahmaneyeh Institute, as an English medium school, on
the basis that Dutch was the language of their religious education
(*South African News*, 1 Jan. 1912).

But be that as it may, Imam Abdurahman Kassiem Gamieldien's need in 1907
for *madrasah-text* books was soon met when he used the good offices of
the South African Malay Association to sponsor his children's handbooks.
The first of these was the *Tartibus-ṣaláh* (Perfection in prayer) which
appeared as a handbook for the Al Azhar *Madrasah* in 1907. This
sponsorship also accounted for the *Du'á li sabri Ramadán ar mukaram*
(Supplication for the month of Ramadân), and a translation of the *Kanzul*

'ars (Verse of the throne) both in 1907 and the *Risâlat jalifat tas tamutu 'ala Kawâ'il Islam* (Message on the basics of Islamic belief), which was printed by the Hindi Printing Office in Cairo in 1911. These publications of Imam Abdurahman Kassiem Gamieldien, all deals with the basic principles of belief and Islamic practice and were ideally suited as basic *madrasah*-texts for children. To gain credibility for his texts in the broader community, Imam Abdurahman had the content of his texts varified by Imam Mohammad Taliep, who was one of the leading authorities on Islam at the Cape at the time.

The Al Azhar Mosque *Madrasah* certainly proved popular, and was possibly the stimulus for the establishment of the Rahmaneyeh Institute. From a *Cape Times* news report filed in the Superintendent General of Education file in the Cape Archives, the high esteem in which the school was held is clearly obvious (Cape Archives, SGE 1/1158). The report under the heading "Moslem Education", reads :

> "*On Wednesday the Mohammedan Bishop (Emam Taliep) visited the schools attached to the Mosque El Ashar, Aspeling-street, and held an informal examination of the pupils of the principal, Emam A R K Gamildien. ....*
> *The Bishop having asked a number of questions of the children, and receiving satisfactory replies, expressed himself as greatly pleased with the general intelligence and brightness displayed.*
> *Thereafter a lad from Plumstead, named Hasein Osman, was announced as having successfully passed through the study of the Koran and Arabic generally. Upon this, the father of the lad presented Emam Gamildien with £5 and a handsome shawl, as a token of his appreciation of the pains he had taken with the education of his son; furthermore he distributed sweetmeats to all the children. The Bishop concluding the ceremony by congratulating the principal and his assistants, ...*" (Cape Times, 15 Feb., 1913)

The Al Azhar Mosque *Madrasah* continued until the death of Imam Abdurahman Cassiem Gamieldien on 10 March, 1921 (MOOC 6/9/1939 No 638).

3.5.3. The establishment of the Rahmaneyeh Institute

When the Rahmaneyeh Institute was established by City Councillor, Dr Abdullah Abdurahman in 1913, there were several organised *madaris*, operating in Cape Town. From all available oral evidence, and the handbooks which were produced for them, Cape Dutch or Afrikaans was the medium of instruction. Among the more prominent of these organised *madaris* were: The Moslem Improving School, with Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien as principal, and operating from Caledon Street; the Al Azhar Mosque *Madrasah*; the Habibia *Madrasah* in Athlone, the *Madrasah-tul-falah* in Claremont (*Cape Times*, 30 April, 1910) and the Islamic 'College' in Stegman Road, Claremont (Shell, 1983:24). Of the *madaris* only the Ottoman Theological School, started by Abubakr Effendi in 1863 in Buitengracht Street were also providing secular education. There was thus a need for Muslim institutions to provide secular education, which were mainly provided by the Christian Churches (Fremantle, 1911).

Dr Abdullah Abdurahman responded to this need. At a meeting of the African People's Organisation in 1911, he declared his intention to establish an English medium school for the Muslim children of Cape Town. His enthusiasm was not met with equal enthusiasm from members of the community. A meeting to protest against the school was organised by the South African Malay Association, headed by Arshud Gamiet, and supported by six Imams and Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraqi. The main objections was that the school did not make provision for the teaching of Arabic; and secondly., Dr Abdurahman was opposed to the Dutch language. This they could not sanction because Dutch *"had become their mother tongue, in which they asked for their food and learned their religion."* (*South African News*, 1 January, 1912).

This protest did not daunt Dr Abdurahman, and when the Cape Town City Council was about to sell some land to the Muslim community for the purpose of erecting this school; another protest letter appeared in the *Cape Times*. B Abrahams, Chairman of the Cape Moslem Association in his letter pointed out that the proposed school did not have the *"sympathy and support of the*

representative Moslem community". Their main objection was the failure of the school to teach Arabic, *"the language of our Koran",* the neglect which they felt was a mistake. *"If in that school there is to be no teaching of Arabic, why is it called a Moslem school at all ?"* (Cape Times, 28 May 1912).

In the face of this opposition, Dr Abdullah Abdurahman had no option but to relent on the question of an Arabic teacher. Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien was appointed to teach Arabic. At the time of his appointment Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien was the principal of the Moslem Improving School. He had also by then already produced three Arabic-Afrikaans publications. These were the *Risâlat kadâ'i Saḥri Ramadân - surûti wal arkani* (Exposition on Ramadân - methods and principles) which was completed in 1909; and the *Ma-sa 'il abi Laith* (The Questions of Abi Laith) and the *Râtibul Ḥaddad,* a translation of the spiritual hymns composed by Abdullah ibn Alawi al-Haddad, a spiritualist of the Alawiyah Tariqa (Kähler, 1971:107). It would appear that the appointment of Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien somewhat appeased the community and arrested the protest action. As a Cairo trained Sheikh, Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien certainly had the right credentials.

With regard to the Arabic teacher, the Department of Education had other ideas. They were prepared to tolerate his presence, provided they do not have to pay his salary. This position was not very clearly spelt out to Dr Abdurahman by the Department in the beginning. He was therefore hopeful that at least part the salary of the Arabic teacher was going to be paid by the Department. On 29 January, 1913, he wrote a letter to the Department informing them that *"Mr Abdullah Taha Gamildien"* was appointed the *"Arabic instructor at a salary of £6 per month for the first six months and after that at a rate of £7 per month."* The *"Arabic teacher will devote his full time purely to Arabic instruction",* and that his committee *"hope that the Department will pay at least half of his salary."* (Cape Archives, SGE 1/1158).

By March, 1913, it became apparent that the Department was not going to concede to his request, already made on the 16th of January, 1913 for

Arabic, apart from religious instruction, to be included into the curricullum. In an attempt to stall the Arabic issue, Inspector Craib was very negative in his report on the school. He reported that not only was the school overcrowded, but he had to point out *"the educational fallacy of introducing children to two unknown languages at the same time. Apparently even the youngest child in the school is being taught Arabic, and this at the same time that it is wrestling with the difficulties of English."* (Cape Archives, SGE 1/1158 - 22 March, 1913).

Just prior to this, on 28 February, 1913, Dr Abdurahman laid before the Department of Education the impressive educational record of Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamildien. He writes :

> *"With regard to Mr A T Gameeldeen, the Arabic teacher, I may say that he received his preliminary education at Zonnebloem College. He then went to the Nasrieh Public School, Cairo for five years. This is a modern school and the very best in Egypt. Dr Gool who was also educated there, passed his London matric a few months after his arrival in London. Mr Gameeldeen passed his fourth year at the Nasrieh school, which Dr Gool tells me is equal to our standard six. For four years afterwards he devoted all his time to the study of the Arabic language at the Al Azhar and received further private tuition in Arabic. He is one of the best Arabic scholars at present in South Africa, besides having a very good general education including English."*

To show the Arabic ability of Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamildien, he enclosed a copy of the **Arabic Primer**, prepared by the Sheikh, *"as no proper Arabic books are obtainable in Cape Town"*. (Cape Archives, SGE 1/1156 - 28 February, 1913). One could thus well understand the disappointment of Dr Abdurahman. On the 29 March, 1913, he again wrote to the Department, requesting an interview for himself and the Arabic teacher to explain the position (Cape Archives SCG 1/1156 - 29 March, 1913). But this was to no avail. It became clear that if the Muslims wanted a religious teacher of their own creed, they shall have to pay for it themselves.

2.

Letters at the end of words.

ا ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ض
ط ظ ع غ ف ق ك ل م ن ه و لا ي

The vowels and their names.

(ﻩ) (ﺪ) (و) (ﻩ) (ﺔ) (ﻯ) (ﺶ) (ﺲ) (ﻥ)

Spelling of a single letter with a single vowel.

أَ أُ إِ
بَ بُ بِ

1.

The Alphabet.

ا ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ض ط ظ
ع غ ف ق ك ل م ن ه و لا ي

Letters at the beginning of words.

ا ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق
ك ل م ن ه و لا ي

Letters in the middle of words.

ا ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ض
ط ظ ع غ ف ق ك ل م ن ه و لا ي

FIGURE 13 :   TWO PAGES OF THE ARABIC PRIMER PREPARED BY SHIEKH ABDULLAH
TA HA GAMILDIEN FOR THE RAHMANEYEH INSTITUTE IN 1913

After the establishment of the Rahmaneyeh Institute, state aided Muslim missions school, paying the salaries for their religious teachers, prolifirated, and as pointed out early, by 1930, there were no less than seven such school in the Cape Peninsula. The prolifiration of these schools had serious implication for the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition. Reading and writing in Roman script was now easily available to large sections of the community. Mogammad Ajam saw the beginning of the Muslim mission school movement as a process of modernization in education (Ajam, 1988). One could also see the establishment of the Rahmaneyeh Institute, as the beginning of the end of the literary tradition of Arabic-Afrikaans. Nevertheless, those Arabic-Afrikaans works will remain an important part of the Cape Muslim contribution to the early literature of the Afrikaans language; and their writers as major contributors to their communal culture.

3.6. CONCLUDING COMMENT

Being unable to establish when exactly the literary tradition of Arabic-Afrikaans emerged, this chapter briefly looks at the controversal issue of the first Arabic-Afrikaaans publication. It acknowledges, that though not necessarily the first Arabic-Afrikaans work, the *Bayânudîn*, is an important publication in the early history of Afrikaans; and in terms of its writing tradition, latched on to the practice of writing Afrikaans in the Arabic script which was common at the time.

In an effort to avoid making yet another inventory of Arabic-Afrikaans publications, the existing inventories are evaluated. Kähler's comprehensive list is particularly recommended. It is suggested that the new publication or Arabic-Afrikaans scripts discovered must merely be added to this list.

What is concentrated upon here is the socio-historic circumstances in which these publications were written and the tradition of Arabic-Afrikaans writing pursued. Such a study has never been done before. In this undertaking an attempt is made to contectualize the Arabic-Afrikaans

publication in its socio-linguistic milieu. Reasons for the appearance of certain of the publications are advanced and biographic data about the more important writers are provided.

What also emerged from this study is the distinctive writing traditions of Arabic-Afrikaans. Basically three writing traditions are determined, with clear distinctions in writing styles between the pre- and post- Abubakr Effendi writers. The distinctive writing tradition of Imam Abdul Kahaar ibn Abdul Malik of Port Elizabeth; and the difference in the writing traditions in the works of Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar, are commented upon.

Not only the Arabic-Afrikaans, but also the Roman script publication received attention. The development and changes which occur is the Afrikaans in Roman script publications are traced. Reasons for the use of the Roman script for *kitâb* or religious publication writing are postulated. It is suggested that the Muslim mission school movement played a very important role in the encouragement of Roman script publication and the demise of Arabic-Afrikaans.

At the end attention is devoted to the struggle of the Cape Muslim community to secure Arabic as a state sponsored subject in the Muslim mission schools. It might appear as if this is done at the expense of the contributions of Ta Ha Gamieldien and Hisham Neamatullah Effendi to the Arabic-Afrikaans literature. Their contribution will again receive attention in Chapter 5 when their works are selected for intense study. The discussion on the introduction of Arabic in the Muslim secular schools, is not totally in-appropriate. With Arabic as a subject at these schools, Arabic-Afrikaans might have had a greater chance of survival. The state educational authority, however, made it perfectly clear, that if the Muslims want Arabic in their schools, they shall have to pay for it themselves.

In conclusion: the Cape Muslim community must have been a very literate community to have been able to encourage such a prolific production of Arabic-Afrikaans publications. These Arabic-Afrikaans works, as Zwemer observed in 1925, were extensively read.

C H A P T E R   4
WRITING AND SPELLING IN AFRIKAANS IN ARABIC SCRIPT

4.1. INTRODUCTION

Up to now I have been looking at the historical origins of, and the socio-cultural milieu in which, the Cape Muslim variety of Afrikaans emerged. I also looked at the emergence of the literary tradition of Arabic-Afrikaans, the different writing traditions within this literary tradition, and the written and printed material produced in both the Arabic and Roman script orthographies.   My socio-linguistic historical descriptions and analytical evaluations, have shown that the Cape Muslim variety of Afrikaans was a viable medium of communication, effective for creative expression, and rendered even more effective by the creative abilities and neological experimentations by its writers.   What I have failed to accurately establish, due to the lack of available historical evidence, was when exactly this literary tradition started.   It was, however, established that the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition has its origin in the literary tradition of *Jawi;* and that it was the *Jawi* adaptation of the Arabic alphabet which provided the basis for the writing system of Arabic-Afrikaans.

My concern now is that writing system - the adaptation and manipulation of the Arabic lettering symbols and vowel graphemes to create distinctive Arabic lettering symbols to convey precise Afrikaans sounds. The purpose is to establish the phonology of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. But while I am concerned with the changes, transformations and modifications of the speech-sounds in the historical development of the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition; I am more concerned about the acoustic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. By the acoustic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans, the sounds of the words as they are produced in pronunciation, is implied. It is this phonetic phenomenon which is a distinctive feature of the Cape Muslim Afrikaans variety.

I am, therefore, interested to know, how the Cape Muslim Afrikaans sounds are reflected in the written form by the use of an essentially foreign Arabic orthography and how the constraining features of this orthography may or may not have influenced the orthoepic practice. In the absence of audio-tape recordings, my only alternative means of looking at the acoustic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans, is by examining the Arabic-Afrikaans publications. In doing this I am confronted with several additional questions, which this chapter will endeavour to answer. These questions are:

(a)   Can we safely conclude that the Cape Muslims wrote as they spoke ?

(b)   To what extent does their literature really express their spoken word ?

(c)   What are the adequacies and inadequacies of the previous attempts which endeavoured to examine the Cape Muslim Afrikaans variety, the acoustic nature of this variety, and their spelling system in Arabic script, which necessitates a fresh examination; and how may such an examination help us to create a better understanding of the development and nature of their spoken Afrikaans ?

The Cape Muslim literature, produced during my period of study could be divided into two kinds. On the one hand there are those religious books printed in Roman script. These, as we have seen, started from 1896 onwards, and common to the Afrikaans writings of this time show a strong influence of the Dutch orthography (Van Selms, 1951:25). They were written for an essentially Dutch reading, possibly white convert community (Muller, 1960:43) and could be described as a poor attempt at writing Dutch. They, as I have already indicated, do not represent an accurate reflection of the communal spoken word, and hence will not be the subject of my concern in this chapter.

The second kind of Afrikaans literature is that written in Arabic script. This form of writing was by far their most popular. It served as a useful,

and their preferred, means of written communication for well into the third decade of the twentieth century. From the third decade, the impact of the secular Muslim mission school movement started to influence the Afrikaans in Arabic mode of writing. Up to the late 1930s it was mainly the Arabic script which was used as a vehicle for the transmission of their Afrikaans thoughts and spoken word. It was used for the letters they wrote, the grocery lists they compiled, the acounts which they kept and the literature which they produced (Davids, 1990). It was this Afrikaans in Arabic script which became known as "Arabic-Afrikaans" (Van Selms, 1951:7) and which will be the focus of my attention.

The Cape Muslim appropriation of the Arabic script for the expression of their non-Arabic mother tongue is not unique to this community. Van Selms quoting Diringer (1951:35), lists a number of languages which have been written in the Arabic script. This list includes Hausa, Swahili, Malagasi and Berber from Africa; Turkish, Persian, Hindustani, Pushta and Malay in Asia; and Slavonic and Spanish in Western Europe. From this list it is obvious that Van Selms was not aware of Abdurahman Abdullah Majoeb's English-Arabic-Malayu dictionary, in which he uses the Arabic script to transcribe English conversations and words. Nor was he aware of the attempt at English in Arabic script by Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraqi in the *'n Valf talige Voordelais en Kort Sinnetjies in Arab, Farsi, Hindistani, Afrikaa en Engels*, which appeared as an Arabic-Afrikaans publication in Cape Town in 1905.

It is, therefore, not the use of the Arabic script which makes the Arabic-Afrikaans writing of the Cape Muslims unique. The uniqueness of Arabic-Afrikaans lies in the ingenious adaptation of the Arabic alphabet, and the application of the laws of *tajwîd*, the phonetic science of Arabic reading, to produce phonetically accurate renderings of the essentially Western Germanic type of vocabulary of the Afrikaans language. It is this unique use of the Arabic phonetic alphabet, within the constraints of its phonetic rules, to create Afrikaans sounds, which is the concern in this chapter.

4.2. ARABIC GRAPHIC AND ARABIC PHONETIC WRITING

The Arabic-Afrikaans publications and writings do not employ one uniform system of Arabic writing. In fact two systems of writing are used. Some of the Arabic-Afrikaans writings are in the Arabic graphic script; others again are written in the Arabic phonetic script. It was the Arabic phonetic script which was favoured for their religious publications; and it will be the Arabic phonetic script which will be concentrated upon in this study to determine the acoustic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. To refresh the readers memory, it might be useful to repeat the basic differences between Arabic graphic and Arabic phonetic writing from Chapter 1, before I develop my postulations further.

Arabic graphic script is essentially writing without vocalisms or graphemes and for which sound production depends on the grammatical construction of the letters. A knowledge of the Arabic language is therefore a prerequisite for the reading of such graphic script. For the reading of Arabic-Afrikaans without vocalisms (i.e. Arabic-Afrikaans graphic script), a knowledge of both the Arabic and Afrikaans grammar is necessary. The greatest disadvantage of the Arabic graphic script, for the purposes of this study is, because the pronunciation of the words are not constrained by the *harakat* or vocalisms, there is no consistency in pronunciation. The pronunciation being at all times influenced by the orthoepic pratice of the reader. I will illustrate this later. It is, however, interesting to note that there are many Cape Muslims, who can read Arabic phonetic script perfectly, but because of their lack of knowledge of the Arabic grammar, finds the reading of Arabic graphic script difficult.

Arabic phonetic script is fully vocalized writing in which the pronunciation of the words are governed by vocalisms and graphemes. The pronunciation of the words remain constant, for the written word must be pronounced in terms of the governing graphemes or vocalisms, but within the predetermined rules of the phonetic science of *tajwid*. The extensive use of vocalisms and the highly developed vowel indicator system in the Arabic-Afrikaans phonetic scripts could be attributed to the influence of the acquaintance of the Cape Muslims with the reading of the Arabic Quran. It

is customary for the Holy Quran, unlike other religious or secular writings, to be fully vocalized and thus written in phonetic script. This ensures the constancy in pronunciation irrespective of the Arabic dialect of the reader. Arabic phonetic script performs for the Arabic language the same function which phonetics does for Roman script.

The presence of the *vocalisms* or *harakat* greatly facilitates the reading process. It also ensures the absolute accuracy of the pronunciation of the Arabic words without the necessity of the reader being able to speak Arabic or understands its grammar. This is an absolute advantage which Arabic phonetic script have over Arabic graphic script. The function of the vocalisms or *harakat* in Quranic reading is no more clearly illustrated than in the application of the Quranic reading or *tajwid* rule called, *'iqlabul qalib*. In this instance the Arabic consonant *mim* (م) is appropriated to perform a phonetic function. In such a usage, the *mim* would be regarded as a *harakah*. Hence my translation of the word *harakah* (pural = *harakat)* as *vocalism*, implying a 'vocalic system'.

Coming back, however, to the *'iqlabul qalib*, according to this rule of *tajwid*, whenever the consonant letter *bâ* (ب) is preceded by a *nûn-sâkin* (ن) or the *tanwin* ( ) - I will define these concepts later - the *nûn-sâkin* (ن) or the *tanwin* ( ) must be read as *mim* (م). In the Holy Quran this rule of *tajwid* is indicated by a small *mim* which is situated between the *nûn-sâkin* or *tanwin* and the *bâ* (Jardine, 1983:83). The Arabic letter *mim* (م), is a consonant but in this instance assumes the function of a phonetic symbol and is indicated as a vocalism or *harakah*. Thus the Arabic word *ambiya* (= prophet), is, in terms of lettering morphology, is spelt *anbiya* (أَنْبِيَا). It is only when the vocalisms or *harakat* are read; and the small *mim* (م) above the *nûn-sâkin* and the *bâ*, (أَنْبِيَا = *ambiya)*, is noticed, that the reader will understand that a pronunciation [m] instead of [n] is required.

The use of full vocalisms in Arabic-Afrikaans script is not without purpose. It helps to give accurate and precise pronunciations of the Afrikaans words in the Arabic script. Any reader, who knows the rules of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwid*, irrespective of his knowledge of Afri-

kaans grammar and pronunciation, will, in reading, give the phonetic sound as indicated by the writer. In vocalized reading, the letters must not only be read in terms of the vocalic symbols which accommodates it, but also in terms of its relationship with other letters in the morphology of the word, but at the same time within the constraints of the phonetic science of *tajwîd*.

This does not mean that Arabic-Afrikaans could not be written without *ḥarakat* or vocalisms. In fact there was a tendency, when writing personal notes, not to use *ḥarakat*. This is very evident from the two letters in my possession. Both Achmat Effendi and Awaldien the fez-maker, makes minimum use of vocalisms in their letters. They assume that their readers have an understanding of both Arabic and Afrikaans grammar, and hence will be able to understand their messages. Abubakr Effendi also does not make use of vocalisms in his Afrikaans introduction of the *Bayânudîn*. He possibly assumed that the Introduction would not be widely read by the community. Van Selms in his translation of this Introduction in his book, *Abubakr Effendi: Uiteensetting van die Godsdiens*, admits that he had to refer to vocalized examples in the main texts for his transcription (1979:vii). Unvocalized script, or Arabic-Afrikaans in graphic script, creates inconsistencies in reading. This is illustrated in Figure 14. The example in the illustration is taken from *Die Boek van Tougeed* (The book on the unity of God) which was written by Imam Abdullah ibn Abdurauf, an Imam at the Claremont Main Road Mosque in 1890. It is the only Arabic-Afrikaans publication which was published entirely in graphic script.

The reading of Arabic graphic script, is always governed by grammatical construction and the position of the letters in the structure of the word. Through these constraints a reasonable accuracy, despite the contextual nature of Arabic reading, is assured. What is obvious from my reading analysis in Figure 14 is, that unless the reader has a pre-knowledge of the pronunciation of Afrikaans words, he/she would experience great difficulty in reading the actual sounds intended by the writer. He/she may even mispronounce the words in such a way that they become completely meaningless, as can be seen from my illustration. Not even the structural

أن دت اس مستحیل اوپ الله تعالى لت الله تعالى فرلي اس فر این پلك ان فر این ماكر

"en dit is moestahiel op Allah ta-aalaa iat Allah
ta-aalaa verlee is vir een plek en vir een maker

(and it is impossible for God the Most High that God
the Most High is in wanted for a place or a creator)

(ا ن)   'en' kan gelees word as *in* of *an* of *ien* of *oen*

(د ت)   'dit' kan gelees word as *dat* of *diet* of *doet* of *det*

(ا س)   'is' kan gelees word as *es* of *as* of *ies* of *oes*

(ا و پ)   'op' kan gelees word as *oep* of *oop* of *oup*

(لت)   'lat' kan gelees word as *loet* of *let* of *liet* of *lit*

(فرلي)   'verlee' kan gelees word as *vierlie* of *vierlai* of *vierlee* of *varlie* of *varlai* of *varlee* of *voerlie* of *voerlai* of *voerlee*

(فر)   'vir' kan gelees word as *ver* of *voer* of *var* of *vier*

(ا ین)   'een' kan gelees word as *ain* of *'n*

(ماكر)   'maaker' kan gelees word as *maakier* of *maakoer* of *makaar*

[Ek het dus 'n verskeidenheid van moontlikhede hoe die sin
gelees mag word. Ek gee twee voorbeelde :

1.   *ien dat es moestahiel oep Allah ta-aalaa let Allah ta-aalaa
voerlai is var ain plek of var ain makoer*

2.   *in diet oes moestahiel oup Allah ta-aalaa loet Allah ta-aalaa
varlee as vier 'n pliek in vier 'n maakar*

FIGURE 14 :   A READING ANALYSIS OF A GRAPHIC SCRIPT SENTENCE

prolongations of the _ḥurûful madd_, i.e. the use of the Arabic letters
'alif (ا), _wâw_   (و) and _yâ_ (ى) to create long vowel sounds and
diphtongs, can constrain the pronunciation.   This is illustrated with the
words: _'op'_   (اوپ), where the _wâw_ is used as a _ḥurûful madd_, and in
the instances of the words _'verlee'_ (فرلى) and   _'een'_ (اين) where the
Arabic letter _yâ_ (ى) serves a similar function. I can only conclude that
a pre-knowledge of Afrikaans grammar and pronunciation is a pre-requisite
for the correct pronunciation in the reading of Arabic-Afrikaans written in
graphic script.

The unvocalized Arabic-Afrikaans script (i.e. Arabic-Afrikaans graphic
script), therefore, cannot effectively be used to precisely determine the
Afrikaans or Cape Dutch pronunciation of the Cape Muslims during the nine-
teenth and early twentieth centuries. Our reading of these scripts will be
too greatly influenced by our modern idiom. This, however, leaves us only
with the vocalized or phonetic Arabic-Afrikaans scripts from which an accu-
rate reflection of Cape Muslim Afrikaans of the nineteenth and early twen-
tieth centuries could be obtained.   It is the Arabic phonetic script which
predominates in the Arabic-Afrikaans religious books published during this
period.

4.3.   READING THE ARABIC-AFRIKAANS SCRIPTS

One of the major problems with the existing transcriptions of the Arabic-
Afrikaans phonetic texts, is the misreading of those Arabic phonetic
symbols which were specifically created to indicate distinctive Afrikaans
sounds. These sounds do not exist in the Arabic alphabet.   Nor do they
exist as phonetic symbols of the vocalic system (_ḥarakat_) used in Arabic
phonetic script. They were created for Arabic-Afrikaans through a process
of innovative orthographic engineering. I will look at this process
further on. What is important for the moment is that the misreading of the
Arabic phonetic script by writers such as Van Selms, (1951, 1953, 1979)
Kähler (1971), Ponelis (1981, 1989) and Dangor (1990) create erroneous
impressions with regard to the phonology and acoustic nature of Cape Muslim
Afrikaans. It is the correction of these impressions which is the main
thrust of this study.

The misconceptions about Cape Muslim Afrikaans as derived from transcriptions is clearly illustrated with Van Selms in his transcription of the words *kirai* (Afrikaans = kry) and *takirai* (Afrikaans = te kry) in his *Tweetalige Katigismus* (1951:51), a transcription of the *Su'al wa jawâb* (Questions ans answers). This book was written by Sheikh Achmad Behardien in 1918, not in 1868 as suggested by Van Selms (1951:22). A Roman script publication, of which the short title is, *Kitaab van Towheed*, and which in reality is a Roman script edition of the *Su'al wa jawâb*, also appeared in the same year. I had the privilege of listening to the lectures of Sheikh Achmad Behardien. I also read both the Roman script and the Arabic-Afrikaans versions of the *Su'al wa jawâb.* Van Selms transcription does not conform to the writing tradition of the author; nor does it conform to the Afrikaans Sheikh Achmad Behardien used in his lectures, some of which I attended as a child.

The reason for the differences between Van Selms' transcription and the actual Afrikaans of Sheikh Ahmad Behardien soon became clear to me when I examined the original Arabic-Afrikaans publication. In his eagerness to give us as accurate a phonetic transcription as possible, Professor van Selms, without consideration of the communal reading practice and the rules of *tajwid*, noted every grapheme and vocalism. Sheikh Ahmad Behardien was rather careless with the placement of the graphemes and vocalisms in the Afrikaans texts, but very accurate and precise with their placement in the Arabic sentences.

I can understand both his precision and his carelessness. As a true Arabic scholar, he was aware of the important role of the vocalisms in the reading of Arabic by non-Arabic speaking people. To ensure the absolute correct pronunciation his vocalisms must be perfectly placed. In the Arabic-Afrikaans text, the misplacement of the graphemes and the vocalisms do not change the meaning of the message he desired to convey to his community. They were fairly literate in Arabic reading, when the *Su'al wa jawâb* was written in 1918 (Zwemer, 1925:349). They, therefore, would have read the message in context, as if there were no *harakat* on the letters, and still comprehend what he was saying. This was possible because they had a pre-knowledge of the communal Afrikaans in which the book was written. The

community readers would therefore not have been so greatly disturbed by the spelling mistakes as Professor van Selms. Nevertheless, if Professor van Selms had consulted Sheikh Achmad Behardien, who was still alive at the time he made his transcription, or accepted that both the Roman script and Arabic-Afrikaans publications were by the same author, the result might have been different. (See Figure 15 for a comparative transcription).

One of the most important considerations in the reading of Arabic-Afrikaans, according to Imam Abdurahman Bassier, is the application of the imagination to the reading matter. Imam Abdurahman Bassier, the Imam of the Boorhaanol Mosque in Longmarket Street, Bo-Kaap, is a leading authority on Arabic-Afrikaans reading. He is also one of the few people who teaches Arabic-Afrikaans reading. The Imam's advice might sound unscientific; but if we consider that Arabic-Afrikaans writing is essentially analytical phonetic, one immediately grasps the meaning of his suggestion. The writer had to apply his imagination and his analytical skills to create Arabic vocalic symbols to indicate distinctive Afrikaans sounds. Thus in reading, the reader too must apply his imagination and analytical phonetic skills to decipher the vocalic symbols to produce the most appropriate sound.
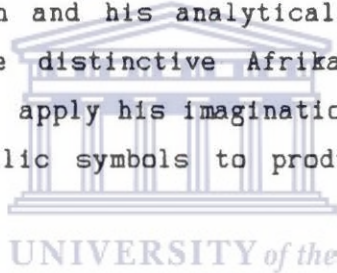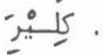
Applying this dictum to Sheikh Achmad Behardien's *Su'al wa jawâb*, I discovered ingenious constructions with consonants which are so powerful that they override the influence of the governing graphemes. Typical examples of these are the *kr*-lettering cluster in the word *krai* (كَرِنْ) - ⟨transcribed by Van Selms as *kirai*⟩: and the *kl*-lettering cluster in the word *kleer* (كَلـِـيْر) (Afrikaans = *kleur*) - ⟨transcribed by Van Selms as *kalier*⟩. I have problems with the word *takrai* (*te kry*), which Professor van Selms transcribes as *takirai*, and on which spelling he observes in a footnote :

> *"die r het 'n 'sukûn, wat hier ontmoontlik is,*
> *en wat as skryffout vir 'a' opgevat moet word"*
> (1951:51)

MY TRANSCRIPTION

dee ' meening van baqaa' Allah ta-'aalaa
hat nee ait-ainde * nee......... dee bie-
waisain van vierstant ies ...... ies dee
krai van dee ghaskaapande.
maar waarliek as allaahoe ta-'aalaa moet
ait ainde * hat dan sal allaaboe ta-'aa-
laa vierghaan ..... en as allaahoe ta'aa-
laa moet vierghaan dan sal daar nie takrai
wees eets van diet sai maakloons nie ...
.... dee biewaisain van qoeraan oop ⁷ dee
siefaat is * .... en sal bielaif
a-leen deereentait dee boege allaboe ta-
'aalaa .... wat is dee meening

dee meening van dee siefat ....
allaboe ta-'aalaa hat nee laif nee en kleer
nee allaboe ta'aalaa ies davrent van al
dee maakloons wat ies dee biewaisain op *
dee sifat dee biewaisain van vierstant op
dee ies... ies dee krai van dee nee ghaskaa-
pande .... waarliek as allaboe ta-'aa-
laa nee moet wees dievrant '² van al dee eets
nee dan sal allkaboe ta-'aalaa moet wees
eeniers niet hoe-ail dan sal daar nee
takrai wees eets van dee sain maakloons
nee....... dee biewaisain van qoeraan op dee
siefah ies ....

VAN SELMS' TRANSCRIPTION

die mienang fan baqâ' allâhû ta'âlâ
hat nie ain aindei nie ...... die biwai-
sain fan ⁷ fierstant is ⁹ .... is die
kirai fan die ghaskaaapandie.
maar waarlik as allâhû ta'âlâ moet
eit eindei hat dan sal allâhû ta'âlâ
firghaan...... en as allâhû yt'âlâ
moet firghaan dan sal daar nie takirai
wies iets fan dietsei maak loenas ⁸ nie
...... die biwaisain fan qur'ân oep
die sifat es .... en sal bilaif
alien die in tait die boegie allâhû
ta'âlâ....... wat es die mienang

die mienang fan die sifat ....
allâhû ta'âlâ hat nie laif nie en kalier
nie allâhû ta-'âlâ is dafiranta fan aldie
maakloenas wat is die biwaisein oep die
sifat die biwaisein fan firstant op die
sifat is ...... is die kirai van die nie
ghaskaapandie..... waarlik as allâhû ta
'âlâ nie moet wies difiranta fan aldie
iets nie dan sal allâhû ta'âlâ wies ienirs
daarmain.... en as allâhû ta'âlâ
moet wies ienars mit hoel ¹⁰ dan sal
daar nie takarai wies iets fan diesei
maakloens nie .... die biwaisain van
qur'ân oep die sifat is....

FOOTNOTES :

1. This kasra-yâ-sakin combination indicates the hurûful madd yâ, with sound [e:]. It is erroneous to transcribe it as a kasra or the Arabic short vowel ie with sound [i]. There is is a tendency to pronounce die slightly longer in Cape Muslim Afrikaans, hence the elongation of the sound.

2. The use of of both combinations the fatha or fatha-kasra with the yâ-sakin indicates the madd lain ai. There is no difference in sound intended. I have, therefore, transcribed both vocalisms as ai.

3. There is no difference in sound between the v and f in Afrikaans, and both letters are represented by the Arabic letter fâ (ف).

4. The kasra cannot be transcribed as the Afrikaans letter i, giving the sound [ə]. This is a error in transcription. The kasra at all times indicate the Arabic short vowel ie with sound [i] as in skiet.

5. Again the kasra in combination with yâ cannot give a transcription ie with sound [i]. This combination at best indicates the long vowel ee with sound [e:], which on stoping is pronounced as [ə].

6. On stoping or waqaf, the last letter of the word is read as if it is accommodated by a sukûn, irrespective of the vocalism which accommodates it. In Arabic-Afrikaans a stop is necessary after each word to get the correct pronunciation.

7. A spelling error. The word should be op, but because the wâw is accommodated with a sukûn, the oo must be indicated. See also note 9.

8. The fatha-kasra combination can be transcribed as i or e to indicate the Afrikaans sound [ə].

9. The classical Arabic-Afrikaans o giving the sound [ɔ]. The o is indicated by a damma-sukûn-less-wâw combination.

10. The transcription hoel is erroneous as it ignores the madd lain wâw-yâ combination.

FIGURE 15 — SOME INDICATIONS OF THE DIFFERENCES IN TRANSCRIPTIONS WHICH RESULTS FROM THE MISREADING OF THE HARAKAT - TWO PAGES FROM

I agree with Professor van Selms that it is a spelling error and that the *sukûn* is misplaced. I, however, do not agree that it should be replace by a *fatḥa* which gives the *a*-sound. To obtain a pronunciation which is more in accordance with that of the community practice, the *fatḥa* should be placed on the Arabic letter *tâ* (ت), and the *fatḥa-kasra* arrangement on the *kâf* (ک) which together with the *yâ-sâkin* (ی) gives the diphthong *ai*. The *sukûn* (ْ) on the *râ* (ر) should be omitted. This arrangement or morphological structure of the word gives a pronunciation which conforms more closely to the communal way of pronunciation of the word.

My postulation is, however, not without evidence. If we look at Sheikh Achmad Behardien's Roman script publication, *Kitaab van Towheed*, we see that he consistently spell the Afrikaans word *'te kry'* as *'takray'* (Behardien, 1918a:5). There is thus no reason why he should spell the word *takirai*, as suggested by Van Selms, when the Sheikh writes it in the Arabic script.

I also found invaluable clues in the *Su'al wa jawâb* (Behardien, 1918b), and other Arabic-Afrikaans publications when I looked at the spelling of the word *krai* (Afrikaans = kry) in the Arabic orthography. From the way the word *krai* has been spelled in the Arabic orthography, it is clear that these writers heard the *kr* as a distinctive sound-combination, not represented by a letter in the Arabic alphabet; and hence a lettering symbol for this sound-combination had to be created. It is not normal in Arabic phonetic script for two consonants to be adjacent to each other, without a vocalism, and still produce a sound. In order to create the *kr* sound-combination, they had to bring together the *kâf* (ک) and the *râ* (ر) and to show that it is a single letter, leave out the *sukûn*. Sheikh Achmad Behardien follows this same procedure with the *kl*-lettering cluster. This *kl*-lettering cluster is already observed in Abubakr Effendi's *Bayânudîn* (1877:78), when Abubakr uses it to spell the word *kle-eere* (Afrikaans = klere) = كِلـِـيْرَ .

Strictly speaking, in terms of Quranic reading, the omission of a vocalism makes a letter *lâ muta ḥarik* (i.e. without vocalisms or *ḥarakat*), implying that such letter cannot be read or moved. The letter has only a gramma-

tical function in the word. This kind of construction involves only the *ḥurûful madd* (Jardine, 1983:52). Typical example of such letters appears in the Arabic word, *ribâ* (رِبَوا) (English = interest), in which case the *wâw* (و) and the *'alif* (ا) are written but not pronounced. The nearest English example we have is the silent *'c'* in the word *'scissors'*, though the function is not the same.

The omission of the *sukûn* on the *râ* (ر) serves no grammatical function, yet if the *râ* is silent, or for that matter omitted, the pronunciation would be *kai* [kəi]. This is not the intention of these writers. The consistent use of *kr* as a lettering cluster, i.e. without the *sukûn* on the *râ*, is indicative that their intentions are deliberate. "Consistency in writing is clarity of intention", says our Arabic-Afrikaans reading expert, Imam Abdurahman Bassier. The consistent use of this construction, is, however, not without precedent or consideration of the rules of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwîd*.

It was Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraqi who designed this construction, - the *kr*-lettering cluster. He came from Iraq and had a thorough knowledge of Persian. The Sheikh must have noticed that the Persian-Turkish *ng* (ک), which in sound value is equal to the Afrikaans *ng*, (and used extensively in Arabic-Afrikaans to indicate the *ng* in Afrikaans words), is composed of two letters, the *nûn* (ن) and the *kâf* (ک); and to show that a single letter (or rather sound-combination), is intended, the *sukûn* is omitted. Encouraged by this construction, Sheikh Abdurahim, when confronted with the *kr* sound-combination, used the *kâf* (ک) and the *râ* (ر) in exactly the same way. It is significant that Sheikh Abdurahim should use this construction in the *Tuḥfatul atfâl* (A gift for children), which he wrote in 1900. This book deals excluively with Arabic reading, and explains the rules of *tajwîd* . In it, Sheikh Abdurahim is extremely careful with the placement of the *ḥarakat* to ensure the precise pronunciation, in Arabic-Afrikaans, at all times.

Whether the *Tuḥfatul atfâl* was also an attempt to fully standardize the Arabic-Afrikaans spelling arrangement, and thus facilitate the reading process, is difficult to say. Sheikh Abdurahim certainly creates a very

distinctive vocalism for the Afrikaans short vowel *o* [ɔ], a sound not present in the Arabic language. The Afrikaans short vowel *o* [ɔ] was indicated by a *sukûn*-less *wâw*, preceded by *ḍamma* (و◌ُ) by the previous Arabic-Afrikaans writers. I will look at the creation of the Afrikaans letter *o* later. What I do know is that the spelling arrangements of Sheikh Abdurahim is imitated by his student Sheikh Achmat Behardien. This is particularly evident with *kr*-cluster and the Afrikaans letter *o*. Sheikh Achmat Behardien, like his teacher, was also proficient in Persian, and as such, must have recognised the logic of Sheikh Abdurahim's creation of the *kr* sound-combination as a single letter.

It is interesting to note that Sheikh Ismail Ganief (Edwards), a most prolific writer of Arabic-Afrikaans from 1928 onwards, had his own way of dealing with the *kr* lettering cluster. This is evident from the way he spells the word *kraigh* (Afrikaans = *kry*) on page 73 of the *Al Mukaddimatul Hadramiyah* (An introduction to the practices of the people of Hadralmaut), which appeared in 1828. Sheikh Ismail Ganief keeps the *kâf* (ك) and the *râ* (ر) as separate letters by placing a *sukûn* on the *kâf* (ك) and a *fatḥa* on the *râ* to spell *kraigh* thus : (كَرَيْخ).

Nevertheless my concern, however, is still the reading mechanism used by Sheikh Abdurahim in the creation of the *kr*-cluster as a single letter in Arabic-Afrikaans. Of vital importance is the omission of the *sukûn*. One of the functions of the *sukûn*, according to Sulaiman Jardine (1983:59), is to indicate that the letter is *sakîn* or stationary, unless preceded by a letter with a vowel sound. By this he means that the stationary letter must be intermixed with the preceding letter and the indicated vowel sound. Sheikh Abdurahim, in the *Tuḥfatul atfâl*, defines the Arabic phonetic rule of intermix or *idḥam* more succintly when he writes :

> *"en die meening van iedghaam is bai die taal van*
> *Arab as inghaan iets in ander iets, en die meening*
> *van iedghaam bai die oelama van qieraat (scholars*
> *of reading) is onmoet een garf (letter) wat saakien*
> *is bai ander garf wat moetaghariek (letter with*
> *vocalism) is"*

It is obvious from both definitions that the *sukûn* emphasises the indivi-duality of the letters. Had Sheikh Abdurahim placed a *sukûn* on the *râ* (ر), he would by definition have acknowledged that the *kâf* (ک) and the *râ* were separate letters. He does not do so when he writes the word *krai* (کَرِيْ). In fact he uses the *fatha-kasra* arrangement which he places midway between the *kâf* and the *râ*; and places the *sukûn* on the *yâ* (ی) to produce the diphthong *ai*.

The consistent and persistent use of the *kr* as a lettering cluster by Sheikh Abdurahim, is well illustrated if we compare his spelling of the Afrikaans word *kragh*, as used in his 1907 publication, *Arkân-ul-islâm Arakân-ul-imân* (Principles of Islam - principles of faith), with the spelling of the same word by Ghatieb Magmoed in his Arabic-Malayu-Afrikaans 1880 manuscript. Sheikh Abdurahim spells the word *kragh* by placing a *fatha* on the 'alif, with the *khâ* (خ) carrying the *sukûn*. This produces a pronunciation *kra-agh* (کَرا اخْ) [kra-ᵃx]. Ghatieb Magmoed places *fatha* on the *kâf*, *râ* and 'alif, with a *sukûn* on the *khâ*. This produces a pronunciation *ka-ra-agh* (کَرَا اخْ) [kara-ax]. There is a subtle, yet distinct difference in the pronunciation of this Afrikaans word *krag*, resulting from the different modes of spelling adopted by these writers. The way that Sheikh Abdurahim spells the word, conforms more closely to the way the word is pronounced in the Cape Muslim community - [krax].

It is his misconception of the function of the *kr* lettering cluster which probably caused Van Selms to look at the structure of Sheikh Achmad Behardien's spelling of the word *kry* as '*moontlik*' (possible) (Van Selms, 1951:51), and went on to transcribe it as *kirai* [kirəi]. I am not convinced that there was such a wide difference in the pronunciation of a simple Afrikaans word like *kry* in the Afrikaans speaking communities in Cape Town at the beginning of the twentieth century. The spelling, and hence the pronunciation of the word *kry* in the white Afrikaner community is clearly illustrated on page 90 of the June 1898 edition of *Ons Klijntji*, in the sentence : "*wag laat ek 'n bitji tyd kry seg sy by haar self .....*" I can only, therefore, conclude that Professor van Selms' transcription of *kirai* is erroneous. On this basis, and my argument presented, I also conclude that Sheikh Achmad Behardien meant to write *takrai* [takrəi] and

not *takirai* [takirәi], as suggested by Van Selms, for the Cape Muslim
Afrikaans equivalent for the Afrikaans word *te kry*.

By merely applying my imagination to the reading matter, as suggested by
Imam Abdurahman Bassier, I demonstrated the analytical phonetic involvement
in the writing of Arabic-Afrikaans. What is evident from this analysis is
that the Arabic-Afrikaans writers were willing to experiment with the
letters of the Arabic alphabet to create representations of what they heard
as distinctive sounds in their spoken Cape Muslim Afrikaans. I have called
this process innovative orthographic engineering. Although I will discuss
this process in far more detail further on, from this analysis an insight
as to how this process work is already obtained. Through this process two
lettering clusters, the *kl* and *kr*, as sound combinations, resulted in the
creation two distinctive Arabic lettering symbols of the Arabic-Afrikaans
adaptation of the Arabic alphabet - the *kl* (كل) and the *kr* (كر).

What is also emerged from this analysis is that the misreading of the
writers intention could create the impression that Cape Muslim Afrikaans in
the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was vastly different from
the Afrikaans spoken by other communities sharing a common social milieu.
Van Selms' misreading in fact resulted in the question he raised: "*Is dit
'n groep taal, beperk net tot die kringe van die Kaapse Maleiers......?*"
(1951:11).

I agree that there were differences and that there was a tendency to mix
Malayu and Arabic words in their colloquial and written Afrikaans. I also
agree that there were differences in some aspects of pronunciation, but
these differences were not so vast as the impression created by Van Selms
(1951, 1953, 1979), Kähler (1971), Ponelis, (1981) and Dangor (1990) in
their transcriptions of the Arabic-Afrikaans texts. That there were more
similarities than differences in the spoken Afrikaans of all South
Africans, as borne out by the following observation of Herbertus Elfers:

> "*The Cape Dutch has none of that perplexing redundancy of
> other languages which gives more than one name to an object.
> Its vocabulary is delightfully limited, circumscribed by the*

> actual needs of expression. Besides, from Cape Point to the
> Rhodesian wilds, and wherever the Afrikander roams, it is the
> same language with little local idiom."

Elfers continues and indicates that the best representation of Cape Dutch
are to be found among the "Malay population" of the Cape Peninsula and the
'bastards' (sic) people on the German missions stations (Elfers, 1908:6).

The observations of Elfers, the Dutch grammarian, is, however, confirmed
when the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts of this period are transcribed in
accordance with the rules of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwîd*. The
rules, in terms of which they were written. Through the application of the
rules of *tajwîd*, the Arabic-Afrikaans writers produced phonetically
accurate renderings, in Arabic vocalized script, of the Afrikaans sounds
they heard in the community.

The writing and spelling in Afrikaans with Arabic lettering was not an easy
process. The greatest obstacle which faced the writers was the limita-
tions of the Arabic vowel system. It did not have representative symbols to
indicate the sounds of all the Afrikaans vowels. This limitations necessi-
tated the creation of distinctive vocalic symbols in the Arabic script for
the distinctive vowel sounds of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. The manipulation of
the Arabic alphabet and its vowel system for this purpose; a process which
I called **innovative orthographic engineering**; has not been examined before.

4.4. THE *ḤARAKAH* - THE ARABIC VOCALIC SYSTEM

Therefore, to understand the process of innovative orthographic engineer-
ing, which gave rise to distinctive vocalisms for certain Afrikaans sounds
in Arabic-Afrikaans script, it is necessary first to understand the pho-
netic function of the Arabic vowel graphemes and vocalisms used in Arabic
phonetic script. It is the vowel graphemes and vocalisms which determine
the pronunciation of the words. The sounds they indicate are limited to
the Arabic language. There are, however, sounds in Afrikaans which do not
exist in Arabic. To indicate these sounds in the Arabic-Afrikaans script,
the manipulation of the Arabic alphabet and its vowel indicator system

became necessary. This manipulation involved either the combination of vocalisms and graphemes or the structuring of lettering clusters, within the constraints of the rules of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwîd*.

The Arabic language has only three vowels to indicate the *a* [a], *ie* [i] and *oe* [u] sounds. In the Arabic phonetic script these sounds are indicated by three identifiable vowel graphemes - the *fatḥa* (´) giving the *a* [a] sound; the *kasra* (⸜) giving the *ie* [i] sound; and the *ḍamma* (´) giving the *oe* [u] sound. These vowel graphemes, together with the other vocalisms used in Arabic phonetic script, are called the *ḥarakat*. The word *ḥarakah*, means *'to move'*, implying that the Arabic letters or the *ḥurûful hija*, as consonants, do not have sounds of their own. Their pronunciation are dependent on the *ḥarakat* (Jardine, 1983:27). As pointed out earlier, the vowel graphemes are not the only *ḥarakat*; and thus the concept *ḥarakat* has been translated as *vocalisms*, meaning a vocalic system.

The *fatḥa*, *kasra* and *ḍamma* are therefore the only true vowel graphemes in Arabic. The Arabic long vowels, *aa* [a:], *ee* [e:] and *oo* [o:], are structurally produced, using the consonants known as the hurûful madd, i.e. *'alif* (ا), *wâw* (و), and *yâ* (ى) or a group of vocalisms known as *madda*. The structurally produced long vowel *aa* [a:] is produced by an *'alif* preceded by a letter with *fatḥa*, while *oo* [o:] and *ee* [e:] are produced by the *wâw-sâkin* (وْ) and *yâ-sâkin* (ىْ), preceded by a *ḍamma* (´) and *kasra* (⸜) respectively. Examples of the long vowels in combination with the consonant *bâ* (ب) : بَا *baa*, pronounced [ba:]; بِي = *bee*, pronounced [be:]; and بُو *boo*, pronounced [bo:] (Jardine, 1983:41).

The alternative long vowel signs or vocalisms, the *madda*, are divided into two groups - the *madd qâim* and the *âyatul madd*. The *madd qâim*, also known as the *'standing madd'*, will be recognized by its standing position. The *madd qâim* is composed of three distinct vocalisms, each of which indicates a distinct prolongation of the sound of a letter which they accommodate. They derive their names from the vowel grapheme on which the prolongation is based. They are called *fatḥatul-qâim*, giving the prolongation of the *fatḥa*, and pronounced as [a:]; *kasratul qâim*, giving the prolongation of the *kasra*, and pronounced as [e:]; and the *ḍammatul qâim*, giving the pro-

longation of the *ḍamma*, and pronounced as [o:]. The *âyatul madd* is four soundless vocalisms which merely indicate the length of prolongation of the letters or vowel graphemes they influence. They can be recognised as wavy signs of various lengths and thickness, with the length and thickness indicating the length of prolongation (Jardine, 1983:42, 43, 45).

Prior to this study, very little interest was shown in these long vowel vocalisms and their influence on words in Arabic-Afrikaans. Van Selms (1951:42) confines himself only to the *fatḥatul qâim*, and notes that it appears as a *'vertikale strepie'* indicating the long vowel *aa* [a:]. Ponelis (1981:269,270) ignores them completely in his discussion of the Arabic vowel system. The importance of the *madda* is indicated by the fact that *madda* are used no less than 31 times on page 2 of the *Bayânudîn*. They appear to be greatly favoured by Abubakr Effendi in his creation of the Afrikaans *e* in Arabic script. It is sufficient, for the time being, to note the importance of the *madda* in Arabic reading. Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraqi amplifies the importance of the *madda* in the *Tuḥfatul atfâl* (A gift for children) when he writes :

> "*Diese kitaab hai het ghamaak vir die ghienaghe wat wiel leer en hai ghabekent in die kietaab die goekoem* (ruling) *van die noen-saakien en die goekoem van die tanween en die goekoem van die moeddoe*" (This book he created for the one eager to learn, and he clarified in the book the rulings of the *nûn-sâkin* and the rulings of the *tanwîn* and the rulings of the *madda*) (1900:5).

This Arabic-Afrikaans publication is the first dealing with the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwîd* and goes into extensive detail on the function of the *madda* in Arabic phonetic reading.

A very important vocalism is the *sukûn*. The *sukûn* does not convey any sound, but it is an indication that the letter on which it appears must be intermixed with the sound and the letter preceding it. The letter with the *sukûn* is said to be *sâkin* or 'stationary' (Jardine, 1983:36). In the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts the *sukûn* is indicated by a tiny circle (°) or a

small macron (˘) above the letter. The manipulation of the *sukûn* is one of the most ingenious excercises by the Cape Muslim Arabic-Afrikaans writers to indicate Afrikaans sounds which are not present in the Arabic language. It is a pity that neither Van Selms (1951, 1953, 1979) nor Ponelis (1981, 1989) pay much attention to the function of the *sukûn*. The omission or otherwise of the *sukûn* on the *wâw* preceded by a letter with *damma* indicates a difference in pronunciation. When the *sukûn* is not omitted, the classical Arabic long vowel oo [o:] is indicated. With the omission of the *sukûn* a new vocalism which does not exist in Arabic, the Afrikaans *o* as in *om* [ɔm], is created. The *damma* on any letter which is not suffixed by *wâw* indicates the classical Arabic short vowel *oe* [u]. Both Van Selms and Ponelis transcribe all three variations as *oe*, a serious error in their transcriptions.

In the *Bayânudîn*, Abubakr Effendi indiscriminately omit the *sukûn* from the *wâw* when the *wâw* is preceded by a letter with *damma*. There are two possibilities for this indiscriminate omission. Either Abubakr Effendi did not hear distinct differences in the pronunciation of [ɔ], [u] and [o:], which is unlikely. Alternatively, he left it to the discretion of the reader to decide which sound is intended by reading the word in context. The latter is a perfectly legitimate consideration in terms of the rules of *tajwîd*. In this regard he imitated a tradition which prevailed with the earlier Arabic-Afrikaans writers. It creates uncertainty for the transcriber, for a pre-knowledge of Cape Muslim Afrikaans is required to indicate the correct sound. Post Abubakr Effendi Arabic-Afrikaans writers used different vocalisms to indicate *oe* [u]; *o* [ɔ] and *oo* [o:].

There are two diphthongs in Arabic. These diphthongs are called the *madd lain* and are structured vocalic symbols, rather than graphemes. They indicate the Arabic diphthong sounds *ou* [oeu] and *ai* [ɑi], and are recognised in the Arabic script by the *wâw sâkin* and *yâ sâkin* preceded by a letter with *fatha*, respectively. The *madd lain* is illustrated thus: ٕوأ = *ou* [œu], and ٕيأ = *ai* [ɑi] (Jardine:1983:44). Because the Arabic diphthongs are equal in sound to the Afrikaans diphthongs *ei* and *ou*, they proved useful to Arabic-Afrikaans. Like Van Selms and Ponelis, I am influenced by the Arabic to Roman script transliterations and transcribe

the Arabic diphthong [ɔi] as *ai*. Though this transcription is not wrong in terms of its graphic presentation, a transcription *ei*, in terms of sound value, is more correct.

A vocalism not generally used in Arabic-Afrikaans is the *tanwîn* . This is the nasal sound of the Arabic consonant *nûn* (ن). The *tanwîn* is indicated by a double presentation of the *fatḥa* (ً) or the *kasra* (ٍ) or the *ḍamma* (ٌ) on a single letter. When this occurs, the letter is inter-mixed with a 'hidden *nûn*' which gives a distinct nasal *n*. In the practice of Arabic reading, one of the graphemes takes the place of the usual vowel sound, while the other takes the place of the *nûn-sâkin*, i.e. a *nûn* with a *sukûn* (ن). The *tanwîn*, also called the *nûn-tanwîn*, has three distinct forms with names derived from the vowel graphemes with which they are associated. They are called the *fatḥa-tain* (ً), the *kasra-tain* (ٍ) and *ḍammatain* (ٌ). The following examples show how the *tanwîn* is intermixed with *'alif* (ا): ًا = ً = *an* [an]; ٍا = ٍ = *ien* [in]; and ٌا = *oen* [un].

I have detected only one instance in Arabic-Afrikaans where the *tanwîn* is used. This instance is in the spelling of the word *mense* (people) by Abubakr Effendi. Both Van Selkms (1979) and Ponelis (1986) transcribe this word as *miesie*. If they had looked carefully, they would have noticed that on page 2 of the *Bayânudîn*, when Abubakr Effendi used vocalisms on this word for the first time, he placed a very small, but clearly identifiable *ḍammatain*, instead of a *sukûn* on the *yâ* (ىٌ) to spell *mense* (مِيـْسِى). Later the *ḍammatain* is replaced by a *sukûn* (مِيـْسِى) giving a transcription *me-se*. I believe that Abubakr Effendi heard a pronunciation [mɛːse] (*mense*) and indicated the nasal *n* with the only vocalism at his disposal, the *ḍammatain*. The Turkish calligrapher who prepared the book for printing, probably did not understand this unusual usage of the *ḍammatain*. He, therefore, omitted it from the word structure. This is indeed the case with the omission of many other vocalisms from some Afrikaans word structures in the *Bayânudîn*.
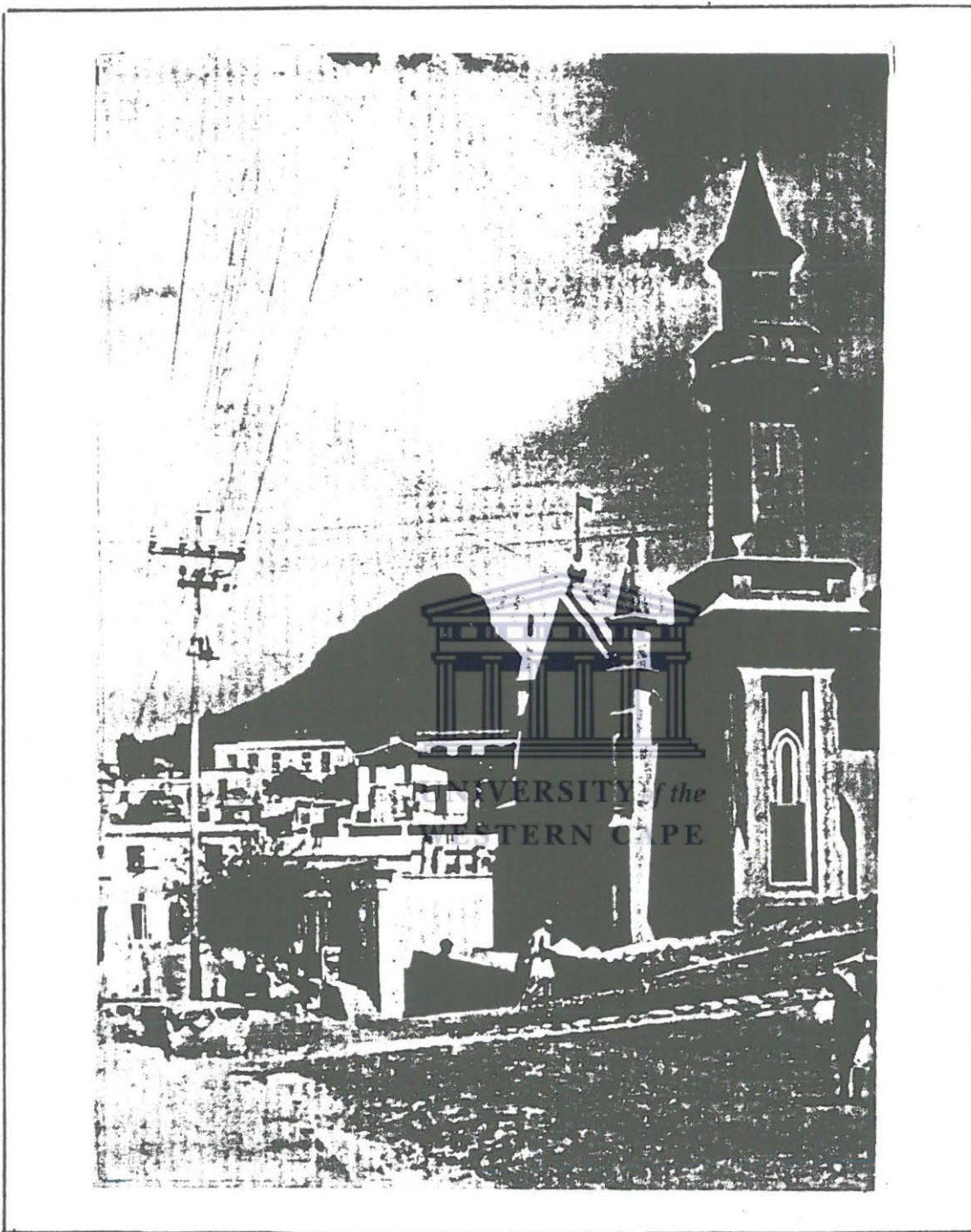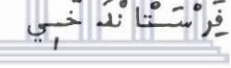
FIGURE 16 — A HISTORIC PICTURE OF MOSQUE SHAFEE IN CHIAPPINI STREET, BO-KAAP, TAKEN AROUND THE 1920s, WHERE SHEIKH ACHMAT BEHARDIEN OFFICIATED AS IMAM FROM 1918 TO 1970, AND WHERE THE *SU'AL WA JAWAB* AND THE *BAYANI SALATI THURI BA'ADAL JUM'ATI* WERE WRITTEN IN 1918 AND 1957 RESPECTIVELY.

It is also possible that Abubakr Effendi heard two distinct pronunciations
of the word *mense* - [mæsə] and [mɛ̃:sə] and indicate both pronunciations in
the Arabic script.   This possibility diminishes somewhat if we consider
that Abubakr Effendi used three *ḥarakat* to indicate the Afrikaans *e* the
word *sê* (سَسِى).   In any case, the transcription *ie*, instead of *e*, by Van
Selms and Ponelis, is erroneous, for reasons which will become obvious
later.

It is not normal in Arabic script for a consonant to be written twice in
succession.   An exception is the spelling of the word *Allah* (الله),
meaning 'God', in which case the Arabic letter *lām* (ل) is written in
succession.   However, to avoid the repetition of a letter, even in graphic
script, a vocalic symbol, called the *tashdîd* (ّ), is used.   The *tashdîd* is
identifiable as a small *w* (ّ) above the letter to be repeated.   It is not
frequently used in Arabic-Afrikaans, and seemed to be preferred by only one
writer, Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar (Berdien).   The following words, to
illustrate the *tashdîd*, is taken from the *Kitab arryâdal badi'a*, written by
him 1900 : *klippe* (stones)   =   كِلِّپِّ   *stikkie* (a piece) =   سِتِّكِّى and
verstaandaghghe (intelligent)   =   فِرِسْتَانْدَخِّى   .

4.5.   THE PROCESS OF INNOVATIVE ORTHOGRAPHIC ENGINEERING

The Arabic vowel system and its related vocalisms does not always suit
Afrikaans, which has a more finely differentiated vowel system.   Ponelis
puts this very cleary when he writes :

> "*Die getal vokaalgrafeme in die Arabiese skrifstelsel is
> klein omdat die vokaalsisteem so beperk is. Hierdie vo-
> kaalgrafeme pas die Afrikaanse sisteem glad nie goed nie,
> aangesien dié veel fyner gedifferensieer is*' (1981:268)

The result of this inadequacy of the Arabic vocalic system, is that some of
the Afrikaans vowels and diphthongs cannot always be precisely represented
in the Arabic script.   To create representative vocalisms or vowel graphem-
es for the distinctive sounds of Cape Afrikaans, the Cape Muslim Arabic-
Afrikaans writers became involved in a complicated process of manipulation

---

of the Arabic vocalic system - the ḥarakah - in an endeavour to create representative Arabic phonetic and lettering symbols for Arabic-Afrikaans.
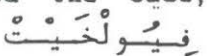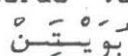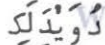
This manipulation was not confined to the vocalic system, and although the morphological changes are more obvious with regard to the vowel graphemes and other vocalisms, the manipulation of consonants also occurred. Through the creation of lettering clusters, as we have seen earlier, two new consonants in Arabic-Afrikaans were created. These two new letters are *kl* and *kr*. The *kl* is made up of two distinct Arabic letters, the *kâf* (ك) and the *lâm* (ل), while *kr* is made up of the Arabic letters *kâf* (ك) and *râh* (ر). In both instances the clustering is created by the omission of the *sukûn*. As I have pointed out earlier, these lettering clusters are made up of sound-combinations, but they nevertheless represents a single lettering concept to the writers. Hence within the Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet they would be distinct letters inasmuch as the Persian-Turkish ng (گ), which is also a lettering cluster, representing a distinctive sound in the Persian-Turkish languages.

The Persian-Turkish *ng* (گ), is in fact a clustering of two distinct Arabic letters, the *nûn* (ن) and the *kâf* (ك), without the *sukûn* to show the clustering. A letter without the *sukûn* or any other vocalic symbol, is said to be *la muta ḥarik*, i.e. without *ḥarakah* or vocalism, and under normal circumstances is not read. The presence of the letter in the word structure, as noted earlier, is there purely for grammatical reasons. In the case of *kl* and *kr*, or for that matter the Persian-Turkish *ng*, the omission of the *sukûn* serves no grammatical function, hence the letter which it would normally accommodate, must be read.

Nevertheless, my main concern is the manipulation of the Arabic vocalic system - the *Ḥarakah* - by the Arabic-Afrikaans writers to create appropriate phonetic symbols for Afrikaans sounds not represented by lettering symbols in the Arabic phonetic script. This endeavour is part of a broader process, which I call 'innovative orthographic engineering', and which played an important role in the development of the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition. This process is to me the most exciting aspect of this tradition, for the writers actually became involved in a process of

---

creating a new alphabet. I had difficulty finding a suitable term for this process, and opted for the concept 'innovative orthographic engineering'. The main elements of this concept, as I defined it in Chapter 1, is the restructuring of a foreign alphabet to create lettering symbols to represent the sounds of a mother tongue not represented by lettering symbols in the foreign alphabet.

I hinted at this process when I looked at the creation of the Arabic-Afrikaans lettering clusters, *kl* and *kr*; and when I wrote about the omission of the *sukûn* from the *wâw* in the creation of the Afrikaans letter o [ɔ], earlier on. The actual mechanics involved in the process of innovative orthographic engineering may be observed in the difficulties experienced by the Arabic-Afrikaans writers to create suitable orthographic representations of the Afrikaans vowel *u*, as in *julle* and the diphthong *ui*, as in *vuil*. Ponelis must have observed this process, probably without comprehending it, when he looked at the diphthong *ui* in the *Bayânudîn*. Hence his comment: *"Die spelling van hierdie diftong is wyd uiteenlopend"* (1981:284).

This is indeed the case, as the spelling of the words *veiyoelghait* (*vuilgoed*) = فِـيُـولْخَـيْـتْ , *boe-waiten* (*buiten*) = بَوْيْـتَـنْ and *doe-ouaidelik* (*duidelik*) = دُوْيْـدَلِكْ - all words with a distinct *ui* sound in Afrikaans - indicate. Ponelis, however, does not postulate any reason for this uncertainty in spelling.

I believe that the Arabic-Afrikaans writers heard distinct Afrikaans *u* and *ui* sounds, but was unable to represent them accurately in the Arabic script, hence the variety of spelling arrangements. The absence of an Afrikaans sounding *ui* diphthong, (and vowel *u*), in Arabic, makes the placement of these Afrikaans sounds, even in approximation to a related sound, difficult within an exact position of the *makhraj* of the speech organs. The *makhraj* is defined as the place in the sound organs where the sound of the letter is expressed , and where the sound terminates, while the sound of a letter of the *makhraj* is the *sâkin* form of a letter preceded by an *'alif* having *fatḥa* (Zardad, 1978:13). The position of a letter within

the *makhraj* is extremely important, for this governs the pronunciation of
the Arabic letter in Arabic reading.

There are 17 positions of *makharij* (plural for *makhraj*) governing the
correct pronunciation of the letters of the Arabic alphabet, which the
reader of Arabic, especially the Quran must observe. As an illustration of
how precise the letters must be pronounced, I have produce here a few
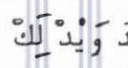description of pronunciation as clarified by Zardad:

"   ق   is uttered from the extremme (back) part of the tongue
              touching the soft palate" (pronunciation of qâf)

"   ل   is uttered while lifting the tip of the tongue with its
              sides touching (the upper palate, moving) towards the
              palate of the two upper front teeth to the upper back
              teeth" (pronunciation of *lâm*)

"ط د ت   are uttered when the tip of the tongue touches the two
              front teeth" (pronunciation of *tâ*, *dal* and *ṭâ*) (Zardad
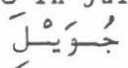   1978:31,32).

It is obvious from this that a tremendous emphasis is placed on correct
pronunciation in the reading of the Arabic script. It was important,
therefore, for the Arabic-Afrikaans writers to take into consideration this
principle of orthoepy. This made it very difficult for them to provide
appropriate lettering or vowel constructions to accurately and consistently
indicate certain vowels and diphthongs. This happened in the instance of
the Afrikaans vowel *u* and its related diphthong *ui*. An illustration of the
position of the Arabic letters in the speech organs, based on a similar
diagram by Zardad, is given in Figure 17.

The constraints which the position of the letters on the *makhraj* place on
the pronunciation of the letters, did not, however, prevent the early Cape
Muslim Arabic-Afrikaans writers from at least attempting to create appro-
priate combinations of Arabic vowels and diphthongs to represent the Afri-
kaans *u* [œj] and *ui* [œyj] sounds. What they did was to take the *madd*

lain, i.e. the diphthong producing letters, with their governing grapheme, (the **wâw-sâkin** ‹ ﻭ › and the **yâ-sâkin** ‹ ﻯ › with *fatḥa*), and use them in combination to indicate the diphthong *ui* [œyj]. The Arabic diphthong letters, as the name implies, are derived from the **ḥurûful madd**, which letters according to Zardad *"are uttered from the hollowness of the mouth"* (1987:31). Neither of the Arabic diphthongs on their own can produce the hollow roundedness associated with the pronunciation of the Afrikaans diphthong *ui*, while in combination with *fatḥa*, they produce a sound only in close proximity to it. This process of innovative orthographic engineering creates a rather clumsy **wai** or **ouai** diphthong in Arabic-Afrikaans.

Ponelis transcribe the diphthong *ui* as **oeai**, for reasons I cannot comprehend. If we, however, look carefully at his transcription of the word *duidelik* (clearly), which he transcribed as **doeaidlik** (1981:285), we comprehend his confusion. Abubakr Effendi (1877:51), at whose work Ponelis was looking, actually spelt the word with a **ḍamma** on the *dal* (ﺩ), a **fatḥa** on the **wâw** (ﻭ) and a **sukûn** on the **yâ** (ﻯ) and the second *dal* (ﺩ), and used the **fatḥa-kasra** combination on the **lâm** (ﻝ) with **kâf-sâkin**. This gives an Arabic construction دُ وَيدْلَك with transcription of either **doewaidlik** or **doe-ouaidlik**, depending on whether one sees the **wâw** as a consonant or functioning as a diphthong. Applying the rule of **makhraj** to the word construction, one obtains an **ouai** transcriptrion (**wâw** and **yâ sâkin** in combination with *fatḥa*). But because the **wâw** is **muta ḥarik**, i.e. with a **ḥarakah** or vocalism, one can also get a **wai** transcription. In this second instance the **wâw** acts as a consonant. It is my opinion that, because the writers were involved in a process of vowel/diphthong construction, a transcription **ouai** might be more correct. Ponelis ignores the existence of the **wâw** completely. This is an error in reading, for the **wâw** is not *la muta ḥarik*, i.e. without vocalism, and therefore must be read.

Nevertheless, a problem emerges when the Cape Muslim Arabic-Afrikaans writers used the same lettering construction **ouai** or **wai** to indicate the Afrikaans *u* as in *julle*. This is clearly seen in the spelling of the words *julle* جُوَيْـل , which is transcribed as **djoe-waile**, and *hulle*
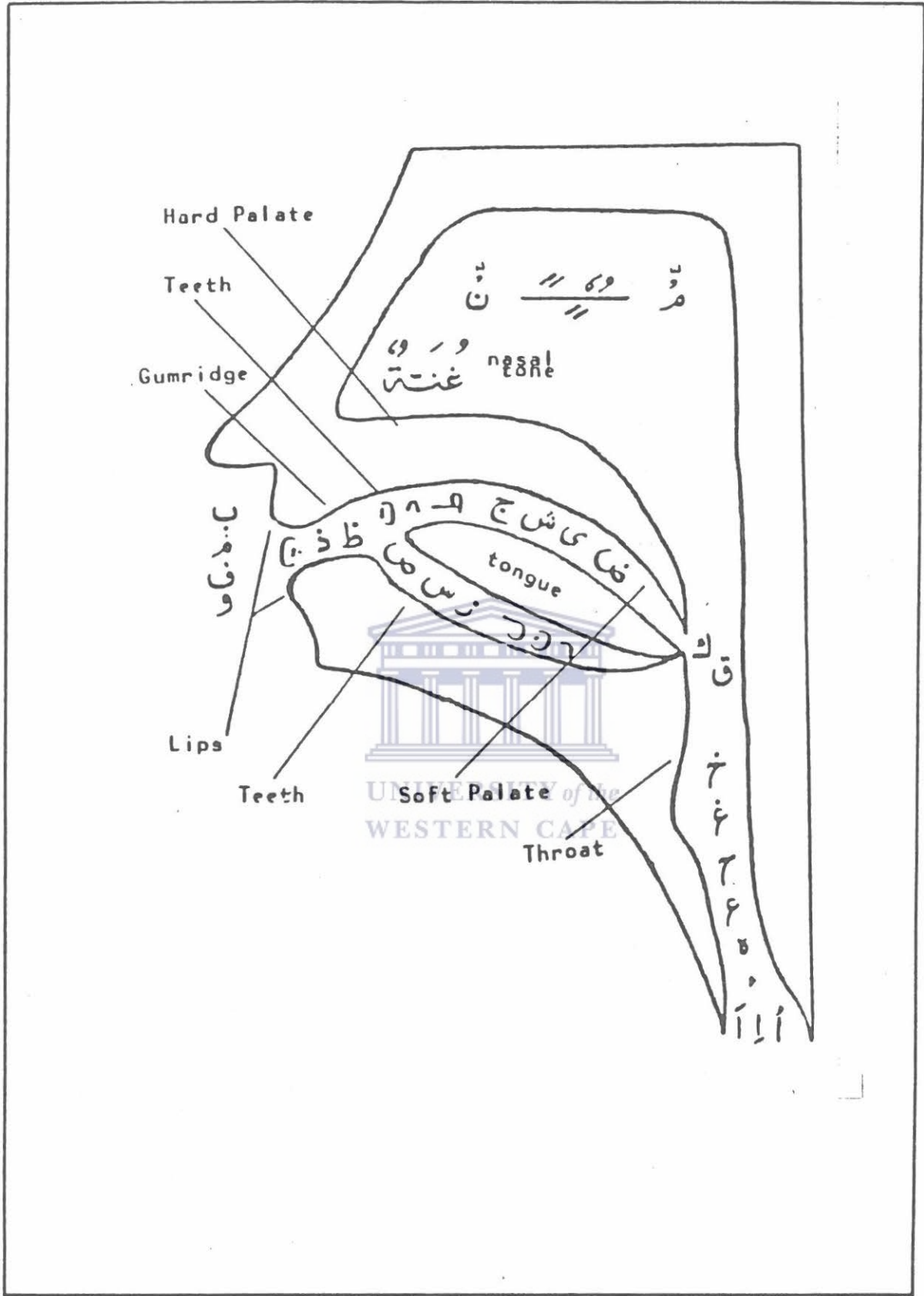
FIGURE 17 : DIAGRAM OF THE SPEECH ORGANS AND THE ARABIC ALPHABET WITH
ITS SEVENTEEN *MAKHARIJ* (Plural for *MAKHRAJ*) OF THE MOUTH,
THROUGHT, TONGUE, LIPS AND NOSE

هُوَيْـلَ , which I transcribed as *hoe-waile*. The inappropriateness of this lettering structure, in its apparent contradiction of the *makhraj* rule of *tajwid*, was of concern to the Arabic-Afrikaans writers. This concern led to a continual process of experimentation which led to morphological changes, which inturn influenced orthoepic practice, as illustrated with the word *hulle* below :

1869	-	*hoe-waile*	[huwilə]	هُوَيْـلَ	- Abubakr Effendi
1894	-	hee-lie	[he:li]	هِـيْـل	- Hisham N Effendi
1907	-	hil-e	[hələ]	هَلِي	- Abdurahim al Iraqi
1910	-	hil-i	[hələ]	هَلِي	- Ta Ha Gamieldien

FIGURE 18 :   A HISTORICAL PATTERN IN MORPHOLOGICAL AND
ORTHOEPIC CHANGES IN THE WORD *HULLE*

Nevertheless, this process of experimentation demonstrates their concern to write the Arabic-Afrikaans in accordance with the prescriptions determined by the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwid*. Before we, therefore, look at the development and individualistic elements of the Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet, let us first look at some aspects of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwid*.

4.6.   ASPECTS OF *TAJWiD*

The Arabic phonetic science of *tajwid* is a vast subject which deals exclusively with the correct reading of the Holy Quran.   A detailed exposition of this phonetic science would not be necessary for this study. Nevertheless, its importance in the development of the distinctive alphabet of Arabic-Afrikaans must not be under rated.   It was the manipulation of the Arabic lettering symbols, **within the rules of the phonetic science of *tajwid***, which led to the creation of distinctive Arabic lettering presentation for Afrikaans sounds. Without some knowledge, therefore, of this phonetic science, the sounds intended by the

writers cannot always be accurately expressed.   This is very evident in
the transcriptions of Van Selms.   Thus in some of of his transcriptions
the Afrikaans letter *e* [ə]   is transcribes as *ie* [i]; while the long
vowel *ee* is also transcribed as *ie* [i].   These are major errors in his
transcriptions.

Nevertheless, what is intended here is to give the reader an insight
into the application of the rules of *tajwîd* as applied in the Arabic-
Afrikaans literary tradition.   I, in this analysis have relied on M
Zardad's, Cape Town published, *A teacher's Guide to Tajjeweed*.   This
1978 publication is written in English and assumes that the reader has
some knowledge of Arabic reading.   Another useful Cape Town publication
is *The Book on Tajweed* by Sheikh Abdurahim Sallie, also in English and
written in 1981.   The best sources on the subject are two Arabic-
Afrikaans publications.   Of these two, the one most extensively used was
the *Tuḥfatul atfâl* (A gift for children) by Sheikh Abdurahim al Iraqi,
written in 1900.   The other one, of which a Roman script version is also
available is the *Al-mi'raj al-kawîn fî tajwîdi 'l-qur'ânil karîmi* (The
pronunciation of the letters in the reading of the Holy Qur'ân) by
Sheikh Ismail Ganief (Edwards), both versions were written in 1937.

However, what is important is to recognise that Arabic-Afrikaans is
essentially a phonetic/analytical presentation of Cape Muslim Afrikaans
in Arabic script.   The presentation of the sounds are governed by the
very strict phonetic rules of *tajwîd*.   These rules are regarded as
sacred by Muslims.   When the Arabic-Afrikaans writers, who generally
looked upon the Arabic script as sacred, started their writing process,
every effort was made to adhere as closely as possible to the dictates
of the rules of *tajwîd*.   They obtained their understanding and appli-
cation of these rules from their reading of the vocalized Qur'ân.

Central to the process of reading the Qur'ân is, in the words of Sheikh
Abdurahim al Iraqi, *'om aitahaal elken gharaf van sain pelek'* (1900:3).
By this he implied that each letter must be pronounced in accordance
with its position in the speech organs.   Accuracy in pronunciation are,
therefore, of utmost importance.   Words, however, can only be pronounced

in the way they are presented in their lettering form. Pronunciation
and writing are therefore intricately related - the writer being
oblidged to present every sound he hears.

The importance of the application of the rules of *tajwid* in reading, and
by inference in writing, is clearly articulated in a set of Arabic-
Afrikaans notes, written specially for this study, by Sheikh Mogammad
Salie Abadie Solomons. The sheikh who is regarded as the leading
exponent of Arabic reading in South Africa, and the most knowledgeable
person in the the science of *tajwid*, but who knows no English or the use
of Roman script, wrote, in Arabic-Afrikaans, as follows :

> "*om die Qoeraan met tajweed te batja* (Malayu = read) *is 'n
> noedaghe op dragh. Wie die Qoeraan sonder tajweed batcha
> maak 'n sonde, omdat Allah dit met tajweed afghasteer het.
> En dit het oek soe na ons ghakom. Dit is die moewaighait
> van die lees en die praghtaghait van die aitspraak in die
> batja. Dit gee die letters van die Qoeraan hille volle
> waarde en wat hille wert is.*"   (Translation: To read the
> Qur'ân in accordance with the rules of *tajwid* is a necessary
> injunction. He who recites the Qur'ân without *tajwid* commits
> a sin, because God revealed the Qur'ân with *tajwid*. And it
> came to us like this. It is also the sweetness of the
> reading and pronunciation. It gives the letters of the Qur'ân
> their full value and quality of their worth - AD)
> (Sheikh M Abadie Solomons, 1989)

This high regard for *tajwid* is clearly discernable in Abubakr Effendi's
Bayânudin.   The rules of *tajwid* was meticulously applied by Abubakr
Effendi. Thus we see that he creates different lettering symbols for the
different sounds of the letter *e* in different words or the syllables of
the same word.   This was only possible because of the rigid application
of the rules of *tajwid*. It also led to the use of certain lettering
symbols to indicate certain gliding sounds.   This result from the
requirement, that every sound heard in pronunciation must be presented
in the morphology of the word.   The high standards with regard to the

application of the rules of *tajwid*, set in the *Bayânudîn* by Abubakr Effendi, is emulated by subsequent writers. It is, therefore, useful to look at the application of the rules of *tajwid* in the spelling of certain simple words in the *Bayânudîn*.

His peculiar spelling of such words as *plek* = بِيْلَك = *pelek* (place); *bloed* = بَلُوْت *beloot* (blood); *vrou* = فَرُّوْا = *voerou* (woman); and *oor* = أُوَرْ = *oewar* (ear), for example, were therefore not without purpose. In the communal pronunciation of these words we pick up sounds which their Standard-Afrikaans spelling do not indicate. If we listen carefully to the communal pronunciation of these words, there is a distinct, though very soft *e* sound [ᵊ] between the *p* and the *l* in *plek*, and the *b* and the *l* in *bloed*. Similarly, we hear a very low-toned *oe* sound [u] between the *v* and the *r* in the pronunciation of the word *vrou*. While in the communal pronunciation of oor, we hear a distinct *war* (with a very soft pronunciation of the *r*), which virtually drowns the *r* in the standard spelling of *oor*, giving a pronunciation of *oe-war* [uʷaʳ], with the emphasis on the *wa* instead of the *r*. These sounds must also have been heard by Abubakr Effendi, he, when writing these words in the strict tradition of Arabic phonetics, had no option but to indicate their presence. In Roman script phonetics (or the International Phonetic Alphabet) they would probably have been presented as gliding sounds, and would in all probability have been transcribed as follows : *pelek* (place) = [pᵊlɛk]; *beloot* (blood) = [bᵊlut]; *voerou* (woman) = [fᵘrœu], and *oe-war* (ear) = [uʷaʳ].

In his spelling of the word *vrou* (فَرُّوْا) we see a most brilliant application of the rules of *tajwid*. To show that the Afrikaans *ou* is much longer in pronunciation than the Arabic **madd lain ou**, Abubakr Effendi added an *'alif* (ا) to the structure of the word. The **alif** functions here as a *hurûful* **madd** or a prolongation which the reader is forced to read. Abubakr Effendi could have eliminated the *'alif*, but then he would not have given the **madd lain ou** its full value of pronunciation in the word *vrou*, and he would have ignored the rules of *tajwid*.

An important aspect of *tajwîd* is that it assists with the rhythmic intonations of the recitation of the Arabic Qur'ân. Such a recitation is based on an injunction in the Qur'ân which reads : *"And recite the Qur'ân in slow, measured rhythmic tone"* (Ali, 1983:Chapter 123 Verse 4). In this regard the **madda** plays an important role. Various elongations of the **madda**, each one of them with a specific name, are identified by the scholars of *tajwîd*. Some of these **madda** give elongations of up to six repetitions of the same letter. Through the correct usage of the **madda** a musical effect of the reading is obtained. In Arabic-Afrikaans the **madda** is essentially used to indicate changes in pronunciation, a function which I will discuss in more detail when I look at the creation of the various vocalisms of the Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet.

Further musical effect in reading the vocalized Arabic Qur'ân is created through the intermixing of the last letter of a word with the first letter of the next word. To control the reading 17 stop signs, indicated as vocalisms, are used in the reading text. At some of these stop signs the reader is compelled to stop, as reading through changes the meaning of the word (Jardine, 1983:78). Stopping is governed by the *tajwîd* rule called **waqaf**. In terms of the rule of **waqaf**, whenever a stop is made by a reader, the last letter of the word at which the stop is made, is read as if it carries a **sukûn**, irrespective of the vocalism which accommodates that letter. Thus, for example, the Arabic word *rusûl* = 'prophet' is normally spelt رُسُــلِ (roesoelie [rusuli]) and will be read as such in a sentence context. Should the reader decide to stop at this word the pronunciation, on stopping, becomes *roesoel* [rusul]. The **kasra** on the **lam** (لِ) will be ignored and read as a **sukûn**.

The clearest indication which we have that a **waqaf** or stop is intended after every word, is from the use of the **tâ-marbutâ** for the Afrikaans *t* in the pre-Abubakr Effendi **koples boeke** which I have in my possession. The **tâ-marbutâ** (ة) is not regarded to be a letter of the Arabic alphabet, but it is used in Arabic writing to indicate a pronunciation of *t*, instead of *h*, on **waqaf** or stopping, in Arabic reading. It is identifiable as the Arabic letter *hâ*, above which two diacritical points had been placed (ة). The **tâ-marbutâ** is used in Arabic writing

where the grammatical form of the word requires a *há* (ه) or *h*. In Arabic-Afrikaans it serves no grammatical function, and when used, is merely to indicate a *waqaf* or stop.

Arabic-Afrikaans is not written for musical intonation. In fact it is impossible to join the last letter of the one word with the first letter of the next word for musical intonation. A stop, therefore, at each word is required. Most Arabic-Afrikaans words, however, ends with a *sukûn* on the last letter. This makes reading easy and the *waqaf* or stop is not noticeable. It is in instances where the last letter is not accommodated with a *sukûn*, when difficulties are experienced. This is illustrated by my transcription of the words *dafrent* (different) and *maakloons* (creation), in which cases the last letters are accommodated by a fatha, in Sheikh Achmad Behardien's (1918:5) sentence :

$$ اَ للّٰه تَعَا لٰى اِسْ دَ فِرِنْتْ فَنْ اَلْدِ مَانْكْل�[و نَ]سْ $$

which I transcribe as : *allaahoe ta'aalaa is dafrent van aldie maak-loons*. Van Selms, without applying the rule of *waqaf* in his transcription of this sentence, renders the words *dafrent* and *maakloons* as *dafaranta* and *maakloenas* respectively. However, I differ with Van Selms (1951:51) in the general transcription of both words, but in this example I want only to draw the reader's attention to the last letters to illustrate the rule of *waqaf*.

As already indicated, not all of the rules of *tajwîd* applies in Arabic-Afrikaans. I have selected those most frequently used in the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts for the creation of distinctive Arabic vocalic symbols for Afrikaans sounds. Should a new application of these rules emerge while I am discussing the creation of the distinctive Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet, I will deal with it in that contexts.

4.7. THE CREATION OF THE ARABIC-AFRIKAANS ALPHABET.

Not all the 28/29 letters of the Arabic alphabet is used in Arabic-Afrikaans. Some of these letters represent sounds which does not exist in Cape Muslim Afrikaans; or may only be used for those words that are

---

directly borrowed from Arabic and given an Afrikaans ring. Of the
Arabic alphabet only twenty are effectively incorporated into the
Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet. This number is even further reduced if we
consider that the ṣād (ص) and the ṭā (ط) are used only on limited
occassions. However, to these twenty are added two lettering cluster
which were created and six lettering symbols which are borrowed either
from the Persian-Turkish or Malaysian adaptations of the Arabic
alphabet. This gives the Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet twenty-nine letters
with the tā-marbutā.

All the Arabic vowel graphemes and vocalisms to a greater or lesser
degree are used in Arabic-Afrikaans. In addition to this 13 Arabic
vocalic symbols, to indicate distinctive Afrikaans sounds in Arabic
script, were created through the process of innovative orthographic
engineering. This gives a total of 23 vocalisms or ḥarakat for Arabic-
Afrikaans. Therefore, with a combine total of 29 consonants and 23
vocalic symbols, the Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet is a rather extensive
one. I can, therefore, well understand the misspelling by Arabic-
Afrikaans writers and inappropriate transcriptions by the transcribers
at times. Let us now look at the development of the Arabic-Afrikaans
vocalic system.

4.7.1. The Arabic-Afrikaans vocalic system

4.7.1.1. The creation of 'e' and 'i'

Probably the most ingenious development which emerged from the process
of innovative orthographic engineering was the creation of the double-
ḥarakah, that is, the use of the fatḥa and kasra in combination with a
single letter. This vocalism was created to act as the phonetic
symbol representing the Afrikaans [ʔ] sound - the sound of the
Afrikaans letters e and i in certain words or the syllables in some
words. There is no precedent for this vocalic structure in any of those
languages which have adopted the Arabic script as a medium of writing.
This fact has already been observed by Professor van Selms :

*"Vir die weergawe van e soos in 'met' gebruik ons
tekse 'n kombinasie van 'fatha' en 'kasra'. Die
oorsprong van hierdie gebruik is die skrywe van
hierdie verhandeling onbekend." (1951:42)*

What Professor van Selms did not realise was that the creation of this
vocalic symbol was a result of the very fertile process of innovative
orthographic engineering which was operative at the time; and which was
utilized for the construction of vocalic symbols to represent Afrikaans
sounds not existing in the Arabic language. But neither did Professor
van Selms realise that this vocalism, the *fatha-kasra* combination, was
used to indicate the Afrikaans letters *e* and *i*. He saw it only as a
vocalic symbol representing the Afrikaans letter *e*.

This *fatha-kasra* combination was one of four vocalisms created by
Abubakr Effendi to represent the various sounds of the Afrikaans letter
e as it appears in different positions in the structure of a word.
My investigation reveals that these vocalisms did not exist in the pre-
Abubakr Effendi Arabic-Afrikaans scripts; and that it was first employed
by him in the *Bayânudîn*. I also discovered that it was used by Abubakr
Effendi and subsequent Arabic-Afrikaans writers, to indicate both the
Afrikaans letters *e* and *i*. I can only explain this dual phonetic func-
tion of the *fatha-kasra* combination on a single letter in terms of the
phonetic fact that there are instances when the Afrikaans letters *e* and
i convey the same sound in pronunciation. For example: the pronuncia-
tion for the *e* in *blare* (leaves) = [blarə]; and the *i* in the word
ongeskik (rude) = [ɔnxəskək] are exactly the same, and in phonetic
transcription are indicated by the same phonetic symbol [ə].

I too must admit that I was at first puzzled by this vowel construction.
A *fatha-kasra* combination on a single letter cannot produce a sound. One
for instance could spell *'alif-fatha* a [a]; or *'alif-kasra ie* [i] - but
to spell *'alif-kasra-fatha* or *'alif-fatha-kasra*, is impossible. On the
surface it would appear that this vocalic symbol was constructed in con-
tradiction to the rules of *tajwid*. On closer scrutiny I saw the logic
of this construction.

What is known is that the Arabic language does not have sounds equivalent to the Afrikaans letters *i* and *e*. This creates a situation which is similar to that of the Afrikaans diphthong *ui*. Like the diphthong *ui*, as seen earlier, the letters *i* and *e* cannot, therefore, be placed in an exact position in the **makhraj** or speech organs. However, unlike the diphthong *ui*, the Arabic alphabet does not have letters in close proximity to the sounds of the Afrikaans letters *e* and *i*. This makes it impossible to create a vowel construction or lettering cluster to indicate accurately their sounds in Arabic script. In an attempt not to defy the rules of *tajwîd*, Abubakr Effendi created a vocalism (by using the *fatḥa* and *kasra* in combination on a single letter) with which it is impossible to produce a sound; and which emphasizes that the sound intended does not exist in the Arabic language. The reader is, therefore, forced to read the word in the context of the sentence in which it appears.

The disadvantage of the *fatḥa-kasra* combination on a single letter, is that it requires from the reader a pre-knowledge of Afrikaans to know exactly what sound is intended by the writer. This does not guarantee that non-Afrikaans speakers, who reads this vocalism, will constantly produce the correct sound in their reading, or the correct lettering symbol in their transcription. One can, however, compare the *fatḥa-kasra* combination on a single letter with the phonetic phenomenon where a single Roman script letter could have several related sounds, as indeed is the case with the Afrikaans *e* (Coetzee, 1988). A mother-tongue user of the language would know exactly what sound is intended by looking at the combination of lettering symbols which constitute the word.

Abubakr Effendi too must have realized this. Thus he set out to create a phonetic symbol in Arabic script to represent the Afrikaans letters *e* and *i*. These letters, in certain instances in a word structure, have the same quality in sound. This sound, however, does not exist in Arabic. In order, therefore, not to contradict the rules of *tajwîd*, he created a '*voiceless*' or '*soundless*' vocalism. But this vocalism, instead of consistently representing a specific sound, is more often used as a

graphic presentation of a certain letter. This possibily explains why Abubakr Effendi, and the Arabic-Afrikaans writers after him, used the *fatḥa-kasra* combination to indicate the Afrikaans letter *e*, irrespective of the sound of the letter *e* which it is required to represent in a given word.

4.7.1.2 *The 'end e'* structure

The *fatḥa-kasra* combination is not the only vocalic structure or vocalism created to represent a sound of the Afrikaans letter *e*. To indicate the Afrikaans *e* which appears as the last letter of a word, Abubakr Effendi used a *sukûn*-less *yâ* (ى) preceded by a letter accommodated with a *kasratul qâim* (‑). I have named this structure the *'end e'*, for it is consistently used to indicate an *e* which appears as the last letter of a word. The *'end e'* indicates the [ə] sound. The use of the *'end e'* is clearly demonstrated in words such as *hande* (hands) = هَنْـدى, هَنْـدى = [handə]; *ghaskaape* (created) = خَـشْـكَاپـى = [xaska:pə]; *ghanaadaghe* (merciful) = خَـنَا دَخِـى = [xana:dax ə]; *bereete* (width) = رَبریـقى [bəre:tə]. See Figure 19.

The *kasratul qâim* preceding *yâ* combination, like the *fatḥa-kasra* combination, is used at times as a graphic representation of the Afrikaans letter *e*. Unlike the *fatḥa-kasra* combination, it is used only to indicate the [ə] pronunciation of *e* in the middle of a word. Because of the similarity in sounds between the Afrikaans letter *i* (as in the Afrikaans preposition *in*) and *e* (at the end of a word), the *'end e'* structure is sometimes used to indicate the Afrikaans *i*. In contradiction to this general pattern, one also finds the *'end e'* structure being used in the spelling of the Afrikaans conjunction *en*. The result is that the Afrikaans conjunction *en* and preposition *in* are spelt in the same way, (اِیْن) despite the fact the the *e* in *en* is pronounced as [ɛ].

There are two possible reasons which I can postulate for the creation of the *'end e'* by Abubakr Effendi. He probably heard a very distinct pronunciation of the letter *e* when this letter appeared at the end of a

word; or it resulted from the Arabic writing tradition. In terms of this tradition it is customary for a word which ends with a vowel to be accommodated with a *sukûn*-less *yâ* when such a word appears at the end of a sentence. I have already noted that Arabic-Afrikaans is not intended to be read with musical intonation. The reader is required to make a stop or *waqaf* after each word. The *sukûn*-less *yâ* preceded by a *kasratul qâim*, being already an elongation, prevents the intermixing of the last letter of the one word with the first of the next, as is normally the practice for reading of Arabic with musical intonation, thereby forcing the reader to make a short pause.

Nevertheless, according to Sheikh Najaar, President of the Islamic Council of South Africa, and a leading exponent of Arabic reading, the *kasratul qâim* preceding *yâ* combination, the structure used to indicate the *'end e'* vocalism, is an 'impossible' one. He said that the *madd* so used cannot produce a sound which is acceptable in Arabic reading, and which exists in Afrikaans. The sound, he said, is best described as an extended prolongation of the Arabic long *ee*. The Sheikh suggested that it has the same function as the *fatḥa-kasra* combination, and that the word should be read in context.

There is no possibility, however, that the *'end e'* structure could convey the sound of the Afrikaans vowel *ie* - [i] - as suggested by Van Selms (1952, 1953, 1979) and Ponelis (1981, 1989). Both Arabic vocalism used, the *ḥurûful madd yâ* (ـيْ) and the *kasratul qâim* (ـ), are classical Arabic *madda* indicating the Arabic long vowel *ee* [e:]. Assuming, therefore, we read the *kasratul qâim* as a *kasra*, as Ponelis and Van Selms do, the *kasra-yâ* vocalic structure indicates the classical long vowel *ee* [e:] (the *ḥurûful madd yâ* = ـيْ), and *not* the Arabic short vowel *ie* [i]. There is no difference in sound between the Arabic and Afrikaans long vowels *ee* [e:] (Jardine, 1983:42, 43). We can, there-fore regard the Van Selms and Ponelis transcriptions of *ie* in words such as *voete* (transcribed by them as *foetie*) *haare* (*haarie*) etc., as erroneous.

1. USING THE 'FATHA-KASRA COMBINATION

AFRIKAANS/ENGLISH	ARABIC	TRANSCRIPTIONS		
		Phonetics	Davids	Van Selms
het/have	هِتْ	[hɛt]	het	het
knokke/knuckles	كنُوَكِلْس	[kanɔkəls]	kanokels	kanoekels
plek/place	بِلَكْ	[ˈpᵊlɛk]	pelek	pelek

2. USING THE 'KASRATUL QAIM PRECEDING YA'

hare/hair	هَارِي	[ha:rə]	haare	haarie
voete/feet	فُوتِي	[futə]	voete	voetie
varse/fresh	فَرْسِي	[farsə]	varse	farsie

3. USING KASRA-KASRATUL-QAIM OR KASRATUL QAIM, ACCOMMODATING YA'

nek/neck	نِبِك	[nɛk]	nek	niek
vel/skin	فِيل	[fɛl]	vel	fiel
sesde/sixth	سِبِسِي	[sɛstə]	seste	siestie
getel/counted	خَتِيلْ	[xatɛl]	ghatel	ghatiel

4. USING 'FATHA, KASRA, KASRATUL-QAIM COMBINATION - THE TRIPLE HARAKAH

| sê/say | رَِسِي | [sɛ̃:] | sê | sei |

FIGURE 19 — THE FOUR VOCALIC SYMBOLS WHICH WERE CREATED TO INDICATE THE DIFFERENT SOUNDS OF THE AFRIKAANS LETTER E IN ARABIC SCRIPT

Sheikh Abubakr Najaar's comment on the structure of the 'end e' is, however, not without evidence from the vocalisms used in the Holy Qur'ân. The structural combination used for the 'end e' does not exist as a vocalism in the Holy Qur'ân. The nearest vocalism to it is a sukûn-less yâ preceded by the fathatul qâim ( )). This vocalism occurs frequently at the end of a word to indicate the Arabic long vowel aa [a:]. One needs only to look at Chapter 87 (*Suratul A'alâ* = The Most High) of the Holy Qur'ân, to observe that every verse in this chapter ends with the sukûn-less yâ fathatul qâim combination. In these instances the yâ is not carrying a vocalism, and is therefore regarded as la muta ḥarrik, and therefore, not read. Its function is purely grammatical.

What Abubakr Effendi did was to reverse the common Qur'ânic vocalism, by changing the governing grapheme from a fathatul-qâim to a kasratul qâim. This morphological change in the word will alert the reader, knowledgeable in tajwîd, that a change in pronunciation is intended. The only option they have is to make an imâla (اِمَالَة) a pronunciation of 'a' shaded towards 'e'. The subtle application of this rule, implied in the construction of the 'end e', gives a sound which most appropriately conform to the letter e, as it is pronounced at the end of an Afrikaans word = [ə].

Abubakr Effendi gave us definite clues in the Bayânudîn with regard to the pronunciation of the 'end e'. We need only look at the difference in the spelling between the Dutch de and the Afrikaans die (transcribed by me as dee), on page 2 of this publication. The lettering structure of both these words are exactly the same. They are also accommodated by virtually the same vocalisms (a kasratul qâim preceded by yâ يٖ). The only difference is a further vocalism, an âyatul madd, or the prolonged elongation sign (‿) on one of them. The presence of this sign forces the reader to elongate the sound, hence my transcription of dee (دٖي) for the one, and de (دِي) for the other. Later in the book, Abubakr Effendi dispensed with both the kasratul qâim and the âyatul madd and used in their stead a kasra. The kasra in combination with the yâ, however, is the classical Arabic long vowel ee, hence a

transcription dee still applies. The use of the classical long vowel or
hurûful madd ee, instead of *ie* (i.e. the *kasra* alone = _), results
from the communal orthoepic practice to pronounce *die* slightly longer in
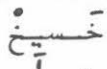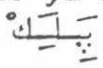Cape Muslim Afrikaans than Standard-Afrikaans.

It is interesting to note that *de* is used only in the first chapter of
the *Bayânudîn*. I cannot postulate any reason for this, except to
suggest that *de* was probably still used by some Cape Muslim Afrikaans
speakers when the book was written. It was, nevertheless, the
difference in spelling between *de* and *dee* which first alerted me to the
'end e', and started my investigation on the use of the 'end e' vocalism
by other writers. I discovered that the 'end e' vocalism was used by
virtually all the post-Abubakr Effendi Arabic-Afrikaans writers. The
exception are Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien and Sheikh Ismail Ganief
(Edwards). They used the *fatha-kasra* combination on a single letter as
their preferred vocalism for *e*, irrespective of the phonetic sound of *e*
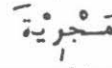in the word.

4.7.1.3. The 'mid-frontal e'

Abubakr Effendi must have had an exceptional ear to have been able to
distinquish distinct differences in the Cape Muslim pronunciation of the
letter *e* when this letter appeared in different words, or the syllables
of the same word. Thus, for instance, in the Afrikaans word *vlegsels*
(plaits) = *velegsels* = فَلِيخْــسِــلْسْ = [fᵊlɛxsəls], Abubakr Effendi
used two distinct vocalisms to indicate three distinct pronunciations or
phonetic sounds of the letter *e*. In the first and third syllables the
fatha-kasra combination is used to indicate a gliding [ᵊ] and a slightly
guttural [ə] pronunciation of *e* respectively. While in the second
syllable, to indicate a mid-frontal pronunciation of *e* (as in 'Fred'), *a*
kasra-kasratul qâim accommodating *yâ* (يِ) is used. It is this
vocalism which now enjoys my attention. The *kasra-kasratul qâim*
accommodating *yâ* is one of two basically similar vocalisms used by
Abubakr Effendi to indicate the mid-frontal pronunciation of *e*. The
other one is the *kasratul qâim* accommodating *yâ*.

These two vocalisms are indiscriminately and inconsistently used in the *Bayânudîn* to indicate a mid-frontal pronunciation of the Afrikaans *e*. They seemed to have been rejected by the post-Abubakr Effendi writers, judging from their absence from their works. Abubakr himself seems to have had problems with these vocalisms; hence within the *Bayânudîn* a *faṭḥa-kasra* combination is found where either one of these vocalisms are expected. Thus for instance in the spelling of the word *ghasegh* (face) = [xasɛx], a *kasratul qâim* accommodates *yâ* (خَسِخْ = *ghasegh*), while in the spelling of the word *pelek* (place) = [pᵊlɛk], the *yâ* is omitted and a *faṭḥa-kasra* combination accommodates the *lâm* (بَلَك = *pelek*). In this example both lettering structures are intended to indicate the mid-frontal pronunciation of *e* = [ɛ].

These vocalisms were not realy created by Abubakr Effendi. They were adopted by him from vocalized versions of the Qur'ân. In the vocalized versions of the Holy Qur'ân these vocalisms are used to indicate a pronunciation of *a* shaded towards *e*. The sound that they are required to indicate is determined by a very obscure rule of *tajwîd*.

This rule of *tajwîd* does not have a name, but involves the changing of the pronunciation of the Arabic long vowel *ee* [e:] to *e* [ɛ]. This rule is applied only once in the reading of the Holy Qur'ân. In Chapter 11 verse 41 of the Holy Qur'ân, the word *majrîhâ* = مَجْرِيَة = [madzre:ha:] must be pronounced *majrêhâ* = [madzrɛha:]. The vocalism most commonly used in the Holy Qur'ân to indicate this change in pronun-ciation is the *kasra-kasratul qâim*. In some versions of the Holy Qur'ân only the *kasratul qâim* is used.

When the reader of Arabic, knowledgeable in *tajwîd*, sees these voca-lisms, he/she knows that an *îmâla*, i.e. a change in pronunciation, must be made. Sulaiman Jardine, commenting on the pronunciation of these two vocalisms, writes :

> "*Majerêha is the only word in the Quran which will not be
> pronounced like the usual long vowel EE: - But for reasons
> of subject matter should be pronounced E - like in MEDICINE*

in English and Sê like in Dutch (sic)" (1983:85).

The *kasra-kasratul qâim* and the *kasratul qâim* both accommodating *yâ*, are in Arabic reading regarded as the same vocalism, giving the same sound. They are the only classical Arabic vocalism which indicate a sound near to the Afrikaans mid-frontal pronunciation of *e*. Their unpopularity with the Arabic-Afrikaans writers is beyond my comprehension. It could be that these writers had a limited knowledge of *tajwîd*, and, therefore, did not understand this rule which have a rather restrictive usage in Qur'ânic reading. See Figure 19.

4.7.1.4. The triple *ḥarakah e*

Abubakr Effendi also used a triple *ḥarakah* to spell the word *sê* (سَـِـى). In this case the *fatḥa-kasra* combination is further extended by a *kasratul qâim*, resulting in three *ḥarakah* accommodating a single letter. This happens only once, on page 2 of the *Bayânudîn*. On other occassions *sê* is spelt with a *kasratul qâim* and a *sukûn*-less *yâ* (سِى), the same structure used to indicate the *'end e'*. Alternatively, it is spelt with a *kasratul qâim* and *yâ-sâkin* (سِى).

I believe that Abubakr Effendi heard a distinct pronunciation of the *e* in *sê*, which is slightly longer in pronunciation than the Afrikaans mid-frontal pronunciation of *e*. To create a representative vocalism to indicate this sound, he used his normal *fatḥa-kasra* combination to represent the *e*, but to show that this *e* must be extended, yet not as long as the classical long vowel *ee*, he tried to restrict the elongation by replacing the the *kasra* of the *ḥurûful madd yâ* (the classical Arabic long vowel *ee*) with a *kasratul qâim*, as a further accommodation. In reading the word, one immediately notices the strange combination of *ḥarakat* and is at first tempted to read it as *see* [se:], but judging the word in context realizes that *sê* [sɛ̃:] is intended. Van Selms in his transcription of this word, renders it as *sei* (1979:2), for reasons I cannot comprehend. This transcription ignores the *kasratul qâim* and is therefore erroneous.

Nevertheless, the strange combination of *ḥarakat* must have been of concern to the Turkish calligrapher who rewrote the *Bayânudîn* for publication; and as he did not comprehend this strange arrangement, decided to eliminate some of the vcocalisms. This is one possible reason for the variations of spelling later in the book. The second possible reason is Abubakr Effendi himself. The fact that the triple *ḥarakah* arrangement appears on the first page of his translation indicates that that its usage was deliberate. On the same page another deliberate usage of a vocalism to indicate a pronunciation appears - the use of the *ḍammatain* to indicate the nasal *n* in the spelling of the word *mense* (people). This is understandable, for vocalisms are only there to facilitate pronunciation. Once the pronunciation of the word has been established, the lettering structure should be sufficient to indicate the sound.

Abubakr Effendi was possibly uncomfortable with the clumsiness of the triple *ḥarakah*, and having established the pronunciation of the word on the first occassion it appears in his translation, omitted it on other occassions, leaving minimal clues to help identify the pronunciation. Apart from the two examples cited, there are many instances in the *Bayânudîn* of words being fully vocalized on one occassion and partially vcocalized on another. I have also noticed that these words are normally fully vocalized on the first occassion they appear in the translated text. Nor is this only a tendency with Abubakr Effendi. It is also evident with the other Arabic-Afrikaans writers. This tendency gives me sufficient confidence to assume that the first vocalized version of a word in an Arabic-Afrikaans texts is an indication of the way the word must be pronounced.

The triple *ḥarakah*, like the 'mid-frontal *e*' vocalic structure, was never adopted as a vocalism by the post Abubakr Effendi writers. These writers, to avoid a complicated vocalic structure, avoid the used of Afrikaans words with a circumflexed *e*. This possibly explain the use of the Dutch word *segh* for the Afrikaans *sê* in the works of writers such as Abdurahman Kassiem Gamieldien (1907), Sheikh Ismail Ganief (1928) and

others, though *segh* was not used in the colloquial Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims during the time they wrote.

One gets the impression that the four vocalisms which Abubakr Effemndi created for the Afrikaans letter *e*, was intended to be Arabic phonetic symbols, precisely indicating the required sound of the letter *e* as it appears in the structure of a given Afrikaans words. This intention is not even consistently adhered to by Abubakr Effendi; and what should in fact be phonetic symbols are used as graphic representations of the letter *e*, irrespective of sound, hence I call them vocalic symbols or vocalic structures. This usage is particularly true with the *fatha-kasra* combination as illustrated in Figure 19.

The other three vocalisms are more consistently used for a distinctive sound of the Afrikaans *e*; and could perhaps be regarded as Arabic phonetic symbols for a distinctive sound of the Afrikaans *e*. The only deviation I noticed is when the *'end e'* symbol is used to spell the Afrikaans conjunction *en*, where the *e* in *en* is in fact a mid-frontal *e* with a sound of [ɛ] instead of [ə] which the *'end e'* vocalic symbol indicates.

The use of the *fatha-kasra* combination and the *'end e'* vocalic symbol to indicate the sound of the Afrikaans letter *i*, as in the Afrikaans preposition *in*, makes complete phonetic sense. In sound value the *i* in the word *in* [ən] and the mid-guttural pronunciation of *e*, as in *hande* [handə], are exactly the same, and is correctly indicated by the same Arabic-Afrikaans vocalic symbol.

Only two of the four vocalisms which Abubakr Effendi created to represent the sounds of the Afrikaans letter *e* was adopted by the post Abubakr Effendi writer. These were, the *fatha-kasra* combination and the *'end e'* vocalism. By the 1940s the Cape Muslim Arabic-Afrikaans writers used only the *fatha-kasra* combination as a graphic representation of the Afrikaan letter *e*, irrespective of phonetic sound.

Nevertheless, the manipulation of the *ḥarakah*, to create vocalic symbols for the Afrikaans letter *e*, led to the further manipulation of the *ḥarakah* to create distinctive vocalisms for the Afrikaans sounds not represented by vocalic symbols in the Arabic script.

4.7.1.5.   An Arabic vocalic symbol for the Afrikaans letter *o*

Another Afrikaans letter with which the Arabic-Afrikaans writers experienced difficulties was the letter *o*.   The sound of the Afrikaans letter *o* [ɔ], as in the word *om* [ɔm], does not exist in the Arabic language.   Therefore, no distinctive Arabic vocalic symbol, representing the sound of Afrikaans *o*, exists in the Arabic alphabet.   Hence in Arabic-Afrikaans, a vocalic symbol representing *o*, had to be created through the process of innovative orthographic engineering.

The creation of a vocalism for the Afrikaans letter *o*, seems to have taken place early in the development of the Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet. In the pre-Abubakr Effendi scripts already, it is noticed that when a letter *o*, had to be written, a vocalism, consisting of a *sukûn*-less *wâw* (‌و) preceded by *ḍamma* (ُ) is used.   This lettering combination does not exist as a vocalic structure in the Arabic alphabet.   The nearest structure to it is the *ḥurûful madd wâw* (i.e. the *ḍamma* in combination with *wâw-sâkin* (‌وْ)) used for the classical Arabic long vowel *oo*, which in sound is equal to the Afrikaans   long   vowel   *oo* [o:]. The *ḍamma*, as seen earlier, is really the Arabic vowel grapheme *oe* [u], which in sound is equal to the Afrikaans vowel *oe* [u].   The pre-Abubakr Effendi writers thus   had three distinctive Arabic vocalisms for the Afrikaans sounds *oe* = [u] = (ُ); *oo* = [o:] = (‌وْ‌) and *o* = [ɔ] = (‌و‌).   See Figure 20.

However, the omission of the *sukûn* from the *wâw*, in the creation of the Afrikaans letter *o*, is not the clearest way to indicate that a change in pronunciation is intended.   The *sukûn*-less *wâw*, (with *'alif* and *yâ*), is one of the most freqently used orthographic structures for grammatical purposes.   For the reader, who does not know Afrikaans, the omission of the *sukûn*, from the *wâw* would not, therefore, necessarily indicate a

change in pronunciation. The *wâw* then would be regarded as *la muta barik*, i.e. without vocalism, and not be read. This results in a pronunciation *oe* [u], instead of the *o* [ɔ] which was intended by the writer.

This was probably part of Professor van Selms' confusion when he encountered this vocalic structure for the Afrikaans *o* in Sheikh Ahmad Behardien's *Su'al wa jawâb* (Questions and answers), which the professor transcribed in 1951. Professor van Selms transcribes this vocalic structure as *oe* (1951:43), but then he generally ignores the *sukûn*. Had he paid more attention to the *sukûn* he might have been even more confused. In the *Su'al wa jawâb* Sheikh Achmad Behardien is rather irregular with the placement of the *sukûn*. In some instances the *sukûn* is shown, in others not. As an example, on page 5, Sheikh Achmad spells the Afrikaans word *op* (أِوْبْ), with a *sukûn* on both the *wâw* and the *p*. The *damma* used here in combination with the *wâw-sâkin* indicates the classical Arabic long vowel *oo*, for it is in fact the structure of the *hurûful madd oo*. This spelling, therefore, gives a transcription *oop* [o:p]. On page 6 the Sheikh spells *op* (أُوْبْ) with a *sukûn* only on the *p*, leaving the *wâw* without a *harakah*, and thus in conformity with the vocalic symbol for the Afrikaans *o*. Hence the transcription on this occassion would be *op* [ɔp]. In both instances, however, *op* [ɔp] was intended. I have, however, already noted that the *Su'al wa jawâb* is riddled with spelling errors.

A vocalism, which without ambiquity, could indicate the Afrikaans letter *o* was needed. Such a vocalism was created by Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraki when he wrote the *Tuhfatul atfâl* (A gift for children) in 1900. What he did was to retain the classical Arabic *madd lain ou* structure (i.e. the *fatha* in combination with *wâw-sâkin* < ـَوْ >), but through an ingenious process of vocalic manipulation, the *madd lain* function of the structure is nullified. This he did by superimposing a *damma* on the *fatha*, and thus creating a 'soundless' or 'voiceless' vocalism. A perfectly legitimate consideration in terms of the rules of *tajwid*. The sound of the Afrikaans letter *o* cannot be place in the *makhraj* of the speech organs.

TWO WAYS OF WRITING THE AFRIKAANS
O [ɔ] IN ARABIC SCRIPT

1. WITHOUT THE SUKUN ON THE WAW

ENGLISH/AFRIKAANS	ARABIC	TRANSCRIPTIONS		
		Phonetic	Davids	Van Selms
hundred/hondert	هُوْنْدَرْت	[hɔndərt]	hondert	hoendert
ground/grond	خُرُونْت	[xurɔnt]	goeront	goeroent
to/om	اُوْمْ	[ɔm]	om	oem
sin/sonde	سُوندِرى	[sɔndə]	sonde	soendie
on/op	اُوْپْ	[ɔp]	op	oep

2. WITH THE DAMMA-FATHA COMBINATION
(WITH OR WITHOUT THE WAW)

on/op	اُوْپْ	[ɔp]	op	oep
effect/gevolg	خَفَلْخ	[xafɔlx]	ghavolgh	ghavoelgh
come/kom	كُوْمْ	[kɔm]	kom	koem
us/onse	اُوْنْسِي	[ɔsə]	onse	oensie
him/hom	هُمْ	[hɔm]	hom	hoem

FIGURE 20   —   THE VOCALIC SYMBOLS CREATED TO REPRESENT THE
AFRIKAANS SOUND [ɔ] O IN ARABIC SCRIPT

The vocalic structure he created, the *ḍamma-fatḥa* combination, like the *fatḥa-kasra* combination, cannot produce a sound. The reader is thus forced to read the word in contexts to determine the sound intended. As the reading process continues the reader comes to realize that this perculiar structure is intended to indicate a sound not existing in Arabic.

A variation on the vocalic structure created by Sheikh Abdurahim Al Iraqi is the omission of the *wâw*, but the retention of the *ḍamma-fatḥa* combination. With the *ḍamma-fatḥa* combination on the letter, the *wâw* in the structure of the word is in reality not required. The *ḍamma-fatḥa* combination on its own constraints the pronunciation. Nevertheless, the two vocalic structures, indicating the same pronunciation of the Afrikaans letter *o*, is illustrated by the spelling of the Afrikaans words: *hom* = هُمْ = *hom* = [hɔm]; and *gevolg* = خَـفَلْخ = *ghavolgh* [xafɔlx]. The preference of the *fatḥa* above the *ḍamma* (◌) as used by Sheikh Abdurahim al Iraqi; or the *ḍamma* above the *fatḥa* (◌) as used by Imam Abdurahman K Gamieldien, does not influence the pronunciation, or the intention of the writers, in any way. Both these arrangements indicate an [ɔ] pronunciation of the Afrikaans letter *o*.

4.7.1.6. The Afrikaans short vowel *ie*

There is no difference in sound, or the vocalism used to indicate the Arabic and Afrikaans short vowels *ie* in these alphabets. Both short vowels are indicated by the classical Arabic vowel grapheme - the *kasra*. This makes the *kasra* a very convenient vocalism or vocalic symbol to indicate the Afrikaans vowels in Afrikaans words such as *skiet* (shoot) = سِكّتْ = *skiet* = [skit] or *siek* (sick) = سِيكْ = *siek* [sik].

I cannot, therefore, agree with Professor van Selms that the *kasra* is used to indicate the Afrikaans short vowel *ie* and the Afrikaans letter *i*. He writes :

"Die kort i soos in 'dit' word aangedui met kasra: دِتْ *.*
Hierdie teken kom ook voor in gevalle waar ons 'n lang i
soos in 'niet' sou verwag, sodat 'niet' geskryf kan
word: نِتْ *. Mens kry die indruk dat dit nie sonder*
bedoeling gebeur nie, met ander woorde dat die woord
نِتْ *inderdaad ook korter as die Nederlandse 'niet'*
uitgespreek is." (1951:42)

There is no possibility that the **kasra**, in combination with any letter
which is **sâkin**, (except the **yâ-sâkin**), can give any other sound than
that of the Afrikaans vowel *ie* [i], which in any case is equal in sound
to the Arabic short vowel *ie*. Any other pronunciation is, therefore, a
contradiction of the rules of **tajwid**. If we look at Van Selms example,
the word is spelt with a **dâl** (د) and **tâ-sâkin** (ت) to give a
spelling: دِتْ , which could only be described as *diet*; and not as
dit as Van Selms indicates. Even in Afrikaans there is a distinct
difference in the sound of the *i* in *dit* = [dət], and the *ie* in the sound
in *diet* [dit]. Whereas an Arabic symbol exists for the Afrikaans sound
ie = (ِ) = [i], (i.e. the **kasra**); an Arabic vocalic symbol had to be
created for the sound of the Afrikaans *i* = (ِ) = [ə], (i.e. the
fatha-kasra combination as seen earlier). Professor van Selms' confusion
here possibly emerged from the influence of the international systems of
transliteration for Arabic to Roman script transliterations. In these
systems the **kasra** is indicated as *i*, but with a sound as in the English
word *did* [did]. Jardine (1983:29) indicates that the kasra gives a
sound which correspond more closely too the *ie* in *belief*.

4.7.1.7. Creating the Afrikaans diphthongs in Arabic script

The Arabic vocalic system has only two diphthongs indicating the Arabic
sounds *ai* [əi] and *ou* [oeu]. They are called in Arabic the **madd lain**
and are structurally produced - the **madd lain** *ai* is indicated by a
fatha-yâ-sâkin combination (َيْ); while the **madd lain** *ou* is indicated
by a **fatha-wâw-sâkin** combination (َوْ). The Arabic diphthong vocalisms
are convenient for Afrikaans, corresponding in sound very closely to the
Afrikaans diphthongs *ou* [oeu] and *ei* [əi].

The *ou* and the *ei* are not the only diphthongs. Afrikaans also have additional diphthongs, *ui*, *ooi*, *oei* and *aai*. I have already commented on the difficulties with the diphthong *ui* [oey]; and shown how the writing tradition gave rise to a practice in orthoepy. It is the *ooi* [o:j];, *oei* [uj]; and *aai* [a:j] which is now my concern. According to Anna Coetzee (1985:4) they are not true diphthongs. She argues that they are combinations of a vowel plus [j] or [w], with the [w] being more pertinent to the Afrikaans sound *eeu* [e:w], as in *spreeu*. The *eeu* [e:w] sound is not encountered in Arabic-Afrikaans. The others, nevertheless, existed as sounds which the Arabic-Afrikaans writers had to produce in their writings.

Like their Afrikaans counterparts, the Arabic-Afrikaans long diphthongs are also combinations of two vocalic symbols - the Arabic diphthong or **madd lain** *ai* and a vowel grapheme or some other symbol. The **madd lain** *ai* is the main component of these diphthongs; and hence these long diphthongs, *ooi* [o:j], *oei* [uj] and *aai* [a:j], could thus be regarded as extensions of the **madd lain** *ai*. The Arabic-Afrikaans writers are not very consistent in the writing of these diphthongs and hence a variety of approaches in creating an appropriate vocalic symbol to convey the sounds of these dipthongs exists. All these approaches nevertheless involves the **madd lain** *ai*.

This is illustrated by the differences in the modes of spelling adopted by different writers. Using the *damma* on *mim* (ُم) with a **wâw-fatha-yâ** arrangement, Hisham Neamatullah Effendi spells the word *mooi* (beautiful) = [mo:j] as, **moewai** = مُـوَي = [muωɔi]. In this instance the structure of the latter part of the word (wâw-fatha-yâ) is a classical Arabic **madd lain** or diphthong (i.e. letter-*fatha-yâ* combination) structure. An alternative to this is Abubakr Effendi's spelling of the word *groei* (grow) = [xruj], in which the lettering structure of the **madd lain** is retained, but the vowel grapheme is changed from a *fatha* to a *damma*. This gives a spelling : خَـرُوْى = **ghoeroeai** = [xuruɔi].

A third alternative is the retention of the **madd lain** lettering structure, but a further manipulation of the vocalic symbols. In this

instance the Arabic consonant *hamza* (ء) is introduced as a vocalism
to indicate an *'alif-fatḥa a* [a] sound.   This construction differs from
Abubakr Effendi in the sense that, whereas Abubakr Effendi assumes his
readers will identify the **madd lain**, by merely looking at the morphology
of the word, the introduction, as a morphological change, draws the
readers attention to this fact.   The introduction of an *'alif* in the
structure of the word, for reasons which would become obvious later, is
not possible.   Nor could the *'alif* be used as a vocalic symbol.   Its
shape is too similar as that of the standing **madd**.   The *hamza*, which is
equal in sound value to the *'alif*, is used, but structured as a vocalic
symbol.

This *hamza* construction, which is extensively used by Sheikh Achmad
Behardien in the *Su'al wa jawāb*, totally confuses Professor van Selms,
who writes :

> *"In woorde soos 'noe'iet' (nooit) staan bo die 'iā' 'n 'hamza';*
> *die sagte asemstoot word hierdeur aangedui, vlg. aan die einde van*
> *die vorige paragraaf onder die transkripsie-teken '.   Ons moet der-*
> *halwe in die woord -* نُوْيَتْ *- 'noe'iet' feitlik nie 'n voorbeeld*
> *van die klank oe sien nie, al sal in die praktyk die verskil nie*
> *groot wees nie.   'n Moeilike probleem bied die woord* خَـوْـىَ
> *'ghoei' (goeje).   Die 'iā' is hier ongetwyfeld die halfmedeklin-*
> *ker na die oe-klank; maar wat moet dan met die 'hamza' daarbo ?*
> *Dit is onmoontlik on 'n oe uit te spreek en tegelykertyd die*
> *ligte asemstoot te laat hoor.   Tog kan die bedoeling nie wees*
> *dat ons 'goe'ie sou lees nie.*
> *Die Kombinasie van lang a (fatḥa met volgende alif) met daarop*
> *volgende 'ia' tref ons aan in die woord* كَوَاىْ *'kawaai' (kwaai).*
> *Ook hier merk ons 'n 'hamza' op, wat vir ons gevoel nie logies*
> *regverdedigbaar is nie.   Maar niemand sal glo dat ons hier*
> *'kawaa'ie' sou lees nie."* (1951:45)

The problem is that Professor van Selms attributes to the *hamza* only
one, rather restrictive function - the indication of the aspirate.   This
certainly happens when the *hamza*, like the *'alif* is *sākin* (i.e. carrying

a *sukûn*). In the spelling of the Afrikaans words *nooit* and *gooi*, the *hamza* is written immediately below the *sukûn*. This does not mean that the *hamza* here is *sakîn*, as this construction happens outside the main structure of the word, and, therefore, it is an unusual occurence. If it was the intention of the writer to indicate that the *hamza* is *sakîn*, he would have used the *yâ* as a cradle, carrying the *hamza*. The *yâ* then would not have been pronounced (Jardine, 1983:14). In such a case the pronunciation of the word would have been *noo't* [no:´t] and not nooait [no:əit]; and *ghoe'* [xu´] and not *ghoeai* [xuəi]. But the *hamza* here is not used as a consonant but a vocalic symbol with a consonant function in combination with *yâ* to complete the *madd lain*. Thus the pronunciations *nooait* = [no:əit] = نويت ; and *ghoeai* = [xuəi] = خَـوَى .

The *hamza*, however, also have other functions. The most important of which is that of a consonant, with a sound equal to that of *álif*. Hence, like the *'alif*, when the *hamza* is accommodated by a *fatha*, the sound will be *a* [a]. Similarly, when the *hamza* carries a *kasra* or a *damma* the sounds which it will convey are *ie* [i] and *oe* [u] respectively. This similarity in function between the *hamza* and the *'alif* is sufficient reason for some Arabic lexicologists to suggest that they are in fact one letter, and that, therefore, the Arabic alphabet consists of 28 and not 29 letters.

In his effort to create the Afrikaans long diphthongs in Arabic script, Sheikh Achmad Behardien considered the function of the *hamza* as equal to the *'alif*, but instead of using the *hamza* as an *'alif*, he uses it as a vocalic symbol. This is confirmed by the placement of the *hamza* outside the main structure of the word. The use of a consonant as a vocalism or vocalic symbol is not a new innovation in the Arabic vocalized script. I have already discussed the *iqlâbul qâlib*, the rule of *tajwîd*, in which the consonant *mîm* is used as a vocalic symbol to indicate a change in pronunciation from *m* to *n*.

I do not agree with Professor van Selms (1951:45) that the presence of the *hamza* in the construction of the long diphthongs are 'logically indefensible' (*nie logies regverdedigbaar nie*). If the lettering

---

construction of the word *nooit* is carefully examined, one can clearly understand why the *hamza* in the structure of the word in indispensible. Without the *hamza* the word will read *noetj* (نويت). To clearly indicate that the *madd lain* is intended with the *yâ*, Sheikh Achmad Behardien uses the *hamza* and the *sukûn* as vocalisms accommodating the *yâ*. The *hamza* here acts as an additional *'alif*, which is necessary to complete the classical Arabic *madd lain* structure.

Sheikh Achmad Behardien in his spelling of the word *nooit*, could have used the normal *'alif-fatḥa-yâ* combination to indicate the *ai* [əi] sound of the diphthong, but he would have run into problems when he needed the same construction to complete that Afrikaans long diphthong *aai* [a:j]. For the long *aa* [a:] in *kawaai*, the *'alif* is indispensible, but to have two *'alifs* adjacent to each other, both performing a *madd* function (i.e. the *madd lain* and the *ḥurûful madd aa*), is a lettering structure not acceptable in Arabic writing. In such instances one of the *'alifs* is normally changed to a *hamza*. This is illustrated by the spelling of the the name of the angel, Micheal, spelt in Arabic as *mîkâ'îl* = [me:ka:e:l] = ميكا ءيـل (A Abdurauf, 1913:28). In this spelling of *mîkâ'îl*, an *'alif* and a *hamza* is adjacent to each other, both of which are performing a *madd* function.

Having decided that the *ai* [əi] in *nooait* (*nooit*) = [no:əit] and *kawaai* (*kwaai*) = [kava:əi] is the same quality of sound, and being aware of the constraints on having two *'alifs* following each other, Sheikh Achmad Behardien, for the sake of consistency, ingeniously uses the *hamza* as a vocalic symbol in association with the *yâ* to indicate the *madd lain ai*. The reader will notice the strange position of the *hamza*, but will recognise its association with the *yâ*, and instead of reading an aspirate, will read the diphthong *ai* [əi]. Abubakr Effendi avoids this problem by simply using the *ḥurûful madd aa* in association with the *yâ*, to spell the word *ghasitnaai* (to sew) = خسيتنا ي = [xasətna:j].

There is no certainty that the Cape Muslim Arabic-Afrikaans writers heard distinct differences between the letter *o*-related Afrikaans long

diphthongs *ooi* [o:j] and *oe* [uj]. This uncertainty is evident from the
indiscriminate use of the *oe* and *oo* Arabic vowel graphemes in
combination with the **madd lain ai** to create these diphthongs. Thus in
instances where the *ooi* [o:j] is expected the oei [uj] is found. This
is illustratted by the following examples : *ghooaie* = خُوِيـي = [xo:ɔi'ə]
= *goeie* (good); *ghoeai* = خُوَي = [xuɔi] = *gooi* (throw); **moe-wai**
= مُـوَي = [muⲱɔi] = *mooi* (beautiful); *ghoe-roeai* = خَـرُوَىُ =
[xuruɔi] = *groei* (grow); and *doewaie* = د ويـي = [duⲱɔiə] = *dooie*
(dead). In their present day colloquial Afrikaans the Cape Muslims
still do not clearly discriminate between the sounds of these two
diphthongs.

But then too the Cape Muslim Arabic-Afrikaans writers also do not
discriminate between the sounds of the Afrikaans long vowels *ee* [e:] and
uu [y:] and the sound of the rounded variant of *e* - *eu* [ɸ:j]. All
three sounds are expressed as the long vowel *ee* [e:]. This is evident
from the spelling of the word *kleur* [klɸ:j] as **kleer** = كلِـيـر = [kle:r]
(colour) and the word *vuur* [fy:r] as **veer** = فِـيـر = [fe:r] (fire) in
the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts. This tendency is also present in their
orthoepic practice. The Afrikaans words *uur* (hour) and *muur* (wall) are
pronounced as *eer* [e:r] and **meer** [me:r]. I can only assume that because
the Arabic-Afrikaans writers did not hear distinct differences in the
sounds of *ee*, *eu* and *uu*, they did not have a need to structure distinc-
tive vocalic symbols for these sounds. They used instead the **ḥurûful**
madd ee (ـِي) = [e:], which is equal in value to the sounds they heard
in the pronunciation of Afrikaans words normally written with the vowels
uu [y:] and *eu* [ɸ:j].

I, therefore, disagree with Van Selms that the word *volbring*, which is
spelt with a **fatḥa-kasra** vocalism in combination with **wâw**, (قَوُلْـبِرْبَك)
in the **Su'al wa jawâb**, should be transcribed as **feulbring** (Van Selms,
1951:45). Looking at the structure of the word, there is no rule in
tajwîd which might suggest such a pronunciation. Then too, as this spel-
ling occurs only once in the text, I suggests that it is an spelling
error. The writer probably intended the other double-**ḥarakah**, the

AFRIKAANS	ARABIC VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS		SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATIONS		
	Symbol	Description	Davids	Van Selms	International
a [a]	ـَ	fatḥa	a	a	a
ie [i]	ـِ	kasra	ie	ie or i	i
oe [u]	ـُ	ḍamma	oe	oe	u
aa [a:]	اـَ	ḥurûful madd a	aa	aa	â
ee [e:]	ـِىْ	ḥurûful madd yâ	ee	ie	î
oo [o:]	ـُوْ	ḥurûful madd wâw	oo	oe	û
ou [œu]	اُو	madd lain wâw	ou	ou	au/aw
ei [əi]	اَىْ	madd lain yâ	ai	ai	ai/ay

2. CREATED ARABIC-AFRIKAANS VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

AFRIKAANS	CREATED ARABIC VOCALIC SYMBOLS		SYSTEMS OF TRANSLITERATIONS		
Vowel/Dipht.	Symbol	Description	Davids	Van Selms	Phonetic
i & e	ـؐ	fatḥa-kasra combination	i & e	e	[ə]
e	ـىِ	yâ accomdated by kasratul qaîm	e	ie	[ɛ]
e	ـىِ	yâ preceded by kasratul qaîm (end e)	e	ie	[ə]
ê	اـؐ	triple ḥarakah	ê	ei	[ɛ:]
o	ـؐ	ḍamma-fatḥa combination	o	oe	[ɔ]
o	ـُو	sukûn-less wâw – ḍamma	o	oe	[ɔ]
u & ui	ـَوِى ـُوِى	madd lain wâw and yâ preceded by letter with fatḥa or ḍamma	ouai/wai	oeai	[œj]
aai	ـَياؐ ـَىؐ	ḥurûful madd yâ or yâ-hamza-sukûn	aai	aai	[a:j]
oei & ooi	ـُوى	madd lain yâ with ḍamma	oei/ooi	oe'ie	[uəi] [o:j]
uu & eu	ـِى	ḥurûful madd yâ	ee	ie	[e:]

FIGURE 21 – THE ARABIC-AFRIKAANS VOCALISMS WITH COMPARATIVE
TRANSCRIPTIONS

ḍamma-fatḥa combination indicating the Afrikaans letter _o_. In any case
the _eu_ sound is non-existent in the Cape Muslim orthoepic practice.

One vocalic symbol which puzzles me is the use of the **fatḥa-kasra**
arrangment in combintion with **yâ-sâkin** (‏ـــَــٰـي‏) to indicate the Afri-
kaans diphthong **ei**. There is no difference in sound between the Afri-
kaans diphthong **ei** and the Arabic diphthong, the **madd lain ai**. Then
too, there is no difference in the pronunciation between the sounds of
the _y_ and _ei_, which in Afrikaans is merely writing modes for the same
diphthong sound **ei** [əi]. Possibly the Arabic-Afrikaans writers used
the **fatḥa-kasra-yâ-sâkin** combination and the **madd lain ai** as different
modes of writing the Afrikaans diphthomg _ei_. There is certainly no
difference in sound intended by the two writing modes.

From my description and analysis of the Arabic-Afrikaans vowel system,
the willingness of the writers to experiment with the Arabic vocalisms,
to create vocalic symbols to represent Afrikaans sounds which do not
exist in the Arabic language, is observed. What is also evident is that
there are certain dominant trends in the process of creating the
appropriate vocalisms. In some instances vocalisms occur which are
not in conformity with these dominant trends. Most of these could be
attributed to spelling errors and are, therefore, ignored. There are
instances where I am completely uncertain. One such example is the
Arabic spelling of the word **maskie** (_miskien_) = ‏مَسْكِي‏ in which
the _'end e'_ structure is used to indicate an _ie_ [i] sound. One is
tempted to transcribe the word as **maske**, which in terms of its
morphological structure is correct. On the other hand one knows that
the word _maskie_ is listed by Changioun (1844) and Elfers (1908). It is
obvious from these listings that the word could not have been pronounced
as _"maske"_. I have also noticed that in the printed scripts, not the
lithpographs, the **kasratul qâim**, used to indicate the letter e, is shown
as a **kasra**, which in combination with the **yâ-sâkin** indicates the _ee_ [e:]
sound. I have, however, in my transcriptions, read them as _e_ [ə].
Figure 19 tries to clarify the Arabic-Afrikaans vocalic system.

4.7.2. THE ARABIC CONSONANTS USED IN ARABIC-AFRIKAANS

The Arabic alphabet, called the *ḥurûful ḥijâ*, consists of twenty-eight, some lexicologists says twenty-nine, letters. Not all of these letters correspond to those of the Afrikaans alphabet. Some of the Arabic consonants are pharyngealized, i.e. produced by changing the size of, and constricting, the pharynx. In fact Arabic is the only language which has pharyngealized consonants (Langacker, 1973:151). These pharyngealized consonants are not used in Arabic-Afrikaans, as their sounds do not exist in the Afrikaans language. At most, twenty of the letters of the original Arabic alphabet is used in Arabic-Afrikaans. Where the Arabic alphabet does not have letters which correspond to letters, or sounds, in Afrikaans, such letters are either borrowed from the Persian-Turkish or Malaysian adaptations of the Arabic alphabet or are created. We have already observed how the *kr* and *kl*, as lettering sounds, have been created.

4.7.2.1. The *ḥurûful îllâ* (The vowel-consonants)

The *ḥurûful îllâ*, i.e. the *'alif*, *wâw* and *yâ*, also known as the *ḥurûful madd*, for the role its plays in the construction of diphthongs and vowel elongations, are used both as vowels and consonants in Arabic script (Ali, 1934:vx). In Arabic-Afrikaans they are also used for vowel and diphthongs construction. The *yâ* (ي), for instance, plays an important role in the creation of the Afrikaans letter *e*. While the *wâw* plays an important role in indicating the sound of the Afrikaans letter *o*. The *yâ*, however, is not as frequently used as the others to act as a consonant. When it is used as a consonant it is mainly in Arabic loan words which had been bridged into Cape Muslim Afrikaans. In such instances it is transcribed as the Roman letter *y*.

The Arabic letter *wâw* (و), as Yusuf Ali (1934:xv) states, is used as the Roman consonant *w*, but it is also used in the construction of the Arabic long vowel *oo* and the diphthong *ou*. In Arabic-Afrikaans it is used as a labial *w* (Van Selms, 1951:40), illustrated in the spelling of the word *kwaat* (*kwaad*) = كَوَاتْ . The extensive use of the Arabic

---

letter *wâw* in Arabic-Afrikaans is dramatically illustrated in Hisham Neamatullah Effendi's (1894) coinage, *opbouwens*, which means *'a systematic construction'*. A syllable analysis of the word, *opbouwens*, illustrates the different uses of *wâw* :

$$\text{اُوْݒݒَوْوَنْس} \quad = \quad \text{op-bou-wens}$$

$$\text{اُوْݒ} \quad = \quad \text{op} \quad - \text{ a } \textit{sukûn}\text{-less } \textit{wâw} \text{ preceded by}$$
$$\textit{damma} \text{ to indicate the Afrikaans}$$
$$\text{letter } \textit{o}$$

$$\text{بَوْو} \quad = \quad \text{bou} \quad - \textit{wâw-sâkin} \text{ preceded by } \textit{fatha}$$
$$\text{to indicate the } \textit{madd lain ou}$$

$$\text{وَنْس} \quad = \quad \text{wens} \quad - \textit{wâw} \text{ used as a consonant to}$$
$$\text{indicate the Afrikaans labial } \textit{w}.$$

The third of the *hurûful illâ* is the *'alif*. It is used in Arabic as the consonant *a*; and in the structure of *hurûful madd aa* or the Arabic long vowel *aa* [a:]. In Arabic-Afrikaans, the *'alif* also only serve these two functions as indicated by the spelling of the Afrikaans words *a-leen* (alone) = اَلِيْن = [ale:n]; and *maar* (only) = مَار = [ma:r]. A consonant closely associated with the *'alif*, and considered to be the same in sound quality, is the *hamza* (ء)(Jardine, 1983:11). The *hamza* is seldom used in Arabic-Afrikaans, and when it is used, it is used as a substitute for the *'alif*. In these instances, as illustrated earlier, the *hamza* is placed outside of the main structure of the word. This is illustrated by the spelling of the Afrikaans words *nooit* (never) = *nooait* = نُوِيْت [no:ɔit] and *kwaai* = كَوَاي = *kawaai* = [kaωa:j].

4.7.2.2. Letters borrowed from other alphabets

The Arabic-Afrikaans script borrowed six letters to represent five Afrikaans sounds not found in the Arabic alphabet. These borrow-ings are made either from the Jawi (Malaysian) or Persian-Turkish adaptations of the Arabic alphanbet. These letters are :

---

a) The Persian-Turkish *p* = (‎ پ‎);

b) the *i Jawi p* = (‎ ڤ‎);

c) the Persian-Turkish *ch* = (‎ چ‎), which is transcribed as *tj*, and pronounced as [c] as in *tjalie* [cã:li];

d) the Persian Turkish *kie* = (‎ ݢ‎), which is transcribed as *g*, and presenting an Afrikaans guttural *g* [g] sound, as in 'g̱holf';

e) the Jawi *ng* = (‎ ڠ غ‎), and

d) the Persian-Turkish *ng* (‎ نک‎).

There is no letter which convey the *p*-sound in the Arabic alphabet. The *Jawi* and Persian-Turkish alphabets in which a *p*-sound exists, created their own Arabic lettering form for the letter *p*. In Arabic-Afrikaans the Persian-Turkish letter *p* (‎ پ‎) is used as the Afrikaans *p*. The *Jawi* letter *p* is used as the Afrikaans *w*. There is definitely linguistic sense in this arrangement. The Persian-Turkish *p* (‎ پ‎) is derived from the Arabic letter *bå* (‎ ب‎) which is closer in pronunciation to the Afrikaans letter *p*. The use of the Persian-Turkish *p* in Arabic-Afrikaans is illustrated by the following examples taken from the Arabic-Afrikaans literature: *praat* = ‎ پَرَاتْ‎ = *peraat* = [pˀra:t]; *punt* = ‎ پِنْتْ‎ = *pint* = [pənt]; *kop* = ‎ کُوُپْ‎ = *koewap* = [kᵁωap]; *op* = ‎ أُوپْ‎ = *op* [ɔp] and *preis* = ‎ پِرَيْشْ‎ = *perais* = [pˀrəis]. The use of the Persian-Turkish *p*, and the fact that it is derived from the Arabic letter *bå* (‎ ب‎), left its influence on the spoken Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims. This is clearly seen where an Arabic word, ending with the letter *bå*, has been bridged into the spoken Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims. In such instances there is a tendency to pronounce the *bå* as *p*. Cases in illustration are : the Arabic word *kitåb* is pronounced as *kietaap* (‎ کِتَاپْ‎); and the Arabic name *Raqib* is pronounced *Rakip* in Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

The *Jawi* letter *p* (‎ ڤ‎), which is derived from the Arabic letter *få*, accommodated with three, instead of one, diacritical points (‎ ڤ‎), is used as a dental *w* in Arabic-Afrikaans. This too makes linguistic sense. The *få* is closer in pronunciation of the Afrikaans *w* than it is to the Afrikaans *p*. This probably motivated the Arrabic-Afrikaans

writers to use the *Jawi p* as a dental *w*. It is normal in Arabic to Roman script transliterations for the Arabic letter *wâw* (و) to be transcribed as a *w* (Naude, 1986:112). The use of the *Jawi p*, creates a situation where there are two lettering symbols indicating an Afrikaans letter.

This is necessary in Arabic-Afrikaans to indicate the two distinctive sounds of the letter *w* heard in Afrikaans. The *Jawi* or Malaysian *p* is used to indicate the Afrikaans dental *w*; while the Arabic letter *wâw* is used to indicate the labial or more rounded pronunciation of the Afrikaans *w*. Thus, the Arabic *wâw* is used in the spelling of the word *kwaad* = كَوَاْت = *kwaat* = [kwa:t]; while the Jawi or Malaysian *p* is used in the spellings of the words *was* = ڤَاْس = *waas* [vas]; *wanneer* = ڤَنِرْ = *waner* [vanər] and *seghselwe* (on its own) = سِيْخْسِلْڤِي = [sɛxsɛlvə].

For the Afrikaans *ng*-sound [ŋ], as in the word *bang* [baŋ], the Arabic-Afrikaans writers used either the Persian-Turkish (ڭ) or the *Jawi* (Malaysian) (ڠ) lettering forms for *ng*. These lettering forms are constructed from different Arabic letters - the Persian letter *ng* is a clustering of the the Arabic letters *nûn* and *kâf* while the *Jawi ng* is the Arabic letter *ghain* with three diacritical points. They, however, convey the same sound in Arabic-Afrikaans. It is left to the discretion of the writer to use any one of these forms. It is also noted that a writer will consistently use only one of the two forms.

To distinguish between the Afrikaans guttural and laryngeal *g*, the Arabic-Afrikaans writers used the Persian-Turkish *kie* (گ) to indicate the guttural *g* [g] as 'gholf'. For the laryngeal *g*, which is more common, the Arabic letter *kha* (خ) is used. This is illustrated in the difference in spelling between *hoge* (hoë) = هُوكِي = [hɔgɛ] and *ghaan* (gaan) = خَاْن = [xa:n]. The Persian Turkish *kie* (گ) which in appearance looks similar to the Arabic middle letter *kâf*, conveys a sound which is equal to the pronunciation of the *g* in 'gun'. I, in my transcription concur with Professor van Selms (1951:38) indicate the *kie* as *g*, and the *kha* (خ) as *gh*. In the international systems of trans-

literation the Arabic letter *ghain* (غ) is normally indicated by the
gh. *Ghain*, however, is not used in Arabic-Afrikaans. In these systems
too the *kha* (خ) is indicated as *kh*. The lettering cluster *gh*,
however, more accurately conveys the laryngeal pronunciation of the
Afrikaans *g* in Cape Muslim Afrikaans - indicated by the Arabic letter
kha (خ) in Arabic-Afrikaans.

The tj-sound as pronounced in Cape Muslim Afrikaans, is indicated by the
Persian-Turkish *ch* (چ), which in the Roman script Afrikaans words is
indicated as *tj*. The Persian-Turkish *ch* is used in such Cape Muslim
Afrikaans words as *batja* (to read) بَـچَـ = [bac̃a]; *tjapang* (police)
چَـپَـڠ = [c̃apaŋ] and *ietj* (something) = اِچ = [ic̃]. The Persian-
Turkish *ch*, which is also used in the *Jawi* alphabet, is an adaptation of
the Arabic letter *hā* with three diacritical points (چ) and in both
Persian and Malayu indicates a sound which is equal to the *ch* in the
English word '*church*' or more precisely, the *ch* in *Charles* or the *tj* as
in the Afrikaans word *tj*alie [c̃a:li] (Coetzee, 1988:6). The tendency in
the Cape Muslim community to consistently pronounce the *tj* as [c̃]; and
not in conformity with Standard Afrikaans, where it is pronounced as
[ci] in the dimunitive morpheme *tj*ie form, could be attributed to the
influence of Malayu on Cape Muslim Afrikaans. [2]

4.7.2.3. Letters from the Arabic alphabet

Of the nineteen letters of the Arabic alphabet used in Arabic-Afrikaans,
the *tā* (ط), *qāf* (ق) and the *tā-marbutā* (ة) is used only by Abubakr
Effendi and the pre-Abubakr Effendi Arabic-Afrikaans writers. The *tā*
and *qāf* are used by Abubakr Effendi to indicate a *t* and *q* respectively,
and resulted more from the influence of English on his spoken Afrikaans.
The *tā-marbutā* is used by the pre-Abubakr Effendi writers to indicate
the Afrikaans letter *t* at the end of a word.

Footnote :
2.   In Malayu the *tj* is encountered in words such as *batja* (to read),
bietjara (meeting), *tja-ja* (face), all spelt with the Persian-Turkish
ch. When the same letter is used in Arabic-Afrikaans in the
construction of the dimunitive Afrikaans morpheme *tjie*, the Malaysian-
Persian-Turkish pronunciation of the *ch* [c̃] is retained.

Though the *tâ-marbutâ* is not considered a letter of the Arabic alphabet it is, however, used in Arabic writing to indicate a pronunciation of *t*, instead of *h*, on *waqaf* or stopping, in Arabic reading. It is used in Arabic writing where the grammatical form of the word requires a *hâ* (هـ) or *h*. In Arabic-Afrikaans the *tâ-marbutâ* is used purely to indicate the end of a word and hence a *waqaf* or stop.

The Afrikaans letter *s* is normally indicated by the Arabic letter *sîn* (س). There are instances in Arabic-Afrikaans where the Arabic efiminate *s*, the *sâd* (ص) is used. Professor van Selms (1951:40) suggests that the *sâd* is used to indicate a sharp pronunciation of *s*, as in the Afrikaans word *netsoes* (نَتْصُصْ). This may not necessarily be the case. The pronunciation of the *sâd* for *sîn* is not uncommon in the practice of Quranic reading. Where such a change in pronunciation is required, the *sâd* is used as a vocalism accommodating the consonant *sîn* (Jardine, 1983:85). In Arabic-Afrikaans there is no difference in the quality of sound in the *sâd* and *sîn*. The *sîn* is the preferred letter for the Afrikaans *s*.

There is no phonetic difference in the sounds of the Afrikaans letters *v* and *f*. In Arabic-Afrikaans both are indicated by the Arabic letter *fâ* (ف). As there is no difference in the sound of the letters *v* and *f* in Afrikaans, and as both are indicate by the same Arabic letter, I have been rather liberal with my transcriptions, using the *f* and the *v* indiscriminately, but more in conformity with the morphological structure of the word as it would appear in its standard Afrikaans form. Thus for instance, there is no difference in pronunciation between the *f* in *familie* and the *v* in the Afrikaans word *van*. In their Arabic spellings the *f* and the *v* are both indicated by the Arabic letter *fâ* (ف). I in my transcriptions of these words, I, for instance, use *f* for *familie* and *v* for *van*.

The remaining letters of the Arabic alphabet used in Arabic-Afrikaans do not create any problems and need no detailed embellishment. It is sufficient to note that *bâ* (ب); *dâl* (د); *kâf* (ك) and *lâm* (ل) are used to indicate the Afrikaans letters *b*, *d*, *k*, and *l* respectively in

Arabic-Afrikaans. While the Afrikaans letters *m*, *n*, *r*, and *h* are indicated by the Arabic letters *mîm* (م), *nûn* (ن), *râ* (ر) and *hâ* (هـ) respectively. The Roman letter *j* is represented by Arabic letter *ğîm* (ج). I agree with Professor van Selms (1951:39) that a transcription *dj* for the Arabic letter *ğîm* is more in conformity with the way the Afrikaans letter *j* is pronounced by the Cape Muslim community. In Figure 22 I provide a list of the Arabic-Afrikaans consonants with comparative transliterations.

The Arabic letters not generally used in Arabic-Afrikaans are *thâ* (ث), *hâ* (ح), *dhal* (ذ), *zai* (ز), *shîn* (ش) *tâ* (ط), *'ain* (ع), *ghain* (غ) and *qâf* (ق). Where these letters occur from the Arabic or Malayu which has been bridged into Cape Muslim Afrikaans, I have used those symbols, generally used in the international systems of transliteration, to indicate their sounds. A typical example is the word *rieziek-gheever* (رِزْ قْخِيْفِرْ) in which I have used the *z* to indicate the *zai* (ز). Abubakr Effendi sometimes uses the *qâf* to indicate the Afrikaans *k*, as in his spelling of the word *qalain* (*klein*) = قَلِيْنْ . The use of the *qâf* for the Afrikaans *k* is beyond my comprehension; for a lyrangeal *k*-sound does not exist in Afrikaans. Nevertheless, where *qâf* is used in a word, I have no option but to transcribe it as *q*.

What is obvious from this discussion of the Arabic consonants, unlike with the vowels, is that there is hardly any difference between Van Selms' transcriptions and mine. I attribute this to the fact that the Arabic consonants do not convey sounds of their own. "The letters are all consonants", writes Sulaiman Jardine, "and their pronunciation is dependent on the vowel-signs accordingly." The sounds of the Arabic consonants are, therefore, governed by the *harakat*. When there is no *harakah* on a letter, the letter cannot produce a sound (Jardine, 1983:52). Even the sound of the letter in the *makhraj* or speech organs, is governed by a grapheme. This is indicated by Zardad (1978:31), who writes : "the sound of the letter of the *makhraj* is the saakinized (sic) form of a letter preceded by *fatha*." The sound of the letter *fâ* (ف), for example, will be *fâ-sâkin* preceded by *'alif-fatha* giving a pronunciation *af* (أَفْ) = [af].

4.8. SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

I have used mainly the Arabic-Afrikaans lithographs to indentify the consonants, vowels, and diphthong/vowel constructions predominantly employed in Arabic-Afrikaans.   These lithographs were printed directly from the original manuscripts prepared by the writers, and thus, reflect very accurately their spelling intentions.   Compared with the letter-pressed Arabic-Afrikaans publications, the lithographs display relatively few spelling errors.   This is understandable.   The letter pressed publications were set overseas, in isolation of the guiding presence of the writers.   The foreign type-setters were prone to substitute or delete graphemes or vocalisms where these did not make sense to them or conform to their particular printing traditions.   This is clearly evident in Sheikh Achmad Behardien's *Su'al wa jawâb* (Questions and answers), printed in Bombay in 1918.   As noted earlier, graphemes and vocalisms are not only omitted, but also misplaced.   A similar tendency is evident in the *Al tanbîhâ-tul la-iqatu bi akhwâli Muslimin* (An appropriate instruction on cencerns of the Muslims), written by Sheikh Abubakr Abdurauf and printed in Cairo in 1911. Judging from the Arabic publications printed in Cairo during this period, it appears to have been traditional to print without vocalisms. The only exception seems to have been the Qur'ân.

The Arabic-Afrikaans lithographs, due to its relatively few spelling errors, and its fairly consistent spelling arrangements, proved invaluable as a resource from which to determine the Cape Muslim Arabic-Afrikaans spelling system.   To determine changes in spelling trends, I selected, (from fifteen in my possession), four Arabic-Afrikaans publications, from different authors, written at different times during the early period to act as control.   A further criterion of the selection process was, that a writer must not be known to have been a student of another in the group; and thus, be influenced in his spelling approach by his teacher.   The lithographs selected were :   the Bayânudîn, written by Abubakr Effendi in 1869; the *Kitâb arryadal badi'â*

AFRIKAANS CONSONANTS	ARABIC CONSONANTS	NAME OF ARABIC LETTERS	SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION		
			Davids	Van Selms	International
–	ء ه ا	'alif	a	a	'
b	ب ب	bâ	b	b	b
d	د	dal	d	d	d
f	ف ف	fâ	f or v	f	f
g	خ خ	khâ	gh	gh	kh
guttural g	ک	ki	g	g	k
h	ھ ه	hâ	h	h	h
j	ج ج	ǧîm	dj	dj	j
k	ك ک	kâf	k	k	k
l	ل ل	lâm	l	l	l
m	م م	mîm	m	m	m
n	ن ن ن	nûn	n	n	n
r	ر	râ	r	r	r
s	س س	sîn	s	s	s
ṣ	ص ص	ṣâd	ṣ	ṣ	ṣ
t	ت ت ت	tâ	t	t	t
ṭ	ط	ṭâ	ṭ	ṭ	ṭ
t	ة	tâ-marbutâ	t	t	t
labial w	و	wâw	w	u	w
dental w	ۏ ۏ	Jawi – p	w	w	v
p	پ پ	Persian –p	p	p	p
ng	غ غ غ	Jawi – ng	ng	ng	ng
ng	نک نک	Persian – ng	ng	ng	ng
tj	چ چ	ch	tj	tj	ch
q	ق ق	qâf	q	q	q
z	ز	zai	z	z	z

FIGURE 22 – THE ARABIC-AFRIKAANS CONSONANTS WITH COMPARATIVE TRANSCRIPTIONS

(The book of the wonderful garden), written by Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar (Berdien) in 1900; the *Tuhfatul atfal* (A gift for children) by Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraqi, also written in 1900, and the *Tartibus Salâh* (Perfection in Prayer), which was written by Imam Abdurahmaan Kassiem Gamieldien in 1907.

It is remarkable how similar the spelling trends are in these four publications and how well these publications compare with the spelling arrangements in the other pre-1915 lithographs from which they were selected. The differences which do occur result either from preferance of a *Jawi* or Persian-Turkish lettering for *ng*, or from the simplification in pronunciation of the vowels or diphthongs. A typical example of the latter is the change which occurs in the spelling of the word *hulle* - (from *hoe-waile* (هُوَيْـل) to *hil-i* (هَلِى) = pronounced [hələ].

On the otherhand, a comparison between the spelling arrangement in the lithographs and the letter-pressed publications shows a few observable differences. These are different from the obvious spelling mistakes, which are very common. The most striking difference is the non-deployment of the *kasratul qâim* to indicate the *mid-frontal-* or *end-e*'s; structures commonly used in the lithographs. Thus in the letter-pressed publications we find a *kasra* where a *kasratul qâim* was expected. Typical examples are the words *ghaskaape* and *ait-ainde* in the *Su'al wa jawâb*. In both instances the last syllable of the word is indicated by a *yâ* preceded by a letter with *kasra*. I do not believe that it was the intention of the writer that these words should be pronounced as *ghaskaapee* [xaska:pe:] and *ait-aindee* [əitəinde:]. The pronunciation of these words as *ghaskaape* [xaska:pə] and *ait-ainde* [əitəində] have already been established in earlier lithographs (Abdurahim, 1897:8 and Gamieldien, 1907:1).

I can understand the omission of the *kasratul-qâim* and the substitution of a *kasra* in the letter-pressed works. This must have been decided by the printer, who must not have been acquainted with the *kasratul qâim* so structured. I, in my transcriptions, transcribe this *kasra* as *e*. This is not done without consideration of the rules of *tajwid*. The reading

of vocalized script, in accordance with the rulese of *tajwîd*, lends musical intonation to the reading matter. This is a requirement of the Qur'an which in Chapter 73 verse 4 instructs the reader : "And recite the Qur'an in slow, measured rhythmic tones" (Ali, 1934:1633 - translation).

This leads to the flow of one Arabic word into the other to create musical effect. As noted earlier, stopping for breathing, in this process of reading, is governed by defdinite rules. The most pertinent rule, applicable in this instance, is the intermix of the last letter and its vocalic symbol of the one word with the first letter and its vocalic symbol of the next word (Jardine, 1983:78 & Zardad, 1978:33). Afrikaans , not being as musical as Arabic, in which language one word can flow into the other, requires a stop after each word to get the proper pronunciation.

I have interviewed several *hufaz* i.e. those who read the Qur'an from memory in terms of the rules of *tajwid*, and requested that they read the sentences with the words *ghaskaape* and *ait-ainde* with musical intonation. They found this impossible. All read the spellings *ghaskaapee* and *ait-aindee* as *ghaskaape* [xaska:pə] and *ait-ainde* [əit ində]. They explained that it is impossible to intermix the last syllable of the word with the first syllable of the next word to get a musical flow. They were forced to make a *waqaf* or pause at the end of each word. Hence the pronunciation [ə] instead of [e:].

Probably the greatest achievement of the Arabic-Afrikaans writers is their remarkable succesful manipulation of the Arabic alphabet to produce the sounds of the Cape Dutch or Afrikaans they were hearing in their community. This was no mean achievement. Geoffrey Wheeler (1971:317), commenting on the use of the Arabic script in Urdu, writes :

> "*The Arabic script being fundamentally unsuited for the*
> *writing of non-semetic languages, a high portion (in*
> *Urdu nearly one half) of the basic Arabic origin. The*
> *pronunciation of such words may, and usually does, differ*

widely from the original Arabic."

In Arabic-Afrikaans all the Arabic vowel symbols and vocalisms and two-thirds of the Arabic consonants are used in the creation of Afrikaans words. The full use of the Arabic vowels and diphthongs could be attributed to the fact that they are equal in sound to most of the Afrikaans vowels and diphthongs. This greatly facilitated the phonetic construction of Afrikaans words with Arabic lettering. The exactness of these constructions gives us almost an audio-tape-recorded production of the Afrikaans pronunciations of this community in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. So concerned were these writers about the exactness of the sounds that in instances, when Arabic words were required in their Afrikaans texts, the Arabic spelling of such words were meticulously observed. Only when Arabic words had been bridged into their spoken Afrikaans, and when the bridging resulted in orthoepic changes, are morphological changes in the spelling obsereved, again with the concern, that the sound heard must be the sound recorded.

The Arabic script is regarded as sacred by the Cape Muslim community. This attitude resulted in the drestruction of invaluable Arabic-Afrikaans manuscripts and documents through burial once they became tattered and torn. Nevertheless, this high regard which the Cape Muslims have for the Arabic script, and their belief that the script must not be abused, probably led to a definitive, and easily identifiable spelling system in Arabic-Afrikaans. This spelling system could not have been developed without reference to the Arabic rules of reading, and hence the Arabic-Afrikaans spelling system is governed be definite rules. This explains why the Arabic-Afrikaans spelling arrangements remained so consistent from the first extant publication in 1869 to the last in 1957. We can therefore conclude that the Arabic-Afrikaans spelling system was a standardized one, and was probably the first standardized orthography of the Afrikaans language.

C H A P T E R 5

WRITING ARABIC AND ARABIC-AFRIKAANS IN ROMAN SCRIPT;

SYSTEMS OF TRANSLITERATION, ANNOTATED TRANSCRIPTIONS AND SOME PHONETIC, SYNTACTICAL AND LEXICAL ASPECTS OF CAPE MUSLIM AFRIKAANS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

When the Cape Muslims first started to write their religious publications in Afrikaans, their major problem was the presentation of the Arabic sounds in Roman lettering presentations. This is understandable. Not all of the sounds of the letters of the Arabic alphabet could be presented by the Afrikaans Roman script alphabet. There are pharyngealized letters in the Arabic alphabet which does not exists in Afrikaans. It is, therefore, impossible to express their sounds with the letters of a conventional Roman script alphabet. Thus from the first Afrikaans in Roman script publication in 1898, the *Kitâb Tarajomataariyaa-dil Badiati* (Book on the explanation of the wonderful garden), by Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar, a system of transliteration from Arabic to Afrikaans had to be developed. It is the development of this system of transliteration, and its possible standardisation which now engage my attention, but before this, it might be useful to look at the international systems of transliteration, generally used by Roman script writers for the transcription of Arabic to a Roman script language.

No singular international system of transliteration exists. Thus we have a situation where few of the international writers would claim that the system used by them, accurately convey the pronunciation of the Arabic words they transcribed. One of the major reasons for the differences in transcription is the variance in pronunciation of Arabic loan words in those languages which have adopted the Arabic orthography as a means of writing. An example of this is Urdu. The Arabic word *ramadân*, for instance, is pronounced *ramazân* [ramaza:n] in Urdu, in which language the Arabic letter *dal*

(ﺩ) is pronounced *zâl*, though the orthographic structure of the word remains constant in both languages (رَمَضَاْن).

Several differences do, however, exists with the various systems of transliteration which are acceptable to the international community. Because of this, it is not uncommon for editors of journals on Islam and Muslim affairs to provide guidelines for contributors to their journals on the systems of transliteration which they prefer. Points in illustration are the systems suggested by editors of the *Journal of Islamic Studies* of the Rand Afrikaans University; and the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*.

When I, therefore, refer to an "*international system of transliteration*", I am in fact refering to the convergence which appear to exists with regard to the transliteration of the greater majority of the Arabic consonants, and the total agreement with regard to the transliteration of the vowel graphemes and vocalic structures, in the various systems of transliteration from Arabic to Roman script acceptable to the international community. In Chapter 1, Figure 1, a comparison is made between two systems of transliteration acceptable by the international community.

But apart from looking at the systems of transliteration, and suggesting a standardize system for Afrikaans, annotated transcriptions, in terms of this system, is embarked upon. From these transcriptions, as basic examples, some of the phonetic, syntactical and lexical aspects of Cape Muslim Afrikaans are discussed. Let us, however, first look at the systems of transliterations.

5.2. THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS OF TRANSLITERATION

Broadly speaking, two methods of transliteration from Arabic to Roman script exists. The first of these methods is known as "phonetic transcriptions". This method employs some phonetic alphabet, such as the International Phonetic Alphabet, for the transcription of Arabic words in Roman script languages. It is, however, a method which have long been regarded to

be unnecessary outside of the realm of linguistics, and is no longer popularly pursued.

The second method is known as "graphic transliteration". This method involves the rendering of each letter of the Arabic alphabet by a corresponding letter of a Roman script alphabet such as English, with the modification of such letters with diacritical points or macrons where necessary. Several system in accordance with this method of transliteration have been devised; and most of them, if rigidly applied, provide more or less accurate reflections of the Arabic orthography. The fact that several systems exists, leads to there being no consistency with regard to transliteration. This is particularly evident in instances where two languages, using the Arabic orthography, needs to be transcribed in Roman script (Wheeler, 1971:317).

To ensure a degree of consistency with the Arabic vowels, the graphic method of transliteration generally uses the phonetic symbols of their sounds to indicate the Arabic vowel graphemes and vocalic symbols. Thus the Arabic short vowels, the *fatha*, the *kasra*, and the *damma* are indicated by the Roman script letters *a*, *i* and *u* respectively. The Arabic long vowels are indicated by the same Roman script lettering symbols, but to show the elongation in pronunciation, these Roman script lettering symbols are accommodated by a macron. Thus the Arabic long vowels will be transcribed as *ā*, *ī* and *ū* as indicated in the previous chapter. The use of these Roman script lettering symbols, for the graphic transcription of Arabic-Afrikaans into Roman script Afrikaans, sometimes creates confusion. This is particularly true in instances where the Afrikaans lettering symbols *i* and *u* indicate different sounds to that of the Arabic vowels.

It is only with regard to the symbols used for the Arabic vowel sounds, that the International system of transliteration of Arabic to Roman script is found to be inadequate for the transcription of Arabic-Afrikaans into Roman script. Most of the pharyngealized consonants are in any case not used for the writing of Afrikaans in Arabic script, except maybe in Arabic loan words which had been bridged into Cape Muslim Afrikaans. With a few exceptions, the Arabic lettering symbols used for Afrikaans consonants in

Arabic-Afrikaans is transcribed by using the same symbols for these letters which are used by the international system of transliteration.

5.3. TOWARDS A SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION FROM ARABIC TO AFRIKAANS

5.3.1. The Need and Development of the Communal System of Transliteration

Whatever the motivation of the Cape Muslim community might have been for the production of Islamic literature in Afrikaans in Roman script at the beginning of the twentieth century, it brought with it a need for a system of transliteration which most adequately represent the Arabic sounds in Afrikaans Roman script. The accurate presentation of the Arabic sounds was vitally important. It is compulsory in terms of Islamic dictates, that the obligatory five prayers be recited in Arabic. The idea being to indentify with the concept of the unity of God, through a uniform sacrimental language in the process of worship. Then too, it is traditional for the various daily supplications, like entering the toilet for instance, to be recited in Arabic. For those who do not understand or read Arabic, the accurate transliteration of the Arabic into a script they understood, without diminishing the sound value of the Arabic, is necessary. Transliterations from Arabic to Afrikaans was thus an important conside-ration. Equally important was the need for the transcriptions or transli-terations to accurately represent the Arabic sounds in the Roman script Afrikaans. Mis-pronunciation, as indicated earlier, could invalidate the prayer or change the meaning of an Arabic word.

The inability of the Roman script to adequately represent the Arabic let-ters, presented a major problem. This problem has never been conclusively resolved. As with the international system of transliteration, various systems, all of which conforms to the dictates of the graphic method of translitertation, emerged. Jardine (1983:11), who uses the basic core of the communal system of transliteration in his *Iqra - Teach Yourself Quran Reading*, concedes that the pharyngealized sounds cannot be presented by Roman script lettering, and suggests the engagement of an Arabic teacher for the accurate pronunciation of these sounds. This might indeed be necessary where the reader is not acquainted with the Arabic sounds.

Jardine's observation, nevertheless, tends to amplify the communal difficulties of finding suitable Roman lettering symbols of these Arabic consonants which they desire to transcribe in Afrikaans.

The presentation of the Arabic vowel sounds in Roman script, on the otherhand, did not constitute such a problem. This could be attributed to the fact that there is hardly any difference in sound between the Arabic and Afrikaans vowel graphemes. The lettering symbols use in Afrikaans are therefore adequate to convey the sounds of the Arabic vowels and dipthongs. This equality in sound is illustrated in Figure 22. With regard to the transcription of the Arabic vocalic symbols there is, therefore, no need for dots, macrons or lines under, or above, the Roman lettering symbol to indicate the sound intended. The use, therefore, of the Afrikaans vowels diphthong symbols to transcribed the Arabic vowel graphemes and diph- thongs, instead of the lettering symbols suggested by the international systems of transliteration, was considered more convevient and appropriate.

This major departure from the international systems of transliteration, with regard to the transcription of the Arabic vocalic system, is already evident in the Afrikaans in Roman script publication, *Deze Ketab es van Salaah op de Madhab van Emaam Shafvia*, written by Sheikh Mohamed Salie Hendricks in 1906. Thus from early on in their transliteration, they used the Afrikaans vowel symbols to represent the Arabic vowel sounds. Though the problem, remained with the consonants, the system with regard to the transliteration of the Arabic vocalic symbols is followed to this day. This is evident from the Arabic transcriptions in M A Fakier's 1983 Roman script Afrikaans publication, *Akiedatoel Moesliem - 'n kietaab oor Tougied*. An Arabic transliteration from this book read :

   *"As - hadoe al'la iellaha ielal laa wa ash hadoe an'na
   Moegam'madar ra soe loel laah"* (Translation : "Ek getuig
   dat daar geen ware God is nie behalwe Allah, en ek getuig
   dat Moegam'mad die boodskapper van Allah is" (Fakier,1983:7)

One notices here that the Afrikaans *oe*, *ie*, and *aa* are preferred to the *u*, *i* and *å* of the international system.

The exactness by which the communal system of Afrikaans transliteration indicates the Arabic vowel sounds, also persuaded me to use the communal system for the transcriptions of the Afrikaans used in the Arabic-Afrikaans publications. This has resulted in more accurate renderings of the Arabic vocalisms for the Afrikaans vowel sounds.

An interesting observation, though not necessary part of this study, is the tremendous influence of the Afrikaans transliteration system on English transliterations in the Cape Muslim English religious publications which appeared from the 1930s onwards. This is illustrated by a supplication taken from Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien's, *A Guide to the Muslim Salat or Prayer Part 11*, which appeared in 1938. The passage reads :

Allahu akbar kabieran walhumdu lilahi kasieran wa soebganallahi bukratan wa asiela" (Translation : "Allah is most great in greatness, and many praises unto Allah, and glory unto Allah morning and evening" = T A Gamieldien)

The *ie* in *kabieran* and the *oe* in *soebganallahi* is evidence of the Afrikaans influence on the transcription. In the normal Arabic to English transliteration following the international systems, the Arabic *oe* [u] and *ie* [i] sounds would have been presented as *u* and *i*.

5.3.2. The communal system of transliteration preferred

The communal preference for their, as opposed to the international, system of transliteration, can only be understood if we look at the way the Arabic sounds were re-enforced in the community. What we do know is, that since the establishment of the first formal *madrasah* or Muslim school in 1793, the teaching of Arabic was conducted through Malayu. To facilitate the reading-teaching process, and at the same time acquaint the pupils with sounds of the Arabic vowels and diphthongs, as well as teaching them the spelling of the Arabic words, several rhythmic spelling mnemonics, to which I referred in Chapter 2, were adopted. The pupils were required to memorise these mnemonics, and so remember the sounds of the Arabic vowels and diphthongs.

SOUNDS	VOWELS & DIPHTHONG		AFRIKAANS	SYSTEMS OF TRANSLITERATION	
	ARABIC		AFRIKAANS	COMMUNAL	INTERNATIONAL
a [a]	fatḥa	´ [a]	a [a]	a	a
ie [i]	kasra	‗ [i]	ie [i]	ie	i
oe [u]	ḍamma	‗ [u]	oe [u]	oe	u
aa [a:]	Long a	ا ´ [a:]	aa [a:]	aa	â
ee [e:]	Long e	ى ‗ [e:]	ee [e:]	ee	î
oo [o:]	Long o	و ´ [o:]	oo [o:]	oo	û
ou [ɶu]	Madd lain wâw	و ´ [ɶu]	ou [ɶu]	ou	au or aw
ei [əi]	Madd lain yâ	ى ´ [əi]	ei [əi]	ai	ay or ai

FIGURE 22 -   THE ARABIC AND AFRIKAANS VOWELS - THEIR SOUNDS AND
AND TRANSCRIPTIONS IN TWO SYSTEMS OF TRANSLITERATION

With the switch of the medium of instruction, from Malayu to Afrikaans, the Malayu mnemonics were retained. This was convenient. The *a* [a], *ie* [i] and *oe* [u] sounds; and the *aa* [a:], *ee* [e:] and *oo* [o:] sounds, which the Malayu mnemonics re-enforced were equal to the sounds of the Afrikaans short and long vowels. We thus have a situation where the vowel and diphthong sounds of Arabic and Malayu were equal to the sounds of most of the vowels and diphthongs in Afrikaans.

What was also retained was the Malayu names of the Arabic vowel graphemes. This explains why it was necessary for Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al Iraqi to use the Malayu names of the Arabic vocalisms in the *Tuḥfatul atfâl* (A gift for children) in 1900; or why Sulaiman Jardine in his 1983 publication, *Iqra - Teach Yourself Quran Reading*, had to explain that *ḥarakah* (Arabic) and *barries* (Malayu) is the same thing. It also explains why he needed to write *fatḥa*, *kasra*, *ḍamma* (Arabic), together with *dettis*, *bouwa* and *dappan* (Jardine:1983:11). In fact it was only from the 1970s onwards that the Arabic names of the vocalisms were beginning to replace their Malayu counterparts. Even today, the majority of the *madaris*, prefers the Malayu names of the vowel graphemes.

What, however, is important, is that the sounds of the Arabic vowel graphemes and diphthongs which the Malayu spelling mnemonics convey are equal to some of the sounds of the vowels and diphthongs of their spoken Afrikaans. But these Afrikaans vowel and diphthong sounds also existed in their spoken Malayu, which they wrote in Arabic, and which, from available historic evidence, existed in nineteenth century Cape Town (Franken, 1953). The closeness of the Malayu and Afrikaans vowel sounds is clearly seen in the following sentence, (Read the Malayu as if Afrikaans) :

> *Achmat jang bietjara, saja soeda kieriem satoe boenkoes*
> *ienie pagie apa toean soeda triema.* (Achmat speaking. I
> have sent you a parcel this morning. Have you received
> it ? - translation AD)

Thus when the need arose in the nineteenth century to write their spoken Afrikaans in Arabic script, the basic core of the Afrikaans vowels and

diphthongs must have been indentified as to be already existing in Arabic
and used for similar sounding vowels in the Malayu they wrote, in Arabic
script, during the early part of the nineteenth century. This must have
facilitated the writing of Arabic-Afrikaans, and encouraged the process of
innovative orthographic engineering which led to the construction of the
vowel sounds and diphthongs which did not exist in the Arabic alphabet. It
must also have facilitated the transliteration of Arabic into Afrikaans
Roman script. The Afrikaans vocalic symbols used in such transcriptions
indicate sounds which are identical to the sounds of the Arabic vowel
graphemes and diphthongs.

5.3.3. The inadequacies of the international systems of transliteration for the transcription of Arabic-Afrikaans

There are, therefore, definite advantages, despite its obviously parochial
constraints, to use the communal system of transliteration in transcribing
Arabic or Arabic-Afrikaans into Roman script Afrikaans. Being nutured in
an essentially Afrikaans linguistic milieu, the communal system more
accurately reflects the sounds of the Arabic and Arabic-Afrikaans words.
This is particularly true with the transcription of the vowels and
diphthongs. The use of the communal system of transliteration can help to
avoid misreading, and possibly misinterpretation, of the characteristic
phonetic tendencies of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. The misintepretation of the
characteristic phonetic tendencies seems to be particularly evident when
Arabic-Afrikaans is transcribed with the symbols suggested by the
international systems of transliterations with regard to the transcriptions
of the vowels.

Professor van Selms, recognised some of the inadequacies of the internatio-
nal systems of transliteration, and tried to develop a system more suited
to Afrikaans transcription of the Arabic-Afrikaans script. The problem of
his system is the retention of some of the elements of the international
systems, especially with regard to the transcription of the vowels. This
led him to transcribe the *kasra* as *i*, an Afrikaans lettering symbols which
in most instances indicates a sound [ə]. The *kasra* in reality is equal to
the Afrikaans sound [i], which is indicated by the Afrikaans short vowel

symbol *ie*. I have looked at the consequences of this error by Van Selms in the previous chapter.

His use of an italic *u*, accommodated with a macron (*ṳ*), to represent the Arabic letter **wâw** (ﻭ), does not facilitate the reading of the transcription. This difficulty is clearly seen in his transcription of the word *water* as *ṳaater*. The Arabic consonant **wâw** is more accurately transcribed as a **w**. I can, however, understand the reason for him wanting to indicate the **wâw** with a distinctive symbol. In Arabic-Afrikaans both a rounded and a labial **w** is encountered. The labial **w** is always indicated by the Malaysian or *Jawi* **p**; while the rounded **w** is indicated by the Arabic **wâw**. It might have been more useful to have used the **w** for the Arabic **wâw**, and to show the difference in pronunciation with a diacritical point.

Professor Ponelis, though greatly influenced by Van Selms, also saw value in the system of transliteration suggested by Tritton (Ponelis, 1986:269), which system is based on the international systems of transliteration. By merely combining the elements of the two systems to create his own, Ponelis perpetuate the same mistakes made by Van Selms. This is glaringly evident with regard to the transcriptions of the Arabic long vowels *oo* [o:] and *ee* [e:]. Ponelis writes : *"Die hoëvokaaltekens word in die eerste plek gebruik om die hoë vokale aan te dui : uw (oe) = [u] : moet; iy (ie) = [i]; diep."* (Ponelis, 1986:271). His basic problem here is that he wrongly equates Tritton's lettering symbols 'û' and 'î' as *'vokaalverhogings'* of the lettering symbols 'u' and 'i' which Tritton use for the Arabic short vowels.

Why Professor Ponelis makes this error is difficult to understand. He recognises that the **ḍamma** plus **wâw-sâkin** and the **kasra** plus **yâ-sâkin** constitute individual vowel graphemes. These vowel constructions he beautifully, and very accurately, describes as *"grafeembundels"*. This term very clearly describes their morphology as well as their phonetic intention. In Arabic these vowel constructions or *grafeembundels* are always used as vowel graphemes, indicating the elongation of the short vowel grapheme used in their construction. The **ḍamma** plus the **wâw-sâkin** and the **kasra** plus the **yâ-sâkin** are two of the classical Arabic long

vowels, the *ḥurûful madd*. The third is the use of the *sûkun*-less *yâ*
preceded by a letter accommodated with *fatḥa* to indicate the elogation of *a*
= [a:].   There is no possibility that the *ḍamma* plus *wâw-sâkin* and the
kasra plus *yâ-sâkin*, (i.e. the w+u and the i+y in Ponelis' transcriptions),
can indicate any other sounds but the Arabic long vowel *oo* = [o:] and *ee* =
[e:] respectively.

What Van Selms and Ponelis illustrate is the inadequacies of the
international system of transliteration for the transcription of Arabic-
Afrikaans.   Their brave attempts to provide alternative systems for
Afrikaans transliteration, despite their shortcomings must be respected.
Probably the greatest inadequacy of the international systems of
transliteration for Arabic-Afrikaans transcriptions, is the absence of
representative symbols for the unique vowels and dipthongs created for
Arabic-Afrikaans.   It is in this regard that the communal system of
transliteration proved extremely useful. In Chapter 4, I have used it with
astounding results in rendering spelling arrangements which conform more
closely to Standard Afrikaans.

5. 4.   A PROPOSED STANDARDIZED SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION

From this discussion it would appear that there is a need for a standard
system of transliteration from the Arabic orthography to the Afrikaans
script.   Such a system, however, must meet the needs of both the Arabic-
Afrikaans and the Arabic orthographies.   The Roman script lettering symbols
used must accurately convey the sounds of the Arabic consonant and vowel
symbols, so that the Roman script Afrikaans reconstruction of an Arabic, or
Arabic-Afrikaans, word presents a pronunciation which conforms as closely
as possible to the Arabic orthographic presentation.   This is not always
possible.   I have already commented on the difficulty which the Arabic
pharyngealized consonants present in transcription.   One need only to
consider the Arabic letter *'ain* (ع), which in the international
systems of transliteration is presented in two completely un-related forms.
'Ain (ع) is sometimes presented as an inverted apostrophe, while on
other occassions it presented a small hanging *c* (ᶜ).   It is these
inconsistencies which make a standard system of transliteration difficult.

Afrikaans, however, has an advantage over the other Roman script languages with regard to the Arabic vowel and diphthong sounds. All the Arabic vowel and diphthong sounds have equavalents in Afrikaans. The Roman script symbols indicating these Afrikaans vowel sounds can, therefore, effectively be used to indicate their Arabic orthographic equavalents. As already noted, the Roman script symbols used by the international systems of trans-literation is unsuited for Afrikaans, for it may convey erroneous impres-sions in transcriptions. The Arabic word (مَـلَا ئِكَـتِـهِ = *malà-'ikatihi*), meaning 'angels', when transcribed in terms of an Afrikaans system of transliteration = *malaa-'iekatiehie*, provide for easier Afrikaans pronun-ciation, than its transcription in terms of the international systems = *malà-ᶜikatihi*.

Apart from the *'alif* and *hamza* and the pharyngealized letters, the other Arabic letters conforms fairly closely in their pronunciations to their equavalents in the Afrikaans Roman script alphabet. They, therefore, do not present a problem for a standard system of transliteration. The *'alif* and the *hamza*, which is normally regarded as one letter, by virtue of the fact that they convey the same sound, unlike the other consonats, do not bring about a change in the sound of the vowel graphemes with which they might be associated in a word. The *'alif* or *hamza* in association with the *fatḥa* which gives the *a* [a] or the *kasra* which gives the *ie* [i] sound or the *ḍamma* which gives the *oe* [u], will still be pronounced *a* [a]; *ie* [i] and *oe* [u] respectively. In the international systems of transliteration, the presence of the *'alif* or *hamza* is indicated by a comma.

Nevertheless, any standard system of transliteration from Arabic must take cognisance of the international systems of transliteration. In making a suggestion for a standard Afrikaans system of transliteration from the Arabic orthography, I have generally retained those consonants with which there are agreement of their transcription in the Roman script in the systems of transliteration acceptable by the international community. In some instances I move away from the suggestions of the international systems.

Thus for instance, I do not deem it necessary to provide a symbol to indicate the the *'alif* or *hamza* in transcription. In instances when they are used to indicate an aspirate, a comma is used. In other instances the *'alif* and the *hamza* does not alter the sound of the vowel graphemes with which they carry. Then too, the structures of the vowel graphemes, nor the sounds i.e. *a*, *ie* and *oe*, constitute lexical or grammatical morphemes. The great majority of Arabic root words are triliteral, that is, they consist of three letters or consonants (Haywood and Nahmad, 1965:50). It is only in association with other letters that the vowel graphemes constitute root words. It is therefore, obvious that where the sounds of the vowel graphemes appear on their own, (as in *aleen* ⟨ اَلِنْ ⟩ in Arabic-Afrikaans; or *ar-rahmân* ⟨ الرَّحْمَن ⟩ in Arabic), they accommodate *'alif*.

Then too, I use the *gh* cluster for the Arabic letter *kha* (خ) instead of the *kh* cluster, which is generally used, or the underlined *k*, which is preferred by Hans Wehr (1976). In this regard I concur with Van Selms (1951), who argues that the *gh* cluster presents a sound which is more in conformity with the pronunciation of the *kha* in the Cape Muslim community. ' The Arabic letter *ghain* (غ) which in transcription is normally indicated by the *gh* cluster, is indicated by an underlined gh. Then too, I also concur with Van Selms with regard to the transcription of the Arabic letter *ğim* (ج) as *dj*; again with the argument that the *dj* cluster presents a pronunciation which conforms more closely to the pronunciation of *ğim* in the community. See Figure 23 for my suggested system of transliteration.

Footnote :

1. This result in the strange practice of Afrikaans g being written as *gh* and still being phonetically transcribed as [x], while the guttural *g* as in *gholf*, which is written with a Persian-Turkish *kie* in Arabic-Afrikaans, is written as *g*, and phonetically transcribed as [g] in Afrikaans Roman script. The Afrikaans letter *g* is regarded a bit too sharp in pronunciation for the sound indicated by the Arabic letter kha. (خ). The sound of the Arabic letter kha, again is not so deeply guttural as suggested by the the use of the *gh* in Arabic-Afrikaans transcriptions, hence it is still phoneticaly transcribed as [x]. The *kha* (خ) is one of the Arabic pharyngealized consonants, and the use of the *gh* for its transcription in Roman script Afrikaans is more for orthographic than orthoepic reasons.

CONSONANTS

ARABIC LETTER		TRANSLITERATION		ARABIC LETTER		TRANSLITERATION	
Name	Symbol	Davids	Others	Name	Symbol	Davids	Others
'alif	ا	'	'	dâd	ض	d	d
bâ	ب	b	b	ṭâ	ط	ṭ	ṭ
tâ	ت	t	t	zâ	ظ	t̲d̲	z
thâ	ث	th	th	ain	ع	'	'
ǧim	ج	dj	ǧ	ghain	غ	g̲h̲	gh
ḥâ	ح	h	ḥ	fâ	ف	f	f
k̲h̲â	خ	gh	k̲h̲	qâf	ق	q	q
dal	د	d	d	kâf	ك	k	k
dhal	ذ	dh	dh	lâm	ل	l	l
râ	ر	r	r	mîm	م	m	m
zai	ز	z	z	nûn	ن	n	n
sîn	س	s	s	hâ	ه	h	h
shîn	ش	sh	sh	wâw	و	w	w
ṣâd	ص	ṣ	ṣ	yâ	ى	y	y

VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

fatha	⟍	a	a	Long a	اَـ	aa	â
kasra	⟍	ie	i	Long e	ـيـ	ee	î
damma	⟋	oe	u	Long o	ـُو	oo	û
Diph. ai	ـَي	ai	ai	Diph. ou	ـَوْ	ou	aw

FIGURE 23 – A SUGGESTED SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION FROM ARABIC TO AFRIKAANS COMPARED WITH LETTERING SYMBOLS USED BY THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEMS OF TRANSLITERATION

5.5. ANNOTATED TRANSCRIPTIONS

5.5.1. The scripts selected for transcription

It is in terms of the system of transcription from Arabic to Afrikaans that my transcription of the Arabic-Afrikaans script examples cited before was embarked upon. It is also in terms of this system of transliteration that I have transcribed the *Masa-'il abi laith* (The questions of Abi Laith), a 1909 translations by Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien.

The selection of the *Masa-'il abi laith* for complete transcription and detail study is not without purpose. The book itself is an interesting one. It is written in question and answer form by Nasr ibn abî Laith al-Samarqandi, a well-known tenth century Islamic philosopher. Abî Laith wrote several tracts on Islamic theology, with his most extensive work being the *Bahr al-ulum* (Tne sea of the sciences) (Haron, 1990). The *Masâ il abi laith* is a short creed on Islamic belief or *aqîda* from a Hanafite point of view. The translator Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien was a Shafi'ite. He was indeed brave to have ventured this translation at the time when the Hanafite-Shafi'ite conflict (Davids, 1980) amongst the Cape Muslims was far from resolved. Braver still is the fact that he noted the school of thought, as well as his, on the title page of the translation.

The *Masa-'il abi Laith*, in its language usage is representative of Cape Muslim Afrikaans as spoken in 1910. A Cape Muslim Afrikaans variety which in its phonology and acoustic nature have not change considerably over the years. Then too, I was lucky. I had at my disposal the assistance of three old people, who were children in 1910 and knew Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien. They were able to correct my transcriptions and rendered accurate pronunciations. I am thus grateful to Hadjie Baku Davids, Hadjie Gadijah Gafiel-Cader and Gabiba Kameldien; all over the age of 90 years, for their wonderful assistance and enjoyable interviews.

Then too, the translator Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien, is linguistically speaking an interesting character. Apart from producing publications in Arabic-Afrikaans, he also produce some *'Hollandse Kitaape'* i.e.

Roman script publication in Afrikaans with a strong Dutch orthography, as well as publication in Afrikaans in a more standard Afrikaans mode. As if this is not sufficient, he also produced Islamic literature in English.

Through the works of Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien one could in fact trace the changes which occurred in the writing traditions of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. While he was the Principal and Secretary of the Moslem Improving School, he wrote three Arabic-Afrikaans publications in 1909, among which was the *Masa-'il abi Laith*. When he is 1913 became the Arabic-teacher at the Rahmaneyeh Institute, he for a time, abandoned the Arabic-Afrikaans writing and produced several tracts in the *'Hollandse Kitaape'* mode. These publications, written in the writing traditions of the first three decades of the twentieth century, includes the *Kitaaboes Salaat*, which was written in 1918. A pasage from the *Kitaaboes Salaat* reads as follows :

NO 22
"(Agter dit) moet ik laat weet vir mijn Moesliem zusters en broeders dat daar bayang mense, vernamelik vrouwens wat nuwelings in onse vraaie Dien gekom het, ver mij gevraag het om ver hulle temaak een kitaab omtrent van de rede van salaat op een korte en een makkelikke manier. Want dit val baing swaar ver hulle, om wijs uit tewoord van de Hollanse kitaabe, door dit niet gemaak is agter makaar, zoo de salaat en wat daar an bewoord, moet gemaak woord...... "
(Kähler, 1971:192).

During the late 1930s and 1940s, Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien, completely abandoned the tradition of the *'Hollandse Kitaape'*, the writing tradition originally started by Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar in 1898, and started to write in an Afrikaans which was relatively free of the Duth orthography, and in its spelling conformed closer to Standard Afrikaans. This could have been a result of his teaching experience at the Rahmaneyeh Moslim Mission Primary School. A passage from his *Die Redes van Gadj en Omrah*, written during the 1930s, clearly illustrate this writing tradition.

NO 23   " Om daar so baie van my Moslim vriende van aldie kante van
          die Unie van my versoek het om vir hulle 'n handboekie aan-
          gaande die redes van gadj te maak op so'n maklike manier dat
          hulle dit somar kan verstaan, het ek my tyd geneem om so'n
          werk eers goed uit te dink sodat dit ooreenkomstig is met
          hulle verlange .... (Kähler, 1971:195).

It is, nevertheless, the language of his Arabic-Afrikaans publications
which conforms more closely to the acoustic nature of the Afrikaans spoken
by the Cape Muslim community. The language usage of the *Masa-'il abi Lait*
(The Questions of Abi Laith) is thus in conformity to the phonology of Cape
Muslim Afrikaans prior to the influence of the radio, and is very close to
the Afrikaans still spoken by the older members of the community. One of
the noteable features of the book is the absence of English loan words. In
fact I have detected only two, *laik*, from the English, *'to like'*, *and*
promis, from the English *'promise'*.

To show the similarities or differences of the Afrikaans usage by Sheikh
Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien and other post-Abubakr Effendi Arabic-Afrikaans
writers, I have also transcribed the first Chapter of Hisham Neamatullah
Effendi's 1894 publication, *Sirájul-idahi* (Light of Enlightenment). This
too is an interesting publication in many ways. It was one of the three
books Hisham Neamatullah Effendi caused to publish in 1894 when he was in
Constantinople, Turkey. Unlike the other two, and most of the publications
of his contemporaries, this book was not a translation of a work from an
Arabic scholar. The *Sirájul-idahi* could be regarded as creative prose.

The influence of his father, Abubakr, on his spelling is not clearly
visible. I do, however, suspect that he did not fully comprehend all the
distinctive vocalic symbols his father created for the different sounds of
the Afrikaans letter *e*. This is very evident in the fact that he does not
provide distinctive spellings for the Afrikaans conjunction *en*; the
Afrikaans indefinite article *'n*, and the Afrikaans number, *een*. All three
these words are spelt with a *kasra-yá* combination, the classical vocalism
to indicate the Arabic long vowel *ee*. The result is that the Afrikaans
words, *en*, *'n* and *een*, is spelt in the same way,   (اِ ﻳﻦْ), and can only be

transcribed as *een*. Then too, on many occassion I found a *ee* [e:], where
an Arabic vocalic symbol expressing one or other sound of the Afrikaans *e*
is expected. Thus for instance, the Afrikaans word *gelt* is spelt *geelt*
and *veld* is spelt **veelt**.

Nevertheless, if these spelling difficulties are adjusted; one sees a
remarkable similarity between the Afrikaans used by Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha
Gamieldien and the Afrikaans of Hisham Neamatullah Effendi. It was this
Afrikaans usage which persisted in **madrasah** education at the Cape. I, for
instance, in the 1950s, was taught to recite the Islamic creed with the
same words which I came to read in Imam Abdurahman Kassiem Gamieldien's
1907 *Tartibus Salâh*. Even my sisters, who attended *madaris* in the 1930s,
learnt the same recitation of the creed. This recitation was not composed
by Imam Abdurahmaan Kassiem Gamieldien. I found the same words in the
manuscript which Ghatieb Magmoud prepared in 1880. If, however, one look
at the Afrikaans sections of this creed in Abdurahmaan Kassiem Gamieldien's
Tartibus Salâh, one could get an appreciation of how the phonology of Cape
Muslim variety of Afrikaans was in fact transmitted from generation to
generation through the *madaris*.
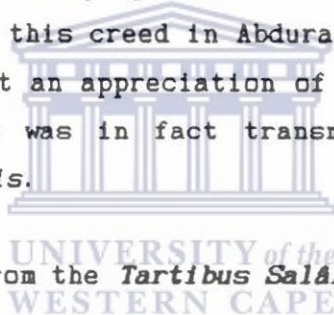
The Afrikaans of the creed from the *Tartibus Salâh*, is here reproduced :

NO 24   *"Die Arakaan van Islaam is vaif .... om te*
            ghoeloef waarlik lat daar nie ander ielaah is nie om
            voer op regh 'iebaadat temaak nie as maar net vir
            Allah a-leen en waarlik lat nabee Moehammad een be-
            steering is van allaah .... en om te poewaasa
            die maan van ramadaan .... en om te gaat hadjie
            bai die baitoellaah die ghienaghe wat die kragh het
            om te gaat" (Gamieldien A K, 1907:3).

But before I embark on an extensive transcription of the **Masa-'il abi
Laith**, it might be useful to look at the first two pages of the **Bayânudîn**
which Abubakr Effendi wrote in 1869. From such an examination, one can
determine how the Arabic-Afrikaans writers set about to present the
Afrikaans sounds in the Arabic orthography. These two pages contains all

the vocalic symbols created by Abubakr Effendi and which were used, to a lesser or greater degree, by the subsequent writers. As noted in Chapter 4, it is only by the correct reading of these vocalic symbols that one can determine the phonology of Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

These two pages were also the first examples of Arabic-Afrikaans ever transcribed into Roman script. This first transcription appeared in the *Nederlandsche Spectator* in 1881, four years after the *Bayânudin* was first published in Constantinople. In this article, '*Mohammadaansche propoganda*', M J de Goeje, a Christian missionary, mentions the *Bayânudin* and transcribes a few lines (De Goeje, 1881:442). Unlike Van Selms (1951:12), I found De Goeje's transcription in generally to conform to the Arabic phonetic rules. His transcription is thus closer to the acoustic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans, then that of Van Selms.

Nevertheless, Van Selms in 1979, gave us the first and only full Roman script transcription of the *Bayânudin* when he published his, *Abu Bakr se Uiteensitting van die Godsdiens*. There are some striking differences between my transcriptions and those of Van Selms. There are two major reasons for this. Firstly, I employed the communal system of transliteration; and secondly, whereas Van Selms saw the Arabic vowel graphemes and vocalic symbols as graphic representations of equivalent Roman script letters, I saw the vowel graphemes and vocalisms as , phonetic symbols representing certain sounds in terms of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwid*. Because the Arabic-Afrikaans writers were interested in reproducing their Afrikaans sounds in Arabic script phonetically, they used the Arabic phonetic script. The created vocalic symbols are thus phonetic, rather than graphic, representation of the letters. An illustration of the basic differences between Van Selms and myself is given in Figure 24, below.

The first Chapter from *Sirâjul-idahi* and the *Ma-sa 'il abi Laith* have not been previously transcribed. Hence there are no transcriptions with which my transcriptions of these two examples below, could be compared for diffirences and similarities

---

| ARABIC CONSTRUCTION | TRANSCRIPTION | | | | ENGLISH/AFRIKAANSE MEANING |
| | VAN SELMS | | DAVIDS | | |
	Graphic	Phonetic	Graphic	Phonetic	
دﯾﺳﻰ	diesie	[disi]	deese	[de:se]	this/hierdie
ﺛﯾت	wiet	[vit]	weet	[ve:t]	know/weet
ﻗَﻧِﯾْرْ	wanier	[vanir]	waneer	[vane:r]	when/wanneer
ﻫَﻧْﺩﺭﻯ	handie	[handi]	hande	[handə]	hands/hande
ﻓُﻭﺗﻰ	foetie	[futi]	voete	[futə]	feet/voete

FIGURE 24 :   COMPARATIVE TRANSCRIPTIONS SHOWING SOUND DIFFERENCES WHICH
RESULT FROM DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO TRANSCRIPTION

5.5.2. TWO PAGES FROM THE *BAYANUDIN*

Kietaboettahaaratie ¹ deese ² kietaab ³ peraat ⁴ van ⁵ tahaarat ⁶ oeai ⁷

VAN SELMS' TRANSCRIPTION :- (......) diesie *kitâb* peraat fan *tahârat oeai*

_____

ANNOTATIONS:

1. Arabic, meaning 'Book on Cleanliness'. It is the title of the first
   book in the *Bayânudin*. The *Bayanudin* consists of seven books each with
   a number of chapters.

2. The use of the *kasratul qâim* in association with *yâ-sakin* cannot be
   transcribed as *ie*. This vocalic structure indicates a sound which is
   equal to the classical Arabic long vowel *ee*, which is indicated by the
   symbols *yâ- sakîn* preceded by *kasra* (⎯). Similarly, the *sukûn*-
   less *yâ* in association with *kasratul qâim* (╱), in the second
   syllable of the word, cannot be transcribed as *ie*. As indicated in
   the previous chapter, the sound which this vocalic structure indicates,
   does not exist in Arabic.   Both symbols used in the structure are
   elongations of the classical Arabic long vowel *ee*. The morphological
   appearance of the structure will alert the reader to make an *imâla,* that
   is a pronunciation of *a* shaded towards *e*. This structure is consistent-
   ly used at the end of a word in Arabic-Afrikaans to indicate a pronun-
   ciation [ə]. This usage caused me to name it the *'end e'*. In terms of
   this explanation Van Selms transcription *diesie* is erroneous.

3. Arabic, meaning book. I have use the communal system of translitera-
   tion, Van Selms, the international system.

4. As Abubakr was writing in terms of the Arabic phonetic science of
   tajwîd, he was oblidged to indicate every sound he heard. There is a
   rather soft e [ᵊ] sound between the p and the r in the word *praat*. It
   is unfortunate that in the Roman script transcriptions, this [ᵊ] sound
   comes out stronger than is intended. It could be represented as a
   gliding sound in a phonetic transcription. (See Chapter 4).

5. There is no sound difference between the letters *f* and *v* in Afrikaans.
   In my transcriptions I use them interchangeably to give morphological
   appearances of the words which are more in conformity with their
   Standard-Afrikaans spellings.

6. Arabic, meaning cleanliness

7. This lettering structure is used to indicate the letter *u*, with the
   sound [oe] in Afrikaans. It is interesting to note how the Arabic-
   Afrikaans writers uses the *damma* to indicate the Afrikaan [oe] as
   distinct from the Afrikaans [œy], which is transcribed as *ouai* or *wai*.

_____

moet ⁹ weet ⁹ tahaarat een ¹⁰ 'Arab taal is tasiekoewoen ¹¹ ien ṭahaarat
een agaama ¹² is deree soewarte dee eerste maak soekoen 'aal ¹³ wat voewoel
ghawoeward de ¹⁴ taweede maak laif soekoen van qalain ḥadath dee derde maak
laif soekoen van gharoot ¹⁵ ḥadath (..........) Allah-ta-'aala sê ¹⁶ een

VAN SELMS : moet wiet *tahârat* ien *'arab* taal es tesoekoen in *ṭahârat* ien
agama es dierie soeuartie die ierstie maak soekoen aal wat foeioel
ghawoeuart die tawiedie maak laif soekoen fan qalain ḥadat *die dierie maak
laif soekoen fan gharoet ḥadat* allahu ta'ala sei ien
_____

8. The *ḍamma* preceded by a *sukûn*-less *wâw* is the created Arabic phonetic
    symbol for the Afrikaans sound [ɔ] which does not exist in Arabic.
    There are thus distinctive vocalisms for the Afrikaans *oe* [u], *oo* [o:]
    and *o* [ɔ] sounds in Arabic-Afrikaans. Abubakr uses only this *ḍamma*-
    sukûn-less *wâw* structure. The reader must determine if the sound is
    oe [u], *oo* [o:], or *o* [ɔ].

9. See note 2 above. This vocalic structure, the *kasratul qaim* preceding
    a *sukûn*-less *yâ*, is also used to indicate the Afrikaans letter *e*. One
    needs to read the word in context to determine when *e* and when an *ee* is
    intended.

10. As Abubakr Effendi himself creates the *fatḥa-kasra* combination for the
    [ə] sound as in the Afrikaans word *is*; I suspect that his spelling *een*
    is the result of the influence of English on his Cape Dutch. The pro-
    nunciation of the vowel sound in the English preposition 'in' [in] is
    more extended than the vowel sound in the Afrikaans *in* [ən]. Hence the
    prolongation of the *ee* in *een*.

11. The word is 'te-skoon'. *See note 4 above.*
12. *Malayu, meaning 'religion'*

13. *An interesting use of the pharyngeal Arabic letter ain (ع), together
    with an elongation to give a more extended-rounded pronunciation to
    conform with the English guttural pronunciation = 'all', rather than
    short crispt pronunciation [al] = al which in the Arabic orthography is
    simply written 'alif-fatḥa-lâm (اَل).*

14. On the first occassion when the structure *dal-kasratul qâim-sukûn-less-
    yâ* combination appears, it is accommodated by an *ayatul madd*, the wavy
    extended elongation sign (دِرى). I had no option but to trans-
    cribe the word as *dee*. When the *ayatul madd* is omitted, the *kasratul
    qâim-sukûn-less-yâ* combination indicates the 'end *e* structure'. I thus
    have no option but to transcribe the word (دِرى) as *de*.

15. The word is *'groot'*. See note 4 above.

16. The use of three vocalisms (*ḥarakat*) to create a distinctive vocalic
    symbol for the sound of the Afrikaans circumflexed *e* as in *sê*.

Qoer'aan (........) oe de mense [17] wat het eemaan [18] (.......) wa-neer
djoewail [19] wil oewapstaan om [20] temaak salaah (...........) was djoewaile
sain yiele [21] ghasegh an djoewaile moet waas djoewaile sain hande [22] saam

VAN SELMS :   qur'an   oe die miesie wat het *imân* wanier djoeuaile
weloeuapstaan oeumtemaak *salat*   was djoeuailie sain jilie ghasiegh
endjoeuailie moet waas djoeuailie sain handie saam met die almboeghs

---

17. The very small *ḍammatain*, instead of a *sukûn*, accommodating the *yâ*,
    together with the distinctive vocalic structure, the *kasratul qâim-
    sukûn*-less *yâ* combination, force a transcription *mense*. Van Selms'
    transscription *miesie* ignores the *ḍammatain* and misreads the vocalic
    structure. His transcription is thus erroneous.

18. Arabic, meaning 'faith'.

19. The difficulties which the Arabic-Afrikaans writers had with the Afri-
    kaans diphthong *ui* and vowel *u* is amplified in words such as *djoewaile*
    (*julle*), *veiyoelghait* (*vuilgoed*), *hoewaile* (*hulle*), and *doe-ouaidelik*
    (*duidelik*). This inconsistency result from the fact that the sounds of
    the Afrikaans lettering symbols *ui* and *u* does not exist in Arabic, and
    hence there is no vocalic symbol to indicate them. To create a vocalic
    symbol in close proximity to these sounds, the Arabic-Afrikaans writers
    either combines the Arabic diphthongs (the *madd lain*), or use the *madd
    lain* in combination with *ḍamma*.

20. An interesting appearance of the *ḍamma-fatha* in combination on a single
    letter to indicate the [ɔ] sound of the Afrikaans letter *o*. This
    vocalic symbol is extensively used by Sheikh Abdurahim ibn Muhammad al
    Iraqi in the *Tuḥfatul atfâl* (A gift for children) which he wrote in
    1900. Its use in the spelling of *om*, is the only occassion on which
    this vocalic symbol appears in the *Bayânudîn*. What I found interest-
    ing here is its combination with a *wâw* accommodated with a *fatha*. This
    results in a rather strange morphological appearance of the Afrikaans
    word *om* in the Arabic orthography (أَوُمْ). It certainly shows
    Abubakr Effendi's uncertainty in providing a vocalic symbols for the
    Afrikaans sound *o* [ɔ] which does not exists in Arabic. Having deter-
    mined that such a sound exists, and being unable to accurately convey
    it in Arabic script, he had to find an alternative. He thus used the
    ḍamma-sukûn-less-*wâw* combination, (وُ), which was already used
    for the Afrikaans *o* as in *om*, by the pre-Abubakr writers, to indicate
    an o-related sound, i.e.   *o* [ɔ], *oe* [u] or *oo* [o:], leaving it to the
    discretion of the reader to determine the actual sound. See note 8.

21. The governing grapheme in the first syllable is a *kasra* which must be
    transcribed as *ie*; while the second syllable is a typical 'end e'.
    To transcribe the *kasra* as *i*, and the 'end e' as *e*, is erroneous.
    Hence my transcription of *yiele* as opposed to Van Selm's *jilie*.

22. The *kasratul qâim-sukûn*-less-*yâ* combination (the 'end e') is used for
    the 'e' in *hande*. This vocalism cannot be transcribed as *handie*.

---

met de almboeghs (...........) an [23] djoewaile moet varai djoewaile sain koewap (........) an djoewaila moet waas djoewaila sain voete saam met de kanokles (.........) Allahoe ta 'aalaa [24] oewarder met deese aayah [25] vir moe'mien me(n)se [26] hoewaile moet maak laif soekoen van qelain ḥadath [27] met abdast [28] vir ṣalaah (.............) daan van deese aayah wort doewaidlik abdast sain 29 farḍs [30] is veer (..............) dere farḍ is

VAN SELMS : met die alboeghs   en   djoeυ moet farai djoeυ sain koeυap an djoeυaile moet waas djoeυaile sain foetie saam met die kanoekels *allâbu oeυarder* met diesie *'ayat* fer *mu'min* miesie hoeυaile moet maak laif soekoen van qelain *hadat* met *abdast* fer *salàt*   daan van diesie *'ayat* woert doeυaidlek *abdast sein* fards es fier   derie fard es

---

23. *An* for the English conjunction 'and', instead of the Afrikaans *en*.
    Again an example of the influence of English on the Afrikaans of
    Abubakr Effendi.

24. Arabic, meaning 'God the most high'

25. Arabic, meaning 'sign'. Also means 'verse of the Qur'ân.

26. This Arabic spelling of the word *mense* is the one most consistently
    used in the *Bayânudîn*. Unlike the earlier spelling (see note 17),
    the *dammatain* is omitted and replaced with a *sukûn*. The lettering
    structure of the word is maintained. The *kasratul-qâim-yâ* vocalic
    symbol was created by Abubakr Effendi as a graphic presentation of the
    letter *e* with a sound of either $[\epsilon]$, a mid-frontal pronunciation, or
    $[\partial]$, in the case of the 'end e'. An accurate transcription would be
    mese. The presence of the *sukûn* would suggests a pronunciation of
    $[mæs\partial]$. The *kasratul-qâim-yâ* vocalic structure can never convey the
    ie $[i]$ as suggested by Van Selms. His transcription *miesie* is
    erroneous.

27. Arabic, meaning 'impurities'

28. Malayu, borrowed from Persian, meaning 'spiritual ablution'.

29. The *fatḥa-kasra* combination with *yâ-sakîn* is being transcribed by Van
    Selms as *ei*. There is no sound difference between the transcription
    ai, the transcription classical used for the *madd lain ai*, and *ei*.
    Both vocalic symbols indicate the same sound $[\partial i]$. Hence in my
    transcriptions I have retained *ai*.

30. Here an *s* has been added, as a grammatical morpheme, to create an
    Afrikaans plural form *farḍs*. The Arabic word 'farḍ' is, strongly
    bridged into Cape Muslim Âfrikaans.

waas-en ³¹ yiele ghasegh ³² een keer ³³ an waas-en tewee hande saam met de almboeghs een keer an waasen tewee voete saam met de kenokels een keer (.........) de veerde farḍ is verai de koewap een kieyar ³⁴ (........) de ghasegh (........) wat is toesain de ent van voewarkoewap haare sain ghoeroeai ³⁵ pelek an maskie ³⁶ ghoeroeai daar nieks ³⁷ haare nie (.......)

VAN SELMS : waasien jilie ghasiegh ien kier an waasien tewie hamndie saam met die almboeghs ien kier an waasien tewie foetie saam met die kenoekels ien kier die fierdie *fard* es ferai die koeʋap ien kier die ghasiegh wat es toeseindie ent fan foeʋarkoeʋap haarie sain ghoeroei pelek an maskie ghoeroei daar niks haarienie

---

31. An interesting usage of the Dutch form *waasen*.

32. The mid-frontal pronunciation of *e* is here indicated by the *kasratul qâim* preceding *yâ*. This vocalic structure cannot give the sound of the Afrikaans short vowel *ie* [i]. The transcription, *ghasiegh*, is erroneous. If Van Selms read the *kasratul qâim* as a *kasra*, the vocalic structure would be equal to the *ḥurûful madd e* or the classical Arabic long vowel *ee*, his transcription should than have read *'ghaseegh'*.

33. The governing grapheme is the classical *ḥurûful madd e*, the *kasra* in combination with *yâ* to give a sound equal to the Afrikaans long *e* [e:]. A transcription *ie* is erroneous.

34. Spelling error. The *fatḥa* on the *yâ* should be omitted to give a transcription *'keer'*.

35. Lettering symbols for the *o*-related Afrikaans dipthongs do not exist in the Arabic alphabet. Representative vocalic symbols for their sounds were created through the process of innovative orthographic engineering for Arabic-Afrikaans. These diphthongs, the *ooi* and *oei*, as Coetzee (1988:4) observes, are not true dipthongs, but combinations of a vowel plus [j]. However, in most instances in Cape Muslim Afrikaans the [j] is pronounced as [ʔi], and in the lettering structures of the words are presented by the *madd lain ai*. Some of the Arabic-Afrikaans writers, to show that the *madd lain ai* or diphthong *ai* is intended uses a *hamza* as a vocalism to complete the *madd lain* structure. Thus in the Arabic-Afrikaans orthography these diphthongs are presented as a vowel in combination with [ʔi]. This word will thus be pronounced [xuruʔi].

36. The word is actually spelt *maske*, though the pronunciation *maskie* [maski] was, according to Changuion (1844), the established pronunciation.

37. The *kasra* can only be transcribed as *ie* in Afrikaans. Van Selm's *i* is influenced by the international systems of transliteration which here creates an erroneous impression.

an is toesen oewander de kien (.........) de ghasegh is van de ent van voewarkoewap haare sain ghoeroeai pelek toet oewander de kien dit is de ghasegh sain laangte (........) en ³⁸ de ghasegh is van de pint ³⁹ van de oewar toet de pint van de ander oewar dit is de ghasegh sain bereete (..........) is fard ghoesel waasen maar de kaal pelek (..........) wat toesen ⁴⁰ die 'iethar ⁴¹ is die pelek wat baart sain haare ghoeroeai tiegenmakaandier (.........) verai kewaart van de koewap is fard daleel ⁴² is diese hadeeth ⁴³

VAN SELMS : an es toesien oeuander die kin *hulāsahu* die ghasiegh es fan die pent fan die ent fan foeuarkoeuap haarie sain ghoerpoei pelek toet oeuanderdie kin det es die ghasiegh sein laangtie en die ghasiegh es fan die oeuar toet die pent fan die ander oeuar det es die ghasiegh sain berietie es *fard* waasien die kaal pelek wat toesien die *'idār es ān toesen die oeu*ar es die *idār* es die pelek wet baart sain haartie ghoeroei tieghinmakaandir ferei kewart fan die koeuap es *fard dalīl* es diesie *hadit*

---

38. *The* **fatḥa-kasra** combination is used to indicate the letter *e*, to provide for a spelling arrangement which is more in conformity with the Roman script spelling of the Afrikaans conjunction *en*. The spelling *en* is used instead of *an* because it is not used in association with the preposition *in*.

39. The **fatḥa-kasra** combination was created as a phonetic symbol to represent the [ə] sound in Afrikaans which is either indicated by the letters *e* or *i* in Afrikaans words. It is for the [ə] sound that this vocalic symbol is most consistently used in Arabic-Afrikaans. Whether the fatha-kasra combination should be transcribed as a *e* or *i* is determined by its usage in the context of the word. Van Selms' transcription of *e*, for the **fatḥa-kasra** combination is not wrong but creates misconceptions about the sound of these words. This is clearly illustrated by his *es* for *is*; *det* for *dit* and so on.

40. On earlier occassions the word **toesen** is spelt with the vocalic structure commonly used for the 'end e'. On this occassion it is spelt with the **fatḥa-kasra** combination. There is, however, no difference in the pronunciation of the sound of the word.

41. Arabic, Hans Wehr defines *'ithār* as cheeck; fluff, the first growth of beard on cheecks (1980:601).

42. Arabic, the proof. A supportive verse of the Qur'ān; or a supportive action or utterance from the practices of the Prophet of Islam.

43. Arabic, meaning, 'the traditions or practices of the Prophet'. Also called the *Sunna*.

Zakaat [44] is fard op een [45] varai moesliem wat moekallaf [46] is, wat besit
een niesaab [47] van geelt [48] of roughout een silwer of djewelre [49] of ghout
een silwer pote [50] of wat is die prais van een niesaab van hanel-ghoet. [51]
Dit is as heele [52] varai is van sekilt [53] een vir sain noewaragh-ghait [54]

---

44.   Arabic, meaning 'the compulsory poor rate'. One of the five pillars
      of Islam. This chapter deals with the distribution of the poor rate
      in accordance with Islamic law.

45.   Hisham Neamatullah has a problem with spelling of the Afrikaans
      indefinite article *'n*, the conjunction *en*, the preposition *in* and the
      spelling of the number *een*. He spell all three words in the same
      way -   ابــن = *een*. I have transcribed these words as they
      appear in the Arabic othographic form written by Hisham Neamatullah.

46.   Arabic, meaning, 'having reached the age of puberty'. The word
      moekallaf is totally bridged into the Afrikaans of the Cape Muslims,
      and is preferred above the Standard-Afrikaans word '*mondig*'.

47.   Arabic, meaning 'taxable property'.

48.   Hisham Neamatullah had difficulty with presenting the sound of the
      mid-frontal pronunciation of *e* in the Arabic othography. For this
      mid-frontal *e*, as in Fred, Abubakr Effendi used the *kasra-kasratul-
      qâim-yâ* combination, a vocalic symbol which conforms to the Qur'ânic
      vocalism used to indicate a change of pronunciation from *a* shaded
      towards *e*. There is no reason that the word here should be pronounced
      geelt = [xe:lt], when the pronunciation [xɛlt] = *gelt* (*geld*) was
      already established in 1869 when the *Bayânudîn* was completed. (see
      note 65)

49.   I suspect that the word should be *djewelrie*, the way it is pronounced
      by the older people; and that the use of the 'end e' vcocalism, giving
      a transcription *djewelre*, is a spelling error.

50.   *pote* = *potte* (Afrikaans) = pots (English).

51.   The dropping of the Afrikaans middle *d* is a common characteristics
      of Cape Muslim Afrikaans pronunciations.

52.   A stage in the morphological and othoepic change from the Afrikaans
      hulle to the Cape Muslim Afrikaans variety's *hille*.

53.   *sekilt* = [sᵊkɔlt] = *skuld*.

54.   *noewaragh-ghait* = Standard-Afrikaans, *noodsaaklikheid* (necessity).
      Also used in the form of *nooragh-ghait* [no:raxəit] in Muslim Afrikaans

---

sain vebaraik. [55] Een as heele nie vermieyader [56] of kan vermieyader in
die shard [57] vir die waadjieb-ghait [58] van die zakaat sain ghee is die
djaar sain omkom [59] op die asal [60] van die niesaab. Maar wat weens [61]
ghamaak is een die midel [62] van die djaar moet bai ghasit wort bai sain
soewarte. [63] Een ghee die zakaat as die djaar om is van die asal-
niesaab [64] sain djaar.

---

55. **vebaraik** = [fɔbᵃrɤik] = *verbruik* (to use).

56. **vermieyader** = *vermeerder* (increase). The complicated spelling used by
    Hisham Neamatullah is not necessary. The *fatḥa* on the *yâ* could be
    omitted, with the *kasra-yâ* combination constituting the classical
    Arabic long vowel *ee*. Compare Abubakr Effendi's spelling *kieyar* (see
    note 34 above).

57. Arabic, meaning, 'a condition of Islamic law'. Hans Wehr in his
    Dictionary defines it "to impose a condition, as an obligation".

58. An Afrikaans neology composed of two lexical items. An Arabic word
    waadjieb, which means 'necessary' or 'indispensible'; and **ghait** a
    grammatical morpheme, associated with the abstract nouns . The word
    waadjieb-ghait conveys the meaning 'necessity' or 'indispensibilit
    Ronald Langacker (1973:75) defines a morpheme as the smallest grammati-
    cal component which can stand on its own as an independent word or
    appears in others as affixes to form more complex lexical items. This
    definition of Langacker is clearly evident in the creation of the word
    waadjieb-ghait and in the creation of Afrikaans plurals from Arabic
    singular words such as **farḍ** and **hoekoem** by adding **s** as an affix to
    create **farḍs** (compulsory) and **hoekoems** (rulings).

59. *'Die omkom van die djaar.'* The use of the word **omkom** is a perculiar
    mannerism of speech in the Cape Muslim community to show the cyclical
    nature of natural events. eg. *'Met die omkom van graana'*. = With the
    coming of the eclipse.

60. Arabic, implies 'the original'. The word **asal** is strongly bridged into
    Cape Muslim Afrikaans and use in the sense of 'descent' and 'lineage'.
    (Wehr, 1980:19) Wat is jou asal ? = What is your lineage ?

61. **weens** = *wins* = gain. (see notes 48 and 65)

62. The word **midel** (centre) is also pronounced as miril [mɔrɔl].

63. **soewarte** = *soorte* = kind.

64. An interesting word concept created by two Arabic morphemes, to create
    a distinctively Afrikaans idea, which means 'the original taxable
    property'. These two morphemes, when joined together in Arabic to
    create a distinctive singular word concept, will read *nisaaboel-asal*.

(page 2) maskie het die waarde vermieyader met hanel of eerf [65] of aner [66] ietj. [67] Een as een meens [68] voewarait [69] zakaat ghee vir djare, dan is dit saḥ [70] in die sḥard· [71] Vir die saḥeeh-ghait [72] van die zakaat sain ghee is om te nieyat [73] ghalaik met die ghee vir die aarme of vir sain wakeel. [74] Of waner [75] hai ve-sparai [76] wat waadjieb [77] is sain waarde,

---

65. The use of the **kasra-yâ** combination force a *ee* in transcription. The word is **erf** (inheretance). I have noticed, however, that where the Afrikaans letter *e* is intended the **yâ** is left without a **sukûn**. If the omission of the **sukûn** implies that it must not be read, then the **kasra** must be transcribed as *ie*. This obviously was not the intention. The kasra-sukûn-less **yâ** combination probably serves the same function as **kasratul qâim-sukûn**-less **yâ** combination, and hence a transcription *e* is probably the correct transcription.

66. **aner** = **ander** (other). A morphological presentation which accurately reflects the othoepic practic: ander is still pronounced as [anər].

67. **ietj** is the preferred word for 'thing' in Cape Muslim Afrikaans. The word 'ding' is seldom used. The word **ietj** is also used in the sense of 'something'. '**Ek het ietj vir jou.**' = I have something for you.

68. See notes 48 and 65.

69. **voewarait** = **vooruit** (in advance).

70. Arabic, meaning 'authenticity'.

71. Arabic, defined by Hans Wehr as 'conditions', used here in the sense of 'conditions of the Shari'ah or Islamic law'.

72. The combination of Arabic word and Afrikaans morpheme to create an abstract noun. The Arabic noun **saḥeeh**, which means 'correct' have been transformed into and abstract noun by affixing the Afrikaans grammatical morpheme **ghait** (heid) to convey a meaning 'correctness'.

73. Arabic, meaning 'intention'. This word is strongly bridged into Cape Muslim Afrikaans, and also takes on a past tense form, **ghanieyat**.

74. Arabic, from the Arabic root **wakâla**, meaning 'representation', used in the sense of 'deputyship' or 'gaurdian'. Also used as '**wakeel-skap**', an abstract noun for gaurdianship.

75. An othographic presentation more in conformity with the way the word is pronounced in the community. Compare Abubaker Effendi's فَـنِيْر = **waneer** = [vane:r], with Hisham's فَـنَر = **waner** [vanər].

76. **ve-sparai** = **versprei** (distribute).

77. Arabic, meaning 'necessary'.

---

maskie was die nieyat ghalaik bai die ḥoekoem, [78] soes as hai gha-ghee het so-ner [79] nieyat een dan gha-nieyat [80] en die waarde was nogh in die aaarme sain hant. Een dit is nee in shard nie laat [81] die aarme moet wiet [82] dit is zakaat nee.   Bai die saheeh-ste [83] qoul. [84] Toet oek as hai vir die aarme ghaghee het ietj en hai het ghanieyat zakaat dan is dit saheeh. [85] Een as hai sadaqat [86] ghamaak het met alghaar [87] sain waarde en hai nieyat nee zakaat nee dan val die fard af van hom af. [88]

---

78. Arabic, meaning 'ruling'. A word extensively used, but mainly in its religious connotation in Cape Muslim Afrikaans. An Afrikaans plural form through the affixing of *s* as a morpheme - *ḥoekoems* - is also used.

79. *so-ner* [sɔnər] = *sonder* (without)

80. The creation of the past tense by adding the morpheme *gha* (*ge*) to the Arabic root-word *nieyat* (intention) shows how strong the word *nieyat* has been bridged into Cape Muslim Afrikaans. A common usage : *Jy kan niks doen nie soner die regte nieyat nie* = You can't do a thing without the right intention.

81. The *laat* instead of *dat* (that) is a common usage in Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Pronounced as [lat].

82. An intersting creation of an adverb, by the affixing of the morpheme *ste*, from an Arabic noun which is strongly bridged into Cape Muslim Afrikaans. The word *saheeh-ste* here implies 'the most correct'. There is, however, an existing Arabic word for most correct - *asah* (أَصَحّ) (Hans Wehr, 1980:503), which is never used in Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

84. Arabic, meaning 'teachings', 'doctrine', 'declaration' (Hans Wehr, 1983:797). Used here to imply the schools of thought of the Sunni Islamic orthodoxy.

85. Arabic, meaning 'correct'.

86. Arabic, meaning 'non-compulsory charity'. A word often used in its religious connotation in Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

87. *alghaar*, means all. The word is no longer in common use in Cape Muslim Afrikaans. It has been replaced by *amal* [amal] eg. *Hy het amal sy goet weg ghaghie* = He gave all his things away.

88. '*val die fard af van hom af*' = to be freed from the obligation. It is intersting to note how that which is deemed to be religiously obligatory is personified and deemed to be psychologically bounded to the individual. This mannerism of speech is a distinctive characteristic of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Compare '*Die warrai-skap wat kom van hadat of onrainagh-haid*' (Abdurakieb ibn Abdul Kahaar, 1898) = A state of worry which results from impurities.

FIGURE 25 : THE TWO PAGES OF THE *BAYANUDIN* HERE TRANSCRIBED.

(page 3) Een sekilt sain zakaat is op ghadeelte [89] waarom [90] hai is seteerik [91] een mirilmaartagh [92] een soewak. [93] Die seteerik is de wat hai aitghaleen het, een hanelwaarde wat hai onvang [94] het, een dit was bai e-yane [95] wat nie onstarai [96] nee, maskie een bangkorot [97] of bai e-yane wat onstarai. Een is nee haastagh nee die waadjiebghait [98] van die zakaat sain ghee nee, toet hai veertagh dierham [99] onvang dan moet hai een dierham ghee, waarom oner een vaif is van een niesaab is vergheewe van een is nee zakaat noewaragh nee. Een wat mieyader is, is

---

89. The usage 'en sekilt sain zakaat is op ghadeelte', instead of "skuld van zakaat is op gedeel" is typical of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. The idea here being conveyed is that not the individual, but his debt, is subjected to the poor rate.

90. The usage 'waarom' cannot be explained. The old people whom I consulted indicated that it was not a usage known to them. Neither has it been encountered in any of the other texts I have examined It is is probably an idiosyncracy of Hishan Neamatullah, for he uses it on other occassion in this texts.

91 seteerik [s⁹te:rək] = sterk (strong). The use of the kasra-sukûn-less-yâ combination seems to indicate that an e was possibly intended. The writer seems to have difficulty with presenting a mid-frontal pronunciation of e. In that case a transcription, seterik [s⁹tɛrək] may also be correct. See also notes 48 and 65.

92. mirilmaartagh [mərəlma:rtax] = middelmatig (inbetween).

93. soewak [sᵘvak] = swak (weak).

94. The omission of the t in the pronunciation of the word ontvang (onvang = [ɔnfaŋ]) is typical of Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

95. e-yane = eene (one). The word, however, is pronounced [e:nə].

96. onstarai = ontstry (deny).

97. bangkorot [bankɔrɔt] = bangkrot.

98. Meaning 'necessity'. The use of the Arabic word, waadjieb, which is strongly bridged into Cape Muslim Afrikaans as 'necessary', is given a new grammatical function by the addition of the grammatical Afrikaans morpheme hait (heit).

99. An ancient Middle Eastern currency. Nevertheless, the principle, that one-forthieth of the income is taxable property, is here established.

nee sain hiesaab. [100] Een die mirilmaartaghe is waarde wat nee vir
hanel is nee soes die perais van ou kleere een wierek [101] sielaaf [102]
wat ghaverkoep is een woewan [103] hais is nee wadjieb-zakaat [104] nee
soelank as djai nee (page 4) onvang een niesaab nee. Een is te-rie-
kint [105] die verloepte [106] van die djaar van die tait wat die zakaat
waadjieb ghawoewart het op die verkoeper bai die reghste van die
riewaayat. [107]

---

100. Arabic, meaning 'account' or 'reckoning' See Note 223.

101. A spelling mistake. I suspect that the vocalism on the first
syllable should have been the double *harakat*, the *fatha-kasra*
combination. This would give a transcription *werek* and a
pronunciation [vᵊrɛk]. It is with the double *harakat*, the *fatha-
kasra* combination on both syllables that the word *werek* (work)
is spelt by writers such as Ghatieb Magmoed (1880) and Abdurakib
ibn Abdul Kahaar (1898).

102. *sielaaf = slaaf*. Later in the publication the word is spelt
selaaf, a spelling which conforms to the common tendency which
exists among the other writers to indicate the gliding sound
[ᵊ] between two consonants with the *fatha-kasra* combination
when the dominant sound of the word is indicated by a *fatha*.

103. A bad spelling arrangement. The Afrikaans word 'woon' could
simply have been written as, ‫نـوون‬ = woon.

104. An interesting combination of two Arabic words, of different gram-
matical function, both of which are strongly bridged into Cape
Muslim Afrikaans, to create a singular concept. In Arabic when
two words are so used, the noun will take on the dominant function
and will be the first syllable of the composite word, and the
other word will perform the function of a qualifying adverb. In
this instance the word would have been written, "*zakaat-wadjieb*"
or more correctly '*zakaatul-wadjieb*'. In Arabic-Afrikaans, the
Afrikaans (Dutch) grammatical construction of the adverb or adjec-
tive preceding the noun is followed in the construction of such
composite words. Malayu again has a noun-adjective arrangement.

105. *te-riekint* [tᵊrikᵊnt] = to calculate.

106. The usage '*die verloepte van die djaar*' is still common among the
older people.

107. Arabic - Hans Wehr (1980:369) defines *riewaayat* as 'narrative' or
'account'. It is here used as being the accounts of the practices
of the Prophet of Islam as related by the first generation of
Muslims.

Een die soewak is de wat nie waarde is nee soes mahr [108] een
waseeyat [109] een badal [110] van ghal' [111] een soelgh [112] van
asperis [113] doewat [114] maak een dieyaat [115] een badal van
kietaabat [116] een ies'alyat [117] is nee noewaragh zakaat nee soelank as

---

108. Arabic, meaning 'to give a dower' (Wehr, 1980:929). Used here in
     sense of 'dowry'.

109. Arabic, used here in the sense of 'guardianship' or 'executor-
     ship' or 'trusteeship'. The word *waseeyat* actually means, 'a
     will' or 'testament' or a 'legacy'; with the word *wisâyâ* (وصَايا)
     meaning *'guardianship'* or *'executorship'* or *'trusteeship'*. In
     Cape Muslim Afrikaans, because a testament is associated with
     trusteeship or gaurdianship, the word *waseeyat* came to assume the
     meaning of 'trusteeship' or 'guardianship'. It is use in the
     sense : *Ek neem aan die waseeyat om jou goedere op te pas.* In
     any case, in terms of Islamic law, there is no tax due on property
     held in trust; though tax maybe due on a testament.

110. Arabic, meaning 'compensation' or 'reimbursement' (Wehr, 1980).

111. Arabic - the practise of divorse for compensation. There is no
     tax on such compensation. The Arabic letter *ain* has been indicated
     with a comma. The word is thus pronounced [xalʰ], the Arabic kha
     being transcribed as *gh* and phonetically indicated as [x].

112. Arabic, meaning 'a financial settlement'. The word *soelgh*, which
     is strongly bridged into Cape Muslim Afrikaans, is not normally
     used with this meaning. The word *soelgh* is often used in Cape
     Muslim Afrikaans to imply, 'ameliorate' or 'to make amends'.

113. *'aspris'* (on purpose), is extensively used by Abubakr Effendi
     (1869), but is first recorded by Changuion in 1844. It is still
     used to mean, 'on purpose' in Cape Muslim Afrikaans; but it has
     also acquired a new meaning in the expression : *'Jy lewe aspris'* =
     You live **without purpose**. Borrowed from French (Changuion, 1944).

114. *doewat* = *dood* (dead).

115. Arabic, meaning, 'compensation paid by one who has committed
     murder or homicide' (Gibb & Kramerj, 1974:79) See also Quran,
     Chapter 2 verse 178 and Chapter 4 verse 45.

116. Arabic, meaning 'compensation received transaction relating main-
     ly to the the manumission of a slave. (Imam Bassier - Interview)

117. Arabic, meaning, 'compensation received from slander'

---

hai een niesaab ghaonvang het nee een die djaar gaat om aghter die
onvang. Dit is bai Iemaam A'dam. Maar Iemaam Yoesoef een Moehammad het
waadjieb ghamaak zakaat op dee wat onvang is van die dierie sikilte op
heele hiesaab op eenighe maneer. Een as hai onvang borogh geelt dan is
dit nee waadjieb om die verloepte djaare sain zakaat teghee nee. Een
dee borgh geelt is soes een selaaf wat wegh ghadoros het (page 5) Een
verloewar [118] een afghavat een hai het nee bewaisen nee. Een waarde wat
een die see ghaval het een wat bagharawe [119] is een die veelt [120] of een
een ghoeroete [121] hais een hai het verghiet die peleek. [122] Een soes wat
ghoewerment met dewink [123] leen. Een wat ghabeere is bai e-yane wat
djai nee keen. [124] Een sekilt wat djai nee bewaisen het voewar nee. Een
is nee dja-iez [125] vir zakaat nee sekilt wat bai een aarme is met sain
nieyat nee.   Een is sah om teghee vir zakaat hanelwaarde een afmeet
waarde een die peleek van ghout een silver met die saimde [126] prais. Een
as hai ghaghee het van die saimde ghout een silwer dan is dit teriekint

---

118.   *verloewar* = *verloor* (to loose)

119.   *bagrawe* = begrawe (to bury).

120.   *veelt* = *veld* (field). Another example where the mid-frontal *e* is
       written with the *kasra-sukûn*-less-*yâ* combination. See Note No. 65.

121.   *ghoeroete* = *groter* (biger)

122.   *peleek* = *plek* (place). Abubakr Effendi writes this with a *fatḥa-
       kasra* combinations vocalism on both syllables of the word. The
       fatḥa-kasra combination is used in the second syllable to indicate
       a graphic representation of the Afrikaans letter *e*. When Hisham
       writes this word as *peleek* [pˀle:k], using the *kasra-sukûn-less-
       yâ* combination, he demonstrates his difficulty with [ɛ] sound.

123.   *dewink* = *dwing*.   The *nûn-kâf* lettering cluster normally indicates
       the Persian *ng*. If this is the case, the transcription should
       read *dwing*. However, the *sukûn* on the *nûn* is problematic.

124.   *keen* = *ken* (to know)

125.   Arabic, meaning, 'acceptable'

126.   *saimde* = the same. An interesting use of an English word to
       which an Afrikaans grammatical morpheme has been added as an affix
       to transform it into an Afrikaans sounding adjective.

een die tait van ghee heele ghawigh soes dit ghariekint is bai die
waadjieb-ghait.   Een kan bai ghasit woevart die parais van hanelghoet
bai ghout een silwer een ghout bai silwer bai heele parais.   (page 6)
Een die verminer van die niesaab een miril van die djaar doenie kawaat
nee as hai volkoem is bai sain tiewee.   Een die een as hai ghakoep het
hanelgoet met nieyat om te hanel een die ghoet is nogh nee niesaab
weert [127] nee, een hai het nee aner nee toe het die hanelghoet sain
parais een niessab ghawoerat, een die laaste van die djaar, dan is nee
wadjieb zakaat 128 vir die djaar nie.   Een ghout sain niesaab is
tewintagh [129] miethqaal. [130] Een silwer sain niesaab is twee hondert
dierham wat eeder [131] een tien van heele siewe miethqaal is.   En al wat
mieyader as die ghamikste [132] is soes die peere [133] ghout of silwer.
Een daar is nee zakaat nee vir seteene [134] een pe-rels nee of hai moet
vir   heele   het   met nieyat van hanel soes aner hanelghoet.

---

127. **weert** = worth

128. Here the two concepts **zakaat** and **waadjieb** are kept as seperate
      words.   They do not constitute a single word concept.

129. **tewintagh** = twenty

130. An ancient monetary value.

131. **eeder** = each one

132. **ghamikste** = mixed. Also used by Imam Abdurakib ibn Abdul Kahaar
      in his 1898 Roman script publication, where he called the language
      he used **'de gemixte taal'**. This word is strongly bridged into
      Cape Muslim Afrikaans and is given a distinctive Afrikaans ring by
      the addition of two Afrikaans grammatical morphemes, **ge** anbd **te**.

133. **peere** = pure. Spelt as **peure** by Sheikh Mohamed Salie Hendricks
      in his 1906 Roman script publication, **Deze Ketab es van Salaah op
      de Madhab van Emaam Shafvia**.

134. **seteene** here implies 'gem stones'. An interesting observation
      with regard to what constitute a taxable property or a **niesaab** is
      here clarified. Gem stones and pearls, unless used as trading
      commodities, in which instance they would constitute part of the
      trading goods which is taxable, do not constitute part of a
      niesaab. There are other opinions on this issue.

Een as die djaar (page 7) om is op afweegh [135] een afmeet waarde een
heele parais het gharais [136] of ghasak een hai het ghaghee van die
waarde seelf [137] een kawart van die part dan is dit dja-iez. [138] Een as
hai ghaghee het van die dagh wat die zakaat waadjieb ghawoewart het een
dit is as die djaar vol is bai Iemaam A'dam. Een Aboe Yoesoef een
Moehammad het ghasee [139] die dagh waner ghagheef [140] woewart vir die
aarme. Een e-yane wat sain waarde verwaarloewas [141] het baiten laat
verghaan is nee borgh vir die zakaat nee. Ya'nee [142] hai hoef nee
taghee die verwaarloewase waarde sain zakaat nee. Soe as die waarde
verghaan het aghter die djaar om is dan val die waadjieb weegh. [143] Een
as een part van die waarde verghaan het dan het sain zakaat oek verghaan
een hai is vergheewe van die verghaande waarde sain zakaat.

---

135. *afweegh* [afve:x] = to weigh. This word is usually pronounced as
     '*afwiegh*' [afvix] in the Cape Muslim community. It is, however,
     written with *kasra-sukûn-less-yá* in this texts, hence my trans-
     scription *afweegh*.

136. *Gharais* is used here in the sense of 'to rise', an idea conveyed by
     such Standard-Afrikaans words as '*styg*' or '*opgaan*'. Used as a
     result of the influence of English.

137. *seelf* = *self*. Also see Note 65.

138. Arabic, meaning 'acceptable'

140. This is the one rare occassion when Hisham Neamatullah Effendi uses
     the Dutch spelling. On other occassion the word is spelt *ghaghee*.

141. *verwaarloewas* [ferva:rlᵘvas] = *verwaarloos* (neglect)

142. Arabic, meaning, 'that is'. Muller, (1962:5) correctly argues that
     this term is also used in Cape Muslim Afrikaans in the sense of *ja-
     nee*. He cite as example the following sentence: '*Ek gaan vanaand
     fees toe ya anie dit gaan sommer lekker wees*' It is, however, in
     the sense of its Arabic meaning that the word *ya'nee* ('that is')
     is more predominantly used in the Cape Muslim community; and then
     mainly in a religious connotation.

143. *weegh* = *weg* (away). See Note No 65.

5.5.4. The *Ma-sa 'il abi Laith,* by Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien

Biesmielah-hier-rahmaan-ier-rahiem
(*In the name of Allah, Beneficient, Most Merciful*)

Dank en prais vir dee hoge [144] Allah die baas van dee ghaskaape [145] en sieghin en gharistaghait [146] op ons sain baas Moehammad en op al sain famieldjies en ashaabat. [147] (Dan na dee) segh [148] dee aareme slaaf van Allah 'Abdulla hiebniel haadjie Taa Haa bien Djameeldeenie, bayang van mai vriende het ghavraagh vir mai ek moet vertaal die riesaalat [149] van *Masaa-niel a-bie Laith,* soe het ek ghadoen main best

---

144. To express the guttural *g* [g] in the Afrikaans word *hoge,* the Persian letter *kie* (ک) is used. This Arabic letter is, however, transcribed as *g* despite the phonetic sound [g]. What I find interesting of this spelling is the use of vocalic symbol, the *damma-sukûn-*less-*wâ* combination, created to represent the Afrikaans *o* [ɔ]. This suggest that the word is pronounced [hɔgə]. The old people I consulted, however, indicates that the pronunciation is [ho:gə]. Another interesting observation is the *fatha-kasra* combination, instead of the 'end e' (i.e. the *kasratul qaim-sukûn-*less-*yâ*) structure on the last syllable of the word. In fact this writer never uses the 'end e' structure for the Afrikaans *e* [ə] at the end of a word. The *fatha-kasra* combination is used by him as a graphic representation of *e,* irrespective of sound.

145. The Arabic letter *kha* (خ) is transcribed as *gh,* despite the phonetic sound [x]. In this regard I concur with Van Selms, that the Afrikaans *g* conveys a sound, which is too sharp a guttural sound to convey accurately the communal pronunciation (Van Selms, 1951:38). Notice the *gha,* instead of the *ge* as the grammatical morpheme for the past tense. This us of *gha* is still common in Cape Muslim pronunciations. The use of *gh* for *kha* is more a morphological, rather than an orthoepic consideration.

146. *gharistaghait* [xarəstaxəit] = *gerustigheid* (tranquality)

147. Arabic, = the companions of the Prophet. This Arabic word is completely integrated into Cape Muslims Afrikaans. Takes on an Afrikaans plural form, when the Afrikaans grammatical morpheme *s* is added as an affix - *ashaabs. Ashaab* - also used to mean friend.

148. The Dutch word *segh* is retained by most of the post Abubakr Effendi writers, possibly to avoid the used of the triple *harakat* which Abubakr created for the circumflexed e.

149. Arabic, roughly translated means 'message'.

---

en ek versoek help van dee hoge Allah vir main en vir dee
ghienaghe [150]. wat leer deese riesaalat dan segh Shaighoe abie Laith al
moehadiethoe al moefoesieroe [151] (.......) 152 Ek beghint deese kietaab
met dee naam van Allah dee djamarlike [153] dee ghanaadeghe (........)
dank en perais is vir Allah dee baas van al dee ghaskaape (........) en
dee ghoede ainde [154] is vir dee wat bang is vir Allah sain staraf [155]
(........) en seeghint en ghoeroet [156] van Allah (.........) op ons sain
[157] baas Moehammad (.............) en sain famieldjies (page 3) en sain
sahaabat (.............) en masalat [158] waneer dit

---

150. *ghienaghe* [xinaxə] = *die ene* (from the Dutch form 'die *gene*').
The word, the *ghienaghe* is still extensively used in Cape Muslim
Afrikaans, eg *'Die ghienaghe wat dit gedoen het makeer 'n
lekker pak.* = The one who did that needs a good hidding.

151. Translation: Sheikh, the son of Laith, (a student) of Prophetic
Tradition and Islamic Jurisprudence.

152. The Arabic in this text will be indicated thus: (...........)

153. The *dj* for the Arabic letter *ǧim* (ﺞ) is used. The *dj*, instead
of *j*, in articulation produce a sound which conforms more closely
to the communal pronunciation. I agree with Van Selms (1951:39)
in this use of the *dj* cluster for the Arabic *ǧim*.

154. *Die ghoede ainde* for euphemism 'a peaceful death' - a distinctive
idiom of Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

155. *staraf* [stəraf] = punishment.

156. *ghoeroet* [xᵕrut] = greetings

157. *ons sain* = *onse*. The use of the pronoun *onse*, in the possessive
case, is a characteristic of Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

158. The word *masalat* is Arabic, meaning, 'say for instance'. The word
came into Cape Muslim Afrikaans via Malayu in which language it is
pronounced as *masalan* [masalan]. The old people I consulted
still uses the Malaysian form of this word in their spoken
Afrikaans.

vir djou ghasegh is wat is iemaan [159] (..........) dan is dee
djawaab(.........) ek goeloof in Allah (................) en an sain
malaa-iekat [160] (......) en sain kietaape [161] (.......) en in sain
rasoels [162] (.......) in an dee laaste dagh (........) en aan dee
aitsiten [163] van ghoed en koewaat [164] is van Allahoe ta aalaa (........)
en masalat (..........) waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, en hoe ghoeloef
djai in Allah (........) dan is dee djawaab (..........) waarlik Allahoe
ta aalaa is een (........) liewandagh, [165] wieter, [166] kraghtagh, [167]

---

159. Arabic, meaning 'faith'. The word also takes on the meaning of
respect in Cape Muslim Afrikaans - '*Het hy dan niks iemaan nie ?*'
= Has he got no respect ?

160. Arabic, meaning 'angels'. By the addition of an *s*, as a gram-
matical morpheme, to become *malaa-'iekats*, the word becomes an
Afrikaans plural. It extensive usage in Cape Muslim Afrikaans is
illustrated by the popular Bo-Kaap joke on the holiness of the
Thursday evenings : '*Donderdag aand is die aand van die malaa-
'iekats, en Vrydag aand die aand van die Malay cats.*'

161. In this instance the Arabic orthographic form of the word takes
on a *p* instead of a *b*, to indicate the Afrikaans form of the
the word. That *kietaape*, spelt with a *p* was considered to be an
Afrikaans word is evident from the fact it is used as the trans-
lation of the Arabic, *kietaaban*, by Sheikh Ismail Ganief Edwards
in the the *Al qawâ 'idun-nahwiyahu litadrisil-lughil 'arabiyah*,
(An introduction to the grammar of the Arabic language) an Arabic-
Afrikaans grammar book, published in the 1940s. The word *kietaape*
is used to imply religious books.

162. Arabic, meaning, 'the prophets'. The word is given a distintive
Afrikaans ring by affixing the *s* to construct a plural form.

163. *aitsiten* = predetermination. The word is also used in the forms
of '*uitgesit*' or '*die uitsit*', pronounced as 'eitsit' [ɔitsət].
The Standard-Afrikaans '*voorbeskikking*' or '*uitverkiesing*' is
never used.

164. *koewaat* [kᵘωa:t] = evil

165. *liewandagh* = *lewende*

166. *wieter* = All knowledgeable.

167. *kraghtagh* = powerful

wiler, [168]   hoor-er, sien-er,   praater, aitwaghdieren, [169]
ghaskaap-er [170] rieziek-gheever [171] heer, baas (............) sonder 'n
[172] maskapai en sonder 'n died [173] en sonder 'n ghalaikenas [174]
(.........) en masalat (........) waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is,
(page 4) en hoe ghoeloef djai in die malaa-'ielkat (.........) dan is
die djawaab (.......) waarlik dee malaa-'iekat is soorte (.........)
nou van hile [175]

---

168. *wiler* = act of willing. No equavalent Standard-Afrikaans word
      exists. The Arabic word *moeridoen*, which is here translated as
      wiler, is derived from *ieraada*, which in its theological context
      means, 'the Will of God'; and which Wehr (1980:66) defines as
      'will' or 'volition'

169. An ingenious neologism. Arabic word *baaqien*, comes from the
      theological concept, *baqaa*, which means that 'God has neither a
      beginning nor an end'; and which Hans Wehr (1980:69) defines
      as 'eternal' or 'immortality'. To convey the idea that God is the
      eternal, Ta Ha used the Dutch, *uitwacht*, which conveys an idea of
      'out watching', as his core word and adds a Dutch morphene *deren*
      to change its grammatical function. This word was never popularly
      absorbed into Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

170. Although the word *ghaskaap-er* is a verb, meaning, 'to create', it
      is here used as a noun, meaning 'God the Creator'. It is also
      used as 'Allah *het ghaskaape dee ghaskaape*' = God created the
      creation. It would appear if the grammatical function of this
      word is determined in the context of the sentence.

171. The word, is first encountered in Abubakr Effendi's *Introduction*
      to the *Bayanudin*. It means, 'the giver of bounty'.

172. The indefinite article *'n* was here intended, despite the spelling
      in.

173. Arabic, meaning, 'opposition'. Hans Wehr (1980:537) defines
      dhied as 'to be contrary' or 'opposing'. According to the old
      people I interviewed, the Dutch form *'tegenspraak'*, was the
      more popular term used.

174. A word, *ghalaikinas*, is still in used. First encoutered in the
      1860 Student note-books or *'Koples boeke'* of the 1860s.

175. A spelling arrangement which clearly conforms to the communal pro-
      nunciation of the word - *hile* = [hələ].

is dee deraars van dee 'arsh [176] (.........) en van hile is hafoon [177] (........) en van hile is roehaanee-yoon [178] (..........) en van hile is die kar-roobieyoen [179] (...........) en van hile is die safarat [180] (............) en dit is Jiebreel en Meekaa'eel en Iesraafeel en 'Iezraa'eel [181] (.............) en van hile is hafadhatoen [182] (.........) en van hile is katabat [183] (........) en hile is amal [184] ghaskaape (.................) slaawe van Allah (...........) hile is nee beskraif nee as manlik nee (.........) en nee verouwelik [185] nee

---

176. Arabic, meaning 'the metaphysical throne of God' (Qur'ân Chapter 39 verse 75). Hans Wehr simply defines it as 'throne' (1980:602).

177. Arabic, meaning, 'those in attendance of God' (Quran Chapter 39 verse 75).

178. Arabic, from *roehie*, meaning 'spiritual' (Wehr, 1980:365). Generally translated as meaning 'those pertaining to spiritual matters'. See Qur'ân Chapter 70 verse 4.

179. Hans Wehr (1980,819) defines *karûbi-ûn (kar-roobieyoen)* as 'arch-angels', which according to Islamic tradition there are four. See Qu'ân Chapter 2 verses 97 - 98.

180. Arabic, *safarat*, refers to the purity of the archangels, though it in reality means 'journey' or 'travel' (Wehr, 1980:413)

181. The names of the four archangels.

182. Arabic, meaning, 'those who guide and protect' (Qur'ân, Chapter 82 verse 10) See also *The Holy Quran - Commentary and Translation* (Ali, 1983:1700 Footnote - 6007).

183. Arabic, meaning 'those who record' (Qur'ân, Chapter 82 verse 11) See also Qur'ân Chapter 50 verse 17. In terms of Islamic tradition there is an angel on the left side and an angel on the right side of the individual recording his bad and good deeds.

184. *amal* here already seems to have replace the Dutch form *alghaar*.

185. There is still a tendency amongst the older people to talk in terms of *vrouelik* and *mannelik* - a plural form of the adjective. A possible remnant of their previous pidgin.

(.........) nee ghaskaape bai mens [195] nee (.........)out [196] sonder
staraighait [197] (...........) en dee ghienaghe wat toewaifalghait daar
an maak (.............) en in ayat of in woort (...........) dan woort
[198] hai kaavier [199] (.............) (page 6) en masalat (..........)
waner dit vir djou ghasegh is en hoeveel kietaabe [200] het afghakom op
sain anbeeyaa' (.........) dan is dee djawaab (..........)   een hondert
en veer kietaape (............) Allah het af lat kom teen kietaape op
Aadam 'alaihies-salaam [201] (.......) en Allah ta aalaa het lat kom dee

---

195. By using the *fatḥa-kasra* combination as a graphic representation
      of the Afrikaans letter *e*, irrespective of its phonetic sound,
      and the Arabic letter *nûn* (ن), the spelling of the word is
      greatly simplified. A very important theo-philosophical issue
      is here touched upon - the controversy between the rational
      Mu'atazilite philosophers, who were influence by Helenic thinking
      and the Traditionalist Sunni philosophers on the 'creation' or
      'revelation' of the Qur'ân (Watt, 1962). See also Chapter 2 of
      this study.

196. A spelling error. The *tâ* (ت) should be a *fâ* (ف), to spell
      of.

197. *staraighait* [stᵃrɑixəit] = contradiction or argument It is
      interesting to note how the Cape Muslim Arabic-Afrikaans writers
      creates abstract nouns by affixing the grammatical morpheme haitt
      (heit) to a verb. This same phenomenon is observed with the word
      toewaifalghait from the root woord *twyfel*. While the noun
      'teenstelling' for 'contradiction' is never use, the word
      'twyfelagtigheid' for 'doubtfulness' is used in Cape Muslim Afri-
      kaans. One who could argue a lot is called a *strygat* in collo-
      quial Cape Muslim Afrikaans - regarded as a negative attribute.

198. The pronunciation of the vocalic symbol, *the ḍamma-wâw* combi-
      nation, is much longer in Arabic than it is in Cape Muslim
      Afrikaans.

199. Arabic, meaning 'unbeliever'

200. The Arabic letter *bâ* (ب) instead of the Persian-Turkish *p*,
      (پ) to give *kietaabe* instead of *kietaape*, is probably a
      spelling mistake.

201. Arabic, meaning 'peace be with him'. It is a salutation of
      respect uttered on the mention of the name of any of the prophets.

kietaape vaiftagh kietaape op Sheeth 'alaihies-salaam (..............)
en Allah het lat afkom van dit teen [202] kietaape op Iebraheem 'alaihie
salaam (...............) en Allah het af lat kom dee Ingheel [203] op
'Eesa [204] alaihies salaam (..........) en Allahoe ta 'ala het lat kom
dee Touraah [205] op Moesa [206] 'alaihies salaam (page 7) (.............)
en Allahoe ta 'ala het Dhaboer [207] af lat kom op Dawood [208] alaihies
salaam (.........) en Allahoe ta aalaa het lat afkom dee Qoer'aan
op dee verkieste Moehammad [209] (..............) en masalat
(...........) waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, en hoe ghoeloef djai an
die nabees [210] (...........) dan is die djawaab (...............)
waarlik die eerste van die nabees is Aadam alaihies salaam (.........)
en die laaste van hile is Moehammad (..............) seeghins van Allah
is op hile amal (...........) hile

---

202. An example of where the orthographic presentation of the word
     does not conform with its pronunciation. The word is pronounced
     as *tien* [tin]. The **kasra-yá** combination forces a transcription
     teen. See note 65.

203. Arabic - *Ingheel* is the Arabic name of the Bible.

204. *'Eesa* is the Arabic name of the Prophet Jesus.

205. Arabic, = Torah.

206 The Prophet Moses

207. The Psalms of David

208. The Prophet David

209. The salutation, 'May the Blessing and Peace of God be with him'
     which in terms of Islamic tradition is normally recited after the
     mention of the name of the Prophet Muhammed, is here omitted.

210. Arabic, means 'prophet'. Hans Wehr (1980:941) translates both
     nabee and *anbeeyaa* as 'prophet'. The Arabic plural for *nabee* is
     nabee-oon. In Cape Muslim Afrikaans the grammatical morpheme *s* is
     added to create the plural form. See note 193.

(.............) en hile het nee shahwat [186] nee in nee selwe nee
(...........) en nee vaader nee en nee moeder nee (page 5)(...........)
en hile dering [187] nee en eet [188] nee (..........) en hile is nee
omghahoorsam [189] nee vir dee wat Allah hile voor order nee
(............) en hile doen wat hile ghaorder is (............) en om
te laik [190] vir hile is shard van iemaan (............) en om te haart
vir hile is koefr [191] (.............) en masalat (.........) en waner
dat [192] vir djou ghasegh is en hoe ghoeloef djai an dee kietaape
(...........) dan is die djawaab (.............) waarlik Allah het af
lat kom dee kietaape op sain anbeeyaa' [193] (...........) en dit is
afghakom [194]

---

186. Arabic, meaning 'desire' or 'craving' (Wehr, 1980:491).

187. *dering* [d³rəŋ] = *drink* (to drink). The Persian-Turkish *ng is used for the Afrikaans ng* sound.

188. Although the word is spelt with a classical Arabic long vowel, the *kasra-ya* combination, and, therefore, transcribed as *eet*, it is pronounced as *iet* [it] in the community.

189. A pronunciation of *omghahoorsaam* [omxaho:rsa:m], instead of *omghahoorsaam* [onxaho:rsa:m] is still fairly common among Cape Muslim Afrikaans speakers.

190. *te laik*, from the English, 'to like'.

191. Arabic, meaning 'to be in a state of disbelief'. Defined by Hans Wehr (1980:833) as 'unbelief' or 'infidelity'.

192. This is suspect to be a spelling mistake, as Ta Ha Gamieldien consistently uses *dit*. The older people I consulted indicated to me that *dat* for *dit* was sometimes used.

193. Arabic, meaning 'messengers'. Those who received revelation

194. The Arabic word *moenzalatoen* is derived from the root *moenzal* (munzal), which according to Hans Wehr means 'sent down (from heaven), revealed' (1980:958). It is as 'sent down', *afghakom* that the word has been translated. The word *afghakom* is the preferred communal word for God's revelation of the holy books. Words like *'openbaar'* or *'aan die lig bring'* is never used for 'revealed' in Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

amal was ghawies vertellers (.........) raadgheevers (.........)
voorbringers [211] (...........) komdeerers [212] (..........) beleters
(............) dee vertrouwers van dee hoge Allah (................)
hile is bewaar van kleine en ghoerte sonde (................) en om te
laik vir hile is sard van dee iemaan (................) en om te haart
vir hile is koefr (.............) en masalat (...............) page 8
waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, en hoeveel is dee ashaab [213] van die
wet-e (...........) dan is dee djawaab (.....) ses (Aadamoe wa Noohoen
wa Iebrahiemoe wa Moosa wa 'Eesa wa Moehammad salawaatoellahie 'alaihiem
aghma'een) [214] (.............) en iederen wet-e is afghaskaf [215]
bai dee wet-e van Moehammad (S.A.W.) [216] (.........) en masalat
(........) waneer dit ghesegh is vir djou, en hoeveel is daar van die
nabees (.............) dan is dee djawaab (...........) een hondert
daisen en veer en toewantagh daisen nabees (............) en masalat
(...........) waneer dit vir djou

---

211. The Arabic word, moeballagheen, here translated as voorbringers,
     is derived from balagh, which according to Hans Wehr (1980:73)
     means 'communication'. He, however, defines the word moeballiegh
     as 'bearers (of news') or 'informer'. Ta Ha Gamieldien's word
     voorbringers, accurately reflects the meaning, that 'the prophets
     brought forward good tidings to humanity', the meaning which the
     word conveys in the Arabic text.

212. The word ameer means 'commander'. The translation komdeerers
     either resulted from a spelling error, or it was the word used
     for 'commander' in 1910. The old people I consulted do not know
     komdeerers and suggested that it should be 'kommandeers'.

213. Arabic, meaning, 'the compannions of the law'. It is use for
     those prophets who received revealed scriptures.

214. The names of the prophets 'Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus and
     Muhammad, may the blessings of God be with them', is left un-
     translated by Ta Ha Gamieldien.

215. Afghaskaf is used as a translation for mansooghatoen (mansûkhatun)
     which means 'abrogation'. The word is bridged into Cape Muslim
     Afrikaans as mansoogh, and is used to convey the meaning, 'it
     is no longer an issue' or 'it is over and done with'.

216. The Arabic salutation, sallallahoe 'alaihie wasallaam, which means
     'May the blessings of God be upon him' used after the name of the
     Prophet Muhammad is always abbreviated as S.A.W. or P. B. U. H.

---

ghasegh is en hoeweel van dee nabees is moersals [217] (.............) .:
dan is dee djawaab (...........) deree hondert en derteen moersal .:
(.........) en masalat (................) (page 9) waneer dit ghasegh
is vir djou is hile naame en hile ghatal in shard van iemaan of nee
(...........) dan is dee djawaab (....................) ons het nee
dit nee as in shard van iemaan nee (............) van dee segh van dee
hoge Allah (...........) van hile is wat ons ghavertel het vir ee [218]
(...........) en van hile is wat ons nee ghavertel het bai ee nee
(...........) en masalat (.................) waneer dit vir djou
ghasegh is, en hoe ghoeloef djai in die laaste dag (...............)
dan is die djawaab (..............) waarlik Allahoe ta aalaa sal doot
al dee ghaskaape as net nee dee wat in dee djannah [219] en veer is nee
(...........) en Allah sal weer liewandagh maak vir hile (...........)
en sal vir hile bai makaar lat kom (...........) en sal afrieken met
hile (..............) en sal hoekoem [220] maak tesen [221] hile
(...........) dan dee ghienaghe wat is van malaa'iekat en ghien [222] en
mens (page 10) (.............) waarlik hile sal doot ghaan (..........)
en dee ghienaghe wat slegh ghawies het (..............) sal nee oor
belaif nee en dee veer nee (..............) na die afriekienskap [223]

---

217. Arabic, meaning 'sent with a specific mission'. Hans Vehr
     translate the word *moersaleeya* (*mursaliya*) as 'mission' and
     moersal (*mursal*) as 'sent', 'delegated' (1980:339). The word is
     given a quaint Afrikaans ring by the addition of grammatical
     morpheme *s* to give it a plural Afrikaans form.

218. *Ee* for the *Oeai* used by previous writers for the Dutch *U*.

219. Arabic, meaning, 'the garden of paradise'.

220. Arabic, meaning 'ruling'. A word very frequently used in Cape
     Muslim Afrikaans, sometimes as an Afrikaans plural, *hoekoems*,
     though mainly in a religious contexts.

221. Compare Abubakr Effendi's spelling *'toesen'*.

222. *Jinn* are 'demons (invisible beings, either harmful or helpful,
     that interfere with the lives of mortals) (Wehr, 1980:138).

223. The Arabic term *hiesaab*, used in the Arabic texts as 'reckoning on
     the day of judgement', is translated as *afriekienskap*. The crea-
     tion of abstract nouns from verbs, by adding the grammatical
     morphemes *heid and skap*, is common in Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

(...........) en maar dee moe'mien [224] mense sal vir eewagh wies in dee
djannah (.............) maar dee kaavier mense sal sal in dee veer [125]
vir eewagh wies (...............) en dee djannah en veer sal nee
verghaan nee (................) en nee sain mense nee, dit is, nee
die wat in dee djannat en veer is nee (....................) en die
ghienaghe wat toewaifilghait [126] maak in ietjs van dee dinge (........)
dan is hai kaavier ghawoort [127] (...........) en masalat (...........)
waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, en hoe ghoelkoef djai in dee aitsiten
van ghoet en koewaat is van dee hoge Allah (...........) dan is die
djawaab (..........) waarlik Allah het ghaskaape die ghaskaape (page 11)
(......) en hai het gha-order (......) en het ghabelet (..........) en
het ghaskaape die loeh [228] en dee pen (................) en hai het
gha-order dee loeh en dee pen om te skraif dee werksloon [229] van dee
slaawe (.............) soe ghahoesamghait is bai dee aitsiten van dee
hoge Allah in die azal [230] (...........) en bai sain wil en order en

---

224. Arabic, meaning 'true believers'

225. The Afrikaans *vowel uu* [y:] never occurs in Cape Muslim Afrikaans.
     Words with this vowel sound is always pronounced as if the vowel
     is the Afrikaans vowel *ee* [e:]. Hence the Standard-Afrikaans
     words *vuur* [fy:r] and *muur* [my:r] are pronounced *veer* [fe:r] and
     meer [me:r] in Bo-Kaap.

226. Another example of an Afrikaans verb transformed into an abstract
     noun by affixing the grammatical morpheme *hait*. The more standard
     usage, *twyfelagtigheid* (doubtfulness) is currently used. The
     older people still talks in terms of *toewaifilghait*.

227. *Dan is hai kaavier ghawoot*, instead of *'dan word hy kaavier'* for
     the present continuous tense, is a characteristic of Cape Muslim
     Afrikaans santax. Probably a remnant of their earlier pidgin.

228. The word *lauh (loeh)* is defined as 'slate', 'tablet', 'blackboard'
     etc. by Hans Wehr (1980:882). *Loeh* in this text refers to the
     'tablet on which the angels record the good and bad deeds of the
     individual'   (Qur'ân, Chapter 50 verse 11).

229. *werksloon* an extensively used Cape Muslim Afrikaans word, meaning
     'good deed', (also used in the plural form *werkslone*), which has
     not been absorbed into Standard-Afrikaans.

230. The word Arabic *azal* means 'eternity (without beginning)' (Wehr,
     1980:14). Not to be confused with *asal* (Wehr, 1980:19) which
     means 'origin' or 'descent' or 'lineage'.

---

sain tevereraiskap [231] (...................) en omghahoesamghait is
bai dee aitsiten van dee hoge Allah en bai sain wil in dee azal
(...................) en nee bai sain order nee en nee bai sain
tevereereskap [232] nee (...........) en hile woort beloon en ghasteraf
(.............) en amal dee is bai dee promis [233] van dee hoege Allah en
sain bederaighin [234] (...................) en masalat (..............)
waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, is iemaan ghadeelt of nee (...........)
dan is die (page 12) djawⱥab (...................) Iemaan [is nee] [235]
ghadeelt nee (..................) om waarlik iemaan is ligh in dee hart
en in dee verstaan en in dee siel van Banie Aadam [236] (................)
want iemaan is dee hiedaayat [237] van Allahoe ta aalaa op in moe'mien
(..............) en dee ghienaghe wat onsterai ietjs van dat iemaan en
hiedaayaat is van Allah (...............) dan word hai kavier [238]
(.......) en masalat (...............) waneer dit ghasegh is vir djou,
wat is dee moeraad [239] bai iemaan (...................) dan is dee

---

231. Spelling error. The Arabic letter rā should not be accommodated
     with a fatḥa to create the madd-lain ai. The old people I con-
     sulted informed me that the word was pronounced as [tɔfre:rɐskap]
     = tevrereskap = satisfaction. See note 232.

232. A spelling which compares well with the communal pronunciation.

233. The English word 'promise'. Promise is still used in Cape Muslim
     Afrikaans and is preferred above the Afrikaans, beloftes.

234. bederaighin [bɔd²rɐixɐŋ] = bedreiging (threat).

235 The word,'[is nee]', was omitted from the translation.

236. Arabic, meaning 'the children of Adam'. Used here in the sense
     to imply 'humanity' or 'mankind'. 'The Children of Adam' is here
     used in its Qur'ânic sense - 'humanity'.

237. Arabic, meaning, 'on the right way' (Wehr, 1980:1023). Used here
     in the sense of right guidance.

238. Dan word hai kavier, the normal Afrikaans usage of the present
     continous sense.

239. Arabic. From iraada, meaning the 'will of God, volition'.

djawaab (.................) iemaan meen [240] touheed [241] (...........)
en masalat (....................) waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is die
salaat [242] en dee poewaasa [243] en dee zakaat [244] en omte laik dee
malaa'iekat en omte laik dee kietaape (page 13) en omte laik dee
rasoels [245] en omte laik aitsiten van ghoet en kwaat van Allahoe ta
aalaa en baiten [246] dee van order en belet en die van ligh [247] van dee
van dee soenat [248] van dee nabee S.A.W. is dit van dee iemaan of nee
(...........) dan is dee djawaab (....................) ome waarlik
iemaan meen touheed (...........) en wat baiten dee is is in shard [249]
van iemaan sain sharaa-at [250] (............) masalat (.............)
waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, is iemaan op dee maneerte van

---

240. From the English, 'meaning'. Sometimes used as : *Wat meen jy, ek
     wiettie wat ek doenie* - What do you mean, (when you say), I
     do not know what I am doing.

241. Arabic, meaning the 'Unity of God'. An aspect of the Islamic
     belief system (*aqida*).

242. Arabic, meaning 'prayer'. In Cape Muslim Afrikaans *ṣalaah*, or its
     Afrikaans plural form, *salaats*, is used as the noun. For the act
     of praying, or the verb, the Malayu word *soembai-ing*, is used.

243. Malayu, meaning 'fasting'. The word *poewaasa* comes from Sanskrit
     in which language it also means fasting. The word *poewaasa* is
     generally used as 'fasting' in Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

244. *zakaat* = the compulsory poor-rate.

245. Arabic, meaning 'messengers of God'.

246. Compare this simplification of the Arabic-Afrikaans spelling of
     the word *buiten*, i.e. *baiten*, with that of Abubakr Effendi's
     boewaiten. The pronunciation of the word of in the community is
     [baitən].

247. *Ligh* (light) is here used to imply inspiration.

248. Arabic. The *soena,* which is the practices of the prophet of Islam,
     is, after the Qur'ân, regarded as the second source of Islamic law.

249. Arabic, according to Hans Wehr (1980:464) *shard*, means
     'precondition'.

250. The *sharaa-at* means Islamic Law.

---

tahaarat [251] (.........) en koefr is op die maneerte van hadat [252] (..........) en bai koefr al dee wereksloon van dee lite [253] woort baatiel [254] (.......) en masalat (...................) (page 14) waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, is iemaan ghaskaape of nee ghaskaape nee (...................) dan is dee djawaab (............) iemaan is hiedaayat van Allahoe ta aalaa (...................) en omte goeloef met dee haart en dee wat dee nabee S.A.W. mai [255] ghakom het van Allahoe ta aalaa (..............) en omte berkent met dee tong (...........) dan dee hiedaayat is maakloons [256] van dee rab [257] (................) en dit is qadeem [258] (........................) en om te ghoeloef en omte berkent is dee maakloons van dee slaawe (..........) en dit is moehdath [259] (............) en als wat kom van qadeem is qadeem (...........) en als wat kom van moehdath is moehdath

Youmoel Ghamees fie Shahrie radjab 1328   2 Maai 1909

_____

251. Arabic, meaning 'cleanliness'

252. Arabic. meaning 'impurities'.

253. *lite* [lɔtə] = *litte* (joints)

254. Arabic. *Baatiel* (*bâtil*) means 'falsehood', 'nugatory', 'decep-
     tion' (Wehr, 1980:63). Bridged into the spoken Afrikaans of the
     Cape Muslims to convey the meaning 'falsehood'. It is use almost
     always in association with *haq*, an Arabic word meaning truth.

255. An interesting word. *Mai* is still used by the older people as a
     substitute for *met* (with).

256. The word *maakloons* is here used to mean 'creations'. Standard-
     Afrikaans words like *'skepping'* is seldom used. God is more often
     referred to as the *'Maker'* [ma:kər] than *'Skepper'*. *'Jy moet jou
     Maker dank vir wat jy besit.'* (You must thank your Creator for
     your possessions.) is a typical usage.

257. Arabic, meaning, 'Lord', in reference to God.

258. Arabic, meaning,'existing from time immemorial' or 'the eternal (as
     an attribute of God)' = *al-Qadeem* (Wehr, 1980:749). Still used by
     the old people. When they cannot fully explain a thing the old
     people will respond with, *'Allah is qadeem'* = only God is eternal.

259. Arabic, meaning 'creation'.

_____

5.6. COMMENTARY ON ANNOTATED TRANSCRIPTION

Some interesting linguistic features of the Afrikaans of the Cape
Muslim, between the period 1869 to 1910, emerged from the preceding
transcriptions. The majority of them are still noticeable in the
spoken Afrikaans of this community. This despite the exposure of this
community to Standard-Afrikaans usage in secular schools and via the
radio and television. The continued existence of these linguistic
features, I attribute to the ease with which they help to facilitate
communication. Then too, these linguistic features have within
themselves a degree of originality and, at the same time, a communal
relatedness. Hence, what these features might lack in sophistication,
is, nevertheless, make-up for by their usefulness for communication and
linguistic creativity. But then too, they are also perpertuated, with
all the nuances of their distinctive humour, through the *madrasah* and
even the mosque. Thus it was at *madrasah* that my six-year old niece,
nutured in an English speaking home environment, came to learn the
expression, '*Is jou brein dan ghamaniengal*' (are you realy that stupid),
and uses it freely and with great humour, even with adults, who fails
to comprehend what she considers to be elementary.

But be that as it may. In all, from these annotated transcriptions
clearer insights into the phonetic, lexical and syntactical aspects of
Cape Muslim Afrikaans could be obtained. Through the use of the Arabic
phonetic script, the acoustic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans is pre-
served and, when read correctly, projected. What also emerged from
these scripts are the elements involved in the process of neology, a
process which the writers were forced to embarked upon, because of the
limitations of their spoken Afrikaans for the complexities of the
theological and philosophical ideas they were trying to transmit. Then
too, one can observe how the translation from Arabic influence the
syntax of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. What these transcriptions reveal, is
the need for more indepth studies on the phonology, lexicon and
syntactical arrangements of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. What I will do is
merely to alert the reader to some of the phonological, lexical and

syntactical elements which I observed to be evident while I was doing these transcriptions. What follows here is merely a cursory glance at some exiting linguistic processes.

But before this, I need to point out that it is unfortunate that of the three texts selected only one has been previously transcribed. There was thus no possibility whereby I could have compared my transcriptions with those of others. In the case of the two pages from the *Bayânudîn*, there are noticeable differences between Van Selms' transcription and mine. These differences results from both, my reading of the script in terms of the Arabic phonetic tradition in which the *Bayânudîn* was written; and my transcription in terms of the system of transliteration which developed in the community.

5.6.1. The acoustic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

Given the linguistic situation of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of Cape Muslim Afrikaans being preserved in the Arabic phonetic script, one cannot help to wonder what influence this might have had on the phonology and acoustic nature of the Cape Muslim variety of Afrikaans. This question becomes even more pertinent when the influence of Arabic on the vocabulary of this variety is seen to be certainly evident. Looking at the transcriptions, certain anomalies, which resulted from the use of the Arabic phonetic orthography, are, however, discernable.

Probably the first factor one needs to look at is the difference in the gross acoustic nature between Arabic and Afrikaans. It is a linguistic fact that in Afrikaans, pronunciation does not greatly influence meaning. The gross acoustic features of Cape Muslim Afrikaans is, therefore, in Pei and Gainor's (1969:5) terms, non-distinctive. Opposed to this, the gross acoustic nature of Arabic is distinctive. In Arabic, therefore, pronunciation does influence meaning and is essential for communication by speech. This is an important consideration when we look at the phonology and acoustic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans from transcriptions of the Arabic-Afrikaans publications. Because pronun-

ciation does not adversely influence meaning, the Arabic-Afrikaans writers, in writing Afrikaans in Arabic script are not as meticulous, with their placements of the vocalic symbols, as they are when they write Arabic. This possibly account for some of the mis-spellings and inappropriate word sounds encountered in these transcriptions.

This approach towards spelling, possibly explain why the word *maskie* is spelt *maske*. It is known from Changuion (1844) that the pronunciation *maskie* [maski] was already established by the middle of the nineteenth century; or why the Afrikaans word *nie* is consistently spelt *nee*. In this latter instance morphological appearance could have been an influencing factor. A single letter accommodated by a single vocalism might not have looked appealing to the Arabic-Afrikaans writers. Yet the *nûn-kasra* combination (نِ) spells *nie* - a lettering structure which produce a sound which is more appropriate than the *nûn-yâ-kasra* combination (نيِ) which is transcribed as *nee*.

The fact that pronunciation does not greatly change meaning in Afrikaans, also possibly explain why Abubakr Effendi and Ta Ha Gamieldien agree in spelling the Afrikaans word *wanneer* as *waneer* [vane:r]; while Hisham Neamatullah Effendi spells it as *waner* [vanər]; or why both pronunciations of these spellings are still evident in the colloquial Afrikaans of the Cape Muslim community. There are several examples like this, which emerge from the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts despite the care taken by these writers to produce the sounds they heard as accurately as possible in the Arabic orthography.

Some of the anomalies in spelling and word sounds, however, also result from the Arabic phonetic tradition in which they were written. In terms of this tradition, every sound heard must be produced in the written form. This at times create morphological problems when an Arabic-Afrikaans phonetic script word is written in the Roman script orthography. For instance, it is not normal in Arabic for two consonants to be adjacent to each other. When this happens, and both consonants have a bearing on the pronunciation, they must be connected by a vocalic symbol. In Roman script Afrikaans two consonants are regularly found

adjacent to each other. The sound which necessarily result from the intermix, is considered automatic and disregarded in the orthographic presentation of the word. To appreciate the presence of this sound between adjacent consonants, one need only to listen carefully to the pronunciation of such Afrikaans words as *werk*, *skuld*, *plek*, *kwaad*, *vrou* and so forth.

In Afrikaans written in the Arabic orthography, every sound heard must be indicated in the lettering structure of the word. The sounds between the consonants are rather soft or gliding sounds. There are, however, no vocalic symbols indicating gliding sounds in Arabic phonetic script. The normal vocalic symbol, representative of the sound, is thus used. This results in transcriptions where these sounds comes out stronger than actually intended by the writers. This explanation accounts for transcriptions such as *werek* (work); *sekilt* (debt); *pelek* (place); *koewaat* (evil) *voerou* (woman) and *staraf* (punishment), to cite a few examples.

Another factor which influenced writing, and hence pronunciation and transcription, is the creation of Arabic vocalic symbols for Afrikaans sounds which does not exists in the Arabic language. Vocalic symbols for these sounds are normally created within the constraints of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwīd*. It is not always that the rules of *tajwīd* are observed by a writer.

A typical example is the endeavour of Hisham Neamatullah Effendi to create an Arabic vocalism to represent the mid-frontal pronunciation of the Afrikaans letter *e*, outside of the constraints of the phonetic rules. The sound he desired to indicate is equal to the *e* in the English name Fred. To present this sound in the Arabic orthography, Hisham Neamatullah Effendi uses the *kasra-sukūn*-less-*yā* combination, a vocalic structure which is normally associated with Afrikaans long *e*. The result was that this vocalic symbol cannot be read, in terms of the rules of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwīd*, to produce a pronunciation [ɛ], the mid-frontal *e* as in Fred.

The phonetic rule, however, always takes preference over the dictum that consistency of usage establishes the intention. For though Hisham Neamatullah Effendi consistently uses this vocalism for words with a mid-frontal *e*, I have taken the phonetic rule into consideration in my transcription. This at least ensures consistency in transcription. Others, again might concede, that because of the consistency in usage, a mid-frontal *e* was intended. As a result of my consideration for the rules of *tajwîd* I am forced to transcribe such words as if the long *e* is intended. This results in transcriptions such as *geelt* for *gelt* (money); *veelt* for *velt* (field); *ghabeere* for *gebêre* (saved or stored); *peleek* for pelek (place) etc.

Nevertheless, despite all these anomalies, the vocalized Arabic-Afrikaans scripts, when correctly transcribed, give us very clear indications of the Afrikaans pronunciation of the period during which they were written. One could safely conclude that the Arabic-Afrikaans writers wrote as they spoke. This is confirmed by distinctive spelling features such as *gha* instead *ge*; the use of *t* for the *d* at the end of a word; and words such as *miril* [mərəl] for *middel;* and *maragh* [marax] for *midddag;* or *noeragh* [nûrax] for *nodig* which are clearly evident in the transcriptions above, and which are still evident in the pronunciation of the Afrikaans spoken by many speakers of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. These distinctive pronunciations are of the identifiable features of the acoustic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

5.6.2. Grammatical constructions observed

Another distinctive characteristic of Cape Muslim Afrikaans is its word order in sentence construction. It is normal in sentence construction in Afrikaans for the subject to be followed by the verb to be followed by the object - SVO, or alternatively for the verb to be at the end of the sentence - SOV. Commenting on the syntax of the Afrikaans sentences Edith Raidt, quoting Scholts, writes :

> *'Die sintaktiese struktuur van Afrikaans stem grotendeels ooreen*
> *met díé van die hedendaagse Nederlamds en/of die 17de-eeuse*

Hollands. Talryke gewone enkelvoudige en saamgestelde sins-
patrone in Afrikaans wyk in geen opsig van die Nederlandse
af nie.'

She continues, and states that in any case, any deviance reverts back to
the old Dutch sentence patterns (Raidt, 1984:63).

Ponelis, using Greenbergs' distinction between the prepositional VSO and
postpositional SOV sentence orders, argues that because Afrikaans is a
SVO language both the prepositional (which has a verb-intial sentence
order) and postpositional (which has a verb-final sentence order) are
evident. But as a SVO language, Afrikaans has a stronger verb-intial
sentence order connection. The prepositional syntactical order is
dominant and the postpositional order recessive. He thus includes
Afrikaans into the prepositional language schemes. Hence the verb-
intial sentence order is expected to be dominant. A position which
Ponelis argues, prevails with Afrikaans sentences (Ponelis: 1984:231-2).

It is not my intention to become involved in the ramification of this
intricate debate on the Afrikaans sentence order. What I want to
suggest is that it might be useful to look at the sentence construction
in the Arabic-Afrikaans transcriptions for another perspective to this
debate. This, however, is beyond the scope of this study. The sentences
of the transcriptions, and their comparison with the Arabic from which
they were translated, may, however, provide such another perspective on
the origin and nature of the Afrikaans sentence construction.

If we look at sentences such as : *hai ve-sprai wat waadjieb is sain*
waarde (*hy versprei wat noodig is sy waarde*) or *en amal dee is bai die*
promis van dee hoge Allah en sain bederighin (*en almal die is by die*
belofte van die Allemagtige God en sy dreigement) or *van my vriende het*
ghavra ek moet vertaal die riesaalat (*Van my vriende het gevra ek moet*
vertaal die boodskap) or *waneer dit ghasegh is vir djou en hoe goeloef*
djai in Allah (*Vanneer dit gesê is vir jou, en hoe glo jy in God*), we
see from the texts, that they conforms very closely in structure to the
Arabic sentences from which they were translated. One sees a similar

pattern of sentence construction in the following sentences which I have at random pick-up from speakers in my home: *Was my hemp kanalla; - Gaan jy saam met ons; - Kom hier uit man, ek wil daar in kom; - Praat maar, ek hoor (luister); - Province verloor by ag wickets; - Ons is al halfway deur die boek; - Is jy gek, jy kan nooit vir hom so iets sê nie.* All these sentences show a strong verb-intial sentence order.

If we compare these type of Afrikaans sentences to the Arabic sentence construction, we see close similarities. The normal Arabic sentence follows the pattern of: Verb, followed by Subject followed by Object and adverbial or other matter (Haywood and Nahmud, 1965:97). The VSO syntactical arrangement prevails. Thus in Arabic, the sentence, 'The teacher wrote' will read *'katabal mu'allimu'*. In a word for word translation, the sentence will read:'wrote the teacher'. Similarly, the sentence, 'The boy grew', *kabura l waladu*, in a direct translation reads: *'grew the boy'*. In Arabic the subject may also be placed between two verbs, as in the instance of the pluperfect tense (Haywood & Nahmad, 1965:104). Thus the sentence, 'Zaid had written', is in Arabic written as *kânâ Zaidun kataba*, and in a direct translation would read *'Had Zaid written'*. From this, it is obvious that the dominant syntactical sentence order in Arabic is also the verb-intial sentence order. Because of this, and the more frequently encountered verb-intial sentence construction in Cape Muslim Afrikaans, the question might well be asked to what extent the sentence construction of Cape Muslim Afrikaans is influenced by the VSO syntactical arrangement of Arabic. This might be a useful theme for a researcher to investigate.

But the verb-intial sentence order is not the only syntactical pecu-liarity of the sentences in the Arabic-Afrikaans transcriptions. There are, however, also sentences, in the transcriptions which, in terms of their grammatical constructions, must be remnants of the pidgin stage from which Cape Muslim Afrikaans emerged. For example: *'en sekilt sain zakaat is op ghadeelte'* or *'dan is hai kaavier ghawoort'* or the usage *'gewies is'*. This kind of grammatical usage are remnants of pidgin, and are, however, common in a language variety which shows a strong eviden-ce of cultural lag.

Another interesting syntactical observation from the transcriptions is the relative absence of the indefinite article, *'n*; or where it is used, a distinctive orthographic presentation is not created to show its presence. This probably results from the fact that there is no indefinite article in Arabic. In Arabic the indefinite article is shown by the presence of *nun-tanwîn* or a nunation at the end of a noun. Hence the Arabic word *bait* for 'house' becomes *baitun*, 'a house' with the *tanwîn, un*, showing the indefiniteness (Haywood and Nahmad, 1965:22). In Afrikaans there is no inflection of the noun with change in grammatical function. This probably created a problem for the Arabic-Afrikaans writers when they were required to write the indefinite article *'n*, in Arabic script.

No intensive study of the syntactical nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans exists. This is again an area of research which need to be embarked upon once the correct reading of the Arabic-Afrikaans script had been established.

5.6.3. The lexical issues of Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

Afrikaans, having being essentially a lower class language in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it had a rather restrictive and limited vocabulary. In fact Cape Dutch or Afrikaans was, at the end of the nineteenth century, considered by some to be too simple a language with no literary future. This view was clearly expressed by a colonial linguist Theophilus Hahn, at a lecture he delivered at the South African Public Library on 29 April, 1882 (SABP,1882).

But this perceived limitation of Afrikaans or Cape Dutch vocabulary did not prevent the Cape Muslim Arabic-Afrikaans writers to embark on the translation of involved theological and theo-philosophical Arabic works. One of the wonders of these translations is, despite the limitation of the vocabulary at their disposal, the translators managed to capture the spirit of the work they translated, and rendered it in a language which have remained meaningful even to the present generation of Cape Muslims.

Then too, the easy and simple language used did not distort, nor deminish, nor distracted from the meaning of the original text.

In the process of their translations, these writers were require to build a functional vocabulary. A vocabulary which must not only be able to express the thoughts of the authors they were translating, let alone their conveying their own nuances, but a vocabulary which will be understood and be meaningfully real to their prospective readers. It is in this process of vocabulary building that the genius of the Cape Muslim Arabic-Afrikaans writers really came to the fore.

From the transliterations which in this study has been embarked upon, it is obvious that all three aspects of vocabulary building, which S P E Boshoff identified as *'Erfgoed'*, *'Eiegoed'* and *'Leengoed'* in 1921 (Eksteen, 1984:144), come to play. Words were certainly inherited from their ancestral Malayo-Polynesian family of languages; words were also borrowed from Arabic, English and Dutch to extend their core vocabulary. Then too, there is definite evidence of concept construction. This creative process of neology helped to accurately project their theo-philosophical thoughts.

It is a historic fact that the core vocabulary of Afrikaans comes from Nederlands. Cape Muslim Afrikaans, as a variety of Afrikaans, is also dependent on this Nederlands core vocabulary for its essential communication. It, however, also borrowed extensively from Arabic, their religious language, and the language from which theological tracts were translated; and lesser degree from the other languages, like French and English, with whom they came into contact. French accounted for such words as *aspris* (on purpose); *kardoessie* (packet); *sa-vette* (towels) *tamaletjie* (a sweet). While from the transcriptions I have picked up some English words such as *saimde* (the same); *promis*, *davarent* (different), *ghamixte* (mixed) and *laik* (to like). Then too they inherited vital lexical items from the the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages, which they brought with them as slaves from South-east Asia. There seems to be an interesting pattern with regard to the borrowing and inheritance of lexical items.

In the available Arabic-Afrikaans literature, except maybe for the *Tuḥfátul Aḥwam* (A gift for friends), written by Abdul Kahaar ibn Abdul Malik in Port Elizabeth in 1868, Arabic seems to be the preferred language for borrowings. Their spoken Cape Muslim Afrikaans, on the other hand, is again freely laced with lexical items inherited from their Malayo-Polynesian linguistic past. It is in any case these inherited lexical items which makes Cape Muslim Afrikaans a distinctive Afrikaans variety. This seemed to have already been acknowledged by Suasso de Lima (1844:9) when in protestation against Changuion word list, he writes:

> *Meent de geleerde Heer dat het Kaapsch taaleigen door*
> *hem aangehaald de taal is der Hottentotten, dan moeten*
> *wij zijn Edele andermaal een groot kompliment maken,*
> *want het bewijst dat zijne overgroote aanraaking met*
> *die onbeschaafde volksklasse van groote uitgestrektheid*
> *geweest is - maar dit gaat mank - want wij vinden in*
> *die lijst by voorbeeld :*

> *Allah ! God, een Turksch woord*
> *Aja, (Maleidsch) en andere derglijke Maleidsche woorden*
> *meer.*

Some of these inherited Malayo-Polynesian lexical items were absorbed into the vocabulary of Standard-Afrikaans. Words such as *baie, pondok, kapok, katjiepiering, ghomma, kaparang, kris, blatjang nonna, baklei* (Eksteen, 1984:150) today constitute part of the vocabulary of Standard-Afrikaans. To the words listed by Eksteen I can add *krabbetjie, tjap, tjommel tamaai, amper, baadjie* and *kabaai*. Other words which were inherited from the Malayo-Polynesian family of languages have remained only in Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

A list of these words, with its etymological origins and Cape Muslim Afrikaans meaning is here produced:

Cape Afrikaans	Etymological origins	Meaning
abdast	from Persian to Malayu	= spiritual ablution
agama	Sanskrit = aagama	= religion
atjar	Sunda = atjar	= fruit pickles
bakaiyer	Malayu = bakai-er	= playing with the swords during khalifa or Ratiep performance
bang	Malayu = bang	= giving the call for prayer
barakat	Malayu = berkat	= a parcel of cakes given as a persent to take home
batja	Malay = batja	= to read
bingo	Sunda = bingung	= disoriented or confused
boeka	Sunda = buka	= breaking the fast
djalantoes	Malayu = djala melang	= to be out of order or disorderly
djamang	Sunda = djamban	= toilet
djapandoelie	Malayu = djamaduli	= ancient
ghaabar	Malayu = chabar	= message or news
graana	Sanskrit = grahana	= eclipse
ghielap	Malayu = kilat	= lightening
ghoentoem	Malayu = guntur	= thunder
hiempu	Malayu = himpun	= to bring together as one (one congregational prayer)
kafang	Malayu = kafan	= linen used as a shroud of the dead.
kalie	Javanese = kali	= river
kanalla	Malay = karna Allah	= please

labarang	Sunda = lebaran	= general name for Eid, the two major religious festivals.
lambar	Malayu = lamar	= to become engaged to be married
lang-ar	Malayu = langgar	= prayer room
lanja	Sunda = lantjang	= to be fluent in recitation or to memorise
lat-tjoe	Malayu = latjur	= bad luck
ling-oe	Sunda = ling-u	= A Balanese cushion dance which was up to about 30 years ago still popular at the Cape
manie	Malayu = mandi	= to bath
manieng-al	Malayu = meninggal	= to have died
mantra	Sanskrit = mantera	= spiritual healing
maskawi	Malayu = maskawin	= dowery
merang	Malayu = rame'an	= feast
mesang	Malayu = mesan	= tombstone on grave
moeli-at	Malayu = melihat	= watch-out !
mienta-maaf or Boeta-maaf	Malayu = minta-mu'aaf	= excuse me
pang	Malayu = bapang	= man or uncle
motjie	Javanese = muntje	= woman or the wife
pasang	Malayu = pasang telinga	= to announce
piejara	Malayu = petjara	= conference/to discuss
poewasa	Sanskrit = puwasa	= to fast
sadjie	Sanskrit = sajjiker	= to serve
slamat	Malayu = selamat	= congratulations
samba	Malayu = sambar	= to be inflicted with an evil spirit

slamblie	Malayu = *sembele*	= to slaughter
soembai-ing	Malayu = *sembahjang*	= to pray
soempa	Malayu = *sumpah*	= to make an oath
soppang	Bughies = *suppang*	= dignified
tjaija or *chaiha*	Sanskrit = *châyâ*	= light (Ek praat die waarheid by die *tjaija* Moehammad = I talk the truth by the light of Muhammad)/ also face = 'n mooi *tjaija*
taramakasie	Malayu = *terima kasih*	= thank you
toelies	Malayu = *tulis*	= to write
top	Javanese = *tup-ake*	= a prayer shirt.

These inherited lexical items have been completely bridged into the spoken Afrikaans of the Cape Muslim, but in this process of bridging, they have also changed in their pronunciation. They have become so Afrikaans in sound that they at times are not immediately recognised by speakers of the language from which they were originally inherited.

But apart from such direct absorption with othoepic change, some Malayo-Polynesian lexical items inherited changed to perform new syntactical functions in Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Thus, the Malayu verb *slamblie* (to slaughter) would take on the Afrikaans noun-forming morpheme *er*, to form the noun *slamblie-er* (slaughterer). Similarly the word *soppang* (dignified) will take on the Afrikaans morpheme *heit* to form the abstract noun *soppangheid* (dignity). Another example is the addition of the Afrikaans morpheme *se* to the Malayu word *djapandoelie* (ancient) to form the adjective *djapandoeliese* in the lexical item *djapandoeliese tyd* (for ancient time). Or merely changing the word order of composites to conform more closely with Afrikaans syntactical patterns. The classical example of which is *mandi-kamer* (bathroom) from the *kammar-mandi*, the Malayu for 'bathroom'.

The relative absence of Malayo-Polynesian words and the more extensive used of Arabic loan words in the Arabic-Afrikaans publications could be attributed to two main factors. The vast majority of the publications produced were translations from the Arabic. It would have been easier to have borrowed words from this language than from any of the Malayo-Polynesian languages. In any case many of the basic Arabic Islamic religious terms were already absorbed into Malayu, the religious language of the Cape Muslims in the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was possibly through Malayu that such Arabic terms as *salaah* (prayer); *niekah* (marriage ceremony); *zakaah* (the poor rate); *kiefayah* (funeral), *masjied* (mosque); *niesaab* (tax-able property); *rieziek* (bounty); *daleel* (Qur'ânic substantuation) *waadjieb* (necessary) were absorbed into Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

Then too, at the time when the majority of the Arabic-Afrikaans publications were embarked upon, Malayu was no longer a spoken language in Cape Town. In 1903 Hiesham Neamatullah Effendi wrote that they were once a 'Malay speaking' community (*Cape Argus*, 19 March, 1903). It would have been foolhardy, therefore, to seek loan words from Malayu, or for that matter, any other of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, to explain Arabic concepts. Their desire was the transmission of religious ideas. This could only effectively be achieved in a language medium comprehensible to their target community. The inherited Malayo-Polynesian terms which were already in use, and bridged into their Afrikaans, were, in any case, appropriated to convey religious concepts. This is evident from the fact that the word *mandi* (Malayu = bath), co-exist with *ghoesl* (Arabic = bath), its Arabic counterpart and *abdast* (Malayu) with *woedoe* (Arabic) in the Arabic-Afrikaans publications.

This is also seen in the coupling of Malayu-Polynesian and Arabic words to create composites. Examples of these composites are *graana-salaah* (payer for the clipse) - a Sanskrit-Arabic combination; *kierie-slaam* (best greetings) - a Sunda-Arabic combination; *tuan-koeber* (grave-digger) is a composite brought into existence by an Arabic-Malayu combination.

Borrowings direct from Arabic came mainly via the Arabic-Afrikaans
publications. Not all the words borrowed became bridged into Cape
Muslim Afrikaans. The Arabic-Afrikaans publications followed the
customary practice of non-Arab speaking Muslims not to translate
keywords and fundamental concepts of Islamic thought (Brandel-Syrier,
1960:xxxvi). As with other languages such keywords and fundamental
concepts also immediately became part of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Hence it
is difficult to say whether such key words as *malaa'iekat'* (angels),
kietaab (book); *siefaah* (attribute); and dja-iez (acceptable) were
brought directly into Cape Muslim Afrikaans from Arabic. They might
have come into Cape Muslim Afrikaans via Malayu.

One can, however, safely assume that words such as *ghoesl* (to bath);
woedoe (spiritual ablution); *fajr* (the morning prayer); *soum (fasting)*
mahr (dowry) for which there are also distinct Malayu equavalents were
brought into Cape Muslim Afrikaans via the Arabic-Afrikaans publica-
tions. Similarly one can also safely assume that words such as *asal*
(ancestry or origin); *hoekoem* (rulings); *saheeh* (correct); *soelgh* (to
make amends); *mansoogh* (it is settled); and *riewaayat* (narrative) were
borrowed through the Arabic-Afrikaans publications.

However, as already stated, not all words borrowed from Arabic in the
Arabic-Afrikaans publications came to constitute part of the vocabulary
of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. Many of these words have restrictive reli-
gious meanings, and cannot easily be used in colloquial communication.
Others again were so easily absorbed, that with the mere affixing of
Afrikaans grammatical morphemes they came to play all sorts of syntacti-
cal functions in Cape Muslim Afrikaans. These grammatical functions are
illustrated with roots words such as :

nabee (prophet) - noun + *skap* = *nabeeskap* (prophethood) - abstract noun;

nieyat (to make intention) verb + ge = *genieyat* = past tense verb;

saheeh (correct) - noun + *ste* = *saheehste* (the most correct) - adverb;

hoekoem (ruling) - noun + s = *hoekoems* (rulings) - a plural;

waadjieb (necessary) - adjective +*heid* = *waadjiebghaid* (necessity) noun.

It is the morphological change, for a new syntactical function which indicates the intensity of the integration of an Arabic loan word in Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

Probably the most creative aspect of vocabulary building was through the process of neology. Apart from the affixing of morphemes to change the grammatical function of loan words already bridged into Cape Muslim Afrikaans, words were also created to convey exclusive meanings. Typical examples are *werksloon* and *maakloons*. In both these examples the Afrikaans word *beloning* is interpreted to mean 'reward from God'. Thus in the first instance *werksloon* would in the literal sense imply 'activities for which God will reward the individual', (such as prayer or indulgences in spiritual activities). The word, however, has also come to mean, 'good deeds', and it is in this sense that it is currently more frequently used. Similarly *maakloons*, which means, 'creation', also have the implied sense that the process of creation is a reward for humanity.

In my transcriptions, one notices, that when Ta Ha Gamieldien is confronted with the Arabic philosophical concepts, he embarks on a complicated process to create words which will effectively convey their Arabic meaning. Thus for *'aliemoen* (the all knowledgeable); *qaadieroen* (the all powerful); *moereedoen* (the Will of God) and *baaqien* (which means, neither beginning nor end), he created powerful nouns, effectively expounding these perceived functional concepts of God. As can be seen from his created noun, the essence of the concept is conveyed in the word he creates, despite the fact that these words may or may not exist in Standard-Afrikaans:

TA HA GAMIELDIEN'S CREATED CONCEPTS

1. *'aliemoen* became *wieter* from the Afrikaans *weet*, conveying the feeling God alone is knowledgeable of all things.

2. *qaadieroen* became *kraghtagh* from the Afrikaans *krag*, implying, God the the most powerful.

3. *moereedoen* became *wiler* to convey a meaning that God predetermines and wills whatever happens on earth.

4. *baaqien* became *aitwaghdieren* to convey a sense of eternal. The word *aitwaghdieren* almost tells you, no matter how patient you are, God will out wait you. *Aitwaghderien* is a particular interesting word. The abstract noun function is created by affixing the Dutch grammatical morpheme *deren* to the core word *uitwagh*.

It was, however, as composites that neologisms greatly enriched the vocabulary of Cape Muslim Afrikaans. All kinds of language combinations, in the creation of such new words exists. Here follows a few examples showing these combinations :

LANGUAGE COMBINATIONS IN COMPOSITE WORDS

rizieq-giever (giver of bounty) = *rizieq* (Arabic) + *giever* (Dutch)

abdasplek (place for ablution) = *abdast* (Malayu) + *plek* (Afrikaans)

labarangbox (Eid present) = *labarang* (Malayu) + *box* (English)

kopseer (headache) = *kop* (Afrikaans) + *seer* (Afrikaans)

soembaingtapyt (prayer mat) = *soembai-ing* (Malayu) + *tapyt* (Afrikaans)

mie-angtessie (incense pot) = *mie-ang* (Malayu) + *tessie* (Afrikaans)

korbaanvleis (sacrifice meat) = *korbaan* (Arabic) + *vleis* (Afrikaans)

labarangsuit (Eid suit) = *labarang* (Malayu) + *suit* (English)

fajr-salaah (morning prayer) = *fajr* (Arabic) + *salaah* (Arabic)

An interesting observation from these composites, is, that where the components are both derived from Arabic, the syntactical function of the words are switched to conform to the Afrikaans, rather than the Arabic, syntactical arrangement. In Arabic it is normal for the qualifying component, or the adjective, in a composite to be the suffix. Thus one talk of *Sheikhoen-kabeer* (the great sheikh) or *kietaaboen-aswadoen* (the black book) which in a direct translation would read *'Sheikh-great'* and *'book-black'* respectively.

Follwing, therefore, the Arabic order of santax, *ouwal-moereeds* (first members); *asal-niesaab* (original taxable property) and *waadjieb-niesaab* (necessary tax), should have read *moereeds-ouwal; niesaab-asal* and

---

niesaab-waadjieb. This does not happen. With the creation of these composites, the grammatical order of Afrikaans is observed.

Another creative aspect of Cape Muslim Afrikaans is its spontaneity with idioms. Eksteen (1984:137) argues that a lexicon of a language is composed of its words, its morphemes and its idiomatic expressions. It is its idioms which give Cape Muslim Afrikaans its humour. But most of all, despite its lack of sophistication at times, it is its idioms which expounds the creativity of Cape Muslim Afrikaans, and facilitates its flow as an effective means of communication. Hence, to show their total adequacy, members of the Cape Muslim community will jokingly say :

'n Boer maak 'n plan, maar 'n slams het 'n plan.'

Here follows some examples of Cape Muslim Afrikaans idioms :

CAPE MUSLIM AFRIKAANS IDIOMS AND EXPRESSIONS

kop : *Waar kry jy dai kop.* = you must be out of your head (that idea can never work).

ghasegh : *Dit help nie om ghasegh te verkoep nie* = It don't help to curry favour. Simply : *Jy verkoep ghasegh.* or *Jy verkoep ghavreet*

kêpies is berêtjies : Wat dink jy *kêpies is berêtjies* = These things (or problems or tasks) may look alike but there is a subtle difference.

laai-laai : *Pasop vir haar, sy is baing laai-laai* = Be carefull, she has a very sharp tongue.

pop : Wat dink jy ek is 'n *pop* ? = Do you take me for a fool ?

slamblie : *Jy kannie sy slamblie eet nie* = *You cannot trust him*
tang-a-lang : *Kry klaar, jy tang-a-lang te veel* = Get done, you wasting to much time.

toe : *Jy is so toe soes O.K. op Sondags* = You have no comprehension of what is happening around you. Most of the time the expression is simply use as *Jy's toe !*.

reënt : *Waar slaap jy as dit reënt.* = Where do you come from ? Normally used when somebody says something stupid or inappropriate.

---

lag-lag : *Hulle wiet nie hoe om te speel nie. Ons het hulle lag-lag gewen.* = They don't know how to play. They were easy to win.

spaai : *Moenie my vat vir 'n spaai (spy) nie.* = Don't underestimate me.

busry : *Hou weg van dai vroumense, hulle kan gewaarlik busry.* = Stay away from those women, they can really gossip. *Treinry* is is sometimes substituted for *busry*.

bus : *Sy is bus* = She is very busybody.

poep op 'n lappie : *Hy is maar net 'n poep op 'n lappie* = He is absolutely nothing.

brêg-gat : *Jy kan mos sien aan sy klere, hy's 'n ou brêg-gat.* You can see on his clothing that he is a braggart.

kwaai-lappie : *kwaai-lappie* = well done.

aspris : *Jy lewe aspris.* = you live without purpose.

huisbou : *Moenie huisbou nie man, kry klaar met jou storie* = Don't drag it out, get done with the story.

manieng-al : *Is jou brein ghamanieng-al ?* = Are you really that stupid. A literal translation would read : 'Is your brain dead ?

kart-skiet : *Jy het hom darem 'n kwaai kart geskiet.* = You told him a fantastic story (which he believed but which might not be necessarily true).

on-er karte : *Hy is on-er karte* = He has all kind (not necessarily true) stories to tell you. Also used to indicate that that the person is good conversationalist. knows a lot of jokes and is generally good company.

laa-die-daa : *Hulle is upper class, laa-die-daa mense* = They upper class . Also *bakgat*.

ougat : *Sy is tog te ougat.* = She is so cute. A substitute for *ougat*, is *poenang-kies*.

die toit : *Hoe gaan die met die toit ?* = How is your wife keeping ?

kastai : *Die kind kan 'n mens baie kastai.* = The child can really tease you.

aansit : *Sy kan baie aansit as sy praat* = She is very pretentious when she speaks. Alternatively: *Hy is vol aansit.* = He is full of pretense. or *aansitterag*

5.7. A concluding comment

In this chapter I have looked at the international systems of transliteration from Arabic to Roman script in terms of its suitability for Arabic-Afrikaans transcriptions. Both the adequacies and the inadequacies of these systems were examined. From the discussion it became obvious that by using the international system of transliteration misreading and mis-transcription for Afrikaans pronunciations can result. A system of transliteration, more suited for Afrikaans transcription was suggested. The basic elements of this system of transliteration emerged in the Cape Muslim community. Every since this community embarked on transliteration in 1898, new elements to this individualistic system were contributed. All that was done was to bring these elements together, as an Afrikaans system for Arabic transliteration.

Having determine a system of transliteration, the annotated transcription of three examples of Arabic-Afrikaans writings were embarked upon. With the first one, for which a previous transcription was available, I compare this transcriptions by Van Selms with the same section I transcribed. As Van Selm's system of transcription were generally imitated by subsequent transcribers, it was the ideal example for a comparative transcription. From this one comparative example, some interesting differences in the two systems of transcription are evident. By using the communal system of transliterations, and reading the texts in terms of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwîd*, I managed to obtain transcription which in its orthographic appears to conforms more closely with Standard-Afrikaans. This helps to facilitate the reading of the transcribed texts. It also helps to provide for more accurate pronunciation, and therefore, clearer insights into the phonology and acoustic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Finally what this chapter does is to demonstrate the need for more intensive and specialized studies on the phonology, syntax and lexicon of Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

C H A P T E R 6

OBSERVATIONS, COMMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this study was not to draw any conclusion on any one or all the linguistic aspects of Afrikaans or Cape Muslim Afrikaans. The objective, as set out in Chapter 1, was, expressed in the hope, that this study will evoke a greater awareness of the existence of Cape Muslim Afrikaans as a useful source for broadening our understanding of the linguistic nature of Cape Afrikaans. At the same time an endeavour will be made to provide the mechanisms for the correct reading of the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts. While the impact of this study in evoking an awareness of the existence of Cape Muslim Afrikaans cannot be commented upon, an attempt is made to provide the mechanisms for the correct reading of the Arabic-Afrikaans script (see Chapter 4).

Nevertheless, the question of drawing conclusions, in a study of this nature, is too tempting to avoid. The very nature of the data provided begs for interpretation and a concluding statement.

The one central issue of this study is the question, 'did the Cape Muslim community of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries wrote as they spoke ?' From previous transcriptions (Van Selms, 1951, 1953 and 1979, Ponelis 1981 and 1986, Kähler 1971 and Dangor, 1990) this certainly did not seem to have been the case. I was, however, convinced, that they wrote as they spoke; and that misconceptions emerged with regard to the correct reading of the Arabic script. My first concern, therefore, was to establish how the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts and publications aught to be read.

I could not immediately embark on this objective. A literary tradition does not emerge in isolation of a socio-historic and socio-linguistic milieu. A historical examination of the milieu in which Arabic-Afrikaans emerged became necessary. The users of this literary tradition were essentially the decendants of the Cape slaves. It was, therefore,

---

necessary to examine the cultural world the Cape slaves made. It was then discovered that the Cape slaves only started to make their distinctive cultural world from 1793 onwards. It was from this date, when they established their first school, and adopted the Ash'arite dogmas of Islamic belief as the matrix of their social milieu, that their distinctive world began to emerged.

The functional religious concepts of the Ash'arite dogma of belief created sufficient space for the slaves for social mobility within this social milieu. It also help to maintain the equilibrium between Free Black slave-owner and slave; and in this way prevented a slave rebellion at the Cape. But most important of all, it encouraged literary exploits in the Cape slave community, as religious education and the acquisition of piety provided new social objectives for the slaves to attain.

The indulgence in literary exploits was not new to the Cape eastern slave community. They came from backgrounds steeped in literary traditions. Judging from signatures on manumission letters, a high percentage of the eastern slaves were literate, though literacy here does not imply the ability to read and write the Roman script. Literacy here means to communicate in the written word, be it Arabic, Buganese or Sunda.

The literary backgrounds of the slaves were thus examined. It was than established that the south-east Asian slaves alone had the possibility of seven main languages and fourteen dialects; and that at least four of these languages had established literary traditions. The slaves from Africa again spoke a variety of Portuguese creoles. By the end of the eighteenth century only three slave languages survived - Buganese, Portuguese Creole and Malayu. Of the three, Malayu was the dominant one.

But here at the Cape the slaves made contact with other languages - Khoisan, French and German - in a linguistic milieu which was predominantly Dutch. In such a polyglot society, the pidginization of the dominant Dutch, could not be prevented. A need for communication

existed between master and slave. The Dutch, though, never pidginized their language, but it was in their interest to creolize it for effective communication with their slaves. Such effective communication was essential for the economic productivity. The slaves needed to clearly understand the masters' instructions. The question of the creolization of Dutch by the white colonists is extensively discussed by Den Besten (1987), and was in this study only mentioned in passing.

As an alternative aspect to the developing process of the creolization of Dutch, the influence of acculturation is focussed upon. By looking at the tremendous influence which acculturation had on the development of the distinctive cultural traits of the South African nation, it is argued; that if the cultural exchanges had been so great on the social level, then the influence of acculturation must have been stronger on the linguistic level. The view, that Afrikaans is, therefore, essentially the story of communication between black and white in the early history of this country, is supported.

Nevertheless, both these views effectively explain the extensive use of the creolized Dutch in the Cape slave milieu.

But this creolized Dutch was not only spoken by the slaves. It came to be predominantly spoken by the slaves and the lower classes in Cape Town at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Swaving, 1830); and it was from the creolized Dutch which Afrikaans emerged. Dutch, therefore, also provides the core vocabulary for the Cape Muslim variety of Afrikaans. Within the Cape Muslim Afrikaans variety, however, various lexical items which could be traced back to the vocabularies of their ancestral slave languages, still lingers on. This is clearly illustrated in Chapter 5.

When the creolized Dutch was adopted as a medium at the Dorp Street *Madrasah* could not be accurately determined. I have opted for a possible date of 1815 on two bits of evidence. The last entry in my Malayu-Arabic 1806 student notebook gives a Buganese date which conforms to 1815. This entry is made by two people, Abdol Barrie and Ghatieb

Hadjie, both of them were prominent teachers in Cape Town up to 1850s. Then too, I have also considered the circumstantial evidence surrounding the publication of the *Hidaayutool Islaam* in Cape Town in 1830. If this publication was to be printed in Cape Dutch in the Arabic script for the benefit of the 'Moslem Malays' in that year, one can safely assume that it could have taken up to fifteen years for the Arabic script to be effective for the use of such a purpose (see Chapter 3). In any case Frans of Bengal shows that a willingness existed to write their vernacular in the Arabic script, when he signed his memorial to Sir George Younge in Arabic as early as 1800.

What is definitely certain is that Cape Dutch was the established medium of instruction at the Cape *madaris* in Cape Town after emancipation and that Malayu was the language spoken by an elitist class (Angus, 1849). The extensive use of Cape Dutch or Afrikaans during this period is also evident from the student notebooks or *koples boeke* which have survived. It was also the extensive use of the Cape Dutch vernacular which encouraged the translation, from Arabic, and the publication of religious tracts for the benefit of the community in a language they understood. It is these writings and publications which today constitute the Arabic-Afrikaans literature.

The Arabic-Afrikaans publications are contectualized and background material around the social circumstances and about the authors provided. Through this study some interesting features of the socio-linguistic and socio-historic life of the Cape Muslim community are touched upon. Arabic-Afrikaans publication was greatly stimulated by social and religious need. These publications were also provided as text-books for the various private *madaris* which exists in Cape Town at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Through studying these Arabic-Afrikaans publications and writings, of which 74 have thus far been discovered, one can almost feel the development in sophistication in the use of the Arabic script for the transcription of their mother tongue Cape Dutch or Afrikaans. In this study I have identified basically three distinctive writing traditions

in Arabic-Afrikaans. These writing traditions coincide with a given period in the post-emancipation history of the Cape Muslims. The differences in these writing traditions could be determined by the differences in the stages of development of Arabic vocalic symbols to represent distinctive Afrikaans sounds.

Abubakr Effendi's *Bayânudîn* is written in a writing tradition which can be seen to be different from the *koples boeke* which pre-dates it and the publications and writings which appeared from 1880 onwards. While it is obvious from the *koples boeke* that not all the Afrikaans sounds were effectively represented in Arabic script, the post-1880 works show modification, and in instances improvements and retrogressions, on the vocalic systems suggested by Abubakr Effendi. It is these differences and the anomalies which occur, which shows the living process in the development of the Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet. Yet in all this one sees a constant struggle to create Arabic vocalic and lettering symbols which will as closely as possible represent the sounds of their spoken Afrikaans in the Arabic orthography.

With the publication in Afrikaans in Roman script lettering, there again is a concious attempt to write in a Dutch sounding linguistic style. The result of this is that these publications could be classified as poor attempts at writing Dutch. The reasons for this kind of language is touched upon. Basically it would appear that they were imitating the society around them, who switched to a Dutch sounding vernacular, when religious themes were brought into discussion (Elfers, 1908). These publication, though not very good examples of the acoustic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans, they, nevertheless, played a very important role in the transmission of religious ideas. Their introduction was also the beginning of the end of the Arabic-Afrikaans literary tradition. This becomes very evident when the development of the languages changes in the Roman script publications, is examined together with the development of the Cape Muslim secular mission school movement.

It would appear from the discussion thus far that the Arabic-Afrikaans publications were written in an Afrikaans which very closely conformed

---

to the Cape Muslim spoken Afrikaans. This only becomes established as a scientific fact once I started to look at the development of the Arabic-Afrikaans alphabet. This alphabet has its origin in Jawi, the adapted Arabic alphabet of the Malaysian tongue. The principle, therefore, of creating Arabic vocalic symbols, for sounds not represented in Arabic, in a language using the Arabic script for writing, is established in Jawi. The Cape Muslim writers thus had a precedent. On the basis of this they further appropriated and manipulated the Arabic script to create vocalic and lettering symbols for the Afrikaans sounds not found in Arabic. This process of manipulation, which is a creative innovative analytical process, results in the creation of orthographic representations of mother tongue sounds in a foreign alphabet. I called this process an 'innovative orthographic engineering process', to capture both the orthoepic and orthographic processors involved in the creation of the new lettering or vocalic symbols.

This process did not happen outside of the phonetic rules of the foreign alphabet. In fact, the only reason why the Cape Muslim Arabic-Afrikaans writers could capture the Afrikaans of their mother tongue in the Arabic script was because they were largely using the Arabic phonetic script for their writing. This allow them to manipulate and restructure the Arabic vocalic symbols or *ḥarakat* to create new Arabic phonetic symbols for the Afrikaans sounds. In the process of doing this, however, meticulous attention is paid to the rules of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwîd*. It is only in terms of the rules of the phonetic science of *tajwîd* that the accurate sounds represented by Arabic letters in association with *ḥarakat* or vocalic symbols could be pronounced. This was an important consideration, for the new phonetic symbol created for the Afrikaans sound could, therefore, only be pronounced in terms of the rules of *tajwîd*. This ensures a degree of consistency in pronunciation when the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts are read in accordance with the rules of *tajwîd*.

Chapter 4, to ensure that the Arabic-Afrikaans phonetic script is at all times read correctly, looks at the creation of every Afrikaans vowel sound and letter created through the process of innovative orthographic

engineering. It also looks at the pronunciation of Arabic vowel graphemes, vocalisms and letters which were appropriated from the existing Arabic alphabet to convey and represent distinctive Afrikaans sounds. This I deem to be vitally important, and probably this study's greatest contribution to our reading and hence, understanding, of the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts. It is only through the correct reading that accurate phonetic and philological studies of Cape Muslim Afrikaans could be embarked upon. Providing the basis to facilitate the pursuance of intensive philological and linguistic studies of Cape Muslim Afrikaans was one of the most important objectives of this study. Hence the correct reading of the Arabic-Afrikaans scripts are considered so vitally important.

It also soon became apparent, by looking at the existing transcription, that correct reading was not the only obstacle to intensive philological and linguistic studies. Equally important was the correct transcription from the Arabic to Roman script. What this study also shows is that the international systems used for Arabic to Afrikaans transcriptions are not always suitable. Erroneous impressions with regard to the Afrikaans sounds are at times created.

However, there developed, from the first Afrikaans in Roman script publications, a system of transliteration in the Cape Muslim community. The development of this system of transliterations did not follow any systematic pattern. Nor was the various components of this system, as it developed, applied with any form of consistency. The first task of this study was to bring these various components together. Once this was done, a standardized system, which takes cognisance of the various components and organising them into a logical order, is suggested.

The practicality and the usefulness of this system of transliteration is demonstrated with the transliteration of examples taken from the Arabic-Afrikaans literature. In one instance, a transcription in terms of this communal system of transliteration and an existing transliteration, to show the difference in result, is undertaken. From this example it became clear that, unless absolute care is taken with transcriptions

based on the suggestions of the international system, errors in reading could result. The greatest advantage of the communal system of transliteration is that it results in orthographic presentation which conforms closer to the Standard-Afrikaans spelling and thus facilitate the reading.

In their endeavour to create Arabic phonetic symbols to represent the Afrikaans sounds they heard in the Arabic orthography, the Cape Muslim Arabic-Afrikaans writers have, with an exceptional degree of accuracy, retained their pronunciations of Afrikaans words in Arabic script. What, however, is important, is the correct reading of these created Arabic phonetic symbols, in terms of the Arabic phonetic science of *tajwid*, and their ultimate transcription in terms of the communal system of transliteration. If this is done, we can conclude that from those Arabic-Afrikaans works written in the Arabic phonetic script, we have a fairly accurate preservation of the communal spoken word during the time these works were written.

This conclusion will, however, not apply to the Arabic-Afrikaans publication written in graphic script. In such graphic script, which is essentially consonantal writing, there are no *harakat* or vocalisms to place constrain on pronunciation. The pronunciation is, therefore, greatly influenced by the readers orthoepic practice.

Finally from the Arabic-Afrikaans phonetic script or vocalized works, when read correctly, we can, with a greater degree of accuracy determine the distinctive aspects of the phonology, syntax and lexicon Cape Muslim Afrikaans. From the vocalized Arabic-Afrikaans works too we gain better insights in to the acoustic nature of Cape Muslim Afrikaans.

I, therefore, conclude that it is only when the Cape Muslim community used the Arabic-Afrikaans phonetic script, that their writing reflect the way they spoke. The vocalized Arabic-Afrikaans publications, being written in a phonetic script, are virtually audio-tape recordings of the Afrikaans pronunciation of the Cape Muslim community of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

B I B L I O G R P H Y

1. PRIMARY SOURCES :

a) Cape Archives :

British Occupation (BO)

Burgher Raad (BRD)

Cape Supreme Court Records (CSC):

CSC 2/1/1/138 No 84 *Rukea Maker v Abou Beker Effendi*
CSC 2/1/1/160 No 62 *Gafieldien Muntingh v Hadjie Abdoellah*
CSC 2/1/1/156 No 37 *Achmat Sadik v Abdol Rakiep*

Colonial Office (CO) :

CO 3984.798 Memmorial of Asnoun (Jan of Boughies)

Council of Justice (CJ)

Government House (GH)

Hudson Manuscript (A604/9)

Master's Office and Orphan Chambers (MOOC)

MOOC 7/1/53   No 66/66½ - *Imam Abdullah ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam (Tuan Guru)*
MOOC 7/1/187 No 59   - *Jan of Boughies*
MOOC 6/9/147 No 316   - *Abubakr Effendi*
MOOC 6/9/261 No 1850 - *Fozie Effendi*
MOOC 6/9/2313 No 1707 - *Imam Abdullah ibn Abdurauf*
MOOC 6/9/753 No 1411 - *Ghatieb Magmoed*
MOOC 6/9/777 No 414   - *Imam Abdul Kahaar (Berdien)*
MOOC 6/9/802 No 2798 - *Imam Abdurakib Berdien*
MOOC 6/9/1939 No 683   - *Abdurahman Kassiem Gamieldien*

Raad der Gemeente (RDG)

Slave Office (SO)

Superintendent General of Education (SGE)

SGE 1/1064
SGE 1/1158
SGE 10/8

Cape Town deeds Office - Deed No SIQI - 47/1823

b) *Arabic-Afrikaans - Publications and Manuscripts*
(Translation of Title in brackets)

Abdurauf, Imam Abdullah 1890 *Kitâbut-Tauhîd* (Book of Unity)
not indicated

Abdurauf, Imam Abubakr 1910 *Kitâbul-kaulil-matîni fi bayâni umûri-dîn*
(Book of the truthful word)
Cape Town

Abdurauf, Imam Abubakr 1913 *At-tanbîhâtul la´'iqatuh bi'khawalil muslimin* (An appropriate instruction on concerns of the Muslims)
Al Azhar University Press, Cairo

Abdul Kahaar (Berdien), 1898 *Kitâb ar-riâd al badîa* (The Book of the
Imam Abdurakib ibn Wonderful Garden)
Afrikaansche Drukkrij, Cape Town

Behardien, Sheikh A 1918 *Su'al wa jawâb* (Questions and Answers)
Nurudin Press, Bombay

Behardien, Sheikh A 1957 *Bayâni salâti Thuri ba'adal Juma'ti* (An Explanation for the Mid-afternoon prayer after the Friday Congregational prayer)
Mosque Shafee, Cape Town

Effendi, Abubakr 1877 *Bayânudîn* (Explanation of the Religion)
Sublime Porte, Constantinople

Effendi, Hisham N 1894 *Hatha 'ilmuhal-lis-sibyan* (This Wonderful knowledge explained)
Uthmaniyyah Press, Constanmtinople

Effendi, Hisham N 1894b *Sirâjul idâhi* (Light of enlightenment)
Uthmaniyeh Press, Constantinople

Gamieldien, Imam 1907 *Tartibus-Salâh* (Perfection in Prayer)
Abdurahman Kassiem Al Azhar Mosque Madressa, Cape Town

Gamieldien, Sheikh 1910 *Matha il abi lait* (The Questions of Abi
Abdullah Ta Ha Lait)
Muslim Improving School/Cape Argus, Cape Town

Magmoed, Ghatieb 1880 *Manuscript in Arabic - Malayu - Afrikaans*
(hand written)

Ganief (Edwards) 1928 *Al Mukaddimatu Hadramia (A South Arabian*
Sheikh Ismail *Exposition (of essential practices))*
Al Azhart University Press, Cairo

Ganief (Edwards), *Sheikh Ismail*	1937	*Al Mi'raj al-kawimi fi tajwidi 'l-qur'ani* *'al-Karimi* (The Pronunciation of the letters of the Glorious Qur'an) Sheikh Ismail Ganief Edwards, Cape Town
Sheikh (Edwards) Sheikh Ismail	1939	*Tuhfatul mütadin - die present vir die* *beginners ait die wortels van die deen* Sheikh Ismail Ganief, Cape Town
Ganief (Edwards) Sheikh Ismail	1940	*Al qawâ 'idun-nahwiyahu litadrisi-lughil* *'arabiyahu* (An introduction to the grammar of the Arabic language) Sheikh Ismail Ganief Edwards, Cape Town
Muhammad al Iraqi, Sheikh Abdurahim	1900	*Tuhfatul atfâl* (A Gift for Children) Nurudin Press, Bombay
Muhammad al Iraqi Sheik Abdurahim	1905	*'n Vyftalige Voorde Leis en Kort Sinnetjies* Kalzar Husna, Bombay
Muhammad al Iraqi Sheikh Abdurahim	1913	*Kitâb 'ilmi'l-fara'd* (Book on inheretance)

2. NEWSPAPER ARTICLES, MAGAZINES, REPORTS AND LAW REPORTS

Cape Argus, 4 January 1870

Cape Argus, 8 January 1870

Cape Argus, 18 January 1870

Cape Argus, 28 August 1873

Cape Argus, 13 September 1877

Cape Argus, 13 April 1878

Cape Argus, 5 January 1897 (letters)

Cape Argus, 9 March, 1898

Cape Argus, 28 October, 1899

Cape Argus, 31 October, 1899

Cape Argus, 19 March, 1903

Cape Argus, 18 April, 1903

Cape Argus, 4 May, 1903

Cape Argus, 18 June 1925

Cape Standard, 27 February, 1945

Cape Town Daily News, 21 July, 1875

Cape of Good Hope Almanac, 1842

Cape of Good Hope Law Reports Vol Vll
(Records of all cases decided in the Supreme Court of the Cape of Good
Hope, 1890 - 1910 Edited, J D Shield, Cape Times, Cape Town)

Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, 1830, Vol 1 No 2

Cape Times, 20 March 1903

Cape Times, 26 March 1903

Cape Times, 26 June 1903

Cape Times, 30 April, 1910.

Cape Times, 28 May, 1912

Cape Times, 15 February, 1913

Cape Town Daily News, 21 July 1875

Cape Times, 4 May, 1913

*Classified Digest of the Records of the Society for the Propagation of the
Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701 - 1892 with much supplementary information*
S.P.G., London, 1893.

Het Volksblad, 2 February 1856

International Journal of Middle East Studies, Editor : Peter von Sivers
Published : The Middle East Studies of North America

Imperial Blue Book, March 1835

Journal of Islamic Studies, Editor : J A Naudé
Published : Rand Afrikaans University

Ons Land,   3 November 1906

Queenstown Free Press, 28 April 1863

Queenstown Free Press, 9 June 1868

Report of the Committee of the Cape Town Auxiliary Mission Society, 1925
(After 1830 Known as *Report of the Stations of the London Missionary
Society* - 1830 - 1850)

SABP (South African Bound Pamphlets) 1882 : 'On the Science of Language
and its study, with special reference to South Africa' - T. Hahn

---

South African Commercial Advertiser, 13 February 1836 (Letters)

South African Commercial Advertiser, 27 February 1836 (Letters)

South African Commercial Advertiser, 26 June 1856

South African Law Reports (SALR) 1900 and 1908

South African News, 1 January, 1912

Standard and Mail, 26 August 1863

Standard and Mail, 11 June 1874

Standard and Mail, 13 June, 1874

3. INTERVIEWS

Imam Abdurahmaan Bassier, Imam at Boorhaanol Mosque, Longmarket Street, Bo-Kaap. An expert Arabic-Afrikaans reader.

Drs Muhammad Haron, Head of the Department of Arabic at the University of the Western Cape.

Sheikh Abubakr Najaar, President of the Islamic Council of South Africa and Imam at the Zainatul Islam Mosque, Cape Town. A leading exponent of Qur'ânic reading.

Imam Ighsan Mackerdien, Imam of the Pier Street Mosque, Port Elizabeth. A student of Hisham Neamatullah Effendi

Imam Abdur-rashid Omar, Imam of the Claremont Main Road Mosque. An Arabic scholar.

Sheikh M Salie Abadie Solomons, Acting-Imam of the Auwal Mosque, Bo-Kaap. A leading exponent of Qur'ânic reading and one of the few people who still uses the Arabic-Afrikaans mode of writing.

Mrs Gadijah Conradie, a retired Secondary School teacher. A student of Hisham Neamatullah Effendi

Hadjie Baku Davids - A student at the Effendi School in Buitengracht Street, Bo-Kaap.

Mrs Gadijah Gafiel-Cader

Mrs Gabibah Kamildien-Abrahams (nee Davids)

Achmat Kamalie - A proficient reader of Arabic-Afrikaans.

Sheikh Abdul Malik Baaki Abdurauf.

4. SECONDARY SOURCES :
Books, Dissertations and Articles

Abbott, N   1939   *The Rise of the North-Arabic Script and its Koranic Development*
University of Chicago Press, Chicago

Abrahams, A G   1988   *Muslim Heritage and Ancestry for Port Elizabeth*
Port Elizabeth Muslim Community

Ajam M T   1986   'The raison d'etre of the Moslem Mission schools and the Role of Dr Abdullah Abdurachman'
Ph D thesis, University of Cape Town

Aldridge, B   1972   'The Cape Malays in Action'
Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library, Cape Town Vol 27 No 2

Ali, A Y   1983   *The Holy Quran - Commentary and Translation*
Aman Corporation, Maryland, USA

Angas, G H   1849   *Kaffirs Illustrated*
J Hogard, London

Aspeling, E   1883   *The Malays of Cape Town*
V A Richards and Son, Manchester

Barrow, J   1806   *Travels into the Interior of South Africa* (Two Volumes)
Cadell & Davies, London

Brandel-Syrier, M   1960   *Religious Duties of Islam as Taught and Explained by Abu Bakr Effendi*
Oriental Studies, Pretoria

Behardien, Sheikh A   1918   *Dit is een "Kitaab van Towheed" Af Vraag en Aanwoordt Manier*
Breda Printing Works, Noorder Paarl

Belcher, Ronnie   1987   'Afrikaans en kommunikasie oor die kleurgrens'
Du Plessis, H and Du Plessis, L T (Reds.)
Afrikaans en Taalpolitiek
HAUM-opvoedkundig, Pretoria

Bird, Isabella   1883   *The Golden Cheronese and the Way Thither*
John Murray, London

Boëseken, A   1977   *Slaves and Free Blacks at the Cape - 1658 - 1700*
Tafelberg, Cape Town

Bone, R C   1973   'Malaya'
                                     Encyclopedia International Vol. XI
                                     Grolliers, New York

Boshoff, S P E   1921   *Volk en taal van Suid-Afrika*
                                     HAUM, De Bussy, Kaapstad

Bradlow, M A   1988   'Imperialism State Formation and the
                                     Establishment of a Muslim community at
                                     the Cape of Good Hope'
                                     MA Dissertation, University of Cape Town

Branford, J   1980   *A Dictionary of South African English*
                                     Oxford University Press, Cape Town

Brown, David,   1988   'Speaking in tongues : Apartheid and
                                     languages in South Africa'
                                     Perspectives in Education Vol 10 No 2b

Changuion, A N E   1844   *De Nederduitsche Taal in Zuid Afrika
                                     Hersteld sijnde eene Handleiding tot de
                                     Kennis dier Taal, naar de plaatsselijke
                                     behoefte van het land gewijzigd*
                                     J H Collard, Cape Town

Coetzee, Anna E   1988   *Fonetiek*
                                     Academia, Pretoria

Combrinck, J   1978   'Afrikaans - its origin and development'
                                     *Language and Communication Studies in South
                                     Africa.*
                                     Oxford University Press, Cape Town

Cory, Sir G   1919   *Rise of South Africa Vol 1V*
                                     Green, Longmans, London

Crawfurd, J   1820   *History of the Indian Archipelago*
                                     3 Volumes
                                     Archibald Constable, Edinburg

Dangor, Suleman E   1990   'Hatha 'ilm hal lissibyan [This is the
                                     knowledge of matters for the young]
                                     (a late 19th Century Arabic-Afrikaans
                                     textbook for Muslim children in the Cape
                                     by Hisham Nimatullah, son of Abubakr
                                     Effendi, Constantinople, Uthmaniyyah
                                     Press, 1311 AH)'
                                     Al 'Ilm , UDW, Centre of Islamic Studies
                                     Volume 10

Davids, Achmat   1980   *The Mosques of Bo-Kaap: A Social History
                                     of Islam at the Cape*
                                     Institute of Arabic and Islamic Research,
                                     Athlone, Cape Town

Davids, Achmat   1981   'Politics and the Muslims of Cape Town -
                                   a historical survey'
                                   Studies in the History of Cape Town Vol IV
                                   African Studies/History,   UCT, Cape Town

Davids, Achmat   1983   'The Revolt of the Malays - a study of the
                                   Cape Muslim reaction to the nineteenth
                                   century smallpox epidemics'
                                   Studies in the History of Cape Town Vol V
                                   African Studies/History, UCT, Cape Town

Davids, Achmat   1985   *The History of the Tana Baru : The Case for
                                   the Preservation of the Muslim Cemetery at
                                   the Top of Longmarket Street*
                                   Tana Baru Perservation Committee, Cape Town

Davids, Achmat   1987a   'Arabic-Afrikaans - a view of the Afrikaans
                                   of the Cape Muslims in the nineteenth and
                                   early twentieth centuries'
                                   *South African Journal of Linguistics
                                   Vol 5 No 1*

Davids, Achmat   1987b   'The role of Afrikaans in the history of
                                   the Cape Muslims'
                                   *Du Plessis, H and Du Plessis, L T
                                   Afrikaans en Taalpolitiek*
                                   HAUM-opvoeding, Pretoria

Davids, Achmat   1989   'The Kitábu'l-Qawli'l-Matîni: A response to
                                   "Problems of indentification" by   Professor
                                   P F D Weiss'
                                   Journal of Islamic Studies   No 9
                                   Rand Afrikaans University

Davids, Achmat   1990   'Words the Cape Slaves made: A Socio-
                                   historical linguistic study
                                   South African Journal of Linguistics 8/1

Davids, Achmat   1991   'Abubake Effendi: His creation of the
                                   Afrikaans e in Arabic script.'
                                   South African Journal of Linguistics 9/1

De Goeje, M J   1881   'Mohammadaansche Propoganda'
                                   Nederlandsche Spectator,

Den Besten, Hans   1987   'Einführung in Geshichte und des Afrikaan
                                   by Edith Raidt'
                                   Journal of Pidgin and Creole Vol 2 No 1

Doniach, N S (editor)   1987   *The Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of
                                   current usage*
                                   Claredon Press, Oxford

Du Plessis, L T	1986	*Afrikaans en Beweging* Patmus, Bloemfontein
Eksteen, L C	1984	'Die Afrikaans woordeskat' T J R Botha (Hoofred.) J G H Combrink and F F Odendal *Inleiding tot die Afrikaanse Taalkunde* Academia, Pretoria
Elfers, H	1908	*The Englishman's Guide to the Speedy and Easy Acquirement of Cape Dutch* Juta and Co, Cape Town
Esterhuyse, Jan	1986	*Taalapartheid en Skoolafrikaans* Taurus, Emmarentia
Fàrûqî, al F I and L L	1986	The Cultural Atlas of Islam Macmillan Publishing Company, London
Fakier, M A	1983	*Akiedatoel Moesliem - 'n Kietaab oor Tougied* M A Fakier, Landsdowne, Cape Town
Franken, J L M	1953	*Taalhistoriese bydraers* Balkema, Cape Town
Funk, W & Wagnalls, A	1963	Standard Dictionary of the English Language Colliers, New York
Gibb, H A R & Kramer	1974	*Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* Cornell University Press, Birmingham
Haywood, J & Mahmad, H M	1965	*A New Arabic grammar of the written language* Lund Humphries, London
Hesseling, D C	1899	*Het Afrikaans, Bijdrage tot de Geskiedenis der Nederlandsche Taal* E J Brill, Leiden
Hoge, J	1951	'The Family of the Rajah of Tambora' *Africana Notes and News*, Volume 9
Horrell, M	1970	*The Education of the Coloured Community in South Africa, 1652 - 1970* South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg
Hughes, Thomas Patrick	1895	*A Dictionary of Islam* W H Allen, London

ibn Kadi Abdus Salaam,   *1781*   **'Marifatul Islami wal Imani'** (The
Imam Abdullah   Manifestation of Islam and Faith)
(Tuan Guru)   (a handwritten manuscript)

Jardien, S   1983   *Iqra Teach Yourself Quran Reading*
                             Sulaimania Study Group, Grassy Park Cape

Jeffreys, K M   1936   'The Malay tombs of the Holy Circle'
                             Cape Naturalist Volumes 1 to 4
                             1934 to 1936

Kahler, Hans   1971   *Studien über die Kultur, die Sprache und
                             die Arabisch-Afrikaansche Literatur der
                             Kap Malaien*
                             Dietrich Reimer, Berlin

Kapliwatsky, Jochanan 1982   *Arabic - Language and Grammar*
                             4th Edition, Rubin Mars, Jerusalem

Kassis, Hanna E   1983   *A Concordance of the Quran*
                             University of California Press
                             Los Angeles

Kollish, M   1867   'The Mussalman Population of the Cape of
                             Good Hope'
                             Levant Head Office, Constantinople, in
                             S A bound Pamphlets, Cape Archives

Langacker, Ronald W   1973   *Language and its Structure - some
                             fundamental linguistic concepts*
                             Harcourt brace jovanovich, inc. New York

Lightfoot, Thomas F   1900   'The Cape Malays'
                             *Sketches of Church Work and Life in the
                             Diocese of Cape Town* (Ed A G S Gibson)
                             Electrical Printing & Publishing Company
                             Cape Town

Leibbrant, H V C   1905   *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good
                             Hope Requesten (Memorials 1715 - 1806)*
                             Cape Times, Cape Town

Lima, de Suasso J   1844   *De Taal der Kapenaren tegen de schandelijke
                             derzelve van Professor Changuion*
                             J de Suasso de Lima, Cape Town

Lima, de Suasso J   1856   *De Onderzoek Omtrent het Vierden der
                             Khalifa*
                             J. de Suasso de Lima,   Cape Town

Lubbe, G J A   1989   "The Muslim Judicial Council - A descrip-
                             tive and analytical investigation"
                             D Lit thesis, University of South Africa
                             Science of Religion

Maccrone, I D   1937   *Race Attitudes in South Africa*
Oxford University Press, Cape Town

Mayson, J S   1865   *The Malays of Capetown*
Cave and Sever, Manchester

Muller, P J   1960   'Afrikaansche geskrifte in Arabiese
Karakters'
Bulletin of the South African Library
Volume 15

Muller, P J   1962   'Die Maleier-Afrikaanse Taalbeweging'
Tydskrif vir Volkskunde en Volkstaal
Volume XVlll No 1   January

Naude, J A   1982   'The Ulama in South Africa with particular
reference to the Tranvaal Ulama'
Journal of Islamic Studies No 2
Rand Afrikaans University

Nienaber, G S   1934   *Oor die Afrikaanse Taal - 'n Bydrae
oor sy ontwikkeling*
N V Swets & Zeitlinger, Amsterdam

Ponelis, F A   1981   'Vokale en diftonge by Abu Bakr'
Paper - Seventeenth National Congress of
the South African Linguistic Society

Ponelis, F A   1984   'Aspekte van die grammitika van setsels'
T J R Botha, J G H Combrink & F F Odendal
Inleiding tot die Afrikaanse Taalkunde
Academia, Pretoria

Ponelis, F A   1989   'Die Betroubare Woord'
Klasgids,   August, 1989

Raoof, Moulana A   1988   'Hazarath Soofie Saheb (R A)'
*Souvenir Brochure - Opening of the
Renovated Mazaar and the extended Musjid of
Hazrath Soofie Saheb (RA) Riverside*

Raidt, E   1983   *Afrikaans en sy Europese Verlede*
Nasou Beperk, Elsies River

Raidt, E   1984   'Interne Ontwikkeling van Afrikaans'
T J R Botha, J G H Combrink & F F Odendal
Inleiding tot die Afrikaanse Taalkunde
Academia, Pretoria

Rochlin, S A   1934   'A forgotten name for the Cape Malays'
Bantu Studies, Volume 8

Rochlin, S A	1939	'Aspects of Islam in nineteenth century South Africa' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* (S A Library reprint)
Rochlin, S A	1959	'Early Arabic printing at the Cape of Good Hope' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* University of London, London
Rood, Betsie	1978	*Malay Cooking* Tafelberg, Cape Town
Ross, Robert	1983	*The Cape of Torments, Slavery and Resistance in South Africa* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London
Shell, R C-H	1974	*'The Establishment and Growth of Islam at the Cape of Good Hope from the beginning of company rule to 1838'* BA (hon) Dissertation, University of Cape Town (History), Cape Town
Shell, R C-H	1983	'Rites and Rebellion: Islamic Conversion at the Cape, 1808 to 1915' *Studies in the History of Cape Town, Vol V* Department of History/African Studies UCT
Shell, R C-H	1989	'Tender Ties: The Women of the Slave Society' Paper read at a Symposium *Slavery and After* Department of History, UCT
Scholtz, J du P	1970	'External History of Afrikaans' *Standard Encuclopaedia of South Africa* *(SESA)* Volume 1 Nasou Ltd, Cape Town.
Scholtz, J du P	1970a	'Internal history of Afrikaans' *Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa* (SESA) Volume 1 Nasou Ltd, Cape Town
Swaving J G	1830	*Swaving's Zonderlinge Ontmoetigen na Zijne Vlught uit Delft* Blusse en van Braam, Dordrecht
Surty, Muhammad Ebrahim	1988	*A Course in the Science of Reciting the Quran* The Islamic Foundation, Leicester
Teenstra, M D	1830	*De Vrughten Mijner Werkzaamheden Gedurende Mijne Reize Over de Kaap de Goede Hoop na Java en Over St Helena na de Nederlande* Groningen H Ekhoff, Amsterdam

Trimingham, J S   1971   *The Sufi Orders in Islam*
Oxford University Press, London

Valentyn, F   1971   *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with Matters Concerning it*
(Translation by Major R Raven-Hart)
Van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town

Valkhoff, Marius   1966   *Studies in Creole and Portuguese with Special Reference to South Africa*
Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg

Van der Post, L   1977   *First Catch Your Eland - A taste of Africa*
Hogard Press, London

Van Selms, A   1951   *Arabies-Afrikaans studies - tweetalige (Arabies en Afrikaans) kategismus*
N V Noord Hollandsche Uitgewers, Amsterdam

Van Selms, A   1953a   'Die Oudste Boek in Afrikaans: Isjmoeni se "Betroubare Woord"'
Hertzog Annale, November, 1953

Van Selms, A   1953b   'Die Afrikaanse Literatuur van die Slamaiers'
Suid-Afrika   Vol Xll No 6

Van Selms, A   1968   'Abu Bakr Effendi'
De Kock, W J (Ed.)
Dictionary of South African Biography
National Council of Social research, Pretoria

Van Selms, A   1979   *Abu Bakr: Uiteensetting van die Godsdiens*
Mededeling der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling letterkunde, Amsterdam

Van Warmelo, W   1964   'Erfenis uit de Hollansche tijd ... het gezang der Kaapse Maleiers'
De Kern   Vol 56 No 5

Von Denffer, Ahmad   1983   '*Ulum al-Quran - An Introduction to the Sciences of the Quran*
The Islamic Foundation, Leicester

Von Kleist, E P J,   1986   '*Ein Indonescher Muslim das 17, jahr Hundertesin Südafrika : Senschreiben das Sheck Yusuf Macasar*'
MA Dissertation, Freiburg: Albert Ludwigs University.

Watt, W M   1962   *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*
                                 Edinburg University Press, Edinburg

Wehr, Hans   1980   *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic
                                 (Arabic – English)*
                                 J Milton Cowan (Ed.)
                                 Librairie du Liban – MacDonald and Evans
                                 Ltd – Beirut/London

Wheeler, Geoffrey   1971   'The Transliteration of Arabic Script'
                                 *Asian Affairs : Journal of the Royal
                                 Central Asian Society* Vol 58 Part lll
                                 October, 1971

Worden, Nigel   1985   *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*
                                 Cambridge Univertsity Press, London

Zardad, M   1987   *Hedaayatul Muzllimi Littaghweedi – A
                                 Teachers Guide to Tajjeweed*
                                 M Zardad, Athlone

Zwemer, S M   1925   'Two Moslem Catechisms (published in Cape
                                 Town)
                                 Moslem World, London

Zwemer, S M   1925b   'A Survey of Islam in South Africa'
                                 International Review of Missions,
                                 Oxford University Press
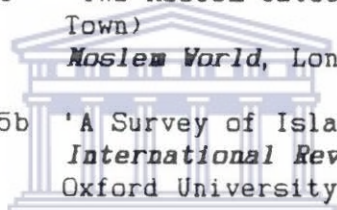
ANNEXTURES

UNIVERSITY *of the* WESTERN CAPE

ANNEXTURE 1

THE FIRST CHAPTER OF THE SIRAJUL-IDAHI

BY : HISHAM NEAMATULLAH EFFENDI

ARABIC TEXT AND TRANSLITERATION

أُوْمْ اَسَ اُوْب اَ فِقِيعْ اِينَ اَقِّيت قَازْدِى اِينْ هِيلْ
بَرَيْنَسْ هَتْ خَرَيْنَسْ اُوفَ خَسَكْ اِينْ هَيَهَتْ خَخَى
فَنْدِ قَارْدِى سِيلفَ اِينْ كُورْتَ فَنْدِ تِنْدِى بَرَتْ
دَنْ اَسَدِتْ جَائَزْ اِينْ اَسَهَىْ خَخَى هَتْ فَنْسَيَنْ
بَرَيْنَسْ دَ نْمْتْ هَىْ رِ كِنَتْ دِ بَرَيْنَسْ فَنْدِ دَخْ قَتْدِ
زَكَاتْ وَاجِبْ خَفَّورْ نَّهَتْ اِينَدَتْ اَسَ اَسَدِ جَازْ
فُولْ اَسَ بَىْ اِمَامْ اَعَظَمْ اِينْ اَبُويُوسُفَ اِينْ مُحَمَّدْ
هَتْ خَسَبِى دِ دَخْ فَنَرْ خَخِيفْ قُورْتْ فَرَدِ آزَخَى
اِينْ اِينَى قَتْ سَيْنْ قَازْدِى فَرْ قَا زُلُوسْ هَتْ
بَيَتَنْ لَنَفَزْ خَانْ اَسَنَى بُورَخْ فَرَدِ زَكَاتَنَى
يَعَتَى هَيَهَفَنَى تَخَى دِ فَرَ قَازَلُوسَى قَازْدِى سَيْنْ
زَكَاتَنَى سَوا اَسَدِ قَازْدِى فَرَخَانَهَتْ اَخَّتَزْ دِ جَازْ
اُوْمْ اَسَ دَنْ قَلَدِ وَاجِبْ قَتْخَ اِينْ اَسَ اِينْ بَرَتْ فَنْدِ
قَازْدِى فَرَخَانَهَتْ دَ نَهَتْ سَيْنْ زَكَاتْ اَكَ فَرْخَانْ اِينْ
هَىْ اَسَ فَرَخِيفَى فَنْدِ فَرَخَانَدِى قَازْدِى سَيْنْ زَكَاتْ

The First Chapter of the *Sirājul-idahi*, written by Hisham Neamatullah Effendi in 1894

Zakaat is fard op een varai moesliem wat moekallaf is, wat besit een niesaab van geelt of roughout een silwer of djewelre of ghout een silwer pote of wat is die prais van een niesaab van hanel-ghoet. Dit is as heele varai is van sekilt een vir sain noewaragh-ghait sain vebaraik. Een as heele nie vermieyader of kan vermieyader in die shard vir die waadjieb-ghait van die zakaat sain ghee is die djaar sain omkom op die asal van die niesaab. Maar wat weens ghamaak is een die midel van die djaar moet bai ghasit wort bai sain soewarte. Een ghee die zakaat as as die djaar om is van die asal-niesaab sain djaar. (page 2) maskie het die waarde vermieyader met hanel of eerf of aner ietj. Een as een meens voewarait zakaat ghee vir djare, dan is dit sah in die shard· Vir die saheeh-ghait van die zakaat sain ghee is om te nieyat ghaiaik met die ghee vir die aarme of vir sain wakeel. Of waner hai ve-sparai wat waadjieb is sain waarde, maskie was die nieyat ghalaik bai die hoekoem, soes as hai gha-ghee het so-ner nieyat een dan gha-nieyat en die waarde was nogh in die aaarme sain hant. Een dit is nee in shard nie laat die aarme moet wiet dit is zakaat nee, bai die saheeh-ste qoul. Toet oek as hai vir die aarme ghaghee het ietj en hai het ghanieyat zakaat dan is dit saheeh. Een as hai sadaqat ghamaak het met alghaar sain waarde en hai nieyat nee zakaat nee dan val die fard af van hom af. (page 3) Een sekilt sain zakaat is op ghadeelte waarom hai is seteeri een mirilmaartagh een soewak. Die seteerik is de wat hai aitghaleen het, een hanelwaarde wat hai onvang het, een dit was bai e-yane wat nie onstarai nee, maskie een bangkorot of bai e-yane wat onstarai. Een is nee haastagh nee die waadjiebghait van die zakaat sain ghee nee, toet hai veertagh dierham onvang dan moet hai een dierham ghee, waarom oner een vaif is van een niesaab is vergheewe van een is nee zakaat noewaragh nee. Een wat mieyader is, is nee sain hiesaab. Een die mirilmaartaghe is waarde wat nee vir hanel is nee soes die perais van ou kleere een wierek sielaaf wat ghaverkoep is een woewan hais is nee wadjieb-zakaat nee soelank as djai nee (page 4) onvang een niesaab nee. Een is te-rie-kint die verloepte van die djaar van die tait wat die zakaat waadjieb ghawoewart het op die verkoeper bai die

reghste van die riewaayat.Een die soewak is de wat nie waarde is nee
soes mahr een waseeyat een badal van ghal' een soelgh van asperis
doewat maak een dieyaat een badal van kietaabat een ies'alyat is nee
noewaragh zakaat nee soelank as hai een niesaab ghaonvang het nee een
die djaar gaat om aghter die onvang. Dit is bai Iemaam A'dam. Maar
Iemaam Yoesoef een Moehammad het waadjieb ghamaak zakaat op dee wat
onvang is van die dierie sikilte op heele hiesaab op eenighe maneer.
Een as hai onvang borogh geelt dan is dit nee waadjieb om die verloepte
djaare sain zakaat teghee nee. Een dee borgh geelt is soes een selaaf
wat wegh ghadoros het (page 5) Een verloewar een afghavat een hai het
nee bewaisen nee. Een waarde wat een die see ghaval het een wat
bagharawe is een die veelt of een een ghoeroete hais een hai het
verghiet die peleek. Een soes wat ghoewerment met dewink leen. Een
wat ghabeere is bai e-yane wat djai nee keen. Een sekilt wat djai nee
bewaisen het voewar nee. Een is nee dja-iez vir zakaat nee sekilt wat
bai een aarme is met sain nieyat nee. Een is sah om teghee vir zakaat
hanelwaarde een afmeet waarde een die peleek van ghout een silver met
die saimde prais. Een as hai ghaghee het van die saimde ghout een silwer
dan is dit teriekint een die tait van ghee heele ghawigh soes dit
ghariekint is bai die waadjieb-ghait. Een kan bai ghasit woevart die
parais van hanelghoet bai ghout een silwer een ghout bai silwer bai
heele parais. (page 6) Een die verminer van die niesaab een miril van
die djaar doenie kawaat nee as hai volkoem is bai sain tiewee. Een die
een as hai ghakoep het hanelgoet met nieyat om te hanel een die ghoet is
nogh nee niesaab weert nee, een hai het nee aner nee toe het die
hanelghoet sain parais een niessab ghawoerat, een die laaste van die
djaar, dan is nee wadjieb zakaat vir die djaar nie. Een ghout sain
niesaab is tewintagh miethqaal. Een silwer sain niesaab is twee hondert
dierham wat eeder een tien van heele siewe miethqaal is. En al wat
mieyader as die ghamikste is soes die peere ghout of silwer. Een daar
is nee zakaat nee vir seteene een pe-rels nee of hai moet vir heele
het met nieyat van hanel soes aner hanelghoet. Een as die djaar
(page 7) om is op afweegh een afmeet waarde een heele parais het
gharais of ghasak een hai het ghaghee van die waarde seelf een kawart
van die part dan is dit dja-iez. Een as hai ghaghee het van die dagh wat
die zakaat waadjieb ghawoewart het een dit is as die djaar vol is bai

Iemaam A'dam. Een Aboe Yoesoef een Moehammad het ghasee die dagh waner ghagheef woewart vir die aarme. Een e-yane wat sain waarde verwaarloewas het baiten laat verghaan is nee borgh vir die zakaat nee. Ya'nee hai hoef nee taghee die verwaarloewase waarde sain zakaat nee. Soe as die waarde verghaan het aghter die djaar om is dan val die waadjieb weegh. Een as een part van die waarde verghaan het dan het sain zakaat oek verghaan een hai is vergheewe van die verghaande waarde sain zakaat.

ANNEXTURE 2

MA-SA 'IL ABI LAITH

BY SHEIKH ABDULLAH IBN TA HA GAMIELDIEN

ARABIC TEXT AND TRANSLITERATION

5

(٥)

6

(٦)

٧

٨

9

(۱)

10

The *Ma-sa 'il abi Laith,*
by Sheikh Abdullah Ta Ha Gamieldien

Biesmielah-hier-rahmaan-ier-rahiem
(In the name of Allah, Beneficient, Most Merciful)

Dank en prais vir dee hoge Allah die baas van dee ghaskaape en sieghin
en gharistaghait op ons sain baas Moehammad en op al sain famieldjies
en ashaabat. (Dan na dee) segh dee aareme slaaf van Allah 'Abdulla
hiebniel haadjie Taa Haa bien Djameeldeenie, bayang van mai vriende
het ghavraagh vir mai ek moet vertaal die riesaalat van *Masaa-niel a-bie
Laith*, soe het ek ghadoen main best, en ek versoek help van dee hoge
Allah vir main en vir dee ghienaghe. wat leer deese riesaalat dan segh
Shaighoe abie Laith al moehadiethoe al moefoesieroe (.......)   Ek
beghint deese kietaab met dee naam van Allah dee djamarlike dee
ghanaadeghe (........) dank en perais is vir Allah dee baas van al dee
ghaskaape (........) en dee ghoede ainde is vir dee wat bang is vir
Allah sain staraf (........) en seeghint en ghoeroet van Allah
(.........) op ons sain baas Moehammad (.............) en sain
famieldjies (page 3) en sain sahaabat (.............) en masalat
waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is wat is iemaan (..........) dan is dee
djawaab(.........) ek goeloof in Allah (.............) en an sain
malaa-iekat (......) en sain kietaape (.......) en in sain rasoels
(.......) in an dee laaste dagh (........) en aan dee aitsiten van ghoed
en koewaat is van Allahoe ta aalaa (........) en masalat (..........)
waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, en hoe ghoeloef djai in Allah (........)
dan is dee djawaab (..........) waarlik Allahoe ta aalaa is een
(........) liewandagh, wieter, kraghtagh, wiler, hoor-er, sien-er,
praater, aitwaghdieren,   ghaskaap-er rieziek-gheever heer, baas
(.............) sonder 'n maskapai en sonder 'n died en sonder 'n
ghalaikenas (..........) en masalat (.........) waneer dit vir djou
ghasegh is, (page 4) en hoe ghoeloef djai in die malaa-'ielkat
(..........) dan is die djawaab (........) waarlik dee malaa-'iekat is
soorte   (.........) nou van hile is dee deraars van dee 'arsh
(........) en van hile is hafoon (........) en van hile is roehaanee-

yoon (..........) en van hile is die kar-roobieyoen (...........) en van
hile is die safarat (.............) en dit is Jiebreel en Meekaa'eel en
Iesraafeel en 'Iezraa'eel (.............) en van hile is hafadhatoen
(.........) en van hile is katabat (........) en hile is amalghaskaape
(................) slaawe van Allah (............) hile is nee
beskraif nee as manlik nee (.........) en nee verouwelike nee
(............) en hile het nee shahwat nee in nee selwe nee
(..........) en nee vaader nee en nee moeder nee (page 5)(...........)
en hile dering nee en eet nee (..........) en hile is nee omghahoorsam
nee vir dee wat Allah hile voor order nee (.............) en hile doen
wat hile ghaorder is (............) en om te laik vir hile is shard
van iemaan (.............) en om te haart vir hile is koefr
(.............) en masalat (........) en waner dat vir djou ghasegh is
en hoe ghoeloef djai an dee kietaape (...........) dan is die djawaab
(............) waarlik Allah het af lat kom dee kietaape op sain
anbeeyaa' (............) en dit is afghakom (........) nee ghaskaape
bai mens nee (.........)out sonder staraighait (...........) en dee
ghienaghe wat toewaifalghait daar an maak (..............) en in ayat of
in woort (..........) dan woort hai kaavier (..............) (page 6)
en masalat (..........) waner dit vir djou ghasegh is en hoeveel
kietaabe het afghakom op sain anbeeyaa' (..........) dan is dee djawaab
(..........) een hondert en veer kietaape (............) Allah het af
lat kom teen kietaape op Aadam 'alaihies-salaam (.......) en Allah ta
aalaa het lat kom dee kietaape vaiftagh kietaape op Sheeth 'alaihies-
salaam (..............) en Allah het lat afkom van dit teen kietaape
op Iebraheem 'alaihie salaam (................) en Allah het af lat
kom dee Ingheel op 'Eesa alaihies salaam (..........) en Allahoe ta
'ala het lat kom dee Touraah op Moesa 'alaihies salaam (page 7)
(.............) en Allahoe ta 'ala het Dhaboer af lat kom op Dawood
alaihies salaam (.........) en Allahoe ta aalaa het lat afkom dee
Qoer'aan op dee verkieste Moehammad(..............) en masalat
(..........) waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, en hoe ghoeloef djai an
die nabees (..........) dan is die djawaab (...............) waarlik
die eerste van die nabees is Aadam alaihies salaam (.........) en die
laaste van hile is Moehammad (...............) seeghins van Allah is op
hile amal (...........) hileamal was ghawies vertellers (.........)

raadgheevers (.........) voorbringers (..........) komdeerers (..........) beleters (............) dee vertrouwers van dee hoge Allah (................) hile is bewaar van kleine en ghoerte sonde (................) en om te laik vir hile is sard van dee iemaan (...............) en om te haart vir hile is koefr (.............) en masalat (..............) page 8 waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, en hoeveel is dee ashaab van die wet-e (..........) dan is dee djawaab (.....) ses (Aadamoe wa Noohoen wa Iebrahiemoe wa Moosa wa 'Eesa wa Moehammad salawaatoellahie 'alaihiem aghma'een) (.............) en iederen wet-e is afghaskaf bai dee wet-e van Moehammad (S.A.W.)(.........) en masalat (........) waneer dit ghesegh is vir djou, en hoeveel is daar van die nabees (............) dan is dee djawaab (..........) een hondert daisen en veer en toewantagh daisen nabees (............) en masalat (............) waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is en hoeweel van dee nabees is moersals (............) dan is dee djawaab (...........) deree hondert en derteen moersal (.........) en masalat (...............) (page 9) waneer dit ghasegh is vir djou is hile naame en hile ghatal in shard van iemaan of nee (...........) dan is dee djawaab (..................) ons het nee dit nee as in shard van iemaan nee (............) van dee segh van dee hoge Allah (...........) van hile is wat ons ghavertel het vir ee (...........) en van hile is wat ons nee ghavertel het bai ee nee (...........) en masalat (.................) waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, en hoe ghoeloef djai in die laaste dag (...............) dan is die djawaab (...............) waarlik Allahoe ta aalaa sal doot al dee ghaskaape as net nee dee wat in dee djannah en veer is nee (...........) en Allah sal weer liewandagh maak vir hile (...........) en sal vir hile bai makaar lat kom (.........) en sal afrieken met hile (...............) en sal hoekoem maak tesen hile (...........) dan dee ghienaghe wat is van malaa'iekat en ghienen mens (page 10) (............) waarlik hile sal doot ghaan (.........) en dee ghienaghe wat slegh ghawies het (.............) sal nee oor belaif nee en dee veer nee (.............) na die afriekienskap(..........) en maar dee moe'mien mense sal vir eewagh wies in dee djannah (...........) maar dee kaavier mense sal sal in dee veer vir eewagh wies (...............) en dee djannah en veer sal nee verghaan nee (.................) en nee

sain mense nee, dit is, nee die wat in dee djannat en veer is nee
(...................) en die ghienaghe wat toewaifilghait maak in ietjs
van dee dinge (........) dan is hai kaavier ghawoort (..........) en
masalat (..........) waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, en hoe ghoelkoef
djai in dee aitsiten van ghoet en koewaat is van dee hoge Allah
(..........) dan is die djawaab (..........) waarlik Allah het
ghaskaape die ghaskaape (page 11) (......) en hai het gha-order (......)
en het ghabelet (..........) en het ghaskaape die loeh en dee pen
(...............) en hai het gha-order dee loeh en dee pen om te
skraif dee werksloon van dee slaawe (.............) soe ghahoesamghait
is bai dee aitsiten van dee hoge Allah in die azal (............) en bai
sain wil en order en sain tevereraiskap (....................) en
omghahoesamghait is bai dee aitsiten van dee hoge Allah en bai sain wil
in dee azal (....................) en nee bai sain order nee en nee bai
sain tevereereskap nee (..........) en hile woort beloon en ghasteraf
(............) en amal dee is bai dee promis van dee hoege Allah en
sain bederaighin (....................) en masalat (.............)
waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, is iemaan ghadeelt of nee (..........)
dan is die (page 12) djawaab (....................) Iemaan [is
neelghadeelt nee (....................) om waarlik iemaan is ligh in dee
hart en in dee verstaan en in dee siel van Banie Aadam
(...............) want iemaan is dee hiedaayat van Allahoe ta aalaa op
in moe'mien (.............) en dee ghienaghe wat onsterai ietjs van dat
iemaan en hiedaayaat is van Allah (...............) dan word hai kavier
(.......) en masalat (................) waneer dit ghasegh is vir djou,
wat is dee moeraad bai iemaan (....................) dan is dee
djawaab (...................) iemaan meen touheed (............) en
masalat (.....................) waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is die
salaat en dee poewaasa en dee zakaat en omte laik dee malaa'iekat en
omte laik dee kietaape (page 13) en omte laik dee rasoels en omte laik
aitsiten van ghoet en kwaat van Allahoe ta aalaa en baiten dee van order
en belet en die van ligh van dee van dee soenat van dee nabee S.A.W. is
dit van dee iemaan of nee (..........) dan is dee djawaab
(....................) om waarlik iemaan meen touheed (..........) en
wat baiten dee is is in shard van iemaan sain sharaa-at(............)
masalat (............) waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, is iemaan op

dee maneerte van tahaarat (.........) en koefr is op die maneerte van
hadat (..........) en bai koefr al dee wereksloon van dee lite woort
baatiel (.......) en masalat (.....................) (page 14)
waneer dit vir djou ghasegh is, is iemaan ghaskaape of nee ghaskaape nee
(...................) dan is dee djawaab (............) iemaan is
hiedaayat van Allahoe ta aalaa (...................) en omte goeloef
met dee haart en dee wat dee nabee S.A.W. mai ghakom het van Allahoe ta
aalaa (..............) en omte berkent met dee tong (...........)dan
dee hiedaayat is maakloons van dee rab (...............)en dit is
qadeem (.........................) en om te ghoeloef en omte berkent is
dee maakloons van dee slaawe (.........) en dit is moehdath
(...........) en als wat kom van qadeem is qadeem (..........) en als
wat kom van moehdath is moehdath

Youmoel Ghamees fie Shahrie radjab 1328   2 Maai 1909