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Religious and secular Cape Malay Afrikaans

Literary varieties used by Shaykh Hanif Edwards (1906-1958)

In the context of the White and Christian-dominated Afrikaans language movements, followed by apartheid, little attention has been paid to an Afrikaans literary variety used among Muslim Cape Coloureds, a group often referred to as 'Cape Malays'. Descending mainly from Asian slaves brought by the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, Dutch East India Company), and bearing the marks of cohabitation with non-Asian populations at the Cape, the Cape Malays at an early stage developed a distinct religious culture through their adherence to Islam, as well as a distinct Cape Dutch linguistic identity through their connections with the Dutch East Indies and the Islamic world. These cultural idiosyncrasies found expression in a local literature, religious and (more rarely) secular, using as a medium a variety of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans written either in the Arabic alphabet or in the Roman alphabet.

Up to now, only the religious part of that body of literature has been researched, whereas the secular part has been neglected. In order to complete the overall picture of Cape Malay Afrikaans (CMA) varieties, we assembled writings by one prolific Muslim author from the Cape, Hanif Edwards (1906-1958), which belong to both the religious and the secular genres. Hanif Edwards's productive years stretched from the late 1920s to the early 1950s, during a period when Afrikaans had already officially superseded Dutch. Hanif Edwards's variety of Afrikaans can be assumed to offer a privileged outlook on the non-White varieties of Afrikaans in a period when it was

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still in the process of being established as a new standard language carrying mainly White values.

In this article we first present the life and work of Hanif Edwards against the backdrop of the history of the Cape Muslims. We then focus on the orthographic, lexical, idiomatic, morphological and syntactic idiosyncrasies of his texts, and attempt to place them within the perspective of early Afrikaans.

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

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

Cape Malay ethnic and religious imagery traces its origins to the time when the Dutch were practising slavery across the Indian Ocean. Aiming to turn the Cape into a self-supporting VOC outpost, Commander Jan van Riebeeck resolved in the 1650s to address the labour shortage by importing slaves. Because of large gaps in the records surviving from the Dutch period,

1 Illustrative of the prestige of the 'Malay imagery' among non-Eastern Asian Cape Muslims, a British observer noted in 1848 about a group of Muslim Mozambicans that they 'loved to be considered as Malays' (Shell 1997:276).

2 The Insulindian connection of the Cape Muslims at one stage provided the material for a 'Malayist' ethnic imagery, intentionally exploited during the twentieth century to justify a specific political treatment by South Africa's White authorities (Davids 1987:56-7; Haron 2000; Hoosain Ebrahim 2004:47). The overstatement of 'Malayism', in a racial sense, was used by the apartheid government to justify a separate 'Cape Malay' subcategory of the broader population group it referred to as 'Coloureds' (Kähler 1971:4).

3 Klopper (1983) speaks of 'Kaapse Maleierafrikaans' as a variety proper to Cape Muslim Coloureds and distinct from that of Cape Christian Coloureds.

it is not easy to reconstruct a breakdown of the Cape slaves according to their ethnic origins, as sources of supply were subject to variation, and a growing number of slaves were born at the Cape. According to Armstrong and Worden (1979:120-1), Madagascar was the main regional source of Cape slaves during the VOC period, whereas India (chiefly Bengal, followed by Malabar and Coromandel) and Insulindia (chiefly Makassar and Batavia) contributed much smaller numbers. However, computing various records covering the whole VOC period, Shell (1994:41) arrived at the following proportions of slave imports to the Cape: 26.4% continental Africans, 25.1% Malagasies, 25.9% Indians, and 22.7% Insulindians. These figures suggest an even balance between the African and Asian components.

Despite the diversity of the Asian component, it seems that early Dutch records broadly referred to Asians as 'Javaansche' or 'Bataviaansche slaven' more in reflection of the geographic location of the VOC administrative headquarters than of their actual place of origin (Shell 1994:83). The wholesale use made by Cape authorities of Malay imagery in reference to Asia may thus have been one of the factors in the 'Malay' label coming to be used as a common term for Cape Asians (Shell 1994:83). The ethnic generalizations made by the authorities may have been strengthened by the socio-economic and cultural commonalities visibly shared by Cape Asians, commonalities that faciliated their forming a close-knit community.

To start with, Insulindians, among all slaves, generally shared the highest social status with their Indian counterparts because of the skills Asians contributed to the colony. As a result, there was a preponderance of Asians in domestic or semi-skilled labour, as opposed to Malagasy and African slaves who were predominantly put to work as fieldhands (Armstrong and Worden 1979:147; Elphick and Shell 1979:208; Vink 2003:162). Moreover, Asian slaves born in Asia, with roughly equal proportions of Insulindians and Indians, had a disproportionately large share in the number of manumissions, by far exceeding the share of manumitted slaves from Madagascar and Africa throughout most of the eighteenth century (Elphick and Shell 1979:207). In view of their privileged status, the growing population of *vrijezwarten* (manumitted slaves) was allowed to concentrate in Cape Town, and from the late eighteenth century they formed a distinct residential community in the area of Cape Town referred to as Bo-Kaap (Böeseken 1977:77-97; Elphick and Shell 1979:212, 218, 224).

An obvious cultural commonality was Islam, which from an early stage was practised among both Insulindians and Indians. Examining their regions of origin, Bradlow and Cairns (1978:103-5) speculate that a large part of the Indians and most of the Insulindians imported to the Cape were already Muslims by the time of their arrival, as opposed to the Malagasies, for example, whose region of origin by the end of the VOC period had been only

superficially influenced by Islam. Reflecting integration at the religious level, the same authors note the representation of both Indian and Insulindian components in the early Bo-Kaap Muslim clergy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Bradlow and Cairns 1978:80-1).

Cape Town Asians' shared socio-economic condition, their often shared Muslim background, as well as their geographic concentration, may have helped them weave a common linguistic identity. On account of their original ethnic diversity, their linguistic identity remained pluriglossic until the turn of the nineteenth century, primarily associated with Malay, Creole Portuguese, and an increasingly nativized variety of Dutch (Valkhoff 1966:261-4; Elphick and Shell 1979:230; Ponelis 1993:15-7). Probably functioning in the label 'Cape Malay' as a group denominator, Malay seems to have been the Asian language most prestigious and widespread among the established Asian Cape Muslim community (while enjoying some prestige outside of that group as well (Valkhoff 1966:261-4)). On the other hand, Creole Portuguese may have served as an oral link predominantly among the constant inflow of Asians from geographic zones where Malay was not common (Ponelis 1993:15-7). The fact that Malay was used as a medium of instruction at the early *madaris* (Islamic schools), and remained so until the early nineteenth century (Davids 1987:46; Ponelis 1993:15-7), can be accounted for by the fact that, besides already possessing an Islamic literary tradition before taking root in the Cape, Malay was able to subsume all locally represented Austronesian varieties from the Malay Archipelago and was therefore bound to become numerically stronger than its mutually unintelligible Indian contenders.[4] The leading position of Malay may have been strengthened by its genetic proximity to Malagasy, the Austronesian language that was numerically strongest in the colony in terms of native speakers. Last but not least, knowledge of Dutch cannot have been uncommon among the early Muslim community, on account not only of its high social status in the colony but also of the close contact and miscegenation between Asians and Dutch-speaking Hottentots.[5]

The turn of the eighteenth century brought major social changes the effect of which was to considerably broaden the ethnic and linguistic connotations of the label 'Cape Malay'. These changes originated in the promulgation of the 1770 amendment to the 1642 *Statuten van Indië*, which stipulated that Christians were to instruct their slaves in the Christian religion, and that, once baptized, those slaves were to be given the right of purchasing their freedom.

4 Davids (1992:298) stresses the importance of Buginese, which coexisted with Malay at the Cape until at least the end of the eighteenth century. The main places of origin of the early Cape Indians suggest that they were comprised of an Indo-European-speaking group and a Dravidian-speaking group (Bradlow and Cairns 1978:103).

5 In the court cases reviewed by Den Besten (2000:958) (up to 1772), about one fifth of slaves knew Dutch and over two thirds knew either Creole Portuguese or Malay.

The consequent fear on the part of Christian slave owners of losing their property encouraged an attitude of laissez-faire which left the field wide open for Mohammedan proselytization (Elphick and Shell 1979:191; Shell 1994:356-62). With the abolition of slavery gradually being phased in by the British during the early nineteenth century, large numbers of 'new' Muslims of non-Asian extraction were released from their rural bondage and resettled in Cape Town, back then still the only Islamic centre in the colony (Shell 1997:275).

The fact that the label 'Cape Malay' survived the ethnic diversification of Cape Muslims is probably to be accounted for by the fact that Cape Town's Muslim social establishment remained of Asian extraction, and thus worth identifying with in the eyes of newcomers (Franken 1953:41-79, 116-22; Davids 1980:5-6, 1987:42-3). It seems, however, that the core of established Cape Muslims had to make cultural concessions in order to accommodate the new ethnic components of the community aspiring to identify with it, mainly by gradually relinquishing its Asian linguistic connection in favour of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans. Among the factors contributing to that, the first was the British ban on slave imports in 1808, which severely reduced the functionality of Creole Portuguese and Malay as oral links with non-assimilated newcomers from Asia. The second was the rural origins of the non-Asian Muslims, which meant that many of the 'new' Muslims had more been subject to Dutch influence and had thus possibly been linguistically assimilated into the European community (Elphick and Shell 1979:225-6). However, despite the presumable linguistic barriers, the new ethnic groups that had settled in the Bo-Kaap by the early nineteenth century seem not to have been prevented from social interaction with the Asian group, although they may for a while have continued to be perceived as distinct.[6] The disappearance of both Malay and Creole Portuguese by the turn of the twentieth century confirms that the components forming the Cape Muslim community may have merged into an ethnically all-inclusive 'Cape Malay' group of which a certain variant of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans was the most natural linguistic attribute (Ponelis 1993:17). The rise of that Cape Dutch/Afrikaans as a lingua franca among the Cape Muslim community in the nineteenth century is confirmed by its gradual introduction as both oral and written medium in *madaris*, which facilitated the perpetuation and transmission of its idiosyncrasies for as long as Coloureds were left in a state of relative exclusion from the government-sponsored education system through which Standard Dutch/Afrikaans and English could be learned (Horrell 1970:10, 14; Davids 1980:45, 1987:44-5, 49; Hoosain Ebrahim 2004:54-7).

One of the most prolific exponents of Cape Malay Dutch/Afrikaans literature, Shaykh Ismail Hanif Edwards (1906-1958) was born in Cape Town and

6 An early nineteenth-century British observer could still make out ethnic contrasts among one mosque congregation in Cape Town, noting that the service he was witnessing was attended by 'chiefly slaves, Malays and Madagascars' (Tayob 1999:29).

resided in the Bo-Kaap for most of his life. After attending a *madrasah* where he was taught the principles of Islam and Arabic in the medium of Cape Dutch/Afrikaans, he enjoyed some secular education at an English-medium school (Hoosain Ebrahim 2004:68-79). In 1923, Ismail left for Mecca to further his knowledge of Islam. After spending one year there, he proceeded to Cairo, where he studied at Al-Azhar University from 1924 to 1931 (Hoosain Ebrahim 2004:82-98). Upon his return to Cape Town, Ismail became a *shaykh* and went on to give lectures and deliver sermons as an imam at several local mosques until his death (Hoosain Ebrahim 2004:122-5). Throughout his life, he produced about 35 works of varying length on Islam and Arabic language, in both the Arabic and the Roman alphabets (Hoosain Ebrahim 2004:126-53). Out of the twelve texts by him that we singled out for study, eleven are religious exegeses and one is a grammar/lexicon of Classical Arabic intended for Afrikaans speakers.

Orthographic and morphonological characteristics of Shaykh Hanif Edwards's varieties

Hanif Edwards's writings can be situated in the period during which the use of the Arabic alphabet for CMA was already on the wane and was increasingly cohabiting with the Roman one. Among the 35 literary works by Hanif Edwards listed in Hoosain Ebrahim (2004), 16 are written in the Arabic alphabet (Appendix 2), 15 in the Roman alphabet (Appendix 3), one in both, and three in Classical Arabic script. As far as the Afrikaans part is concerned, the alternation between the two alphabets does not seem to reflect any thematic differentiation, although all the works dealing with Arabic language use the Arabic alphabet. Rather, the alternation must have served strictly didactic purposes, catering for beginning students not well versed in the Arabic script (Hoosain Ebrahim 2004:132-53).

The adaptation of the Arabic alphabet to Cape Dutch/Afrikaans phonology seems to have been a long process, which, Davids (1992:300) argues, can trace its origins back to the early nineteenth century. The main difficulties encountered by early Arabic-Afrikaans authors lay in the rendition of vowels, traditionally underrepresented in Arabic, and certain Cape Dutch/Afrikaans consonants unknown in Arabic. Possibly drawing on the expertise of the *Jawi* writers whom the Cape colony harboured, that is those authors who wrote the heavily vocalic Malay language using the Arabic-based *Jawi* alphabet (Davids 1987:43-5), it was a characteristic common to all Arabic-Afrikaans writers to experiment with the vocalic possibilities offered by the Arabic alphabet, namely, the three Arabic diacritic signs for short vowels: the *fatḥa* (phonetic value: [a]), *kasra* ([i]) and *ḍamma* ([u]), as well as the diacritic sign

'alif (used in combination with *fatḥa* = [a:]) and the semi-vowels *yā'* ([j]) and *wāw* ([waw]) (Van Selms 1951:41-2).

Davids identifies two periods in the development of Arabic-Afrikaans orthographic conventions. The first period, marked by great variation, was one during which 'not all Afrikaans sounds were effectively represented' (Davids 1992:300-1). However, the need for an orthographic model to build on was possibly met by the publication in 1869 of the *Bayānuddīn*, a religious work written by an Ottoman emissary to the Cape, Abu Bakr Effendi (Brandel-Syrier 1971:v-ix). The transcription system used by that author seems to have served as a guideline with which subsequent Arabic-Afrikaans writers complied to varying degrees (Davids 1992:300-1).

As regards CMA written in the Roman alphabet, no diachronic survey has so far been made of its orthographic characteristics.

An overview of Hanif Edwards's Arabic transcription system as observable in our corpus (Appendix 1) is provided in the accompanying table, which also gives the standard phonetic value attached to each character used, an example word in Arabic-Afrikaans orthography, the same word in Standard Afrikaans (Std. Af.) orthography, and the phonetic transcription (in both the international phonetic alphabet and simplified DIN 31635) of how the example word is to be read according to the phonetic prescriptions of the Arabic alphabet.

Consonants				
ب	[b]/b	بُك	'**b**oek'	[bu:k]
ت	[t]/t	ثوِى	'**t**wee'	[tvi:]
ج	[dʒ]/j	جِى	'**j**ou'	[dʒaw]
خ	[x]/kh	خُتْ	'**g**oed'	[xu:t]
د	[d]/d	دِ	'**d**ie'	[di]
ر	[r]/r	رَيْكْ	'**r**uik'	[raik]
س	[s]/s	سُورْتْ	'**s**oort'	[su:rt]
ف	[f]/f	فَنْ	'**v**an'	[fan]
ك	[k]/k	كَنْ	'**k**an'	[kan]
ل	[l]/l	لْتْ	'**l**aat'	[la:t]
م	[m]/m	مُتْ	'**m**oet'	[mu:t]
ن	[n]/n	نِي	'**n**ie'	[ni]
ه	[h]/h	هِيلْب	'**h**ulle'	[hele]
ف with three dots above	[v]/v	فَتْ	'**w**at'	[vat]
ع with three dots above	[ŋ]/ng	مِينْعْ	'meni**ng**'	[mi:niŋ]
پ	[p]/p	اُوپ	'o**p**'	[u:p]

Vowels				
ḍamma	[u]/u	مُتْ	‘m**oe**t’	[mu:t]
fatḥa	[a]/a	فَنْ	‘v**a**n’	[fan]
kasra	[i]/i	دِ	‘d**ie**’	[di]
fatḥa + kasra	[e]/e	اِسْ	‘**i**s’	[es]
fatḥa + ʾalif	[a:]/ā	تَالْ	‘t**aa**l’	[ta:l]
kasra + yāʾ	[i:]/ī	اِيْن	‘**ee**n’	[i:n]
ḍamma + wāw	[u:]/ū	اُوف	‘**o**f’	[u:f]
Diphthongs				
fatḥa + yāʾ	[aj]/ay	سْكْرَيْفْ	‘skr**y**f’	[skrajf]
fatḥa + wāw	[aw]/aw	جَوْ	‘j**ou**’	[dʒaw]
fatḥa + kasra + yāʾ	[ei]/ey	بَسْكَيِرَم	‘besk**e**rm’	[beskeyrem]

Among the most salient features of Hanif Edwards’s system are the Turkish/Persian characters پ for [p], ع with three dots for [ŋ], and ف with three dots for [v], all sounds unknown in Arabic, but attested by Van Selms (1951:37) in the Arabic-Afrikaans book *Vraag en antwoord*. Hanif Edwards further uses a combination of *fatḥa* and *kasra*, unknown in Arabic, but attested in the same source by Van Selms (1951:42), who sees it as a means to render the Afrikaans short tense [e]. The combination *fatḥa+kasra+yāʾ* ([ei]) is likewise unknown in Arabic, but again attested in the same source by Van Selms (1951:44), who describes it as ‘an offshoot of the system that was meant to render e’ (see also Davids 1991).

As regards the transcription of Afrikaans sounds, it is not always easy to ascertain whether the phonetic value of a given Arabic character accurately reflects actual values in the CMA spoken usage of the time. However, we can assume that Hanif Edwards attempted to approximate phonological features characteristic of CMA in choosing from the options offered by the Arabic alphabet.

Among the phonological features of South Western Afrikaans of which we find unequivocal hints in Hanif Edwards’s Arabic transcriptions are:

– The realization of the Standard Afrikaans past participle suffix *ge-* ([xə]) as [xa] in CMA (Davids 1992:281) seems to be consciously transcribed by Hanif Edwards as *kha* in, for example, Standard Afrikaans *gevorm* (‘formed’, [xəforəm]), which in the transcription appears as *khafūrm*. Instead of rendering the [ə] of Standard Afrikaans [xə] as [a], the author could have used the combination *fatḥa + kasra* ([e]), which he otherwise uses for rendering what in Standard Afrikaans and South Western Afrikaans should be a schwa, as in *fūlkhende*, standing for Standard Afrikaans *volgende* (‘next’, [folxəndə]).

- The characteristic alveopalatal affricative [dʒ], attributed to Malay influence (Ponelis 1993:65, 1998:15), appearing where Standard Afrikaans has only [j], is rendered by the consonant *jīm* in, for example, *jaw* (Std. Af. *jou*, 'you'), where the author could have a used a *kasra* or *yā'* to approximate the Standard Afrikaans phonetic value of <j>.
- The South Western Afrikaans alveopalatal affricate [c], typically realized in diminutive suffixes, also occurs in the rendition of Standard Afrikaans *bietjie* ('a little (bit)', [biki] x [bici]) as *bitshi* (Ponelis 1998:15).
- The phenomenon noted by Klopper (1983:284) of [r]-deletion preceding [s] + dental can be traced in Hanif Edwards's systematic rendition of Standard Afrikaans *eerste* ('first', [e:rstə]) as *īste*.
- The typically Cape Malay tendency (to be attributed to Malay influence?) to syllabify consonant clusters, as noted by Klopper (1983:284), occurs incidentally, as in the transcription of Standard Afrikaans *plek* ('place', [plæk]) as *pilayk,* appearing alongside the non-syllabized versions *playk* or *pleyk*.

More problematic is the rendition of Standard Afrikaans [o:] by using the combination *ḍamma* + *wāw* (ū), or a bare *ḍamma* (u), as in *sūrt* x *surt* ('sort', Std. Af. [so:rt]) and *fūrbīlt* ('example', Std. Af. [fo:rbe:lt]). This graphic convention may be an attempt by the author to represent the Western Cape Afrikaans phenomenon of close mid vowel raising (attributed by some to Malay influence, Ponelis 1993:65, 1998:15). It nonetheless seems more prudent to assume that the use of the combination *ḍamma* + *wāw* as the equivalent of Standard Afrikaans [o:] was first and foremost dictated by the fact that the Arabic alphabet has nothing better to offer for transcribing [o:]. It is possible that *ḍamma* + *wāw* could as well have been read [u:] as [o:].

Other phenomena, more representative of spoken Afrikaans at large, also occur in Hanif Edwards's Arabic script:

- The voiceless realization of word-final <d>: Word-final dental [t] is rendered by means of the Arabic sign for [t], where use could have been made of the sign for [d] following the Dutch/Afrikaans orthographic convention, as in his transcription of Standard Afrikaans *woord* ('word', [vo:rt]) as *vūrt*.
- The syllabification of the clusters [rk] and [rm] into [rək] and [rəm] respectively (Le Roux 1968:195): This general phenomenon is frequently approximated by the author, as in Standard Afrikaans *werkwoord* ('verb', [v◎rəkvort]) which occurs as *vīrekvūrt* or *beskerm* ('protect(s/ed)', [bəskərəm]), which occurs as *beskeyrem*.
- The rhoticization of intervocalic [d]: This is a general phenomenon (Ponelis 1998:8) frequently approximated by the author when using the Arabic alphabet but left unrepresented when using the Roman alphabet. An example is his rendition of Standard Afrikaans *middel* ('middle') as *merel*.

– The maintenance of the intervocalic [kh] reported by Kotzé (1989:257) as characteristic of CMA, as in *di hūkhe Alā* ('the great Allah', Std. Dutch *de hoge Allah*, Std. Af. *die hoë Allah*).[7]

As regards other characteristic phonological features of Cape Malay/South Western Afrikaans, it cannot always be ascertained whether they are intentionally reproduced when using the Arabic alphabet. We do not know, for example, whether the author uses the combination *fatḥa* + *yā'* ([aj]) to render Standard Afrikaans [œi], or its South Western Afrikaans delabialized counterpart [əi] (Ponelis 1998:15).

Despite Hanif Edwards's probable underexposure to written Afrikaans throughout his education, his Roman texts clearly use Afrikaans conventions for the graphic rendition of phonemes. There are, however, a few deviations from Afrikaans graphic patterns which sometimes directly reflect the phonetic values suggested by the Arabic signs he uses in his Arabic-Afrikaans texts:

– In many cases, the graphemic combination <oe> is used where in Standard Afrikaans <o> or <oo> would be expected, as in *soe* (Std. Af. *so*, 'so'), *hoegste* (Std. Af. *hoogste*, 'highest'), *gloewe* (Std. Af. *gelowe*, 'beliefs'). This irregularity may reflect the South Western Afrikaans raising of close mid vowels. The same goes for Standard Afrikaans <ee>, in lieu of which we sometimes find <ie> as in *wietenskap* (Std. Af. *wetenskap*, 'science/knowledge').
– The grapheme <t> is often preferred over <d> in word-final position, as in *werelt* (Std. Af. *wêreld*, 'world', [værəlt]), *bekent* (Std. Af. *bekend*, 'known', [bəkent]).
– Just as is the case in his Arabic-Afrikaans writings, Hanif Edwards maintains the old intervocalic <g> in a number of words, as in *segen* (Std. Af. from before 1968: *seën* x *segen*, 'blessing'), *hoge* (Std. Af. from before 1968: *hoë* x *hoge*, 'high').

Hanif Edwards nonetheless demonstrates his aim to adhere to Standard Afrikaans orthography by seldom reproducing anywhere the earlier mentioned phenomena of [r]-deletion before [s] + dental or syllabification of consonant clusters.

[7] At the time of Hanif Edwards's writing, the *AWS* was still taking a rather tolerant stance on the matter of intervocalic consonants in derived stems, noting that alongside forms such as *breë*, *leier*, *wyer*, *dae*, *hoër*, *weier* 'free variants do sometimes appear where the *d*, *g* and *w* are retained. Such forms are usual most especially in the case of *g*: *dage*, *hoger*, etcetera. Those forms are also acknowledged; but for the sake of conciseness we have indicated them in the wordlist only when they appear outside of the inflectional paradigm. Therefore only: *dag*, *dae*, but *eienaardig* or *eigenaardig*.' (*AWS* 1937:xxvii.)

Lexical characteristics of Shaykh Hanif Edwards's varieties

In view of the linguistic background of the Cape Malay community and the observations made by Van Selms (1951) and Greeff (1955), we expect to find in our texts loanwords from Classical Arabic, Malay, Creole Portuguese and English, embedded in a Dutch-based matrix lexical variety. Keeping in mind Davids's analysis (1992) of Afrikaans-Arabic texts, we also expect a number of lexical innovations.

Hanif Edwards's matrix variety possesses a clearly Afrikaans character, except for a few lexical items which differ in form from the standard pattern, for example the adjective *selte*[8] (Std. Af. *selfde*, 'same'), the pronoun *dikhinakhe* (Std. Af. *diegene*, 'the one'), the comparative determiner *mee(r)der* instead of Standard Afrikaans *meer*, the assimilated form *lat* instead of the Standard Afrikaans subordinate conjunction *dat*.

A few Afrikaans words have a semantic use that they do not have in Standard Afrikaans, for example *hulp* which occurs as a verb (Std. Af. *help*, 'to help'), *beginsel* with the meaning of 'beginning' (Std. Af. *begin*, *aanvang*), *vertroubaarheid* with the meaning of 'reliability' (Std. Af. *betroubaarheid*).

The Arabic lexical component in Hanif Edwards's religious texts is mostly comprised of substantives denoting Islamic concepts, for example *ḥalāl/halaal* ('any action or thing which is permitted or lawful'), *ramaḍān/ramadaan* ('the ninth month of the Islamic calender during which fasting is required'), *zakāt/zakaat* ('purification of wealth by payment of annual welfare dues'). In addition to isolated words, Classical Arabic religious formulae frequently appear. In his grammatical account of Arabic, Hanif Edwards uses Arabic orthographic and grammatical concepts, for example *hamza*, *ḍamīr*, *sukūn*, *ḥarakāt* (types of diacritic marks), *tanwīn* (nunation).

Few words recognizable as Malay or Low Malay appear in the corpus, for example the substantive *Lebarang* (celebration marking the end of Ramadan), the verb *pwāsā/poeasah* ('to perform the fast'), the determiner *baiang* ('much/many'), the verb *soembaing* (Std. Af. *smeek*, *soebat*, 'to beseech'). The subordinate conjunction *māski/maskie* (Std. Af. *alhoewel*, *al*, 'although, albeit', the form *almiskie* with the meaning 'however' is recorded in the *Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal* 2000) may be of Malay origin, although Valkhoff (1966:218) has called it Creole Portuguese.

The English lexical component in Hanif Edwards's religious texts is comprised mainly of adjectives and nouns whose semantic content is as often specialized as non-specialized. Examples are the adjective *deferent/diferent*[9]

[8] Example words are drawn either from Hanif Edwards's Arabic texts (in which case we follow the spelling of the DIN 31635 conventions) or from the Roman ones, in which case they remain in their original spelling.

[9] Having encountered that same word in the text *die betroubare woord*, Van Selms (1951:65) says

('different', Std. Af. *verskillend*), the noun *jūs* ('juice', Std. Af. *sap*). English even provides function words: the subordinate conjunction *wānever* ('whenever') appears instead of Standard Afrikaans *wanneer ook al*.

Some English morphemes are recomposed, as in *objekmit* ('object' + '-ment', 'to object'). Interestingly, English lexical items may undergo some degree of phonological adaptation, for example *trawelaar* ('traveller', Std. Af. *reisiger*) in the Roman texts and *ūder* ('order', Std. Af. *orde*) in the Arabic text.

English lexical items are particularly numerous in the bilingual Arabic/Afrikaans wordlists provided by Hanif Edwards to illustrate aspects of secular life. The list most prominently marked by English influence is the list of items related to education, for example *sūms* ('sums', Std. Af. *somme*), *eyksersays* ('exercise', Std. Af. *oefening*), *dʒūkrafi* ('geography', Std. Af. *aardrykskunde*).

Dutch-based lexical innovations, unrecorded in Afrikaans/Dutch lexical sources, appear frequently. These innovations are semantically diverse. Religious concepts are represented, for example *dānkir* (Std. Af. *boeteling*, *bidder*, *aanbidder*, 'penitent, supplicant, prayer'), *afreeken dag* (Std. Af. *dag van vergelding/afrekening*, 'day of reckoning'). In the Arabic grammar we find grammatical concepts, for example *mankhaslakh* (Std. Af. *manlike geslag*, 'masculine gender'), *frawkhaslakh* (Std. Af. *vroulike geslag*, 'feminine gender'). As much in the religious writings as in the grammatical account we find a whole range of innovations with a non-specialized semantic content. Examples are *behandelry* (Std. Af. *behandeling*, 'treatment'), *besitskāp* (Std. Af. *besitting*, 'property'), *bestaning* (Std. Af. *bestaan*, 'existence').

Idiomatic characteristics of Shaykh Hanif Edwards's varieties

We use 'idiomatic' here to include both idioms and habitual collocations (Fernando 1996:33-7). Although idiomaticity implies a degree of conventionalization that we are not able to systematically deduce from our data, we want to look here at what could be the source of CMA idiomaticity, that is patterns of literal or non-literal lexicogrammatical sequencing which differ from their Standard Dutch/Afrikaans equivalents. Among the norm-deviant lexicogrammatical sequences which occur in the texts, we singled out for study separable verbs, prepositional verbs, sequences of verb + [+human]/[+animate] marker *vir*, sentence adverbials involving a preposition, and finally semantic units which in terms of their composition could qualify as semi-clausal expressions (fixed collocational sequence noun/adjective/adverb + verb, see Fernando 1996:41).

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that it may well be of Dutch origin, remarking that '"deferent" of "diefrent" in Compagnies-Nederlands dikwels voorkom'.

All separable verbs that occur in Hanif Edwards's texts exist in Standard Afrikaans, albeit sometimes with a different meaning, as is the case with *uitwys*, which occurs in the meaning of 'to refer' (Std. Af. *verwys*):

di fi'l vat aytvays ūp di tayt vat es ūf vat mut kūm
the verb which refers to the present or the future

Some of these separable verbs seem to be composed by analogy with English, for example *ophou*, which occurs with the semantic content of 'to uphold', for which Standard Afrikaans has *ondersteun*, *handhaaf*, *hoog hou*:

die ietse wat ophou die geloof is vier
the fundaments which carry/uphold Islam are four

Prepositional verbs occur with a preposition which is not allowed in similar Standard Afrikaans contexts, for example *verdeel aan* (Std. Af. *verdeel in*, 'divide into', *twyfel in* (Std. Af. *twyfel aan*, 'to doubt in'), *glo in* (Std. Af. *glo aan*, 'to believe in'). The alternation between *in* and *aan* may in some cases be explained on phonological grounds as [ən] and [a:n] can be confused. There may also be analogies with Arabic, for example *praat op* (Std. Af. *praat oor*, 'to talk about', Classical Ar. *takallama ʿan*).

A number of normally transitive Afrikaans verbs occur in a non-transitive form in Hanif Edwards's texts, for example *volbring met* in:

om te volbring met die belofte
to fulfil the promise

Conversely, a number of normally intransitive verbs function as transitive verbs, for example *voldoen* (Std. Af. *voldoen aan*, 'to meet/live up to/satisfy'):

om te voldoen hulle verlange
in order to meet their desires

Alongside copular verbs appearing with the expletive subject *dit*, *op* often appears in regular alternation with *vir* as a role-marking preposition following the predicative adjective, whereas Standard Afrikaans assigns that function to *vir*:

die enigste manier om te leer ken vir Allah is om te weet [...] wat omoenlik is op hom
the only way to get to know Allah is to know what is impossible for him

On account of its locative connotation, *op* seems to reflect the Classical Arabic preposition *ʿalā* ('on'), used in the same semantic function, as appears in the following sentence:

mustahīlun ʿalay-hi
necessary on him
it is necessary for him

Regarded as a remnant of a previous interlectal stage possibly under Creole Portuguese or Malay influence, *vir* is frequently found functioning as a [+human]/[+animate] object marker in association with verbs, which sometimes may theoretically be transitive (Raidt 1976:84-93; Den Besten 1981:141-79, 2000; Ponelis 1994:272-5). This is illustrated in the following sentence:

want dit belet vir hulle van neidigheid
for it protects them from lust

Standard Afrikaans prescriptions seldom mention this specific use, and dwell instead on the option of using *vir* instead of *aan* as an indirect object marker, regardless of the nature of the object. The origin of this un-Dutch pattern has been sought in the Asian Creole Portuguese of Ceylon and Java, which used the prepositions *per/para* in the function of object introducer (Raidt 1976:84-93; Ponelis 1994:272-5; Den Besten 2000). Besides, Raidt (1976:92) notes that 'there is [...] a striking concordance between those groups of verbs which in Malay take the preposition *pada* or *kepada* before the person object and those verbs which in Afrikaans can or must have *vir* before an object'. Further suggesting the Asian Creole origin of *vir* as a marker of [+human]/[+animate] objects, Raidt (1976:92-3) underlines its status as a non-White group marker.

The choice of prepositions used to introduce sentence adverbials may reflect a fixed collocational pattern determined by the noun rather than by the verb. In many instances, Hanif Edwards offends against the Standard Afrikaans collocational pattern for 'noun-dominated' prepositional phrases by using prepositions not fitting it. This is illustrated by the misuse of *by* in the following prepositional phrase, whose nominal element normally requires *in* as a head:

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

The bulk of non-standard semi-clausal expressions occur in the form of paraphrastic formulations, for example *lewendig maak* (Std. Af. *verrys*, 'to resurrect'), *maatskappy maak* (Std. Af. *gemeenskap hê*, 'to commune'), *gelykens maak* (Std. Af. *vergelyk*, 'to compare'). Some semi-clausal expressions incidentally

bear the mark of Arabic, for example *salaat maak* ('to perform the Islamic ritual prayer'). In other cases, we find loan translations from English as in *dra getuie van* (Std. Af. *getuig van*, 'to bear witness to').

Morphological characteristics of Shaykh Hanif Edwards's varieties

The main areas where Hanif Edwards's varieties display morphological features foreign to Standard Afrikaans are plural formation, adjectival flexion, the formation of past participles, and the formation of adverbial pronouns. Given the presence of a large non-Afrikaans lexicon in the corpus, we may expect to encounter non-Afrikaans morphological procedures.

Some of the non-standard morphological procedures involve lexical derivation. The lexical innovations mentioned in a preceding section are characterized by the affixation of Standard Afrikaans bound morphemes where they are not expected to appear. The most prominent 'misapplied' derivational rules are:

- Generalization of the *-ery* suffix: *verleiery* (Std. Af. *verleiding*, 'temptation'), *behandelry* (Std. Af. *behandeling*, 'treatment'), *afkykery* (Std. Af. *nyd*, 'envy').
- Generalization of the *-er* suffix: *dānkir* (Std. Af. *boeteling*, *bidder*, *aanbidder*, 'penitent, supplicant, prayer'), *oopmaker* (Std. Af. *hy wat openbaar*, 'he who reveals').
- Generalization of the *-skap* suffix: *besitskāp* (Std. Af. *besitting*, 'property'), *slāfskāp* (Std. Af. *slawerny*, 'bondage'), *tefredeskāp* (Std. Af. *tevredenheid*, 'satisfaction').
- Generalization of the *-te* x *-t* suffix: *khaārte* (Std. Af. *geaardheid*, 'nature'), *khafārte* (Std. Af. *gevaar*, 'danger'), *gevoelte* (Std. Af. *gevoel*, 'feeling').
- Generalization of the *-heid* suffix: *regheid* (Std. Af. *regverdigheid*, 'righteousness'), *oppassenheid* (Std. Af. *oplettendheid*, 'heed'), *vooruitheid* (Std. Af. *vordering*, 'progress').
- Generalization of the *-ing* suffix: *probeering* (Std. Af. *poging*, 'attempt'), *bestaning* (Std. Af. *bestaan*, 'existence'), *gebeurting* (Std. Af. *gebeurtenis*, 'event').
- Cumulation of the suffixes *-ig* + *-heid*: *skūnākheyt* (Std. Af. *skoonheid*, 'beauty'), *neidigheid* (Std. Af. *nyd*, 'envy'), *hūkhākheyt* (Std. Af. *verhewenheid*, 'greatness').
- Cumulation of the suffixes *-lik* + *-heid*: *volkoemlikheid* (Std. Af. *volmaaktheid*, 'perfection'), *khavūnlākheyt* (Std. Af. *gewoonte*, 'habit').
- Generalization of the *ge-* prefix: *genederigheid* (Std. Af. *nederigheid*, 'humility'), *gewetenskap* (Std. Af. *wetenskap*, *kennis*, 'science, knowledge'), *gerustigheid* (Std. Af. *rustigheid*, 'tranquillity').

– Generalization of other suffixes and prefixes: *selflik* (from *self* + *-lik*, adjectival, 'related to the individual self'), *bewysen* (substantive derived from *bewys* + develarized suffix [iŋ],[10] Std. Af. *bewys*, 'proof'), *onbestaning* (from *on-* + *bestaan* + *-ing*, Std. Af. *nie-bestaan*, 'non-existence').

Some of the lexical innovations encountered are Afrikaans-based compounds, for example *mankhaslakh* (Std. Af. *manlike geslag*, 'masculine gender'), *frawkhaslakh* (Std. Af. *vroulike geslag*, 'feminine gender'), *afreeken dag* (Std. Af. *dag van vergelding/afrekening*, 'day of reckoning').

Other innovations involve a lexical root foreign to Afrikaans, to which is appended an Afrikaans bound morpheme. This goes for the Arabic-based *ielaaskap* (from Ar. *ilā*, 'deity' + *-skap*, 'inconceivability'), the Malay-based *baiangheid* (Mal. *baiang* + *heid*, Std. Af. *veelvuldigheid*, 'multiplicity'), the English-based *miksel* (from Eng. *mix* + *sel*, Std. Af. *mengsel*, 'mixture').

Finally, a few lexical derivates seem to have been formed by analogy with English patterns, for example *kooningdom* (Std. Af. *koninkryk*, 'kingdom'), *wysdom* (Std. Af. *wysheid*, 'wisdom').[11]

The next area where deviations from Standard Afrikaans occur is that of inflectional morphology, more precisely nominal, adjectival and verbal inflection.

Hanif Edwards incidentally uses an unexpected plural morpheme to mark the plural of Afrikaans stems. The most frequent among these morphemes is *-s*, as in *werelts* (Std. Af. *wêrelde*, 'worlds'), and, on one single occasion, a relict Dutch plural morpheme *-ere* in *kindere* (Std. Af. *kinders*, 'children').

Where Standard Afrikaans tolerates different forms, we see a tendency for privileging the form acknowledged today as most colloquial and least Dutch. This is the case with those words ending in the suffix *-ing*, which in Standard Afrikaans take either *-e* (compare Dutch *-en*) or *-s*, but in the author's texts only occur with *-s*.

In the specific case of Afrikaans stems ending in *-te*, the expected plural morpheme *-s* is frequently omitted in favour of what seems to be zero-marking. However, the frequent confusion of the *-te* suffix and the non-standard shortened *-t* suggests that the author treats *-te* as the plural form of *-t*, as in *gedeelt/gedeelte* (Std. Af. *gedeelte/gedeeltes*, 'part/parts').

While the Standard Afrikaans suffix *-heid* appended to lexical roots requires transformation into *-hede* for plural marking, mostly forms on *-heide* or *-geite* occur.

10 The frequent form *bewysen* cannot be a relict form of the Dutch plural form *bewijzen*, as it appears as such in the singular, and with an *-s* suffix in the plural. The suffix *-en* rather seems to be a develarized variant of *-ing*. A similar derivational pattern is found with the substantive *behouden(s)* (Std. Af. *fondament*, 'foundation'), *verpligten(s)* ('obligation').

11 On CMA morphology, see Waher 1994.

As regards non-Afrikaans lexical stems, Arabic ones sometimes exhibit the Arabic plural morpheme *-in*, the 'sound plural' or the 'broken plural' marker, as is the case respectively with the substantives *muslim* and *mujtahīd/mutjaheed* ('fighter'), whose plural forms are systematically found as *muslimin* and *mujtahīdin/mutjaheedin*, *sifa* ('attribute') that becomes *sifāt/sifaat,* and *fi'l* ('verb') that becomes *af'āl*. In most cases, though, the usual plural morpheme resorted to for the plural marking of Arabic lexical stems is the Afrikaans *-e*, as in *kitāb*(*kitaab*)/*kitābe*(*kitaabe*) ('book/books'), or *-s* as in *rasool/rasools* ('messenger/messengers'), *fi'l/fi'ls* (verb/verbs).

The single recorded Malay lexical item appearing in a plural form, *Lebarang,* occurs with an *-s*, while in Cape Malay no plural suffix existed.[12]

English loanwords mostly carry the *-s* suffix; it cannot be said with certainty whether this is the normal English plural suffix or an overgeneralized Afrikaans *-s* plural suffix. Examples are: *sabjeyks* ('subjects'), *rūls* ('rules'), *trewels* ('travels'). On one single occasion, we find the unequivocally Afrikaans *-e* appended to an English lexical stem in the form *vinne* ('veins').

Still in the realm of plural marking, but at the level of the lexical stem, we find morphological transformations theoretically not allowed in Standard Afrikaans, as in the form *afgotte* (Std. Af. *afgode*, 'idols', from the singular Std. Af. form *afgod*), an apparent generalization of that non-frequent paradigm of stems that retain their final [t] in intervocalic position instead of exchanging it for its voiced counterpart [d].[13] Hanif Edwards does, however, show conservative tendencies in retaining the intervocalic [d] where Standard Afrikaans has been supportive of [d]-deletion, as in *tyd/tyde* (Std. Af. *tyd/tye*).

In the realm of adjectival inflexion, Hanif Edwards sometimes offends against the Standard Afrikaans pattern by adding the *-e* morpheme to adjectives which at the time of his writing were no longer allowed to take it, as in *'n lange reis* (Std. Af. *'n lang reis*). On the other hand, the author leaves certain adjectives uninflected where Standard Afrikaans was already prescribing inflection. Such irregularities are most often found with plurisyllabic Latinate forms, for example *spesiaal* (Std. Af. *spesiaal/spesiale*, 'special'), and with the few non-standard Latinate forms used by the author, for example *prinsipaal* (Std. Af. *vernaamste*, 'principal, main'), *different* (Std. Af. *verskillend*, 'different').

Following a tendency to generalize the suffix *-der* for stems ending in [r] (for example *meerder* in lieu of *meer*), some adjectives may end in *-de,* for

12 Modern Indonesian and Malaysian, both modern continuations of Malay, form their plurals by stem reduplication, and do not mark plural when it is inferable from the context.

13 That paradigm has survived in Standard Afrikaans free variants such as *saad/saat* x *sade/sate* ('seed/seeds'). In many cases local African forms have been assigned a semantic value different from that of their conservative etymologic cognates, justifying separate entries in dictionaries. This can be illustrated by graphically differentiated doublets such as *stad/stede* ('city') versus *stat/statte* ('township') or *raad/rade* ('advice') versus *raat/rate* ('remedy/remedies').

example *openbaar/openbaarde* used in the meaning of 'external' (Std. Af. *openbaar/openbare*, 'public', *uitwendig/uitwendige*, 'external').

A large degree of free variation occurs in the treatment given to the lexical stem of the adjective when the last consonant of that stem according to the Standard Afrikaans prescriptions of the time was optional in intervocalic context. This is best illustrated by the alternation of the forms *hoge* x *hoë* ('high'), which at the time of the author's writing was not condemned by the *Afrikaanse woordelys en spelreëls* (*AWS*), although there was already a strong bias in favour of intervocalic [g]-deletion (see note 7).

Verbal forms show deviations at stem level primarily in the exclusive use of the form *het* as infinitive form instead of Standard Afrikaans *hê* ('to have'), which has been described by Van Rensburg (1991) as characteristic of South Western Afrikaans. Incidentally, the relict infinitive suffix *-e* occurs, for example in *vinde* (Std. Af. *vind*, 'to find'), a feature which the *AWS* preserved until its 1991 edition as a variant for many verbal stems ending in *-d* (Combrink 1991).

Some irregular past participle forms are found with a *ge-* prefix appended to atonic verbal prefixes, for example *ontmoet/geontmoet* (Std. Af. *ontmoet/ontmoet*, 'to meet') and *ondersoek/geondersoek* (Std. Af. *ondersoek/ondersoek*, 'to research/investigate'). This phenomenon was certainly not exclusive to CMA, as it has been found on a large scale by Rademeyer (1938) in Griqua Afrikaans, and has been described as a general lower-class identifier (Van Oostrum and Kritzinger 1923:92), or as a 'substandard' feature (Combrink 1990:219-20) without any specific reference to Cape Malay or Coloured usage.

A few non-Afrikaans roots are fit into the Afrikaans inflectional pattern for verbs, as in the case of the Arabic substantives *hūkum* ('law') and *tanwīn* ('nunation'), which are verbalized into respectively *khahūkum* ('legislated') and *khatanwīn* ('nunated').

Substantivized past participles of historically 'strong' verbs tend to appear in the text with a 'weak' stem, for example in the form *di ānkhaspreykde* (Std. Af. *die aangesproke* (*persoon*), 'the person addressed').

Standard Afrikaans pronominal adverbs of the 'R-type' (*daaragter*, *daarop*) often occur in alternation with non-contracted forms without R-element (*agter dit*, *op dit*), which are generally condemned as Anglicisms (Van der Merwe 1960:60).

Clause-initial prepositional relative pronouns are systematically split up without featuring the R-element, as in:

dan is dit (–) nie vuilgeit wat pardon is van nie
then that is not dirt that is forgiven

Such R-less split adverbial pronouns are mentioned as correct by the earliest Afrikaans grammatical sources, but over time they have come to be con-

demned in favour of a Dutch-inspired pattern involving the R-element alongside or without preposition stranding (Bouman and Pienaar 1924:79, 181; Carstens 2003:67).

Certain morphological characteristics mentioned by Ponelis from the *Bayanūddīn* are not found in Hanif Edwards's work, in particular the addition of a genitive form *se* or *syn* to the personal pronoun to produce a possessive pronoun (for example *hulle se* instead of Std. Af. *hulle*). Omission of articles is found only with nouns that seem to form a tight semantic unit with a verb. Also, multiple negation instead of double negation rarely occurs (Ponelis 1981:76-7).

Syntactic characteristics of Shaykh Hanif Edwards's varieties

The main syntactic deviations from Standard Afrikaans patterns in Hanif Edwards's texts are related to the position of the verbal element and the order of its components. Like Dutch, Afrikaans has consistently been depicted as an SOV, or XV, language of the V_2 type. In his syntactic account of the *Bayanūddīn*, Ponelis (1981:75, 1994:314) identifies deviations from the XV order in the form of non-standard VX. A cursory glance at Hanif Edwards's syntax reveals a strong presence of non-standard VX in the form of SVO, as in:

> *tougied meen om te glo die eenheid van Allah*
> toweed means to believe in the unity of Allah

Such examples suggest that the elements which in Standard Afrikaans should form the central boundary (that is, the whole verbal element in dependent order, the infinitival in independent order, the verbal particles) are merged with the core (that is, mainly the subject, the pivot verb, free adverbials), thus preceding the midfield (that is, mainly the direct or indirect object, free adverbials).[14] That this deviation affects more than just the verbal element is suggested by hints that the adverbial component of what should be the central boundary is likewise merged with the core, as in:

> *diegene wat nie ophou hierdie ietse van die geloof (...)[gooi] af die gebou van sy Ieslaamskap*
> he who does not comply with these religious obligations does away with Islam

It therefore seems that the notion of a central boundary does not universally apply to the syntactic varieties of Hanif Edwards.

14 For definitions of 'core', 'midfield', 'central boundary' and 'end-zone', see Ponelis 1979:506-23.

Although Ponelis, in his account of the *Bayanūddīn,* tries to trace their origin in Arabic syntactic patterns, VX structures such as the example sentence above do not reflect the clause-initial position of the pivot verb in Classical Arabic:

yafhamu *Ayman* *al-muḥādāra*
understands Aiman the lecture
Ayman understands the lecture

As a matter of fact, the SVX structures quoted above from Hanif Edwards's texts rather fit the English syntactic pattern, where SOV and central boundaries in the Standard Afrikaans sense do not apply. With respect to the SVO order which is nowadays observable in spoken CMA, Klopper (1983:289) notes that:

> Whereas Standard Afrikaans in subordinate clauses as well as in main clauses featuring an auxiliary/modal is characterized by an (S)OV order, we find evidence of (S)VO, again under influence of English, in the lects of mainly working-class Malays and Coloureds who have grown up in the Cape Town area.

Whether or not English has played a role in establishing this pattern, it is a fact that it also looks similar to the Malay pattern as far as the position of the verbal element is concerned, assuming that the Cape variety of Malay had a consistent SVO order.[15]

SVX structure, which may have obeyed a strict and generalized pattern in the *Bayanūddīn,* does in fact have limitations in our corpus. The Standard Afrikaans SXV pattern emerges time and again in the form of a fully fledged midfield and central boundary, as in the following sentence with dependent word order:

hulle wat [*mense*] OBJ *soe* [*behandel*] V–
those who treat people this way

Compliance with Standard Afrikaans word order is, however, far from general: we find instead a continuum of compromise forms between SXV and SVX, which do not seem to reflect any syntactic pattern other than that of an interlingual stage. In its full extent, that range of variants is best observable in dependent clauses, where verbal elements in Standard Afrikaans are always expected to feature in final position. Although SVO seems established in de-

[15] Just like modern Malaysian and Indonesian, the purest forms of Malay must have been of the SVO type. Cape Malay may have been SVO, but its Ceylonese and Indian secondary speakers may have been familiar with the SOV type (Den Besten 1989:228). Creole Portuguese, which does not seem to have been nativized at the Cape (Ponelis 1993:15-7), may have had a great deal of syntactic variation induced by contact with the primary languages of its speakers.

pendent clauses, instances of an SXV pattern are still observable in the form of adjectival predicates/adverbials frequently found preceding the pivot verb:

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

as ons wil probeer om op te [*bring*] V *agter mekaar* [*almal die ietse*] OBJ
if we want to try and mention all things one by one

Although rare, SVX where X is a predicative adjective/adverbial can be seen in:

en dit is om te [*haal*] V *uit* [*die siekere part*] OBJ
and that is to take out the certain part

In accordance with Standard Afrikaans, stranded prepositions are mostly found before the verbal element (1), but do sometimes appear after the verbal element in apparent reflection of the English pattern (2):

1 *in te gloe in die wat hy myn* [*gekom het*]
and to believe in what he has come with

2 *en daardie is verkry met die wegbly van die ietse wat Allah* [*belet het*] *van*
and that one is obtained by staying away from what Allah has warned against

Further regular evidence of XV in dependent clauses, this time compatible with SOV, is found in the treatment of a category of direct objects which, on account of their semantic underdetermination and in reflection of Standard Afrikaans semi-clausal expressions as in *geweer skiet* ('to practice shooting') or *skool gaan* ('to attend school'), appear to form a tight semantic unit with the verb that they modify:

in ander van hulle beiten die nasaara wat hoed [*dra*]
and more of them outside the nasaara who wear a hat

As regards the ordering of elements within verbal strings, consistent conformity with the Standard Afrikaans 'relict' Satellite Nucleus order (Ponelis 1979:527-33) can be found in the positioning of auxiliaries versus past participles in dependent clauses. *Wees* ('to be') and *word* ('to be/become') as passive auxiliaries generally move away from the V_2 position when they function as pivot, infinitival or past participle, to appear to the right of the main verb's past participle:

ses ietse wat gerekend [*is*] *die pilare van die iemaan*
six things that are deemed to be the pillars of the imaan

'n wet wat geeer [*word*] *van almal*
a law honoured by all

die Nabie [...] *het gesé toe hy gevra* [[*gewees*] *het*] ...
the prophet [...] said when he was asked ...

The tense auxiliary *het* (Std. Af. *hê*, 'to have'), just like the passive auxiliaries *wees* and *word*, and in accordance with Standard Afrikaans, is systematically found moving away from the V_2 position in dependent clauses to appear to the right of the past participle:[16]

*in te gloe in die wat hy m*yn [*gekom het*]
and to believe in what he has come with

On the other hand, pivot modals (for example *moet*, *kan*, *mag*) do not conform to Standard Afrikaans word order, and consistently appear to the left of the past participle in dependent word order:

dat die harf van die woordeinde [...] [*moet* [*uitgelaat*]] *word*
that the word-final harf [...] must be left out

The structures quoted above with *wees*, *word* and *het* following the past participle do not necessarily accompany a clause-wide Satellite-Nucleus order in the form of SOV, as seen in:

dit order dat die voordele van die lewe moet [*geruil*] *word* [OBJ *mekaar*]
this prescribes that the benefits of life must be shared

As regards other syntactic features, a few patterns quoted by Ponelis (1979:76) from the *Bayanūddīn* appear only exceptionally or not at all in Hanif Edwards's work, for example the raising of interrogative pronouns, the absence of inversion, and the positioning of *nie*-1 before the pivot verb in independent clauses.

16 Sentence-final position of pivot verbs is unknown in Arabic and Malay. Den Besten (2002) built a case for the possibility of interlingual identification having been operated by Khoikhoi speakers between the Dutch and the Khoikhoi SXV orders. The author identified Khoikhoi post-verbal particles serving as past or passive markers on the basis of which the Afrikaans VP-final position of het and word in dependent word order could have been established in the Cape interlectal continuum (see also Ponelis 1993:313).

Overview and implications

Although it is impossible in this article to quantify all of the features discussed, it is useful to assess the frequency of some of the most salient deviations from Standard Afrikaans that we encountered in Hanif Edwards's texts.

As regards the orthographic systems used by the author, one can discern a clear tendency to ignore Standard Afrikaans graphemic conventions in the Arabic texts, and, conversely, an attempt to approximate them in the Roman texts. This can best be illustrated by:

- the rendition of the final suffix <d> as *t* in the Arabic texts and in less than ten per cent of cases as <t> in the Roman texts.
- the systematic rendition of the Standard Afrikaans prefix *ge-* as *kha* instead of *khe* in the Arabic texts and as <ge-> in the Roman texts.
- the systematic rendition of Standard Afrikaans [j] as [dʒ] in Arabic script where [j] is available.
- the rhoticization of intervocalic [d] in Arabic script where [d] is available.

As far as the other features are concerned, the differences between the Arabic and Roman alphabets do not allow systematic conclusions about the phonetic features of CMA. This is the reason we cannot conclude from the systematic representation of Standard Afrikaans [o] as *u* x *ū* that Standard Afrikaans mid vowels were commonly raised in CMA usage, as the Arabic alphabet does not provide for mid vowels in general.

All in all, only a restricted set of features, spread across the Arabic and Roman texts, can support Davids's claim (1992:281, 301) that 'the Arabic-Afrikaans writers wrote as they spoke', whereas 'with the publication in Afrikaans in Roman script lettering, there is a conscious attempt to write in a Dutch sounding linguistic style'.

A breakdown of the origin of non-standard lexical items (excluding items exhibiting phonetic alterations or non-standard inflectional marks) encountered in the texts is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Lexical deviations

Origin of non-standard lexical elements	Token frequency
non-standard Afrikaans-based versus other non-standard	44.2%
English versus other non-standard	8.6%
Arabic versus other non-standard	43.2%
Malay versus other non-standard	3.8%

The figures in Table 1 show that Afrikaans-based lexical items constitute the bulk of the non-standard vocabulary. Next come Arabic lexical items, which owe their occurrence largely to the didactic nature of Hanif Edwards's texts, in which Arabic religious and linguistic concepts are quoted in their original language and defined. A survey of the Arabic lexicon in the religious texts confirms Greef's observation (1955:156) that most Arabic words used among Cape Malays 'are of religious origin and carry in one way or another a religious connotation'. The scarcity of Malay words in Hanif Edwards's texts, in contrast, seems to reflect the general decline of the Malay lexicon in CMA observed by Greef (1955:7). However, the fact that, unlike the Arabic lexicon, some of those very few Malay words pertain to the core vocabulary can be seen as a reminder of their substratal origin. Borrowings from English are more diverse than the Arabic ones (if we leave out of consideration the Arabic religious formulae found in the texts, excluded from the above statistics), comprising lexical words as well as function words. Their overrepresentation in the wordlists appended to Hanif Edwards's grammar (excluded from the above statistics) further points to all-purpose code-switching from Afrikaans to English among the Cape Malay community at the time of the author's writing.

Among the patterns of lexicogrammatical sequencing encountered in Hanif Edwards's texts, those which most markedly exhibit deviations from Standard Afrikaans collocational/idiomatic patterns are listed in Table 2 together with their frequencies.

Table 2. Idiomatic deviations

Type of non-standard lexicogrammatical sequence	Token frequency
non-standard preposition versus standard preposition with prepositional verb	17%
verb + *vir* versus zero-marking for [+human] / [+animate] in dative case	76%
non-standard versus standard prepositional head in sentence adverbials	32%
non-standard versus standard semi-clausal expressions	47%

In the patterns of lexicogrammatical sequencing recognizable as non-Afrikaans, Arabic may influence the choice of certain prepositions, in particular *op* in copular structures/subject sentences, and in substantives visibly integrated in semi-clausal expressions. English input brings its influence to bear through loan translations of idiomatic expressions. Malay/Creole substratal influence shows in the use of *vir* to mark the grammatical category [+human]/[+animate].

In the realm of morphology, the main non-standard features encountered pertain to plural formation, adjectival inflexion, past participle formation, and

adverbialization of neutral pronouns. The frequencies of these non-standard features are listed in Table 3.

Table 3. Morphological deviations

Type of morphological deviation	Token frequency
non-standard verus standard plural formation	12%
non-standard versus standard adjectival inflexion	3.2%
non-standard versus standard past participle formation	2%
non-contraction versus contraction of preposition + *dit* to R-forms	86%

Most of the morphological deviations may be labelled 'colloquial Afrikaans', and may be the result of English influence. Bearing witness to a possible English influence is the overgeneralized use made of the plural suffix *-s*, shared by Afrikaans and English as far as its graphic rendition is concerned, where in Standard Afrikaans the suffix *-e* is expected.

Lexicon from sources other than Afrikaans may be subject to 'marked' Afrikaans affixation (that is, recognizably Afrikaans affixation), as in *khahūkum* (from *ge-* + Ar. *hūkum*, 'legislated'), *vinne* (from Eng. *vein* + *-e*, 'veins'). In other cases, morphological procedures proper to the embedded languages are followed, as in *muslimin* (from Ar. *muslim* + *-in*, 'muslims'), *af'āl* (broken plural of Ar. *fi'l*, 'verb'). The shared 'Afrikaans/English' plural suffix *-s* is found competing with the marked Afrikaans plural suffix *-e* in the plural forms of Arabic nouns, as in *kitābs* x *kitābe* (from Ar. *kitāb* + *-s*/*-e*, 'book/s'). On the other hand, nouns borrowed from English show a clear preference for the shared suffix *-s* (for example *sabjeyks*, 'subjects', *trewels*, 'travels'). A few cases of zero-affixation are encountered, for example the English verbal form *pardon* used as past participle with neither an English suffix nor an Afrikaans affix.

Finally, covert English influence is perhaps responsible for the non-contraction of preposition + *dit* to R-adverbial pronouns.

Syntax presents deviations mainly in the positioning of the verbal element in the clause. These deviations exhibit a continuum of variants from clause types with to clause types without a central boundary. To estimate the frequency of SVX compared to SXV, we isolated certain types of clauses normally requiring SXV(X) in Standard Afrikaans, that is, dependent clauses of a finite type introduced by *dat* or wh-pronouns and infinitive clauses. Among those clauses we singled out those featuring a predicative adjective/adverbial, those featuring a direct object, and those featuring a stranded preposition as the only accompaniment to the verbal element. Assigning the value X_1 to such adverbials, direct objects and stranded prepositions, we separated for each subtype of clause the occurrences of SVX_1 from the occurrences of SX_1V (Table 4).

Table 4. Syntactic deviations

Dependent clauses with $X_{1=}$	SX_1V	SVX_1
adverbial/predicative adjective	91%	9%
direct object	16%	84%
stranded preposition	98%	2%

From Table 4 it appears that SXV in dependent clauses is widely supported by adverbials/predicative adjectives and stranded prepositions, and rarely by direct objects. This makes us wonder whether we are dealing here with a fundamentally SVX syntactic structure with a set of borrowed SXV features, or with an SXV structure showing relict influence from an SVX structure. Despite the many evolutionary trends suggested by a comparison between Ponelis's syntactic account and our data, for example the absence of some of the *Bayanūddīn*'s features in Hanif Edwards's texts, it seems hazardous to sketch a history of Cape Malay Dutch/Afrikaans syntax on the basis of the differences between Hanif Edwards's and Abu Bakr Effendi's varieties, the latter author being a foreigner with Kurdish/Turkish as his primary languages whose Cape Dutch idiolect may not have been representative of the language reality of the local community (Brandel-Syrier 1971:v-ix).

Conclusion

Hanif Edwards epitomizes a crucial stage in the history of Cape Malay Afrikaans. Probably the last author to use Arabic script for transcribing Afrikaans, he was the product of a socio-ethnic environment in which access to secular education and Standard Dutch/Afrikaans was rare, and the preservation of Cape Malay linguistic idiosyncrasies was facilitated. Although the degree to which they are representative of real spoken usage at the time must not be taken for granted, Hanif Edwards's literary varieties exhibit a number of Cape Malay Afrikaans, general South Western Afrikaans, and general colloquial Afrikaans features in phonology and morphology. His lexical and idiomatic usage shows strong influences from Classical Arabic and English, whereas elements from a Creole and Malay substrate emerge time and again. His syntactic usage poses major problems of interpretation as it displays two competing surface word orders, SXV and SVX.

The linguistic features of Hanif Edwards's varieties raise challenging questions about the history of Afrikaans. Does this variety represent a final stage in the decline of the Malay substrate in Cape Afrikaans? Are the occurrences of SVX a remnant of a former developmental stage where it was more general

and perhaps characteristic of Slave Cape Dutch/Afrikaans, or are the occurrences only a reflection of growing English influence among the Cape Malay community?

Such questions cannot be definitively answered by a comparison between the linguistic features of Hanif Edwards's texts and those of the *Bayanūddīn* noted by Ponelis, as the *Bayanūddīn*'s variety was perhaps more a reflection of a foreigner's idiolect than of language reality at the time of its publication. A desirable next step in shedding more light on the history of Cape Malay Afrikaans would be a diachronic comparison of a wide range of texts from the oldest recorded ones to our present corpus.

Appendix 1

Works by Shaykh Hanif Edwards used for this study

Hidāyah al- ṭālabīn fi fiqh al-dīn
Afrikaans book in Arabic script. Published in the 1940s.

Tougeed
Afrikaans book in Roman script. Published in the late 1930s.

Kitaab van towgied. Eerste deel.
Afrikaans book in Roman and Arabic script. Undated.

Gadeeth
Afrikaans book in Roman script. Undated.

Die sterke fondament
Afrikaans book in Roman script. Published in the 1950s.

Die eerste stap
Afrikaans book in Roman script.Written in the 1950s.

Die gajjie en die oemrah
Afrikaans book in Roman script. Undated.

Al-Islaam
Afrikaans book in Roman script. Published in the late 1930s.

Fiqh
Afrikaans book in Roman script. Published in 1937.
Kitaabul fiqh
Afrikaans book in Roman script. Published in 1937.

Korte begrip van die wat nodig is om te weet
Afrikaans book in Roman script. Published in 1939.

Al-Qawā'id al-naḥwiyyah li-tadrīs al-lughah al-'arabiyyah
Bilingual Arabic/Afrikaans book in Arabic script. Published in 1940.

Appendix 2

Excerpt from *Al-Qawā'id al-naḥwiyyah li-tadrīs al-lughah al-'arabiyyah* (Rules of grammar for the teaching of the Arabic language), with interlinear transcription in approximate Standard Afrikaans spelling and English translation.

taqsīm ad-damā'ir = di ferdīleng fandifūrnāme
taqsīm ad-damā'ir = ***die verdeling van die voorname***
taqsīm ad-damā'ir = the classification of pronouns

di *damā'ir* es ferdīl nā twī khadīlte di lūse *damā'ir* endi ankhalasde *damā'ir*
die *damā'ir* ***is verdeel na twee gedeelte die*** *loose damā'ir* ***en die ingelaste*** *damā'ir*
Pronouns are classified in two parts; the loose pronouns and the inserted pronouns

nawdi lūse *damā'ir* es twī sūrte. di lūse *damā'ir* ferdi *rafʿ* endi lūse
nou die *loose damā'ir* ***is twee soorte. Die*** *loose damā'ir* ***vir die*** *raf* ***en die*** *loose*
The loose pronouns are comprised of two sorts. The pronouns bearing the dammah inflection and the loose

damā'ir ferdi *nasb*. dimīneng fandi *rafʿ* esdi *damma* endi vat eyndiplayk fandi *damā'ir* ***vir die*** *nasb*.
Die mening van die *raf* ***is die*** *damma* ***en die wat in die plek van die*** *loose pronouns*
bearing the fatha inflection. Raf finds expression through the damma, and what comes

damma es endi mīneng fan nasb esdi *fatha* endi vat eyndi pilayk fandi *fatha* es *damma* ***is in die mening van*** *nasb* ***is die*** *fatha* ***en die wat in die plek van die*** *fatha* ***is ...***
in nasb is the fatha and what comes instead of the fatha is ...

di fūlkhende skeyts es īn les fandi twī surte fandi lūse *damā'ir*.
Die volgende skets is 'n lys van die twee soorte van die *loose damā'ir*
The following chart is a list of the two sorts of loose pronouns:

damā'ir al-raf' al-munfasila	*Damā'ir al-nasb al-munfasila*
dilūse *damā'ir* fandi *raf'*	Dilūse *damā'ir* fandi *nasb*
die *loose damā'ir* ***van die*** *raf*	***die*** *loose damā'ir* ***van die*** *nasb*
the loose raf pronouns	*the loose nasb pronouns*
fer mā/**vir my/***for me*	eyk/**ek/***I*
fer ūns/**vir ons/***for us*	ūns/**ons/***we*
fer jaw/**vir jou/***for you*	jā/**jy/***you*
fer jaw/**vir jou/***for you*	jā/**jy/***you*
fer jele tvī/**vir julle twee/***for the two of you*	jele tvī/**julle twee/***the two of you*
fer jele/**vir julle/***for you (pl.)*	jele/**julle/***you (pl.)*
fer jele/**vir julle/***for you (pl.)*	jele/**julle/***you (pl.)*
fer hūm/**vir hom/***for him*	hā/**hy/***he*
fer hār/**vir haar/for her**	sā/**sy/***she*
fer hele tvī/**vir hulle twee/***for the two of them*	hele tvī/**hulle twee/***the two of them*
fer hele (mans)/**vir hulle (mans)/***for the two of them (masc.)*	hele tvī/**hulle twee/***the two of them*
	hele/**hulle/***they*
fer hele (frawns)/**vir hulle (vrouens)/ for** *the two of them (fem.)*	hele/**hulle/***they*

di ankhalasde *damā'ir* es bayang mīr nūtsāklek ūm tevit dīr hele vūrt
die ingelasde *damā'ir* ***is baiang meer noodsaaklik om te weet die hele woord***
Inserted pronouns are much more necessary to know that the whole word

altayt ferbrayk vūrt enhele es ūk tvī sūrte. īn sūrt dār
altyd verbruik word en hulle is ook twee soorte. Een soort
is always used and they are also comprised of two sorts. The one sort

fan furt ankhalas andi *fi'l* vat aytvays ūpdi tayt vat ferlup heyt endi
van woord ingelas in die fi'l wat uitwys op die tyd wat verloop het en die
is inserted in the verb that refers to the time that has elapsed and the

ander sūrt kan ankhalas fūrt andi *fi'l* en aandi *ism*. du fūlkhande es īn
ander soort kan ingelas word in die *fi'l* ***en in die*** *ism*. ***Die volgende is 'n***
other sort can be inserted in the verb and in the noun. The next

fūrbīld vat vays hū vūrtdi *damāi'r* ankhalas vūrn andi *fi'l* vat aytvays
voorbeeld wat wys hoe word die *damāi'r* ***ingelas vooraan wat uitwys***
example [that] shows how the pronouns are inserted in the front part

ūpdi tayt vat verlup es. en neytsūvūrt hele ankhalas an īnkhe ander *fi'l*.
op die tyd wat verloop is en net so word hulle ingelas in enige ander *fi'l*.
(that is those referring to elapsed time) and so they are inserted in any other verb.

di *fi'l* **die** *fi'l* *the verb*	di *damīr* vat ankhalas es **die *damīr* wat ingelas is** *the inserted pronouns*	di mīneng/**die mening/***the meaning*
Arabic examples	**Arabic examples**	eyk heyt khaslān/***ek het geslaan*** *I have hit* ūns heyt khaslān/***ons het geslaan*** *we have hit* jā heyt khaslān/***jy het geslaan*** *you have hit* jā heyt khaslān/***jy het geslaan*** *you have hit* jele tvī heyt khaslān/***julle twee het geslaan*** *you two have hit* jele heyt khaslān/***julle het geslaan*** *you (pl.) have hit* jele heyt khaslān/***julle het geslaan*** *you (pl.) have hit* hā heyt khaslān/***hy het geslaan*** *he has hit* sā heyt khaslān/***sy het geslaan*** *she has hit* hele tvī heyt khaslān/***hulle twee het geslaan*** *the two of them have hit* hele tvī heyt khaslān/***hulle twee het geslaan*** *the two of them have hit* hele heyt khaslān/***hulle het geslaan*** *they have hit* hele heyt khaslān/***hulle het geslaan*** *they have hit*

Appendix 3

Excerpt from *Die sterke fondament*

Die ietse wat ophou die geloof

Die ietse wat ophou die geloof van ’n mens is vier, (1) om reg te glo, en dit is om te glo aan Allah sonder om gelykens te maak met hom enige iets, dit meen om te glo dat Allah een is, en dat hy nie het ’n gelykens nie. (2) Om te volbring met die belofte, en dit is om te doen die orders van die hoë Allah. (3) Om opreg te meen, en dit is om suiwer te maak die werkslone vir Allah. (4) Om op te pas van die baaken, dit meen om te blystaan in die baaken sonder om te oortree, en daar die is verkry met die wegbly van die ietse wat Allah belet het van.
Die eerste pilaar van die iemaan, en om te ken vir Allah.
Die eerste pilaar van die iemaan is om te glo aan Allah, en dit kan nie verkry word op die regte manier nie as net waneer ons leer ken vir Allah. Om te leer ken vir Allah is die eerste waajieb, (verpligting) op die mokallaf (die aanspreeklike persoon), en hy is die giene wat moeslim en mondig en verstandig is. Die enigste manier om te leer ken vir Allahis om te weet die sifaat wat waajieb is vir hom, dit meen wat hy toekom, en die wat moestagiel is op hom, dit meen wat onmoontlik is op hom, en die wat jaa-iez is vir hom, dit meen wat kan wees vir hom. En soos dit nodig is om te ken vir Allah met sy maniere so is dit nodig om te ken sy rasoels ookso van die selfde punt.
Die giene wat ken vir Allah hy is die wat glo met sekerheid van bewysen af, op die regte manier soos dit is. Die giene wat dink of twyfel in enige iets van die akaa-ied (die ietse wat moet geglo word), en die giene wat verkeerd glo, is kaafir.

Excerpt from *Al-Islaam*

Voorwoord

Hierdie kitaab is gemeen om duidlik te maak die hoe ietse wat die Islam bevat en die weisheid daar van, met die doel om uit te wys die mooiheid van die geloof wat Allah verkies het vir mens.
(die nodigheid na ’n geloof.)
Mens is onbekwaam om alleen deur te sit al die ietse wat hy verlee is na in sy lewe. Hy moet verlee kry na ’n ander, maskie was sy rykdom en sterkte bo almal syne. Sy verleeskap maak dit nodig op hom te kom tussen die mense so dat hy kan verruil met hulle en hulle met hom die voordele en noodsaake van die lewe.

Dit wys uit dat die by mekaar kom van die enkelds is noodsaaklik vir hulle plesierigheid en hulle welstand. Maar dit is onmoenlik dat hulle plesierigheid kan volkoem wees en dat daar kan vrede wees tussen hulle, as net waneer daar is tussen hulle 'n regverdige wet wat bewaar die swakke van die onregverdigheid van die sterk, en die onreg van die kwaaddoener,'n wet wat geeer word van almal,'n wet wat nodig maak op almal om te bly staan in die baakens van die wet, en te eer die regte van iedere enkeld.

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