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Aspects of Emotive Forms of Address in Afrikaans Literature

Johan Combrink
University of Stellenbosch, South Africa

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1. Orientation

1.1 A distinction must be made between full name and call name. One's full name is the name one has to enter on an official document, e.g. a tax form. One is very seldom addressed by that full name. It could happen e.g. when one is called as a witness to take a stand and give evidence. In that particular instance full name and call name coincide. But more often one's call name is a part, or a derivative, or a derivative of a part of one's full name.

Suppose a certain Afrikaans girl's full name is Johanna Gertruida Smit, and that the ordinary name by which a certain acquaintance, Jaco
Steenkamp, addresses her *is Hanna*. Hanna is then Jaco's call name for Johanna Gertruida Smit.

When it is used vocatively, a call name functions deictically, i.e. either to get the attention of the addressee, or, if the speaker already has that, to "regrip" the attention of the addressee, so to speak (cf. Zwicky 1974: 787). But there is more than a mere deictic function in a speaker's call name for a specific addressee. The vocatively used call name is also an index (i) of the speaker's ordinary attitude and (ii) ordinary relationship to the addressee, (iii) of the ordinary degree of formality of their usual communicative situation, and (iv) of the ordinary type of social interaction taking place between the speaker and the addressee.

1.2 The second distinction I want to make is between *call name* and *emotive name*. Suppose Jaco Steenkamp wants to ask Hanna to do him a favour. Then the Afrikaans system of address offers Jaco the possibilities of addressing Hanna as Hannie or Hannatjie or Hansie inter
alia on this occasion. Each of the occasional names Hannie, Hannatjie and Hansie has the same deictic function as the regular call name Hanna, but in addition each occasional name overtly expresses Jaco's change in attitude towards the addressee: the speaker is now trying to butter up the addressee. Occasional names like Hannie, Hannatjie and Hansie express the emotion and attitude of the speaker and they are also meant to appeal to the emotion and attitude of the addressee. In other words, occasional names are laden with emotion. Accordingly, such occasional names are termed "emotive names", the suffixes involved are termed "emotive suffixes" (i.e. -ie, -tjie & -sie) and the base to which an emotive suffix is attached is termed the "emotive base" (i.e. Han-, Hanna- and Han- respectively). Cf. Fokker 1960 and Combrink 1977: 32-33.

It is by virtue of the fact that Jaco does not usually call the addressee by the name Hannie or Hannatjie or Hansie that occasional names like these have an emotive value. Generalised: An occasional name is emotive by virtue of its infrequency of use by a particular speaker for a particular addressee in a certain type of
situation.

It must also be borne in mind that a particular name which is emotive when it is being used for Hanna by Jaco, may be an ordinary call name, i.e. non-emotive, when it is being used for Hanna by somebody else than Jaco, and vice versa. Hanna's mother might for instance use the call name Hannie for her, and only occasionally, e.g. when she is reprimanding her, will the mother use HER emotive name Hanna. Generalised: The difference between call name and emotive name is a speaker-bound difference which correlates with a difference in form and in frequency of use.

1.3 I want to treat some aspects of emotive forms of address in Afrikaans, as exemplified in Afrikaans literature. My source of data is about 160 Afrikaans novels, dramas and collections of short stories. From these I have extracted the personal names, used vocatively or referentially, together with any clues about their use or non-use. Only when a specific form is not so well known in Afrikaans, or when the instance of use has something peculiar about it, do I quote its place of occurrence. In other words, names
unreferenced in this study must be considered part of the conventional lexicon of the ordinary speaker of Afrikaans, and there is nothing peculiar about their usage.

2. **Emotive Derivations**

2.1 From the data source I have gained that Afrikaans has no emotive prefixes, ambifixes of infixes, only some emotive suffixes. In alphabetical order they are:

1. -a, -ie, -man, -s, -sie, -ta and -tie

and a so-called diminutive suffix which has the variants

2. -etjie, -ie, -kie, -pie and -tjie.

Although there are only eight emotive suffixes, to the uninitiated they have a bewildering interplay, as illustrated in figure 1, depicting derivatives of the feminine name Anna, and figure 2, depicting derivates of the masculine name Hendrik. The diminutive forms have been italicised.
Figure 1

Annetjie

An

Antjie

Antjies

Ans

Ansie

Ansia

Ansa

Ansatjie

Anrietjie

Anna

ANNA

*Antie

Anta

Antas

Naatjiew

Naat
Figure 2
2.2 From the Afrikaans novels, dramas and short stories it is clear that the emotivity, or not, of a specific name depends on whether this name is used in opposition to one or more call names which the speaker in question applies to the addressee in question. And if there is such an opposition, the effectiveness of the emotive name, to play on the feelings of the addressee, depends among other things on the frequency with which this emotive name is applied to the addressee by the speaker. If an originally emotive name is used often enough in the interaction between the speaker and the addressee, by and by it loses its emotive value altogether and it becomes ordinary: a mere call name. To express affect one then needs an unused occasional name, e.g. a further derivative.

2.3 The form of the so-called diminutive suffix varies according to a morphonological rule that applies equally to proper names and non-proper names:
The Afrikaans diminutive suffix does not always denote that the referent is small. More often than not, the diminutive suffix is emotive rather than cerebral (cf. Kruisinga 1942 and Roelandts 1958 for the similar situation in Dutch), and in a few cases the diminutive has become fossilised, e.g. in the words in 4 and the names in 5.

4. Fluitjie ("whistle"), koppie ("cup"), mandjie ("basket"), otjie ("pig"), platjie ("teaser") and sypaadjie ("side-
5. Jaatjie (fem.), Pla(a)tjie (masc.) and Soekie (fem.).

2.4 Among the emotive suffixes operating on Afrikaans personal names there is not one that is inherently appraisive or inherently pejorative. The specific nature of the affect in an Afrikaans personal name that is emotive by virtue of its emotive suffix must in each instance of usage be inferred from other aspects of the context of the name, e.g. intonation (spoken, diacritical or stated), phonetic alteration of lexical material, other lexical items of an emotive nature, marked word order, irony, hyperbole and euphemism.

3. Back-formation, and back-formation cum suffixing

3.1 When an originally emotive personal name has become a mere call name, through frequency of use by a specific speaker, the speaker cannot only add one or more suffixes (as was indicated in 2.1), he can also drop one or more suffixes to form an emotive name once more, e.g. Hentie < Henties or Henta < Hentas or Dirk < Dirkman. This can be viewed as a morphological process
of extracting, also called back-formation.

Such cases of emotive back-formation of names can be considered as derivation with a minus suffix: it is the very absence of a commonly present suffix that makes the suffixless name striking, that signals to the addressee that the relationship between him and the speaker has changed.

3.2 Sometimes back-formation cuts along an historically wrong seam, like in Naat < Naatjie < Annatjie (*Na) where Naatjie historically consists of Na+tjie. The cause behind this metanalysis may lie in the fact that Afrikaans shies away from a personal name with a C0V structure, of which Dutch has many. Cf. 6.


An historical CV personal name in more than one instance acquired an emotive diminutive suffix and then, through metanalytical back-formation, became a present-day Afrikaans name or emotive base with a CVC structure. Cf. 7, 8 & 9.
7. Jakobus/Jakoba > historical Ko > Kootie > present-day Koot > \{Kota, Kotie\}

\{Fyta, Fytie\} (*Fyt)

\{Mieta, Mietie\} (*Miet).

3.3 The emotive morphological process of back-formation cum suffixing is much more prevalent in Afrikaans than mere back-formation. Consider a case like Wynand > Wynie (masc.). The process functions this way: one extracts as an emotive base that part of the original name which, taken from the beginning of the word, extends through the first consonant after the first vowel or diphthong, i.e. Wyn- out of Wynand, and then add the emotive suffix -ie; result: Wynie. The Afrikaans literature offers scores of this type of emotive names, e.g.

10. Alie < Alida (7:1), Arrie < Arnoldus (117:1&39), Dawie < Dawid, Dorie < Dorotea (98:211), Emmie < Emmerentia (25:75), Eugie < Eugenie (38:35), Ewie < Ewald (109:52-54), Gawie < Gabriël, Gerrie < Gert or Gerrit or Gerhard, Joggie < Joggem, Kattie <

In none of the cases cited in 10. the bare emotive base without the emotive suffix is a conventional autonomous emotive name.

3.4 This process of forming emotive names by back-formation cum suffixing is such a pervading process that it has taken Afrikaans surnames into its scope too. In the Afrikaans literature one finds e.g.


From the Afrikaans literature it would seem that this surname based type of emotive name is used in cases where the speaker normally addresses or would address the addressee by a social title plus surname, e.g. juffrou Bosman ("Miss Bosman"), meneer Swanepoel ("Mister Swanepoel"), or dokter
Potgieter ("doctor Potgieter"), but then there is a sudden change in the relationship, AND the speaker doesn't know the addressee's first name or call name. The three cases of Bosman, Swanepoel and Potgieter work like this: (i) An old hand at the telephone exchange wants her brand new colleague, Miss Bosman, to do an extra shift in her place, almost immediately, and she addresses the just introduced colleague as Bossie; (ii) a church elder wants to establish a good working relationship with his new deacon, Mr. Swanepoel, and from the word go he addresses his deacon as Swanie; (iii) a certain speaker normally addresses his family doctor as dokter Potgieter or plain Dokter, but then the speaker gets drunk, and he addresses and refers to the doctor as Pottie.

3.5 It is highly exceptional to find an emotive back-formation on the basis of the type of emotive name illustrated in 11, the emotive surname.call name. In the examined literature only one such case was found:

12. Teun < Teunie < Theunissen (60:93).

and here Theunissen is a surname serving as a
first name. Outside of the literature I know one case more:

13. Pos < Possie < Posthumus.

Emotive back-formations on the basis of the type of emotive name illustrated in 10, are more frequent, but they have seldom become conventional. In the examined literature I found only about 30 conventional ones of this type, e.g.

14. An < Annie < Anha; At < Attie < Adriaan; Daan < Danie < Daniël; Es < Essie < Es= ther.

It seems as if such back-formations are mostly ad hoc and ephemeral. In the examined Afrikaans literature I found four such unconventional ones:

15. Daaf < Dawie (100: 93); Gaaf < Gawie (35: 198); Hen < Hennie (22: 3, 6 & 9) and Het < Hettie (64: 104).

3.6 An emotive name that has been brought about by back-formation cum suffixing can be subjected
to that very same process, and this latter type is frequently found in Afrikaans. In the examined literature there are e.g.

16. Henties > Hentietjie; Hettie > Hetta		(139: 5 & 21); Hettie > Hetta (64: 104); Mollie > Molla (134: 46);
Troedie > Troeda (146: 61).

4. Compounds

Among the compounds there is really only one emotive type. Consider the data of 17:

17. With -boet or -boeta ("brother"): Hennieboet (22: 3 & 14), Sitnieboeta (8: 78);
with -kind ("child"): Boetakind (2: 2 & 6), Leentjiekind (130: 184-185), Sannakind (98: 104-105);
with -lief ("love"): Danielief (19: 182), Soekielief (23: 47);
with -skat ("dear"): Mattewis-skat (76: 4 & 12);
with -vrou ("wife"): Hettievrou (65: 91, 104).

These compounds are used exclusively as vocatives. And apart from expressing family rela-
tionship in some cases, all of them express a friendly personal relationship, never one of unfriendliness (cf. Verdenius 1940).

This type of compound is subject to certain word-formation conditions. The first member has to be a call name which isn't monosyllabic, and the second member must be a "word of address", i.e. a word which is commonly used as a vocative in Afrikaans.

Words of address are so commonly used in Afrikaans, that some of them have become call names. In the examined literature there are e.g.

18. a. Boet/Boetie/Boeta ("brother");
   c. Kleinboet (1: 7; 34: 90) ("youngest brother");
   d. Kleinsus/Kleinie (157: 239)/Klein (128: 33) ("youngest sister");
   e. Mannetjie (143: 15-16)/Mannetjies (sing.) (< mannetjie, "little man");
   f. Meisie (79: 83) ("girl");
   g. Nonnie (128: 89; 99: 129)/Nonna (49: 11; 52: 5) ("missy");
   h. Ouboet (125: 67; 77: 38)/Ouboeta/
Ouboetie (160: 59) ("eldest brother");
i. Ousus (130: 60; 153: 171)/Ousie 159: 132)/Ous (130: 101; 95: 99)
("eldest sister");
j. Outannie (148: 199) (<ou tante, "old aunt; great aunt");
k. Pop (151: 7)/Poppie 140: 113; 114: 42) ("doll");
l. Soon/Sonie (56: 17 & 20)/Seun (57: 201; 146: 20);
m. Skaai (114: 42) (<skattie, "treasure, darling");
n. Suster (24: 33)/Sussie (53: 21)/Sus 133: 36) ("sister");
o. Tanna (61: 29 & 82) (<tannie < tante, "aunt").

5. Name plus phrase of address

In Afrikaans the call name or emotive name can be followed by an appositive phrase of address to form an emotive vocative with either positive or negative affect. Four examples from Afrikaans literature:

19. Selons (male) en Suffie (female; Suffie < Sophia) are an elderly married couple. Suffie is a real battle axe and over the years Selons has been chopped down into a subdued state. When Selons hears the tone of voice with which his wife calls him, he tries to butter her up with an
endearing back-formation followed by an appositive phrase, but to no avail:

"'Selons!' roep tant Suffie.
'Ja, Suf, ou hart?'
'Moenie staan en kekkel nie. Die brood moet uit die oond.'" (106: 21.)

("'Selons!' aunt Suffie calls.
'Yes, Suf, old heart? (= my dear)
'Don't stand there cackling. The bread must come out of the oven.'")

20. The little girl Driekie (call name <Hen=drieka) is seriously ill, so ill that when her highly regarded teacher comes to visit, Driekie does not show any sign of recognition. The very worried mother tries to get some response from the girl.

"'Driekie - ma se kind - Driek, kyk dan, hier is jou Juffrou.'" (114: 177.)

("'Driekie - mom's child - Driek, look here, here's your Teacher.'")

21. The elderly woman Annie is giving a big tea party for all her women friends, and she wants everybody to eat, drink and be merry. When she notices that her friend Betta, who is of the same age, is not busy eating, she prods Betta on:

"'Nig Betta, ou hartjie, tog nie laat nooi nie.'" (48; 82.)

("'Cousin Betta, little old heart (= my dearie), please don't wait to be invited to have something.'")

22. The little girl Meintjie has made a mess-up of a chore her father ordered her to do. Then he finds her at the mess-up.

"'Mein! Jou gruwel! Jy het regtig
minder verstand in jou kop as 'n muggie!'
raas haar pa, en haar ma is net so on=
tevrede." (98: 165.)
("'Mein! You horror! You really have
less brains in your head than a gnat!'
hert father scolds her, and her mother
is equally disgruntled.")

6. Repetition

In this study I exclude the repeated shouting
of a name to gain the attention of an addres=
see who is too far to hear the first time.
In such cases the shouter usually waits inbe=
tween shouts to see if the addressee shows that
he has heard the shout. Rather I have in mind
here the repetition of a term of address when
the addressee is near the speaker. What are
the functions of such a repeated address?
From the examined Afrikaans literature I have
discovered that it can be one of the following,
inter alia.
(i) It can show the enchantment that the name
of a beloved has for the lover, as in 23.

23. "'Rensie! Rensie!' Hy sê dit sag=
gies asof hy homself iets wil laat
hoor. 'So 'n mooi naampie. Ek sal
dit nooit vergeet nie. Waar kom jy
daaraan?"
'Ek heet eintlik Lourentia,' verduidelik sy prakties. 'Na my oupa, Lourens de Wet.'" (60:18.)

("'Rensie! Rensie!' He says it softly as if he is trying to make himself hear something. 'Such a beautiful name. I shall never forget it. Where did you get it?'

'Actually my name is Lourentia,' she explains matter-of-factly. 'After my grandfather, Lourens de Wet.'")

(ii) It can be used to depict the cutting scorn of one school-going child towards another, as in 24.

24. The farm boy Attie mocks his classmate Alie, where she is sitting on a horse-drawn cart, going to school:

"'Aaljan, Vaaljan,' skreeu hy vir Alie. 'Jy hou leisels soos 'n dorpsjan.'" (7:119.)

("'Aaljan, Vaaljan,' he shouts at Alie. 'You hold the reins like a townee.'")

Rhyming name variation is characteristic of children mocking one another, and the
name element -jan which Attie uses here, usually appears as the second member, especially if the linguistic structure as a whole is pejorative. Cf. Maljan ("Crackerjack", lit. "mad John"), Dom Jan ("stupid John"), Slim Jan ("clever John") and Slapjan ("spineless John").

(iii) But mostly the immediate repetition of a vocative depicts the speaker's urgency and great emotionality. Small wonder that the non-initial form of address is often an emotive name, like in 25.

25. Uncle Klasie's wife has met with an accident, and she is lying quite still. This is when he goes right up to her and he says full of concern:

"'Truida! Trui! Truitjie, ou lam!'"

(65:67.)

The first name he uses is his call came for his wife, then he uses an emotive name, then an even more emotive name, and finally, when that doesn't have the required result either, he uses an endearing phrase of
address (more or less the equivalent of *my lamb*).

Undoubtedly there must be other functions to which the immediate repetition of a form of address is put in Afrikaans, but for that I have to do further research.

7. About "my" and "jou" as specifiers

7.1 The Afrikaans words *my* and *jou* (resp. first person singular possessive and objective, and second person singular possessive and objective) also have an emotive deictic function. *My* draws the referent nearer to the speaker, *jou* pushes the referent away, in other words, *my* indicates emotional commitment to the referent on the part of the speaker, *jou* indicates disapproval of the referent on the part of the speaker, or at least emotional detachment by the speaker.

The emotive *my*, but not the emotive *jou*, is used as a specifier with Afrikaans call names and emotive names. An example from the literature. Santa's husband usually calls her Santa. One day he finds her in a very down-hearted mood and he
discovers that she has been crying.

26. "'En jou gesig is dan nat, my ou Santatjie,' sê hy innig en teer." (74:77.)

("'And your face is wet, my dear little Santa,' he says fondly and tenderly.")

In Afrikaans there is no vocative of the type of

27. *Jou (ou/klein) Santatjie (You (dear) little Santa)

or

28. *Jou (ou/klein) Santa (You (dear) Santa)

The emotive jou that indicates disapproval, is found with disparaging common nouns of address, e.g. in the cited case of 22, which is repeated here:

22. "'Mein, Jou gruwel! Jy het regtig minder verstand in jou kop as 'n muggie!' raas haar pa, en haar ma is net so ontevrede." (98:165.)

("'Mein! You horror! You really have less brains in your head than a gnat!' her father scolds her, and her mother is equally
disgruntled.

and also e.g. in the following case.
Hendrik du Preez has been caught in a landslide
and he has been cut off from his home and his
wife for some months. He makes his way back, but
his wife, whom he calls Rachel, must have thought
him dead after all these months, for when Hen-
drik's homestead comes into view in the distance,
Hendrik sees his wife coming out of the house,
holding hands with a tall chap, Willem Prinsloo,
who used to be one of Rachel's suitors before
Hendrik married her. Immediately Hendrik is full
of hate towards Willem once more and he thinks
by himself:

29. "'Jou lange lummel! Dink jy om my plaas...
   MY plaas te kry! en my vroutjie, my Rachel-
tjie!'" (53:148.)

("'You long lout! Do you think to get my
farm... MY farm! and my wife, my dear
Rachel!'")

7.2 The aversive, dissociating jou is often found in
Afrikaans vocatives as the specifier of an aver-
sion indicating common noun, the whole vocative
being a disapproving judgment.
Common nouns involved in this type of construction found in the literature include:

30. *aap, bobbejaan, buffel, domkop, luiaard, luis, skaap, skelm, vark & vetstert* (resp. "ape, baboon, churl, dunce, lazy-bones, louse, sheep, rascal, pig" and "fat tail").

Disparaging nouns like these cannot take *my* as a specifier. However if they are diminutivised, they can take either the disapproving *jou* or the approving *my*:

31. *jou apie x my apie  
jou skelmpie x my skelmpie  
jou varkie x my varkie.*

Now this type of *jou* construction cannot be used as a vocative, it is only used as a predicate, and it is nothing but a loving, mild rebuke, mostly applied to children. But the *my* construction can be used as a vocative or a mere predicate. In the latter case the disapproval is just about completely overridden by the emotive deictic power of *my* and the diminutive suffix.
It is also mostly applied to children, but some of these vocatives, like

32. My bokkie ("my little goat/buck") and my perdjie ("my little horse")

have become pet names between lovers. And then, when the emotivity wears out of such a vocative, because of its being used so much, one gets a back-formed emotive pet name of the type of

33. My gogga ("my creepy-crawly") and my satan ("my satan").

The approving, associating my is often found in Afrikaans vocatives as the specifier of an approving common noun, the whole vocative being an approving judgment. Common nouns found in the Afrikaans literature to be involved in this construction type include

34. Engel ("angel"), hart ("heart", cf. Eng. sweetheart), hartlam (lit. "heart lamb", "dearest"), lam ("lamb"), liefling ("love, darling"), meisie ("girl"), pop ("doll"), seun ("son, boy"), skat ("treasure, darling") and skattebol ("treasure, darling").
The extraordinary fact is that a subset of the my-taking noun category (like those in 34) also takes the non-associating jou. Cf. 35.

35. Jou engel ("You angel"), Jou liefling ("You darling"), Jou pop ("You doll"), Jou skat ("You treasure, darling"), and Jou skattebol ("You treasure, darling").

But the whole of "jou plus noun" cannot function as a vocative, it is a highly emotive, approving predicate.

8. Call name vs. emotive fuller forms

8.1 The call name is more intimate (i.e. personal and jovial) in Afrikaans than the first name, the surname, the full name or the title plus surname. One can also turn this statement around and make the implication explicit: if the call name of a certain speaker for a certain addressee is suddenly dropped in favour of the first name, the surname, the full name, or the title plus surname, in a physically unaltered situation, then the new vocative expresses emotively: the speaker dissociates himself, detaches himself emotionally from the addressee. The disocia=
tion can vary from not feeling quite so well disposed to ice-cold anger towards the addressee.

8.2 Call name vs. first name

A boy by the name of Hendrik van As is usually called Hennie by his father. But, the writer adds:

36. "Wanneer sy naam in sy pa se mond 'Hendrik' geword het, was dit gewoonlik die voorteken vir afrekening." (46:1&22.)

("When his name became 'Hendrik' in his father's speech it usually was the omen of retribution.")

8.3 Call name vs. call name plus surname

Neef is an archaic form of address in Afrikaans between elderly peers. The elderly Doors Rensburg always addresses his peer Hendrik van Heerden as neef Hendrik, but at one stage he gets very cross with the latter and he says to him:

37. "'...en ek sê vir jou vooraf, Hendrik van Heerde, dit is julle slim Judas-neuse verby.'" (52:91,93&95.)
("...and I'm telling you in advance, Hendrik van Heerde, you lot of money grabbers have missed the boat.")

A second example. Sampie is a conventional expressive derivation of Samuel. Sampie en Hannes usually call one another by the names just given. At one stage they have a very bitter quarrel and Hannes says:

38. "Sampie de Bruin, (...) ek is nie 'n man wat graag vir 'n ander sy hand optel nie... maar as jy nie platgeslaan wil wees nie, moet jy huis toe gaan..." (110:102.)

("Sampie de Bruin,... I am not a man who likes to lift his hands against somebody else... but if you don't want to be knocked flat, you had better go home.")

8.4 Call name vs. title plus surname

The use of unwanted words of address can be very vexing for the addressee. Etienne has just addressed Annie as "skat" ("darling, treasure"), and Annie reacts.

39. "'Moenie vir my "skat" sê nie. Ek hou nie daarvan nie.'
'Daarom sê ek dit juis. Weet jy wat, skat? ... Het ek jou al ooit gesê jy het 'n baie openhartige gesig, skat?'

Annie is nou briesend: 'U het dit al gesê, meneer Du Preez... toe u skaars 'n halfuur by ons aan huis was. Net so ook met die woord "skat". Ook nou herhaal ek wat ek toe alreeds versoek het, om asseblief nie so persoonlik te raak nie.'

'Ag foeitog, ag pardon, Annatjie...'' (146: 15-16.)

("'Don't call me "darling". I don't like it.' 'That is why I precisely call you that. Do you know what, darling? ... Have I ever told you that you have a very revealing face, darling?'

Annie is furious now: 'You already said it, mister du Preez... after barely having been in our house for bare half an hour. The same applies to the word "skat". I now repeat what I have already requested you, please not to become so personal.'

'Ah shame, ah pardon me, Annatjie... '')

8.5 Call name vs. full name

Once more Annie gets mad at the guy she usually addresses as Etienne.
40. "'Hoe langer ek jou leer ken, Etienne Francois du Preez, hoe meer kom ek tot die gevolgtrekking dat jy die verpersoonliking is en bly... van verwaandheid en die toppunt van manlike opgeblasenheid.'" (146:20-21.)

("'The more I get to know you, Etienne Francois du Preez, the more I come to the conclusion that you are and remain... the personification of conceit and the height of male pomposity.'")

9. **In Conclusion**

In literary and in linguistic studies of Afrikaans (cf. de Villiers 1975: 83-94, 117-120, Ponelis 1979: 205, 292, 587) we are only starting to study emotivity as a subject.

Emotivity, as I see it, is conventional knowledge that is communicated, not a uniquely personal association of a specific individual. Therefore it is part of the phenomenon of meaning in speech and writing. In fact, emotivity is an essential part of the meaning of every utterance and of every piece of writing we produce. It needs to be studied in much greater detail, in literary and in linguistic studies, for emotivity
is never unimportant; often it is equally important and in some cases it is more important than the cerebral message conveyed by the utterance or the writing.

In the Afrikaans literature emotivity is manifested by structures at various levels of analysis: it can be manifested phonologically, lexically, morphologically and/or syntactically. And it can be expressed at various levels in the selfsame sentence. In this study I have paid attention only to some types of lexical choice, to two specifiers and to the suffixes in Afrikaans forms of address.

The various manifestations of a certain emotion or attitude in a connected utterance have to be tuned in on one another. And the vocative, because of the fact that it is in the sentence initial position so often, very frequently plays the keynote and the other emotive elements in the whole sentence, or even in the whole discourse, must be in tune.

The study of the emotive aspects of vocatives in the literature of Afrikaans can blaze a trail for the students of literature and
linguistics alike to get to know more about one aspect of that process which we call communication, but which is all too often conceived of as a sheer cerebral process as far as the language is concerned.

Johan Combrink
University of Stellenbosch
South Africa
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