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AN AFRIKAANS FOOTNOTE TO THE HISTORY OF ARABIC GRAMMAR:
SHEIKH ISMAIL GANIEF'S GRAMMAR OF ARABIC (CA. 1958)¹

Kees Versteegh

Since the middle of the 17th century, there has been a thriving Muslim community in South Africa. The first Muslims to arrive in the Cape Colony were free people from Malaysia and the Indonesian archipelago, the so-called *Mardijckers*; they were joined by deportees and political exiles from the Dutch East Indies. At a later stage, larger numbers of Muslims were brought in as slaves and labourers from India and South Asia. In addition, many members of the Black community in South Africa converted to Islam. Collectively, the Muslims in the Cape were sometimes called 'Cape-Malays,' although the majority of them had no connection with Malaysia at all.² By the 19th century a rich scholarly tradition had been established in the Muslim communities, initially based on texts written in Arabic and/or Malay.³ In the second half of the 19th century, however, many scholars started to write their treatises in Afrikaans, often transcribed in Arabic script.

Afrikaans is a variety of the Dutch language that was brought by the colonists who founded the Cape Colony in 1652. Their language was taken over in creolized form by some of the inhabitants, who spoke Khoisan or Bantu languages. Although Afrikaans was the language variety spoken by the white and part of the black population, Dutch remained the standard language of the Cape Colony until 1925, when Afrikaans was recognized as an official language. There is a fierce controversy, fuelled by ideological considerations, about the extent to which this standard form of Afrikaans is based on the creolized variety or represents a somewhat modified version of the Dutch language.⁴

¹ I wish to thank my former student Iris Hoedemaekers, who collected a large number of photocopies of Arabic-Afrikaans literature during her stay in South Africa in 2005, among them the text of the grammar analyzed in the present article. In her M.A. thesis, Hoedemaekers (2006) presented an analysis of the writing system and the language of these works, see also Hoedemaekers and Versteegh (2009). I also thank my former colleague Abdulkader Tayob, now professor at University of Cape Town for helping me to procure some of the literature for this article and for his enthusiastic support of this research.

² On the use of this label in the Cape Colony, see Stell (2007: 90, 93); Stell et al. (2007: 291–293).

³ Davids (1980).

⁴ Valkhoff (1972); Van Rensburg (1989).

In the Muslim communities in South Africa, various languages were used, depending on the group. Indian Muslims spoke Urdu or one of the other Indian languages, such as Gujarati, while the 'Malays' used Malay. These languages remained in use for some time within the family. But when the members of these communities started to use Afrikaans outside their homes, it soon became the first language for many Muslims. By the end of the 19th century, Malay was no longer used in the schools and mosques and had been replaced by Afrikaans as the main language of instruction in the Muslim communities.⁵ When the ban on Islamic teaching was lifted in the Cape Colony in 1804, with the granting of religious freedom to all communities, local sheikhs started to organize public instruction for Muslims and wrote treatises for the school curriculum. Arabic, of course, had a special position as the holy language of Islam, which it has retained till today.⁶ But it was a language learnt in the schools, where teaching took place in Afrikaans, the language that the various groups of Muslims had in common.

The Muslim authors who started to write Afrikaans may have been the first to write this language, using Arabic script. The Afrikaans spoken by Muslims had characteristics that set it apart from the Afrikaans of the non-Muslim population of the Cape. While for the other speakers of Afrikaans Dutch remained a target,⁷ for the Muslims Afrikaans became their new language, without any ties with Dutch. The use of Afrikaans as the lingua franca of the Muslim communities may have been instrumental in developing a new Afrikaans standard, especially so after the use of the Arabic script was discontinued and the language was written with the Latin alphabet.

The Arabic alphabet as used in the Muslim Afrikaans literature (often called Arabic-Afrikaans) exhibits various special features, the most conspicuous of which is the presence of additional consonants and the consistent notation of all vowels.⁸ For the Afrikaans consonants *p*, *ng*, *tj*, *v* new letters were added to the alphabet, borrowed either from the Jawi script that was used to write Malay, or, at a later stage, from Ottoman Turkish. The influence of the Ottoman Turkish script, visible for instance in the transcription of Afrikaans *p* with *bā'* with three subscript dots, rather than *fā'* with three superscript dots, may be explained by the fact that one of the first writers of Arabic-Afrikaans literature, Abu Bakr Effendi (ca. 1835–1880), was an Ottoman emissary to the Cape Colony, and that some of the Arabic-Afrikaans books had been printed in Istanbul.⁹ Note

⁵ Stell et al. (2007: 293).

⁶ Tayob (1999: 108–110).

⁷ Stell (2007: 115–116).

⁸ Stell et al. (2007: 295–296); Hoedemaekers (2006).

⁹ Davids (1991).

that in the text presented here, the *fā'* with three superscript dots transcribes Afrikaans *w*, whereas *v* is represented by normal *fā'*.

The notation of the vowels presented a complicated problem for the writers of Arabic-Afrikaans, since Afrikaans has a large inventory of vowels.¹⁰ The solution they chose was to vocalize the texts throughout, using various combinations of vowel signs and glides to represent those vowels that do not exist in Arabic. There was considerable variation in the orthography used, partly because there was no standard form of Afrikaans as yet, and partly because writers tended to devise their own system of transcription. For a list of the vowel signs in the grammatical treatise presented here see Table 1.¹¹

Table 1: Representation of Afrikaans vowels in Arabic script in the *Nayl al-arab*.

Afrikaans vowel	Arabic script	example	transcription	Gloss
/a/	اَ	مَنْ	<i>man</i>	'man'
/a:/	اَ	نَامَ	<i>naam</i>	'name'
/ɛ/	يَ	لَيْسَ	<i>les</i>	'lesson'
/e/	يَ	تَوَيَّ	<i>twee</i>	'two'
/ɪ/	اَ	فِرَّ	<i>fir</i>	'for'
/i/	اَ	رَفِيرَ	<i>die</i>	'the'
	يَ		<i>rafter</i>	'river'
/ɔ/	وُ	أُونَسَ	<i>ons</i>	'us'
/o/	وُ	فُورَتَ	<i>woort</i>	'word'
/ə/	اَ	تَافَلَ	<i>tafel</i>	'table'
/y/	يَ	أَيَّرَ	<i>ure</i>	'hours'
/u/	اَ	مُتَ	<i>moet</i>	'must'
	وُ	هُوَّ	<i>hoe</i>	'how'
/φ/	يَ	دِيرَ	<i>deur</i>	'door'
/aj/, /ej/ (= ei, y)	يَ	سَكَّرَيْفَ	<i>skryf</i>	'write'
/aw/	وُ	نَوَّ	<i>nou</i>	'now'
/œj/	يَ	بَيْكَ	<i>buik</i>	'belly'

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ From Hoedemaekers and Versteegh (2009: 291).

When Cape Afrikaans was written using the Roman alphabet, the system of transcription chosen to represent the Arabic names and loanwords was based entirely on pronunciation and used the rules of Dutch spelling. Thus, for instance Arabic /u/ was mostly represented by *oe*, /h/ by *g*, as in the name *Mogamat* (*Muhammad*), and /gh/ by *qh*, as in *loeqha* (*lughā*).

Most of the literature in Arabic-Afrikaans concerned religious topics. A list of the extant literature, containing more than seventy-four treatises, is given by Kähler,¹² with additions by Davids.¹³ This list shows that from the earliest examples (van Selms 1953) till the last products of this Arabic-Afrikaans literature in the first half of the 20th century, the vast majority of the works was devoted to religious matters. There are exceptions, but these are few and far between. One example is an election pamphlet from 1872, which shows that Arabic-Afrikaans was indeed used as a practical language for everyday life and was not restricted to the school curriculum.¹⁴ It is very well possible, and indeed probable, that there were more examples of this non-religious use of the language, but these have disappeared or are still awaiting discovery in one of the many personal archives in the Cape.

Along with the core religious sciences, published writings in Arabic-Afrikaans also dealt with some of the ancillary Islamic sciences, such as grammar or recitation (*tajwīd*). One author who was prolific in publishing such works composed the grammatical treatise presented in this paper. The author's name on the title page is Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad Ḥanīf al-Azharī; he was commonly known as Sheikh Ismail Ganief Edwards and lived from 1908 till 1958.¹⁵ His English surname probably came from one of his ancestors, who may have taken the name of his employer after the abolition of slavery in the Cape Colony; Sheikh Ganief did not use it when writing in Arabic.

After his initial training in a Cape Town *madrassa* and later in a public school, he studied in Mecca from 1923 till 1924, but left the city for Egypt when Wahhabi rule was established.¹⁶ From 1924 till 1931, he studied at the Azhar University in Cairo, where he obtained his M.A. in Islamic studies. Upon returning to Cape Town, he held various teaching positions and became imam at the Nur al-Islam Masjid in Bo-Kaap in Cape Town.¹⁷

¹² Kähler (1971).

¹³ Davids (1990, 1993); see also Haron (1996; 1997).

¹⁴ Hoedemaekers (2006: 75–77).

¹⁵ Ebrahim (2004).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 84–86.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 102–119.

Sheikh Ismail Ganief left behind more than thirty works written in Arabic-Afrikaans, some of them translations, but also original compositions.¹⁸ He published treatises on *fiqh* and *kalām*, collections of *ḥadīth*, collections of *khuṭab*, burial rituals, the celebration of the Prophet's *mawlid*, recitation, marriage and divorce law, pilgrimage, *tafsīr*, and ethics. His first and largest work, *al-Muqaddima al-Ḥaḍramiyya*, a compendium of Shāfi'ī *fiqh*, was published in Cairo in 1928. His last published work is the grammatical treatise discussed in the present article, one of a series of textbooks for the teaching of Arabic, which also include a small dictionary and a conversation manual for pilgrims traveling to Egypt and Saudi-Arabia. The grammar of Arabic is intended for speakers of Afrikaans and constitutes one of the last examples of Arabic-Afrikaans literature. The text is handwritten and was probably multiplied by cyclostyle. The title page mentions in a print letter "[Kaaapstad] [ca. 1948]," i.e. Cape Town, possibly an addition by the archive or library. The treatise consists of two parts, the first concerned with *mabādi' al-lughā al-'arabiyya*, the second with *al-qawā'id al-naḥwiyya*.

The first part of the grammar is entitled *Nayl al-arab fī lughat al-'Arab*, transcribed in Latin letters on the title page as *Nailoel 'arabie fee loeqhatiel 'arabie*, and translated in Afrikaans as *Handboek van Arabies en Arabiese grammatica* and in English as *Handbook of Arabic and Arabic grammar*. It consists of a few short chapters in which first the letters and then the different terms of Arabic grammar are explained briefly. Pp. 11–30 contain an alphabetical list of Arabic verbs with their Afrikaans equivalent, followed by a thematic vocabulary with example sentences.

The second part is entitled *al-Qawā'id al-naḥwiyya li-tadrīs al-lughā al-'arabiyya*, transcribed as *Al Kawaa'iedoe 'n-nahweeyatoe lie tadriesie 'l-loeqatiel-'arabeeyatie*, and translated in Afrikaans as *Die grammatiese beginsels vir die onderrig van die Arabiese taal* and in English as *The grammatical principles for the teaching of the Arabic language*. This part is more directly concerned with grammatical rules and deals with the entire grammar of Arabic. The grammatical definitions and rules are explained in Arabic, which is translated sentence by sentence, sometimes word by word, into Afrikaans.

At times, the translation is very literal, even to the point where the particle *fa-*, whenever it occurs in the Arabic text is represented by a redundant *nou* 'now, then' in the Afrikaans text; likewise, *inna* is always

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 132–151.

translated with *waarlek* ‘indeed’. The Arabic verb-first word order is simply taken over in Afrikaans, even though it is incorrect. In some cases, it is obvious that the author simply replaces the Arabic words with Afrikaans words, especially in relative sentences, where the Arabic ‘*ā'id* (*bihi*) is repeated in Afrikaans (*met hom*):

fa-l-mubtada' ism ubtudi'a bihi l-jumla
nou di mubtadaf is een isem wat di jumla met hom bagin wort
 “The *mubtada'* is an *ism* with which the *jumla* is started [lit. which the *jumla* is started with him” (II, 24.2–3)

The question to consider here is whether the Arabic text was taken over from an Arabic source by Sheikh Ismail Ganief, or written by himself and then translated into Afrikaans. The author was known for his creativity in composing texts and for opposing authors who simply copied the Arabic texts. In this respect, he followed the standards set forth by his teachers at the Azhar University, like Mahmud Shaltut and Rashid Rida, who followed the reformist ideas of Muḥammad ‘Abduh and were very much in favour of freeing themselves from the shackles of *taqlīd*.¹⁹ His approach differed from that of most of the other Muslim authors in the Cape community. That Sheikh Ganief regarded himself as the original author of his work seems to be implied by the Arabic title page of the *Nayl*, where he calls the grammar his *ta'lif* (establishing his authorship with the additional remark *huqūq i'ādat ṭab' hādha l-kitāb mahfūza li-l-mu'allif*).

Another reason for assuming that he regarded himself as the author is that he explicitly mentions his didactic aims. Thus, for instance, he explains in the first part (I, 3.13–17) that he will deal with the pronouns and the nouns here, rather than in the grammatical part later on, because he wishes the beginners to become acquainted with grammar gradually, starting with what is essential, and progressing gradually to more complicated issues.

The reason why I speak about *ḍamīr* precisely here in the first part of the book, and not about the other species of *ism*, is that the knowledge of how to attach the *ḍamā'ir* to the *ism* that is manifest and to the *fi'l* is necessary for the beginner; without this, he is unable to translate any sentence correctly. (*di rede wat ek spesiaal net praat hier in di eeste part fan di kitaab op di ḍamīr en nie op di andre soorte fan di isem nie dier di gawetenskap hoe om aan te las di ḍamā'ir an di isem wat openbaar is en an di fi'l is nootsaaklek fir di begener dier sonder det is hei onbekwaam om een sin reg te fertaal*)

¹⁹ Ibid., 90–98.

This seems to suggest that he determined the order of the materials rather than slavishly adhering to the source he was translating. Nonetheless, it turns out that he did indeed translate an existing treatise. Not surprisingly, he did not follow any of the grammatical models that were used at this time for the description of Dutch and other European languages. The teaching of Arabic in the Muslim community in South Africa was closely related to that in the Arab world and, given the orientation of the South African Muslims and the initial use of Malay in the local *madrasas*, also to that in the Malay world. The traditional method of teaching Arabic in the Malay-speaking world consisted in the translation of Arabic grammatical treatises. The teacher translated an entire Arabic text into Malay sentence by sentence, while the student wrote this translation between the lines of the Arabic text. No understanding of grammatical rules was involved here,²⁰ just the memorization of the text.

In the 19th century, a new method of teaching was introduced, the so-called 'Meccan' method.²¹ In this system, the students first received lessons in spelling, and then progressed to the elementary terms and the rules of inflection. Next, they learned the rules of grammar, exemplified by sentences that had to be parsed. This method was fairly progressive in that the students actually learned about Arabic grammar rather than simply learning a text by heart, and understanding it through a literal translation. There is some information on the kind of Arabic treatises that were used in Indonesia at the time²² and that are still in common use in Indonesia in the curriculum of the *pesantren* schools.²³ The most popular texts were the *Taşrif 'Izzī* by 'Izz al-Dīn al-Zanjānī (d. 660/1262); the *'Awāmil al-mi'a* by 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078); the *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* by Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Mas'ūd (d. before the beginning of the 8th/14th century);²⁴ and of course the *Ājurrūmiyya* by Ibn Ājurrūm (d. 723/1323) and the *Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274), as well as the numerous commentaries on these last two works.

The 'Meccan' method was in line with a larger trend in the Malaysian world, to move away from the traditional manuscript tradition and the passive learning of Arabic towards the active reading of newly printed Arabic books, whose availability may be seen as a sign of modernity.²⁵

²⁰ Kaptein (2000: 333).

²¹ Drewes (1971).

²² Ibid.

²³ van Bruinessse (1990).

²⁴ Cf. Åkesson (2001: 7–8).

²⁵ Laffan (2008).

Some Malay scholars even wrote manuals of Malay grammar, the most famous one being the *Bustān al-kātibīn* and the *Kitāb pengetahuan bahasa* by Raja Ali Haji (ca. 1809–ca. 1872). He wished to teach his students to write Malay correctly and for this purpose wrote elementary textbooks in Arabic and Malay, using the model of Arabic grammar in both.²⁶

In the Arab world, an even more revolutionary change in teaching grammar took place at the end of the 19th century, when modern textbooks were introduced to replace the traditional treatises, at least in primary and secondary schools. During his studies in Mecca and at the Azhar University, Sheikh Ganief must have become acquainted with this new graded approach to teaching grammar and with the new didactic materials that had been developed. Thanks to a piece of firsthand evidence, we can even trace the exact source for his own grammar. In 1921, the Dutch consul in Jeddah, Emile Gobée, wrote a report about the new school curriculum that was introduced in the Hijaz.²⁷ He describes the curriculum and the exams that were taken in Jeddah in 1918–1920, and notes that the traditional texts for the study of grammar, the *ʿAjurrūmiyya* and the *Alfiyya*, had been replaced by a more recent text, the *Qawā'id al-lughā al-'arabiyya* by Ḥafnī Bak Nāṣif and others.²⁸

According to the introduction to the *Qawā'id*, this book had been printed originally in Cairo as two textbooks for secondary schools, one about grammar by Ḥafnī Bak Nāṣif, Muḥammad Bak Diyāb, Muṣṭafā Ṭumūm, Maḥmūd Afandī Ghamr, and the second about rhetoric, by the same authors (except for the fourth author who had been replaced by Sulṭān Bak Muḥammad). The grammar book was approved by the inspectorate for the secondary schools in 1309 A.H., with the support of the Sheikh al-Azhar. The second part was approved by the inspectorate in 1892. When a fourth year was added to the secondary school curriculum in 1905, the two parts were slightly revised and printed together that same year in Cairo under the title *Kitāb Qawā'id al-lughā al-'arabiyya li-talāmīdh al-madāris al-thānawīyya*.

That this was the source used by Sheikh Ganief in his grammatical textbook is immediately obvious from the definitions he gives at the beginning of the second part (II, 1–2). 'Grammar' is defined as *al-naḥw qawā'id yu'raf bihā aḥwāl awākhir al-kalimāt al-lughā [sic!] al-'arabiyya*. This definition is almost identical to the one with which the *Qawā'id* starts (1.4–5):

²⁶ See Kaptein (2000).

²⁷ van Bruinisse (1990).

²⁸ Gobée (1921).

al-naḥw qawā'id yu'raf bihā ṣiyagh al-kalimāt al-'arabiyya wa-aḥwālihā ḥīna ifrādihā wa-ḥīna tarkībihā. Its first part resembles the one in al-Shirbīnī's commentary on the *Ājurrūmiyya*,²⁹ *'ilm bi-fuṣūl yu'raf bihā aḥwāl awākhir al-kalim*, but it uses a different term for the basic rules, *qawā'id*.

The definition of *kalām* in the *Nayl* (II, 7) *al-jumla al-murakkaba llatī tufīd al-fā'ida l-maqṣūda* is clearly based on the phrasing in the *Qawā'id* (1.7) *al-murakkab al-mufīd fā'ida yaḥsun al-sukūt 'alayhā yusammā kalām wa-jumla*. The definition of *kalima* in the *Nayl* (II, 1.10) *al-kalima lafẓ mufrad dāll 'alā ma'nān* is virtually identical to the one in the *Qawā'id* (1.6) *al-kalima hiya l-lafẓ al-mufrad al-dāll 'alā ma'nān*.

In the *Ājurrūmiyya* tradition, the emphasis in defining the parts of speech, noun, verb, and particle is on their morphological characteristics, rather than their meaning. Although the commentator al-Shirbīnī states that the noun and the verb indicate an intrinsic meaning (*tadull 'alā ma'nān bi-naṣihā*), unlike the particle, and that the verb is connected with one of the three tenses, while the noun is not,³⁰ he puts most of his efforts into listing the morphological markers of the three parts of speech, for instance, that the noun may be combined with an article and the verb with the particle *sa-*.³¹ This tradition differs from the one represented by Sheikh Ganief's definitions (*Nayl* II, 1–2), which focus on the meaning of the parts of speech and were copied almost verbatim from the *Qawā'id*. For the verb, the definition in the *Nayl* is *al-fi'l kalima dālla 'alā ma'nān mustaqill bi-l-fahm wa-l-zaman juz'un minhu* (cf. *Qawā'id* 1.9 *al-fi'l mā yadull 'alā ma'nān mustaqill bi-l-fahm wa-l-zaman juz' minhu*); for the noun it is *al-ism kalima dālla 'alā ma'nān mustaqill bi-l-fahm wa-laysa l-zaman juz'an minhu* (cf. *Qawā'id* 1.11 *al-ism mā yadull 'alā ma'nān mustaqill bi-l-fahm wa-laysa al-zaman juz'an minhu*); and for the particle it is *al-ḥarf kalima lā yaẓhar ma'nāhā illā ma'a gḥayrihā* (cf. *Qawā'id* 1.13 *al-ḥarf mā yadull 'alā ma'nān gḥayr mustaqill bi-l-fahm*). Only the definition of the particle, therefore, exhibits any significant difference between the *Nayl* and the *Qawā'id*.

The examples used to illustrate the grammatical rules and those used for parsing exercises may have been partly invented by the author, because they are unfamiliar from the Arabic sources. Thus, for instance, he uses a sentence like *ḥāṣara jaysh al-islām madīnat al-Iskandariyya fī khilāfat al-Fārūq sanatan wa-shahrayni* 'the army of Islam laid siege to the city of

²⁹ Carter (1981: 6.8–9).

³⁰ Carter (1981: 12).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 14–34.

Alexandria for one year and two months during the caliphate of ‘Umar’ (II, 44.20) to illustrate the parsing process. The procedure in itself is not unknown in the Arabic tradition, but is usually applied to verses from the Qur’ān. On the other hand, there are definitely cases where he has borrowed his examples from the *Qawā’id*. In the chapter on *tawkīd*, for instance, the examples from the *Qawā’id* (28–29), *qadīma qadīma l-hājīj*, *al-ḥaqq wādīḥ wādīḥ*, *na’am na’am*, *ṭalā’a l-nahār ṭalā’a l-nahār*, *aktub anā, kunta anta l-raḡība ‘alayhim*, have been copied faithfully in the *Nayl* (II, 38; instead of *nahār* he uses *fajr*). As for the thematic vocabulary in the first part and the parsing exercises in the second part, these seem to consist of exercises he invented for the practical teaching of Arabic. The sentences to be parsed, such as *tamurr al-furaṣu marra l-saḥā’ibi l-sāfirati* ‘the occasions pass like the passing of the traveling clouds’, *al-ikhwānu zīnatun fī l-rakhā’i* ‘brothers are an ornament in prosperity’, *bi’tu kulla amlākī illā ‘ishrīna kitāban* ‘I sold all my possessions except for twenty books’ (*Nayl* II, 47–48) look like proverbs or made-up examples, not necessarily drawn from any specific source.

The dependence on the *Qawā’id* is also clearly visible in the order in which the various parts of grammar are treated (Table 2). The order of topics matches almost exactly that in the textbook by Ḥafnī Bāk Nāṣif and his co-authors, in particular the fact that the grammar starts with the treatment of the verb, whereas the traditional order in grammatical treatises follows the order of the parts of speech, first the nouns, then the verbs, and finally the particles. The presentation of morphology is mixed with that of syntax, so that for instance all constructions involving nouns are dealt with under the heading of the noun. The general category of *tawābi’* in the *Nayl* includes adjectives, coordination, apposition and emphasis, just like the arrangement in the *Qawā’id*.

Table 2: Contents of the second part of the grammar.

Title of the chapter	Page
<i>aqsām al-fi’l</i>	II, 2
<i>al-mudhakkar wa-l-mu’annath</i>	II, 4
<i>al-mufrad wa-l-muthannā wa-l-jam’</i>	II, 5
<i>al-kalām</i>	II, 7
<i>al-mabnī wa-l-mu’rab</i>	II, 8
<i>aṣnāf al-mabniyyāt</i>	II, 10
<i>anwā’ al-i’rāb</i>	II, 14
<i>i’rāb al-muthannā</i>	II, 15
<i>al-fi’l al-mu’tall al-ākhir</i>	II, 16

Table 2 (cont.)

Title of the chapter	Page
<i>īrāb al-af'āl al-khamsa</i>	II, 17
<i>mawāḍī' al-īrāb</i>	II, 18
<i>naṣb al-fi'l</i>	II, 19
<i>jazm al-fi'l</i>	II, 19
<i>raf' al-fi'l</i>	II, 21
<i>al-kalām 'alā t-ism</i>	II, 21
<i>al-fā'il</i>	II, 21
<i>nā'ib al-fā'il</i>	II, 22
<i>al-mubtada' wa-l-khabar</i>	II, 22
<i>ism kāna</i>	II, 24
<i>khabar inna</i>	II, 25
<i>al-manṣūbāt min al-asmā'</i>	II, 25
<i>al-maf'ūl bihi</i>	II, 26
<i>al-maf'ūl al-muṭlaq</i>	II, 26
<i>al-maf'ūl li-ajlihi</i>	II, 27
<i>al-maf'ūl fīhi</i>	II, 27
<i>al-maf'ūl ma'ahu</i>	II, 28
<i>al-mustathnā bi-illā</i>	II, 29
<i>al-ḥāl</i>	II, 29
<i>al-tamyīz</i>	II, 30
<i>al-munādā</i>	II, 31
<i>khabar inna</i>	II, 31
<i>ism inna</i>	II, 32
<i>jarr al-ism</i>	II, 32
<i>al-muḍāf ilayhi</i>	II, 33
<i>al-muḍāf li-yā' al-mutakallim</i>	II, 34
<i>al-tawābī'</i>	II, 35
<i>al-nā't</i>	II, 36
<i>al-'atf</i>	II, 37
<i>al-tawkīd</i>	II, 37
<i>al-badal</i>	II, 39
<i>al-īrāb al-maḥallī</i>	II, 40
<i>kaṣfiyyat al-īrāb</i>	II, 43
<i>Khātima fī īrāb 'iddat 'ibārāt</i>	II, 44

The book is not simply a copy of the *Qawā'id*, however. The author reproduces only the essential rules and leaves out the more complicated constructions. It is, of course, possible, that there circulated simpler versions of the *Qawā'id* for the earlier years of secondary schools, which could have served as his source, but since these are not available, it is impossible to check whether the graded method the authors of the *Qawā'id* advocate extended to elementary textbooks for the lower grades.

Even though the *Nayl* was therefore not an original work by Sheikh Ganief, he deserves praise for the initiative he took in adapting the Arabic sources for a non-Arabic audience. His didactic qualities are clear and he transformed this Arabic textbook into a suitable textbook for his South-African students. The use of Afrikaans, although it had become customary in Muslim scholarship in South Africa, still took a lot of effort. For an Afrikaans description of Arabic, a host of technical terms had to be coined, and since there are no known examples of any predecessors one has to assume that most of these technical terms were his own doing. What strikes one immediately, apart from the exotic character of the Arabic script to represent Afrikaans, is the use of Arabic loanwords, most of them integrated syntactically, sometimes even morphologically in Afrikaans. The use of these loanwords is not limited to grammatical terminology, since they are found everywhere in Cape Afrikaans writings, especially for religious notions.³² To quote a few examples: *af'āl* is translated with *fīls* 'verbs,' i.e., the singular of the Arabic term is used with an Afrikaans plural ending -s (I, 10.7). Likewise, one finds *mithāls* 'examples' (II, 18.5) and *isems* 'nouns' (II, 41.10), and, with another Afrikaans plural ending, *kitāpe* 'books' (II, 48). On the other hand, *die ḥurūf* 'the letters' (I, 1.12) is used with an Arabic broken plural. In some cases, the Arabic nouns are used with verbal prefixes, as in *wat ga-i'rāb wort* 'that which is declined' (II, 14.11) with the prefix of the past participle, or they are used as an infinitive, e.g. *hoe om te i'rāb* 'how to decline' (II, 43.1). Compounds with Arabic loanwords are also found, e.g. *kitaapverkoper* 'bookseller' (I, 39, left column 7), or *jā'izskap* 'permissibility' (II, 38.2).

The integration of loanwords is not restricted to those borrowed from Arabic, but also applies to those adopted from English. The interference from English, not only visible in the use of English loanwords, but also in the use of prepositional idioms and perhaps even in the word order, "points to all-purpose code-switching from Afrikaans to English among the Cape Malay community at the time of the author's writing."³³ In the vocabulary in part I we find, for instance, for *ḥikma* the word *wisdom* (I, 41, right column 4); for *fī l-safar* the translation *in di trefel* lit. 'in the travel' is given (I, 41, left column 12); and the usual translation of *ma'nā* is *meaning* (I, 9.3). Other examples of English loanwords include: *difrent patrone* 'different patterns' (I, 1.10); *in di eeste part* 'in the first part' (I, 3.14), *eidar*

³² See Kähler (1971: 199–202).

³³ Stell et al. (2007: 299–300).

'either' as translation for *immā* (II, 13.11); *mesteik* 'mistake' (II, 18.19), *oder* 'order' (II, 19.19), and *ekspelenasi* 'explanation' (II, 43.11).

In other varieties of Cape Afrikaans, Malay loanwords often occur,³⁴ but at the late stage when Sheikh Ganief wrote his grammar book for use in the schools, the knowledge of Malay among the Muslim community had dwindled, and the language of the *madrassa* had already shifted to Afrikaans. Accordingly, Malay loanwords were used much less in writing.³⁵ Some Malay loanwords, however, had become so current in the lexicon, that they were preserved even when the speakers no longer used Malay. Examples are *bayang* 'many' (II, 13.7), *baca* 'to read' (II, 43.12), and *pisangs* for 'bananas', with an Afrikaans plural ending (I, 35, right column 15).

The use of English, Malay, and Arabic loanwords in the language of Sheikh Ganief's writings is consistent with the variety of Cape Afrikaans that was current at the time of the author, and that is still spoken by Muslims today.³⁶ In some cases, it is not entirely clear, whether he writes his own idiolect, for instance, when he omits the indefinite article, as in *is foorbeeld* instead of *is een foorbeeld* (I, 7.12). But the majority of the linguistic features of his language are attested from other writings and must therefore be part of the general structure of Cape Afrikaans. In the field of phonology, for instance, we find *lat* for *dat* 'that [conjunction]' (e.g., II, 15.6); the prefix *ga-* in the past participle rather than *ge-*,³⁷ e.g. *gagee* 'given' (II, 48.4; Standard Afrikaans *gegê*, Standard Dutch *gegeven*); *dj* for *j*,³⁸ e.g. *djaar* for *jaar* 'year' (I, 38 left column 15), *djou* 'you' instead of *jou* (II, 13.7); further the elision of *r* in words like *eeste* (Afrikaans *eerste*) 'first'.³⁹

Morphologically, the language of Sheikh Ganief's writings is characterized by a creative use of neologisms with the help of Dutch/Afrikaans derivational suffixes. Stell gives some examples of such neologisms, such as *maakloon* 'creation; creator' (from Afrikaans *maak* 'to make').⁴⁰ In the case of grammatical terminology, we find, for instance *pleklek* for (*i'rāb*) *mahallī*, which can hardly be regarded as an existing Afrikaans/Dutch

³⁴ Kähler (1971: 47–64).

³⁵ Cf. Stell et al. (2007: 299).

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., 296.

³⁸ Ibid., 297.

³⁹ Ibid., 297.

⁴⁰ Stell (2007: 101–102).

word (< *plek* 'place'; II, 40.19) and *wereksloon* 'verbal action' (< *wer(e)k* 'work'; II, 27.14).

Syntactic features in Sheikh Ganief's work that are characteristic of Cape Afrikaans include the use of the preposition *fir* 'for' to introduce an animate object,⁴¹ which may be connected to Malay grammar,⁴² and the frequent use of the word order SVX in subordinate clauses, possibly as a result of interference from English.⁴³ With respect to word order, it may also be noted that the word order VSX occurs relatively frequently in his work; this may be the result of a too literal translation from Arabic.

For the grammatical technical terminology, Sheikh Ganief did not have an Afrikaans model on which he could fall back. He introduced some terms in their Arabic form, as we have seen above (*hurūf* 'letters,' *fī'l* 'verb,' *i'rāb* 'declension,' etc.), but not all grammatical technical terms are represented by loanwords. Some of them are translated into Afrikaans. Even those terms which are always used in their Arabic form are translated at their first occurrence, possibly as a form of explanation. Thus, for instance, the author gives the following translations for the three parts of speech (*Nayl* I, 2) *naam*, *werekwoort*, *artikel*. It may be noted here that the terms are not quite the same as in Dutch grammatical terminology (instead of *naam* one would expect *naamwoort*, and instead of *artikel* one would expect *partikel*). After this first explanatory translation, the Arabic terms are used consistently, sometimes with a Dutch plural ending, like *fī'ls* 'verbs,' and sometimes with an Arabic plural, e.g. *die hurūf* 'the letters' (I, 1.12). Likewise, the term *fā'il* is first translated as *doener* 'doer' (II, 21.14), after which the Arabic term is used. *Mubtada'* is translated the first time as *die wat bagin wort meen* lit. 'that with which it is begun' (II, 23.22), and *khabar* as *verteleng* lit. 'narration' (ib.). In some cases, the Arabic term is followed by *det meen* 'this means' with an Afrikaans paraphrase.

For some terms, Afrikaans translations are apparently preferred because they always occur in this form. In Table 3, some examples of translated terms are given.

⁴¹ Ibid., 105–106; Stell et al. (2007: 302).

⁴² For a discussion of the origin of this construction see Raidt (1976).

⁴³ Stell et al. (2007: 307–310).

Table 3: Examples of translated technical terms in the *Nayl*.

Arabic term	Afrikaans translation	English gloss	page
<i>mabniyya</i> ‘ <i>alā l-sukūn</i> ’	<i>gabou op di sukūn</i> (cf. <i>di gaboude</i> ‘the built,’ i.e. <i>al-mabniyy</i> II, 14.13)	‘built on the <i>sukūn</i> ’	II, 48.16
<i>adawāt al-sharṭ</i>	<i>artikels van di voorwaarde</i>	‘articles of the condition’	II, 21.5
<i>li-ta’adhdhur taḥrīkihā</i>	<i>om die onmogleke om te roer</i>	‘because of the impossibility of moving it’	II, 17.16
<i>ism zāhir</i>	<i>een deideleke isem</i>	‘a clear <i>ism</i> ’	II, 22.14
<i>fi’l mabniyy li-l-majhūl</i>	<i>een fi’l wat gabou is fir di onbekende fā’il</i>	‘a <i>fi’l</i> that is built for the unknown <i>fā’il</i> ’	II, 23.7
‘ <i>āmil</i>	<i>Werker</i>	‘worker’	II, 8.8
<i>alfāz mubhama</i>	<i>ondaidlike woorde</i>	‘unclear words’	II, 30.11
<i>ḥarf al-nidā’</i>	<i>ḥarf fan di roep</i>	‘ <i>ḥarf</i> of the call’	II, 31.13
<i>al-mutakallim</i>	<i>di prater</i>	‘the speaker’	II, 34.20
<i>tābi’</i>	<i>Folger</i>	‘follower’	II, 36.14
<i>al-i’rāb al-maḥallī</i>	<i>di plekleke i’rāb</i>	‘the local <i>i’rāb</i> ’	II, 40.19
<i>na’t</i>	<i>Manier</i>	‘manner’	II, 36.12

The translation sometimes falls short of conveying the exact meaning of the Arabic term. One example of this is (II, 48.4):

Mubtada’ marfū’ bi-l-ibtidā’
Mubtada’ hei is gagee raf’ met di baginsel
 ‘a *mubtada’* that has been given *raf’* with the beginning’

One wonders how any beginning student could have understood the meaning of this expression, which presupposes at least some knowledge of the principle of ‘*amal*. The theory of ‘*amal* is practically absent from the grammatical sketch, although *i’rāb* is defined as “changes at the end of the word [caused] by the change in the constructions of the speech” (*wa-l-mu’rab alladhī yataghayyar bi-taghayyur tarākīb al-kalām* (*Nayl* II, 8.13–14), and the *mabniyy* is defined explicitly as a word that is not changed “by the governors that affect it” (*bi-l-‘awāmil al-dākhila ‘alayhi*, *Nayl* II, 8.7). The notion of ‘*āmil* is mentioned once, translated as the *werker* ‘worker’ (*Nayl* II, 8.8), but no further explanation of this term is given.

There is only one instance of the use of Malay technical terms. The Arabic names for the vowels, *ḍamma*, *fatha*, *kasra* and *sukūn*, are translated with *di dapan*, *di dietis*, *di bawaa* and *di dua*, respectively (*Nayl* II, 14.17–18).

The first three terms represent the traditional Malay names for the vowel signs in the Jawi script that is based on Arabic: (*baris*) *di depan* or *hadapan* ‘(written) in front,’ i.e. *damma*; (*baris*) *di atas* ‘(written) above,’ i.e. *fatha*; and (*baris*) *di bawah* ‘(written) under,’ i.e. *kasra*.⁴⁴ The Malay names are themselves calques of the Persian names for the vowel signs: *pīsh* ‘front,’ *zebar* ‘upper side,’ *zīr* ‘under side.’ The fourth term in the *Nayl*, *di dua*, must be a mistake, since in Jawi script (*baris*) *dua* ‘(written) twice’ is used for the *tanwīn*, whereas the *sukūn* is usually called *mati* ‘eye.’ In the rest of the grammatical treatise, only the Arabic terms for the vowel names are used, without any translation.

The Arabic grammar was not only Ismail Ganief Edwards’ last scholarly work, but it also marked the end of the Arabic-Afrikaans tradition. The literature in Cape Afrikaans written with Arabic characters died out in the early 1960s, although even today there may still be a few people who sometimes use it for private correspondence.⁴⁵ At present, Arabic is learnt in South Africa both within Qur’ānic schools and within an academic setting, for instance at the University of Cape Town; in addition, it is also studied by people in private or in groups.⁴⁶ Yet, teaching has progressed from the religious and academic context and has come to include communicative use of the language. The model used in this curriculum is the Western model for teaching grammar, and the model of the Arabic grammarians is no longer used, except possibly in some of the Qur’ānic schools.⁴⁷ In this sense, Sheikh Ismail Ganief’s work marks the end of an era in which the teaching of Arabic was inextricably connected with the use of the Arabic grammatical model.

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⁴⁴ See Herbert and Milner (1989: 103).

⁴⁵ Tayob (p.c.).

⁴⁶ See Jeppie (2006).

⁴⁷ Cf. Mohamed (1998).

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