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***“Kanala, tamaaf, tramkassie, en stuur krieslam”*; Lexical and phonological echoes of Malay in Cape Town**

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“Kanala, tamaaf, tramkassie, en stuur krieslam”

Lexical and phonological echoes of Malay in Cape Town

TOM HOOGERVORST

ABSTRACT

This article traces a largely forgotten Malay dialect which was historically in use among South African Muslims of Southeast Asian origin. Its use reached its pinnacle in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Some elements of the Cape Malay grammar, especially its phonology, can be reconstructed through early- and mid-twentieth-century documents, most of which were written by outsiders when it was no longer passed on as a first language. When read linguistically, these sources reveal that the Malay of Cape Town resembled that of Batavia, Eastern Indonesia, and Sri Lanka. In a later developmental stage, Cape Malay adopted linguistic features from other languages spoken in the Western Cape. Yet influence took place in multiple directions and several non-standard varieties of Afrikaans exhibit lexical influence from Malay. As such, Cape Malay language history is relevant to those interested in Southeast Asia as well as South Africa.

KEYWORDS

Cape Malay; historical linguistics; language contact; Kaaps; Malayic varieties; lexical borrowing.

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INTRODUCTION¹

By the mid-seventeenth century, Cape Town had become the westernmost outpost of the Malay-speaking world. Many of the city’s political exiles, servants, soldiers and enslaved populations, uprooted and transported westward under the yoke of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), were Malay language speakers. For about two centuries, the pre-eminent lingua franca of Southeast Asia managed to establish itself an ocean away from its cradle. By the mid-nineteenth century, Malay was gradually substituted by Kaaps (the Western Cape “dialect” of Afrikaans)² and more recently by English. The present study traces this intriguing language history and discusses the typological features of South Africa’s now extinct Malay variety.

It should be made clear from the outset that I use the word “Malay” in its linguistic rather than ethnic sense. Besides a European colonial elite, the overseas-born residents of early Cape Town originated from numerous parts of the Indian Ocean and intermarriage was common.³ Together with the indigenous Khoekhoe peoples and their multi-racial descendants, they were the ancestors of the creolized segment of the city’s population. Throughout the eighteenth century, Malay and Kaaps – then known as Cape Dutch (*Kaaphollandsch*) – were in use, while the importance of Portuguese was dwindling. By the turn of the twentieth century, a broader “Coloured” community – of which the “Malays” formed a subgroup – had converged linguistically (through Kaaps and English), religiously (through Islam and Christianity) and culturally (Adhikari 1992, 2002; Vivian Bickford-Smith 1995). That is not to say that Malay/Indonesian or other regional origins ceased to matter. Sailors born in the Malay World – known locally under the ethnonym *Djawi*⁴ – continued on occasion to settle in the Cape and integrated into the resident Malay community (Johan L.M. Franken 1953a: 117). The label Malay functioned as a homogenizing blanket term, competing with other supra-identities such as “Cape Muslim” (which also included Muslims of Indian

¹ *Baie tramakassie* to Alexander Adelaar, Michael Laffan, and Peter Slomanson for their valuable comments on an earlier draft of this article, and to Saarah Jappie for suggesting some key literature. I am also deeply grateful to Zainab Davidson, who has patiently answered my questions on Cape Muslim history during an extremely informative afternoon in the Simon’s Town Heritage Museum. The responsibility for any shortcomings is entirely mine.

² The variety is also referred to as Cape Vernacular Afrikaans and, more recently, as Afrikaaps. Since it has a longer history than standard Afrikaans, including in writing, it is historically somewhat inadequate to consider the former a dialect of the latter. Unlike the Europeanized type of Afrikaans promoted under the Apartheid State, most speakers of Kaaps belong to the “Coloured” community. See Mohamed Adhikari (1996), Kay McCormick (2002), and Frank Hendricks and Carlyn Dyers (2016) for more background.

³ The main geographical regions of origin were East Africa, Madagascar, Makassar, Bengal, the Malabar Coast, the Coromandel Coast, Batavia, Bali, Bugis, Buton, West Africa, Sri Lanka, the Mascarenes and miscellaneous parts of South and Southeast Asia (Robert C.H. Shell 1994: 15).

⁴ The term *djawi* is still attested in the Afrikaans of Strand along the False Bay (Anton F. Prinsloo 2009: 44). It is derived from Arabic *jāwī* with the same meaning.

origins) and “Cape Coloured” (which also included Christians).⁵

The idea of a wholly separate Cape Malay identity cannot be divorced from a certain European picturesque, in which Malay men and women were portrayed as colourfully garbed, artisanal, civilized, hardworking, docile figurants essential to the colonial status quo (Gabeba Baderoon 2014). In European eyes, they counted as a kind of aristocracy among the non-European populations (Bickford-Smith 1995: 34). The idea of an unadulterated Malay culture found its strongest advocate in the Afrikaner litterateur and university teacher Izak David du Plessis (1900-1981). In his capacity of Commissioner for Coloured Affairs, he had been instrumental in the creation of a number of semi-invented traditions, such as the famous Malay choirs (Shamil Jeppie 2001; Leslie Witz 2003; Anne Marieke van der Wal-Rémy 2016). His academic writings provided the ideological underpinnings for a legal reclassification of Cape Malays under the Apartheid State, distinct from Black and generic “Coloured” South Africans (Jeppie 1987, 2001; Witz 2003). From the 1990s, the Malaysian government introduced and promoted the concept of a South African “Malay diaspora” (Jeppie 2001; Muhammed Haron 2007). The Indonesian government soon followed suit (Jappie 2018). In addition to these external constructions of Cape Malay-ness, which often downplayed the non-Southeast Asian elements of their heritage, recent modes of self-identification tend to centre on Malay/Indonesian genealogies, a distinctive attire and cuisine, the possession of Islamic manuscripts, the *ratiep* tradition, sites of religious importance and, for some, visits to Indonesia (Kerry Ward 1995; Adhikari 2002; Jappie 2011, 2018; Baderoon 2014).

The rise and fall of the Malay language in Cape Town can be reconstructed fragmentarily through the observations of European visitors and settlers. The prominence of Malay among Cape Town’s enslaved population is well attested in eighteenth-century court documents (Franken 1953b; Nigel Worden and Gerald Groenewald 2005). The Swedish naturalist Andrew Sparrman, writing in the 1770s, listed Malay among the languages he heard around Simon’s Bay (1785: 22). He noticed that European children raised by Malay-speaking nurses also developed proficiency in it (1785: 228). In the 1800s, the German physician Martin Hinrich Carl Lichtenstein described the language practices of the indigenous Khoekhoe people as follows: “Most of them only retain some particular expressions, which are mingled with the Dutch, Portuguese, and Malay languages, spoken by the slaves and common people, in the proportion of not more than a fourth part” (1812/2 Appendix). The existence of mixed languages with a Malay element is affirmed elsewhere in his travelogue, when he reports to have been “addressed by an old man, who appeared of Mozambique, in a language composed of Portuguese, Dutch, and Malay” (1812/1: 34) and an indigenous San girl who “answered with great naïveté

⁵ See Shamil Jeppie (2001), M. Eric Germain (2002), Gabeba Baderoon (2014), and Anne Marieke van der Wal-Rémy (2016) on the issue of nomenclature among the Cape Malays/Muslims. Ronit Ricci (2016) highlights similar terminological issues among Sri Lanka’s Malay community.

in broken Dutch, mixed with the Hottentot and Malay languages” (1812/2: 8). Such manifestations of language mixing, the echoes of which resonate into the present, can be traced to the early eighteenth century.⁶

Apart from the question of whether these European observers were able to distinguish Malay from Bugis, Malagasy, or other related languages, their accounts were by no means consistent. In 1861, John Schofield Mayson observed that all Cape Malays “converse in the Malayan and speak more fluently in the Dutch than in the English language” (1963: 14). Conversely, Lieutenant Reinhold Werner asserted two years later that the Cape Malays had lost their language to Dutch (Karl Andree 1863). This observation was confirmed three decades later by the missionary Peter Heinrich Brincker (1893). Nevertheless, the language certainly persisted as a ritual idiom. In the 1880s, the self-proclaimed colonist Eric Aspelting pointed out that Cape Malays were required to take their oaths in the Court of Justice in Malay: “[t]he witness is made to repeat a series of words in their peculiar dialect, after which the priest places the Koran on the witness’s head, on which the latter repeats the words” (1883: 9). At the turn of the twentieth-century, a local newspaper article contended that “[t]heir language used to be the Malay language. They have lost it. They are a Dutch speaking community of different nationalities and races [...]”.⁷ Although Malay proficiency was indeed dwindling, knowledge presumably survived among learned individuals. The well-known Imām Kamāl al-Dīn (1873-1935), who was born in Port Elizabeth and later lived in Johannesburg, was said to be a fluent speaker of Malay (Moegamat Abdurahgiem Paulsen 2003: 40).

The historian Johan Lambertus Machiel Franken claimed in 1930 that Malay had been in common use a quarter to half a century ago, but was now only remembered by some people in their seventies and eighties (Franken 1953a: 117).⁸ In broader circles, it had been reduced to residual vocabulary and memorized formulaic expressions. Around the same time, Du Plessis reported that the marriage ceremony, which previously took place in Malay, was now conducted in Arabic or Afrikaans (Du Plessis 1939: 17). In another article, he cites a number of petrified Malay phrases in storytelling traditions (Du Plessis 1945: 170). Malay words also feature in a number of traditional songs (Du Plessis 1935: 147; Van der Wal-Rémy 2016: 164-165)⁹ and spiritual

⁶ In 1707, for example, a man named Biron was arrested for singing “some smutty songs, half in Malay, half in Dutch” (*eenige vuijle liedekens half op ‘t Mallais en half op ‘t Hollands*) (Du Plessis 1935: 37, footnote 10).

⁷ Hiesham Neamatullah Effendi (Cape Times, 20 March 1903), quoted in Achmat Davids (1992: 51).

⁸ According to Shell (1994: 40), “Malay was last heard in Cape Town in 1923”. It is not clear to me on which this specific year is based. In addition, some individuals undoubtedly picked up conversational Malay during the *Hajj*, or, in the case of the cultural activist Ismail Petersen, from passing Southeast Asian seamen (Haron 2007: 226).

⁹ However, the Malay songs listed in Du Plessis (1939: 101-103) are clearly of recent vintage. One might speculate they were introduced to the Cape by the Flemish composer Emiel Hullebroeck (1878-1965), who spent time in South Africa and had earlier documented traditional Indonesian songs.

mantras (Hans Kähler 1971; Desmond Desai 1993: 594-597). Franken, writing in the 1950s, documented several examples of spoken formulas. To invite people to a funeral, a mosque messenger (*maboet*) would reportedly utter the following phrases:

<p>“Bismila toewang, minta maaf, intji Abdol kasi, farldoe kifajat piljara poekoel satoe (doea of tiga). [...] Baing tramkassie (of trimakassi), toewang, toewang; intji Abdol minta talil besoek malang sampi toedjoeng malang dangha soerat Jassim” (Franken 1953a: 118).</p>	<p>“In God’s name Sir, if I may be so bold, Mr. Abdol is holding a communal funeral ritual at one o’clock (or two or three) [...] Many thanks, Sir, Sir; Mr. Abdol requests a <i>tahlil</i> tomorrow evening until seven in the evening to listen to the <i>Sūrah Yā’-Sīn</i>”.</p>
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While such fixed expressions are no longer common, Malay (and Arabic) vocabulary remain a distinctive part of the Cape Muslim linguistic identity. Consider, for example, the following quote by the popular director, playwright, and author Zulfah Otto-Sallies in her short story *Alles op ‘n Sondag* ‘Everything on a Sunday’:¹⁰

<p>“Salaam, Oemie! Hoe Faa, Boeja! Tien rand se koesiesters, kanala, baie stroep en min klapper. Shukran! Kanala, tamaaf, tramkassie, en stuur krieslam vi’ Amina!” (Otto-Sallies 2010: 60).</p>	<p>“Hello, Mother! How are you, Father! <i>Koesiesters</i> for ten rand, please, with a lot of syrup and less coconut. Thanks! Please, excuse me, thank you, and send my regards to Amina!”</p>
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Most academic attention paid to Cape Malay has been of secondary nature. It is discussed in passing in scholarship on the origins of Afrikaans (Daniël Brink Bosman 1916; Marius F. Valkhoff 1972; Ron Witton 2000; Hans den Besten 2000; Gerard Stell 2011),¹¹ Malay manuscripts (Munazzah Zakaria 1996, 1998; Mukhlis PaEni et al. 2008), the Arabic Afrikaans literature (Kähler 1971; Stell et al. 2007; Davids 2011), and the contemporary Cape Muslim variety of Kaaps (Kähler 1971; Ernst Frederick Kotzé 1983). No study known to me is dedicated to its typology or linguistic history, leaving this variety an outsider to the field of Malay Studies. A number of common habits in the wider literature – such as the inability to provide the etyma of postulated Malay borrowings or reconstruct systematic sound correspondences¹² and the frequent usage of “Malaysian” instead of Malay – reveal a modicum of unfamiliarity with Malay historical linguistics. Some external observers have also been prone to spell Malay words in the orthography of British Malaya, raising questions

¹⁰ See Nadine Cloete (2016) for more information on Zulfah Otto-Sallies (1961-2016).

¹¹ Gerald Groenewald (2008) provides an overview of studies discussing the tentative slave origins of Afrikaans.

¹² Ignorance of regular sound correspondences is the progenitor of many a false etymology. One persistent example in the context of Cape Malay is the faulty derivation of *ghomma* ‘drum’ from Javanese gong ‘a flat metal disc used in percussion’. In reality, the word reflects *ngoma* in various Nguni, Sabaki, and Makua languages. This word can denote a drum, but also a specific musical genre.

about their actual attestation in the Cape. This is the case with the work of Du Plessis, whose ideas of an “authentic” Cape Malay culture had clear political underpinnings. Hans Kähler, who had earlier studied Indonesian languages, likewise often spells Malay words in a philological rather than colloquially attested fashion. Even the “Cape Malay” cookbook of the culinary expert Betsie Rood (1981) contains numerous terms which appear to reflect library knowledge rather than real-life observations.¹³

The present article examines the historical Cape Malay variety from the perspective of Malay linguistics. In three sections, it reconstructs the contact situation shaping the Cape Malay vernacular, its typological features in comparison with other Malay varieties and its direct lexical influence on Afrikaans. Doing so offers some linguistic background to historical narratives. While the mixed ancestry of the Cape Muslim community is beyond doubt, the linguistic embedding of this legacy merits a deeper focus.¹⁴ The data analysed in this study include words still in use among Cape Muslims, in addition to obsolete vocabulary documented in previous scholarship (see Appendix).¹⁵ I have maintained the original orthographies of the South African scholars whose work I cite, but rendered the lexical data found in the (German) work of Kähler in a contemporary Kaaps/Afrikaans spelling.¹⁶ Rather than listing every Malay word ever attested in the Western Cape or repeating etymologically unconvincing postulations from the wider literature, this study prioritizes examples which reveal linguistically relevant processes. The much-debated topic of Malay grammatical influence on Afrikaans falls beyond its scope.¹⁷

THE CONTACT SITUATION

The Western Cape has long been a plurilingual society. In addition to different Cape Khoekhoe varieties, various European, Asian, and Southeast African languages were introduced in colonial times. Common mother tongues in the latter category included Bugis, Javanese, Malagasy, and Hokkien Chinese, while contact languages such as Malay, Portuguese, and Dutch were used between groups.¹⁸ Communities from South Asia, often designated as

¹³ See Baderoon (2014: 56-59) on the ways indigenous and “Cape Malay” people have been structurally muted from South Africa’s culinary discourse.

¹⁴ As is occasionally pointed out, an excessive focus on *creolité* brings the risk of erasing complex histories of non-European plurilingualism. This has recently been shown in a study of vernacular writing in the Malagasy diaspora (Pier M. Larson 2009).

¹⁵ I have only referenced attestations of words no longer commonly known to (most) Cape Muslims. I base these judgements on a brief (two-week) period of fieldwork conducted in June 2018 and expect that additional data can be found in a more thorough study than I have been able to pursue.

¹⁶ The graph <dj> is used for /j/, <g> for /x/, <gh> for /g/, <ie> for /i:/, <j> for /j/, <nj> for /ɲ/, <oe> for /u:/, <tj> for /c/, and <y> for /ɔi/.

¹⁷ This topic has been discussed by Fritz Ponelis (1993), Den Besten (2000), C. de Ruyter and Ernst Frederick Kotzé (2002), and Slomanson (2009). Tentative examples of Malay grammatical influence include reduplication, the possessive particle *se*, and the prohibitive particle *moenie*.

¹⁸ See Shell (1994) and Worden and Groenewald (2005) for more detailed information on the linguistic diversity in early Cape Town.

“Malabaris” (South Indians) and “Bengalis” (North Indians), might already have spoken a Portuguese-lexicon creole prior to arrival. Scholars commonly refer to this variety as “Malayo-Portuguese”, although it makes more sense to categorize it as “Indo-Portuguese” (Den Besten 1997). Although the VOC discouraged the use of Portuguese in the Cape, a small number of elderly people – all descendants of enslaved people – were recorded to have some knowledge of it as late as the 1910s (G.R. von Wielligh 1917). It is not clear whether the Portuguese in question was Indo-Portuguese or Mozambican Portuguese.

The available Malay sources in the Arabic-derived Jawi script tell us little about the spoken language. As was the case across the Malay World, most manuscripts were in the literary language. The manuscripts from Cape Town, studied by Zakaria (1996, 1998) and PaEni et al. (2008), indeed do not reflect obvious dialectal characteristics. Nevertheless, a small number of written documents contain clues to the type of Malay used colloquially. Some isolated phrases documented by Franken (1953a) and Kähler (1971) are analysed in the next section. In addition, we have a Malay translation of a Bugis letter dated to 1760.¹⁹ This letter was translated by a certain Pieter Mathijs Pietersoon. Little is known about this apparent polyglot, except that he was a “native ensign” (*inlands vaandrig*) banished to the Cape in 1744 (*Realia* 1882: 86). His translated letter, given in Franken (1953b: 67-69), is in colloquial Malay and therefore provides a rare glimpse into the Malay contact variety once prevalent in the Cape. The original letter in Bugis also reveals that Asian mother tongues other than Malay had for the time being also remained in use. Another eighteenth-century exile, Noriman (or Norman), also wrote at least one letter in Bugis (Worden 2014: 39; Michael F. Laffan 2017: 52). A second letter in colloquial Malay can be dated to 1836 and was written to the British colonial administrator Benjamin D’Urban (1777-1849) on behalf of an *imām* named Jan van Boughies.²⁰ No examples of contemporaneous letters in other Indonesian languages, such as Javanese or Makassar, are known to me, although it would not be surprising if they existed.²¹

In tracing the origins of Cape Malay, it is insightful to draw comparisons with other Malay contact varieties. Sri Lankan Malay likewise incorporated speakers of diverse Indonesian origins, whose Malay was later influenced lexically and grammatically by Sri Lanka’s local languages. The Sri Lankan Malay examples cited for comparative purposes are taken from Anne Bichsel-Stettler (1989). Equally crucial was Betawi Malay, historically spoken in the city of Batavia (now Jakarta). This variety shows influence from Balinese, Hokkien Chinese, Javanese, and Sundanese. The earliest Betawi dictionary

¹⁹ See Franken (1953b: 67-69), Sirtjo Koolhof and Robert Ross (2005), and Worden (2014) for more background.

²⁰ A picture and (incomplete) transliteration of this letter is found in Davids (1990: 9), who indicates that the original is kept in the Cape Archives (CO 3984.798). See Laffan (Forthcoming) for a detailed contextualization of this letter and the correspondence in which it emerged.

²¹ Ricci (2012) draws attention to a Javanese poem found in Sri Lanka, indicating a comparable multilingual tradition around the early nineteenth century.

known to me is a 217-page work by C.J. Batten entitled *De djoeroe Basa Betawi* ‘The Betawi translator’, from which the examples cited in this study are taken. Historically, Batavia also spawned an older Malay variety spoken among the “Mardijker” community, which consisted of freed slaves of diverse regional origins. Some Mardijkers settled in the Cape in service of the VOC (Lawrence G. Green 1948: 94). Their Malay has been preserved in an eighteenth-century book of poems titled *Livro de pantuns* ‘Book of pantuns’. As a recent linguistic analysis of this unique source shows, Mardijker Malay features phonological characteristics typically associated with Eastern Indonesian Malay,²² yet also has a strong lexical imprint from Java Malay (Adelaar In print). A comparable situation has been observed in Sri Lankan Malay (Adelaar 1991).

As Batavia was a well-known VOC port from which ships sailed to Sri Lanka, Cape Town, and other destinations, one might assume that this lexical element came from Betawi rather than directly from Javanese. In Cape Malay, I have found no words which exist in Javanese but not in Betawi, yet several which exist in Betawi but not in Javanese. Therefore, direct influence from Betawi seems more plausible (Table 1), even though some words ultimately do go back to Javanese.

While Batten’s 1868 dictionary has proven helpful in identifying Betawi etyma for a number of specific Cape Malay words, it must be kept in mind that the Betawi in question would have been the seventeenth- or eighteenth-century rather than nineteenth-century variety. I assume that this earlier Betawi language was akin to Mardijker Malay as reconstructed by Adelaar (In print). In the nineteenth century, the velarization of word-final nasals – now commonly associated with Eastern Indonesian Malay – had disappeared in Betawi. There are reasons to believe it was more widespread previously. A late-seventeenth-century Malay conversation in Batavia, inconsistently transliterated by the German gardener George Meister (1692: 203-205), exhibits some words of the Mardijker or Eastern Indonesian type, such as *beta* ‘I’ and *jalang* ‘to go’. The Dutch poem *Een nieuw Oost-Indies lied* ‘A new East Indian song’, written in Batavia at the turn of the eighteenth century, contains the “eastern” phrase *beta mau cuki tuwang* ‘I want to have sex with you’.²³ Even the mid-nineteenth-century Betawi Malay in Batten’s dictionary contains some words currently associated with Eastern Indonesian Malay, such as *cuki mai* ‘fuck your mother’, *dolo* ‘earlier’, *horas* ‘time; hour’, *malam baik* ‘good evening’, *sapa* ‘who’, *satori* ‘issue; rumour; admonition’, and *tabe* ‘greetings’. These similarities seem to reflect a historical contact variety. The proportion of captives, soldiers, and enslaved people from the eastern islands in Batavia’s early demographics is historically well documented, yet the precise directionality of the above linguistic features deserves a more detailed study.

²² By “Eastern Indonesian Malay”, I refer to the varieties of North Sulawesi, Maluku, East Nusa Tenggara, and Papua.

²³ Slightly different yet equally poor transcriptions of this phrase are given in E. du Perron (1948: 130) and Jos Houtsma (2012: 172-174). Neither suggests a translation of the original Malay.

Betawi	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>bəboto</i>	<i>bobotie</i>	'a spicy dish' ²⁴
<i>bigimana</i>	<i>bighimana</i> [F]	'how' ²⁵
<i>bore</i>	<i>borrie</i>	'a kind of yellow powder or cream' ²⁶
<i>comel</i>	<i>tjommel</i> ²⁷	'to grumble'
<i>kali</i>	<i>kalie</i>	'river'
<i>kəmparan</i> ²⁸	<i>kaparrang~kaparring</i>	'a kind of wooden shoe'
<i>ləbaran</i>	<i>labarang</i>	'an Islamic holiday ('Īd al-Fiṭr)'
<i>lənggo</i>	<i>lingo</i>	'a Betawi dance' ²⁹
<i>malam baik</i>	<i>malbaai</i> [F]	'good evening' ³⁰
<i>minyān</i>	<i>miang</i>	'incense' ³¹
<i>padasan</i>	<i>padasang</i> [K]	'a water jar for ritual ablutions'
<i>rampē</i>	<i>rampie</i>	'a mixture of aromatic leaves' ³²
<i>sapa</i>	<i>sappe</i> [F] ³³	'who'
<i>səsate</i>	<i>sosatie</i>	'skewered meat (satay)'
<i>tudung</i>	<i>toering</i>	'a type of round, broad hat' ³⁴

Table 1. Betawi lexical influence.

²⁴ In C.J. Batten (1868: 185), *bəboto* is 'a kind of side dish of spiced eggs, prepared in a banana leaf'. In Cape cuisine, *bobotie* is an oven dish consisting of minced meat, spices, and eggs. Recurring etymologies of *bobotie* from Malay *bumbu* 'spice mixture' or *bubur* 'porridge' are faulty on phonological as well as semantic grounds.

²⁵ The standard Malay equivalent is *bagaimana*.

²⁶ Not given in Batten (1868), but found in Kähler (1966: 36). Ultimately from Javanese *boreh*, a yellow cream used by Javanese men, which had turmeric as its main ingredient (Stapel 1921: 818). In Cape Malay, the meaning of *borrie* is likewise 'turmeric'.

²⁷ the Cape, *tjommel* rather means 'to complain; to nag'.

²⁸ Found in Kähler (1966: 79) as *gəmparan~kəmparan* and in Batten (1868: 62) as *gəmparan*. Ultimately from Javanese *gamparan* in the same meaning.

²⁹ Du Plessis (1953: 80) gives *lingo* 'a traditional Javanese dance', Kähler (1971: 56) *lango~loengo* 'a dance', and Davids (2011: 250) *lingoe* 'a Balinese cushion dance, still popular at the Cape up to the 1960s'. However, this dance belongs foremost to the Betawi tradition, in which it is known as *lənggo* or *bələnggo*. The nature of the dance seems to have changed considerably. According to Witz (2003: 136-137), the Capetonian *lingo* was largely invented by Izak David du Plessis.

³⁰ The common phrase in contemporary Malay is *Səlamat malam* 'Good evening', but Batten (1868: 201) still gives *Maləm baik* in Betawi. It is tempting to see this construction as a calque from a European language

³¹ The generic Malay equivalent is *kəmənyān* in the same meaning.

³² In Betawi, *rampē* is 'a mixture of pandanus and other fragrant, finely cut leaves' (Batten 1868: 134). In Cape Town, citrus leaves are used for this purpose. The expression *rampies sny* 'to cut rampies' refers to the tradition of cutting fragrant leaves to be prayed over on the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad.

³³ Only in the phrase *Sappe itou* 'Who is that?' (< *sapa itu*), recorded in a 1733 Dutch source (Franken 1953b: 53).

³⁴ In other Malay varieties, *tudung* is the generic word for headcover or cover in general. In Betawi, it specifically denotes a 'round and broad headgear; a sun hat' (Batten 1868: 167). In the Cape, *toering* refers to a wide, conical straw hat.

A number of Cape Malay words cannot easily be explained through Betawi (Table 2). Some of the phonological innovations observed below had already occurred in Southeast Asia. For the attestations *ghoentoem* ‘thunder’ and *oekoer~oeker* ‘to fumigate with perfume’, however, they might have taken place in the Cape under conditions which remain obscure to me.

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>bicara~picara</i> ³⁵	<i>pitjara</i> [K, Z]	‘to speak’
<i>kilap</i> ³⁶	<i>ghielap</i> [D]	‘lightning’
<i>gula wajik</i>	<i>kolwadjik</i> [G] ³⁷	‘a sweet rice dessert’
<i>guntur</i>	<i>ghoentoem</i> [D] ³⁸	‘thunder’
<i>ukup</i>	<i>oekoer~oeker</i> [F]	‘to fumigate with perfume’

Table 2. Irregular Malay words.

Three Chinese loanwords, all of which also attested in Malay, can be found in the Cape (Table 3). They all reflect the Hokkien variety, which was common in Batavia. The only other early Chinese loans found in the Cape are originally from Cantonese and were presumably borrowed via English: *koemkwat* ‘kumquat’ (< *gām gwāt* 金橘) and *loekwat* ‘loquat’ (< *lòuh gwāt* 盧橘).

Hokkien	Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>chhi~chháu</i> 青草	<i>cincao</i>	<i>tschín-tschou</i> [G]	‘a type of jelly’ ³⁹
<i>ńg~chek</i> 俺叔	<i>ancik</i>	<i>intji</i> [F]	‘uncle’ ⁴⁰
<i>tōa-peh-kong</i> 大伯公	<i>toapekong</i>	<i>tapekkom</i> [F] ⁴¹	‘a Chinese deity’

Table 3. Chinese loanwords.

³⁵ The irregular innovation from /b/ to /p/ is also attested in Sri Lankan Malay *pica:ra* ‘to discuss’. The Dutch, too, consistently used the p-form in VOC times (Waruno Mahdi 2007: 302); the word *pitsjaring* was the common term for a ‘ship’s council’. In several Indonesian languages, the form *picara* specifically refers to a court case. Zainab Davidson also remembers this usage in the Cape.

³⁶ In mainstream Malay, *kilap* means ‘shine’ and *kilat* means ‘lightning’. However, at least one early Malay dictionary gives *kilap* in the meaning of ‘lightning’ (William Marsden 1812: 280). Sri Lankan Malay likewise has *ki:lap* ‘lightning; shine’. For Cape Malay, Kähler (1971: 55) gives *kilab* in literary and *gillap* in colloquial language.

³⁷ Also spelled *colvagiéd* or *koevagiép* (Hilda Gerber 1957: 84) or *koelwajib* (Du Plessis 1939: 20). In the Malay World, the default term is *kue wajik*. However, the /l/ in the Cape Malay attestations suggests an earlier *gula wajik*.

³⁸ Kähler (1971: 55) observes *koento* in the same meaning in literary sources. The loss of the word-final /r/ can be explained through phonological influence from Kaaps, but the word-final addition of /m/ remains unaccounted for.

³⁹ According to Gerber (1957: 76-77), a pink seaweed collected by Malay fishermen of Hout Bay to be used in desserts. In South Africa typically made of *Gelidium vittatum* (Linnaeus) Kützing and in Indonesia often of *Cyclea barbata* Miers.

⁴⁰ In the Malay World also in the meaning of ‘Mr.’ and in the Cape only in the latter meaning.

⁴¹ This is the historical Malay name of two stones near the Cape Point lighthouse said to resemble a Chinese idol (Franken 1953b: 124).

As mentioned previously, many enslaved South Indians spoke Indo-Portuguese and/or Malay. That is not to say, however, that their ancestral languages completely disappeared. It is evident that Tamil continued to be used in the Cape for some time. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the freedman Jan Smiesing kept medicinal remedies written in this language (Shell 2013; Worden 2014). Around the same time, the Ceylonese exile Nicolaas Ondaatje left several letters in Tamil – with many Portuguese and Dutch loanwords – and one in Sinhalese (Herman Tieken 2015). An 1884 glossary of Kaaps contains a number of Tamil loanwords: *katel* ‘bedstead’ (< *kaṭṭil* கட்டில்), *kerriekos* ‘stewed meat with curry’ (< Tamil *kari* கறி ‘sauce’ + Afrikaans *kos* ‘food’), *nartji* ‘a citrus fruit’ (< *nārattai* நாரத்தை), *rijsbrênsie* ‘a yellow rice dish’ (< Afrikaans *rys* ‘rice’ + Tamil *biriñci* பிரிஞ்சி ‘a yellow rice dish’), *saroet~seroet* ‘a filter-less cigar’ (< *curuṭṭu* சுருட்டு), and *tjoema* ‘(to play) for nothing’ (< *cummā* சும்மா). With the exception of *nartji* and *rijsbrênsie*, these words have also found their way into generic Malay. The swearword *tayolie*, recorded among Cape Town’s slave population (Franken 1953b: 56-57), presumably goes back to Tamil *tāyōli* (தாயோலி) ‘motherfucker’ and is likewise attested in nineteenth-century Malay.

Lexical influence from Hindustani, Bengali, or other north Indian languages is harder to identify. As the enslaved South Asians shared no lingua franca, their linguistic distinctiveness did not survive as long as that of Malay-speaking people (Ansu Datta 2013: 67-73). The aforementioned Kaaps glossary contains the interjection of surprise *arrie* (N. Mansvelt 1884: 9), which appears to reflect Hindustani or Bengali *are* with the same meaning. Other examples presumably entered the Cape through third languages. The words *basaar~besaar* ‘open-air market’ (< *bāzār*), *tjap* ‘stamp’ (< *chāp*), and *tjoeki* ‘prison’ (< *caukī*)⁴² could have been borrowed through English *bazaar*, *chop* and *chokey*, while *atjar* ‘pickle’ (< *ācār*) and *sambok* ‘horsewhip’ (< *cābuk*) seem to reflect Malay *acar* and *cambuk*. In the Cape Muslim vernacular, a number of food items are likewise from a north Indian language: *aknie* ‘a rice dish’ (< *akhnī*), *barishap* ‘fennel’ (< *baḍīsep*), *dhania* ‘coriander’ (< *dhaniyā*), *faloeda* ‘a sweet drink’ (< *fālūda*), *djira* ‘cumin’ (< *jīrā*), *meti* ‘fenugreek’ (< *methī*), *masala* ‘a mixture of spices’ (< *masālā*), *roti* ‘a flatbread’ (< *roṭī*), and *samoosa* ‘a triangular savoury snack’ (< *samosa*).

It is not entirely certain how Malay and north Indian languages have influenced each other in the religious sphere. The Indonesian research team which catalogued Malay manuscripts in the possession of Cape Muslim families marked two items as containing prayers in Urdu (PaEni et al. 2008: 15, 40). The rationale behind this identification – as opposed to another Indian language or Persian – is not completely clear and I know of no attempts to analyse these manuscripts linguistically. The Hindustani-derived vocabulary used in Cape Muslim circles, religious or otherwise, has generally also been adopted in the Malay core regions (Table 4).

⁴² A more widespread word for ‘prison’ is *tronk*, from Portuguese *tronco* with the same meaning.

Hindustani	Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>ābdast</i>	<i>abdast</i>	<i>abdast</i>	‘ritual ablution’
<i>āsthāna</i>	<i>astana</i> ⁴³	<i>astana</i> [K]	‘a burial place of a high-ranking person’
<i>bāṅg</i>	<i>bang</i>	<i>bang</i>	‘the call to prayer (<i>adān</i>)’
<i>ḍhol</i>	<i>dol</i>	<i>dol</i>	‘a large drum’
<i>langar</i>	<i>langgar</i>	<i>langar</i>	‘a space for worship (<i>muṣallā</i>)’
<i>masān</i>	<i>mesan</i>	<i>mesang</i>	‘cemetery’ ⁴⁴
<i>sarband</i>	<i>sorban</i>	<i>sorbaan</i>	‘turban’
<i>sarhang</i>	<i>sərang</i>	<i>sarang</i> [C] ⁴⁵	‘boatswain’

Table 4. Hindustani words.

Language contact between Cape Malay and Arabic is of an even more complex nature. As Arabic is considered a learned and liturgical language, its users tend to minimize regionalisms. As a result, there is an incentive to pronounce Arabic loanwords authentically. In vernacular usage, we nevertheless find some examples reflecting borrowing through Malay rather than directly from Arabic. The main shibboleth of Malay intermediacy is the insertion of an “echo vowel” into a word-final consonant cluster (Table 5). In addition, the Cape Malay form *waktōe* ‘time for prayer’ clearly goes back to Malay *waktu* ‘time’ (< *waqt*), with an irregular paragogic /u/ that might indicate acquisition through Tamil.

Arabic	Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>aṣl</i>	<i>asal</i>	<i>assal</i>	‘origin’
<i>ḍikr</i>	<i>jikir~zikir</i>	<i>djieker</i>	‘to repeat God’s praises’
<i>ḥukm</i>	<i>hukum</i>	<i>goekoem</i>	‘law’
<i>raqm</i>	<i>rakam~rəkam</i>	<i>rakam</i> [F]	‘figure’ ⁴⁶
<i>rizq</i>	<i>rizik</i> ⁴⁷	<i>rieziek</i>	‘sustenance’
<i>ṣubḥ</i>	<i>subuh</i>	<i>soeboeg</i>	‘early dawn prayer’
<i>witr</i>	<i>witir</i>	<i>whieter</i>	‘a prayer performed at night’
<i>zuhr</i>	<i>zuhur~luhur</i>	<i>zoeger</i>	‘midday prayer’

Table 5. Arabic loanwords borrowed through Malay.⁴⁸

Semantically, too, some Arabic words can be shown to have entered the language through Malay. The usage of *bilal* for the person who recites the call to prayer is similar in the Malay World, as are the administrative ranks of

⁴³ Now exclusively in the meaning of ‘palace’ in Malay, but in Javanese both ‘burial place’ and ‘palace’. Sanskrit *āsthāna* ‘assembly; hall of audience’ undoubtedly influenced both forms.

⁴⁴ In Malay and Cape Malay, this word has acquired the meaning of ‘tombstone’.

⁴⁵ Used in the meaning of ‘skipper’ in the Cape (Thomas Arnoldus Carse 1959: 18-19).

⁴⁶ The meaning has shifted to ‘record’ in the Malay World, while it became an ‘image with Arabic characters’ in Cape Town (Kähler 1971: 60).

⁴⁷ Chiefly used as a name in the Malay World, where the more common reflex of *rizq* is *rəjəki*. The paragogic word-final /i/ in this form is irregular.

⁴⁸ The Cape Malay data in this table are taken from Kotzé (1983).

katib (< *kātib*), *malboet~maboet* (< *marbūṭ*), and *modin* (< *mu'addin*).⁴⁹ The term *soenat* (< *sunna*) to denote the practice of circumcision (*ḥitān*) is also common in Malay and related languages. The semantics of the word *ratiep* (< *rātib*) – in the meaning of a trance-like art form, during which performers stab parts of their body with sharp objects – also reflects Malay usage.⁵⁰

A number of additional Islamic terms in the Cape vernacular display Malay origins (Table 6). Of the following words, *agama* ‘religion’, *baca* ‘to read’, *guru* ‘(spiritual) teacher’, *lagu* ‘to recite melodiously’, *puji* ‘to praise’, and *puasa* ‘to fast’ are ultimately of Indic provenance.

Malay	Cape Malay	Meaning
<i>agama</i>	<i>aghama</i> [K, D]	‘religion’
<i>baca</i>	<i>batja</i>	‘to read (religious texts)’
<i>baris</i>	<i>baris</i>	‘the Arabic vowel diacritics’
<i>buka</i>	<i>boeka</i>	‘to break the fasting (<i>iftār</i>)’
<i>guru</i>	<i>ghoeroe</i>	‘(spiritual) teacher’
<i>lagu</i>	<i>laghoe</i>	‘to recite melodiously’ ⁵¹
<i>mandi</i>	<i>manie</i> ⁵²	‘to bathe’
<i>puji</i>	<i>poedjie</i>	‘to praise’
<i>puasa</i>	<i>pwasa</i>	‘to fast’
<i>səmbəlih</i>	<i>slamblie</i>	‘to slaughter according to Islamic prescriptions’ ⁵³
<i>səmbahyang</i>	<i>soembaing</i> ⁵⁴	‘to pray’
<i>tulis</i>	<i>toelies</i>	‘to write (religious texts)’

Table 6. Malay-derived religious terms.

A series of vowel diacritics (*baris*) were crucial for non-Arabic Muslims to learn the Arabic language. As previous scholars have pointed out, these technical terms were known in the Cape under their Malay names (Kähler 1971: 50-51, 61; Davids 2011: 67, 211; Kees Versteegh 2011: 192). They are given below, along with their Malay etyma (Table 7).

⁴⁹ See Laffan (Forthcoming) on the different mosque officials in the Cape. The etymology of *bilal* is typically derived from Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ al-Ḥabašī, the first *mu'addin* of Islam.

⁵⁰ In some parts of Indonesia, this tradition is referred to as *dabus* or *dabus*, from the Arabic word *dabbūs* ‘iron pin’. In European sources, this practice was often described using the term *califa* (< *ḥalifa*), which historically denoted the leader of a *ratiep* performance or a master in general. See Desai (1993) for a detailed study on *ratiep* in South Africa. Although etymologically related, there is no close historical connection between this practice and the spiritual recitation (*dikr*) of the ‘Alawīyya sūfī text *Rātib Al-Haddād*, known in Cape Town as *gadat* (Jeppie 2018: 39).

⁵¹ In the Malay World also in the meaning of ‘a song’, and in Cape Town of ‘a singing voice’.

⁵² In the Cape usually in the meaning of ritual purification (*ḡusl*).

⁵³ Possibly derived from Arabic *bismillāh* ‘in God’s name’.

⁵⁴ Compare Mardijker Malay *sumbahang*.

Malay	Cape Malay	Arabic equivalent	Diacritic
<i>bawa</i>	<i>bawa</i>	<i>kasra</i>	ـَ
<i>dəpan</i>	<i>dapan</i>	<i>ḍamma</i>	ـِ
<i>di atas</i>	<i>detis</i>	<i>fathā</i>	ـِ
<i>dua dəpan</i>	<i>doea dapan</i> [Z]	<i>tanwīn</i>	ـِ
<i>sabdu</i>	<i>saptoe</i>	<i>šadda, tašdīd</i>	ـّ

Table 7. Malay names for Arabic diacritics.

There was also direct influence from Arabic. A number of loanwords were introduced by people returning from Mecca and made their way into the vernacular through direct contact with Arabic speakers, rather than Islamic education. The following loanwords in the domain of clothing appear to have been borrowed from Ḥijāzī or Egyptian Arabic (Table 8).

Arabic	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>‘abāya</i>	<i>abaja</i>	‘an upper garment for women’
<i>milāya</i>	<i>melaja</i>	‘a shawl for women’
<i>mudawwara</i>	<i>medoura</i>	‘a type of headgear for women’
<i>ṭawb</i>	<i>top</i>	‘an upper garment for men’

Table 8. Arabic textile terms.

A number of kinship terms used by Cape Muslims, too, appear to reflect colloquial rather than literary Arabic (Table 9). All Arabic etyma listed below exhibit the first-person singular possessive suffix. Here, it appears that these loanwords were introduced as a result of intermarriage with ethnic Arabs.

Arabic	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>abūya</i>	<i>boeja</i>	‘father’
<i>aḥūya</i>	<i>agoeja</i>	‘brother’
<i>‘ammātī</i>	<i>amatie</i>	‘paternal aunt’
<i>‘ammī</i>	<i>ammie</i>	‘uncle’
<i>ḥālatī</i>	<i>galatie</i>	‘maternal aunt’
<i>uḥtī</i>	<i>oegtie</i>	‘sister’
<i>ummī</i>	<i>oemie</i>	‘mother’

Table 9. Arabic kinship terms.⁵⁵

CAPE MALAY TYPOLOGY

This section outlines a number of phonological, lexical and grammatical characteristics to situate Cape Malay within the broader constellation of Malay contact varieties, including Sri Lankan Malay, Mardijker Malay, Betawi, and

⁵⁵ These and other examples can be found in Kotzé (1983). Other kinship terms appear to go back to an early Dutch creole: *boetie* ‘brother’ (< *broertje*), *motjie* ‘elderly woman’ (< *moeitje*), *siesie* ‘grandmother; elderly woman’ (< *zusje*), *tatta* ‘father’ (< *tata*), and *tietie* ‘older sister’ (< *titty* ‘sister’ in Scots and a number of English-based creole languages).

the varieties of Eastern Indonesia. Cape Malay shares a number of typological features with these varieties, although the precise details might differ. One conspicuous example is the near absence in Cape Malay of the historical schwa /ə/, which is also the case in Mardijker Malay and Eastern Indonesian Malay (but not Betawi and irregularly in Sri Lankan Malay). This phoneme has typically become /a/ in Cape Malay or been elided between consonants. This marks a difference with Sri Lankan Malay in which the historical schwa was replaced by the high vowels /i/ or /u/ in a large number of words (Adelaar 1991). In Cape Malay, /u/ in the historical schwa position is occasionally attested before labials (*bobotie* ‘a spicy dish’ < *bəboto*, *soema* ‘an honorific salutation’ < *səmbah*, *soembaing* ‘to pray’ < *səmbahyang*) and /i/ before palatals or velars (*intji* ‘Mr.’ < *əncek*, *pigi* ‘to go’ < *pərgi*). In this regard, Cape Malay resembles Mardijker Malay (Adelaar In print).

Another phonological innovation seen in Cape Malay is the innovation of /ai/ or /e/ to /i/ in word-final position (Table 10). The monophthongization of /ai/ to /e/ is common across Malay contact varieties, so we can assume it had already taken place in Southeast Asia. The second step, the raising of /e/ to /i/, can be seen in the following Betawi examples: *ampe~ampi* ‘to hang clothes out to dry’ (< *ampai*), *burne~burni* ‘Borneo’ (< *bərunai*), *pərmi* ‘beautiful; graceful’ (< *pərmai*), *sərabi* ‘a round cake made of rice flour’ (< *sərabai*), and *tire~tiri* ‘curtain’ (< *tirai*).⁵⁶ It is also seen in Mardijker Malay (Adelaar In print).

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>bore</i>	<i>borrie</i>	‘a kind of yellow powder or cream’
<i>konde</i>	<i>kondi</i> [F] ⁵⁷	‘hair bun’
<i>ramai</i>	<i>rammie</i> [P1]	‘merry’
<i>rampai</i>	<i>rampie</i>	‘a mixture of aromatic leaves’
<i>sampai</i>	<i>sampi</i> [F]	‘until’
<i>sərai</i>	<i>sarie</i> [G] ⁵⁸	‘an aromatic grass’
<i>səsatai</i>	<i>sosatie</i>	‘skewered meat (satay)’

Table 10. *ai > e > i/_#.

Cape Malay words occasionally display word-final elision (apocope) of the historical *t, *p, and *k. Word-final stop elision is widespread in Eastern Indonesian varieties of Malay and is also seen in Mardijker Malay,⁵⁹ but I have found no examples in Betawi or Sri Lankan Malay. In Cape Malay, it can

⁵⁶ Originally from Tamil *tirai* (திரை) ‘curtain’.

⁵⁷ Only documented in the expression *bol kondi* ‘false hair bun’ (Kähler 1971: 55). Originally from Tamil *koṇḍai* (கொண்டை).

⁵⁸ Only found in the expression *sarie blare* ‘sarie leaves’, which, according to Gerber (1957: 58), “look like long blades of grass and have the scent of Verbena. You must remove the bundle before you serve the *kerrie*, it is only put in to flavour the food”. In Southeast Asia, *sərai* typically refers to the leaves of *Cymbopogon citratus* (DC.) Stapf, that is ‘lemongrass’.

⁵⁹ Adelaar (In print) provides the examples *banya* ‘much; many’ (< *banyak*), *sanggu* ‘capable’ (< *sanggup*), and *taku* ‘fear; afraid’ (< *takut*). Also see Scott H. Paauw (2008: 83) for Eastern Indonesian examples.

only be observed in a small number of words (Table 11). However, Du Plessis (1935: 16) points out that the Afrikaans of Malays was likewise characterized by the elision of word-final stops, citing the example *to* instead of *tot* ‘to’. This observation is corroborated by the Cape Malay words *batoe stô* ‘stones to fill up a hole’ (< Malay *batu* + Afrikaans *stop*) and *batoe plâ* ‘flat stones’ (< Malay *batu* + Afrikaans *plat*) attested in Franken (1953a: 119-120). Sporadically, examples of this innovation can also be found in manuscripts.⁶⁰

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>banyak</i>	<i>baie</i>	‘many’
<i>dakat</i>	<i>deka</i> [K] ⁶¹	‘nearby’
<i>malam baik</i>	<i>malbaai</i> [F]	‘good evening’
<i>mənyahut</i>	<i>manjahoe</i> ⁶²	‘to reply’
<i>pərabot</i>	<i>praboe</i> ⁶³	‘tools’
<i>sədikit</i>	<i>sediki~diki</i> [F]	‘a little’
<i>tərsəbut</i>	<i>taseboe</i> [K] ⁶⁴	‘mentioned’
<i>tongkat</i>	<i>tongka</i> [P1, K] ⁶⁵	‘staff’

Table 11. *C_[stop] > Ø/_#.

The historical word-final /h/ is not reflected in any of the Cape Malay data known to me (Table 12). This situation is identical to that of Sri Lankan Malay, Mardijker Malay, and Eastern Indonesian Malay. In Betawi, the status of the word-final /h/ depends on the subdialect, yet it is typically retained in loanwords from Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese.

We also find examples of the palatal nasal /ɲ/ undergoing lenition to a palatal approximant /j/. In some cases, the following vowel is nasalized (Table 13). This particular innovation is also seen in Afrikaans.⁶⁶ To my knowledge, it is not attested in other Malay varieties. However, in Mardijker Malay, the opposite tendency is occasionally in evidence: the formation of an intervocalic /ɲ/ from a historical /j/ (Adelaar In print).

⁶⁰ Genie Yoo (pers. comm., December 2020) has come across *mangku* ‘bowl’ (< *mangkuk*) in a manuscript from Simon’s Town.

⁶¹ In Cape Malay also in the meaning of ‘to approach’ (Malay: *məndəkati*). Also written as *dekkang* (Kähler 1971: 51), which might be compared with the Sri Lankan Malay pair *dəkkang~dəkat* in the same meaning.

⁶² Only found in the aforementioned letter by Jan van Boughies.

⁶³ Only attested in the Afrikaans of Cape Muslims, in which it is used in the plural form. The *praboes* are a series of tools used in the *ratiep* performance (Desai 1993: 435-450).

⁶⁴ Glossed by Kähler (1971: 62) as ‘to call the name of the Turkish sultan’.

⁶⁵ Especially the staff of the imām. Also written as *tongga* (Kähler 1971: 63).

⁶⁶ The form *going* ‘jute’, for example, appears to reflect Dutch *gonje~goenje*. The latter form is usually taken to be a hypercorrect form of *goenie* (< Malay *guni* < Hindustani *gonī*), given that the widespread diminutive suffix *-ie* corresponds to *-je* in standard Dutch. See Daniël Brink Bosman (1937: 61) for other examples.

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>bərtingkah</i>	<i>patingka</i> [K]	'to show off'
<i>di bawah</i>	<i>dibawa</i> [F]	'below (the water)'
<i>səmbah</i>	<i>soema</i> [F] ⁶⁷	'an honorific salutation'
<i>səmbəlih</i>	<i>slamblie</i>	'to slaughter according to Islamic prescriptions'
<i>suruh</i>	<i>soeri</i> [F] ⁶⁸	'to request'
<i>susah</i>	<i>soesa</i> [H]	'trouble'
<i>təmpat ludah</i>	<i>tamploera</i> [P1, K]	'spittoon'
<i>tujuh</i>	<i>toedjie</i> [F] ⁶⁹	'seven'

Table 12. *h > Ø/_#.

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>banyak</i>	<i>banja~banjang~baiing~baie</i>	'many'
<i>minyan</i>	<i>miang</i>	'incense'

Table 13. *ŋ > j_([+nasal])/V_V.

Word-final nasals are typically velarized in Cape Malay (Table 14). We find only a small number of irregularities. The Malay word *bunting* 'pregnant' has a hypercorrected form *boentin* (Kähler 1971: 50), whereas *dukun* 'medicine man' is typically pronounced as *doekoem* and *toapekong* 'a Chinese deity' as *tapekkom*.⁷⁰ Velarization of word-final nasals is also common in Eastern Indonesian Malay (Paauw 2008: 83). It also takes place in Makassar and Bugis, two languages whose speakers were among the people who were moved to the Cape in considerable numbers. We find two examples of it in the aforementioned translation by Pieter Mathijs Pietersoon: *boelang* 'month' (< *bulan*) and *kasiang* 'pity' (< *kasih*). In Sri Lankan Malay, many word-final nasals are likewise velarized (Adelaar 1991: 27), although others retain their original phonological value. The same innovation appears to have taken place in Mardijker Malay, although in some cases its Portuguese orthography precludes definitive statements on the phonological value of word-final nasals (Adelaar In print). Word-final nasal velarization in Afrikaans might be an independent development, as it only occurs after a schwa /ə/ preceded by /s/, /l/, or /r/ (Bosman 1937).

⁶⁷ In the Cape, *soema* was used in the meaning of 'good morning' (Franken 1953: 119).

⁶⁸ Only in the expression *soeri kiri slam* 'to request a person to convey one's greetings' (< *suruh kirim salam*) (Franken 1953a: 118).

⁶⁹ Also attested as *toedjoeng* (Franken 1953a: 118).

⁷⁰ Adelaar (1991: 27) calls attention to similar hypercorrections in Sri Lankan Malay. Additional examples include *asim* 'salty-sour (pickled taste)' (< *asin* 'salty'), *bina:tan* 'an animal' (< *binatang*), *daganan* 'commerce' (< *dagangan*), *gəndam* 'a drum' (< *gəndang*), *guruba:tan* 'a casket to carry the corpse of a deceased' (< *kurung batang*), *i:tom* 'to count' (< *hitung*), and *ma:tan* 'ripe' (< *matang*). Seventeenth-century Ambon Malay appears to have had variation between /ŋ/ and /ŋ̄/ in the word-final position (James T. Collins 1992: 104-106).

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>bəlacan</i>	<i>blatjang</i>	‘a kind of dish’ ⁷¹
<i>ikan</i>	<i>ikang</i> [F]	‘fish’
<i>jalan</i>	<i>djallang</i> [F, K] ⁷²	‘to go’
<i>jamban</i>	<i>djamman</i>	‘toilet’
<i>kafan</i>	<i>kaffang</i>	‘winding sheet’ ⁷³
<i>kain</i>	<i>kaing</i> [P2] ⁷⁴	‘a cloth’
<i>kasihan</i>	<i>kassiang</i> [F] ⁷⁵	‘pity’
<i>kəmparan</i>	<i>kaparrang~kaparring</i>	‘a kind of wooden shoe’
<i>lawan</i>	<i>lawang</i> ⁷⁶	‘to resist’
<i>ləbaran</i>	<i>labarang</i>	‘an Islamic holiday’
<i>makan</i>	<i>makkang</i> [F]	‘to eat’
<i>padasan</i>	<i>padasang</i> [K]	‘a water jar for ritual ablutions’
<i>pakaian</i>	<i>pakaiang</i> [K]	‘clothes’
<i>paman</i>	<i>pamang</i> [F]	‘uncle’
<i>pəlan-pəlan</i>	<i>plang-plang</i> [K]	‘slowly’
<i>racun</i>	<i>ratjoeng</i> [K]	‘poison’
<i>rotan</i>	<i>rottang</i>	‘rattan’
<i>sopan</i>	<i>soppang</i>	‘humble’
<i>tuan</i>	<i>toean~toeang</i>	‘a respectable man’

Table 14. *N > ŋ/_#.

Another irregularity is the elision of word-final nasals (Table 15). This innovation is uncommon in Malay varieties, yet is attested sporadically in Mardijker Malay (Adelaar *In print*) and regularly in Larantuka Malay (Hein Steinhauer 1991). In the latter case, however, the innovation appears to be an unrelated areal feature. It has not been recognized by previous observers of Cape Malay. Du Plessis (1953: 53), for example, calls attention to the Cinderella-like story of *Bawa Merah* in the Cape without realizing that this is the Malay tale of *Bawang Merah*. In Afrikaans, vowels followed by nasal consonants can only become long nasalized vowels when they precede a fricative (T.H. le Roux and P. de Villiers Pienaar 1927: 63-67). In Kaaps, however, nasals are likewise elided in a number of words.⁷⁷ It appears that this innovation is related to what we see in Cape Malay, yet it is not clear to me whether it reflects phonological influence from Portuguese or another language.

⁷¹ In the Malay World, *bəlacan* typically refers to a shrimp paste, whereas in the Cape, *blatjang* it has become a kind of chutney.

⁷² In fixed expressions, such as *djallang dimoekan* ‘go ahead’, *piki djallang* ‘to go on a trip’, *slamat djallang* ‘have a good trip’ (Franken 1953a: 118-119).

⁷³ From Arabic *kafan* ‘shroud; winding sheet’.

⁷⁴ In *kaing haram* ‘clothes of pilgrims to Mecca’ (Du Plessis 1953: 28).

⁷⁵ Typically, in the meaning of ‘pitiabie person’ (Franken 1953a: 119).

⁷⁶ Only attested in VOC documents (Franken 1953b: 61; Worden and Groenewald 2005: 292).

⁷⁷ Consider, for example, *da* ‘then’ (< *dan*), *ee*’s ‘once’ (< *eens*), *hoekô* ‘why’ (< *hoekom*), *ka* ‘can’ (< *kan*), *kô* ‘to come’ (< *kom*), *ô*’s us’ (< *ons*), *va* ‘from’ (< *van*), and *va*’dag ‘today’ (< *vandag*).

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>abang</i>	<i>abang~aba</i> [Z]	'elder brother'
<i>bingung</i>	<i>bingo</i> [P1]	'confused'
<i>gunting</i>	<i>goenti</i> [K]	'scissors'
<i>himpun</i>	<i>hiempoe</i> [D]	'to congregate (for prayers)'
<i>ikan tongkol</i>	<i>katonkel</i>	'skipjack tuna' ⁷⁸
<i>jalan malam</i>	<i>djalamalang</i> [C, H] ⁷⁹	'to go at night'
<i>kirim salam</i>	<i>kierieslam</i>	'to convey greetings'
<i>kuping</i>	<i>koebi</i> [F] ⁸⁰	'ears'
<i>kurung batang</i>	<i>koerbata</i> [F] ⁸¹	'a casket to carry the corpse of a deceased'
<i>langganan</i>	<i>langganna</i> [C, F] ⁸²	'customer'
<i>lilin</i>	<i>lili</i> [F]	'candle'
<i>mas kawin</i>	<i>maskawie</i>	'a settlement by the bridegroom on a bride'
<i>pənumpong</i>	<i>panoepang</i> [K] ⁸³	'passenger'
<i>təripang</i>	<i>tripa</i> [K]	'a kind of dish' ⁸⁴
<i>tukang mandi</i>	<i>toeka-manie</i>	'the person who washes the corpse of a deceased'

Table 15. *N > Ø/_#.

The word-final /r/ is often elided in Cape Malay words, although it may still be written (Table 16). While it is likewise reduced in most Peninsular Malay dialects, this similarity appears to be fortuitous. Word-final /r/ elision is a prominent feature of Kaaps (R.M. Klopper 1983: 279-280; R.H. Pfeiffer 1996: 149; Hendricks and Dyers 2016: 9), from which it was likely adopted into Cape Malay.

⁷⁸ Earlier derivations of Cape Malay *katonkel* from "ketung" (Lambertus Rautenbach Heiberg 1957: 96) or "ketangkai" (Ponelis 1993: 99) are phonologically implausible. In addition, no fish are so named in Malay.

⁷⁹ In the Cape, the meaning has shifted to 'fishing at night'.

⁸⁰ Only in the expression *passang koebi* 'to use one's ears (listen carefully)' (Franken 1953: 119). The intervocalic lenition of /p/ to /b/ is irregular. In colloquial Afrikaans, it is chiefly attested word-initially (Le Roux and De Villiers Pienaar 1927: 85-87).

⁸¹ Compare Sri Lankan Malay *guruba:tan* with the same meaning.

⁸² Used in the meaning of 'fish hawker' by Cape fishermen (Kähler 1971: 56; Carse 1959: 18-19).

⁸³ In the Cape, the exclamation *panoepang* or *manoepang* was used by fishermen looking for additional crew (Kähler 1971: 57; Carse 1959: 18-19). Davids (1990: 12) highlights its usage in the meaning of 'being a crew member on somebody's boat'.

⁸⁴ In Southeast Asia, *təripang* is a sea cucumber, which was boiled and sun-dried. Carse (1959: 18-19) records it in the meaning of 'bottled and sun-dried fish liver' in Kalk Bay. According to Kähler (1971: 63), the word refers to a forgotten dish made from cooked fish gills mixed with vegetables in the Cape.

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>cukur</i>	<i>tjoekoe</i> [Z] ⁸⁵	‘to shave’
<i>dəngar</i>	<i>dangha</i> [F] ⁸⁶	‘to hear’
<i>lacur</i>	<i>lattjoe</i> [K, D] ⁸⁷	‘having bad luck’
<i>sabar</i>	<i>saba</i> ⁸⁸	‘to have patience’
<i>sambar</i>	<i>samba</i> ⁸⁹	‘to be struck’

Table 16. *r > Ø/_#.

Between vowels, the historical /d/ is occasionally lenited to /r/ in Cape Malay (Table 17). This is also systematically the case in Kaaps (Klopper 1983: 280; Pfeiffer 1996: 148-149; Hendricks and Dyers 2016: 9), from which the innovation most likely originates.

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>goda</i>	<i>ghorra</i> ⁹⁰	‘to tease’
<i>jadi</i>	<i>jarri</i> [C] ⁹¹	‘successfully completed’
<i>madu</i>	<i>maroe</i> [P1] ⁹²	‘second wife’
<i>təmpat ludah</i>	<i>tamploera</i> [P1, K]	‘spittoon’
<i>tudung</i>	<i>toering</i>	‘a type of round, broad hat’

Table 17. *d > r/V_V.

In intervocalic clusters, Cape Malay words regularly exhibit assimilation of stops to the nasals which precede them (Table 18). The assimilation of /nd/ to /nn/ has also been described for Kaaps (Pfeiffer 1996: 148). Assimilation from /mb/ to /mm/ can be seen in the Afrikaans word *gemmer* ‘ginger’ (< *gember*) and the spelling of ‘September’ and ‘November’ as *septemer* and *nofemer* in archaic sources (Ponelis 1993: 153). It seems plausible, therefore, to interpret this phonological innovation as another result of Kaaps influence.⁹³

⁸⁵ In Cape Malay, *tjoekoe* specifically refers to the naming ceremony of a baby (Afrikaans: *doopmaal*). This word is not found in any of the secondary sources known to me, but is remembered by Zainab Davidson. It corresponds to the *kənduri bərcukur* or *hari cukur kəpala* ritual in the Malay World, during which a baby traditionally received its name. In Javanese and Betawi, this tradition is called *cukuran*.

⁸⁶ Franken (1953: 118) does not translate the word, but a derivation from *dəngar* is plausible given the context in which it is documented.

⁸⁷ Kähler (1971: 56) gives it as *latjor*.

⁸⁸ Also spelled as *sabar*. Its derivation from Arabic *ṣabr* ‘patience’ is widely understood.

⁸⁹ In the Cape, this word specifically refers to being possessed by evil spirits.

⁹⁰ Unaware of this sound correspondence, Kähler (1971: 53) incorrectly derives the word from Malay *gurau* ‘to jest’.

⁹¹ In the Cape fishermen’s slang, *jarri* means ‘fixed (of a boat)’ (Carse 1959: 18-19).

⁹² The word has become a verb ‘to take a second wife’ in the Cape (1935: 12). On phonological grounds it could also be a borrowing from Javanese *maru* with the same meaning.

⁹³ Also see Le Roux and De Villiers Pienaar (1927: 166) on assimilation in Afrikaans.

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>dendeng</i>	<i>denning</i>	'a meat dish' ⁹⁴
<i>sətinja</i>	<i>steenja</i> [F]	'ritual cleansing of the body's private parts' ⁹⁵
<i>jamban</i>	<i>djamang</i>	'toilet'
<i>mandi</i>	<i>manie</i>	'to bathe'
<i>məninggal</i>	<i>maniengal</i>	'to die'
<i>olanda</i>	<i>olanna</i> [K]	'European' ⁹⁶
<i>onde-onde</i>	<i>ony-ony</i> [G]	'a sweet dish' ⁹⁷
<i>pindang</i>	<i>pienang</i>	'a spicy dish' ⁹⁸
<i>sələndang</i>	<i>slenning</i>	'shawl'
<i>səmbah</i>	<i>soema</i> [F]	'an honorific salutation'
<i>undang</i>	<i>oenang~oening</i>	'to invite'

Table 18. *NC_[stop] > NN/V_V.

The hypercorrective insertion of a homorganic voiced stop is seen in *lamba* or *lambaar* 'to ask in marriage; engagement', reflecting Malay *lamar*. The form ***lambar* is not attested in other Malay varieties known to me, although this type of homorganic epenthesis is certainly not uncommon before liquids (Adelaar 1988: 65).

Although the inherited schwa /ə/ in Cape Malay has disappeared, this phoneme has returned under different circumstances. Vowels in closed final syllables are neutralized before liquids or velar nasals. Following the Afrikaans spelling, the schwa is orthographically represented as /e/ or /i/ (Table 19).⁹⁹ The same phonological innovation is seen in Malay borrowings in Afrikaans and Dutch, such as *piekel* 'to carry on one's shoulder' (< *pikul*) and *pieker* 'to ponder' (< *pikir* from Arabic *fikr*). We can therefore analyse it as phonological interference from Kaaps or another Dutch variety. In the following examples, the word-final /r/ is sometimes reduced in pronunciation.

⁹⁴ In the Cape at present it is known as *denningvoeis* 'denning meat', which is a sweet and sour lamb dish. In the Malay World, *dendeng* refers to a method of curing meat and the resultant dish.

⁹⁵ From Arabic *istingā'*.

⁹⁶ From Portuguese *Holanda* 'the Netherlands'. This word appears as *oolana* in early twentieth-century Kaaps (Adhikari 1996: 69). Historically used in the sense of "a white person who had considerable social and economic standing", it presumably yielded the South African colloquialism *laani* or *larney* 'posh (adj.); white boss, rich man, big shot (n.)' (Raj Mesthrie 1997: 158).

⁹⁷ Strips of sweet dough added to porridge (*boeber*) in Cape cuisine (Gerber 1957: 102). In Southeast Asia, *onde-onde* are dough balls with a sweet filling.

⁹⁸ At present a type of lamb curry in the Cape and a preservative cooking method with salt, spices and tamarind in the Malay World.

⁹⁹ In Afrikaans and South African English, the historical /r/ is likewise often realized as /ə/.

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>bubur</i>	<i>boeber</i>	‘porridge’
<i>comel</i>	<i>tjommel</i>	‘to grumble’
<i>dendeng</i>	<i>denning</i>	‘a meat dish’
<i>ikan tongkol</i>	<i>katonkel</i>	‘skipjack tuna’
<i>jikir~zikir</i>	<i>djieker</i>	‘to repeat God’s praises’
<i>katil</i>	<i>katel</i>	‘bedstead’
<i>kəmparan</i>	<i>kaparrang~kaparring</i>	‘a kind of wooden shoe’
<i>kubur</i>	<i>koeber</i>	‘a grave’
<i>lawar</i>	<i>lawer</i>	‘a dish of thinly cut meat’ ¹⁰⁰
<i>sələndang</i>	<i>slenning</i>	‘shawl’
<i>səmbahyang</i>	<i>soembaing</i>	‘to pray’
<i>tudung</i>	<i>toering</i>	‘a type of round, broad hat’
<i>ukup</i>	<i>oekoer~oeker</i>	‘to fumigate with perfume’
<i>undang</i>	<i>oenang~oening</i>	‘to invite’
<i>witir</i>	<i>whieter</i>	‘a prayer performed at night’
<i>zuhur~luhur</i>	<i>zoeger</i>	‘midday prayer’

Table 19. *V > ə/C_C_[liquid, velar nasal] #.

In some examples, we see the fronting of the high-back rounded vowel /u/ to /i/. This innovation is limited to the word-final position and cannot easily be explained through Malay historical linguistics.

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>bəboto</i>	<i>bobotie</i>	‘a spicy dish’
<i>jaman dulu</i>	<i>djapandoelie</i> [K, D] ¹⁰¹	‘old times’
<i>gunung</i>	<i>ghoenie</i> [F] ¹⁰²	‘mountain’
<i>tujuh</i>	<i>toedjie</i> [F]	‘seven’
<i>suruh</i>	<i>soeri</i> [F]	‘to request’

Table 20. *i > u/_#.

As the examples in Table 20 demonstrate, back vowel fronting must have taken place after the aforementioned elision of word-final stops, nasals, and /h/, otherwise the high back rounded vowel would not have been word-final (see Tables 11, 12, and 15). It is also attested in two Portuguese loanwords in generic Afrikaans: *bredie* ‘a vegetable stew with meat’ (< *brede*)¹⁰³ and *mielie* ‘maize’ (< *milho*). However, this similarity could be fortuitous if we consider

¹⁰⁰ In the Cape now only in *pens-lawer*, which denotes tripe (*pens*) cut into thin strips. In the Malay World, *lawar* is a method of preservation by cutting meat into very thin slices, which were spiced, salted, and dried.

¹⁰¹ Kähler (1971: 52) gives *djamaa doelie*. The intervocalic fortition from /m/ to /p/ is irregular.

¹⁰² Found in several toponyms (Franken 1953a: 123-125; Heiberg 1957: 98-101; Carse 1959: 18-19).

¹⁰³ In Portuguese, *brede* refers to the purple amaranth (*Amaranthus blitum* L.) but in several Portuguese creole languages, it has become the generic word for vegetables (Graciete Nogueira Batalha 1988: 88).

that Afrikaans exhibits numerous food names that end in the diminutive suffix *-ie* (Ponelis 1993: 132).¹⁰⁴

In a number of instances, the intervocalic voiced bilabial stop /b/ is lenited to a voiced labiodental fricative /v/, as is the case in Kaaps (Klopper 1983: 281).¹⁰⁵ A further development is the complete elision of the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ (Table 21). However, the latter innovation is irregular and unattested in the aforementioned words *lawang* 'to resist', *maskawie* 'settlement by bridegroom on a bride', and *penslawer* 'a meat dish'.

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>air mawar</i>	<i>aimaar</i> [F]	'rose-water'
<i>coba</i>	<i>tjowa</i> [H, F]	'try it!'
<i>pənaʷar</i>	<i>panaar</i> [K] ¹⁰⁶	'an antidote'
<i>riba</i>	<i>riwa</i> [F]	'usury' ¹⁰⁷
<i>syawal~sawal</i>	<i>saal</i>	'the tenth month in the Muslim calendar' ¹⁰⁸
<i>ubur-ubur</i>	<i>oeroer</i> [C]	'jellyfish'

Table 21. *b > v/V_V; *v > Ø/V_V.

Cape Malay shows a tendency to reduce quadri-syllabic segments to three syllables (Table 22). In most cases, the first or second syllable is elided.

Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>gula wajik</i>	<i>kolwadjik</i> [G]	'a sweet rice dessert'
<i>ikan tongkol</i>	<i>katonkel</i>	'skipjack tuna'
<i>karəna Allah</i>	<i>kanalla~kanala</i> ¹⁰⁹	'for the sake of God'
<i>kirim salam</i>	<i>kierieslam</i>	'to convey greetings'
<i>kurung batang</i>	<i>koerbata</i> [F]	'a casket to carry the corpse of a deceased'
<i>minta maaf</i>	<i>tamaaf</i>	'I'm sorry'
<i>təmpat ludah</i>	<i>tamploera</i> [P1, K]	'spittoon'
<i>tərima kasih</i>	<i>tramakassie~tramkassie</i>	'thank you'

Table 22. Trisyllabism in Cape Malay.

¹⁰⁴ Alternatively, the form *bredie* might have been borrowed from a French creole language from the Indian Ocean, in which *brèdes* refers to a variety of edible leafy vegetables (Michel Chauvet 1998).

¹⁰⁵ This tendency is also attested in substandard Afrikaans (Le Roux and De Villiers Pienaar 1927: 87-88; Ponelis 1993: 141).

¹⁰⁶ In the Cape, this word referred to water which has stood at the grave of a saint (Kähler 1971: 58).

¹⁰⁷ From Arabic *ribā* with the same meaning.

¹⁰⁸ From Arabic *šawwāl*.

¹⁰⁹ From this original meaning, the Cape Malay expression *kanallah* 'please' developed (Davids 2011: 127). The term *kanallawerk*, hence, denotes 'community assistance' (McCormick 2002: 47-48) and can be compared to *ubuntu* in the Nguni languages of South Africa or to *gotong royong* in Indonesia.

Not much can be reconstructed of Cape Malay grammar. As mentioned previously, a diglossic situation existed between the language of written manuscripts and the spoken languages. Verbs with suffixes have been found in mantras,¹¹⁰ but might not have been used in everyday speech. As with Malay contact varieties in general, a reduction in productive morphology is to be expected in the spoken domain. All historically bimorphemic attestations in Cape Malay appear to have “fused” and become morphologically unproductive (Table 23). Again, we see that the historical schwa /ə/ is unattested, as is the case in other Malay contact varieties.

Earlier Malay	Cape Malay	Original meaning
<i>bərguru</i>	<i>banghoeroe</i> [K] ¹¹¹	‘to seek spiritual advice’
<i>bərtapa</i>	<i>patapa</i> [P1] ¹¹²	‘to practise asceticism’
<i>bərtəgang</i>	<i>bantaggang</i> [F]	‘stubborn’
<i>bərtiŋkah</i>	<i>patingka</i> [K]	‘to show off’
<i>məlihat</i>	<i>moeliat</i> [K]	‘to see’
<i>pənum pang</i>	<i>panoepang</i> [K]	‘passenger’

Table 23. Morphologically compound forms.

In terms of pronouns, we must assume that Pieter Mathijs Pietersoon’s usage of *goeâ* ‘I’, *saijâ* ‘I (polite)’, *loe* ‘you’, and *kieta orang* ‘we’ – which are common across Malay contact varieties – reflects the historical norm in the Cape. The pronoun *goea* is also found in the aforementioned letter of Jan van Boughies. The historical usage of *loe* ‘you’ might be reflected in the name of the children’s game *aplikata* (J. du P. Scholtz 1936: 136) or *apalokata* (Franken 1953a:140), reflecting the phrase *Apa loe kata* ‘What did you say?’. If so, it would be another example of back vowel fronting (see Table 20). In addition, Franken (1953a: 119) documents the affirmative usage (‘yes!’) of the polite first-person pronoun, written by him as *saja*, which is also well-attested across Malay contact varieties. Kähler (1971: 55) furthermore observes *kitah* ‘we’ in literary sources.

The clause-initial usage of demonstratives, another feature of Malay contact varieties, was presumably common in spoken Cape Malay. It is attested in the letter of Pieter Mathijs Pietersoon, which exhibits *inie soerat* ‘this letter’ and *itoe tempo* ‘that time’. Jan van Boughies’s letter likewise displays *ini soerat* ‘this letter’ and *itoe koetika* ‘that time’. Franken (1953a: 199) gives the short phrases *Mana itoe kerdja?* ‘Where do you work?’ and *Slamat itoe kerdja* ‘Good luck with that work’. Kähler (1971: 52, 54) provides the examples *ini* (or *inih*) *hari* ‘today’ and *itoe orang* ‘those people’.

¹¹⁰ Kähler (1971) gives the examples *binasakan* ‘to destroy’, *gilakan* ‘to drive crazy’, and *jadikan* ‘to make; to create’.

¹¹¹ Kähler (1971: 47) gives the meaning of ‘to be associated with a mosque’. Davids (2011: 76-77) clarifies that *bangeroe* connotes ‘associating oneself with a specific *imām*’.

¹¹² Used in Cape Town in the meaning of visiting a graveyard to gain supernatural powers (Du Plessis 1935: 12).

The form *sediki* or *diki* (< *sədikit* 'a little') has grammaticalized in Cape Malay, particularly in the construction *kassi diki* or *kasi diki* 'give it please' (Franken 1953a: 119-20; Kähler 1971: 51). A similar polite imperative construction exists in Kaaps, using 'n *bietjie* 'a little'. The form *pighi* or *piki* 'to go', which is common across Malay contact varieties, is attested in the phrases *Pighi mana* or *mana piki* 'Where are you going?', *Piki di roema* 'I'm going home', and *Piki di laut* 'I'm going to the sea' (Franken 1953a: 119). Other short phrases still remembered by speakers in the 1930s include *gelap iman* 'crazy' (literally 'dark of faith') and *sama-sama* 'likewise' (Du Plessis 1935: 12). Franken (1953a: 119) adds *Bighimana soedara* 'How are you, brother?' (< *Bagaimana saudara?*), *Marri makkang* 'let's eat' (< *Mari makan*), and *Slamat tidoer* 'good night' (< *Selamat tidur*). Kähler (1971: 56) gives *Mana tōnggal sikarang?* 'Where do you live now?' (< *Mana tinggal sêkarang?*) and *Selamang tikang* 'Stay safe' (< *Selamat tinggal*).¹¹³

There is no evidence of structural change in the Cape Malay constituent order, as is the case in Sri Lankan Malay (Slomanson 2011). This would indicate that the acquisition of Kaaps eventually led to a language shift rather than a situation of stable bilingualism across generations. The short sentences *Angkat lajer* 'hoist the sail' (< *Angkat layar*), *Boeang batoe* 'Drop the stone anchor' (< *Buang batu*), and *Ikang makkang ikang* 'The fish eat fish' (< *Ikan makan ikan*), which were recorded from fishermen (Franken 1953a: 124-125), display the canonical Malay word order. Even newly formed compounds have retained the Malay constituent order. As mentioned previously, Franken (1953a: 119-120) gives two examples historically in use among Malay masons: *batoe stô* 'stones to fill up a hole' (< Malay *batu* + Afrikaans *stop*) and *batoe plâ* 'flat stones' (< Malay *batu* + Afrikaans *plat*).

INFLUENCE ON AFRIKAANS

This section examines the lexical influence from Cape Malay on Afrikaans. It will not examine Malay words which entered South Africa indirectly. Such secondary borrowings usually took place via seventeenth-century Dutch, for example, *baar* 'inexperienced person' (< *baru*), *kiaathout* 'teak wood' (< Malay *kayu jati* + Dutch *hout*), *klapper* 'coconut' (< *kəlapa*), *oorlam* 'experienced person' (< *orang lama*), *piesang* 'banana' (< *pisang*), and *rissies* 'pepper' (< *mərica*).¹¹⁴ This section will also not focus on ephemeral Malayisms in Dutch sources such as the eighteenth-century *Kaapse Stukken* (D.C. Hesseling 2006: 105-108). Additional Malay words, many of which no longer in use, can be found in nineteenth-century Kaaps glossaries (H.C.V. Leibbrandt 1882; Mansvelt 1884). Such lists are by no means exhaustive nor did their compilers correctly identify all the Malay vocabulary in them. Yet more examples can undoubtedly be found in the archives. A mid-nineteenth-century collection of quotations from

¹¹³ The neutralization of /i/ into a schwa /ə/ in the first example – transcribed by Kähler as *tōnggal* /təŋgal/ – is probably attributable to Kaaps influence. The second example is phonologically irregular and suggestive of advanced language attrition.

¹¹⁴ Presumably though Eastern Indonesian Malay *rica* via seventeenth-century Dutch *ritjes*. The word is ultimately from Sanskrit *marica* 'black pepper'.

court defendants (De Kock 1971: 213), for example, contains the unrecognized exclamation *astakka* (< *astaga* ‘God forgive me!’).¹¹⁵ In what follows, however, I focus on lexical items still in use (Table 24).

Malay	Afrikaans	Location	Local meaning
<i>galak</i> ¹¹⁶	<i>ghalaks</i>	Mossel Bay	‘selfish, frugal’
<i>gila</i>	<i>ghiela</i>	Boland, Strand	‘crazy’
<i>goda</i>	<i>ghorra</i>	Koppies, Krugersdorp, Uitenhage	‘to tease’
<i>jadi</i>	<i>jarrie</i>	Claremont (Cape Town)	‘to grow well (of crops)’
<i>jamban</i>	<i>djamman</i>	Cape Town	‘toilet’
<i>jawi</i>	<i>djawi</i>	Strand	‘a man from the Indonesian archipelago’
<i>kali</i>	<i>kali</i>	Western Cape	‘river’
<i>kəbaya</i>	<i>kabaja</i>	Western Cape	‘a jacket for women’
<i>konde</i>	<i>kondee</i>	KwaZulu-Natal	‘a kind of ornamented hairstyle’
<i>langganan</i>	<i>langana</i>	Rogge Bay	‘fish hawker’
<i>ubur-ubur</i>	<i>oer-oer</i>	Velddrif	‘jellyfish’

Table 24. Malay loanwords in Afrikaans dialects.¹¹⁷

Afrikaans exhibits a number of Malay loanwords which have not made their way into standard Dutch and hence presumably reflect more direct contact with Malay speakers. Examples include *katjiefiering* ‘gardenia (*Gardenia jasminoides* J. Ellis)’ (< *kacapiring*), *piring* ‘plate’ (< *piring*), *pondok* ‘small shelter’ (< *pondok*), *sial* ‘bringing bad luck’ (< *sial*), and *soetemaling* ‘tuberose’ (< *sundal malam*). Additional Malay lexical influence can be found in regional dialects of Afrikaans (Table 24). Given the historical settlement patterns of South Africa’s Malay speakers, one would expect to find the greatest influence in the dialects of the Western Cape. Ponelis (1993: 99) lists a number of examples of Malay loans in Kaaps, but the extent to which these are still in use or have ever been widely understood remains unclear. Here I focus on lexical data still used in specific communities.

Some Malay loanwords display considerable local variation, as can be seen from Prinsloo’s dictionary of Afrikaans regionalisms (2009). Malay *pəlias* ‘magic formula’ is *paljas* in generic Afrikaans but *poljas* in Griqualand West.¹¹⁸ The word *puasa* ‘to fast’ displays the regional forms *kawassa*, *kewassa*, *koewassa*, *koewasse*, *kowassa*, *kowasse*, *kwassa*, *poewassa*, and *powassa* ‘to fast; to be deprived of food’, whereas *kacang* ‘beans’ or *kacang goreng* ‘fried beans’ exhibits *hotjang horrie*, *kadjang*, *kadjanghorrie*, *kadjanggoreng*, *kajangghorrie*, *katjang*,

¹¹⁵ From Arabic *astağfirullāh* with the same meaning.

¹¹⁶ Originally in the meaning of ‘aggressive; bad-tempered; stern’.

¹¹⁷ All Afrikaans data are taken from Prinsloo (2009).

¹¹⁸ In Cape Town, *paljas* required the additional meaning of ‘sorcerer’ (Charles Pettman 1913: 361). Its similarity with French *paillasse* ‘quack; clown’ (Mansvelt 1884: 122) is fortuitous. Dutch *paljas* ‘joker’ appears to reflect the French rather than the Malay etymon.

katjangghorrie, and *katjanggoreng* ‘peanut’. Malay *kəmparan* carries its original meaning of ‘wooden sandal’ across the Western Cape (*kaparrang*, *kapalling*, *kaparang*, *kaparing*, or *kaparring*), but denotes a ‘big, clumsy shoe’ in Bethlehem, Malmesbury, and Eastern Transvaal (*kaparrang*) and Witbank (*kapara*), and a ‘rough farm boot’ in Ladybrand (*kaparrang*).¹¹⁹ The word *kurang* ‘deficient’ has been borrowed cross-regionally as *kurang*, *koeran*, *kiering*, or *koerang* ‘bad; weak’. It specifically denotes ‘sickly, nauseous’ in Redelinghuys, Riversdal, and Vanrhynsdorp (*koerang*) and Malmesbury and Sandveld (*koenang*). In Laingsburg, Montagu, Prins Albert, and Sandveld, the meaning of *koerang* is ‘in an inferior condition (of animals)’, in Paarl it is ‘battered (of people or clothes)’, in Oudtshoorn it is ‘financially weak’, in Carnarvon and Joubertina it is ‘simple (of people)’, and in George it is ‘unattractive’. Some confusion has arisen with the Malay word *curang* ‘to cheat’.¹²⁰ The latter has come to mean ‘to cheat’ in Thabazimbi (*kierankie*), Pietermaritzburg (*kierinkie*), and Dealesville, Flanover, Mossel Bay, and Rustenburg (*kiering*), whereas it denotes ‘deception’ in Kirkwood and Montagu (*koerang*), Heidelberg (Gauteng) (*kurangkies*), and Dealesville, De Doorns, Germisron, Hex River Valley, Northwest Free State, Pretoria, Senekal, Upington, and Worcester (*kierinkie*). The Free State equivalent *kierankie* has both meanings.

In the wake of racial segregation in Cape Town and elsewhere in South Africa, residual vocabulary even became district-specific. Capetonians classified as Malay historically resided in the so-called “Malay Quarter” (Bo-Kaap) along the slopes of Signal Hill. An even larger community developed in District Six, an inner-city residential area whose inhabitants were forcefully relocated in the 1960s and 1970s. Before this infamous Group Areas Act, District Six was a heterogeneous Coloured-majority neighbourhood in which several Malay words had become mainstream. The area around Muir Street became known as Kanalladorp ‘*kanalla* village’, after the aforementioned Cape Malay term (Du Plessis 1935: 13; Chris Schoeman 1994; McCormick 2002: 47-48). Other Malay words commonly used in the historical District Six, as recorded by Manuel (1967), include *doekum* ‘medicine man’ (< *dukun*), *gorra* ‘to tease’ (< *goda*), *nonnie* ‘Malay girl’ (< *noni*), and *pang* or its diminutive *pankie* ‘Malay man’.¹²¹

From personal observation, I might add that Malay-derived Islamic concepts such as *barakat* ‘blessing’ (< *baraka-bərkat*), *boeka* ‘to break the fast’ (< *buka*), *labarang* ‘a Muslim holiday’ (< *lābaran*), and *pwasa* ‘to fast’ (< *puasa*) are likewise understood in broader Cape Coloured circles. In addition, certain expressions in Kaaps conspicuously resemble Malay forms. The expression *gaseg ve’koep* ‘to sell one’s face’ refers to the act seeking attention for personal

¹¹⁹ Also compare *kaparrangblok* or *kaparringblok* ‘wooden block to chop fish’ in Saldanha Bay and Saint Helena Bay and *kaparrangbyl* or *kaparringbyl* ‘a kind of cleaver’ in the fishermen’s slang of the West Coast.

¹²⁰ In Mansvelt’s Kaaps glossary (1884: 163), both *kurang* and *tjoerang* mean ‘to cheat (in games)’.

¹²¹ This term can be somewhat derogatory. It presumably goes back to Malay *bapang*, used to address one’s father or another older man (Kähler 1971: 58). The default form in the Malay World is *bapak* or *pak* in the same meaning.

benefit and could well reflect Malay *jual muka*. The dish *geelrys* ‘yellow rice’, which is served on special occasions, appears to be a loan translation of Malay *nasi kuning*. The term *slim man* ‘clever man’ specifically denotes a medicine man (*doekoem*) and is identical to the vernacular Malay equivalent *orang pintar*.¹²² More examples might be found in the Kaaps of Malay-descended families, but that topic deserves a study on its own.

The Malay language appears to have survived the longest among fishermen. According to the journalist Lawrence George Green, “[t]hose old Malays had their own Rogge Bay dialect, their own names for birds and fish, weather and seamarks. They used Malay words that had been forgotten in the Malay Quarter” (1971: 288). Their sea-based livelihood largely came to an end in the first half of the twentieth century.¹²³ Some of the words historically in use among the Coloured fishermen have been documented by outsiders (Table 25). The policeman Thomas Arnoldus Carse, who worked closely with this community from the 1940s, recorded a number of words in Kalk Bay from a certain Imam Hassiem Fisher (Carse 1959: 18-19). Similar lists were compiled by the aforementioned Johan Lambertus Machiel Franken (1953a) and by Lambertus Rautenbach Heiberg (1957), who would later become a professor at the University of Durban-Westville. In addition, a number of obsolete toponyms around the Cape Peninsula have evident Malay origins.¹²⁴

The fishermen’s slang of the Western Cape also contains some Malay-derived fish names (Table 26). The examples below are species found in the maritime ecosystems of Southeast Asia and the Cape alike. I have not found examples of old names being applied to new species, which is quite common cross-linguistically, although it seems likely that such semantic shifts took place as well.

¹²² See Du Plessis (1941: 69) and George Manuel (1967: 94) on the *slim man*. I hasten to add that such calques need to be treated with care, as they might go back to a common third source (such as seventeenth-century Dutch) or reflect linguistic near-universals. For an alternative view, see De Ruyter and Kotzé (2002: 146) and Christo van Rensburg (2018: 35) who postulate other Malay loan translations in Afrikaans.

¹²³ See Duncan Peter Grant (1991) on the fishing industry of Rogge Bay and A. Kirkaldy (1989) on Kalk Bay.

¹²⁴ See Franken (1953a: 123-124), Heiberg (1957: 98-101), and Carse (1959: 18-19) for tentative lists.

Malay	Afrikaans	Local meaning
<i>akbar</i>	<i>akbar</i> [H]	'very high (of the seaboard) ¹²⁵
<i>bangkang</i>	<i>bangang</i> [H]	'cheeky' ¹²⁶
<i>coba</i>	<i>tjowa</i> [H, F]	'try it!'
<i>dayung</i>	<i>dajoeng</i> [C]	'to row'
<i>di atas</i>	<i>diatas</i> [F]	'above (the water)'
<i>di bawah</i>	<i>dibawa</i> [F]	'below (the water)'
<i>dupa</i>	<i>doepa</i> [H]	'a magic means'
<i>jadi</i>	<i>jarri</i> [C]	'fixed (of a boat)'
<i>jalan malam</i>	<i>djalamalang</i> [C, H]	'to fish at night'
<i>kutu bulu</i>	<i>koeteboelie</i> [C]	'troublemaker' ¹²⁷
<i>langganan</i>	<i>langganna</i> [C]	'fish hawkler'
<i>lembang</i>	<i>lemmang</i> [F]	'hideout (for fish) ¹²⁸
<i>mandor</i>	<i>mandoor</i> [H]	'leader' ¹²⁹
<i>pənum pang</i>	<i>panoepang</i> [C]	'exclamation used when the skipper is one man short'
<i>riwa-riwi</i>	<i>revareva</i> [C]	'unwilling to work' ¹³⁰
<i>sədikit</i>	<i>sadiki</i> [H]	'give way!' ¹³¹
<i>səparo</i>	<i>sparroe</i> [F]	'at mid-level (of the water)'
<i>sərang</i>	<i>sarang</i> [C]	'skipper'
<i>susah</i>	<i>soesa</i> [H]	'trouble'
<i>tanduk</i>	<i>tandok</i> [Z]	'fish horn'
<i>təripang</i>	<i>tripa</i> [C]	'bottled and sun-dried fish liver'

Table 25. Malay loanwords documented in Afrikaans fishermen's slang.

Malay	Kaaps	Standard Afrikaans	Meaning
<i>hiu cambuk</i> ¹³²	<i>sambokhaai</i>	<i>sambokhaai</i>	'thresher shark'
<i>ikan tongkol</i>	<i>katonkel</i>	<i>pensstreep-tuna</i>	'skipjack tuna'
<i>kakap</i>	<i>kaalkop</i> ¹³³	<i>groen-jobvis</i>	'green jobfish'
<i>pari</i>	<i>parrie</i> [F, H]	<i>rog</i>	'ray'
<i>ubur-ubur</i>	<i>oeroer</i> [F]	<i>jellievis</i>	'jellyfish'

Table 26. Malay fish names in Kaaps.¹³⁴

¹²⁵ From Arabic *akbar* 'greater; greatest'. In Malay, it can also be used in the meaning of 'big and important'.

¹²⁶ Originally in the meaning of 'disobedient'.

¹²⁷ Malay *kutu bulu* denotes a kind of parasitic insect known as 'bird louse'. I have not encountered this word elsewhere in the meaning of a 'troublemaker', although the semantic shift seems self-evident.

¹²⁸ The word *lembang* denotes a valley in generic Malay. A fish hideout, then, is typically a deep spot surrounded by shallow water.

¹²⁹ From Portuguese *mandador* 'boss'.

¹³⁰ In Indonesia, *riwa-riwi* means 'to move back and forward'.

¹³¹ The original meaning is 'a little'.

¹³² This shark is known under various other names in Indonesia, including *hiu ekor cambuk*, *hiu ekor panjang*, *hiu lancur*, *hiu monyet*, *hiu rubah*, and *hiu tikus*. If not because of chance resemblance, Kaaps/Afrikaans *sambokhaai* appears to be a loan translation of this form.

¹³³ Also attested as such in Dutch sources and evidently a rationalization of *kaal* 'bald; naked' + *kop* 'head'.

¹³⁴ Other fish names often claimed to be Malay-derived are *damba* 'spiny-cheek grouper

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This brief language history was written as part of a special issue honouring a scholar who has repeatedly called attention to the westward diffusion of Malay words and the forgotten histories of Malay speakers across the Indian Ocean. Accordingly, I have traced the echoes of this language in what is arguably the westernmost edge of the Indian Ocean, but also part of many other worlds. Doing so, then, provides only a small glimpse of a bigger picture. I have focused on Malay words in accordance with my personal expertise, as well as the theme of this issue. Equally important for a complete understanding of Cape Town’s linguistic history are words and structures from Khoekhoe, Nguni and South Asian languages, Portuguese, and more. Taken together, these plurilingual legacies illustrate the rich human diversity which makes Cape Town into what it is and demonstrate historical precedents to language shifts occurring today. At the same time, Cape Malay is important for the field of Southeast Asian linguistics, in particular the reconstructive study of Malay in the past, and the comparative study of Malay varieties at present. Together with Sri Lankan Malay, Mardijker Malay, Betawi, and the varieties of Eastern Indonesia, it provides several pieces of evidence to reconstruct earlier developmental stages of Malay contact varieties.

While the classical Malay literature offers numerous glances into the literary register in early-colonial times, a better understanding of the colloquial language – used and popularized by people from various backgrounds – is best derived from a cross-dialectal comparison as attempted in this article. Phonologically, Cape Malay can be shown to exhibit influence from Kaaps, but also from an earlier type of Malay which shares many features with Mardijker Malay and to a lesser extent with the varieties of Eastern Indonesia and Sri Lanka. The grammatical evidence which can be extracted from texts is relatively slim, yet seems again to correspond to a set of features typical of Malay contact varieties more generally. This linguistic microhistory set in the Western Cape, then, has broader implications for our understanding of the linguistic macro-history of Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean World. Cape Malay exhibits archaic features lost elsewhere, as well as local innovations that make it unique and fascinating. Together, they tell a story that appeals to anyone with an interest in language.

ABBREVIATIONS

- adj. adjective
- C Carse (1959)
- D Davids (1992)
- F Franken (1953a)
- G Gerber (1957)

(*Epinephelus diacanthus*), *jandorie* ‘Cape dory (*Zeus capensis*)’, and *panga* ‘panga (*Pterogymnus laniarius*)’. However, all of these names strike me as English words, of which the first and the last ultimately go back to a South Asian language.

- H Heiberg (1957)
 K Kähler (1971)
 n noun
 P1 Du Plessis (1935)
 P2 Du Plessis (1953)
 Z Zainab Davidson (personal communication)

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