

The Linguistic Portrayal of Women in Written Afrikaans from 1911 to 2010

by

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Abstract

This corpus-based study investigated what written Afrikaans had historically been 'telling' its readers about gender, and specifically about women. The investigation examined the frequency, collocation and concordance lines of feminine, masculine and epicene nouns in the Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans (Kirsten 2016) spanning the time period 1911-2010. The study was conducted because there is limited research available that examines the portrayal of gender in Afrikaans across an extended time period.

Corpus linguistics was used as a methodology to extract and evaluate data. The extracted data were analysed using quantitative data analysis, specifically descriptive statistics methods that included normalised frequency and MI score. The data were interpreted using qualitative analysis methods to explain the findings observed in the corpus data analyses. The qualitative analysis method used was content analysis, this method considered context and sociocultural factors within the Afrikaans language community.

The findings of the study pointed to Afrikaans' movement toward gender parity. Firstly, the frequency of the feminine nouns decreased across the time period, with masculine nouns increasingly used to refer to women. Secondly, the most statistically significant collocates emphasised gender marking and highlighted the overall precedence of masculine nouns over feminine nouns. Lastly, the concordance lines indicated the linguistic inequality in the patterns of use, as women were frequently described pejoratively with unfavourable adjectival collocates.

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Table of Contents

List of Figures	vi
List of Tables	vi
1. Introduction	1
1.1 <i>Problem Statement</i>	3
1.2 <i>Research Questions</i>	4
1.3 <i>Theoretical Framework</i>	5
1.4 <i>Methodology</i>	8
1.5 <i>Contribution of the Study</i>	10
1.6 <i>Delimitations</i>	11
1.7 <i>Conclusion</i>	12
2. Literature Review	14
2.1 <i>Language and Gender</i>	14
2.1.1 <i>Gender</i>	14
2.1.2 <i>Language and Gender</i>	18
2.2 <i>Language and Gender Research</i>	23
2.2.1 <i>Research in Other Languages</i>	33
2.2.2 <i>Research in Afrikaans</i>	36
2.3 <i>Conclusion</i>	39
3. Research Methodology	41
3.1 <i>Criteria for Selecting a Corpus</i>	45
3.2 <i>Characteristics of Historical Corpora</i>	50
3.3 <i>Characterisation of the Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans</i>	53
3.4 <i>Analysing a Corpus</i>	56
3.5 <i>Research Methods</i>	63
3.5.1 <i>Compiling a Working List of Nouns</i>	64
3.5.2 <i>Analysing the Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans</i>	75
3.6 <i>Conclusion</i>	77
4. Data Analysis, Findings and Discussions	79
4.1 <i>Quantitative Analysis: Frequency Analysis</i>	80
4.1.1 <i>Feminine Nouns</i>	81
4.1.2 <i>Masculine Nouns</i>	88
4.1.3 <i>Epicene Nouns</i>	91
4.2 <i>Quantitative Analysis: Collocation Analysis</i>	94
4.2.1 <i>Feminine Nouns</i>	96
4.2.2 <i>Masculine Nouns</i>	98
4.2.3 <i>Epicene Nouns</i>	101
4.3 <i>Qualitative Analysis: Concordance Lines</i>	103
4.3.1 <i>Feminine Nouns</i>	104
4.3.2 <i>Masculine Nouns</i>	109
4.3.3 <i>Epicene Nouns</i>	111

4.4 Discussion	114
4.5 Conclusion	118
5. Conclusion	121
5.1 Summary	121
5.2 Conclusions	125
5.3 Recommendations	127
5.4 Conclusion	128
Bibliography	130
Appendices	137
<i>Appendix 1</i>	<i>137</i>
<i>Appendix 2</i>	<i>140</i>
<i>Appendix 3</i>	<i>142</i>
<i>Appendix 4</i>	<i>144</i>
<i>Appendix 5</i>	<i>147</i>
<i>Appendix 6</i>	<i>150</i>
<i>Appendix 7</i>	<i>153</i>
<i>Appendix 8</i>	<i>156</i>
<i>Appendix 9</i>	<i>158</i>
<i>Appendix 10</i>	<i>160</i>
<i>Appendix 11</i>	<i>162</i>
<i>Appendix 12</i>	<i>164</i>
<i>Appendix 13</i>	<i>166</i>
<i>Appendix 14</i>	<i>170</i>
<i>Appendix 15</i>	<i>173</i>
<i>Appendix 16</i>	<i>176</i>
<i>Appendix 17</i>	<i>179</i>
<i>Appendix 18</i>	<i>183</i>
<i>Appendix 19</i>	<i>186</i>
<i>Appendix 20</i>	<i>189</i>
<i>Appendix 21</i>	<i>193</i>
<i>Appendix 22</i>	<i>196</i>
<i>Appendix 23</i>	<i>199</i>
<i>Appendix 24</i>	<i>202</i>
<i>Appendix 25</i>	<i>205</i>
<i>Appendix 26</i>	<i>206</i>
<i>Appendix 27</i>	<i>207</i>
<i>Appendix 28</i>	<i>208</i>

<i>Appendix 29</i>	209
<i>Appendix 30</i>	210
<i>Appendix 31</i>	211

List of Figures

Figure 1: Collocation network of <i>vrouw</i> in sub-corpus one	97
Figure 2: Collocation network of <i>vrou</i> in sub-corpus four	97
Figure 3: Collocation network of <i>pa</i> in sub-corpus one	99
Figure 4: Collocation network of <i>pa</i> in sub-corpus four	99
Figure 5: Collocation network of <i>kinders</i> in sub-corpus one	101
Figure 6: Collocation network of <i>kinders</i> in sub-corpus four	101

List of Tables

Table 3.1: Composition of HCSA	55
Table 3.2: Composition of <i>Omvattend</i> 1.7 VivA corpus	64
Table 3.3: <i>Omvattend</i> 1.7 VivA corpus most frequently occurring nouns	68
Table 3.4: Normalised nouns and their variants	71
Table 3.5: Working list of nouns to be analysed	73
Table 4.1: Frequency analysis of feminine nouns (1911-2010)	81
Table 4.2: Frequency analysis of masculine nouns (1911-2010)	88
Table 4.3: Frequency analysis of epicene nouns (1911-2010)	92

1. Introduction

The weak form of the linguistic relativity thesis (for a discussion, see Evans & Green 2006:95-101) states that the way in which a speaker or writer chooses to represent an object or situation linguistically, reveals a great deal about how the speaker or writer in question thinks about the represented content. Conversely, the language used to represent an object or situation can also influence the way in which a listener or reader thinks about what is represented. For instance, the exact same group of people can be referred to as ‘feminists’ or ‘man haters’ depending on political views, sociocultural interpretation and intended impact.

Given this link between language and thought, written records become unintended records of the *Zeitgeist* in a certain language community. *Zeitgeist* can be characterised as the ideas and attitudes of a social population in a given time period, for example in the 1950s or in the 2010s (Fruehwald 2017:4-5). As the *Zeitgeist* of a language community is based on sociocultural expectations, these expectations often extend to gender (Leech *et al.* 2009:79). Written records can also become unintended records of the change in the *Zeitgeist*. As the language used in texts reflects the language used by readers, any lexical changes recorded could therefore also signal a change in the *Zeitgeist*, and vice versa.

Sociocultural expectations, such as gender norms, are often evidenced in written texts; and the language in texts often represent and contribute to the narratives of these norms (Matwick 2017:533). Considering written texts often portray the standardised

form of a language, they play an important role in either sustaining or countering gender stereotypes; as texts are able to reach a wider audience and are considered examples of language use (Sensales, Areni & Dal Secco 2016:459).

The advent of the internet and social media around the turn of the 21st century has allowed for social activism, such as feminism, to be disseminated more readily. Cyberfeminism (discussed in Section 2.1) and online activism campaigns have brought about massive changes worldwide regarding the notions of ‘gender’ and ‘women’ (Evans & Williams 2013:42). These have impacted language communities all over the world, including the *Zeitgeist* in the Afrikaans speaking community, and we can therefore assume that these changes will also have impacted the way in which women are written about in Afrikaans texts.

The objective of this research is to investigate what written Afrikaans has historically been ‘telling’ its readers about gender, and specifically about women (Cameron 2002:9). The investigation will be done by analysing the use of feminine nouns and comparing their use to that of masculine and epicene nouns in the Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans (HCSA), a corpus that encompasses texts taken from the time period 1911-2010.

The HCSA, used for analysis in this research, is a static corpus (see Section 3.1). It was compiled by Johanita Kirsten (2016) and is divided into four sub-corpora. This offers the opportunity to examine the use of various linguistics features across historical time periods (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998:12). At the time of this research, there are no other historical corpora available for written Standard Afrikaans (Kirsten

2019:62). The reasons for selecting the HCSA and the characteristics of this corpus are further discussed in Sections 3.1 – 3.3.

In this study, the term ‘feminine noun’ is understood to include nouns that refer to women and have a gender equivalent masculine noun, for example, *vrou* (‘woman’) and *dame* (‘lady’), and forms with suffixes like ‘-esse’, ‘-ise’ and ‘-in’. Feminine nouns also include nouns that refer to women and do not have a gender equivalent masculine noun, such as *lugwaardin* (‘airhostess’) and *ballerina* (‘ballerina’).

The term ‘masculine noun’ is understood to include nouns that refer primarily to men, for example *direkteur* (‘director’) and *redakteur* (‘editor’). The term ‘epicene noun’ is understood to include gender-neutral nouns that can refer to either gender, for example *dokter* (‘doctor’), *student* (‘student’) and *ruimtevaarder* (‘astronaut’).

1.1 Problem Statement

It has become evident from international research regarding gendered nouns that there is a move away from gendered language use in English (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 2013:220). However, similar research investigating the use of gendered nouns in Afrikaans, has not been done. Language and gender research in Afrikaans is limited, specifically historic studies that encompass a longer time period.

In order to ascertain what the written records reveal about the *Zeitgeist* of the Afrikaans language community, and if there has been a change in the *Zeitgeist*, this research

aims to investigate what written Afrikaans has historically been ‘telling’ its readers about gender, and specifically about women.

1.2 Research Questions

From the objective mentioned in the introduction and on the basis of the problem stated above, the main research question can be formulated as follows:

How are women historically portrayed in written Afrikaans in the time period ranging from 1911-2010?

From this, subsequent questions can be formulated:

1. Has the frequency of Afrikaans feminine nouns changed over the time period covered in the Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans?
 - a. How does the frequency of feminine nouns compare to the frequency of masculine and epicene nouns in the corpus?
2. What are the most significant collocates, and what are the patterns of use of feminine nouns in the different sub-corpora of the Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans?
 - a. How do the collocates and usage patterns of feminine nouns compare to that of masculine and epicene nouns in the corpus?
3. Can the findings of the first two questions be explained by sociocultural factors prevalent in the Afrikaans speaking community during the corresponding time period, particularly with relation to gender?

1.3 Theoretical Framework

Since the second-wave feminist movement in the 1960s and 1970s, research on language and gender has steadily gained popularity (Bovin, 2016:1). The majority of this research has focused on the differences between the way in which women and men use language, and also on overtly sexist language (Bell, 2014:13). Recently, however, the research focus has started to shift to also include the linguistic representation of different genders (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003:8).

There are two main arguments that define gender, the performative view and the binary view (Selzer 2009:343; Butler 1999:xv;xxviii). The performative view depicts gender as something individuals **do** rather than something they **are**, while the binary view focusses the difference between sex and gender, 'sex' being seen as biological and 'gender' being seen as socio-cultural (Selzer 2009:343). In line with the performative view, it is argued that individuals experience gender as somewhat of a concrete concept because gender roles are produced and repeated frequently (Butler 1999:171-190). Individuals are therefore socialised to perform gender as part of their social roles, performing gender in their family life, work life etc. (Butler 1999:171-190).

Individuals are thus socialised to perform gender, however, with the advent of the internet and social media there is a continuous change in the definition of gender. Feminism and other forms of gender activism has surged online and many new terms have stemmed from this online activism, including the term cyberfeminism – which can be defined as acts of engagement that support the prospects of gender transformation (Evans & Williams 2013:42).

Cyberfeminism may only be the latest form of feminist engagement, however feminist linguistic research has always hoped to research and deconstruct gender roles and assumed gender privilege through language (Selzer 2009:343). Feminist linguistic research has therefore encouraged the study of the relationship between language and gender. Earlier studies have argued that language is not a neutral construct but is rather imbued with a connection to symbolic systems of power that are able to shape the construction of ideas, beliefs and opinions (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:419). The connection between language and thought is central to this study as this research aims to investigate the connection between how written Afrikaans linguistically represents gender and what it has historically been 'telling' its readers about gender.

The connection between language and thought is called linguistic relativity, "there is not just one way of seeing, thinking and talking about the world" (Weatherall 2002:5). Implying that there are different ways of thinking and talking about the world, influenced by an individual's sociocultural influences. Similar to the weak form of the linguistic relativity hypothesis (Evans & Green 2006:95-101), language and gender research considers both the ways in which languages talk about genders and the role language plays in either perpetuating or challenging gender bias through linguistic choices (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:419). Linguistic choices and the depiction of gender in language is therefore closely linked to how a particular society views the notion of gender.

Society's views about gender inspired a significant bulk of earlier research to focus on the gender differences between women and men, identifying speech and writing styles

and correlating them with gender differences (Bell 2014:13; Stokoe 2004:107). This earlier research on gender differences was often based on the assumption that women were somehow ‘inferior’ to men, and that language reflected power and social advantage and simultaneously the lack of power and social disadvantage (Weatherall 2002:3). Hence, earlier language and gender research often perpetuated the gender dichotomy emphasising differences between men and women (Stokoe 2004:108).

Because of the emphasis on the gender dichotomy earlier research on gender differences drew critique, including Weatherall’s (2002:4) critique of the gender dichotomy. Weatherall (2002:4) highlights the argument that language does not only contain ideas, but that language also has the ability to shape ideas. More recent research has shifted focus toward investigating the portrayal and representation of gender in language (Bolinger 1980:91).

The second-wave feminist movement spurred researchers in America and the United Kingdom to undertake research in the field of language and gender. Consequently, there is a multitude of work available about language and gender in English, and since the 1970s research on this topic in other languages has also gained popularity (Bovin 2016:1).

Research in other languages often builds on the already available research in English, focusing on aspects that are unique to the language under investigation. The overwhelming majority of research in languages other than English still focuses on the differences between, and particulars of, male and female language. Studies about gendered language in Afrikaans also build on the available research in English, and

to some extent the research available in other languages. There is also evidence that, increasingly, current studies are incorporating corpus-based approaches to provide statistical evidence (see Bovin 2016).

The above-mentioned arguments provide a snapshot of the research available in the field of language and gender studies. Since the emergence of this field it has transformed into a multifaceted, cross-disciplinary area of research. The theoretical framework of language and gender research will allow this study to investigate the connection between language and thought, focussing on the linguistic representation of the different genders and how the representation reflects the sociocultural landscape of the time period. In Chapter 2 a more comprehensive, but by no means exhaustive, look at the existing literature discussing language and gender will be taken.

1.4 Methodology

This study will use corpus linguistics as a methodology for data extraction and evaluation. Corpus linguistics “refers to a set of methods used to mine large machine-readable datasets for language patterns using statistical calculations” (Balfour 2019:43). The steps below will outline the framework used to determine how women were historically portrayed in written Afrikaans in the time period ranging from 1911-2010.

The first phase of the study will comprise of a literature review, the theoretical framework will discuss the existing literature available in language and gender research (introduced in Section 1.3). Combining corpus analysis with language and

gender research highlights the interlacing of language and gender, creating a basis for the main focus of this research study, the gendering of language.

The second phase of the study will identify the nouns (feminine, masculine and epicene) that will be investigated. Different aspects of these nouns' usage will be explored in the HCSA, including frequency distribution, collocation analysis and the context in which the nouns occur. The usage of the identified gendered nouns will be examined along a timeline, exploring whether the usage and context of nouns has changed over time. A historical corpus will be used in this research because of the historical data that will be analysed and because corpus linguistics allows for the statistical analysis of different time periods and the comparison between the periods (O'Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:21). Historical corpora also allow for longitudinal studies across time periods.

As part of the corpus analysis, quantitative data analysis will be used to analyse the corpus data. The statistical method best suited to determine frequency distribution of occurrence and cooccurrence is descriptive statistics (Viana, Zyngier & Barnbrook, 2013:160). Quantitative metrics such as frequency and collocation will be used to determine whether the frequency of specific feminine nouns and collocates of these nouns have changed in the HCSA between 1911-2010. The four sub-corpora of the HCSA will be examined for the frequency distribution of the identified nouns, recording how often each noun occurs. Alongside frequency distribution, collocation analysis will be used to determine the unusually frequently occurring word pairings as collocation analysis identifies statistically significant collocations and excludes chance combinations (Gómez, 2013:196).

In the third phase of the study qualitative analysis methods will be used to interpret the results of the corpus analysis and explain the findings observed (Firestone 1987). Content analysis will be used to interpret and explain the frequency of use, and the collocates of the nouns. A qualitative form of content analysis will be used to evaluate the written language in the cultural and social context (Hardy, Harley & Phillips 2004:20), the context in which the nouns occur will be examined through concordance lines. In this phase the sociocultural factors within the Afrikaans language community at different stages will be considered to give possible explanations for the findings of the corpus analysis.

1.5 Contribution of the Study

The research gap identified is that the study is among one of the first studies in Afrikaans that investigates gender representation linguistically using a historical longitudinal corpus. The contribution of the study is that it will identify the usage of gendered and epicene nouns in the written form of Standard Afrikaans over an extended period of time, rather than investigating a snapshot of time.

Thus far, limited research is available on the use of published texts as a means of diachronic analysis of written lexical change in Afrikaans. Moreover, limited research has been found that details the portrayal of gender in Afrikaans across an extended time period.

By investigating how the written form of the language has changed, a glimpse into the sociohistorical and sociocultural factors influencing the change may become apparent. The usage of gendered and epicene nouns in the HCSA could provide an insight into the sociocultural beliefs of a sample of the Afrikaans language community, and how these beliefs changed over time. Lastly, the findings of the study will certainly highlight further research questions.

1.6 Delimitations

The research study aims to contribute to the field of Afrikaans language and gender research. However, one limitation to the study is the small sample of Afrikaans writing analysed. A larger corpus that contains more varieties of Afrikaans and more texts may produce vastly different results to the study of the HCSA.

As the HCSA is a relatively small corpus generalising the findings to the broader Afrikaans community is not recommended. The HCSA is however the only historical longitudinal corpus of written Standard Afrikaans available, therefore the study is a first of its kind that could be repeated using a larger corpus that contains more data in the future.

Currently longitudinal studies of linguistic gender portrayal in Afrikaans are limited, and another limitation of the study is the types of texts available in earlier periods of Afrikaans. The texts in the earlier sub-corpora are more formal and gender representation may be skewed in the earlier time periods.

The study will only investigate written Standard Afrikaans, not spoken language. This sample of written Afrikaans will be used to determine what the texts in the HCSA had historically been ‘telling’ its readers about gender in the period between 1911-2010. The HCSA only includes Standard Afrikaans and does not include or represent other varieties/dialects of Afrikaans. Furthermore, the nouns analysed in the corpus will only include the nouns from the working list of nouns (Table 3.5), to assure reproducibility other nouns will not be analysed.

The corpus analysis will only be conducted in the Lancaster University corpus toolbox (#LancsBox; Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package]) and no other analysis software will be used. Finally, although this study introduces subjects that are currently the focus of academic and popular discussions, such as gender equality and variation, the study will not discuss these subjects in detail. The study will not explore different types of feminism (such as cyberfeminism, liberal feminism etc.) or discuss gender variation (such as what constitutes a gender and the different genders).

1.7 Conclusion

In this chapter the research study was introduced and outlined. This was done by contextualising the study, and explaining how written records can become unintended records of the *Zeitgeist* in a certain language community. This is because written language reflects the language used by writers and readers at a particular time. Thereafter, the research question and sub-questions were set out. The theoretical

framework and methodology were then discussed, the contribution of the study was explicated and the delimitations of the study were described.

In Chapter 2 a comprehensive, but not exhaustive, outline of the existing literature discussing language and gender will be given. Definitions of key terms are given and the interconnectedness between language and gender will be discussed. The field of language and gender research will be explored, drawing on the main researchers in the field. Individual studies in English, other languages and Afrikaans are discussed, and an overview of existing research that utilises corpus linguistics will be given.

2. Literature Review

In the previous chapter the research study was introduced and delineated, highlighting the objective, main research question and the subsequent questions to be answered. The theoretical and methodological frameworks of language and gender research and corpus linguistics were discussed, along with the field and value of the study and the limitations of the study.

In this chapter a more comprehensive overview of the existing literature discussing language and gender will be given. This will provide a theoretical framework to the question of what written Afrikaans in the Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans (HCSA) has historically been 'telling' readers about gender, and specifically about women. In Section 2.1 various definitions of gender will be given and the interconnectedness between language and gender will be discussed. In Section 2.2 the field of language and gender research will be explored, drawing on the main researchers in the field. Further, individual studies in English, studies in other languages and studies in Afrikaans will be explored, alongside research that utilises corpus linguistics.

2.1 Language and Gender

2.1.1 Gender

It can be argued that gender is now recognised as one of the major forms of social difference, along with race and class (Evans & Williams 2013:xiii). With the area of

gender studies only being thoroughly researched for the past 40 years, the implications of gender difference are still only partially understood (Evans & Williams 2013:xiv).

There are various views and definitions of gender, two of the main arguments that define gender are mentioned by Allyson Jule (Selzer 2009:343) and Judith Butler (1999), which is that gender is seen as either performative or binary. The performative view depicts gender as something individuals do rather than something they are. The binary view of gender highlights the difference between sex and gender, 'sex' being seen as biological and 'gender' being seen as socio-cultural (Selzer 2009:343).

Butler (1999:171-190) further argues that gender is produced and repeated, and individuals experience gender as a concrete concept because gender roles are performed, copied and repeated. Because these gender roles are repeated so frequently individuals and society experience them as 'reality' (Butler 1999:171-190). Individuals are socialised to perform gender as it is a major part of how individuals perform social roles. Social roles therefore force individuals to perform gender (subconsciously) whenever they participate in social life, including family life, work life etc. (Butler 1999:171-190).

As mentioned above, gender performance reinforces gender and social roles, however, imitations of the performance may also disrupt and challenge these roles. The misperformance of gender creates symbolic and real challenges to the gender norms (Butler 1999:178-190). For example, gender roles that have previously been seen as either feminine (e.g. carer) or masculine (e.g. strong), can be challenged

through the deliberate performance of these roles by the gender that it was not previously associated with (Butler 1999:171-190).

Traditionally neither the performative view or the binary view of gender has created a space for individuals that do not prescribe to either gender. It is argued that the term 'gender' seemingly transfers traditional assumptions of basic sexual dichotomies of female and male, however more recent studies want researchers to consider the social construction over the physical (Bergvall 1999:276). It is thus important to note that there are not only two genders that exist in the social world, rather there is a range of genders to be considered, including intersex, transsexual, non-binary etc. (Holmes & Meyerhoff 2003:8). This is outside of the scope of this research, but should be mentioned nonetheless.

Alongside the performative view of gender, femininity could be understood as socially and culturally constructed attributes, behaviours and subject positions generally associated with women (Evans & Williams 2013:59). Although not always associated with women, the overwhelming association of femininity with women in the literature will mean that in this study feminine nouns will be associated with women and masculine nouns will be associated with men.

Scharff argues that there are different types of femininities, including femininity characterised by social change, regarding employment, education and private spheres; and by gender inequality embedded in socio-economic systems (Evans & Williams 2013:60). As the different types of femininities should ideally be reflected in language,

the changing social manifestation of gender and femininity should also ideally be reflected in language.

The advent of the internet and social media further facilitates the continuous change of the definition of gender. The idea of gender has featured prominently online in important social and political movements in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, including feminism and other activism focusing on gender identity such as queer activism (Evans & Williams 2013:42). Stemming from online activism, the term cyberfeminism has been given to acts of engagement that support the prospects of gender transformation (Evans & Williams 2013:42).

Although cyberfeminism will not be directly discussed in this research, cyberfeminism could have an influence on the portrayal of gender in language around the turn of the century, as digital communication was and still is being used in feminist campaigns and forms of resistance to gender norms and conventions (Evans & Williams 2013:43).

Taking all the above-mentioned arguments of gender into account, the working definition of gender in this study will lean towards the performative view. This research will consider gender as a social role, an enactment and a product of social construction (but not as an inherent defining category) (Stokoe 2004:108; Matwick 2017:533). Social roles are influenced by the environment, social conditioning and socialisation, and the social role of gender can shape behaviour, societal roles and identities (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:418). This research will also consider gender, and forms of its social manifestation, as continually emerging. Therefore, a definition of gender should be

able to adapt to changing enactments and changing social constructions (Evans & Williams 2013:xiv).

As mentioned previously, and reiterated by Evans and Williams (2013:195), there are scholars that argue that the representation of gender reproduces myths about femininity and masculinity and serves to reinforce the performance of gender roles. It is further argued that these gender roles are placed on individuals through social expectations and assumptions, that they are often binary, and that gender performance is therefore constructed socially (Bergvall 1999:282).

In the following section, the social expectations and social roles of gender will be discussed by investigating how gender is represented in language. This will be followed by an overview of the field of language and gender research; the discussion will by no means be a comprehensive deep dive as the field is so broad, however, the most relevant and important research will be mentioned.

2.1.2 Language and Gender

The study of the relationship between language and gender emerged from feminist research of linguistics in which the feminist linguists hoped to deconstruct gender roles and assumed gender privilege in language (Selzer 2009:343). Previous studies in the field of language and gender have argued that language is not a neutral construct but is rather imbued with a connection to symbolic systems of power that are able to shape the construction of ideas, beliefs and opinions (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:419).

The idea of language either reflecting or determining thought was first set forward by Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf (Cameron 2002:9-10) who hypothesised that language “is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the shaper of ideas” (Whorf 1956:212-213). This idea is called linguistic relativity – “that there is not just one way of seeing, thinking and talking about the world” (Weatherall 2002:5).

The weak form of the linguistic relativity hypothesis is often more applicable to language and gender study. Highlighting that language shapes ideas and beliefs about a concept, and the way the concept is portrayed linguistically provides an insight into the way the speaker or writer views the concept (Evans & Green 2006:95-101). Similar to the weak form of the linguistic relativity hypothesis, language and gender study considers both the ways in which languages talk about genders and the role language plays in either perpetuating or challenging gender bias through linguistic choices (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:419).

The depiction of gender in language is closely linked to how a particular society views the notion of gender. Two main questions arise when embarking on language and gender research: Is language a socialising agent that contributes to the continuation of gender roles, or is language merely a mirror reflecting a group or a society’s language norms? (Beyleveld & van Jaarsveld 1991:1). These two questions are not separate from one another but rather intertwined, as Jule argues – language encompasses continuation, reflection and sustaining gender identity (Selzer 2009:343). Language therefore not only reflects language norms or contributes to the continuation of gender roles, but is responsible for both.

Michel Foucault argued that individuals are represented as gendered through discourse and language, where meanings about gender are set out and perpetuated and where the meanings can also be renegotiated (Selzer 2009:343). Janssen and Murachver (2004:180) agree with Jule and Foucault, arguing that language reflects and perpetuates the construction and maintenance of social stereotypes – including gender.

As much as language contributes to and sustains gender roles and identity, it can also be a shaper of ideas and a mediator of social relations reflecting social identities and cultural values (Cameron 1992:29). However, the social construction and reflection of gender and gender roles must be examined, questioning who controls the production, formation and couching of these social roles (Bergvall 1999:285). When studying the interrelationship between language and gender, especially when focusing on texts that have to pass through many gatekeepers, this institutional influence needs to be kept in mind (Bergvall 1999:285).

As language use often reproduces asymmetrical gender relations (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:419), research about language and gender has contributed to some feminist scholars concluding that “languages are sexist” and that languages “represent or ‘name’ the world from a masculine viewpoint and in accordance with stereotyped beliefs about women” (Cameron 2002:9). It is important to note that languages are not inherently sexist, but rather become sexist when organised into discourse by institutions or societies (Cameron 1992:198). It is also important to note that when large groups of people or institutions are involved, change is always slow and,

therefore, languages persist in communicating stereotypes even when deliberate attempts are made to reduce disparaging and damaging connotations and stereotypes (Beyleveld & van Jaarsveld 1991:12).

The connection between language and gender is often also interwoven with the awareness that language and (traditionally) women's social status are related. This relationship is evident in the publications of women's movements, in campaigns about personal names and in feminist philosophy (Weatherall 2002:2). Gendered language systems contribute to these perceived gender differences (Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell & Laakso 2011:269). It can be argued that societal understanding (beliefs, attitudes and behaviours) regarding the status of women and men differ across cultures and societies (Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell & Laakso 2011:269).

These understandings of gender are historically, culturally and contextually specific, what it means to be 'female' or 'male' changes, and words used to describe the genders also change (Weatherall 2002:7). If language is a mirror, the implication is that language will also mirror changing social attitudes (Weatherall 2002:7). As language is ever-changing, and gendered language systems and the depiction of gender change across time periods, language can be used to change attitudes about gender identity and gender roles (Selzer 2009:343).

The way the different genders see themselves and choose to portray themselves is less likely to be gender dependent today than in the past (Janssen & Murachver 2004:188). Language development is closely linked to the development of the individual, and in society the changing views of individuals are also closely linked to

language development (Guimei 2010:332). Language and societal views thus progress together constantly influencing one another (Beyleveld & van Jaarsveld 1991:3). Any difference in language can, however, only be said to generally reflect modest shifts rather than absolute contrasts of social stereotypes (Janssen & Murachver 2004:181).

There are two facets that characterise modest shifts in language development: first, language develops in the direction of men's language; and second, language develops away from absolute sex differences and towards degrees of differences (Pedersen 1997:29). Language can therefore be considered both a mirror reflecting social reality and an instrument perpetuating the social structure (Guimei 2010:336). More recent language and gender studies argue that cultural practices, values and ideologies are not only reflected in language, but that language shapes our changing understanding of our world (Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell & Laakso 2011:268).

If, as argued above, language is a reflection and an instrument then language and gender research should not only focus on "how women speak, but also, how women are spoken about" (Romaine 2000:103). How a gender is spoken about will not only reflect any societal understanding but also perpetuate the understanding, it will also indicate the extent to which gender is linguistically represented and how gender is incorporated into underlying structures of language (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:418-419). The following section will introduce and discuss language and gender research that focuses on "how women are spoken about" (Romaine 2000:103).

2.2 Language and Gender Research

Since the second-wave feminist movement in the 1960s and 1970s, research on language and gender has steadily gained popularity (Bovin 2016:1) and earlier research has highlighted two questions: What is “the nature and significance of gender bias in language”?; and what is the significance of “gender differences in language use”? (Weatherall 2002:3).

A significant bulk of earlier research focused on the gender differences in language use, how women and men use language differently (Bell 2014:13). This earlier research identified speech and writing styles and correlated them with gender differences (Stokoe 2004:107). The research on gender differences was often based on the assumption that women were somehow ‘inferior’ to men, that language reflected power and social advantage and simultaneously the lack of power and social disadvantage (Weatherall 2002:3). The earlier research also expressed viewpoints reflective of the time when the research was being conducted, for example the viewpoint that words have an indelible measurable meaning (Weatherall 2002:5).

Earlier language and gender research often perpetuated the gender dichotomy emphasising differences between men and women (Stokoe 2004:108), and because of this emphasis earlier research on gender differences drew critique. One critique of the gender dichotomy highlights the argument that language does not only contain ideas, but that it also has the ability to shape ideas (Weatherall 2002:4). Another critique emphasises that there are not only two genders, men and women, existing in the social world but rather there is a range of genders that exist and if research solely

focuses on the gender dichotomy it negates other genders (Holmes & Meyerhoff 2003:8).

Subsequently, the rigidity of previous research has guided more recent studies to not only focus on gender difference but to include the linguistic representation of different genders and to examine the social production of gendered identities (Holmes & Meyerhoff 2003:8; Stokoe 2004:108). Reddy and de Kadt's (2006:419) characterisation of the current field of language and gender research does not focus on gender difference, but rather depicts the field as attempting "to show how gender systems work in their linguistic representation of reality" (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:419). Gendered systems are usually examined through linguistic analysis of syntax, semantics and pragmatics, or through the sociology of gender. There is also evidence that, increasingly, current studies are incorporating corpus-based approaches to provide statistical evidence of research findings (see Bovin 2016).

There are many feminist arguments that assert sexist language can have an effect on gender relations and the real-world relations and status of men and women (Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell & Laakso 2011:268). Other arguments state that there are no languages that do not distinguish between the genders, whether grammatically or semantically, and this had led researchers to believe that gender may be "so fundamental to social organization and social structure that linguistic means to refer to this category are indispensable for speech communities" (Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell & Laakso 2011:268).

Grammatical and semantic gender can be defined as follows. Grammatical gender can be defined as the classification of nouns in a language into two or three classes (feminine, masculine and neutral) for the purposes of agreement (Ibrahim 1973:11). Both animate and inanimate nouns are classified in grammatical gender (Ibrahim 1973:11). Semantic gender can be defined as the classification of nouns based on gender roles, such as 'king', 'mother' etc. (Kraaikamp, 2017:2).

The binary view of gender is being challenged more frequently, and language and gender studies also increasingly challenge the dichotomy of 'female' and 'male' (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:418). As argued in Section 2.1, there are not only two genders that exist in the social world, rather gender exists as a range or a continuum (Holmes & Meyerhoff 2003:8). Therefore, it can also be argued that 'women' and 'men' are no longer seen as homogenous categories because there are no longer stable categories for 'women' or 'men' (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:418). Reddy and de Kadt (2006:418) argue that agreeing what constitutes these categories is more complex and other variables, such as the interpretation of categories through social and cultural factors, should be explored and considered.

Social roles are influenced by environment, social conditioning and socialisation, and the social role of gender can shape behaviour, societal roles and identities (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:418). The social role of a gender can perpetuate gender stereotypes, and these gender stereotypes are often reflected in language through grammar, syntax and lexical choices, making language a means through which sexism and gender bias are perpetuated (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:1). Gender stereotypes are not neutral, rather the stereotypes reflect the asymmetries of status and power

corresponding to social roles (Eagley, Wood & Diekman 2000). These asymmetries are subtly expressed in the words used to refer to the different genders (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:2).

Inequality and stereotypical beliefs about gender are often embedded in the lexicon of a language. Research studies have highlighted that in English there are more words to refer to men than to women, however, the number of expressions used to refer to promiscuous women is 10 times more than the number of words used to refer to promiscuous men (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:5). Imbalances in vocabulary further result in a lack of terms to refer to one gender, for example the emphasis on women being pure and wholesome has resulted in terms such as *virgin* to refer to a woman who has not had sexual intercourse, while there is no equivalent term to refer to a man who has not been sexually active (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:5).

Similarly, Afrikaans has the term *maagd* (virgin), however there is no equivalent male term. These imbalances can be referred to as lexical gaps, where there is no equivalent term to refer to the opposite gender (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:5). Lexical gaps are accompanied by positive and negative word associations. There are fewer positive words that describe women as intelligent, strong, independent or sexually active than there are negative words (Weatherall 2002:4). However, there are numerous negative words reflecting the pejorative attitudes towards women in society (Weatherall 2002:4).

Gender bias is often also embedded in the grammar of languages. Grammatically, languages can be gendered, gender natural or genderless (Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell

& Laakso 2011:269). Grammatical gender languages, such as German and Italian, mark gender by assigning feminine or masculine gender to nouns; grammatical natural languages, such as English, do not mark gender through nouns but through pronouns; and genderless languages, such as Swahili and Chinese, have a complete lack of grammatical gender distinction in the noun system (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:8; Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell & Laakso 2011:269). Grammatical conventions of gender have more recently prompted discussion of “the power of language to shape social stereotypes about gender, and perhaps ultimately shape status distinctions between men and women” (Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell & Laakso 2011:268).

Although Afrikaans has been identified as part of the Germanic languages family, as a colonial offshoot of Dutch (Hock & Joseph 2009:49), it is not a grammatical gender language like German and Dutch, but rather a grammatical natural language like English. This difference could be explained by Afrikaans’ historical context, the language’s development has been influenced by socio-political factors, language policies and practices, and language contact (Mesthrie 2002:80-84). This includes language contact between Dutch, Khoekhoe and Asian languages, which resulted in the original form of Afrikaans (Mesthrie 2002:80-84) (for a more detailed discussion see the prelude of Chapter 3). Therefore, although Afrikaans is part of the Germanic languages family, it has developed into a grammatical natural language.

The bulk of research in the field of language and gender focuses on the differences between, and characterisation of, male and female language, as evidenced by *A global perspective of language and gender research: A Bibliography* (Freed 1992). This resource lists 180 works on language and gender; 146 of those are works that

focus on the differences and characterisation of a particular gender's language and only 34 of those works focus on how language depicts a particular gender.

As shown by the above characterisation of studies in the field of language and gender research, how individuals perform language has been studied thoroughly, how women or men speak and write. What the performance of language says about a particular gender should be investigated as meticulously, because if Freed's study (1992) is typical of the division of language and gender research then there are disproportionate research efforts in the field.

Studies that investigate the portrayal of gender contribute to an important, seemingly underrepresented, research area within the field, because as Bolinger (1980:91) asserts: "language about women reflects the attitudes of men toward women, and, to the extent that women accept them, the attitudes of women toward themselves." The research that follows focuses on how gender and gender roles are portrayed in language, particularly how the social role of 'women' is portrayed in language and what those depictions suggest about attitudes towards women.

The portrayal of gender in language is most prominent through lexical items, as lexical items can be categorised according to gender and gender roles, including lexical items for occupations, professions and nouns (both grammatically and semantically gendered) (O'Donnell 1973:1069). Particularly salient in the study of the linguistic depiction of women is grammatical gender, and especially nouns that are used to refer to women (also called 'feminine nouns').

Grammatical gender has been shown to increase the sensitivity to a person's gender, aiding gender-relevant processing of social information (Prewitt-Freilino, Caswell & Laakso 2011:269). Therefore, different aspects of grammatical gender and nouns have been studied, including the use of derivational morphemes when forming feminine nouns, gendered nouns and occupational titles, and the use of gendered nouns and compound words. Examples of these types of studies are discussed below.

Derivation is a morphological process by which words that are distinct from the base form's category and meaning are formed through affixation. During affixation, affixes – such as prefixes and suffixes – combine with base forms (stems or roots). In grammatical gender languages terms referring to gender are often symmetrical, such as *ginecologo* ('male gynaecologist') and *ginecologa* ('female gynaecologist') (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:8). However, they can also be asymmetrical, such as *professoressa* ('female professor') and *professore* ('male professor') in Italian, highlighting that most feminine nouns (nouns that are used to refer to women) are formed by adding a suffix to the male term (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:8). Feminine nouns in gender natural languages are often also asymmetrical, such as 'actress' (from actor) and 'heroine' (from hero). Lexical marking with affixes, especially in gender natural languages such as English and Afrikaans, is often seen as necessary when referring to women, however, this is not seen as necessary when referring to men (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:8).

Similarly, He (in Menegatti & Rubini 2017:8) found that feminine terms are often derivations of masculine terms, and feminine suffixes such as '-ess' and '-ette' mark feminine (and thereby female) derivations, thus implying that women are somehow

inferior to, or derivative of, men. Female derivations have traditionally also been used to mark social distinctions with suffixes traditionally being used to denote a woman's relationship to a man (Cameron 1992:93). For example: 'duchess' marks a woman's relationship to a duke, i.e. as being the wife or widow of the duke (Cameron 1992:93).

As women started to enter the workforce full of 'traditionally male positions', new gender-neutral (epicene) titles (specifically occupational titles) needed to be coined as some professional women did not approve of the traditional gendered occupational titles (Cameron 1992:93). Gendered occupational titles also emphasise the reference to gender, and the activation of the corresponding stereotype (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:11). For example, Budziszewska, Hansen and Bilewicz (2014) found that women described using gendered feminine titles (such as 'chairwoman') are more frequently perceived as less competent by both men and women, however, only men perceived them as less warm. When the gender of the individual is unknown epicene occupational titles (such as 'chairperson') do not, however, activate the same preconceived stereotypes (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:11).

Diachronic analyses have shown that some epicene linguistic forms are more sensitive to cultural and social changes. These forms have therefore increased over time as the presence of women socially and culturally in the workforce and in other positions has increased (Sensales, Areni & Dal Secco 2016:459-460). A corpus-based diachronic study on epicene occupational titles in American English found that occupational titles have traditionally been marked for the gender group dominating the occupation, and the usage of epicene titles has increased when referring to antecedents with no explicitly mentioned gender (Bovin 2016:1). For example, titles

such as ‘firefighter’ were more often used than the previously gendered form of ‘fireman’ and ‘firewoman’ (Bovin 2016:5). The study did, however, find that gendered titles are still used frequently, and terms marked for males have more positive connotations of power, status and independence. Epicene titles, in contrast, do not (yet) have these positive connotations, and are chosen for neutrality and professionalisation (Bovin 2016:18). Increasingly, studies such as Bovin’s are incorporating corpus-based approaches to provide statistical evidence of linguistic sexism.

Both gendered and epicene titles are often distinguished in terms of their collocations and associations. Associations often imply and designate individual genders, for example, some occupations imply feminine connotations, such as nurse, librarian and secretary, while other occupations are implied to be masculine, including architect, engineer and scientist (O’Donnell 1973:1069). Collocations are words that occur unusually frequently with relation to each other within a linguistic situation, such as a text (Balfour 2019:43).

Studies report that collocational analysis shows gendered feminine terms are more likely to be combined with pejorative concepts, and that adjectival collocates of both gendered feminine and masculine terms activate stereotypical preconceptions, which are based on lexical fields of appearance and importance (Motschenbacher 2013:213-214). Romaine (2000:109-110) found that collocations associated with masculine occupational titles are often neutral, compared to collocations associated with feminine occupational titles that are often more emotive. Furthermore, it was found that epicene titles that explicitly refer females often have a descriptive adjective

preceding the occupational title, however, this is not so when referring to a male (Romaine 2000:109-110).

Similar to the above studies, collocative comments about women have also been found to more frequently discuss how women look, in contrast with comments about men that are more frequently about what men do – these contrasting subject choices reflect the desired attributes of each gender (Weatherall 2002:4). In their corpus-based study Fournier and Russell (1992:13-14) found that men are more often represented by their activities and intellect, and are associated with positive collocations. However, the same authors also found that women are more often presented with reference to their bodies and as passive, and are associated with trivial and unfavourable collocations (Fournier & Russell 1992:14).

Along with the distinction of gendered items through association and collocation, other specific linguistic devices that are often used to portray gendered language include gendered masculine nouns, gendered feminine nouns and epicene or specific feminine forms (Sensales, Areni & Dal Secco 2016:460). An example of a gendered masculine noun is ‘chairman’; the gendered masculine form makes women ‘invisible’ as gender is unspecified but the male term is used to refer to both genders (Sensales, Areni & Dal Secco 2016:460). An example of a gendered feminine noun is ‘air hostess’; the gendered feminine form makes women ‘visible’ as the visibility is based on lexical terms adopted for women only (Sensales, Areni & Dal Secco 2016:460). An example of an epicene noun is ‘firefighter’; the epicene form is the ideal non-gendered usage of language that includes both genders (Sensales, Areni & Dal Secco 2016:460).

Although the epicene form is the ideal non-gendered usage that includes both genders, such as 'student' and 'person', it was found that masculine pronouns (i.e. he, his and him) are more often used to refer to epicene nouns (Guimei 2010; Gastil 1990). Even when no gender is explicitly mentioned, evidence from existing literature shows that the use of a masculine pronoun with an epicene noun is three times more likely than the use of a feminine pronoun (i.e. she and her) (Guimei 2010:334). In a separate study, within a group of undergraduate students who read passages with epicene pronouns (i.e. they and them), the pronouns evoked a disproportionate number of male images within the group of students (Gastil 1990:629). What these two studies show, is that when epicene nouns and pronouns are used, these nouns are conceptualised as male.

Similar to the studies about associations and collocations, studies discussing gendered feminine nouns have also shown that feminine nouns often have pejorative connotations (Bolinger 1980:91-92). For example, gendered feminine words often insinuate unwanted qualities such as untidiness, sexual objectification and ageing (Bolinger 1980:91-92). This is even true of epicene nouns explicitly referring to females. Thus, while gendered masculine terms often have positive connotations, gendered female terms more often have negative connotations.

2.2.1 Research in Other Languages

The studies discussed above all focus on English, but similar studies have also been done in other languages. These often build on the already available research in English, focusing on aspects that are unique to the language under investigation. The

overwhelming majority of research in languages other than English still focuses on the differences between, and particulars of, male and female language. Examples include Finlayson (1982), Hirsch (1987), Salami (1991) and Hu (1991), whose studies all describe the differences between male and female speech in Xhosa, Swahili, Ile-Ife and Chinese respectively (Freed 1992).

However, studies in other languages that focus on how language portrays or represents gender have also been conducted. Clarke (1984) for example focuses on Arabic, and came to the same conclusion as the previously-mentioned English studies on epicene nouns. Arabic speakers categorise epicene nouns into gendered categories, neutral nouns such as 'student' are always categorised as either male or female. This indicates that Arabic speakers have preconceived perceptions of epicene nouns (such as 'student'), more often attaching male pronouns to epicene nouns (Clarke 1984). The study, therefore, draws a parallel between research in English and research in Arabic, where both languages seemingly attach a preconceived gender to epicene nouns.

Research on epicene nouns and associated gender in Spanish came to the same conclusion as the above-mentioned studies in English and Arabic. Hampares (1976) shows that in Spanish the masculine plural pronoun is used to refer to epicene nouns that have the possibility to represent both feminine and masculine gender. Unlike the English and Arabic studies, Spanish does not simply categorise nouns through gender marking, the grammatical rule in Spanish is that 'masculine takes precedence' (Hampares 1976:100). Where previously-mentioned studies have hinted at gender marking influencing language users, Spanish grammar dictates that gendered

masculine forms are more important than gendered feminine forms. Therefore, it can be concluded that Spanish has a definitive effect on why its users prefer gendered male nouns.

Unlike Spanish's masculine precedence, Kittredge Cherry points out that Japan has a "woman-oriented" culture which has resulted in the feminisation of young men's language (Smith 1990:129). Although the feminisation of language has been studied by sociolinguists, Cherry details in her research that there are many terms in Japanese that are still gender-marked feminine to represent women. These include terms related to female social roles (older sister types), physical appearance ('uglies' and 'beauties'), female reproductive roles (menstruation), and female sociopsychological characteristics ('femininity' and 'noisy') (Smith 1990:129). Through Cherry's research it can be observed that although a language may favour femininity and feminine marked terms, the associations or connotations with the terms can still be negative.

Studies in African languages also mostly focus on gender differences in language performance, however, one study that does focus on the portrayal of gender in an African language is Dlamini (2009). This study uses linguistic analysis to determine whether women are discriminated against in Swazi courts. The differences between male and female language in a court setting are described, and the portrayal of women is investigated using an analysis of court transcriptions. It was found that women are greatly disadvantaged and discriminated against due to the fact that their choice of language is limited by Swazi society's views of women and the language they are allowed to use (Dlamini 2009).

Another study that focuses on African languages, and the South African language of isiZulu specifically, is Mncwango's (2017) corpus-based study of the portrayal of the body in isiZulu novels. In the study Mncwango found that the description of female and male bodies indicates gender differences and reinforce gender stereotypes, including men using their bodies for communication, and women using their bodies in a comforting and caring way (Mncwango 2017:84). Further Mncwango (2017:85) highlighted that the adjectival collocates associated with female characters in the novels pertained most frequently to their appearance and the stereotyped social role of women as being (or needing to be) smaller and more petite (echoing findings of previous research in English). However, the researcher noted that a broader, more inclusive study would benefit from research conducted in a larger corpus – as is the case with many corpus-based studies (Mncwango 2017:i).

As evidenced from the above-mentioned study, language and gender research is a growing field of study in South Africa, including studies on terminology, discourse, language variety, literature and pedagogy – in English, isiZulu and Afrikaans among others (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:420-422). The various studies have highlighted gender as a social category rather than limiting gender to a grammatical category. Studies have further outlined that linguistic features representing gender should be understood in socio-cultural context rather than in isolation (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:420).

2.2.2 Research in Afrikaans

Similar to the above-mentioned research, studies about gendered language in Afrikaans build on the already available research in English, and to some extent the

research available in other languages. Studies such as Beyleveld and van Jaarsveld (1991) focus on how women are portrayed in Afrikaans. The study investigates objectivity in Afrikaans lexicography by looking at dictionary entries and concludes that lexicography, and dictionary entries, are not totally objective. The study found that stigmatised words, referring to ideology, racism and sexism, are included in dictionaries out of necessity (Beyleveld & van Jaarsveld 1991:12). The study suggests that gendered lemmas – such as feminine and masculine forms – are not necessarily indications of blatant sexism. However, the study highlights fixed forms that do not communicate changing societal views sustain understandings of women that render them invisible (Beyleveld & van Jaarsveld 1991:12).

A more recent corpus linguistic study that explored Afrikaans pronouns over the time period of 1911-2010 found that texts continue to favour masculine forms and ‘maleness’ above feminine forms and ‘femaleness’ (Kirsten 2019:184-189). Kirsten found that using masculine pronouns to represent both male and female is not gender neutral but rather emphasises the interpretation of maleness as the norm, epicene nouns however lead to a more gender-neutral interpretation (Kirsten 2019:184). The study discovered that over time, the use of epicene pronouns increased and the use of masculine pronouns decreased, feminine pronouns remained the least favoured forms. Kirsten (2019:189) highlights that although masculine forms did not make way for feminine forms, the increased usage of epicene pronouns creates space for individuals who do not adhere to binary gender forms.

Kirsten (2019:186) also highlights in her study that when feminine nouns are used as epicene, it is usually with reference to children, and typically with relation to their

mother. Similarly, when feminine nouns are used to represent women overall, it is more often with relation to their children or other relationships (such as family). However, the author further highlights that the use of feminine nouns as epicene is limited and used in very specific contexts; compared with masculine nouns that are used as epicene, which occur more frequently (Kirsten 2019:186-187).

One study of Afrikaans language use that points towards the preference for gendered masculine pronouns and a male interpretation of language is van Rooy (1996) (Kirsten 2019:184). In this study, similar to the above-mentioned study of Sensales, Areni and Dal Secco (2016), van Rooy depicts Afrikaans-speaking students as interpreting masculine gendered pronouns functioning as gender neutral as referring to males more often than to females. The students have this interpretation despite having the linguistic knowledge that the masculine form is being used as epicene (Kirsten 2019:184).

Two pedagogical studies that analyse example texts from second- and first-language Afrikaans textbooks found numerous examples of gender-biased language, preference for masculine forms and negative stereotypes of women (Atkinson 1995; Schwerdtfeger 1989). Men are said to lead active and interesting lives in juxtaposition with women who lead passive and almost invisible lives (Schwerdtfeger 1989:34). In comparison Geldenhuys and Anker (2018:353) highlight that Afrikaans youth novels before 1990 also tend to portray traditional, patriarchal core values adherent to the social and cultural norms of the time. However, more recently novels tend to move away from the previous norms toward more fluid social structures, with more equal power bases for both women and men (Geldenhuys & Anker 2018:353). What is

evident from the comparison of earlier and more recent language and gender research in Afrikaans is the changing societal understandings of gender.

Where the above-mentioned studies in Afrikaans mainly discuss gender bias and gendered language, van Huyssteen's (1996) study discusses how women (and their bodies) are portrayed in Afrikaans. This study outlines sexual metaphors used in Afrikaans, which devalue women and their bodies and highlights sexism in various Afrikaans-speaking language communities, including how sexist language maintains gender stereotypes and how the influence of societal and cultural views and ideologies impact the understandings of gender. The study also draws parallels to metaphors in English and Arabic, and argues that societal gender stereotyping and the devaluation of women sustains sexism in language communities (van Huyssteen 1996).

In contrast to the Afrikaans studies mentioned above, which were mostly conducted before the proliferation of the internet, Kirsten (2019) has researched Afrikaans during the onset of the cyber age. Kirsten (2019:188-189) argues that the increasing preference for epicene language usage in Afrikaans could be hastened by feminism (and cyberfeminism) and the striving toward gender equality in society.

2.3 Conclusion

In this chapter an overview of the existing literature discussing language and gender was outlined in order to lend a theoretical framework to the investigation. Definitions of gender were given, concluding that gender is both a performance of social roles and a product of the performance. Further, gender roles serve to limit gender

performance, however, the misperformance of gender roles challenges the previously held ideas of gender. Therefore, gender is a fluid construct, stemming from the changing views of performance and production.

Following on from the discussion of gender, the interconnectedness between language and gender was examined, arguing that language acts as both a medium to contribute to and to reflect socio-cultural constructs, such as gender. Language and gender studies were outlined that provided a snapshot of the research available in the field. Research in English, research in languages other than English and research in Afrikaans were explored, incorporating language and gender research that utilises corpus linguistics.

Studies available in English are plentiful and corpus analysis is increasingly being used in studies of English. Similarly research in languages other than English have also made use of corpus analysis (although not to the extent of English research). Research in Afrikaans is still in the relative early stages in comparison to other languages, and especially research that incorporates the quantitative aspects that corpus analysis offers.

In Chapter 3, corpus linguistics as a methodology will be discussed. The factors to consider when choosing an appropriate corpus and the attributes of historical corpora will be outlined. An overview of the HCSA (Kirsten 2016), used in this research project, will be delineated and the research methods that will be followed will be outlined.

3. Research Methodology

In the previous chapter an overview of existing language and gender literature was outlined in order to lend a theoretical framework to the investigation. Various definitions of gender were given and the interconnectedness between language and gender was discussed. The field of language and gender research was explored, including studies in English, in other languages and in Afrikaans. Language and gender research that utilises corpus linguistics was also referenced with relation to the relevant studies.

In this chapter corpus linguistics as a methodology will be discussed, with the aim of answering the research question, how are women historically portrayed in written Afrikaans in the time period ranging from 1911-2010? The factors to consider when choosing an appropriate corpus will be outlined in Section 3.1, and the attributes of historical corpora will be discussed in Section 3.2. An overview of the HCSA (Kirsten 2016) used in this research project will be given in Section 3.3, and the process of analysing a corpus will be detailed in Section 3.4. Finally, the research methods that will be followed are outlined in Section 3.5.

This research study makes use of a mixed methods approach employing empirical and contextual data, quantitative and qualitative methods, to investigate how women are linguistically portrayed in written Afrikaans between 1911-2010. Mixed methods research can be described as “research that involves the collection and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data” in a single research study (Almalki 2016:291), utilising deductive and inductive analysis in a complimentary way (Williams 2007:70).

Therefore, a mixed methods approach is used to collect data, analyse the data and explore the social meaning ascribed to the ways in which women are portrayed (Almalki 2016:291).

Quantitative research entails the collection of data that can be quantified, and is considered to be deductive, collecting information that can be numerically or statistically analysed (Almalki 2016:290; Williams 2007:66). The corpus analysis makes use of a numeric approach utilising data to objectively measure metrics such as frequency and collocation (Williams, 2007:66). The quantitative method employed in this research study is the developmental design method, exploring how characteristics change over time (namely the frequency of feminine nouns) (Williams 2007:67).

To interpret the findings of the corpus-based study content analysis is used as a qualitative method. This method tries to explain any discrepancies observed in the quantitative analysis by taking social factors within the Afrikaans speaking community into account (Firestone 1987). Qualitative research emphasises exploring and understanding how and why individuals or groups assign meaning to a social phenomenon. This allows for a perspective on issues through investigating them in context, and is considered to be inductive assuming that 'reality' is a complex social construct intertwined within a social context (Almalki 2016:291).

A qualitative form of content analysis, which does not assume meanings of words are stable but rather investigates word usage in context, is used in this research. This qualitative form of content analysis falls under the broader discourse analytical

methodology, which interprets word usage in social and sociohistorical contexts (Hardy, Harley & Phillips 2004:20). This form of content analysis differs from discourse analysis, which tries to uncover the way in which reality is produced (Hardy, Harley & Phillips 2004:19). This study does not make any assumptions about how concepts found in the HCSA came to be but rather sets out to investigate what is already present in the HCSA.

The mixed methods approach initially focuses on the quantitative corpus analysis. Corpus linguistic research methods enable researchers to describe language as it is actually used (Kirsten 2019:66). In this study corpus linguistics will be used as a methodology to investigate how characteristics of gendered nouns change over time.

Within corpus linguistic methodology there are different approaches, including corpus-informed, corpus-based and corpus-driven (Granger, Gilquin & Meunier 2015:36). These corpus approaches largely depend on the type of evidence needed for data retrieval, analysis and interpretation. A corpus-informed approach is a methodology that provides evidence for an occurrence, a corpus-based approach tests or exemplifies theories, and a corpus-driven approach is strictly based on computer techniques for data extraction and evaluation (Granger, Gilquin & Meunier 2015:36).

This study will mainly make use of a corpus-based approach, in as much as corpus linguistics will be used as a methodology for data extraction and evaluation, however there will not be a focus on testing or exemplifying theories (Granger, Gilquin & Meunier 2015:36). When using a corpus-based approach two forms of linguistic data

can be studied namely written and spoken (Weisser 2016:3-5); this research will focus on written data.

The quantitative research method can be summarised as: a corpus-based study focusing on written data, to investigate whether the patterns of use and context of Afrikaans feminine nouns in texts have changed between 1911 to 2010. Corpus analysis is routinely used to determine frequency distribution and the most frequently occurring collocates, both these aspects will be investigated. Corpus-based studies of language usage often focus on particular linguistic structures or features, such as investigating gender bias (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998:1). This method of data analysis is therefore able to examine the ways in which feminine nouns occur in real texts of written Standard Afrikaans, and how the occurrences have changed. It is important to highlight that this research only makes use of a small sample of written Standard Afrikaans to identify usage trends (Cameron 2002:11).

The written form of a language is often considered as the 'standard form' (Hock & Joseph 2009:321), and the 'standard form' of a language is often associated with a perceived 'higher social status' and therefore the recognition or acceptance of one variety of a language often discredits other varieties of a language (Coates 1993:61). The act of attaching social status to a particular language variety, highlights the influence socio-political factors have on language use, language policies and language practices (Mesthrie 2002:18-24).

Some effort has been made since 1994 to make written Afrikaans more representative and accessible, including providing a platform to other varieties of the language and

not only to the ‘Standard’ Apartheid era variety (Kirsten 2019:161). Kirsten highlights that as written Standard Afrikaans developed, what followed were “signs of increasing formality, distance, and sophistication in written Afrikaans during the first several decades of the twentieth century” (Kirsten 2019:160).

3.1 Criteria for Selecting a Corpus

As mentioned above, combining corpus linguistic analysis with qualitative analysis allows the study to examine the results of the corpus analysis while exploring the sociolinguistic variables, such as gender or social class, that affect language use (Meyer 2002:18). The intended research purpose of a corpus will guide either the corpus design or corpus selection; the characteristics discussed in the following section guided the corpus selection for this study. Ultimately the HCSA compiled by Kirsten (2016) was selected for analysis.

Corpus linguistics, used in this research as a methodology for data extraction and evaluation, can be described as a way of conducting linguistic research (Meyer 2002:xi) through collecting real language data and analysing the data with computer software programmes (O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:4). Corpus linguistics can also be defined as “a set of methods used to mine large machine-readable datasets for language patterns using statistical calculations” (Balfour 2019:43).

These datasets are called corpora, which are collections of texts and extracts of texts. Corpora have been employed in linguistic research since the 1200s when the Bible was concordanced, listing all the words in the Bible for reference (O’Keeffe &

McCarthy 2010:3-4). Computer-generated concordances first appeared in the 1950s as tools for the study of literature (O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:3-4). More recently corpora have become synonymous with computer-readable collections of texts (Meyer 2002:xii).

The definition of a corpus as a collection of texts, or extracts of texts, that can undergo linguistic analyses raises the argument that corpora are created to be used in linguistic study (Meyer 2002:xii), and corpora are exceptional sources for verifying falsifiability, completeness, simplicity, strength and objectivity in linguistic research (Leech 1992:12-13). Corpora are also useful resources for pursuing historical linguistic studies, as corpora can contain texts from earlier periods permitting systematic studies of linguistic evolution that enables researchers “to investigate issues that have currency in modern linguistics, such as the effects of gender” (Meyer 2002:11).

When selecting a corpus to be used as a resource for linguistic study, small targeted corpora (smaller than a million words) seemed like the most viable option. These corpora are proven to be powerful tools for the investigation of special uses of language, such as the portrayal of gender (O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:6). Smaller corpora can be analysed in extensive detail using different software programmes, can shed light on particular instances of language use and can provide a better means of conducting analyses (O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:6). Corpus linguistics in general, and analysis employing small corpora in particular, is arguably best characterised as “a means to an end rather than an end itself” (O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:7).

As a means to an end, corpora are considered useful for linguistic research because they can represent different genres, registers and time periods of texts and the analyses are reproducible (Meyer 2002:53). When considering which corpus to use for this research, the research purpose guided the selection. The ultimate purpose of a corpus often guides the design or selection, considering: language, genres, registers, length of the corpus, length of the texts, whether to include speech or written data (or both) etc. (Meyer 2002:30;53). The purpose of the corpus for either grammatical or lexical research further determines the representativeness, balance and text types (Meyer 2002:30). The validity of the corpus is also influenced by the research purpose, as the specific corpus should be valid for the research purpose (Meyer 2002:53).

Although steps and parameters can be followed to ensure representativeness, balance and validity, it should be acknowledged that corpora are not always suitable for all discourse studies. Therefore, researchers that want to embark on specific studies may likely need to create or seek out a smaller unique corpus, such as the HCSA created by Kirsten (2016 & 2019). When selecting a corpus, representativeness should be considered, the representativeness of a corpus refers to the types of texts included in the corpus that represent a specific speech community. When discussing representativeness diversity (register variation and subject matter) and size (number of words, texts, or samples from texts) should be considered (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998:251).

Representativeness for a narrow research purpose is relatively straightforward, as it is easier to design or choose a corpus that represent a single genre or register than one that represents multiple and varied genres, registers and varieties (Biber, Conrad

& Reppen 1998:251). The representation and balance of a corpus similarly depends on whether the corpus is going to be used for general language observations, or for specific investigations (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998:246). Balanced corpora are particularly valuable tools for primarily linguistic research because they can be used for both linguistic description and linguistic analysis, benefitting from the analysis of 'real' language (Meyer 2002:xii-xiv).

A corpus such as the Brown Corpus (the first major structured corpus, consisting of American English and created by Brown University) that can be used for general language observation, is considered balanced when it includes texts and data that represents different genres and registers, permitting study of individual genres and comparison between genres (Meyer 2002:xii). A special-purpose corpus with 10 texts (with 1000 words each) could be sufficient to represent specific features well (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998:248-249).

When seeking out a corpus for this study, representativeness was considered. In comparison to a corpus that includes a variety of genres, registers and styles, a tightly focused corpus with fewer genres and registers included (and less variation within the genres) can be more representative because it is easier to achieve a representative corpus of just one particular genre (Viana, Zyngier & Barnbrook 2013:50). Conversely, a broadly focused corpus that includes more varied genres and registers can be argued to be less representative of these genres and registers, however it could represent a speech community more wholly (Viana, Zyngier & Barnbrook 2013:50).

Whether a corpus is intended for general language observation or specific investigations of one particular feature, corpora should aim to represent a language community or stylistic feature as wholly as possible (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998:246-251). Another characteristic of corpora that links to representativeness is corpus typology, as different types of corpora can be used for different purposes (O’Keeffe & McCarthy, 2010:20). Some of the main types of corpora include sample corpora, comparable corpora, special corpora, bilingual corpora etc. (O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:20-24).

Different types of corpora serve different purposes, for example corpora studied by psycholinguists, corpora studied by historical linguists and corpora studied by sociolinguists will not necessarily be built the same as their research purposes differ (Meyer 2002:xiii-xiv). For this study the ideal corpus would be a historical corpus (for comparison along a time dimension), as a diachronic corpus – that represents snapshots at time intervals along a timeline – is more favourable than a monitor corpus – that plots language change as it occurs (O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:22).

Alongside the type of corpus, the size of a corpus also ties into the research purpose, therefore different types of corpora need to be larger than others depending on the research purpose. For example, when the purpose of the research is to conduct lexicographical or discursive analyses, the research requires a larger database, however when the purpose of the research is to conduct grammatical analyses such as regional varieties or change in language, the research can be accomplished with a smaller corpus (Meyer 2002:33).

Lexicographical research requires larger corpora, such as the British National Corpus which contains text samples as long as 40,000 words, considering both size and diversity for typology further guides corpus selection (Meyer 2002:38). Grammatical or historical research however, can make do with smaller corpora that are often appropriate for the research purpose, such as the Helsinki corpus that contains text samples ranging in length from 2,000-10,000 words (Meyer 2002:38).

3.2 Characteristics of Historical Corpora

A historical corpus is used in this research because the texts are historical in nature and because corpus linguistics allows for the statistical analysis of different time periods and the comparison between the periods (O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:21). These corpora greatly enhance researchers’ ability to systematically study the development of particular linguistic features and gain insight into how sociolinguistic variables, particularly in the area of gender differences, affect language usage (Meyer 2002:38-39).

Historical corpora can either have narrow research purposes or wider research purposes, and can either be multi-purpose general corpora that contain a variety of texts from different genres and periods, or focused historical corpora that contain specific texts from specific genres and periods (Meyer 2002:21; O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:21-22). Research purposes that are narrow, such as the changing portrayal of gender, often make use of historical corpora composed of text excerpts to account for the availability of texts and the change in language (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998:251).

Because of the limited availability of texts or excerpts, historical corpora often heavily depend on written texts (Meyer 2002:20). These texts contain samples representing earlier registers and variations, and therefore historical corpora can be used to study earlier periods individually or the changes from earlier periods to the present (Meyer 2002:20). Most corpora contain extracts of texts rather than complete texts. In corpora that focus on written text, such as the International Corpus of English (ICE) corpus, written texts can include an excerpt from the beginning of a text including the introduction, an excerpt from the middle of the text including text development, or the end of the text including the conclusion (Meyer 2002:38-39).

When using a corpus that depends heavily on written texts, historical corpora are often limited to what is available. Gathering texts and data for these corpora is therefore hindered by the ability to obtain the materials, earlier texts may be unavailable or difficult to find and get access to (Meyer 2002:37). The goals in historical corpora are similar to modern-day corpora: finding a range of genres that represent the language under investigation as it existed during various historical periods (Meyer 2002:37). Corpora that depend heavily on written texts should also consider who the intended target audience was, as different genres and registers are intended for different audiences (Meyer 2002:31).

The Helsinki corpus (containing English texts) is an example of a multi-purpose historical corpus that contains a range of different genres, such as sermons, travel accounts, fiction, drama etc. (Meyer 2002:37), and it contains texts from Old, Middle and Early Modern English (O'Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:22). The Corpus of Early

English Correspondence, is an example of a special-purpose historical corpus containing letters written during the Middle English period (Meyer 2002:37). Furthermore, it is important to note that certain genres may be underrepresented in a given period (Meyer 2002:37).

In the HCSA the author highlights that Afrikaans academic texts in the 1910s are not as prevalent because academics did not write in Afrikaans, but rather in Dutch or English (Kirsten 2019:63). In modern corpora, genres are often included based on the research purposes, for example multi-purpose corpora strive to include many if not all genres. However, highly specialised types of language, such as legal written language, may not be conducive to the research purposes of general-purpose corpora. Special-purpose corpora would be conducive to research this specialised type of language (Meyer 2002:36). For special-purpose corpora, the restricted scope allows efforts to be redirected towards gathering a detailed collection of texts that thoroughly represent the specific genre and register (Meyer 2002:36).

As historical corpora are often limited to what texts or material are available, they are often static corpora and are either diachronic or monitor corpora (see Section 3.1). Static corpora will not change over time and no new data will be added to the corpora (Weisser 2016:25) as they are often a snapshot of a language at a particular point in time (Meyer 2002:32), contrasted with dynamic corpora that are constantly being updated to reflect the change in language (Meyer 2002:32). A static historical corpus can be searched for the frequency and collocates of a specific item and the data analysis will always produce the same result, given the corpus is, in fact, static.

Another characteristic of historical corpora is their organisation, they are often arranged in a way that displays a “chronological ladder” of development along a time dimension (Meyer 2002:20; O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:22). Historical corpora group texts from a specific time period together making it possible to compare groupings of different time periods to one another affording the possibility to study periods of linguistic development (Meyer 2002:20). The HCSA is arranged in a chronological ladder.

Historical corpora are often divided into sub-corpora along the chronological ladder, as shown in the Helsinki Corpus. However, historical corpora should not just cover predetermined historical periods, but should also consider significant events occurring during the time periods and how the corpus can best cover these events (Meyer 2002:63).

3.3 Characterisation of the Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans

The historical corpus used for analysis in this research was compiled by Kirsten (2016, 2019) and offers opportunities to examine the use of various linguistic features across historical time periods as Biber, Conrad and Reppen (1998:12) recommended. At the time the HCSA was compiled there were no other historical corpora available for written Standard Afrikaans (Kirsten 2019:62). The HCSA is a static corpus and is divided into four time periods between 1911 and 2010, represented by four sub-corpora (henceforth referred to by number):

- Sub-corpus one contains data from 1911 to 1920

- Sub-corpus two contains data from 1941 to 1950
- Sub-corpus three contains data from 1971 to 1980
- Sub-corpus four contains data from 2001 to 2010

These time periods were chosen mainly because of the availability of written Afrikaans texts, and each sub-corpus spans 10 years to include as many varieties of written Afrikaans as possible. When identifying the texts that would be included in the corpus, Kirsten (2019:62) set certain parameters that would guarantee the validity and representativeness of the corpus (see Section 3.1). Certain types of texts are difficult to obtain and digitise due to availability and copyright, therefore Kirsten (2019:62) chose to create sub-corpora of a decade each and include a variety of genres in each sub-corpus.

The corpus includes a heterogenous collection of written texts from different sources, including: academic texts, magazines, newspapers, literature and manuscripts (letters and diaries). These different types of texts can vary greatly in a number of different ways: the amount of text editing, the writing experience of the authors, the education of the authors, the genres of the texts, the registers of the texts etc. (Kirsten 2019:62). The various sources of texts included in each sub-corpus were determined by the availability of the texts and the texts' representation of the written language (Kirsten 2019:62). The fiction and informational text groupings in the various sub-corpora include larger data sets "to account for possible stylistic variation" (Kirsten 2019:62).

Kirsten (2019:63) extracted about 2,000 words from each text, including a minimum of 10 authors, however there is some variation of the amount of words in each sub-

corpus – accounting for the length of the different text types. For the longer texts, such as academic texts and literature, Kirsten extracted parts from different chapters of the texts (Kirsten 2019:63). Due to the availability and variation in length of different genres of text, Kirsten (2019:63) worked with normalised frequencies (see Section 3.4). The sub-corpora include various genres across texts to avoid skewing of the data. However, Kirsten (2019:63) highlights that sub-corpus one contains multiple texts that discuss the same topic, Afrikaans itself.

The composition of the HCSA is as follows, according to word count and written text type (Kirsten 2019:63):

<u>Text Type</u>	<u>Words</u>	<u>Texts</u>
Fiction	60,000	138
Popular Nonfiction:		
Biographical texts	20,000	47
Informational texts	60,000	135
News reports	20,000	45
Religious texts	20,000	38
Academic Texts:		
Humanities	30,000	61
Natural Sciences	30,000	46
Manuscripts:		
Letters and diaries	21,000	206

Table 3.1: Composition of HCSA (Kirsten 2019:63)

Every corpus has limitations; the HCSA was limited by: the materials available, copyright permissions and the time frame available to digitise hard copies (Kirsten 2019:1963). Texts are often also only available in formats that are not conducive to vigorous computational or corpus linguistic investigation, meaning the hard copy texts need to be digitised, converted into txt format and the corpora compiled before analysis can begin (Taljard 2019).

This process of creating the HCSA is described by Kirsten (2019:63-64), including the digitisation of the hard copy texts by manual scanning, using optical character recognition software and manually editing the output. Some of the texts were provided by various organisations in digitised format (Kirsten 2019:64), and once all the texts were rendered in a digital format Kirsten (2019:64) created the searchable sub-corpora.

3.4 Analysing a Corpus

Corpora can tell researchers nothing in themselves, however because corpora are collections of machine-readable texts they can be submitted to computerised analysis using corpus software allowing for a new perspective on language (O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:122). In this research the corpus analysis of the HCSA used non-parametric methods, meaning the researcher did not know the distribution of the data in each sub-corpus and no assumptions or estimations were made before the corpus is analysed and the data tested (Gómez 2013:44). This research study also did not make any assumptions about how lexical items were distributed (if they occurred) in

each sub-corpus, rather it explored the frequency of occurrence and collocations of Afrikaans feminine, masculine and epicene nouns across the four time periods.

Corpus analysis varies in the ways data is analysed. Data analysis includes frequency lists, concordance analysis, collocations, key word analysis, n-grams etc. The first step of data analysis is to identify specific linguistic structures as objects of investigation, for example single words, multi-word sequences or more complex grammatical constructions (Granger, Gilquin & Meunier 2015:38). These linguistic structures can either be extracted from the corpus manually or (semi-)automatically through text retrieval software programmes, which provide detailed information on the use of the structures (Granger, Gilquin & Meunier 2015:38). Text retrieval programmes provide word lists with “all words and their frequencies of occurrence in the corpus; keyword lists that compare the frequencies of words in two corpora and calculate the over- or underrepresentation of certain words in one corpus relative to the other” (Granger, Gilquin & Meunier 2015:38).

Concordancing programmes, such as TACT, Lexa, WordSmith and AntConc are the most used programmes (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998:15; Gómez 2013:153; Granger, Gilquin & Meunier 2015:38), however other concordancing programmes are also available and depend on the research purpose of the corpus, such as Lancaster University corpus toolbox that can be used for smaller and specialised corpora. For a diachronic corpus-based study, wordlists and concordances, and the comparison of wordlists can be useful to determine which words are more prominently used in different periods of time (Gómez 2013:167).

The concordancing programme used for this research is the Lancaster University corpus toolbox (#LancsBox). The #LancsBox software allows for frequency analysis, distribution, in-depth analysis of frequencies, comparison of corpora, collocation analysis, analysis in context, and n-gram analysis (Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package]). Annotation software, such as Part-of-Speech tagging (PoS) that enriches data with information facilitating the extraction and analysis of specific word forms or constructions, are not particularly reliable for Afrikaans data (Kirsten 2019:65). Therefore, similar to Kirsten, analysis of the HCSA will be manual. This research will mainly make use of:

- Frequency lists: A complete list of all the items in a corpus (O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:122). As the frequency of occurrence of feminine, masculine and epicene nouns is unknown, sub-corpora will be examined for frequency distribution of the nouns. A list of the most frequently occurring nouns will be compiled for each sub-corpus, and compared against one another.
- Collocation: Alongside frequency distribution, collocation analysis will be used to determine the unusually frequently occurring word pairings. Collocation analysis identifies statistically significant collocations and excludes chance combinations (Gómez 2013:196).
- Concordance analysis: Identifying all the examples, in context, for a specific searched item, and investigating occurrences and behaviours of different word forms in real-life contexts (also known as KWIC – key word in context) (O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:122; Weisser 2016).

When selecting a corpus to use for analysis the limitations of corpus design, such as obtaining copyright permission (Biber, Conrad & Reppen 1998:250) and digitising the hard copy materials needed for the corpus are not as troublesome (as these limitations should have been considered when the corpus was designed and the data collected). However, other limitations could affect corpus selection such as the research purpose, the data or texts available in the corpus, the availability of the corpus, the annotation of the corpus etc.

Statistical analysis can often be simple involving frequency counts of particular lexical items being investigated and most analysis software have statistical capabilities built into them, resulting in statistical analyses being performed while researchers investigate specific linguistic items (Meyer 2002:137). For example, in frequency lists relative frequency can be used to investigate percentages. Instead of examining absolute frequency which identifies whether a lexical item occurs once or 12 times in a corpus, relative frequency investigates what percentage of times a lexical item occurs (Dean & Illowsky 2010:1).

Relative frequency gives the researcher a broader view of the data, because with absolute frequency it is impossible to know what would be considered as a 'frequently occurring' lexical item. It is difficult to determine what constitutes 'frequently', is it when a lexical item appears five times or when an item appears 100 times? Relative frequency is able to identify the ratio of the number of times an item occurs relative to other items, therefore giving an indication whether an item occurs frequently in relation to other lexical items (Dean & Illowsky 2010:6).

Collocation analysis is concerned with the repeated co-occurrence of words; reasons to conduct collocation analyses include language description and discourse analysis (Brezina 2020:24-25). The description and analysis examine whether the collocation is a sociolinguistic choice, discourse prosody, register preference, semantic unit or lexico-grammar unit (Brezina 2020:24-25).

Various statistical tests could be performed in #LancsBox for collocation analysis, including Mutual Information (MI) score, T-score and LogDice. The statistical tests are association measures used to compute the strength of the collocation (Brezina 2020:23) (see Section 3.5). If a researcher wants to conduct more vigorous statistical tests, various statistical methods can be used in corpus linguistic analysis, including descriptive statistics and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics is the use and analysis of a collection of information, and inferential statistics the inference of properties by testing hypotheses and deriving estimates (Granger, Gilquin & Meunier 2015:160).

Descriptive statistics includes (but is not limited to) frequencies of occurrence, which are observed frequencies, normalised frequencies and ranks of frequencies. It also includes frequencies of cooccurrence, which are association measures, collocation and colligation or collocation (Granger, Gilquin & Meunier 2015:160). Inferential statistics includes: significance test of two-dimensional frequency tables; association measures; and significance tests for differences (Granger, Gilquin & Meunier 2015:160-161).

It is important to note that while simple statistical analyses can be appropriate for specific research, more rigorous statistical evaluation of results can afford more confidence about the results obtained and may provide new insights into linguistic items under investigation (Meyer 2002:120-121). Statistical analysis can be described as following three steps: determining the suitability of the corpus for statistical analysis, conducting the appropriate statistical test, interpreting results and finding linguistic motivations for the results (Meyer 2002:121). The last step of the analysis offered the ideal opportunity for combining quantitative and qualitative analysis, and the contribution of sociolinguistic variables.

Basic corpus and statistical analysis of untagged corpora, such as the HCSA, can yield interesting and compelling results that are able to provide useful insights into the discourse-level features of a language (O’Keeffe & McCarthy 2010:130). Many researchers explore data through both quantitative and qualitative analysis, and smaller targeted corpora are more conducive to such analyses, as it is possible to qualitatively look at a bigger percentage of instances in smaller corpora. O’Keeffe and McCarthy (2010:130) highlight that “there are growing numbers of researchers who suggest that combining automatic corpus analytic techniques with more fine-grained qualitative investigation... is a robust methodology” for dealing with the complexities of language.

Drawing on O’Keeffe and McCarthy’s (2010) argument, it can be said that by only focusing on the quantifiable changes, such as frequency and collocation, more subtle changes in the social factors and *Zeitgeist* can be missed (Leech *et al.* 2009:79). In this instance *Zeitgeist* refers to the ideas and attitudes of a social population in a given

time period (Fruehwald 2017:4-5). As the texts in the HCSA can be said to reflect the *Zeitgeist* of the Standard Afrikaans speaking community to a larger or smaller extent with relevance to the time period of 1911-2010 (as each sub-corpus includes various genres of texts), texts within the HCSA are used to investigate changes in the portrayal of women from 1911-2010.

The field of language and gender will be used as the theoretical framework for the qualitative investigation. The findings of the corpus-based study will be combined with the qualitative investigation to explore whether sociocultural factors prevalent in the Standard Afrikaans speaking community could have influenced the potential changing portrayal of women.

Each time period will be individually investigated, and the time periods will be compared to explore any change in the usage and context of the feminine, masculine and epicene nouns, while the prevalent social factors (identified through patterns of use combined with literature available) in the different time periods will simultaneously be explored. Meyer (2002:4) argues that “what one discovers in a corpus can be used as the basis” for theoretical issues being explored. Therefore, the sociocultural factors prevalent in the Afrikaans community are included in the description of the results of the corpus analysis.

The advent of social media around 2000 (Kaplan & Haenlein 2012:101) introduced quite drastic and rapid shifts in societal views, including the views on women within society. Social media is regarded as an essential part of everyday life (Kaplan & Haenlein 2012:101), and it would be of interest to see how the changing views of

individuals and of speech communities are reflected in the HCSA – particularly in the time period of 2001-2010 (for a further discussion see Section 2.1).

3.5 Research Methods

Combining corpus analysis with language and gender research highlights the interlacing of language and gender in itself. Language and gender encompasses the relationship between language as a form of communication and language as it reflects relations between men and women within the context of society (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:4189). Reddy and de Kadt (2006:418) exemplify both the essentialist perspective and the constructionist perspective of gender. The essentialist perspective argues that gender is a permanent construct not open to change, the constructionist perspective however argues that gender is a cultural construct open to change along with societal changes (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:418).

In order for parameters to be established for the research, a working definition of gender should be put forward, this research will consider gender as a social role. Social roles are influenced by environment, social conditioning and socialisation, and the social role of gender can shape behaviour, societal roles and identities (Reddy & de Kadt 2006:418). For this study, the construction of gender as either an immutable category or a fluid cultural construct will not be the central argument (for a discussion on gender see Section 2.1). The gendering of language will be the main focus, the prescribed usage of nouns to portray gender will be examined along a timeline and whether the usage and context of nouns has changed will be explored.

The steps below outline how nouns were categorised and identified for analysis; and the analysis that will be run for the identified nouns using the HCSA.

3.5.1 Compiling a Working List of Nouns

The *Omvattend 1.7 Virtuele Instituut vir Afrikaans (VivA)* corpus was utilised to compile a working list of 30 nouns that were used for analysis in the HCSA. The VivA corpus is lemmatised (up to 90% accuracy) and tagged for parts of speech (up to 75% accuracy) (VivA, 2020). The *Omvattend 1.7 VivA* corpus is made up of the following sub-corpora, number of words and textual units (VivA 2020):

<u>Sub-Corpus</u>	<u>Words</u>	<u>Textual Units</u>
Afrikaanse Leipzig-korpus 1.1 A partial collection of the Leipzig Corpora Collection for Afrikaans	86,612,337	97,189,423
NWU/ATKV-Tienertoneelkorpus 1.1 A collection of newly written plays submitted for the ATKV- Tienertoneelkompetisie. The corpus will be expanded over time. The current collection consists of submissions from 2017, 2018 and 2019 competitions.	2,408,806	3,001,294
NWU/Maroela Media-korpus 1.6	20,193,271	22,775,065

<p>A collection of news articles and blogs as published on Maroela Media's website up to 30 September 2019.</p>		
<p>NWU/Lapa-korpus 1.3</p> <p>A corpus of Afrikaans books, mostly fiction, published by Lapa Uitgewers.</p>	<p>19,989,190</p>	<p>23,669,778</p>
<p>NWU/ATKV-Taalgenootkorpus 1.0</p> <p>A collection of articles published in the Taalgenoot magazine from 2006 to 2012.</p>	<p>1,271,467</p>	<p>1,449,237</p>
<p>PUK/Protea Boekhuis-korpus 2.2</p> <p>A corpus of Afrikaans books, fiction and nonfiction, published by Protea Boekhuis.</p>	<p>10,475,499</p>	<p>12,084,329</p>
<p>RSG-nuuskorpus 2.4</p> <p>A collection of news bulletins from 2005 to 2019, as broadcasted by Radio Sonder Grense and published on their website.</p>	<p>19,059,686</p>	<p>20,763,816</p>
<p>Taalkommissie-korpus 1.1</p> <p>A stratified corpus as used by the Afrikaanse Taalkommissie, consisting of a variety of genres and domains including: scientific magazines, newspapers, literary works, and informal and formal writings.</p>	<p>47,321,344</p>	<p>53,622,677</p>
<p>VivA Spraakkorpus 1.0</p> <p>Transcriptions of extracts from a variety of remaining speech corpora, arranged in sub-</p>	<p>363,756</p>	<p>495,901</p>

<p>corpora according to project. The corpus will be expanded when more finances become available or as corpus contributors make their data available. The current collection consists of 50 hours of transcriptions from the project “Die Afrikaans van die Griekwas van die tagtigerjare”.</p>	
<p>Wikipedia- Afrikaanse korpus 1.2</p> <p>A collection of documents from the various web pages available on the Afrikaans version of Wikipedia, as of 1 December 2018.</p>	<p>17,390,336 20,555,477</p>

Table 3.2: Composition of *Omvattend* 1.7 VivA corpus (‘Korpusportaal: *Omvattend* 1.7.’ 2020)

The *Omvattend* corpus was accessed through the VivA website, where researchers need to register with the site in order to make use of the tools and resources. Once registered the *Omvattend* corpus was searched for nouns through the *korpusportaal* (‘corpus portal’), using the *Uitgebreid* (‘comprehensive’) search function and searching the *woordsoort* (‘parts of speech’) search box for *selfstandige naamwoord* (‘noun’). The resulting *trefslae* (‘hits’) were then sorted by group so that the 50,000 most frequently occurring nouns were listed from most to least frequently occurring. This was done by going to the *Trefslae in groepe* (‘results in groups’) tab, and selecting *trefwoord* (‘keyword’) from the drop-down menu.

The result was a list of the 50,000 most frequently occurring nouns in the *Omvattend* corpus. The 50,000 nouns were downloaded into an Excel document for manual searching. A manual search was done for the 45 most frequently occurring feminine, masculine and epicene noun forms and terms of address (*geslagsvorme* and *aanspreekvorme*). Nouns were selected along the following guidelines:

- The following nouns were omitted:
 - Collective nouns – for example *familie* ('family'), *massas* ('masses'), *Suid Afrikaners* ('South Africans'), *Britse* ('British') etc.
 - Including nouns referring to national, ethnic, racial, religious or political groups.
 - Religious terminology – for example *dissipels* ('disciples'), *duiwel* ('devil'), *engel* ('angel') etc.
 - Proper nouns – including names and surnames, for example Paulus, Petrus etc.
 - Loanwords from English – for example 'girl'.
- All gendered and epicene noun forms were included as they occurred, including singular, plural and diminutive forms.
- Nouns were categorised as feminine, masculine and epicene according to grammatical rules as prescribed in Potgieter (1930:36-38), Wessels (1999:14-16) and *Beter Afrikaans* (2013). The Verklarende Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal (HAT) was also used for reference (Odendal & Gouws 2000). As the HCSA encompasses different time periods, the grammatical guidelines of various time periods were considered and considered when categorising the nouns.

The subsequent list of 45 gendered and epicene noun forms (Table 3.3) was compiled following the above guidelines:

Most Frequently Occurring Nouns		
Feminine Nouns	Masculine Nouns	Epicene Nouns
<i>vrou</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>kinders</i>
<i>vroue</i>	<i>vriende</i>	<i>kind</i>
<i>ma</i>	<i>vader</i>	<i>ouers</i>
<i>dogter</i>	<i>seun</i>	<i>persoon</i>
<i>susters</i>	<i>manne</i>	<i>lede</i>
<i>vrouens</i>	<i>mans</i>	<i>leerders</i>
<i>meisie</i>	<i>boere</i>	<i>studente</i>
<i>meisies</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>gelowiges</i>
<i>dames</i>	<i>oom</i>	<i>persone</i>
<i>moeder</i>	<i>seuns</i>	<i>personeel</i>
<i>dogters</i>	<i>president</i>	<i>soldate</i>
<i>ouma</i>	<i>koning</i>	<i>hoof</i>
<i>vriendin</i>	<i>onderwysers</i>	<i>lesers</i>
<i>bruid</i>	<i>skrywers</i>	<i>inwoners</i>
<i>me.</i>	<i>vriend</i>	<i>lidmate</i>
<i>dogtertjie</i>	<i>broer</i>	<i>spelers</i>

<i>suster</i>	<i>mnr</i>	<i>kliënte</i>
<i>tannie</i>	<i>broers</i>	<i>ouer</i>
<i>dame</i>	<i>voorsitter</i>	<i>appellant</i>
<i>joernaliste</i>	<i>ouens</i>	<i>prof</i>
<i>mamma</i>	<i>digter</i>	<i>atleet</i>
<i>ma's</i>	<i>boer</i>	<i>lid</i>
<i>haarself</i>	<i>kunstenaars</i>	<i>vyand</i>
<i>weduwee</i>	<i>eienaar</i>	<i>professor</i>
<i>eggenote</i>	<i>homself</i>	<i>leerlinge</i>
<i>sussie</i>	<i>bestuurder</i>	<i>leser</i>
<i>vriendinne</i>	<i>broeders</i>	<i>jongmense</i>
<i>nooi</i>	<i>profete</i>	<i>minister</i>
<i>klaagster</i>	<i>eienaars</i>	<i>individue</i>
<i>mammas</i>	<i>profeet</i>	<i>burgers</i>
<i>poppie</i>	<i>onderwyser</i>	<i>oorledene</i>
<i>oumas</i>	<i>seuntjie</i>	<i>atlete</i>
<i>aktrise</i>	<i>direkteur</i>	<i>dr</i>
<i>maagd</i>	<i>digters</i>	<i>woordvoerder</i>
<i>onderwyseres</i>	<i>konings</i>	<i>baba</i>
<i>tannies</i>	<i>kunstenaar</i>	<i>deelnemers</i>
<i>moeder</i>	<i>oupa</i>	<i>werknemers</i>
<i>sangeres</i>	<i>redakteur</i>	<i>dokter</i>
<i>tante</i>	<i>akteur</i>	<i>vyande</i>
<i>niggie</i>	<i>neef</i>	<i>student</i>

<i>dogtertjies</i>	<i>bestuurders</i>	<i>besoekers</i>
<i>kleindogter</i>	<i>helde</i>	<i>predikante</i>
<i>skoonma</i>	<i>joernalis</i>	<i>kliënt</i>
<i>hoer</i>	<i>vaders</i>	<i>ondersteuners</i>
<i>sussies</i>	<i>sangers</i>	<i>model</i>

Table 3.3: *Omvattend* 1.7 VivA corpus most frequently occurring nouns

(‘Korpusportaal: *Omvattend* 1.7.’ 2020)

In order to compile a working list of nouns for analysis in the HCSA, the manually compiled list of the 45 most frequently occurring noun forms in the *Omvattend* corpus were pared down and edited. As the HCSA is not lemmatised (where all instances of a word are linked together) or tagged (the parts of speech identified) (Meyer 2002:116,86), normalisation was used to group together all the different variants of the nouns.

Normalisation is a manual process that considers repetition and other features of speech and text (Meyer 2002:96). Normalisation was used to account for spelling variation, the change from Dutch spelling to standardised Afrikaans spelling, and different word forms (plurals and diminutives) especially for texts from earlier periods (Meyer 2002:78-79). For example, the Dutch spelling of *vrouw* (‘woman’), *dochter* (‘daughter’), *zuster* (‘sister’), *meisje* (‘girl’) and *onderwijseres* (‘female teacher’) are notably different to the Afrikaans spelling of *vrou*, *dogter*, *suster*, *meisie* and *onderwyseres*. It became evident that in sub-corpus one and two the Dutch spellings, spelling errors and inflected forms of the nouns also needed to be considered.

Normalisation also allows for a narrower search in a corpus, specifically for frequency and collocation analysis.

Table 3.4 shows how the nouns were normalised. All the spelling variations and variations in form of a noun were identified across all the sub-corpora. The variations were then normalised into a single lemma that would accommodate for the various searches (wild card and specified) in the different analysis tools. The process exemplified in Table 3.4 was used for all the nouns identified for analysis in Table 3.5. Henceforth, and throughout the rest of the study, when referring to nouns analysed for frequency, collocation or patterns of use, it will be with reference to the normalised nouns.

Normalising Nouns			
Feminine Noun Variations	Normalised To	Masculine Noun Variations	Normalised To
<i>vrou</i>	<i>vrou</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>man</i>
<i>vrouw</i>		<i>manne</i>	
<i>vrouwtjie</i>		<i>mans</i>	
<i>vroue</i>		<i>mannetjie</i>	
<i>vrouens</i>			
<i>vROUTjie</i>			

Table 3.4: Normalised nouns and their variants

Alongside the normalisation of nouns, the subsequent steps were followed to pare down the original list to a working list:

- Gendered and epicene pronouns were removed from all three categories in the list e.g. *hy* ('he'), *sy* ('she') and *hulle* ('they') – they were on the list because they may have been incorrectly tagged in the VivA corpus.
- The common nouns were then normalised, although the working list only refers to the nouns in their singular form, the singular form *meisie* ('girl') encompasses *meisies* ('girls') and *meisietjie* ('little girl') (see Table 3.4).
- Abbreviations such as *Dr* en *Me.*, were listed as the full noun forms, e.g. *Dokter* ('doctor') and *mejuffrou* ('miss').
- By editing out pronouns and normalising word forms, the *Omvattend* list of 45 nouns was whittled down to make space for gender-equivalent nouns to be included in both the feminine and masculine categories. E.g. *weduwee* ('widow') appears as a frequently occurring feminine noun, therefore *wewenaar* ('widower') (its gender equivalent) was included in the masculine category.
- If a gender-equivalent noun is not available, then the corresponding category was left blank. This only applied to two feminine nouns, *maagd* ('virgin') and *hoer* ('whore').
- The epicene nouns were normalised, no gender-equivalent nouns were added accounting for why the epicene noun list is shorter than the feminine and masculine noun list.

The investigation of the nouns will be discussed in Chapter 4. The list in Table 3.5 is considered the working list of nouns and terms of address to be analysed in the corpus analysis:

Working List of Nouns		
Feminine Nouns	Masculine Nouns	Epicene Nouns
<i>vrou</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>persoon</i>
<i>ma</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>ouer</i>
<i>dogter</i>	<i>seun</i>	<i>kind</i>
<i>suster</i>	<i>broer</i>	<i>hoof</i>
<i>meisie</i>	<i>seun</i>	<i>baba</i>
<i>dame</i>	<i>heer</i>	<i>individu</i>
<i>moeder</i>	<i>vader</i>	<i>personeel</i>
<i>ouma</i>	<i>oupa</i>	<i>soldaat</i>
<i>vriendin</i>	<i>vriend</i>	<i>inwoner</i>
<i>bruid</i>	<i>bruidegom</i>	<i>dokter</i>
<i>mejuffrou</i>	<i>jongeheer</i>	<i>student</i>
<i>tannie</i>	<i>oom</i>	<i>lid</i>
<i>joernaliste</i>	<i>joernalis</i>	<i>speler</i>
<i>weduwee</i>	<i>wewenaar</i>	<i>leerder</i>
<i>eggenote</i>	<i>eggenoot</i>	<i>burger</i>
<i>nooi</i>	<i>kêrel</i>	<i>professor</i>
<i>klaagster</i>	<i>klaer</i>	<i>oorledene</i>
<i>poppie</i>	<i>ouens</i>	<i>jongmense</i>

<i>aktrise</i>	<i>akteur</i>	<i>atleet</i>
<i>maagd</i>	-	<i>vyand</i>
<i>onderwyseres</i>	<i>onderwyser</i>	<i>deelnemer</i>
<i>sangeres</i>	<i>sanger</i>	<i>besoeker</i>
<i>niggie</i>	<i>neef</i>	<i>leser</i>
<i>kleindogter</i>	<i>kleinseun</i>	<i>predikant</i>
<i>skoonma</i>	<i>skoonpa</i>	<i>kliënt</i>
<i>hoer</i>	-	<i>ondersteuner</i>
<i>koningin</i>	<i>koning</i>	<i>minister</i>
<i>boervrou</i>	<i>boer</i>	<i>model</i>
<i>presidente</i>	<i>president</i>	<i>kollega</i>
<i>skryfster</i>	<i>skrywer</i>	<i>appellant</i>
<i>voorsitster</i>	<i>voorsitter</i>	<i>woordvoerder</i>
<i>digteres</i>	<i>digter</i>	
<i>kunstenaares</i>	<i>kunstenaar</i>	
<i>heldin</i>	<i>held</i>	
<i>bestuurderes</i>	<i>bestuurder</i>	
<i>profeetes</i>	<i>profeet</i>	
<i>direktrise</i>	<i>direkteur</i>	
<i>eienares</i>	<i>eienaar</i>	
<i>redaktrise</i>	<i>redakteur</i>	
<i>mevrou</i>	<i>meneer</i>	

Table 3.5: Working list of nouns to be analysed

3.5.2 Analysing the Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans

The HCSA was made available by Johanita Kirsten (2016, 2019) and with Kirsten's permission the corpus was downloaded so that it could be imported to #LancsBox software. The sub-corpora were imported to #LancsBox separately, and each sub-corpus was analysed individually. Importing the corpora followed the subsequent order:

- Sub-corpus one (1911-1920)
- Sub-corpus two (1941-1950)
- Sub-corpus three (1971-1980)
- Sub-corpus four (2001-2010)

Each sub-corpus in the HCSA was individually analysed so a comparative study could be conducted. The process below was therefore followed for each sub-corpus individually and the results of the different sub-corpora were compared.

The frequency of the nouns on the working list were determined by using the 'Words' tool in #LancsBox. The HCSA was searched manually as the corpus is not tagged or parsed and #LancsBox does not offer an Afrikaans language choice. The lemmas were searched for in the search box with a wild card search (word*) allowing for various forms of the same word to be included in the results. The Words tool allows for statistical analysis, such as frequency of occurrence, relative frequency and collocation network graphs that visualise the dispersion. Relative frequency was the

most appropriate statistical test to best explore the data (see Section 3.4). Interesting and prevalent data were then extracted to be further explored.

Following on from the frequency analysis, collocation analyses for the lemmas and most frequently occurring word forms (if not the main lemmas) were conducted – wild card searches were not used in this tool. Manual searches were conducted in the GraphColl tool identifying the most statistically significant collocations. The GraphColl tool allows for various statistical tests including the MI score, T-score and LogDice (Brezina 2020:23-25). The MI score was the most appropriate statistical test to determine the most significant frequently occurring collocates, as the MI score is strongly affected by the frequency of co-occurrence between a lemma and a collocation, compared to the number of times a lemma appears separately ('A Guide to Statistics: t-score and mutual information' 2008). The boundaries for the collocation analysis were set for three words to the left and three words to the right of the lemma, the threshold for the statistical value was 3.0 and the collocation frequency was 5.

The concordancing tool in #LancsBox is the Keyword in Context (KWIC) tool, and concordance lines for the nouns on the working list were run to determine the context and the patterns of use for each noun. The HCSA was searched manually and the lemmas were searched for in the search box with a wild card search, for example *vrou**. Once again interesting and prevalent data were extracted to be further explored. The results of the Words, KWIC and GraphColl tools for each sub-corpus were cross-compared to other sub-corpora to explore whether there were any significant changes in the frequency of use or the patterns of use of the nouns across the time period (1911-2010).

The most prevalent data from the corpus analysis were further examined qualitatively. The findings were then related to previous language and gender studies (mentioned in Section 2.2). Along with the discussion in Sections 2.2 and 3.2, the ideological, social and cultural construct of Afrikaans should be considered separate from its sociohistorical aspects (Joseph & Taylor, 1990:321). Sociohistorical aspects include changing discourse with relation to social and cultural norms of gender, and how social norms of gender are portrayed in public discourse (Matwick, 2017:435-536).

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined corpus linguistics as a methodology for data extraction and evaluation, with the objective of investigating what written Afrikaans has historically been 'telling' its readers about gender. The use of a mixed methods approach was discussed, including employing empirical and contextual data to facilitate quantitative and qualitative methods.

The factors to consider when choosing an appropriate corpus were outlined, including the intended research purpose of the corpus that ultimately guides corpus selection. A discussion of the attributes of historical corpora followed, including the use of a historical corpus for this research because of the historical data being analysed and because corpus linguistics allows for the statistical analysis of different time periods and the comparison between the periods.

Further, the HCSA (Kirsten 2016) used in this research project was delineated and characterised. The text types, number of texts and genres of texts were outlined, along with Kirsten's process for obtaining the relevant texts. The characterisation of the HCSA was followed by the detailing of corpus analysis, including software programmes, types of analyses and statistical tests used when analysing a corpus. Finally, the research methods followed in this study were described, including how the working list of nouns was obtained and the steps followed to analyse the nouns in the corpus analysis tools in #LancsBox.

In Chapter 4 the interpretation of the data and findings of the corpus analysis will be discussed. The discussion and analysis will attempt to answer the research questions outlined in Section 1.2, regarding frequency, collocation, patterns of use and sociocultural factors. Subsequently, the frequency of occurrence of the nouns under investigation, the statistically significant collocations of the nouns, and the context, patterns of use and other interesting forms of the nouns will be described.

4. Data Analysis, Findings and Discussions

In the previous chapter, corpus linguistics as a methodology was discussed. The factors to consider when choosing an appropriate corpus and the attributes of historical corpora were outlined, and an overview of the HCSA (Kirsten 2016) was given. Lastly, the research methods that will be used in this chapter were outlined.

This chapter will discuss the use, frequency and collocations of the nouns identified in Section 3.5 (Table 3.5). The analysis of the nouns in the HCSA will be done using the #LancsBox (Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020). The analysis will attempt to answer the research questions previously outlined in Section 1.2:

- Has the frequency of Afrikaans feminine nouns changed over the time period covered in the HCSA? How does the frequency of feminine nouns compare to the frequency of masculine and epicene nouns in the corpus?
- What are the most significant collocates, and what are the patterns of use of feminine nouns in the different sub-corpora of the HCSA? How do the collocates and usage patterns of feminine nouns compare to that of masculine and epicene nouns in the corpus?
- Can the findings of the first two questions be explained by sociocultural factors prevalent in the Afrikaans speaking community during the corresponding time period, particularly with relation to gender?

In Section 4.1 the frequency of occurrence of the nouns under investigation will be discussed. In this section it will be determined whether the nouns are present in the sub-corpora of the HCSA, and if they are present how frequently they occur. In Section

4.2 the statistically significant collocations of the nouns in question will be discussed, this discussion will be based on an analysis of the frequency of co-occurrence between the nouns and other words in the corpora. In Section 4.3 the nouns that were analysed will be discussed highlighting the context, patterns of use and other interesting forms of the nouns. In Section 4.4 pertinent sociocultural factors relating to gender in the Afrikaans speaking community will be explored.

4.1 Quantitative Analysis: Frequency Analysis

The following section will discuss the distribution of the selected nouns across the sub-corpora, revealing whether the usage of the gendered and epicene nouns changed across the sub-corpora. The frequency analysis determined which of the selected nouns were present in a particular sub-corpus, and if they were present how frequently they occurred.

The frequencies of the normalised lemmas were recorded in the corresponding frequency tables. The frequencies of the feminine nouns were recorded in Table 4.1, the masculine nouns in Table 4.2, and the epicene nouns in Table 4.3. If a lemma was not present in a sub-corpus it was recorded as a dash in the frequency table. The frequency counts are normalised to a frequency per 10,000 words (see Section 3.5). This study used normalised frequency because of the variation in availability and lengths of texts in the HCSA (see Section 3.3).

4.1.1. Feminine Nouns

Overall the feminine nouns did not occur as frequently (per 10,000 words) in the HCSA as the masculine and epicene nouns (see tables 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3), with many of the feminine nouns in the working list not occurring in any of the sub-corpora. For example, *klaagster* ('female complainant'), *digteres* ('female poet'), *kunstenares* ('female artist'), *profetes* ('female prophet') and *direktrise* ('female director') did not occur in any of the sub-corpora (see Table 4.1 below).

Normalised Frequency (per 10,000 words)					
Afrikaans	English	1911-	1941-1950	1971-	2001-
Lemma	Equivalent	1920		1980	2010
<u><i>vrou</i></u>	woman/wife	4.28	4.16	4.89	6.24
<u><i>ma</i></u>	mum	2.22	0.56	4.63	3.67
<u><i>dogter</i></u>	daughter/girl	1.32	1.16	0.80	0.79
<u><i>suster</i></u>	sister	0.82	0.56	1.06	0.45
<u><i>meisie</i></u>	girl	1.65	1.41	1.21	1.13
<u><i>dame</i></u>	lady	0.58	0.67	0.23	0.15
<u><i>moeder</i></u>	mother	5.06	2.99	3.11	0.76
<u><i>ouma</i></u>	grandmother	0.82	0.14	1.40	2.50
<u><i>vriendin</i></u>	female friend	0.25	0.11	0.08	0.26
<u><i>bruid</i></u>	bride	0.53	0.04	0.11	0.30
<u><i>mejuffrou</i></u>	Miss	0.70	0.81	0.42	0.38
<u><i>tannie</i></u>	aunt	1.89	0.53	1.40	0.79

<i>joernaliste</i> <i>(also plural)</i>	female journalist	-	0.07	-	0.38
<u>weduwee</u>	widow	0.21	0.04	0.34	0.04
<i>eggenote</i> <i>(also plural)</i>	female spouse	0.08	0.11	0.19	-
<u>nooi</u>	young lady	0.86	0.25	0.46	0.57
<i>klaagster</i>	female complainant	-	-	-	-
<i>poppie</i>	young girl	-	-	0.23	0.04
<i>aktrise</i>	actress	-	-	0.04	0.15
<i>maagd</i>	female virgin	0.74	-	-	0.08
<u>onderwyseres</u>	female teacher	0.04	0.32	0.04	0.04
<i>sangeres</i>	female singer	-	0.04	0.04	-
<i>niggie</i>	female cousin	0.58	0.07	0.04	-
<i>kleindogter</i>	granddaughter	0.04	0.07	0.04	-
<i>skoonma</i>	mother-in-law	-	-	0.04	0.15
<i>hoer</i>	female whore	-	0.04	0.04	-
<u>koningin</u>	queen	0.04	0.18	0.08	0.04
<i>boervrou</i>	female farmer or wife of farmer	0.70	0.07	-	0.04
<i>presidente</i> <i>(also plural)</i>	female president	-	0.21	0.08	0.04

<i>skryfster</i>	female writer	-	0.07	0.19	-
<i>voorsitster</i>	female chairperson	-	0.04	-	-
<i>digteres</i>	female poet	-	-	-	-
<i>kunstenares</i>	female artist	-	-	-	-
<i>heldin</i>	female hero	0.08	0.04	0.08	-
<i>bestuurderes</i>	female manager	-	-	-	0.04
<i>profetes</i>	female prophet	-	-	-	-
<i>direktrise</i>	female director	-	-	-	-
<i>eienares</i>	female owner	-	0.04	0.04	-
<i>redaktrise</i>	female editor	-	-	0.04	-
<u><i>mevrou</i></u>	missus	0.66	2.43	1.90	1.02

Table 4.1: Frequency analysis of feminine nouns (1911-2010)

The results from the frequency analysis of the feminine nouns further revealed that 17 nouns occurred in all the sub-corpora. These nouns are underlined in Table 4.1, and mostly show a decreasing frequency across the sub-corpora. There were, however, certain exceptions, including *vrou* ('woman'), *ma* ('mum') and *ouma* ('grandmother') that increased in frequency across the time period, pointing toward the usage of these nouns increasing across the time period. It should be noted that all these instances are related to family, in Section 4.1.2 a similar occurrence is noted in the increase in frequency of the masculine noun *pa* ('dad').

The decreased frequency of occurrence of the 17 most frequently occurring lemmas across the time period could be explained through the possible increase in the use of masculine and epicene nouns to refer to women. Kirsten (2019) argues that feminine forms are the least favoured forms of nouns and that the increased use of epicene nouns creates space for both masculine and feminine gender identity, in contrast to when masculine forms are used to refer to both genders but continue to reserve space primarily for masculine gender identity (discussed in Section 2.2).

The absence of usage of numerous feminine nouns in the sub-corpora was the most evident example of the frequency of the feminine nouns. It could be argued that in sub-corpus one feminine nouns could have occurred less frequently as Afrikaans was not yet standardised and feminine nouns pertaining to occupational titles may not have been present, hence the skewing of the data (discussed in Section 2.2 and the prelude in Chapter 3). However, this argument does not account for the absence of the nouns in the other sub-corpora.

One explanation as to why numerous feminine nouns were not present in the four sub-corpora is the inequality and stereotypical beliefs about gender that are often embedded in the lexicon of a language (for a further discussion see Section 2.2). Menegatti and Rubini (2017:5) have highlighted that in English there are more words to refer to men than to women, and the data from the HCSA seems to mirror this and point toward there being more words to refer to men than to women in the HCSA. Since the VivA corpus is larger than the HCSA, it will need to be examined to ascertain if there are also more words to refer to men than to women in the Viva corpus.

Sub-corpus four revealed a decline in the frequency of use of feminine nouns, including occupational titles that were present in earlier sub-corpora such as *eienares* ('female owner'), *skryfster* ('female writer') and *sangeres* ('female singer'). The decrease in usage of feminine nouns in sub-corpus four may actually be evidence of a gradual lexical shift toward unbiased language. This correlates with the advent of social media and social influence upon language, leading to language change as discussed in Section 2.1 (cyberfeminism). Kirsten (2019:188-189) also argues that the increasing movement away from gender-marked language usage in Afrikaans could be hastened by feminism (and cyberfeminism) and the striving toward gender equality in society.

The frequency of nouns that have a more formal register such as, *moeder* ('mother'), *tant* ('aunt') and *nig* ('female cousin') also decreased over the time period (see Table 4.1). The decreased frequency of occurrence of the more formal register could have two possible explanations. Firstly, sub-corpora one and two include more formal texts such as religious and scientific texts, and the latter sub-corpora contain more examples of informal texts such as personal and news texts (see Section 3.3).

Secondly, in the latter corpora the authors' writing styles may be more informal (as noted by Kirsten 2019), decreasing the occurrence of the more formal nouns. Writing styles becoming more informal could be explained through the process of colloquialisation, when written language becomes more like spoken language (Kirsten 2019:159). Or more accurately explained through the decline in forms that signify distance and formality, and the increase in forms that encourage involvement and

informality – this process includes variants from more colloquial speech being included in writing, which is often regarded as more formal (Kirsten 2019:160).

The frequency analysis also revealed lexical gaps in the sub-corpora and although broad-based assumptions of the Afrikaans language as a whole should be eschewed, these lexical gaps cannot be ignored completely as they could provide evidence of a pattern within the language that should be investigated. These lexical gaps in the HCSA are highlighted by the occurrence of *maagd* ('female virgin') and *hoer* ('female whore'). As discussed previously in Section 2.2, lexical gaps often refer to instances where there is no equivalent term to refer to the opposite gender (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:5). *Maagd* and *hoer* only refer to women and there are no equivalent male terms.

Menegatti and Rubini (2017:5) highlight that the emphasis on women being pure and wholesome has resulted in terms such as 'virgin' to refer to a woman who has not had sexual intercourse, while there is no equivalent term to refer to a man who has not been sexually active. This echoes other studies, which highlight that gendered feminine nouns often insinuate unwanted qualities such as sexual objectification and ageing (Bolinger 1980:91-92) (also evident in the collocation analysis of the feminine nouns in Section 4.2.1). Therefore, terms that specifically refer to women's sexuality such as *maagd* and *hoer*, and the lack of equivalent masculine nouns, show that defining men's sexuality is not as important as defining women's sexuality.

The frequency distribution of these two lemmas were also observed to be opposite: *maagd* only occurred in sub-corpora one and four, while *hoer* only occurred in sub-corpora two and three. The use of the more negative lemma *hoer* corresponds to the

increasing frequency of use of feminine nouns in sub-corpora two and three, raising questions as to whether these two sub-corpora exemplify heightened periods of gendered language use. Currently there is no literature that discusses whether the time period between 1941-1980 was a period of heightened gendered language use. However, the evidence from the frequency analysis would suggest this, as the period contained more instances of feminine noun usage and the negative lemma *hoer* occurred more frequently in this time period. This question of heightened gendered language use would benefit from more research, and will be put forward as an area of further research.

The analysis also highlights an interesting aspect relating to feminine nouns, namely that they are often derived from masculine nouns. The derivations are often derived by means of suffixation, e.g. *joernaliste* (*joernalis* + *te*; 'female journalist'), *eggenote* (*eggenoot* + *te*; 'female spouse'), *aktrise* (*akteur* + *ise*; 'actress'), *onderwyseres* (*onderwyser* + *es*; 'female teacher'), *sangeres* (*sanger* + *es*; 'female singer'), *koningin* (*koning* + *in*; 'queen'), *voorsitster* (*voorsitter* + *ster*; 'female chairperson'), *digteres* (*digter* + *es*; 'female poet') etc.

Female derivations have traditionally been used to mark social distinctions, with suffixes traditionally being used to denote a woman's relationship to a man. For example: 'duchess' marks a woman's relationship to a duke, i.e. as being the wife or widow of the duke (Cameron 1992:93). The feminine nouns in the HCSA are therefore marked by social distinctions that denote the feminine noun's relationship to the masculine noun, marking women's relationship to men (for a further discussion see Section 2.2).

4.1.2 Masculine Nouns

The results from the frequency analysis of the masculine nouns revealed that the masculine nouns occurred more consistently across the sub-corpora, with the majority of nouns being present in every sub-corpus (see Table 4.2).

Normalised Frequency (per 10,000 words)					
Afrikaans	English	1911-1920	1941-1950	1971-1980	2001-2010
Lemma	Equivalent				
<i>man</i>	man/husband	11.60	7.66	5.27	8.67
<i>pa</i>	dad	2.84	1.23	6.64	5.23
<i>broer</i>	brother	1.32	1.38	1.14	0.97
<i>seun</i>	son/boy	2.63	3.77	2.62	2.95
<i>heer</i>	gentleman	2.10	0.46	0.53	0.15
<i>vader</i>	father	4.69	4.41	3.07	1.31
<i>oupa</i>	grandfather	1.97	0.28	1.74	0.37
<i>vriend</i>	male friend	1.65	1.55	0.72	1.42
<i>bruidegom</i>	groom	1.03	-	0.04	0.11
<i>jongeheer</i>	young man	0.12	-	-	-
<i>oom</i>	uncle	6.83	5.86	4.06	2.91
<i>joernalis</i>	male journalist	0.04	0.07	0.04	0.26
<i>wewenaar</i>	widower	0.04	-	-	0.04

eggenoot	male spouse	0.12	0.25	0.04	0.07
kêrel	boy	0.62	-	-	-
klaer	male complainant	0.04	-	0.04	0.22
ouens	males (young men)	-	0.07	0.08	0.19
akteur	actor	-	-	0.04	0.15
onderwyser	male teacher	1.07	1.38	0.87	0.30
sanger	male singer	-	0.04	0.11	0.07
neef	male cousin	1.32	0.28	0.27	0.26
kleinseun	grandson	0.08	0.07	0.23	0.04
skoonpa	father-in-law	0.04	0.11	0.04	0.04
koning	king	2.63	0.53	0.46	1.12
boer	male farmer	2.51	2.72	2.81	2.58
president	male president	1.60	1.97	0.83	0.93
skrywer	male writer	1.40	1.59	0.34	1.12
voorsitter	chairman	0.82	0.64	0.83	0.75
digter	male poet	0.41	0.71	0.15	0.30
kunstenaar	male artist	0.58	0.42	1.29	0.22
held	male hero	0.25	0.21	0.23	0.15
bestuurder	male manager	0.08	0.18	0.34	0.45
profeet	male prophet	0.21	0.25	0.15	0.41

<i>direkteur</i>	male director	0.16	0.25	0.76	0.49
<i>eienaar</i>	male owner	0.41	0.35	0.30	0.34
<i>redakteur</i>	male editor	0.25	0.53	0.04	0.22
<i>meneer</i>	Mister	2.06	0.85	1.14	0.82

Table 4.2: Frequency analysis of masculine nouns (1911-2010)

As discussed in Section 4.1.1, the masculine nouns occurred more frequently in the HCSA than the feminine nouns and this could be explained by the inequality and stereotypical beliefs about gender that are often embedded in the lexicon of a language (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:5). Further, similar to the feminine nouns, the frequency of masculine nouns with a more formal register, such as *vader* ('father'), *oom* ('uncle') and *meneer* ('Mister'), decreased over the time period. This could have the same explanations as mentioned in Section 4.1.1, namely the fact that more formal texts are present in the earlier two sub-corpora, and the fact that writing styles have changed between the sub-corpora, from a more formal style to a more informal style.

Contrasting to the seeming decline in use of feminine nouns, where sub-corpus four contained the least number of feminine nouns (see Section 4.1.1, Table 4.1), the majority of masculine nouns occurred consistently throughout the sub-corpus. As previously mentioned, one explanation for the consistent occurrence of masculine nouns is that masculine nouns are more frequently used to refer to either the masculine or feminine gender (compared to feminine nouns) (Kirsten 2019:186-187). In sub-corpus four the masculine nouns that refer to both genders include *vriend* ('male friend'), *skrywer* ('male writer'), *voorsitter* ('chairman'), *held* ('male hero') and *direkteur* ('male director').

Although the majority of the masculine nouns occurred consistently across the time period, there were only a few instances of the frequency of masculine nouns increasing, these instances are *pa* ('father'), *joernalis* ('male journalist') and *klaer* ('male complainant') (see Table 4.2). As related in Section 4.1.1, *pa* relates to family and personal relations. The latter two instances are an occupational title, *joernalis*, and a common noun, *klaer*. These masculine nouns are examples of the above-mentioned change in usage, when masculine nouns are more often used to refer to both genders. As the nouns are used to refer to larger social groups, they occur more frequently (this will further be explored in the concordance analysis, Section 4.3, where the context and patterns of use are discussed).

A possible explanation for the higher frequency of use of masculine nouns is that masculine nouns were increasingly frequently used in the sub-corpora to refer to both genders, particularly in sub-corpus four. This points to a shift toward linguistic gender parity, as nouns previously used to distinguish a particular gender become flexible in their usage (Sensales, Areni & Dal Secco 2016:459-460).

4.1.3 Epicene Nouns

The results from the frequency analysis of the epicene nouns revealed that the epicene nouns occurred frequently and consistently across the time period from 1911-2010, comparable to the occurrence of masculine nouns (and more frequently than the feminine nouns) (see Table 4.3).

Normalised Frequency (per 10,000 words)					
Afrikaans	English	1911-1920	1941-1950	1971-1980	2001-2010
Lemma	Equivalent				
<i>persoon</i>	person	1.40	3.56	1.97	1.49
<i>ouer</i>	parent	2.18	2.50	3.19	2.58
<i>kind</i>	child	6.79	7.48	7.85	8.82
<i>hoof</i>	headteacher	1.28	1.76	1.29	1.08
<i>baba</i>	baby	0.04	0.07	0.49	2.32
<i>individu</i>	individual	0.12	0.42	0.87	1.08
<i>personeel</i>	staff	0.04	0.49	1.48	0.45
<i>soldaat</i>	soldier	0.25	0.35	0.30	0.71
<i>inwoner</i>	resident	0.62	0.14	0.83	1.01
<i>dokter</i>	doctor	1.32	0.67	1.44	1.87
<i>student</i>	student	1.77	0.74	0.53	0.37
<i>lid</i>	member	0.82	3.18	1.33	0.90
<i>speler</i>	player	0.04	0.07	0.04	0.41
<i>leerder</i>	learner	-	-	-	0.07
<i>burger</i>	citizen	1.52	1.91	0.80	1.68
<i>professor</i>	professor	1.93	1.06	0.91	0.60
<i>oorledene</i>	deceased person	0.08	0.07	-	-
<i>jongmens</i>	young person	0.21	0.35	0.30	0.30
<i>atleet</i>	athlete	-	-	0.04	-
<i>vyand</i>	enemy	0.37	0.99	0.38	0.86

<i>deelnemer</i>	participant	0.04	-	0.11	0.11
<i>besoeker</i>	visitor	0.21	0.25	0.38	0.71
<i>leser</i>	reader	0.86	0.60	0.08	1.08
<i>predikant</i>	clergyman	1.56	0.95	0.27	0.22
<i>kliënt</i>	client	0.16	-	-	-
<i>ondersteuner</i>	supporter	0.08	0.11	0.11	0.07
<i>minister</i>	minister	0.53	0.92	2.54	0.67
<i>model</i>	model	0.21	0.14	0.27	0.93
<i>kollega</i>	colleague	0.29	0.11	0.11	0.22
<i>appellant</i>	appellant	-	-	-	-
<i>woordvoerder</i>	spokesperson	-	0.04	0.11	0.19

Table 4.3: Frequency analysis of epicene nouns (1911-2010)

Previous research, discussed in section 2.1, suggests that some epicene linguistic forms may be more sensitive to cultural and social changes, and that epicene forms may increase over time (Sensales, Areni & Dal Secco 2016:459-460). However, as shown in Table 4.3, the frequency of epicene nouns in the HCSA did not significantly increase over the time period. As discussed in Section 2.2, occupational titles began to change as more women entered the workforce and ‘traditionally male positions’ (Cameron 1992:93). However, as mentioned in Section 4.1.1, feminine nouns – mostly occupational titles – decreased in frequency, and some are in fact absent from sub-corpus four. This could point toward either the masculine or epicene nouns being used to refer to women in place of the feminine nouns. Menegatti and Rubini (2017:11) argue that gendered occupational titles, and feminine titles specifically, activate corresponding stereotypes. Therefore, women entering professions do not necessarily

approve of gendered occupational titles and often push for new titles, either epicene titles or 'traditionally' masculine titles, to refer to both men and women (Cameron 1992:93; Menegatti & Rubini 2017:11).

The frequency analysis and distribution of nouns can only indicate the number of times each noun appeared in a particular sub-corpus, and comparing these frequencies can give an indication of the increase or decrease of usage over time. The collocation analysis was conducted to further investigate the connotations associated with the relevant gendered and epicene nouns, and whether the connotations and usage changed over the time period. The results of the collocation analysis will be discussed in Section 4.2.

4.2 Quantitative Analysis: Collocation Analysis

Collocations are words that occur unusually frequently with relation to each other within a linguistic situation (Balfour 2019:43). Collocation analysis identifies the words that are found most often in the context of a certain noun in a sub-corpus. In this section the results of the collocation analysis of the feminine, masculine and epicene nouns identified in Section 4.1 will be discussed. The discussion will include the frequency of co-occurrence and the most statistically significant collocations that were recorded. The most significant frequently co-occurring words to the right and left of the lemma are recorded. Following on from the findings of the frequency analysis, if a lemma was not present in a sub-corpus it was recorded as 'not present in corpus' in the corresponding collocation table (see Appendix 1-12).

Due to the functionality of the tool used for the collocation analysis, wild card searches were not appropriate. The wild card search function threw out words that were not related to the lemma or the noun, for example the wild card search for the lemma *ma** ('mum') included words such as *maar* ('however'), *maag* ('stomach') and *mat* ('carpet'). The results of the frequency analysis were filtered manually, however the results of the collocation analysis could not be filtered manually. Therefore, in the collocation analysis the normalised lemmas were searched for individually to account for not being able to filter the results once a search was made.

Collocates that were not consequential to the context, including articles, prepositions, demonstratives, quantifiers and distributives, were not recorded. Significant collocations that added meaning to the context, such as adjectives, adverbs, and possessive pronouns and determiners were recorded. The Mutual Information (MI) score was chosen for the analysis, as opposed to the T-score or LogDice tests as the MI score is strongly affected by the frequency of co-occurrence between a lemma and a collocation, compared to the number of times a lemma appears separately ('A Guide to Statistics: t-score and mutual information' 2008). Therefore, words that would frequently occur in the corpus by themselves such as '*die*' ('the') would not score highly on the MI score as the co-occurrence between the word and the noun would not be statistically significant (see Sections 3.4 and 3.5).

Due to the statistical thresholds of the MI score test, it was found that not all of the lemmas had significant statistical collocates. The MI score statistical value was set to record collocations of 3.0 and above, with a collocation frequency of 5.0 and above. The collocation span was set to three words to the right and three words to the left of

the lemma. If a lemma lacked statistically significant collocates this was recorded with a dash. The results were recorded in Appendix 1-12 and subsequently interpreted and discussed.

4.2.1 Feminine Nouns

The results of the collocation analysis revealed that the most significant collocates to the feminine nouns were possessive pronouns and possessive determiners. Further, some of the most significant collocations included the corresponding masculine equivalent nouns (see Appendix 1-4). The possessive pronouns and determiners emphasised women and their relationship to others, for example, *sijn* ('her/his'), *sij* ('her/his', 'he/she'), *sy* ('her/his'), *mij* ('my'), *my* ('my'), *myn* ('my'), *haar* ('her'), *jou* ('your'). These frequent collocations highlighted that women were frequently referred to in the sub-corpora through their relationships to others. Kirsten (2019:186-187) noted that feminine nouns are more often preceded or succeeded by familial collocations than masculine nouns, highlighting women's relationship to family.

The other most significant collocations to the feminine nouns were the corresponding masculine equivalent nouns, for example in every sub-corpus *man* ('man/husband') was the most significant collocate to *vrou* ('woman/wife'), *vader* ('father') was a significant collocate to *moeder* ('mother'), and *oupa* ('grandfather') was a significant collocate to *ouma* ('grandmother') (see Appendix 1-4, and Figures 1 and 2). Literature discussing this particular pattern is currently not available, since previous research generally focused on adjectival collocates and pronouns (Kirsten 2019, van Rooy 1996).

This pattern should be further investigated however, and will be put forward as an area of further research. The collocation analysis did highlight the position of the collocates. Most of the significant collocates of the feminine nouns occurred before the noun (left), the collocate therefore modifies or lends meaning to the noun (Pearce 2008:3).

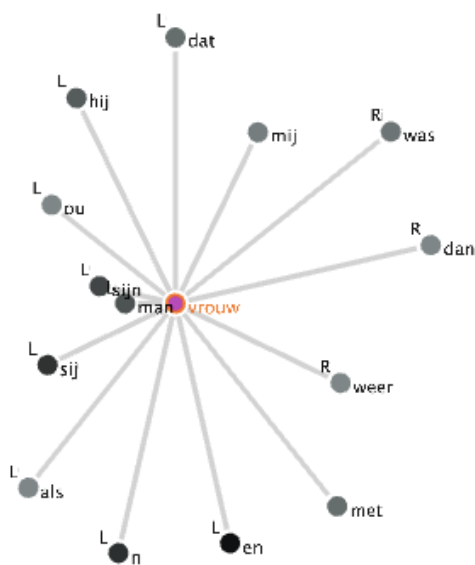


Figure 1: Collocation network of *vrouw* in sub-corpus one

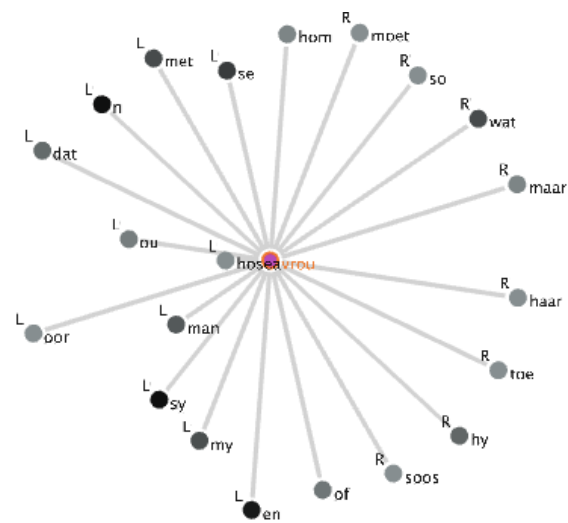


Figure 2: Collocation network of *vrou* in sub-corpus four

This positioning of the masculine collocate before the feminine noun is referred to as the order of precedence (Umera-Okeke 2012:12). When terms referring to men occur before terms referring to women this can indicate the perceived importance of men over women (Umera-Okeke 2012:12). This order of precedence is seen again in Section 4.2.2, where the collocation analysis of the masculine nouns highlights the positioning of masculine nouns before the feminine collocates, thereby taking precedence over the feminine nouns they collocate with.

Previous studies, mentioned in Section 2.2, have reported that adjectival collocates of gendered terms activate and maintain stereotypical preconceptions (Motschenbacher 2013:213-214). In the HCSA the most significant adjectival collocate for the feminine nouns across the time period was *ou* ('old'), emphasising women's youth or the absence thereof. Bolinger (1980:91-92) discussed the argument that gendered feminine terms often insinuate unwanted qualities such as sexual objectification and ageing, which is the quality identified most in relation to the feminine nouns in the HCSA. The recurring identification of a women's ageing is markedly highlighted, for example, *ou vrou* ('old woman') and *ou tante* ('old aunt') (see Appendix 1-4 for a complete list of collocates):

- Sub-corpus one – *ou vrouw, ou tante*
- Sub-corpus two– *ou vrou*
- Sub-corpus four – *ou vrou*

4.2.2 Masculine Nouns

In contrast to the collocation analysis of the feminine nouns, the results of the collocation analysis of the masculine nouns revealed that the most significant collocates to these nouns were possessive pronouns and determiners, along with adjectives (see Appendix 5-8, and Figures 3 and 4). The possessive pronouns and determiners included *mij* ('my'), *sij* ('he/she', 'his/her'), *sijn* ('his/her'), *syn* ('his/her'), *myn* ('my'), *sy* ('he/her'), *my* ('my'), *haar* ('her') etc. However, the possessive forms occur less frequently in collocation with masculine nouns compared to feminine nouns,

highlighting that men are less frequently referred to through their relationships to others.

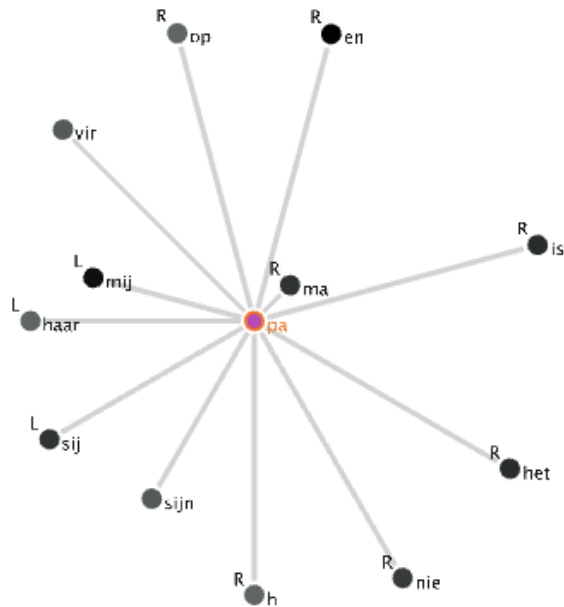


Figure 3: Collocation network of *pa* in sub-corpus one

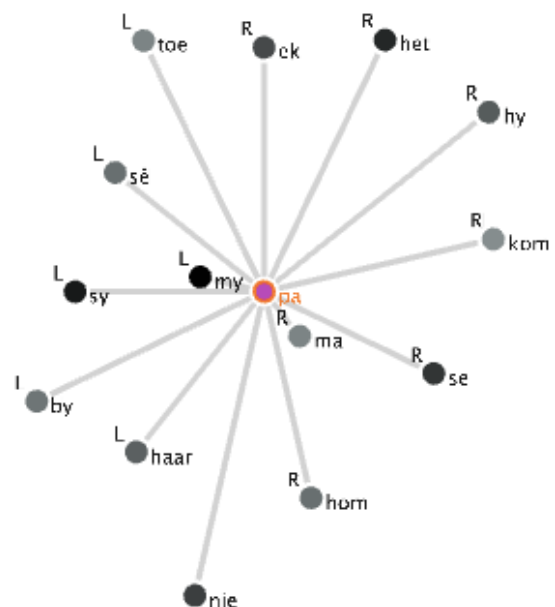


Figure 4: Collocation network of *pa* in sub-corpus four

Unlike the co-occurrence of masculine terms with the feminine nouns, the co-occurrence of the corresponding gender equivalent feminine terms with the masculine nouns are less frequent across the sub-corpora. This means that women are often referred to with reference to men, while men are less frequently referred to with reference to women. As mentioned in Section 4.2.1, this collocation pattern should be investigated further as literature available on this topic is limited.

With relation to collocation position, unlike the feminine nouns where the collocate frequently preceded the noun, the analysis of the masculine nouns revealed that collocates frequently succeeded the nouns (i.e. positioned after the noun). The masculine nouns therefore modified or lent meaning to the collocate (Pearce 2008:3),

This echoes the findings of the feminine collocation analysis where the perceived importance of men over women (by masculine terms being placed first) was discussed (Umera-Okeke 2012:12).

Unlike the collocation position, the adjectival collocates of the masculine nouns preceded the nouns; as the sentence structure of Afrikaans is such that adjectives generally precede nouns (for both the feminine and masculine nouns). As mentioned in the discussion of the feminine noun analysis, adjectival collocates can activate or maintain preconceptions (Motschenbacher 2013:213-214). The adjectival collocates associated with the masculine nouns were more positive compared to the most significant adjectival collocate of the feminine nouns.

The most significant adjectival collocates associated with the masculine nouns included *jong* ('young'), *jongste* ('youngest'), *oudste* ('oldest'), *lieve* ('dear'), *groot* ('big'), *dapper* ('brave'), *goeie* ('good') etc. These adjectives have a more positive inference, describing attributes such as character traits and emotive adjectives, not only physical attributes. When physical attributes were described, they were with reference to physical strength and prowess, such as *groot* ('physical size') (Pearce 2008:17). The following adjectival collocates were recorded (see Appendix 5-8 for a complete list of collocates):

- Sub-corpus one – *jong man, oudste seun, lieve oupa, oom groot*
- Sub-corpus two – *dapper man, swart man, jong man, ou man, ou seun*
- Sub-corpus three – *jong man*

- Sub-corpus four – *jong man, ou man, goeie man, jongste man, Engelse man, ou oom*

4.2.3 Epicene Nouns

The results of the collocation analysis of the epicene nouns revealed that the most significant collocates to the epicene nouns were possessive pronouns and determiners, along with other noun forms (see Appendix 9-12, and Figures 5 and 6). Similar to the collocation analysis of the feminine nouns, possessive pronouns and determiners were the most significant collocates to the epicene nouns including *hulle* ('they/their'), *sij* ('her/his', 'she/he'), *onse* ('our'), *ons* ('us'), *sijn* ('her/his'), *hul* ('they/their'), *jou* ('your'). The most significant noun collocates included *opvoeding* ('upbringing'), *enige* ('any'), and *ander* ('other').

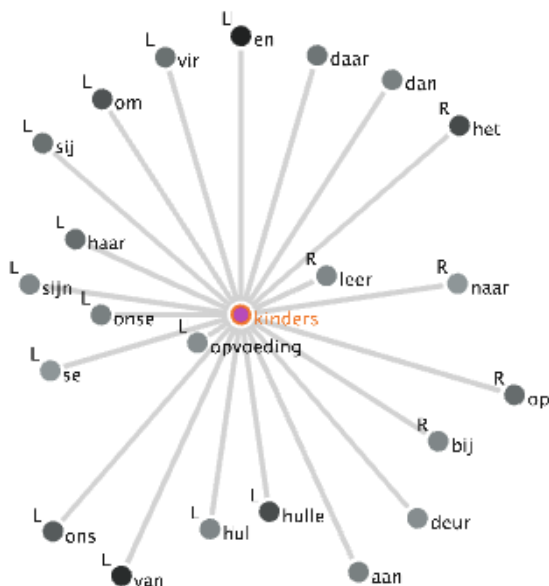


Figure 5: Collocation network of *kinders* in sub-corpus one

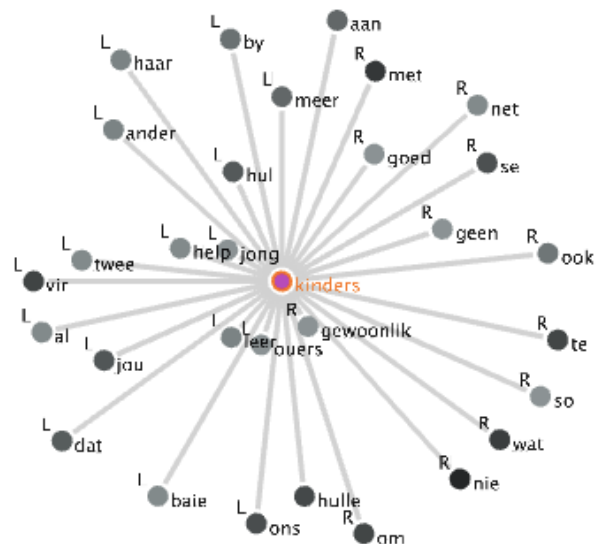


Figure 6: Collocation network of *kinders* in sub-corpus four

The collocation analysis revealed that the collocates of the epicene nouns both preceded and succeeded the nouns. However, the collocates (specifically the possessive pronouns and determiners) most frequently preceded the nouns – similar to the position of feminine nouns and their collocates. When considering this with reference to order of precedence, the suggestion would be that the collocate appearing first is considered more important than the noun following it (Umera-Okeke 2012:12). An example of order of precedence in the epicene nouns is *kinders* ('children') and *ouers* ('parents'), where *ouers* appears more frequently before *kinders* in the HCSA indicating that parents take precedence over children. This could be argued to be true, as adults do generally take precedence over children socially.

The collocation analysis further showed that the adjectival collocates of epicene nouns did not describe physical attributes or character traits. The collocates rather emphasised social groupings. For example, *Afrikaanse studente* ('students who speak Afrikaans'), *aannemende ouers* ('adoptive parents') and *edele minister* ('honourable minister'). One explanation for this is that the epicene nouns frequently occurred in plural form, therefore the nouns refer to groups of individuals rather than a single individual and this is reflected in the collocations that emphasise groupings. The following are examples of collocates that were recorded (see Appendix 9-12 for a complete list of collocates):

- Sub-corpus one – *Afrikaanse student, eerste minister*
- Sub-corpus two – *twee kinders, verskillende lede, dieselfde lede*
- Sub-corpus three – *aannemende ouers, ouer kind, jong kind, groot kind, eerste minister, edele minister*

- Sub-corpus four – *een persoon, jong kinders, goed kinders, twee kinders, eerste minister*

The collocation analysis is only able to identify the most statistically significant collocates and is not able to identify context or patterns of use. Furthermore, the linguistic data of the collocation analysis is limited by statistical thresholds and the functionality of the GraphColl tool itself. Therefore, the KWIC tool was used to run concordance lines to investigate non-statistical data that illustrates patterns of use and contextual data.

4.3 Qualitative Analysis: Concordance Lines

In the previous section, collocation analysis was used to identify the most significant and frequent collocates for the nouns under investigation, however, this does not allow for an in-depth analysis of language usage. When concordance lines (see Section 3.5.2 for a discussion) are run, the context and patterns of use become more evident. In this section concordance lines are used to answer part of the second research question: What are the patterns of use of the feminine, masculine and epicene nouns in the HCSA? It also provides insight into the third research question: Can the findings of the frequency and collocation analyses be explained by sociocultural factors prevalent in the Afrikaans speaking community, particularly with relation to gender?

To run the concordance lines, the lemmas were searched for manually using wild card searches (as with the frequency analysis). This allows for different forms of the nouns to be found, simultaneously enabling a qualitative examination of the context and

patterns of use of the nouns. Excerpts from the concordance lines were included in the analysis tables (see Appendix 13-24) to exemplify the context and patterns of use. If a specific lemma is not present in a sub-corpus, it is recorded as ‘not present in corpus’.

4.3.1 Feminine Nouns

The concordance lines reinforced the findings of the collocation analysis of the feminine nouns (see Section 4.2.1). More specifically, the collocation analysis revealed that significant collocates to the feminine nouns included possessive pronouns, possessive determiners and the masculine equivalent of the nouns. These collocates emphasise women’s relationships to others and particularly to family members (Kirsten 2019:186-187). The concordance lines supported this (see Appendix 13-16) and provided additional context.

The contexts included *vrou* (‘woman/wife’) being mentioned after a possessive pronoun or determiner that specifically indicated the women’s relationship to a man (see examples below and Appendix 25). Feminine nouns were most often regarded in context with masculine nouns, underlining that women are most often referred to with reference to men (more so than other genders). The following instances of possessive pronouns and determiners were recorded for *vrou* in the sub-corpora:

- Sub-corpus one – “...*Jan Breed met sijn vrouw, Maria en hul drie kinders...*”
- Sub-corpus two – “*Dat so ’n man sy vrou gruwelik moet verwaarloos...*”
- Sub-corpus three – “... Andries van Heerden se vrou, Annie, later.”

- Sub-corpus four – “*Sedert Karel en sy vrou se aankoms...*”

Evidence of order of precedence can be seen in the frequent referral to women in relation to men, with the feminine noun almost always occurring after the masculine collocate. The recurrence of this pattern in both the collocation analysis and in the concordance lines serves to reinforce Umera-Okeke’s (2012:12) argument of the structure of language reflecting the perceived importance of men above women.

Furthermore, as mentioned in the collocation analysis the most statistically significant adjectival collocate to the feminine nouns is *ou* (‘old’) (see Section 4.2.1). Previous research, including Weatherall (2002:4), Pearce (2008:18-19) and Bolinger (1980:91-92), has argued that there are numerous negative words reflecting the negative attitudes towards women in society. These often specifically refer to women’s sexuality or promiscuity, and women’s looks or ageing. Women’s worth is therefore often linked to their bodies, and ageing (the degradation of the body) could consequently be seen as negative (Fournier & Russell 1992:14). The below examples of the adjectival collocate *ou* were recorded in the four sub-corpora, illustrating the context and patterns of use (see Appendix 26 for more examples):

- Sub-corpus one – “*Die ou vrou was ’n onredelike pasiënt...*”
- Sub-corpus two – “*Die ou tante sit en beef van opwinding...*”
- Sub-corpus three – “*...het die ou dame gebrom.*”
- Sub-corpus four – “*...die lywige ou vrou die spraaksamigste.*”

Along with the above-mentioned adjectival collocates, other adjectives (and verbs) that occurred in the concordance lines could be considered as negative (see Appendix 13-16 for more examples). Examples include *besluiteloos* ('indecisive'), *onredelike* ('unreasonable'), *gebrom* ('grumbled'), and *lywige* ('corpulent'). These examples further perpetuate negative gender stereotypes, including emotional intemperance and appearance (Pearce 2008:19).

Although negative collocates were found in the sub-corpora, there were other adjectival collocates identified that reflected the desired attributes of each gender (as described by Weatherall 2002:4) (see Appendix 13-16). For the feminine nouns these included *mooi* ('beautiful'), *jonge* ('young'), *deftige* ('elegant'), *getroude* ('married') and *geliefde* ('beloved'). Although these collocates are positive and reflect desired attributes of women, many of the adjectival collocates still describe physical attributes of women.

The concordance analysis also emphasised the variation of forms for feminine nouns. Diminutive forms of the feminine nouns occurred frequently across the sub-corpora, for example *bruid* ('bride') was written as *bruidjie* (diminutive [DIM]), *meisie* ('young girl') was written as *meisietjie* (DIM), and *dogter* ('daughter') was written as *dogtertjie* (DIM). The diminutive form is usually an indicator of smallness and could either be considered as endearing or belittling depending on the context (Shelter 1959:75).

The context of the diminutive forms in the sub-corpora were both endearing and belittling, with younger girls often being referred to in endearing terms, and older women more often being referred to in belittling terms. The following examples are

present in Appendix 13-16 (Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package]):

- Sub-corpus one – *bekoorlike dametjie* ('charming little lady' DIM)
- Sub-corpus two – *verbleekte vrou tjie* ('pale little woman' DIM), *klein dogtertjie* ('small little girl' DIM)
- Sub-corpus three – *ou vrou tjie* ('old little woman' DIM), *swak vrou tjie* ('weak little woman' DIM), *flinke nooientjie* ('spirited little girl' DIM)
- Sub-corpus four – *fyn vrou tjie* ('delicate little woman' DIM), *fraai klein dogtertjie* ('cute small little girl' DIM)

The changes in use and form of the feminine nouns are highlighted in the findings of the concordance lines. The frequency analysis revealed that sub-corpora two and three contained more instances of diminutives than the other sub-corpora (see Table 4.1). The concordance analysis, however, highlighted that diminutives occurred significantly (number of instances) in all the sub-corpora, with these forms occurring most in sub-corpora two and three (see Appendix 13-16).

In Section 4.1.1, the question was raised whether the two sub-corpora mentioned above exemplify heightened periods of gendered language use, mainly because of the use of the negative term *hoer* ('whore'). After the analysis in this section, an extra aspect can be added to this question. Does the increased usage of diminutive forms in the same time periods further exemplify heightened periods of gendered language use? Again, as discussed in Section 4.1.1, literature exploring this period as one of

heightened gendered language use is limited (or non-existent) and therefore this would benefit from further investigation.

The concordance lines also provided context for *maagd* ('virgin') and *hoer*, which are feminine nouns for which there are no equivalent masculine nouns (as discussed in section 4.1.1). The terms were found in the contexts as shown below (see Appendix 27 for more examples):

- Sub-corpus one – “*Die maagde met die koms van...*”
- Sub-corpus two – “*In oneindig hoer mate kon die gelowig...*”
- Sub-corpus three – “*...bedreig soos 'n hoer sonder souteneur.*”
- Sub-corpus four – “*...jongmeisies word maagde, skaapwagter word herder...*”

The two above-mentioned feminine nouns did not have any significant adjectival collocates according to the collocation analysis, and the concordance lines highlighted that the most significant collocates were articles and demonstratives. The most statistically significant collocate *die* ('the') does not necessarily lend meaning to the nouns, however, the concordance lines revealed that *maagd* and *hoer* occurred overwhelmingly in religious texts (such as excerpts from sermons) and contexts.

The contexts could be explained by the traditional view of religion prescribing sexual behaviour, especially controlling women's sexual behaviour (Sharma 1987:57,70). Therefore, these texts refer to these two nouns more often since they are directly linked to women's sexuality (Sharma 1987:57,70). Within the concordance lines it is evident that *maagd* has positive connotations such as purity and goodness (see

Appendix 13-16). Whereas *hoer* has negative connotations such as impurity and pollution, *selfbevelekking* translates to ‘self-pollution’ (see Appendix 14). Sharma (1987:2) emphasises the necessity to consider the different experiences women will experience across various religions, cultures and time periods.

4.3.2 Masculine Nouns

The collocation analysis of the masculine nouns discussed in Section 4.2.2, revealed that significant collocates to the masculine nouns included possessive pronouns, possessive determiners, and adjectives. The collocation analysis further emphasised that, like the feminine nouns, the masculine nouns occurred most significantly with relation to others, but unlike the feminine nouns, the possessives did not indicate a significant relationship to women.

The collocation analysis also showed that many of the significant collocates of the masculine nouns were adjectival collocates describing physical attributes, character traits and emotive adjectives referring to men (see Section 4.2.2). The list below shows adjectival collocates for *seun* (‘boy’) and *man* (‘man’) in the sub-corpora in context (see Appendix 17-20 and Appendix 28 for more examples):

- Sub-corpus one – “...*twee ongetrouwde seuns naar haar kant toe oorgehaal.*”
- Sub-corpus two – “*’n Dapper man by ’n ander dapper man!*”
- Sub-corpus three – “...*en as oudste seun moet Renier...*”
- Sub-corpus four – “...*identiese blou-oog seuntjies my vriendelik gegroet.*”

Section 4.3.1 demonstrated that the concordance lines of the feminine nouns highlighted the more negative connotations of the feminine adjectival collocates, reinforcing the gender stereotypes of women (such as the focus on physical attributes) (Pearce 2008:19). In contrast, the concordance lines of the masculine nouns revealed the more positive connotations of the masculine collocates, including adjectival collocates that reflect the desired attributes such as character traits (Weatherall 2002:4). The adjectival collocates of the masculine nouns include, *jong* ('young'), *ouer* ('elder'), *dapper* ('brave'), *lieve* ('dear') and *goeie* ('good') (see Appendix 17-20).

Unlike the context of the feminine nouns that reinforced negative stereotypes of women with reference to emotional intemperance and appearance, the context of the masculine nouns reinforce stereotypes such as dominance, physical strength and size (Pearce 2008:17, 19). Although the gender stereotypes reinforced by the masculine nouns and collocates may appear more positive, these stereotypes can be damaging to men who do not necessarily fulfil or subscribe to these stereotypes.

The concordance lines further highlighted instances of masculine nouns being used for both genders in sub-corpus four (see Appendix 20), indicating the change of usage. Examples of these nouns include *vriend* ('male friend') being used to describe female friends, *skrywer* ('male writer') being used to refer to a woman writer, *voorsitter* ('chairman') being used to refer to a female chairperson, *held* ('hero') being used to refer to either a man or a woman, and *direkteur* ('male director') being used to refer to a female director (see examples below and Appendix 29).

- *Vriend* – “Om met ‘n **meisie** te kan vriende wees...”
- *Skrywer* – “Ontspan, sê **Marina Petropulos**, skrywer van *Die Baba...*”
- *Voorsitter* – “Mev. **Karin Pienaar**, voorsitter van dié organisasie...”
- *Held* – “...êrens hoor wie die held van die stuk is. Hy of **sy**...”
- *Direkteur* – “Volgens dr. **Angela Mathee**, direkteur van die MNR...”

As mentioned in section 4.2.1, the decrease in the frequency of use of feminine nouns across the time period could point to an increase in usage of epicene and masculine nouns to refer to both men and women. The concordance lines revealed that masculine nouns were indeed being used to refer to women in sub-corpus four, and therefore the decrease in feminine nouns could in fact be attributed to this.

4.3.3 Epicene Nouns

In Section 4.2.3, the collocation analysis of the epicene nouns was discussed, revealing that significant collocates to the epicene nouns included possessive pronouns, possessive determiners, and noun forms. Statistically the most significant collocates to the epicene nouns were possessive pronouns and determiners. All the gendered and epicene nouns displayed relationship connections, however the feminine nouns were found to be the only nouns with a significant collocation to just one group – men. The masculine and epicene nouns detailed other types of relationship connections (see Appendix 21-24).

The epicene nouns often referred to groupings, and the relationship connection within groups of individuals (see section 4.2.3). This was exemplified through the most

significant collocates of the epicene nouns which are adjectival collocates, characterising the groups individuals belonged to. In the concordance analysis the following examples were recorded: *blanke persone* ('white persons/people'), *beste studente* ('best students'), *Westerse lede* ('Western members') and *swart burgers* ('black citizens'). The concordance lines emphasised that the most significant collocates did not make a gendered distinction, but rather made a distinction based on grouping, as shown below in the examples below (see Appendix 21-24 and Appendix 30):

- Sub-corpus one – “...*sij hoogbejaarde ouers, wat nou in die tentwa is...*”
- Sub-corpus two – “...*gehoorsame en getroue burger het nooit geweet...*”
- Sub-corpus three – “...*n Onafhanklike persoon moet dus...*”
- Sub-corpus four – “...*evolusie ’n meedoënlose vyand is.*”

Lexical marking with affixes in gender natural languages, such as Afrikaans, is often seen as necessary when referring to women, to distinguish and stress the gender of the individual spoken about (Menegatti & Rubini 2017:8). The concordance lines showed that although epicene nouns are not considered gender specific, some of the epicene nouns were found to mark the feminine form of the epicene noun – emphasising that the noun specifically refers to a woman (see examples below and Appendix 31).

- Sub-corpus one – The epicene noun *lesers* ('readers') is marked to form *leseresse* ('female readers')
“Die **leseresse** moet goed verstaan dat als iemand...”

- Sub-corpus three – The epicene noun *lesers* ('readers') is marked to form *leseres* ('female readers')
“*Miskien trek menige **leseres** ’n bedenklieke gesig...*”
- Sub-corpus three – The epicene nouns *burger* ('citizen') is marked to form *burgeres* ('female citizen')
“*...die burger en **burgeres** van môre...*”

The lexical marking of feminine forms, emphasising that the context is referring to women, raises questions as to why the epicene nouns mark the feminine form in the HCSA? Why do they act as feminine nouns and what does this gender marking add to the context? One explanation for this is that gender marking allows readers to distinguish between individuals, adding to the sociocultural understanding of gender roles in the relevant time period (Shoham *et al.* 2017:1357). This idea of contextualising an individual's place in society links back to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (discussed in Section 2.1) where it is argued that the structure of a language affects how its users conceptualise their surroundings (Shoham *et al.* 2017:1359).

The examples above show a few instances of epicene nouns being marked to explicitly refer to women. However, many occurrences of the epicene nouns did not distinguish between genders, and the overall indication of the concordance lines was that the epicene nouns fulfilled their role in maintaining gender neutrality. The concordance lines of the feminine, masculine and epicene nouns highlighted that the categories of these nouns are not fixed. Furthermore, throughout the time period (1911-2010) the usage of several of the nouns changed (such as *vriend*, *direkteur*, *held* and *skrywer*).

4.4 Discussion

The discussion of whether the findings of the data analysis can be explained by sociocultural factors prevalent in the Afrikaans speaking community, should be prefaced by an earlier argument put forth by numerous researchers about the relationship between women and the Afrikaans community. Researchers, including Kruger (1991), van der Merwe (1994:51-52) and Landman (1994), asserted that social roles and identities of women in Afrikaans are connected to Afrikaner nationalism and religion. The 'ideals' about women are expressed in Afrikaans literature and religious texts as "purity, innocent suffering and patience" (Kruger 1991:1).

Kruger's research (1991) focused on the time period of 1919-1931, which overlaps with the period in this research. The findings of the frequency analysis and concordance lines in the HCSA highlighted the change in frequency and the pejorative connotations of the feminine nouns *maagd* ('virgin') and *hoer* ('whore'). These nouns almost exclusively occurred in religious texts and in the context of controlling women's sexuality and their bodies. Both Kruger's findings and sub-corpus one share the idea of women being pure and virtuous. It is therefore interesting to note that *hoer* more frequently occurs in sub-corpus two and three, the period directly following these ideals being expressed.

Van der Merwe (1994) reasons that social roles and identities develop in a cyclical pattern. First there is the proclamation of beliefs (that women are pure and virtuous), then the beliefs are adopted, and finally there is a questioning and rejection of the

original beliefs (van der Merwe 1994:8). Previously in Section 4.1.1, the question was raised as to whether the time period between 1941-1980 was a period of heightened gendered language use. This question arose from the evidence of the frequency analysis that indicated more instances of feminine noun usage and the increased occurrence of the negative lemma *hoer*.

Van der Merwe's (1994:8) argument that there is a cyclical nature to social roles could be supported by the data from the HCSA, as *maagd* occurred more frequently than *hoer* in sub-corpus four. Creating the cyclical pattern of the belief being adopted, questioned and rejected, and then adopted again. Mans and Lauwrens's (2013:50) more recent body of research further supports the cyclical nature, asserting that the feminine ideal often portrayed in Afrikaans media and texts is of women as religious, pure and innocent. It can be argued that this cyclical pattern parallels with the question of 1941-1980 being a period of heightened gendered language use, following the patterned behaviour of language users. This would benefit from more research, and will be put forward as an area of further research.

The findings of the frequency analysis can also be explained by sociocultural factors prevalent in the Afrikaans speaking community, the frequency analysis highlighted that the HCSA contained more masculine nouns than feminine nouns. This inequality was found in all the sub-corpora, with feminine nouns gradually decreasing in frequency and sub-corpus four containing the least number of feminine nouns. Landman (1994:15) argues that during the first two decades of the twentieth century the predominantly Afrikaans culture felt it was necessary to reconfirm the role of women to a "female subculture". Religion played an important role in reconfirming the role of

women, thereby relegating women to spheres that were not as publicly visible – this relegation could account for feminine nouns being less frequently included in the corpus (especially the first two sub-corpora). The genres and authors of the texts in sub-corpus two also contributes to relegating women to spheres that were not as publicly visible.

The decrease in feminine nouns in sub-corpus four correlates with the advent of the internet and social media, which also coincides with cyberfeminism and online activism (Evans & Williams 2013:42). The perceived inequality in sub-corpus four may actually indicate a movement toward gender parity, where genders are more proportionally represented. With masculine nouns being used more often to refer to women, this is in direct contrast to the inequality in the first two sub-corpora, where women were subjugated into social roles that made them less visible.

The move toward gender parity was reinforced by the analysis of the concordance lines, which also highlighted the increased use of masculine nouns referring to women in the latter sub-corpora. Gender marking was however still evident in the collocation analysis. The findings of the collocation analysis revealed that feminine nouns frequently co-occurred with the masculine equivalents. Women were frequently referred to with reference to men, however men were not as frequently referred to with reference to women. Men can therefore be seen as more independent from women, where women's relationship to men was emphasised through the linguistic relationship.

Kgatla (2019:5) highlights Giliomee's argument that women had been independent before the National Party came to power. However, once the National party came to

power (with their focus on religious and traditional values) women were not only relegated to social roles but were often confined to prescribed social roles (Kgatla 2019:6). Socially women were tied to their families, particularly the men in their families, and it could be argued that this is reflected in the HCSA as the feminine nouns frequently co-occurred with their masculine equivalents. The social relationship was therefore reflected in the linguistic relationship (see Appendix 1-4, and Appendix 13-16).

The findings of the collocation analysis also highlighted that the HCSA reinforced the order of precedence, where men were placed before women denoting their perceived importance over women. Masculine forms (nouns and collocates) frequently preceded feminine forms (nouns and collocates). Furthermore, adjectival collocates for the feminine, masculine and epicene nouns placed emphasis on different aspects of the nouns. For feminine nouns emphasis was placed on appearance, for masculine nouns emphasis was placed on physical strength and character, and for epicene nouns emphasis was placed on social groupings.

Kgatla (2019:6) argues that during the National Party rule women were subjected to male dominance and pushed toward submissiveness. The data for the HCSA does not indicate male dominance, nor does it indicate submissiveness; it does however clearly indicate the order of precedence, which suggests that the collocate appearing first is considered more important than the noun following it (Umera-Okeke 2012:12).

Finally, the concordance lines revealed the frequent use of the diminutive to refer to women. The context of the diminutive forms in the sub-corpora were both endearing

and belittling, with younger girls often being referred to in endearing terms, and older women more often being referred to in belittling terms (see Section 4.3.1).

Throughout the data analysis it became evident that the *Zeitgeist* of the Afrikaans language community had changed throughout the period of 1911-2010. However, during the interpretation of the data, with relation to sociocultural and sociohistorical factors, it further became evident that the *Zeitgeist* had not necessarily changed in a linear pattern but rather there were various changes across the time period in the HCSA.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter the analysis of the working list of nouns, identified in Section 3.5 (Table 3.5), was discussed. The HCSA was analysed using #LancsBox (Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package]), for frequency of occurrence, collocations and context. The analysis was aimed to answer the research sub-questions outlined previously (see Section 1.2): Has the frequency of Afrikaans gendered and epicene nouns changed in the HCSA?; What are the most significant collocates, and what are the contexts of the gendered and epicene nouns in the HCSA?; Can the findings of the first two questions be explained by sociocultural factors prevalent in the Afrikaans speaking community, particularly with relation to gender?

The frequency of occurrence was analysed using the Words tool, and the findings of the frequency analysis highlighted that the HCSA contains more masculine nouns

(terms that refer to men) than feminine nouns (terms that refer to women). The findings also indicated that sub-corpora two and three (1941-1980) appeared to be a period of heightened gendered language use in the HCSA. The time period contained more instances of feminine noun usage, and the negative lemma *hoer* ('whore') occurred more frequently.

The statistically significant collocations were identified using the GraphColl tool, and the findings of the collocation analysis indicated that feminine nouns frequently co-occurred with their masculine equivalents. The findings also indicated that a specific order of precedence, namely where the masculine noun is placed before the feminine noun, was evident from the HCSA. This denotes the perceived importance of men over women. The collocation analysis further found that the adjectival collocates for the feminine, masculine and epicene nouns placed emphasis on different aspects of those nouns. Collocating adjectives emphasise appearance with feminine nouns, physical strength and character with masculine nouns, and social groupings with epicene nouns.

The context and patterns of use of the nouns were further investigated using the KWIC tool and concordance lines. The findings in this section mostly reinforced the findings of both the frequency and collocation analyses, adding context to the statistical findings. This context showed a reinforcement of the order of precedence, the familial connections of feminine adjectival collocates, and the reiteration of the importance of women's appearance. The analysis of the HCSA, with relation to sociocultural and sociohistorical factors, indicated that the *Zeitgeist* of the Afrikaans language community had indeed changed throughout the period of 1911-2010.

In the next chapter there will be a discussion of the objective and main research question of the study, including what steps were followed to investigate the objective and answer the research question. Further, the findings of the data analysis will be discussed and the contribution of this study to the field of research will be put forward. The limitations of the current research will also be outlined and recommendations for possible further research will be put forward based on the results of this study and by observing gaps in the existing research that could benefit from more thorough study.

5. Conclusion

In the previous chapter the results of the data analysis were discussed, including the results of the frequency analysis, the collocation analysis and the concordance lines. The findings were examined and the main findings were explored with reference to existing literature. If literature discussing a particular pattern was limited this was noted.

This chapter starts with a summary of the study in Section 5.1 by stating the research question and sub-questions and then indicating how these research question(s) were answered. The conclusions that can be drawn from this study are discussed in Section 5.2, and in Section 5.3 recommendations for future work will be made. Section 5.4 concludes the study with some final remarks.

5.1 Summary

The objective set at the start of this research study was to investigate what written Afrikaans had historically been 'telling' its readers about gender, and specifically about women. In order to investigate this a main research question was formulated, and three subsidiary questions were also constructed. The main research question formulated was: How are women historically portrayed in written Afrikaans in the time period ranging from 1911-2010?

The three subsidiary questions were:

- 1) Has the frequency distribution of Afrikaans feminine nouns changed in the Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans?

- 2) What are the most significant collocates, and what are the patterns of use of feminine nouns in the Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans?
- 3) Can the findings of the first two questions be explained by sociocultural factors prevalent in the Afrikaans speaking community, particularly with relation to gender?

In Chapter 2, the theoretical framework used to investigate the objective was outlined as language and gender research. The research study was situated in this field as the linguistic depiction of gender is the central premise of the study. The field of language and gender research contextualised the study by providing various definitions of gender, detailing the interconnectedness between language and gender, and providing an overview of the current research available in the field of language and gender research. The working definition of gender for this study was outlined as – gender as an enactment and as a product of social construction. The theoretical framework provided various examples of how gender is an enactment and a product of sociocultural interactions, including discussing research in English and other languages and characterising research available for Afrikaans.

In Chapter 3, the methodological framework used to answer, the research question was identified as corpus linguistics. Corpus linguistics was chosen as a methodology because the study made use of historical texts – which needed to be effectively evaluated and this was done through historical corpora. A historical corpus can be mined for historical data and the data can then be subjected to statistical tests, corpus linguistics also ensures that the research study is quantifiable and reproducible. A mixed methods approach was employed to evaluate the data both quantitatively and

qualitatively, the empirical data was contextualised through the theoretical framework of language and gender research.

The research methodology further outlined the factors to consider when choosing an appropriate corpus to use for analysis. This was followed by the defining the attributes of historical corpora and indicating why a historical corpus was appropriate for this study. The Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans (HCSA) (compiled by Kirsten [2016]), the corpus chosen for analysis, was characterised by delineating the texts present in the corpus and the limitations of the corpus. The process of analysing a corpus was described, including the software programmes available (the Lancaster University corpus toolbox [#LancsBox] was chosen for this research) and the various statistical tests that can be performed. The methodology also detailed the methods used in the study, from obtaining the nouns to be analysed, to the steps followed to produce the results in #LancsBox.

The data analysis and findings were discussed in Chapter 4. The data analysis aimed to answer the three sub-questions regarding frequency, collocation, and context and patterns of use. The data analysis described the results from three #LancsBox tools in the corpus analysis. The Words tool was used to conduct the frequency analysis, to determine the frequency and change of the feminine, masculine and epicene nouns (addressing the first sub-question). The frequency analysis identified how often the nouns on the Working List (Table 3.5) occurred within each sub-corpus. The sub-corpora for a particular noun group (e.g. feminine nouns) were then compared to determine whether the frequency distribution of the nouns had changed across the time period. The noun groups were also compared to one another to ascertain what

the differences in frequency distribution was between the noun groups. The results were recorded in the corresponding frequency tables (Table 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3).

The GraphColl tool was used to conduct the collocation analysis, to determine the statistically significant collocations of the nouns addressing the second sub-question (see above). The collocation analysis identified the most statistically significant collocates for each noun (disregarding words that occurred frequently in each sub-corpus on their own, e.g. articles and prepositions). The list of collocations for each noun was recorded, and the collocates that lent the most meaning to the context and patterns of use were identified. The collocations were recorded in Appendix 1-12.

Concordance lines were run to determine the context and patterns of use of the nouns, also addressing sub-question two (see above). Following the collocation analysis, concordance lines were run for each noun to ascertain the broader context and use of the noun. Examples of the concordance lines were recorded in Appendix 13-24. The collocation analysis and concordance lines allowed for the qualitative interpretation of the gendered and epicene nouns.

The findings of the data analysis were discussed with relation to sociocultural and sociohistorical factors, addressing sub-question three (see above). Through the exploration of previous language and gender studies, it was apparent that gender stereotypes are often perpetuated through language and a change in linguistic choices can indicate a change in *Zeitgeist* of a language community. With relation to gender, the increasing proliferation of different forms of media (first print, then television, followed by the internet and social media) brought about continual and substantial

changes worldwide with regard to the notions of 'gender'. The analysis of the HCSA indicated that the *Zeitgeist* of the Afrikaans language community had changed throughout the period of the HCSA.

5.2 Conclusions

The below conclusions can be drawn from the study with relevance to the research questions. With regard to the first question, whether the frequency distribution of Afrikaans feminine nouns has changed in the HCSA, the frequency of the feminine nouns decreased from sub-corpus one to sub-corpus four. The frequency of the masculine nouns remained consistent throughout the sub-corpora, with masculine nouns increasingly being used to refer to women in sub-corpus four. This points to a move toward gender parity (a move toward equality, but not yet equality).

Concerning the second question, what the most significant collocates, and what the patterns of use of feminine nouns in the HCSA are, the most significant collocates with feminine nouns were adjectival collocates, the equivalent masculine nouns, and possessive pronouns and determiners. Furthermore, the contexts and patterns of use indicated that women were frequently referred to with reference to men, and the references highlighted an order of precedence where men were placed before women. The feminine nouns were frequently associated with negative connotations, emphasising women's bodies, appearance, sexuality and the control of women's sexuality. The lexically marked terms referring to women were also associated with negative adjectives.

In regard to the third question, whether the findings of the first two questions can be explained by sociocultural factors prevalent in the Afrikaans speaking community, it was observed that the HCSA often portrayed women as being referred to through their relationship with men, as being on unequal footing to men and being described with less than desirable adjectives. However, the corpus also revealed that in sub-corpus four, which coincides with the advent of the internet, there has been a move toward gender parity. As a caveat it should once again be noted that generalisations to Afrikaans as a whole should be avoided, as the findings specifically relate to the HCSA.

A mixed methods approach was used to analyse the data using the methodology of corpus linguistics. The methodology was efficient, verifiable and replicable. Descriptive statistics allowed for the description of the data obtained through the corpus analysis, and allowed for the dataset to be described and visualised. The static methods of frequency and MI Score made it easier to interpret the data in the qualitative analysis.

The qualitative analysis focused on the context of the nouns and the patterns of use of the nouns. By combining the quantitative and qualitative analyses recurring themes could be identified, such as the pejorative adjectival collocates of feminine nouns that were evident in the collocation analysis and the concordance lines. The methodology was suitable for this research as it allowed for an in-depth investigation of the research questions, while providing both statistical data and sociocultural background.

While completing the study certain difficulties were encountered, for example procuring a corpus to conduct the research was challenging as the parameters for the

ideal corpus were very specific. The corpus had to be a static diachronic corpus that contained texts from various periods. The corpus had to be large enough to ensure validity, but a corpus that is too large would not fit the specific purposes of the study either.

Another difficulty was determining which corpus analysis software programme to use when analysing the corpus. Certain software programmes have advanced tools for analysing and displaying data, however they are often more complex to work and require paid licences. Other software programmes are easier to work with and do not require licenses, however they are often not capable of carrying out the variety of analysis tools and statistical tests.

5.3 Recommendations

Further research would benefit from the analysis of a larger corpus containing more texts, and more varied texts (including variety with regard to registers, genres and language variety/dialect). Moreover, as mentioned in Chapter 4, there is no literature available that discusses whether the period between 1941-1980 was a period of heightened gendered language use. Further research with more written and spoken data from this period may shed light on this matter. If possible, it would also be interesting to identify periods of heightened gendered language use, or periods of gender parity when more historical Afrikaans data become available.

Generally, studies in the area of Afrikaans language and gender research would benefit from further research in the field, as research in Afrikaans is limited (especially

compared to other languages). Furthermore, studies that utilise corpus linguistics as a methodology would be beneficial as these studies produce quantifiable and reproducible data.

Many of the feminine nouns were not present in any of the sub-corpora, in Section 4.4 a possible explanation was outlined as the relegation of women to female subcultures where they were not as visible. This pattern would benefit from further research. Another pattern that would benefit from further investigation is that the most significant collocations to the feminine nouns were the corresponding masculine equivalents. Literature discussing this particular pattern is currently not well known, since previous research generally focused on adjectival collocates.

5.4 Conclusion

This study investigated what written Afrikaans had historically been ‘telling’ its readers about gender, and specifically about women. The research explored the frequency, collocation and concordance lines of feminine, masculine and epicene nouns in the Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans (Kirsten 2016) from 1911-2010.

The findings of the study pointed to Afrikaans’ movement toward gender parity. With the *Zeitgeist* of the Afrikaans language community changing throughout the period of the HCSA. The frequency of the feminine nouns decreased across the period, with masculine nouns increasingly used to refer to women. The most statistically significant collocates emphasised the overall precedence of masculine nouns over feminine

nouns. Finally, women were frequently described pejoratively with unfavourable adjectival collocates and the concordance lines indicated this linguistic inequality.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Collocation Analysis Feminine Nouns (1911-1920)

Most Significant Collocates (1911-1920)				
Lemma or most frequent word form	Position	Collocate	MI Score	Frequency (collocation)
<i>vrou</i>	L	<i>man</i>	6.75	13
	L	<i>sijn</i>	6.30	16
	L	<i>sij</i>	5.23	22
	L	<i>ou</i>	4.96	5
	R	<i>weer</i>	4.54	5
	M	<i>mij</i>	4.429	6
	L	<i>hij</i>	3.80	11
<i>ma</i>	L	<i>pa</i>	9.35	10
	-	<i>ma</i>	8.97	6
	L	<i>haar</i>	5.84	7
	L	<i>mij</i>	5.11	5
<i>dogter</i>	L	<i>haar</i>	6.37	6
	L	<i>sy</i>	5.28	7
<i>suster</i>	L	<i>broeders</i>	11.98	5
<i>meisie</i>	M	<i>dat</i>	4.54	8
	L	<i>'n</i>	4.35	18
<i>dame</i>	R	<i>here</i>	10.00	7
<i>moeder</i>	R	<i>h'r</i>	10.52	5
	L	<i>vader</i>	6.69	8
	R	<i>kind</i>	6.17	7
	L	<i>mijn</i>	5.72	5
	L	<i>jou</i>	5.26	6
	L	<i>haar</i>	4.88	11
<i>ouma</i>	L	<i>oupa</i>	10.17	5
<i>vriendin</i>	-			
<i>bruid</i>	-			
<i>mejuffrou</i>	-			
<i>tannie</i>	R	<i>breggie</i>	11.73	8
	R	<i>mina</i>	11.53	8
	R	<i>antjie</i>	11.53	5
	R	<i>sannie</i>	10.83	6

	L	<i>ou</i>	5.30	16
	L	<i>bij</i>	4.59	5
	M	<i>ik</i>	3.93	5
	R	<i>was</i>	3.71	6
	M	<i>sij</i>	3.70	9
joernaliste	not present in corpus			
weduwee	-			
eggenote	-			
nooi	not present in corpus			
klaagster	not present in corpus			
poppie	not present in corpus			
aktrise	not present in corpus			
maagd	L	<i>die</i>	3.94	27
onderwyseres	-			
sangeres	not present in corpus			
niggie	-			
kleindogter	-			
skoonma	not present in corpus			
hoer	not present in corpus			
koningin	-			
boervrou	-			
presidente	not present in corpus			
skryfster	not present in corpus			
voorsitster	not present in corpus			
digteres	not present in corpus			
kunstenares	not present in corpus			
heldin	-			
bestuurderes	not present in corpus			

<i>profetes</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>direktrise</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>eienares</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>redaktrise</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>mevrou</i>	-			

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 2

Collocation Analysis Feminine Nouns (1941-1950)

Most Significant Collocates (1941-1950)				
Lemma or most frequent word form	Position	Collocate	MI Score	Frequency (collocation)
<i>vrou</i>	L	<i>man</i>	6.64	9
	L	<i>ou</i>	6.60	11
	L	<i>eerste</i>	5.66	6
	L	<i>sy</i>	5.45	58
	R	<i>se</i>	4.96	9
	L	<i>my</i>	4.37	7
<i>ma</i>	-			
<i>dogter</i>	L	<i>sy</i>	4.89	11
<i>suster</i>	-			
<i>meisie</i>	L	<i>daardie</i>	6.84	5
	L	<i>so</i>	5.18	5
	L	<i>sy</i>	3.47	5
<i>dame</i>	-			
<i>moeder</i>	L	<i>haar</i>	7.25	31
	L	<i>vader</i>	7.06	5
	L	<i>jou</i>	5.30	5
	L	<i>my</i>	5.03	8
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.23	18
	R	<i>ek</i>	3.94	7
<i>ouma</i>	R	<i>oupas</i>	16.70	6
<i>vriendin</i>	-			
<i>bruid</i>	-			
<i>mejuffrou</i>	-			
<i>tannie</i>	-			
<i>joernaliste</i>	-			
<i>weduwee</i>	-			
<i>eggenote</i>	-			
<i>nooi</i>	-			
<i>klaagster</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>poppie</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>aktrise</i>	not present in corpus			

maagd	not present in corpus			
onderwyseres	-			
sangeres	-			
niggie	-			
kleindogter	-			
skoonma	not present in corpus			
hoer	-			
koningin	-			
boervrou	-			
presidente	-			
skryfster	-			
voorsitster	-			
digteres	not present in corpus			
kunstenares	not present in corpus			
heldin	-			
bestuurderes	not present in corpus			
profetes	not present in corpus			
direktrise	not present in corpus			
eienares	-			
redaktrise	not present in corpus			
mevrou	R	<i>solomon</i>	12.00	9
	R	<i>viljoen</i>	10.35	7
	R	<i>botha</i>	10.07	6
	L	<i>geagte</i>	9.37	5

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 3

Collocation Analysis Feminine Nouns (1971-1980)

Most Significant Collocates (1971-1980)				
Lemma or most frequent word form	Position	Collocate	MI Score	Frequency (collocation)
<i>vrou</i>	L	<i>man</i>	6.45	6
	R	<i>se</i>	4.61	14
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.29	28
	R	<i>of</i>	3.87	7
	R	<i>haar</i>	3.82	7
<i>ma</i>	L	<i>pa</i>	7.33	13
	R	<i>huis</i>	6.77	8
	L	<i>haar</i>	6.27	36
	L	<i>sê</i>	6.20	19
	L	<i>wanneer</i>	5.78	5
	L	<i>jou</i>	5.59	9
	L	<i>sy</i>	5.12	47
	L	<i>kom</i>	5.08	9
	R	<i>se</i>	4.89	16
	M	<i>my</i>	3.97	6
	<i>dogter</i>	-		
<i>suster</i>	L	<i>haar</i>	5.81	6
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.27	6
<i>meisie</i>	-			
<i>dame</i>	-			
<i>moeder</i>	L	<i>vader</i>	7.63	5
	L	<i>my</i>	5.28	10
	L	<i>haar</i>	5.26	12
	R	<i>se</i>	4.78	10
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.13	16
<i>ouma</i>	L	<i>oupa</i>	10.98	
	R	<i>se</i>	5.19	
	L	<i>vir</i>	4.99	
	L	<i>sy</i>	3.87	
<i>vriendin</i>	-			
<i>bruid</i>	-			
<i>mejuffrou</i>	-			
<i>tannie</i>	R	<i>sarie</i>	12.50	
	R	<i>ek</i>	4.47	

joernaliste	not present in corpus			
weduwee	-			
eggenote	-			
nooi	-			
klaagster	not present in corpus			
poppie	-			
aktrise	-			
maagd	not present in corpus			
onderwyseres	-			
sangeres	-			
niggie	-			
kleindogter	-			
skoonma	-			
hoer	-			
koningin	-			
boervrou	not present in corpus			
presidente	-			
skryfster	-			
voorsitster	not present in corpus			
digteres	not present in corpus			
kunstenares	not present in corpus			
heldin	-			
bestuurderes	not present in corpus			
profetes	not present in corpus			
direktrise	not present in corpus			
eienares	-			
redaktrise	-			
mevrou	R	<i>lehmensich</i>	11.95	12

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 4

Collocation Analysis Feminine Nouns (2001-2010)

Most Significant Collocates (2001-2010)				
Lemma or most frequent word form	Position	Collocate	MI Score	Frequency (collocation)
<i>vrou</i>	L	<i>hosea</i>	8.34	5
	L	<i>man</i>	6.61	14
	L	<i>ou</i>	5.89	7
	L	<i>sy</i>	5.01	52
	L	<i>my</i>	4.62	17
	L	<i>se</i>	4.59	24
	M	<i>hom</i>	3.79	6
<i>ma</i>	L	<i>pa</i>	6.89	6
	L	<i>haar</i>	6.34	26
	L	<i>my</i>	5.94	25
	L	<i>sê</i>	5.59	10
	L	<i>toe</i>	4.90	10
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.60	23
	L	<i>se</i>	4.36	12
<i>dogter</i>	L	<i>hul</i>	7.36	5
	L	<i>haar</i>	6.44	6
	R	<i>se</i>	5.30	5
<i>suster</i>	-			
<i>meisie</i>	-			
<i>dame</i>	-			
<i>moeder</i>	L	<i>sy</i>	5.94	12
	L	<i>aan</i>	5.84	6
<i>ouma</i>	R	<i>tya</i>	11.99	12
	R	<i>fats</i>	11.99	7
	R	<i>dinkie</i>	11.99	6
	M	<i>haar</i>	5.20	8
	L	<i>toe</i>	4.45	5
	L	<i>my</i>	4.44	6
	R	<i>se</i>	3.91	6
	R	<i>ek</i>	3.86	7
	L	<i>sy</i>	3.44	7
<i>vriendin</i>	-			
<i>bruid</i>	-			
<i>mejuffrou</i>	-			

tannie	R	dickie	13.76	12
	R	mick	13.64	5
	L	sê	6.80	5
	R	se	5.30	5
joernaliste	-			
weduwee	-			
eggenote	not present in corpus			
nooi	-			
klaagster	not present in corpus			
poppie	-			
aktrise	-			
maagd	-			
onderwyseres	-			
sangeres	not present in corpus			
niggie	not present in corpus			
kleindogter	not present in corpus			
skoonma	-			
hoer	not present in corpus			
koningin	-			
boervrou	-			
presidente	-			
skryfster	not present in corpus			
voorsitster	not present in corpus			
digteres	not present in corpus			
kunstenares	not present in corpus			
heldin	not present in corpus			
bestuurderes	-			
profetes	not present in corpus			
direktrise	not present in corpus			

<i>eienares</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>redaktrise</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>mevrou</i>	R	<i>rooy</i>	13.08	7

Appendix 5

Collocation Analysis Masculine Nouns (1911-1920)

Most Significant Collocates (1911-1920)				
Lemma or most frequent word form	Position	Collocate	MI Score	Frequency (collocation)
man	R	<i>vrouw</i>	6.75	13
	L	<i>ag</i>	6.55	5
	L	<i>ou</i>	5.95	27
	L	<i>oë</i>	5.88	5
	L	<i>jong</i>	5.56	5
	R	<i>se</i>	5.07	11
	L	<i>haar</i>	4.73	17
	L	<i>elke</i>	4.50	5
	R	<i>jou</i>	4.48	6
	L	<i>sê</i>	4.13	9
	L	<i>sien</i>	3.90	5
	L	<i>mij</i>	3.73	10
	R	<i>jij</i>	3.67	6
	R	<i>sij</i>	3.33	16
pa	R	<i>ma</i>	9.35	10
	L	<i>mij</i>	6.44	16
	M	<i>sijn</i>	5.47	6
	L	<i>haar</i>	5.00	5
	L	<i>sij</i>	4.68	10
	M	<i>vir</i>	3.83	6
broer	L	<i>sij</i>	6.05	12
seun	L	<i>oudste</i>	9.70	7
	L	<i>haar</i>	6.25	11
	R	<i>van</i>	3.54	22
	R	<i>hij</i>	3.36	5
heer	R	<i>melius</i>	12.22	5
	R	<i>villiers</i>	10.90	6
	L	<i>brief</i>	7.62	6
vader	L	<i>syn</i>	7.29	5
	L	<i>myn</i>	7.25	5
	R	<i>moeder</i>	7.12	8
	R	<i>se</i>	6.50	12
	L	<i>haar</i>	5.41	11

	L	<i>toe</i>	4.59	8
	L	<i>sij</i>	4.54	15
	L	<i>sijn</i>	4.48	5
	R	<i>hom</i>	4.10	5
oupa	L	<i>lieve</i>	11.03	17
	R	<i>ouma</i>	10.31	5
	R	<i>dankie</i>	10.04	5
	R	<i>baie</i>	6.69	6
	L	<i>mij</i>	6.13	9
vriend	L	<i>sij</i>	4.47	5
bruidegom	L	<i>koms</i>	11.48	5
jongeheer	-			
oom	R	<i>hans</i>	10.39	11
	R	<i>klaas</i>	10.38	21
	R	<i>frikkie</i>	10.06	8
	R	<i>gert</i>	9.35	12
	R	<i>jan</i>	8.75	27
	R	<i>piet</i>	8.72	15
	R	<i>andries</i>	8.71	8
	L	<i>japie</i>	8.40	6
	L	<i>dankie</i>	8.25	5
	R	<i>nee</i>	7.21	8
	L	<i>se</i>	5.96	12
	L	<i>sê</i>	5.42	13
	R	<i>ou</i>	5.13	9
	R	<i>jou</i>	4.99	5
	R	<i>groot</i>	4.47	5
	L	<i>bij</i>	4.42	9
	R	<i>mij</i>	4.34	9
joernalist	-			
wewenaar	-			
eggenoot	-			
kêrel	-			
klaer	-			
ouens	not present in corpus			
akteur	not present in corpus			
onderwyser	R	<i>nie</i>	3.73	5
sanger	not present in corpus			
neef	R	<i>tjaart</i>	12.67	6

	L	<i>uw</i>	8.32	5
	L	<i>brief</i>	8.03	5
<i>kleinseun</i>	-			
<i>scoonpa</i>	-			
<i>koning</i>	R	<i>se</i>	6.75	8
	L	<i>hij</i>	3.36	5
<i>boer</i>	R	<i>hij</i>	4.11	8
	R	<i>sij</i>	3.86	5
<i>president</i>	-			
<i>skrywer</i>	-			
<i>voorsitter</i>	-			
<i>digter</i>	-			
<i>kunstenaar</i>	-			
<i>held</i>	-			
<i>bestuurder</i>	-			
<i>profeet</i>	-			
<i>direkteur</i>	-			
<i>eienaar</i>	-			
<i>redakteur</i>	-			
<i>meneer</i>	R	<i>sê</i>	6.45	8
	L	<i>ek</i>	5.47	6
	L	<i>ik</i>	5.06	8

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 6

Collocation Analysis Masculine Nouns (1941-1950)

Most Significant Collocates (1941-1950)				
Lemma or most frequent word form	Position	Collocate	MI Score	Frequency (collocation)
man	L	<i>dapper</i>	9.54	8
	L	<i>swart</i>	7.07	7
	L	<i>jong</i>	6.73	7
	R	<i>vrou</i>	6.64	9
	L	<i>ou</i>	5.58	10
	R	<i>teen</i>	5.27	9
	L	<i>haar</i>	5.03	17
	L	<i>ander</i>	4.53	10
	R	<i>se</i>	4.49	12
pa	R	<i>laat</i>	6.60	5
	R	<i>hom</i>	5.34	5
	R	<i>moet</i>	5.23	5
	R	<i>vir</i>	4.71	6
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.15	7
broer	R	<i>sagarias</i>	12.83	15
	L	<i>my</i>	5.49	5
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.65	11
seun	L	<i>ou</i>	6.45	9
	R	<i>se</i>	5.84	15
	L	<i>haar</i>	5.14	9
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.54	28
heer	-			
vader	R	<i>moeder</i>	7.06	5
	L	<i>haar</i>	5.91	18
	R	<i>se</i>	5.41	13
	L	<i>jou</i>	5.23	7
	L	<i>my</i>	5.18	13
	L	<i>sy</i>	5.00	45
oupa	-			
vriend	L	<i>my</i>	5.31	5
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.47	11
bruidegom	not present in corpus			

jongeheer	not present in corpus			
oom	R	<i>gielie</i>	11.06	5
	R	<i>giel</i>	10.74	5
	R	<i>hannes</i>	10.61	11
	R	<i>gert</i>	10.51	23
	R	<i>herman</i>	10.32	6
	R	<i>karel</i>	10.25	5
	R	<i>christoph</i>	9.89	5
	R	<i>johann</i>	9.60	5
	R	<i>tys</i>	9.47	5
	R	<i>klaas</i>	8.89	5
	R	<i>visser</i>	7.77	6
	R	<i>jan</i>	6.81	6
	R	<i>de</i>	6.14	6
	R	<i>se</i>	5.30	16
	R	<i>sê</i>	4.38	5
joernalis	-			
wewenaar	not present in corpus			
eggenoot	-			
kêrel	not present in corpus			
klaer	not present in corpus			
ouens	-			
akteur	not present in corpus			
onderwyser	-			
sanger	-			
neef	-			
kleinseun	-			
skoonpa	-			
koning	-			
boer	-			
president	R	<i>kruger</i>	11.01	22
skrywer	-			
voorsitter	-			
digter	-			
kunstenaar	-			
held	-			
bestuurder	-			

<i>profeet</i>	-			
<i>direkteur</i>	-			
<i>eienaar</i>	-			
<i>redakteur</i>	-			
<i>meneer</i>	-			

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 7

Collocation Analysis Masculine Nouns (1971-1980)

Most Significant Collocates (1971-1980)				
Lemma or most frequent word form	Position	Collocate	MI Score	Frequency (collocation)
<i>man</i>	L	<i>jong</i>	7.45	8
	R	<i>vrou</i>	6.46	6
	R	<i>kinders</i>	5.84	6
	L	<i>haar</i>	5.16	19
	L	<i>sê</i>	4.34	6
	L	<i>gaan</i>	4.27	7
	M	<i>my</i>	4.20	8
<i>pa</i>	M	<i>ann</i>	8.75	6
	R	<i>ma</i>	7.33	13
	R	<i>mos</i>	6.52	5
	L	<i>sê</i>	5.95	23
	R	<i>niks</i>	5.91	5
	R	<i>tog</i>	5.78	6
	R	<i>gee</i>	5.18	5
	L	<i>haar</i>	5.10	23
	L	<i>sy</i>	5.08	66
	R	<i>dis</i>	5.03	7
<i>broer</i>	L	<i>my</i>	6.22	7
	L	<i>haar</i>	5.71	6
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.59	8
<i>seun</i>	R	<i>andries</i>	9.73	6
	R	<i>god</i>	6.53	5
	L	<i>se</i>	5.80	17
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.97	24
<i>heer</i>	-			
<i>vader</i>	R	<i>moeder</i>	7.63	5
	R	<i>se</i>	5.56	17
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.91	27
	L	<i>haar</i>	4.50	7
	R	<i>hom</i>	4.48	5
	M	<i>hy</i>	3.92	10
<i>oupa</i>	R	<i>ouma</i>	10.98	13
	L	<i>dis</i>	6.48	5

	L	<i>my</i>	6.38	12
<i>vriend</i>	L	<i>sy</i>	5.57	10
<i>bruidegom</i>	-			
<i>jongeheer</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>oom</i>	R	<i>hennerik</i>	11.27	8
	R	<i>herklaas</i>	11.27	7
	R	<i>roelfie</i>	11.27	8
	R	<i>wynand</i>	11.27	6
	R	<i>gys</i>	11.00	5
	R	<i>piet</i>	9.00	5
	R	<i>johannes</i>	8.94	9
	L	<i>gaan</i>	5.30	11
	R	<i>se</i>	5.08	16
	R	<i>sê</i>	4.94	7
<i>joernalis</i>	-			
<i>wewenaar</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>eggenoot</i>	-			
<i>kêrel</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>klaer</i>	-			
<i>ouens</i>	-			
<i>akteur</i>	-			
<i>onderwyser</i>	-			
<i>sanger</i>	-			
<i>neef</i>	-			
<i>kleinseun</i>	-			
<i>skoonpa</i>	-			
<i>koning</i>	-			
<i>boer</i>	R	<i>hulle</i>	3.58	5
<i>president</i>	-			
<i>skrywer</i>	-			
<i>voorsitter</i>	M	<i>mnr</i>	8.31	6
<i>digter</i>	-			
<i>kunstenaar</i>	R	<i>seining</i>	10.78	10
	R	<i>lewe</i>	7.57	6
	R	<i>se</i>	5.54	7
<i>held</i>	-			
<i>bestuurder</i>	-			
<i>profeet</i>	-			
<i>direkteur</i>	R	<i>argiewe</i>	10.95	12

<i>eienaar</i>	-			
<i>redakteur</i>	-			
<i>meneer</i>	R	<i>preez</i>	13.10	8
	R	<i>meintjies</i>	10.96	5
	R	<i>du</i>	9.83	8

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 8

Collocation Analysis Masculine Nouns (2001-2010)

Most Significant Collocates (2001-2010)				
Lemma or most frequent word form	Position	Collocate	MI Score	Frequency (collocation)
<i>man</i>	L	<i>jong</i>	7.45	10
	R	<i>vrou</i>	6.61	14
	L	<i>ou</i>	6.59	16
	L	<i>haar</i>	5.30	30
	L	<i>goeie</i>	5.29	5
	L	<i>vra</i>	5.00	5
	M	<i>sê</i>	4.02	8
	L	<i>my</i>	3.95	15
	L	<i>jou</i>	3.79	11
<i>pa</i>	R	<i>ma</i>	6.87	6
	L	<i>my</i>	6.74	63
	R	<i>se</i>	4.95	26
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.94	42
	L	<i>sê</i>	4.91	9
	L	<i>haar</i>	4.70	12
	R	<i>hom</i>	4.61	9
<i>broer</i>	-			
<i>seun</i>	L	<i>jongste</i>	10.61	12
	L	<i>engelse</i>	8.92	6
	M	<i>se</i>	4.88	14
	L	<i>sy</i>	4.54	18
<i>heer</i>	-			
<i>vader</i>	L	<i>sy</i>	5.45	15
	R	<i>se</i>	4.57	5
<i>oupa</i>	-			
<i>vriend</i>	R	<i>familie</i>	10.60	6
	R	<i>arbeidsgenot</i>	10.19	5
<i>bruidegom</i>	-			
<i>jongeheer</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>oom</i>	R	<i>koot</i>	11.59	9
	R	<i>martin</i>	11.26	5
	R	<i>jannie</i>	10.84	8

	L	<i>ou</i>	6.74	6
	L	<i>baie</i>	4.90	5
	R	<i>se</i>	4.90	14
	L	<i>my</i>	4.78	9
<i>joernalis</i>	-			
<i>wewenaar</i>	-			
<i>eggenoot</i>	-			
<i>kêrel</i>	-			
<i>klaer</i>	-			
<i>ouens</i>	-			
<i>akteur</i>	-			
<i>onderwyser</i>	-			
<i>sanger</i>	-			
<i>neef</i>	-			
<i>kleinseun</i>	-			
<i>skoonpa</i>	-			
<i>koning</i>	-			
<i>boer</i>	-			
<i>president</i>	-			
<i>skrywer</i>	-			
<i>voorsitter</i>	-			
<i>digter</i>	-			
<i>kunstenaar</i>	-			
<i>held</i>	-			
<i>bestuurder</i>	-			
<i>profeet</i>	-			
<i>direkteur</i>	-			
<i>eienaar</i>	-			
<i>redakteur</i>	-			
<i>meneer</i>	-			

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 9

Collocation Analysis Epicene Nouns (1911-1920)

Most Significant Collocates (1911-1920)				
Lemma or most frequent word form	Position	Collocate	MI Score	Frequency (collocation)
<i>persoon</i>	-			
<i>ouer</i>	L	<i>hulle</i>	5.13	10
	L	<i>sij</i>	4.74	8
<i>kind</i>	L	<i>opvoeding</i>	7.35	6
	R	<i>leer</i>	6.59	7
	L	<i>onse</i>	5.76	8
	L	<i>haar</i>	5.01	12
	L	<i>se</i>	4.71	5
	L	<i>hulle</i>	4.70	23
	L	<i>sijn</i>	4.44	7
	L	<i>hul</i>	4.38	7
<i>hoof</i>	L	<i>sijn</i>	6.85	7
	L	<i>aan</i>	5.40	7
	L	<i>sij</i>	4.84	5
<i>baba</i>	-			
<i>individu</i>	-			
<i>personeel</i>	-			
<i>soldaat</i>	-			
<i>inwoner</i>	-			
<i>dokter</i>	-			
<i>student</i>	L	<i>afrikaanse</i>	7.59	5
<i>lid</i>	-			
<i>speler</i>	-			
<i>leerder</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>burger</i>	-			
<i>professor</i>	R	<i>lauwerijs</i>	12.07	5
	R	<i>dr</i>	9.91	18
<i>oorledene</i>	-			
<i>jongmense</i>	-			
<i>atleet</i>	-			
<i>vyand</i>	-			
<i>deelneemer</i>	-			
<i>besoeker</i>	-			

leser	-			
predikant	-			
kliënt	-			
ondersteuner	-			
minister	L	<i>eerste</i>	8.40	5
model	-			
kollega	-			
appellant	not present in corpus			
woordvoerder	not present in corpus			

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 10

Collocation Analysis Epicene Nouns (1941-1950)

Most Significant Collocates (1941-1950)				
Lemma or most frequent word form	Position	Collocate	MI Score	Frequency (collocation)
<i>persoon</i>	L	<i>enige</i>	6.97	7
	L	<i>elke</i>	5.72	5
	L	<i>een</i>	4.84	6
	L	<i>ander</i>	4.63	5
<i>ouer</i>	R	<i>hulle</i>	4.78	12
	L	<i>aan</i>	4.50	10
	L	<i>moet</i>	4.21	5
<i>kind</i>	L	<i>vrouens</i>	8.99	11
	R	<i>bring</i>	5.72	5
	L	<i>hul</i>	4.92	10
	L	<i>twee</i>	4.51	6
	R	<i>moes</i>	4.41	5
	L	<i>ons</i>	4.27	28
<i>hoof</i>	R	<i>ekonomie</i>	11.54	10
	R	<i>afdeling</i>	10.91	17
	L	<i>aan</i>	4.01	5
<i>baba</i>	-			
<i>individu</i>	-			
<i>personeel</i>	-			
<i>soldaat</i>	L	<i>ons</i>	4.47	5
<i>inwoner</i>	-			
<i>dokter</i>	-			
<i>student</i>	-			
<i>lid</i>	L	<i>verskillende</i>	6.87	6
	R	<i>dieselfde</i>	6.54	5
	R	<i>van</i>	4.45	66
<i>speler</i>	-			
<i>leerder</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>burger</i>	R	<i>republiek</i>	8.59	5
<i>professor</i>	R	<i>dr</i>	9.38	7
<i>oorledene</i>	-			
<i>jongmens</i>	-			
<i>atleet</i>	-			

vyand	-			
deelnemer	not present in corpus			
besoeker	-			
leser	-			
predikant	-			
kliënt	not present in corpus			
ondersteuner	-			
minister	-			
model	-			
kollega	-			
appellant	not present in corpus			
woordvoerder	-			

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 11

Collocation Analysis Epicene Nouns (1971-1980)

Most Significant Collocates (1971-1980)				
Lemma or most frequent word form	Position	Collocate	MI Score	Frequency (collocation)
<i>persoon</i>	L	<i>een</i>	5.94	6
<i>ouer</i>	L	<i>aannemende</i>	11.48	20
	R	<i>voor</i>	5.41	5
	L	<i>se</i>	4.88	11
<i>kind</i>	L	<i>ouer</i>	7.63	6
	L	<i>vroue</i>	7.05	5
	L	<i>leer</i>	6.72	7
	L	<i>jong</i>	6.25	5
	L	<i>man</i>	5.84	6
	L	<i>my</i>	4.38	13
	R	<i>laat</i>	4.34	5
	L	<i>jou</i>	4.30	6
	M	<i>groot</i>	4.27	6
	R	<i>hulle</i>	4.22	21
<i>hoof</i>	-			
<i>baba</i>	-			
<i>individu</i>	R	<i>enige</i>	9.13	5
<i>personeel</i>	L	<i>veiligheidsplek</i>	10.87	5
<i>soldaat</i>	-			
<i>inwoner</i>	-			
<i>dokter</i>	-			
<i>student</i>	-			
<i>lid</i>	-			
<i>speler</i>	-			
<i>leerder</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>burger</i>	R	<i>outeur</i>	10.79	8
	L	<i>bron</i>	9.95	8
<i>professor</i>	R	<i>rousseau</i>	13.01	6
<i>oorledene</i>	not present in corpus			
<i>jongmens</i>	-			
<i>atleet</i>	-			
<i>vyand</i>	-			

deelnemer	-			
besoeker	-			
leser	-			
predikant	-			
kliënt	not present in corpus			
ondersteuner	-			
minister	L	<i>edele</i>	10.46	5
	R	<i>opvoeding</i>	9.39	7
	R	<i>sake</i>	8.91	6
	R	<i>nasionale</i>	8.85	9
	L	<i>eerste</i>	7.10	11
	R	<i>mnr</i>	6.71	6
model	-			
kollega	-			
appellant	not present in corpus			
woordvoerder	-			

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 12

Collocation Analysis Epicene Nouns (2001-2010)

Most Significant Collocates (2001-2010)				
Lemma or most frequent word form	Position	Collocate	MI Score	Frequency (collocation)
<i>persoon</i>	M	<i>een</i>	6.18	6
<i>ouer</i>	R	<i>dikwels</i>	7.69	5
	R	<i>kinders</i>	6.36	5
	M	<i>hul</i>	6.32	8
	L	<i>haar</i>	5.14	8
	R	<i>moet</i>	5.09	7
	L	<i>se</i>	4.44	9
	M	<i>my</i>	4.37	6
	L	<i>hulle</i>	3.96	6
<i>kind</i>	R	<i>gewoonlik</i>	6.59	5
	L	<i>jong</i>	6.43	5
	L	<i>ouers</i>	6.37	5
	L	<i>leer</i>	6.23	7
	L	<i>help</i>	5.75	6
	L	<i>hul</i>	5.55	16
	R	<i>goed</i>	4.97	5
	R	<i>geen</i>	4.79	5
	L	<i>meer</i>	4.55	12
	L	<i>jou</i>	4.40	17
	L	<i>twee</i>	4.29	6
	M	<i>hulle</i>	4.06	22
	L	<i>ander</i>	3.90	7
<i>hoof</i>	R	<i>bied</i>	10.32	5
<i>baba</i>	R	<i>slaap</i>	7.95	5
	L	<i>jou</i>	6.28	16
	R	<i>haar</i>	4.92	6
<i>individu</i>	-			
<i>personeel</i>	-			
<i>soldaat</i>	-			
<i>inwoner</i>	-			
<i>dokter</i>	-			
<i>student</i>	-			
<i>lid</i>	-			
<i>speler</i>	-			

leerder	-			
burger	-			
professor	-			
oorledene	not present in corpus			
jongmens	-			
atleet	-			
vyand	-			
deelnemer	-			
besoeker	-			
leser	-			
predikant	-			
kliënt	not present in corpus			
ondersteuner	-			
minister	L	<i>eerste</i>	8.89	8
model	L	<i>hierdie</i>	6.22	5
kollega	-			
appellant	not present in corpus			
woordvoerder	-			

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 13

Concordance Lines Feminine Nouns (1911-1920)

Excerpts Of Patterns Of Use (1911-1920)			
Lemma and Interesting Forms	Excerpt Of Concordance Lines		
vrou (<i>vrouw, vrouwmens, vrouwtjie, vrouwestem, vrouw-mense, vrouwe-wêreld, vrouwefiguur, vrouwemonument</i>)	<p>voorvertrek versamel die et luide snikke van enkele Dit was Jan Breed met sijn n Willem Prinsloo met sijn kom, en 'n vlukse Engelse en het was weer Naas sijn rote stad moeg worde. Sij gepraat, buite groete van oodkis! Verwijder van mij</p>	<p>vrouwmense vroumense. vrouw, vrouw vrouw vrouw vrouw vrouw vrouw vrouw,</p>	<p>en spreek mēkaar fluistrend Sag drijf die laatste klanke v Maria en hul drie kinders, Lo Nellie, en hul drie kindertjes, saam gebreng het, toe grijp Susan die haar jonge skoons was ook 'n boere-dochter, e en kinnars, totdat hij in die d van mij kinnars, van mij werl</p>
ma (<i>mammie</i>)	<p>: aard so reg naar sijn had hulle ouers pa en "Ik weet niks van mij . In Kalie se oë was sijn kel opskop-Guneruis, nerins op die sofa, sijn gee antwoord:- - Ag, taarselwe op te win. - : set nou mij hoed op, re. - Sit nou eers stil, - Sit nou eers stil, ma. taak; daardie een wat et, is te afgedra. Haar</p>	<p>ma. Bijna wild van plesierigheid, wa ma te noem. Met al hulle gebreke, v ma en pa af nie," sê sijn. "Ik ma lieflik. Die manier wat sijn haar b ma se soet jongetje, laat nou die kl ma en ik op aparte stoele. Ik was ma ons het nog baie tijd. - Dis al Ma weet dat die oorlosie drie kwart ma en ek kom. Getroos gaat mevrou ma. Ma moet mooi lijk as Marcel var Ma moet mooi lijk as Marcel vandaç ma op het, is te afgedra. Haar ma ma wil eers teenstribbel, maar laat</p>	
dogter (<i>dogter, dogtertje, dochter, dochtertjes, boere-dochter</i>)	<p>sij al 'n paar maal met haar wet, en vir hom en sijn twee sal ons die ou en sijn twee ulle mischien naar die ou se het; en die portret van haar 'aag gesien dat haar enigste i die Britse leër, stap met sijn :oe hij aan brekfis sit met sijn ruk, die goedkeuring van sijn komstig die begeerte van sijn g wandel die kolonel met sijn</p>	<p>dogter, dogters dogters dogters dogter dogter dogter dogter; dogter dogter, dogter</p>	<p>Hester, probeer praat, want sijn i in te breng dorp toe." "Nou toe, vang en inbreng. Maar dit het nie gaan vrij?" vra Dolf, wat so diep Thérèse, 'n klein meisie van twaa ook gelukkig moes wees in die li Lydia af bij die hotel Beauveau, c "as dit nie so ver was nie, wegdra. Verruk deur hierdie onv dat die kaptein nie ander passas die strate deur. Daar ontmoet hu</p>
suster (<i>zuster, susters</i>)	<p>Die Engelse groet die twee pe wat hij opgetel het. Die vir Hettie en Lettie, sijn twee n die rose en tulpe, wat sijn jij nou stil," sê sijn, "tot jou e daarna haar welgestelde oes gewag word vir Jan se ar nie: dog lijk na broer of ik en ook aanstekelik. Arm met sijn moeder en enige ander broer, same met 'n</p>	<p>susters susters susters, susters susters suster. suster, suster Suster suster suster,</p>	<p>ewe beleëfd, (tant Sannie het ook vei wou nog mooi praat maar toen hulle die 'n hele jaar weg gewees was om die Katjepiering-bos geplant het hier is! Jij loop rond so's 'n Die vier oorige broers sou nou die sou die begrafnis maar eers Vrijdag van bang. Dog bang is dit nie, ek is haar zo jammer zij is (sijn vader was enige jare dood), om geword het is nie bekend nie. "Ou</p>

meisie <i>(meisje, meisies)</i>	die lijk van 'n ongelukkige ders 'n biesonderlike mooi y sigself, dat daardie klein esoek het onder die Boere die plaas aan. Al die mooi ijs daar nie die hoof van 'n boerewoning, was 'n jong ie stoep kom, kom uit daar 'n	meissie meisie meisie meisies meisies meisie meisie meisie	gekrij wat in agtien stukke gesnij van 'n jaar of twaalf; haar donker nog een dag die jong kerels om in die omtrek van Hartebeestfont en flukse jonkmans in die omgew op uit die vlam van die lamp? baje besig. Sij het al die melk van omtrent veertien jaar uit die l
dame <i>(dames, dametjie, dames-wijn)</i>	medelede van die Akademie, sien. Mevr. van der Merwe, 'n roud met 'n flukse Afrikaanse paar pèrde, terwijl die jonge deur 'n skare van gevederde rplig is om twee twee te loop, i Mej. Sannie Metelerkamp, 'n het, in plaas van die van 'n ar 'n klein stiltetjie en die ouë op volg. Weer glimlag die ouë	dames dame dame dames dames, dame dame dame dame dame	en here!- Dit spijt mij dat F van gesonde voorkome, en die hy uitgesoek het onder hul met koffie, tertjies, soet op die werf rond, en laat n en heer. Die krans en die k wat al veel geskrijwe het er van vijf-en-sewentig. Op h sê glimlaggend: "Nee kind, ewentjies. "Kinders," sê sij,
moeder <i>(moeders, moedertaal, moedermelk)</i>	dogter (cf. dialek) van haar dialek) van haar moeder (cf. terwijl sij ter selfder tijd die tweevoudige sinspreuk, "Vir die kleinen bevreesd naar reesd skaar die kinders om as 'n suster van Hettie haar is en dat mieliepap nie die	moeder moedertaal) moeder Moedertaal moeder moeder moeder moedermelk	(cf. moedertaal) genoem word genoem word, terwijl sij ter se (cf. taal) van haar eie dogters en Vaderland", kon hij die kra of vader laat terugdeins; daar en vader. Nou het dit 'n bietje en het kort vóór die oorlog na is waarop hij groot geword he
ouma	gaat het met oupa en roete aan Oom Piet en ueste wens en aan u en i die kinders. Ook aan et veel liefde aan u en . Mij beste groete aan	ouma Ouma Ouma Ouma. Ouma Ouma	moeder hiert nog 5 kuikens n Met veel liefde aan uzelfen V. Van uw verlangende Bettie Die riejkste zege wens en, van ons allen Uw liefhebbend en Oupa, van liefhebbende B
vriendin <i>(vriendinne)</i>	ook aan Usel. van Uw uw Van U liefhebbende tie Perel. Mij zendeling noeder Bly ek jou liewe n huis tot huis. U beste em tegemoet met haar	vriendin Vriendin vriendinne vriendin vriendin vriendinne.	Isie K. Smuts <h Datum=1912 Maggie Marlo 13.6.1915 <h C en ek het net al zwaar gevoel R.S.Steyn <h Datum=1919> < Susie Madeira Huis Plein Straat Dan gaan hulle saam na die b
bruid	lpartijtjie vir 'n jonge verwag dat so'n jong rter en meer gesette ndskoene en als die die koms af van die hulle hulp-diens. Die	bruid. bruid bruid bruid bruid bruid	Dit word immers altijd ver so mooi moontlik sal lijk! E raai om die owerrok liewe haar handskoen afhaal om met haar stroomeisie. Die word ingebrenge deur haar
mejuffrou <i>(Mej.)</i>	siektes ontslae te raak, en teriaal deur haar vader en .Iewe, ag! ekskuus ik meen an die bekwame hand van at die sagte grijs hare van . "O! jij kan ook nog praat,	Mejuffrou Mejuffrou mejuffrouw, Mej. Mej. Mej.	Bleek vertel die skrywer d Lloyd versamel, daar 'n st ik moet nou gaan." Maar r Sannie Metelerkamp, 'n d Malan soos kapok lijk, ter Plessis, en vóór ons strij, s
tannie <i>(tant, tante)</i>	dit nog met Oom en an altijd? Moeder en eure was had bij en s sij plek. Daar brag in dan roep hij naar deursoek nie. Hij en Kort daarna verskijn idhou. Langs hom sit ie uitrek en toestoot.	Tante?" Tante Tant Tant Tant Tant Tant tant Tant	"Nee, goed, dankie! Hoe g en ook in die skool?" "Dit w Sannie 'n stukkie gelees, 'r Sannie hom sij koffie, en d Sannie in die kombuis "Ou Sannie had self Nooitgeda Sannie in die voordeur, -n Bettie, haar skoot uitgespr Bettie was groot en vet, die

joernaliste	not present in corpus	
weduwee (weduwees, boereweduwee)	nooipraat dat hulle die weduwee bij die Politieke Raad aar wing gevoeg dat as die weduwee nog langer wederstrewig ig jaar daarna met die weduwee Greyling-De Wet gehuwd te, Lenie Greyling, die wedu-wee van Jan Greyling, wat hier ige regter en die arme weduwe." Ik sal de meester reg dor	
eggenote	gekom het met sy latere eggenote, Lenie Greyling, die wedu-wee v	
nooi (nooiens)	Koloniale vriende mij moet nooi, toen sou Niekie mij bietjie nooiens et ons op Vlakpoort bij die nooiens ook moes soebat nie-een nooi g niks. Met eens spring die nooi alleen en seg mij dat ik die nooi l ons kan gesels al speel 'n nooi	maar dit was altijd verniet. Wie toe vat, want hij het self nie aangekom. Hoe ik die dinner d sover dat sij voor die klavier ga voor die klavier op, kijk mij aar beledig het omdat ik gepraat h bij ons "Swart Skaap" of „Frikka
klaagster	not present in corpus	
poppie	not present in corpus	
aktrise	not present in corpus	
maagd (maagde, maagdelike)	I moet ons let:- I. Op die maagde an die Bruidegom. II. Die maagde in die Bruidegom. III. Die maagde enwoordig deur die tien maagde, kenis te hegte is aan die „maagde”, t of die Kerk hier in haar maagdelike	vóór die koms van die Bruidegom met die koms van die Bruidegom na die koms van die Bruidegom. gaan die hemelse Bruidegom, Ki dan skyn dit of die Kerk hier staat word voorgestel. Die ewige
onderwyseres (onderwyseresse)	Minie binne, die jonge onderwyseres Maar onderwyzers en onderwyseresse	met haar vrolike gelaat. moet gewillig wees om 'i
sangeres	not present in corpus	
niggie (nig)	Sarie! hoe gaan dit?" "Dag nig g net die sonnietjie op. Sit niggie. lan nie uitgekome nie?", "Ja nig huis laat weg neem." "Nee niggie, ar inklim. Maar glo vir mij niggie,	Netta! nee dit gaan nog heeltema: Ek het jou gister al die hele Sarie, ek het jou belowe om o'er is nie die ding nie, dis iets dit is die eerste, maar ook die
kleindogter	moderator van die kerk. Sij is die kleindogter	van die rijkste boer in die rijkste
skoonma	not present in corpus	
hoer	not present in corpus	
koningin	skrywer Multatuli een van sij persone, koningin	Louise, die saak keurig en i
boervrou (boervrouw)	Patrone> <h Bron=Die Boervrouw> <h Uteur=Onbekend> Die Boervrouw <h Uteur=Onbekend> Die Boervrouw het laas gevra naar patrone <h Uteur=F.W. Reitz> (let: <h Bron=Die Boervrouw> <h Uteur=Laffnie> Alles v <h Bron=Die Boervrouw> <h Uteur=H.E. King> Die	
presidente	not present in corpus	
skryfster	not present in corpus	
voorsitster	not present in corpus	
digteres	not present in corpus	
kunstenares	not present in corpus	
heldin (heldinne)	en dogters van helde en heldinne, van sij lewe 'n held of 'n heldin. volk! Wie kan vergeet die heldinne	van manne wat op slagveld Sij leer hulle gevare ken en van Suidafrika! As daar iets
bestuurderes	not present in corpus	

profetes	not present in corpus		
direktrise	not present in corpus		
eienares	not present in corpus		
redaktrise	not present in corpus		
mevrouw (mevrouw)	afhang oor haar gesig, staat ian sonder al te veel moeite. na, en ek kom. Getroos gaat n half ag. En dis daarom dat krij en so hard te draf dat	mevrouw Mevrouw mevrouw mevrouw mevrouw	Kibert te wag in haar voorka Kibert is al taamlik oud, kori Kibert weer sit. Sij laat haar Kibert sig vandag twee ure t Kibert bangerig word. Agter

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 14

Concordance Lines Feminine Nouns (1941-1950)

Excerpts Of Patterns Of Use (1941-1950)			
Lemma and Interesting Forms	Excerpt Of Concordance Lines		
vrou (<i>vroue, vrouens, vrouemonument, vrouemens, vrouefederasia, vrouesiektes, vrouemensagtigheid, vroulike, vroukje</i>)	sagmoedigheid teenoor sy tweede vroue. "En tog onredelik soos sy hy haar lief, soos hy sy eerste n nie, gedurende die siekte van sy n plaasonderwyser Hendriks en sy <h weglating> Dat so 'n man sy sy (Hendrik se) siel van wat sy	vrou. vrou vrou vrou, vrou vrou vrou	En dit is meer as net 'n is, het hy haar lief, soos hy miskien nie liefgehad het nie." Maa die roomafskeier draai nie of die d Nancy. Hendriks is hier die romant gruwelik moet verwaarloos, spreek al die tyd moes deurgestaan het."
ma (<i>mams, mammie</i>)	: al net so lank as haar huis-toe skryf en haar ns ry nou huis-toe. Jou i 'n ondervinding uit sy an Hospitaal toe om sy dit kan ek sien," sê sy	ma ma ma ma ma ma	is. „Toe vir jou!" antwoord Ignaas. „A hulle alles daarvan vertel. VII 'n Skieli wag seker al op ons om te se afwesigheid gesmaak waarna hy l te besoek, hoogs tevrede met homse Tante Annette en nog 'n deftige dame
dogter (<i>dogters, dogtertjie, dogterkon</i>)	, sy vrou tante Sarie en hul , wil hy dat sy sagsinnige :ryke kêrel trou. Sy ander ins en word daar deur sy	dogter dogter dogter, dogter	Maria- tot die bywonerstand gebring Hannie met 'n onbenullige maar skat die impulsiewe Susie, word oorromp Maria op die pad van studie gebring.
suster (<i>sussie, sustertjie, susters</i>)	herhaalde rusies met sy afel vir die broertjies en is? En as ek nog 'n mooi ap reeds lankal en haar onnie probeer haar ouer der: „Jy sien, Nonnie, ou ka vir haar: „Nonnie, my e oë smeer nie. Sy is jou	susters, sussies suster suster suster sus, sussie, sussie,"	die stille verdriet van sy moeder, die wat skooltoe moet gaan... Oom Stoff gehad het by wie jy kon kom met dié se dogtertjie is in die troos. „Maar sê nou net hy kom Tienka wou gisteraand my been trel Burrie is die slimste mansmens wat vermaan Burrie vir Tienka. „Laat ha
meisie (<i>meisies, meisiemens</i>)	wat daar tussen die van die beeld van 'n c: hoe kan so 'n jong :ting met 'n vreemde is daardie vreemde tuinpaadjie kom die	meisie meisie meisie meisie meisie meisie	en die Engelsman was, kon sy nie met byna bo-aardse skoonheid. 'n aan 'n ou man soveel vryheid veroo het meegewerk om die professor te wat hier op ons werf rondwaal?" „I wat hulle nou net bespreek, aange
dame (<i>dames, damestehuis, dameskoshuis, damesrokke, dametjie</i>)	na die meisie uit. „Jong fgunstige blikke wat die . Dis van Klara Hefer, 'n .nnette en nog 'n deftige n nog regmaak!" 'n Paar raag vir Elisabeth in die 5 jaar (vroue) (getroude	dame, dames dame dame dames dames dames	ek moet jou gelukwens met jou d op Adèle werp. Dog toe hy haar in die personeel en 'n besondere sit ook daar. Hy hoor sy ma stap agter hulle verby die kantier Wolff en Deken wou interesseer. uitgesluit.) wat twee jaar aaneenl

moeder (moedertaal, moederplant, moederskant, moeder, moederregte)	die agterdeur staan hul we Sebastian se geliefde er die opvoeding van hul lena Wulkens as tweede as 'n hulp, hoewel haar r die man en vrou en ou ; wat hy sê, verstaan die sy dit nie doen nie. Haar	moeder moeder, moeder. moeder moeder moeder moeder moeder	en haar oë kyk weg oor die en 'n jaar later sy vader. Sy Vir hul ontwil was Bach twee jaar gegee. Die jong vrou het Barbara haar dit nooit laat agterkom nie. saans ná boeke-vat bed-toe gaa byna niks nie. Sy is gans versonk slaap reeds lankal en haar suster
ouma (oumas)	vaar en weg te vlug na haar boortesertifikate van albei jou jou oumas en oupas. Dan die boortesertifikate van albei jou jou oumas en oupas. Dan die	ouma oumas oumas oumas oumas	toe; maar daardie galbittere v en oupas. Dan die oumas en en oupas se trousertifikate. D en oupas. Dan die oumas en en oupas se trousertifikate. D
vriendin (vriendinne)	s het toe so soort van Ek dink dat die twee roor sy huwelik aan 'n roor sy huwelik aan 'n twee-moeder van 'n ek het die stigters hul	vriendinne vriendinne vriendin vriendin vriendin vriendinne	geword. Sy hou nogal van my." in die algemeen veels te maklik uit Midde-Afrika geskrywe, „sal uit Midde-Afrika geskrywe, „sal wat junior-studente aan die Un van die groot werk vertel en so
bruid (bruidjie)	net als 'n jonkman na syn bekende feit dat duisende aisel waarom 'n bloesende	bruid, bruidjies bruidjie	als hy haar ou'ers gevraag het. jaarliks moet ingespuut word ni binne enige weke of maande n
mejuffrou (mej)	Dr. O, die suster r onder die vroue J en die matrone nr. M.H. Pienaar, t die beeldskone die keer geval op	mej. mej. mej. mej. Mej. mej.	M, die werkster onder die J en die matrone mej. E. E E. Die stasie is in 1932 aa I.M. Murray, mnr. Ben Con Mathilde Konig getree. Sy Bettie du Toit, dogter van
tannie (tante, tant)	die nuwe dominee; ou in oom Gert en sy vrou Rooi-Stefaans, sy vrou	tante tant tant	Adriana in die kerk; oom Karel Maria. Op oom Gert se plaas w Sarie en hul dogter Maria- tot c
joernaliste (used as plural)	in die praktyk omsit; b.v. volk laat ontaard het, dat	joernaliste, joernaliste,	digters en beeldende kunstenaars. gegraduateerdes en ortodokse Christ
weduwee	van 1929-31 ervaar het. Die ; waardige dametjie, in swart	weduwee-moeder weduwee-	van 'n vriendin wat junior- drag met 'n wit kantjie orr
eggenote	van die eggenoot en tussen eggenoot en ry inkomste deur die	eggenote, eggenote eggenote	en om die inkomste van elk verdeel word, behalwe:- (a verdien van £42 per jaar ir
nooi (nooiens, nooientjie)	Jan. „Maar so 'n mooi m binne, kom binne," at, dink sy: „As hy my d gee wanneer ek jou el so trots dat ek so'n	nooi nooi nooi nooi nooi	is seker verloof. Nee- geen ringe Antonise vriendelik en maak die o om saam met hom uit te gaan, om een somer te kom kuier. Dan mag hê- ek dank Hom wat ons
klaagster			not present in corpus
poppie			not present in corpus
aktrise			not present in corpus
maagd			not present in corpus
onderwyseres	indruk kry dat dit vir sy noedig deur kritiek. Die te bespoedig, moet die Toe was sy 'n paar jaar de Konig getree. Sy was	onderwyseres onderwyseres onderwyseres onderwyseres, onderwyseres	aangenaam is om na hom te lu val hom gedurig in die rede or verhale vertel en voorlees, en en toe is sy getroud. Haar mer op Boksburg en het ingewoon

sangeres (sangeresse)	not present in corpus	
niggie (niggies)	te besorg aan neefs en van die koor was ook 'n s weer die beeld van sy	niggies niggie niggie wat van die platteland a van hom, Barbara Bach, Barbara in sy hart op, ei
kleindogter	e daar gelyk het. Daar loop sy was oud en der dagen zat. Sy	kleindogter kleindogter met haar kappie op, net soos die bring vir hom koffie. Sy is vriendelik.
skoonma	not present in corpus	
hoer (hoerery)	ander in die Bybel vermeld. d 'n opvatting in omloop dat ng dat aan die leiding van 'n ots kan vasklem. In oneindig	Hoerery , hoerery hoere hoer onreinheid, selfbevekkening, sodomie en en onreinheid 'n ding is wat heel geestelike mag ter verwerkliking van di mate kon die gelowig-geworde heiden
koningin	er vertellings in soos: Di : leuenaars net soos die e van die stof wat in Die van Rider Haggard. Die agrita Prinslo (1896); Di	Koningin koningin Koningin Koningin Koningin fan Skeba; Di Sewe Duiwels; I in Sneeuwitjie of die moeder van Skeba behandel is, op vc fan Skeba verskyn vanaf 189 fan Skeba (1898) deur ds. S.
boervrou (boerevrouens)	enige vrou en van die erk gedoen en hoe die . Hy het naamlik al die	Boervrou Boerevrouens Boerevrouens veral. So word 'n Werkvereniging daarop gereageer het, word vir en -kinders wat hy in die hande
presidente (used as plural)	mev. prof. De Vos as 08 lid, en vanaf 1915 ev. Carinus 'n tydlank ev. Niemeyer word as p aanbeveling van die ie in die toe- koms as	presidente presidente presidente presidente presidente presidente en mev. Carinus as sekretaresse, he van die Hoofbestuur; mev. Carinus 'i en daarna troue lid tot op 90-jarige benoem; mev. Melt Marais as vise-p mev. Niemeyer, wat die vergadering kon optree nie, word mev. genl. Lou
skryfster	mooi vir 'n skrywer of treffende skets van 'n	skryfster skryfster wees om 'n 10,000-30,0 wat vir die meeste lesers
voorsitster	Komitee vir Gesinslewe by my. Die	voorsitster is mevr. J.M. Raath v
digteres	not present in corpus	
kunstenares	not present in corpus	
heldin (heldinne)	jou dapperheid. Jy is 'n van hulle, wat helde en	heldin . heldinne Ek sal van my manne van laasgenoemde or
bestuurderes	not present in corpus	
profetes	not present in corpus	
direktrise	not present in corpus	
eienares	„Is sy die	eienares van die plek? Van der Walt
redaktrise	not present in corpus	
Mevrou (mev., mevr.)	Die middag het 'n week gelede, ir 'n maand is jy Bly om u te ken, eder wat u ken, d! „Nou weet u, ag. „Dit was ek.	mevr. Mevrou, mev. Mevrou, Mevrou. Mevrou! Mevrou Fourie 'n oomblikkie die kamer verla antwoord Irene op koel-saaklike too Wallis en woon jy in een van sê hy; wil nog verder beleefdheid to Sy ken vir u! En ons kinders- „Ja, ja.... Hannie Swart! My moeder kan goed onthou. Ma het net een

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

ouma (oumatjie)	soos die engel op ie twee harte in sy ierbaarste liefing. Wanner kom jy vir jou lief ou briefie. il. Jy moet weer vir nge verstaan. Kyk,	ouma ouma Oumatjie Ouma Ouma Ouma Oumatjie	Dollie se Kersboom en wit blo se huis: Die helderskoon, rein het jou nog somar baie, baie kuier? Hoe sê Pappa en Mami het alles verstaan en het ook skryf en teken, ek is tog die stuur vir jou Poppie kleertjies
vriendin (vriendinne)	"'n Paar van my n Audrey se talle	vriendinne, vriendinne.	het sy eindelijk gesê. " As jong meisie in die l
bruid	vrees wat sy as sy soos die jong	bruid bruid	vir hom had, afskud nie. uit die boek 'Rebecca' ge
mejuffrou (mej)	ou dame 'n skok vir eek lank meneer en :r u mee te deel dat enoeming: A.D.V.K.: rev. G.J. van Wyk en	mej. mejuffrou Mej. Mej. mej.	Rawlins, vir Poffertjie, want vir haar nie." „Ek is Willem." Hulle stap oor O.A. Steyn gekies is om bogemelde D. Buckle 4. As gevolg van die A.O. Steyn het daar twee vakatures
tannie (tant, tante)	die eetkamer sit en een. Toe maak die nou baie. Maar met redige dikkerige ou teen myne. Waar is a geplaveide stoep.	tant tante tant tante tant Tant	Malie in die kombuis besig is, "ve my wakker en ek vertel haar van Hetta en Susanna gaan dit goed.' (ietwat van 'n soustante) wat net Jorina, vra ek. Phaon kyk angstig Magriet kyk verlig op. „Seker nou
joernaliste	not present in corpus		
weduwee (weduwees)	was daar selfs 'n nuwe soort les: die broodwinner van die ters van die Spoorweë en die ensioeneerdes, eggenotes en	'weduwee', weduwee weduwees weduwees	naamlik die 'vervoerband-we (7:11 e.v.), die enigste en lie van gewese spoorwegdienare van gepeasioeneerdes gehui:
eggenote (eggenotes)	Hamilton, vergesel van hul gepenaioeneerdes en hulle eds 30 gepensioeneerdes, 'n woord van dank aan die	eggenotes, eggenotes. eggenotes eggenotes	onderweg na Griekwas „By hierdie inrigting is en weduwees van gepe van die vier here gerig
nooi (nooiens, nooientjie)	enigiets vir sy geliefde ie moeder nog as jong et die paasaweek- sy Annie van Heerden ('n bak Ma pannekoek en	nooi nooi nooi nooi nooi	doen. Hy sal sy lewe vir haar uit die Boland saamgebring het, n en P en sy vrou glo saam. Eloff) van die plaas Steenboksvlei. almal uit om te kom eet. Ma
klaagster	not present in corpus		
poppie	pas. Wat is jou e "Treat"! My ou i Titel=Hallo my sur=> Hallo my	Poppie Poppie, Poppie> Poppie	se naam? Ek stuur ook vir L-tjie moet nou net nie dink jou ma <h Bron=> <h Outeur=> Hallo Jammer maar ek het regtig nie t)
aktrise	„Wat werk jy?" "Ek is 'n aktrise. " „Wat is vyftien en dertien?" „		
maagd	not present in corpus		
onderwyseres (onderwysertjie)	seblief, ek is maar 'n	onderwysertjie	sonder geld vir luukses.
sangeres	sy het skielik as	sangeres	ontpop.
niggie	Ons ou	niggie	het die skoot hoog deur. l
kleindogter (kleinnonna)	„Hoe lyk hy die kleinnonna, my miesie?" :		
skoonma (skoonmoeder)	hoe pragtig Delia se	skoonmoeder	is. Daar is geen harde
hoer	vyand, bedreig soos 'n	hoer	sonder souteneur.

koningin	klas-ondersdane van ons liewe Koningin. Hulle is soveel be sewejaartjies lyk soos 'n regte koningin se troon. En die l
boevrou	not present in corpus
presidente (used as plural)	die eerste plek die twee Presidente, Paul Kruger en Marthinus T gesagsdraers nadat die Presidente en die onderskeie Volksra
skryfster	werk konstateer dieselfde skryfster (Hurlock, 1967 1967 pp. 4 ston Churchill, volgens die skryfster Sarah Gertrude Millin, aan ! y moes meer weet van die skryfster wat vir die betowering vera
voorsitster	not present in corpus
digteres	not present in corpus
kunstenares	not present in corpus
heldin	die held en die heldin in elke skool is die fikse ; l as die held of heldin van 'n skool beskou kan '
bestuurderes	not present in corpus
profetes	not present in corpus
direktrise	not present in corpus
eienares	onvriendelik nie. En die eienares daarvan is warm, menslik e
redaktrise	bygedra het, en oor jare redaktrise was van Eendrag, ,
mevrou (mev)	"ons bly!" Poffertjie Ou mevrou Serfontein is oorlede. Di wille van Tobie is, want Mevrou Claassen ken die kind e ag toe Sally kom sê dat mevrou La Grange haar wil sien. eem impulsief een van mevrou La Grange se hande in l y hoe hy lyk, Moeder?" Mevrou La Grange sug liggies. „ dat hy Tobie saam met mevrou Blake stad toe gestuur f noeg van hom sien," sê mevrou La Grange droogweg. „\

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 16

Concordance Lines Feminine Nouns (2001-2010)

Excerpts Of Patterns Of Use (2001-2010)			
Lemma and Interesting Forms	Excerpt Of Concordance Lines		
vrou (<i>vroue, vrouens, vrouekoor, vroutjie, vroulief, vrouerolle, vrouepresident</i>)	sieketrooster se swanger ee, meester. Hier is geen vrouens nie." Hy wou die aam. Die kind kan by my oep, 'n paar weke na die 'n swak man wat 'n goeie ieselfde wanneer 'n swak t sê jy?" "Ek moet aan my . Gaan praat nou met jou	vrou vrouens vrou vrou vrou vrou vrou vrou vrou	Kaap toe vergesel het, en is t nie." Hy wou die vrou met bra met brandewyn lawe, maar k bly." Die bootsvolk het 'n paa se dood. "Hier het gisternag t verloor, dadelik sy kompas k 'n goeie man verloor. Dadelik en kinders se gesondheid din Julle moet more eiland toe." E
ma (<i>mamma, mammas, mams</i>)	antwoord Jesus toe sy ma? " vra Josef. Lukas skud sy kop. "Se MEDIABEDREIGING Pa, Ma , sit af, gooi weg, maak skoon! Jul is dit in die ouerhuis. Ma , Pa, hulle is nie veronderstel om i swak groei omdat die ma nie genoeg melk het nie, word rr telk het nie, word met ma en al uitgeskot. "Hulle pas nie in maar toe sy met haar ma praat, gesê sy het die verkeerde olgens die slagoffer se ma het die aanvaller hul kind glo tee	ma? Ma , Ma , ma ma ma ma	
dogter (<i>dogtertjies, dogters, dogtertjie</i>)	dat dit nie in die r, waar ek met sy my se blinkswart bly. Haar Kaapse nde later by haar gewoond dat hul	dogter dogter dogter; dogter dogter dogters	se gesig kom en haar skend r Aletta gepraat het oor die ver die een wat lyk soos 'n bok, by 'n rukkie agter toe die and op Kraaifontein oorlede. Tu s omtrent elke jaar 'n nuweling
suster (<i>sus, susters, sussie</i>)	wag op Paul Cilliers se ie kan herstel van haar Brits, die vyf broers se r, kan sy gestres raak. roekie uit- en aantrek. ns en bitches!" Anel se	suster suster suster, Suster Suster suster,	wat twee CD's vir my bring. Men se pynlike dood en verkragting r getroud. Dit het 'n ideale teel- a Lilian Leistner skryf in Ouerskap Leistner sê laat haar in die some Marilet, is regtig 'n fisioterapeut
meisie (<i>meisietjinnars, meisitjint, meisiekind, meisieswerk, meisietjie, meisies</i>)	likheid tussen Karel en die ison. "Jy dink seker aan jou om aanval nie?" vra 'n jong e skottelgoed skoon is. "Dis sluit sy. "Hy het seker na sy lag sy en buk af na die	meisie meisies meisie meisieswerk, meisie meisietjie.	steurend gevind en uit my op Beaufort-Wes." "Of dié l senuagtig. "Ek wonder of d kla hy elke oggend, maar e gesoek en land toe by die "Hallo, klein dogtertjie," sê
dame (<i>dames</i>)	die Britse wiskundige my keel. "Kom, jonge orts voorbereid wees. e jaar as primaria van	Dame dame, Dames, Damestehuis	Kathleen Ollerenshaw toegeskryf, wat h sê hy, "vandag is daar geen tyd bewys my nou 'n guns en verkas en gedurende allerhande joernalistieke
moeder (<i>moederlike, moeder-plaasvervanger</i>)	te berei. Sophie en haar Hy vertel dat sy vader en et gesien hoe sy vader sy om die lewe gebring. Sy e die huis ingegaan en sy or sy mededeling wat sy	moeder moeder moeder moeder moeder moeder	wil nog help, maar die sjefs w woorde gehad het, waaroor w wat gevlug het, agtervolg. Titu was nie teenwoordig nie. Kort het aan die twee delinquante se aandeel impliseer het, al h

ouma (ouma-hulle)	ook die stem van haar ouers en hul oupas en aan. Jy weet mos waar vir haar danspassies by "Dans Wim baie goed, miskien goed wees as	ouma oumas? ouma ouma Ouma? Ouma	en dié van haar ma klink. Nc Hulle sal mos vreeslik baie n Tya se granny flat so langs d Tya in die woonstel oefen, vr "Ja, Wim was verlede jaar by vir Liefie pet shop toe neem
vriendin (vriendinne)	mag ek u voortaan as as nie oormatig by my al nie dieselfde as my ny! Ek praat van al die n al die vriendinne, ou	vriendin vriendinne vriendin vriendinne, vriendinne	beskou, die goeie knol van Tr in aanvraag nie, maar nou ja, nie! Die roker wat ek en Oom ou vriendinne wat nou so ronc wat nou so rondsloop. Mense
bruid (bruidsglorie)	praat of ook oor sy ie bloeisels, soos 'n ring is natuurlik die vir woorde. In haar	bruid? bruid, bruid bruidsglorie	Die persepsie bestaan dat enkele g het my pa gesê. In die vroegsomer, aan my sy. Vir my was sy is sy deur my Volksblad-kollega Ka
mejuffrou (mej., me.)	lesbiese tante) en haar vriendin, heid is 'n hotel se grootste bate, daar teen die muur uit gemaak, 's in goeie geselskap: 'n gewese	mej. mejuffrou mejuffrou Mej.	Bruwer, dr. Clark (die flamboja Windvogel. Ons gee ons gaste c Windvogel?" Snaartjie kyk na hu Suid-Afrika het al in 'n tydskrif
tannie (tant, tante)	vanmiddag ná vyf na my staan gespanne naby sy op sy knieë. Dan gesels int Maria en oom Dolf en id lê en krul van die pyn. van die pyn. "Tant Lenie! ntein hardloop Santie om nie. Hy het elke aand ou	tante tante. tant tant "Tant Tant tant tant	se huis. Dan is Sydney ook "Moenie nader kom nie!" w Maria en oom Dolf en tant Maria sê: "Maak jou prys, I Lenie! Tant Lenie, kom hel Lenie, kom help my, Kotie Lenie te roep, want Kotie li Mank Sarie se koei in die r
joernaliste (used as plural)	huisvesting van 'n groep ak nakom met Italiaanse L. Louw> Ek en 'n klomp ny kop maal. 'n Magdom rkies tot president." Ons	joernaliste joernaliste joernaliste joernaliste joernaliste	uit die VSA, antwoord E by die Oewerpark Rest bly in die Ibis-hotel in i het op Abidjan toegese wat in die hotelkamer :
weduwee	Bultfonteinse dogter. Vir haar n 1897 is hy getroud met die	weduweema weduwee,	Marietjie was die hele dorp lief. Magdalena Maria van Velden, 'n
eggenote	not present in corpus		
nooi (nooientjie)	. Daar sien ek toe die Maria van Velden, 'n	nooi nooi	op die foto vir die eerste Hugo. Lenie, of Vroutjie, :
klaagster	not present in corpus		
poppie	Vergeet om soos 'n	poppie	te wil dans. Jy is nou 'n
aktrise	kop gekrap het oor aan watter veergawe van die Amerikaanse nie net bekend wil wees as 'n na Reza speel, albei vir -beste	aktrise aktrise, aktrise aktrise	Anel my knaend herinner nie. Rebecca de Mornay. Maar ter is nie, maar omdat ek 'n versl vir hul rolle daarin benoem is.
maagd	nni (c.1374/75 ná 1438), Die muur of 'n haag rose is die welgedaan, jongmeisies word	maagd Maagd maagde,	van die Roostuin (c.1425). I en die Christuskind altyd aa skaapwagter word herder,
onderwyseres (onderwyseresse)	geword: Milly, die Engelse an neem van 'n paar mooi	onderwyseres onderwyseresse	en Data, haar Afrikaanse i wat nog puntestate en rap
sangeres	not present in corpus		
niggie	not present in corpus		
kleindogter	not present in corpus		

skoonma	sê sy. "Ek het my skoonma gesien." Hy trek sy een hand de ; in die kooi gesit. Skoonma het Stiefskoonpa liefderik verso n die twee vra my skoonma- wat hulle dié aand ontmoet het- n die twee vra my skoonma- wat hulle dié aand ontmoet het-
hoer	stad wat tans saam met hoere en als wat in die kantlyn leef,
koningin	die posisie. Die koningin is immers steeds die hoof \
boervrou (boerevrou)	byvoorbeeld die ellende van die Boerevroue en -kinders vergelyk met adjutant om te hoor of hy 'n Boerevrou te woord sal staan. Lord R
presidente (used as plural)	swart mense tuislandstemreg en eie presidente gegee. Hierdie mense was
skryfster	not present in corpus
voorsitster	not present in corpus
digteres	not present in corpus
kunstenares	not present in corpus
heldin	not present in corpus
bestuurderes	Chief Island omdat die bestuurderes aldaar ernstig siek geraak
profetes	not present in corpus
direktrise	not present in corpus
eienares	not present in corpus
redaktrise	not present in corpus
mevrou	stadig gestap, luister goed, mevrou, op die maatslag van 'n requiem, diep as. Waaraan dinkfotograwe, mevrou, as hulle foto's van ons maak? Ek f, geruim word. Stel u voor, mevrou, het hy gesê, die onversoete huweliksbed ir hom in die straat laat val, mevrou, wat hy opgeraap het asof dit garing weglating> Hoe beval dit u, mevrou? Net een reël op 'n slag op u vervolgens met my doen, mevrou? My laat aankeer deur die polisie? Wat

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 17

Concordance Lines Masculine Nouns (1911-1920)

Excerpts Of Patterns Of Use (1911-1920)			
Lemma and Interesting Forms	Excerpt Of Concordance Lines		
man (<i>manne, mans, mannalike, mennetjie, mansmens</i>)	Dixon was 'n welgestelde t-wringende, worstelende se; die oude van daê, die ge voorhoofd van 'n oude ang?" „Mij, op dies aarde, amper 'n ontwikkelde ik-dat ik nog 'n groot jf jaar terug toen haar ie groeppies skaar die	man. man. manne man. man, man man man mans	Louw het saam gerij na die plaas Met die éen hand grijp hij hom in die krag van hul lewe, en Die berge het ook hul storie, ho maar jij is 'n vreemdeling te te en ik trek al kort duskant di in die wereld, of ten minste van uit dieselfde huisie grafi voor die deur bijmekeer en
pa	met hulle bemoei. Ook e geleer?" "Maar Ouma, ert, wat heet naar zijn grootjie en naar die se ie is op 'n haar na haar irreg gehad hulle ouers er kruisverhoor is." "Mij	pa Pa pa, pa, pa, pa, pa pa	het nie veel notisie van die drie het mos gesê ik hoef vandag en sijn oupa, zijn grootjie en naar di oupa en grootjie- soals die goeie in houding, gedagte, en manier. ' en ma te noem. Met al hulle was 'n advokaat, miskien het ik d
broer (<i>broers, broeder, broeders</i>)	gaat weer te ver, Sarel, we om vir hulle jongere e suster. Die vier oorige ë, gaat aanstonds tot sij praat het was die ander leegsuster; Frans, bij sij	broer! broers broers broers broers broer	Jij kan hulle groet, met hulle pr te sorgte en vir haar tot hulp sou nou die hele plaas bestuur en vertel hoe sleg dit gegaan h daarmee eens, en hulle gaat to in die verre Oos; dan Paula, die
seun (<i>seuns, seuntjie</i>)	maar het die twee oudste totdat die oudste van die het die twee ongetrouwe	seuns seuns seuns	tot bij die kis gelei en hulle aangeneem was. Toe denk hu naar haar kant toe oorgehaal.
	ers gehad: Filies, die oudste getroud, terwyl die jongste baje daarvan praat en mij iet om te luister. Moeder en t die tijd geblij? Sijn oudste	seun seun, seun seun seun	en Etta, die enigste dogter, ' Platjie, nog onder hulle besk Japie sê dis tog so'n lekker : wandel langsaam af tussen i is al 'n hele kêrel geworde, :
heer (used mostly as religious iconography)	Ma en die hulp van die Lieve g nou net land toe. Oupa, die lden voor die Werk. Die lieve re uitgeslaan. Nou is dit weer zoo goed afgeloop dat wy de	Heer Heer Heer heerlik Heer	is hij weer aan die beter wor werk tog wonderlik in die ha geef altijd uitkoms wanneer koel weer. Dis al baie droog niet genoeg dankbaar kan w
vader (<i>vaders</i>)	so'n 22 jaar, vir sijn !, maar daar had die jaar oud was, het sij leid van die afwesige lelei en hulle oor hulle	vader vader vader, vader, vader	'n aantal seroete mielies en kaff van hulle nie die duite voor. Ik wat 'n goewernements-beambte wat elke minuut stadig maar sek se lijk laat belowe om vir hulle

oupa	te doen gehad. Nou groete aan Ouma en Maria 5.12.1920 Lieve Ouma, myn eerste vader en moeder trouwen. Dag vir. 5 Dec 1920 Beste	Oupa Oupa, Oupa, Oupa Oupa,	schrywe maar weer ver mij, van liefhebbende Bettie <h t Hoe gaat het nog met den Opa groeten aan allen Van Pieter Hoe gaat het nog met u en
vriend (vriende, vrienden)	Enkhout aan sijn rijke ?" Geen antwoord. Die net Jan met een van sijn in een van sijn vader se et niks te vrees nie. Sij k Hugo, sijn lang skraal	vriend, vriend vriende vriende, vriend vriend,	Fred Thomas, terwijl hulle daar in stap 'n paar tree agteruit, wag op 'n verskriklike uitval gehad. Hul h vir dood op die grond gelaat. Die is gesond, en daar is niks teen draai ook die lugpijp van sijn vuur
bruidegom	teenwoordig was. Die bruid en in eenvoud dra, beskrywe. Die bring deur haar vader, en die die preekstoel sit of staan-die r naas die pinkie gestee deur	bruidegom, bruidegom bruidegom bruidegom bruidegom	hoewel nie meer jonk nie, he gaat naar die kerk in geselsk ontvang dan sijn toekomstige aan die linkerkant, en wag di en bruid. Die huwelik is nou i
jongheer (jongmanne)	Beurse. Hoevele veelbelowende ? Hoevele van ons eie bekwame raaruit ons jaarliks vir dergelyke	jongemanne jongemanne jongemanne,	moes halwerwege die stu moes teen wil en dank hu wat veel-belowend is en
oom (ooms)	gehad om af te skryf wat sburg af, woon, vertel het. Die tweede verhaal is van van die oues weer te gee. hulle afgeneem, maar mij i, wat een belediging is vir	oom Oom oom Oom oom oom	Paul Fick, wat vandag nog op Stei Paul was die kommandant van di Andries Olivier, wat op die plaas Paul Fick vertel:- Mij vader is get het dit die aand weer teruggenee Litteratuur. Nou krij jij nog „John
joernalis (journalist) (used here as feminine noun)	vooral in Engels. Sij is	joernalist	van beroep. Geboortig uit die mooie
wewenaar	Hij is 'n jonge	wewenaar,	wat sijn vrouw vroeg kinderloos i
eggenoot	d bij afwesigheid van haar sijn nog die bevel van haar beding geniet. Haar eerste	eggenoot, eggenoot eggenoot	was aandoenlik. Die gebed w kan meedeel, was Ouderling was geruime tyd veldkornet g
kêrel (also appears without circumflex)	vrij en sê toe ja. Die m, en 'n bleek, maër net êrens geval het. " lste seun is al 'n hele elf spreek, het die ou). Hij's 'n lang, skraal	kêrel kêrel kêrel, kêrel kêrel kêrel,	werd verleë, gaat aanstonds tot van 'n jaar of dertig kom die maak gouw!" sê hij vir Japie. " M geworde, sijn jongste kinders is hom aangesluit bij Jack Pienaar maar van staaldraad gebou, ei
klaer (klaende)	." Selfs die huilende,	klaende	stemmetjie van l
ouens	not present in corpus		
akteur	not present in corpus		
onderwyser (onderwyser, onderwyzers)	herinner was die eerste r het ons Eerw. Roth als n is 'n groot bol. Vra die net jouw duimstok. Jouw onderlegde nederlandsse	onderwyser onderwyser onderwyser onderwyser onderwyser,	van Ds. Du Toit 'n sekere gehad en is die onderwys om jou die skoolaarbol, o sal jou help om die antwo met besondere historiese
sanger	not present in corpus		

neef	nog 'n tijdjie krij, was naand Tante!" "Naand al goed Oom, dankie." r weet baie goed, dat voelige harte? Oom en il! Oom wag! Hij weet,	neef Neef! Neef, neef neef Neef	Tjaart so stom dat hij nie eens Het jij afgesaal? Wil jij 'n stukkie wat enige mijle verder blij, het ge nie somaar vir 'n kuiertjie gekom l sit op die stoep, die pijpie brand, sal begin! Hij wag; hij het geleer
kleinseun	: hijsself, sijn skoonseun en sijn ie mense "Horseowner" en sijn	kleinseun kleinseun	Jan. Sijn vrouw is nou drie j "trainer," en dit is rede was
skoonpa (skoonvader)	eindelik, die koei stoot die	skoonvader	een dag deur die draadheining
koning (konings)	voor die aap, want die !" gekom het het dat hij knie te buigen voor de gen voor de Koning des ie groothede leer van 'n	koning, koning Koning Konings, koning	Kugulu, het dit gebied, omdat dit deur geworde het. Van die tijd was die des Konings, waardoor wy weer door de waardoor wy weer door de genade Gods Hendrik die Agste met sijn getal vrouwens
boer (boere,	kleindogter van die rijkste ermogende en invloedrijke ruik. Ik was eenmaal bij 'n r of ander ekskusie." 'n Ou inne, klaarblyklik is hij 'n en met mofskape begin te ugees, wat daar met varke	boer boer boer boer boer boer boer	in die rijkste distrik van ons land. alsook met al die ander, wat almal ver in die binneland, op besoek. Hij van 'n sestig of vijf-en-sestig jaar kom wat sij plaas aan sij kinders oorgemaak het. Die wol het baie goed betaal. en almelewe op dieselfde tijd rondgaan
president	jur. Ik gevoel, meneer die O.V.S., en nou die geagte :s opgegaan. So b.v. skryf jde State van Amerika het : als Colin. Groete aan die te Transvaler, die gewese :r gehad het om as eerste ij aanstelling het die nuwe	President President President president President. President President President.	en mede-lede van die Akademie, dat die van die Senaat van die Unie van Steijn in 'n brief aan W.T. Stead Roosevelt in 1906 'n lys van 300 Ik hoop dat syn gesondheid nou beter van die Transvaal en Vrijstaat. Marthinus v van die nuwe republiek benoem te worde, vergesel deur 'n aantal volgelinge, 'n reis
skrywer (skrijwer)	intiem genoeg, sodat die met die volk, als volk, sal e volk, dat die Afrikaanse 'likste is; of dat die laaste ker omdat al drie hierdie at die meeste Australiese	skrywers skrywers skrijwer skrijwer skrywers, skrywers	in ons volkstaal daardeur kan geinflue dit moeilik vind om verbintenis aan te in die eerste plaas wil spreek. Die noodwendig die jongste rigting vertee en veral Ruskin en Browning, e.g., Par besiel is met 'n essensiël australiese
voorsitter (voorzitter)	F.E. Celliers. Mijnheer die r het, seer geagte meneer van vertel nie al was onse vereer, en hom as hoof of akaar. Die Raad kies sijn dering bijmekaar kom en	Voorsitter, voorsitter Voorsitter voorsitter voorsitter. voorsitter	medelede van die Akademie, dames en kollegas- diegene van u dan wat Piet die Burgemeester van Ermelo gis van die Raad van Justiesie aangestel. Die Administrateur met 4 persone, d en sekretaris kies en statute optrek. .
digter (dichter, digters)	onder ons reeds welbekende e, is plig van geskiedskrywer, eerste egte Suid-Afrikaanse n hij skerp deur buitenlandse Dit bevestig wat die Romeinse	digter digter digter. digters digter	Totius. Evenals die vorige werke en prosamens nie alleen, maar p Sij liedjes adem die atmosfeer v; beïnvloed word. Die roman van t Horatius sê: "Gelukkig is hij wat i
kunstenaar	het dat Herr Brugmann, die die meesterstuk van 'n jong 'de toon: "Melchior Oerman. al, volmondig opbruis in die sijn moedertaal gun! Wat 'n	kunstenaar, kunstenaar. Kunstenaar. kunstenaar kunstenaar	in Weenen blij, het ons besluit o Daar op die muur sien u 'n Tot sij gedagtenis opgerig deur se siel, en hij die krag en het ons volk en ons geskiedenis
held (helde)	Weer te bang? Waar is die e eerste uur van sij lewe 'n fdatum van myn historiese vorm ook) aan die vergete nus Pretorius, seun van die	held held held- held held	van vanmiddag nou? Denk hij nie meer of 'n heldin. Sij leer hulle gevare was geen kleinigheid vir my, wat my opgerig het. Ere, drierwef ere kom hulle van Bloedrivier." -Ja waarlik, die forse gri
bestuurder	k gedaan had enz. Goed zo! De Joodse spekulatours hebben de	bestuurder Bestuurder	van de T.G.M.E. Maatschappij zó [beest] genomen dat hij ver
profeet	nalopers van elke vreemde te volg. Sij voel haar als die rannag. So sê Mokwaseli die	profeet profeet profeet.	of priester wat hier in ons land Jonas toe die plant Kikadou of Kikajon Maar Mokwaseli die man, die soldaat,

direkteur (direkteure)	'n brief van Sargent, toenmalige : aanstelling is ook nou deur die nrr. Adriaan van Kervel, het die bewerneur van die Kaap, en die groot weelde begin te lewe. Die	direkteur Direkteure Direkteure Direkteure Direkteure	van onderwijs in Transvaal, aan Lord bekragtig geword. Vier jaar later het instruksies gestuur dat Rijk Tulbagh t het dadelik besluit om Rijk Tulbagh a het dit as 'n groot gevaar beskou,
eienaar (eigenaar)	ander wat die later Engelse :r merkwaardigheid was die e skiet, krij jij rusie met die Harris is de tegenwoordige en Jan Hofmeyr (Onze Jan),	eienaar eienaar eienaars. eigenaar. eigenaar	beter kon uitspreek as sij Hollandss van die plaas self. Gert Markeland v Hulle kom uit die struikgewas- wat l Piet Retief werd in deze kraal vermoord destyds van "Ons Land," wat ik meen
redakteur	van Kaapstad, nou die bekende en en uw gedicht direct aan den het hij, als seun van die eerste l van die brosjure het die eerste : skrywers goedgekeur? Selfs die	redakteur redakteur redakteur redakteur redakteur	van "De Goede Hoop," het mij dikwels van de Paarl Post zenden voor publika van die Pretoriaanse blad "De Volksten ook nog 'n facsimile laat afdruk van van die "Catholic Magazine"- die Kerkb
meneer (mnr, meneertjie)	, " sê hij." Dit spijt mij, Merwe, maar ".....dog van die gevoel." More, :, Broeder," antwoord" i u maar plaas."" Nee,	meneer meneer meneer," Meneer"; Meneer,	van der Merwe, maar ".....dog van der Merwe klop reeds aan se Ouderling van der Merwe, te "en waarom lijk u so haastig?-" g'n stoel vir mij vanmore nie.""

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 18

Concordance Lines Masculine Nouns (1941-1950)

Excerpts Of Patterns Of Use (1941-1950)	
Lemma and Interesting Forms	Excerpt Of Concordance Lines
man (mans, manne, manlike, mannetjie, manspersoon, mansmense)	<p>t die gevangene. 'n Dapper er man by 'n ander dapper y antwoord: ek is 'n Joodse je getuienis: ek is 'n Joodse</p> <p>klasse verdeel: geskoolde erste groep kan ons insluit dêre geslagsklriere van die</p> <p>man man! man. man. manne manne mannetjie</p> <p>by 'n ander dapper man! Gruwelik m Gruwelik mishandel, pas aan 'n groot Selfs in daardie kritieke oomblik wil P Paulus is nie skaam vir sy volk</p> <p>wat 'n sekere mate van ondervinding soos S. J. du Toit, J. Lion rot gedurende B1-tekort moet aan g</p>
pa (pappie, papa)	<p>se gebreekte skaar? „Ja, jou rmer omdat hulle dink dat sy stukkende motorkarretjie by orkarretjie by pa bring, moet net die probleme van sy jeug</p> <p>pa pa pa pa pa</p> <p>het dit vir my kom sê." Dit hom moor. Die kêrel gaan hom doodwerk bring, moet pa hom nie knorrig afstoot hom nie knorrig afstoot nie; want as raadpleeg nie, maar elders leiding soek. P</p>
broer (broers, broertjies)	<p>om so al die grond van sy Datie vermoor, en die ander an geestelike droogte by die niale" grootvader van die vyf hy ná die moord by sy goeie soere skiet nie. Ons is darem</p> <p>broers broers broers broers- broer broers,</p> <p>in sy besit te kry. Dan is vind 'n verdienste as arbeiders op moet help versterk, maar te los da 'n soort Kloos-Byronistiese "pilgrim Soois binnevlug en vir hom die pres jong. Al is ons nou in twee</p>
seun (seuns, seuntjie)	<p>versnelde groei vind plaas, die vind maandstonde plaas en by skrywing. Dit is die geval van 'n 3;8) skrywe weer: "Een van ons er wees om maar soos daardie begin te voel onder die oë van en wil slaap.... Toen sien hy syn</p> <p>seun seuns seun seuns seun seuns seun....</p> <p>se stem breek, sekondêre geslagskenmerke tree polusie drome op of hulle masturbeer; in bed op 'n Sondagmôre. Hy sien is vandag in die hospitaal dood. Dit te wees." Dit blyk dus dat niesteenstaande en 'n mishae begin te kry in en toen herinner hy hom, dat syn</p>
heer	<p>Posbus 48, 26.II.'43. Die WelEd D., Potchefstroom. Waarde minister van kolonies, die</p> <p>Heer, Heer, heer</p> <p>Dr. C. Beyers, Argief, Uniegebou, Pretoria. I Ek heg hierby aan 'n afskrif van Joseph Chamberlain, sy kaarte</p>
vader (vaders)	<p>waarom moes hy nou juis haar verkoop. Die verraaier wat jou gte vorm. Oom Tys word so die tieke omgang met sy natuurlike</p> <p>vader vader vader vader</p> <p>kies? Wat kan hy daarby voorhê? Is ook sal verkoop as hy net die van sy hart. Vir hom, wat nimmer gehad het nie, wat die voogdyskap</p>
oupa (oupas, oupa-grootjie)	<p>craal se kleinseun is, het sy koffie. Sy is vriendelik. „Sit ?" vra sy. „Dit word al koel, as ek. Ek het die plaas van ate van albei jou oumas en</p> <p>oupa Oupa Oupa. Oupa oupas.</p> <p>vir hom 'n kalf gemerk. Telke nog altyd hier?" vra sy. „Dit w So is hulle. Hy is soos 'n geërwe, maar dit het tog har Dan die oumas en oupas se t</p>
vriend (vriende)	<p>aarde. Ons bedoel A. C. G. Lloyd, e historiograaf G. M. Theal en ook vees. Sy boeke was sy persoonlike biblioteek verdien het. 'n Intieme ool-biblioteek gestap het, toe die ns sy trans-Afrikaanse reis aan sy</p> <p>vriend vriend vriende vriend vriend vriend</p> <p>en bloedverwant van die bekende h van J. du Plessis, oor die prys en sy biblioteek sy eer. Hier was van hom vertel dat hulle op 'n hom die aanmerking laat ontval het ds. C. S. Morgan in Rogelim laat</p>
bruidegom	not present in corpus
jongeheer	not present in corpus

oom (oompie, boere-omies)	bo die geweld uit, die stem van seuntjie die hele dag aan om sy taan en sing. „Die jongetjieskoor, ons die koraal gegee het.“ „Maar iets van ons voorgeslag asseblief, soebat die klein Sebastian. En die	oom oom Oom, Oom, Oom, oom	Stoffel: „Here, my kinders!“ 'n Dor met kinderlike vrae lastig te val. † sê Sebastian. „Wie se werk is dit?“ het mos dan vir my gesê dat soebat die klein Sebastian. En die neem die kind op sy skoot en
joernalis	gereedskap het, so kan elke / styl, en sy lang loopbaan as	joernalis joernalis	'n stuk skryf as hy genoeg gegewens het die harmoniese ontwikkeling van
wewenaar	not present in corpus		
eggenoot	tel van enige inkomste van die hierdie bedrag gelykop tussen en van £42 per jaar indien haar 'n O/Skema toelae omdat haar	eggenoot eggenoot eggenoot eggenoot	en eggenote, en om die inkomste v en eggenote verdeel word, behalwe die applikant is; (c) ouderdoms- of nie opgespoor kon word nie. Haar
kêrel	not present in corpus		
klaer	not present in corpus		
ouens (outjie)	meer 'n woord nie. Daardie n 'n kiewiet te voorskyn. Die	outjie outjie	is 'n twee-en-'n-halfie en hierdie s mik-mik ontevrede met sy koppie,
akteur	not present in corpus		
onderwyser (onderwysers)	te neem en my betrekking as tmasburg, waar hy Afrikaanse r paar toegewyde en gewillige Die hoof van die skool was my laarna E opleidingskollege (vir	onderwyser onderwyser onderwysers onderwyser onderwysers)	neer te lê. Hy het my o.a. was. Hulle is van plan om hulle wat die CSV lei. Verder is daar in Afrikaans op skool. Hoewel ek op T. By eersgenoemde inrigting
sanger (sangers)	dat hulle op Lüneberg goeie sangers nodig het, en dat hulle c		
neef (neefs)	moet opgooi.“ „Nee wat, t. „Jy sal moet betaal, ou i en poste te besorg aan ise. Wat voer jy die van, s lelik aan uitskel is. „Ja,	neef neef. neefs neef?“ neef,	Bart, dit gaan so goed dink ek. Hulle sal jou aanskryf vir al daardie en niggies wat van die platteland af vra die boer. “Ek is....ja, dit maak dis baie beter dat jou maat buite
kleinseun	Naas Bosman van Rooikraal se A. Oberholzer (Oom Jorsie), sy	kleinseun kleinseun,	is, het sy oupa vir hom 'n vandag nog woon. Op Skietmekaar
skoonpa (skoonvader)	middelveld bring Ampie en sy amte van populier-houte en sy en sy vrou se familie nie. Sy	skoonvader skoonvader skoonvader	teen wil en dank in mekaar se se nuwe huisvesting is gou-gou het hom te goed laat voel dat
koning	nd vir die musiekkuns te ywer. ise voldoen en het hy die groot gehoor het skiet haar te binne: Dit was om oor te lag. Die die skat op sy rug by die	Koning Koning Koning koning koning	Frederik het jare lank die hoop gekoester besoek. En terwyl hy vir die heerser Leeu wou eens op 'n keer 'n self het geen vertroue in die saak aan. Sy sal ook maar geduld moet
boer (boere, boertjie, boerseun,	belangstelling van Suid-Afrikaanse langs die Wilgerivier in die Vrystaat reeslike groot distrik en al die jong opvolger in die boerdery, nie wou moet word soos sy vader nie- 'n is vredeliewende en goedgeaarde	boere boer boere boer boer Boere.	in sojaboontjies gaande gemaak en met vakansie in Kaapstad is. I hou van dans. Om nie eers te nie, baie geld gemors het vir sy met harde hande, growwe klere en ruwe Dis nie maklik om bo op Aasvoëlkrans
president	Swede, Chili, Peru en Kolombië, word die wys, die vooroordeel is nie gering teen is duisende rebelle in die Vrystaat.- Ou 3, bevattende 'n uiteensetting van my oor !” (2) “Laaste Lewensjare en Heengaan va	President president president President President	en Vise-President wel deur die direksie be Burgers en sy verbitterde sekretaris Theod Steyn doen baie moeite om die regering Kruger se Laaste Boodschap, na aanleiding Kruger.” Miskien sal u veral belangstel in
skrywer (skrywers)	poësie wees as dit net maar die objektiwiteit as wat moontlik is vir 'n glike bandjies van die eerste Afrikaanse rg. 1916). Ongelukkig het slegs weinige p ou, stofgetrapte paadjies. Hierdie vyf e geëksperimenteer het. Daar was ouer	skrywer skrywer skrywers skrywers skrywers skrywers	se eie mening, sy eie gevoel, sy as hy oor sy eie werk en getoetel het. Ek weet nie of die die talent en aanleg gehad om hierdie het inderdaad baanbrekerswerk verrig wat grootgeword het met Beets, Van Le

voorsitter	toestande vanjaar beter is. Die C.S.V. sou hy in die Raadsaal sit as Kommandeur was Van Riebeeck ook n der Heever, die stigter en jarelange rgse Kunsvereniging" uitgedruk uit die	voorsitter voorsitter voorsitter voorsitter voorsitterskap	is ten minste een wat uitstaan vir van die Transvaalse Wetgewende V van die sogenaamde Breë Raad wa van die „Johannesburgse Kunsverer omdat hy nie ekstremisties genoeg
digter	juis wanneer hierdie eensame o groot word. Van die grootste h weglating> Die seën wat die ppe met Tagtig te soek nie; 'n	digters digters digters digter	in kontak kom met die aarde dat van alle tye geld wat Boutens bely op die vlaktes bring, ontvang hulle op soos Van Wyk Louw en die Tagtigers
kunstenaar (<i>kunstenaars</i>)	bol. Die lewensgevoel van die :r plekmaak vir die beeldende is, dat Leipoldt, Totius, enige Het Onweer). Dit is by hierdie esef dat hy van daardie groot	kunstenaar kunstenaar. kunstenaar kunstenaars kunstenaar	word gelei na 'n besef van oneindig Naas die siening van ou-Datie is dit per slot van rekening, in 'n sekere dat ons digters na 1934 aansluiting nog baie kan leer. Dus het hy
held (<i>helde</i>)	vir die heerser gespeel het, het, die op jou nie. Jy gaan soos 'n gevaar trotseer. Ek dink Totius is 'n les te vuriger na vereniging met haar oop van jaar-na-jaar selfvergetende	held held held, held. held	van so menige slag vol eerbied agter uit om 'n stryd te aanvaar. Besef maar hy wil dit net nie sê Sy vind hom vasgeketting in die diepste en stryder te bly! Daar is onderwysers
bestuurder	groot firmas in Johannesburg. Aan die stukke vanaf 1 Januarie, 1941 aan die u geteken en geattesteer is, aan die met 'n duisend of meer. Veral die	bestuurder Bestuurder, Bestuurder bestuurder	van die firma het hy die vragbriewe Nederlandsche Bank, Bloemfontein gestuur word. U dienswillige, KOMMI van die Elandslaagte-steenkoolmyn,
profeet	en smart van sy medemens? Op die (vergeelyk ook die Koki-figuur). So 'n erken word nie, (anders sou hy geen ografies> <h Titel=Totius, digter en die woord van die Here aan die	profeet, profeet profeet profeet> profeet	die stryder om waardevolle dinge, rus d kan nie dadelik deur die volk erken wees nie), want met sy seldsame gawes <h Bron=> <h Outeur=P.J. Nienaber> Maleagi te regverdig nie: „Is Esau nie
direkteur (<i>direkteure</i>)	President en sommige van die ander eg soorte te maak. Met beste groete, ie brief is deurgestuur na Dr. Naude. ryssirkulêres is die veldtog deur die	direkteure DIREKTEUR: DIREKTEUR: Direkteur	deur die Staat benoem, terwyl in s W.P. NAVORSINGSTASIE w.P. VRUGTE NAVORSINGSTASIE. van Onderwys, aanbeveel. Tydens
eienaar (<i>eienaars</i>)	welgestelde Carnarvonse boer. Hy was lzer, grootvader van die teenswoordige Boere was binne korte tyd die wettige van die vyand, en dit het die staan die gesin van S. S. Kresge, Lehman beheer. Ander vooraanstaande	eienaar eienaar eienaars eienaars eienaar eienaars	van die plaas „Blaauwkrantz”, geleë o van die plaas Skietmekeer, daar aang van uitgestrekte plase. Ja, maar die Gi nie aangestaan nie, maar om hulle da: van 'n ketting winkels, wat oor 'n of beheerders van die invloedryke org
redakteur	Met vriendskaplike groete, Die uwe, Toit hom weer in Paarl gevestig as 1890 word ds. Du Toit die vaste by die volk was, is die vaste Co. is nie te oorskat nie. Die	REDAKTEUR. redakteur redakteur redakteur redakteur	Naskrif: Ek het later opgemerk dat van Die Patriot (1890). van die Patriot en as gevolg van van die tydskrif. Die oorlog het ook van die Patriot het dit self besef
meneer (<i>mnr.</i>)	volk... „Dankie,” sê sy. „Baie dankie, 'Juffrou Kock?” „Ja, en u is natuurlik aan die beroep nie?” „Ek is bevrees, word. Hy sal graag gesien het dat besigheid sien. „Dis 'n groot affêre,	Meneer.” meneer Meneer, meneer meneer	En die drie manne, leiers van vyandelike Du Toit.” „Wat 'n oulike stemmetjie!” dink dat Aandrus 'n te sterk houvas op Van Dyk ook die swak puntjies raaksien Pienaar, 'n tamaai affêre. Jy het durf

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 19

Concordance Lines Masculine Nouns (1971-1980)

Excerpts Of Patterns Of Use (1971-1980)		
Lemma and Interesting Forms	Excerpt Of Concordance Lines	
man (<i>manne, manlike, mans, mannetjie, mansmens,</i>)	kan sien hoe Vader met die jong die." „Ek kan gaan vra." Die twee hoe my hart klop Hy neem die droog te word. ek hou van 'n geskenk aanvaar van 'n vreemde te naby my kom, veral as 'n moet kom laai. Waar is die ander	man mans mandjie man man man manne?
pa (<i>pappie, papa</i>)	die familie is eintlik Swellendamers. My Ek het van kleins af by my toespraak... Ná die tyd het Maryna se lieg nie. "Jy het vandag vir jou het land toe gery; hy en sy	pa pa pa pa pa.
broer (<i>broers</i>)	die ander kant sal sy haar eie speel. Sy vertel hom alles van haar die gesin was. Johann het 'n ouer hy weer daaraan dink, dat sy ouer wanneer hy weer 'n afjak van sy	broer broer broer broer, broer
seun (<i>seuns, seuntjies, seuntjie, seunsmats</i>)	praat: „Ek is bekommerd oor jou, my jou oupa se wense en as oudste nodig. Tog is hy 'n liewe, sonnige hoe 'n slinkse wyse sy en haar e-sak. Onder die afdak van Jooste en	seun. seun seuntjie. seun Seun,
heer	die plan verander," kom dit in die digby Kralingen 'n waardige ou roesend vertel hoe Joop die ou so 'n kale hoof soos die ou gebid, moet ons glo dat dit die	heer heer heer heer Heer
vader (<i>vaderfiguur</i>)	betreklik noue assosiasie met sy om dié plase toe te ken, het se ouers is getroud terwyl B se geval D se ouers, die. ander se in geval D se geval waar die	vader. vader vader vaders vader
oupa (<i>oupa-grootjie</i>)	rose dit was die present wat my die present wat my oupa, my lerse wat my oupa, my lerse oupa, die sjan Steyn het die stoeltjie gemaak. e Overberg het Krisjan Steyn geken het Krisjan Steyn geken Oupa ook.	oupa, oupa, oupa Oupa Oupa Oupa
vriend (<i>vriende</i>)	En sy het my by die beste hulle was nie. Ons was 'n groep k nie. Mnr. Rempel, sy toegeneë as 'n getroue volksman, 'n vaste sman, 'n vaste vriend waar hy sy	vriende vriende, vriend, vriend vriend
bruidegom	vermoedheid op sy vername gesig. Haar	bruidegom.
jongheer	not present in corpus	

oom	voel skielik hy kan oorkook. (Wat het in die modder!" Dan spoeg hy uit: "tel van die Oberholzer, waarom nie?" julle nie vertel nie." "Maar verduiwels, verduiwels, oom Hennerik, hoekom het man se regte naam te gebruik nie.	oom "Oom Oom oom Oom Oom	Klaas ook weer destyds gesê? jou losma. Attie het genoeg vertrouwe om my geld Hennerik suig eers 'n rukkies aan sy Hennerik, hoekom het Oom my dan pert my dan pertinent na die man uitgevra kon 'n skuilnaam gebruik het." " 'n Wat?"
joernalis	vandag mekaar die hand. 'n	Joernalis	sou later ontroerd skryf: „Herinneringe
wewenaar	not present in corpus		
eggenoot	het aan die tydige roep van haar	eggenoot.	Tog het hy beweer dat hy nie
kêrel	not present in corpus		
klaer	by die Hotelraad aankom, sal die	klaer	se goeie trou ondersoek word,
ouens (outjie)	nog geglo aan die lewe. Die nuwe En onthou, hoe koppig of taai die dat J nou met een van daai	outjie outjie ouens	langsaaan het op 'n dag eenvoudig ook al is, en al probeer hy wat By die F was sleep.
akteur	en dié van die regisseur of die	akteur	of die ontwerper of die l
onderwyser (onderwysers)	die vriendelike, goed-gehumeurde die onderwys-leersituasie waar die rlinge die opgewekte en vriendelike kennis en ervaring val. Veral die jong toede wees. Dit is ook waarom elke	onderwyser onderwyser onderwyser onderwyser, onderwyser	verkie. * Ons het reeds vroeër g beskou word as helper eerder a waardeer, verkies hulle ook die met sy opleiding pas voltooi, mo 'n lewende belangstelling behoo
sanger	onseker harmonie van orkes, ige bejammering uitlok, en 'n r nie identiek met dié van die	sanger sanger. sanger	en publiek astant verbreek, en r ige krediet staan. Dis goed om dit of die instrumentis of die dirigent
neef	welgestelde mense was. „Maar, at die middag van hulle afskeid. natuurlik ook, Herman-hulle se tr sy beroep haar selde op haar	neef, „Neef, neef neef,	die Engelse het alles op ons plaas julle moet tog nooit ingee oor ons Pieter en dié se vrou en kroos, Frank Edelstein, om die daaropvolgende
kleinseun	en dit was 'n skok vir haar sal my bes doen om met u 3. Dis aanstaande week my is Steenboksvlei. "En nog 'n	kleinseun, kleinseun kleinseun kleinseun	enigste kind van die dogter, wat van oor die weg te kom," belowe sy se Bar Mitzvah." Hy glimlag en sit Piet. Dan was daar veldkornet Carel
skoonpa (skoonvader)	verklaar dat sy Boerevader en Britse	skoonvader	albei aanspraak maak
koning (konings)	binne haar oeuvre uitmaak: „Die 3r nie! In 1808 het die Portugese bloeiende stad af geregeer. Die eruggevoer word. Aanvanklik het e oorheersing van die Etruskiese	koning koning koning konings konings	se dogter" in Die blye dae en João, vluggend voor Napoleon se leërs was verantwoordelik vir die stigting va in hierdie staatjies regeer, maar gedu losgemaak en 'n nuwe regeringsvorm i
boer (boere)	Tregardt reeds as een van die rykste el van grondboneverbouing, aldus die sy groter bestandheid teen droogtes. an ook 'n wesenlike probleem by die al op die langtermyn. Daarom is baie	boere boere, Boere boere. boere	in sy wyk. Volgens sy amptelike opgawe is sy groter bestandheid teen droogtes. buite die posrekordskema het die skryw Die produsente kry nie altyd voldoende wat die geld het, bereid om meer
president	die deurlopende aanmoediging van 'n McHardy en 'n Fraser, saam met moet dra nie. Slegs die besluit wat tand te bowe. En dat die Vrystaatse 3 reël die blommefees en mnre. Piet Volksraad. Hoewel voorsiening vir 'n	President president President President, (President) president	Steyn self, was daar die Vrystaatse Steyn en generaal Hertzog uit Bloen Kruger en sy Transvaalse Volksraad 'n hoogontwikkelde en fynbesnaard le Roux en Koos Sadie die jeugaspe as hoof van die uitvoerende gesag 3
skrywer (skrywers)	Blignault se lewe in haar eie oon. Dit was vir meer as een 3it het ook voorgekom onder unstenaars soos De Quincey, wat hieruit voortgevloei het. k geïdentifiseer is. Dieselfde	skrywerskap. skrywer skrywers skrywer Skrywers skrywer	Die lirieke aard van haar kortkuns gaar die vertrekpunt van die Republikeinse en kunstenaars soos De Quincey, skryw van The confessions of an English opiu oor die S.D.B. is deurgaans geneig om wys ook daarop dat in 1890 vir

voorsitter	moes word, sterkte toegewens. Die nuwe bestuur is soos volg saamgestel: oujongkêrel en David de Villiers as M. D. F. H. van der Hoven, voorsitter oorhandig. Mnr. A. G. Meiring, voorsitter eelede. Ongelukkig was ons geagte	voorsitter Voorsitter, voorsitter voorsitter voorsitter voorsitter	het ook die uitvoerende bestuur bedank vir mnr. J. L. Botha; ondervoorsitter, mnr. J. van die amptelike ontspanningsklub! Projekte van die mielievereniging van die Vrystaat van tak Pretoria, het 'n woord van daardie tyd nog in Pretoria met ampsligte
digter (digters)	as nie. Namate die Suurveld egter tot matig en die afloop (indien die Griekse toesprake deur volksleiers, om ook trots te wees op sy vredeliewende, beskeie en groot	digter digter digters digters digters	bevolk en weiveld skaarser geraak het, he dreineringspatroon as kriterium gebruik word en skrywers wat uit eie werk voordra en denkers nie? En is dit nie en wetenskaplikes? Dis hierdie oorweging
kunstenaar	kuns beoog word. Die skeppende lewe te staan. Die lewe, soos die is, in sy lewe betrek. Wanneer die sake na sin. Die skoonheid wat die mens soeke na skoonheid loop by die	kunstenaar kunstenaar kunstenaar kunstenaar kunstenaar	het met die lewe te doen: hy daarmee te doen het, is alles-behels voor die lewe te staan kom, het in die lewe sien, is tegelyk die op 'n artistieke siening van die lewe
held	vlieënde stukkie meisiekind soos 'n nooit gevul nie. Andries Pretorius, die Mbutu sou hom later tot nasionale erfdom gehad het. Ek het geweet die	held held held held	van ouds in sy arms kon vang van Bloedrivier, het eintlik die „ verklaar en die eertydse Katanç en die heldin in elke skool is
bestuurder (bestuurders)	en wag het. Hy het met die tramvermaak met Joop as oeragt wag Horst en Geert, die . Hy gee skaars om wat die	bestuurder bestuurder. bestuurder bestuurder	gaan praat: kuns mis op rekening, a Wat vir party vreemd bly, is Raaltjie van Joop se tram, en stamp hulle dink. Laat hom dink dis dronkverdr
profeet	negentien jaar oud, maar dit is 'n die vraag of Jesus nie so 'n 'n Pers. Hy sien homself as die	profeet profeet profeet	wat daar praat. Hierdie voordrag volg was nie. Al hierdie gissinge weerspieël wat die leer van Boedda, Zarathoestra
direkteur (direkteure)	gaan inneem, hou mnr. Leon Malan, BY hom in sy kantoor het die reëlings het 'n onderhoud met die te bied nie. Mnr. A. J. Engelbrecht, die naam van dr. F. Danulat, 'n	direkteur direkteur direkteur direkteur	van die Hotelraad, vol dat die hote bv. mej. E. M. Neethling, wat van gehad. Daar is 'n patroon waarvolg van die Republiekfees '71: „Die pu van Lurgi, wat die verbetering van l
eienaar (eienaars)	saamgevoeg en in die boeke van die n die hoë heersende rentekoerse die iur aan die staat as die oorspronklike van inpalming van grond deur private om die plaas te verkoop. Die nuwe	eienaars eienaar eienaar eienaars eienaar	van die bates as lopende besteding t wel sy geld teruggekry het met rente van die grond betaal word. Aanvankli gevolg. Ewigdurende erfpag word ool was nie met die ou plaaswoning tevre
redakteur	geskrewe deel is egter deur hul mede	redakteur	so ver buig totdat dit
meneer (mnr)	vanmôre van Kaapstad af gery nie, dit met hulle?“ „Die oom word oud, mee af te droog. „Dink jy daardie taan nou weer onder die eikeboom. „Wanneer wil u met die werk begin, Vader. Ons het 'n vrykamer vir u,	meneer meneer meneer „Meneer meneer meneer	Du Preez?“ „Nee, ek het oorgeslaap op Celliers, sy been pla hom nou baie. sal bly vir middagete?“ „Ek weet nie.“ Du Preez, ons sal u graag nooi Du Preez?“ „Ek sal aanstaande week en Du Preez.“ „Maandag dan.“ dit was lank

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 20

Concordance Lines Masculine Nouns (2001-2010)

Excerpts Of Patterns Of Use (2001-2010)	
Lemma and Interesting Forms	Excerpt Of Concordance Lines
man (mans, manne, mannetjie,	markies van Karabas is 'n belangrike oopsluit. In die kamer sien sy 'n net een been gemaak. Toe sit die toe gaan die deur oop en 'n iemand. "En hy was so 'n gawe man doodgeskiet word," sê 'n ouerige man. My dogter kan enige tyd met hom wat besig is om bliksoldate te maak. al vyf en twintig bliksoldate in 'n kom binne. Hy loop op sy tone Daar is nog drie ander Boesmans ook "Dit is ook die eerste keer wat
pa (papie, papa)	vier kan weer bymekaar wees? Sy pa kan weer houtbeeldjies maak. Sê nou. pa pomp hom hard in die ribbes. "Hou Pa beter ook maar luister en ophou met Pa se nonsies, dink hy vies. Ná die pa dan?" vra sy vinnig. Hy trek net
broer (broers)	in goud en so kon die arm broer en sy geliefde 'n geseënde toekoms bi broers verloop soos volg: Hulle was skoernal broers is gefolter en eindelik onder keiser Ma broers en tweeling was in beide gevalle altyd broers en susters gehad het, het hy as broer Bootjie vra. Snaartjie kyk na die gek
seun (seuntjie, seunskind, seuns)	het. Elke windstreek het ook 'n paar seuns uit die vorige jaar se matriekklas g seuns wat kwaggabilton en 'n vel buite c seuns nie weet dat meisies eerste by 'n seuns is sensitief en kan maklik voel dat seun se geboorte, verjaar Marjorie en o seuntjies om te leer tel." "Ek haat hotelle.
heer	er word herder, meneer word my heer, vlerke word vleuels, ensovoorts. C heer het juwele in sy bagasie versteek. heer," het hy hoopvol gesê. Wagenaer he heer. Nou is hy een van die hoogste
vader (vaders)	het die boosdoeners beveel om sy vader op te tel en agter die huis Vader weet wanneer. Sy tydsberekening is altyd volr vader oor Paasnaweek met 'n koplamp gesoek het Vader bring en dan by Hom daarmee handel. VADER, DANKIE VIR U! DIS NET... ONBESKRYFLIK. DIT vader het in die negentig geword, maar ongelukkig
oupa (oupas, oupagrootjie)	verder, tot by Abraham (Jakob se oupa), terug te trek. Alhoewel die land ook oupas en oumas? Hulle sal mos vreeslik baie oupagrootjie, stokstyf vasgevries!" "Wie se oupagrootjie oupagrootjie? Elke terg jou net," lag Tinus, "dis Oupa'. Ek waarborg jou dis kwaito op sy
vriend (vriende) (used as feminine noun)	feesdae verby is, het ons groep vriende en familie die terugreis Nasaret toe b vriende en familie van heinde en ver bel vriende daar gehou het, het nog rondgestaan. vriende en familie van die toerlede ingesluit h
bruidegom	maak? Mag hulle net oor die Bruidegom praat of ook oor sy bruid? Di bruidegom in sy gitswart pak behoorlik bruidegom boonop so deeglik geborsel
jongheer	not present in corpus

oom	hulle (die super-Afrikaners) en Tsitsi die teks wat in die teken van in die kerk sit? Hulle twee en gelees het; bo in die koel langhuis platjie van 'n Burgert-broer van hom, oor my onderdeur begin loer. "Môre, oom," het die drie pragtige, identiese blou-oog	(oom oom oom oom oom Oom," joernalis joernalis joernalis joernalis joernalis	Boeta se huishulp van Rhodesië) asook di Tys Theron se naderende bankrotkap st Arend? Sy ma sal seker vir almal Izak Tol wat almal op die plaas Sam met die pyne in die bene sou wees– wat nog tot onlangs fin vertel as hy regtig wil hê die skryf gewoonlik ander mense se Ek het twee universiteitsgrade en nie. Ook nie vir jou nie, wah-wah
joernalis	vermoed dat hy eendag 'n bekende sy storie aan AFP of 'n Franse oos in my geval: 'n Artikelskrywer of 'n tienerdokter op skool. Ek is 'n n 'n Vauxhall Corsa) vertrou hy géén	joernalis joernalis joernalis joernalis joernalis	begin. Hy het verrek hou die te
wewenaar	Karel was 'n uiters bevoorregte	wewenaar.	Ek het begin wonder oor die
eggenoot	vierkantig op die skouers van die n Vrou is die verlengstuk van haar	eggenoot. eggenoot	God het aan hom die rol van se gesag; dit beteken dooede
kêrel (oukêrel)	teenwoordigheid van 'n jongmeisie aan 'n is natuurlik om 'n Franse nooi of ons in die klas was 'n groot penties dra. "Kyk, Dottie sal eendag baie ek kon nooit hot stuff word met	kêrel kêrel kêrel kêrels kêrels	in sy sewentigs kan doen. Eerstens hi te kry. Vir die twee verliefdes is van Standerton af, met die naam van kry. Sy dra nog ordentlike bloomers. nie. En voor ek behoorlik kon leer
klaer	gekwoeteer op 6 Junie 2009, aan die voldoen wel aan die vereistes wat die Die onenigheid het ontstaan omdat die die verweerder nie verseker het dat die	klaer, klaer klaer klaer	Mnr. K, verskaf, teen die gekwoeteerde vooraf bepaal het en waarop hulle moe nie oor voldoende kennis beskik het o wel in staat is om die produk
ouens	niemand weet nie, maar laat ek julle e La Poudrière, die weermagkamp waar hulle hom wil vermoor, word al die deur 'n klein groepie baie wrede jong	ouens ouens ouens ouens	nou vanaand een ding sê: Laat ek soos dié bloot weens hul etnisiteit as uit die noorde gejaag," begin hy. Verlede van Guei se streek in die suidweste,
akteur (akteur)	moet ons net regtig gaan!" Trap twee ers, joernaliste en 'n paar verdwaalde Kowalik en Kiril Kulish, saam as beste an die toneelspel-kategorieë gaan die ding mee om die prys vir beste	akteurs akteurs akteur akteurs akteur	onder dieselfde dak nie soms op mi wat hier woon. Die sukses van Afrika in 'n musiekspel –benoem is. Billy El wat daarin speel selfs met mekaar c in 'n toneelstuk, –terwyl Marcia Gay
onderwyser (onderwysers)	het, waarvan die ouer mense en sy af. Takahashi wil nie kopgee dat die rou Van Dewald, ons skoolhoof. Die as jy my net sê hoe." Die ere. Die kinders het geen respek vir	onderwysers onderwysers onderwysers onderwyser onderwysers	met trane in die oë gepraat het. vir ons mag skoolhou nie. Juffrou E en die ma's praat mooi, maar hy in my begin swig. "Hoekom wil jy nie want hulle raas en veroorsaak
sanger	evangelisasieveldtogte), Charles Jacoby (die naam is Alassane Ndour. Ja, soos die	sanger) sanger.	en sy perd Valour, oom Boeta-hulle Sy tande glim. Nee, geen familieverb
neef	nie, maar uit 'n lang fles. Die 'n stukkie wors, my ou gunsteling c hoor jy is ouderling Beukman se vord nie. Gelukkig is ons deur my was bereid om op grond van sy	neef neef. neef, neef neef	was die eenvoudige mense van die plaas Jy weet tog dat ek altyd lief nè?" en hy verwys toe na die Bertus du Plessis in die eg verbind-se geloofwaardigheid met die plegtigheid
kleinseun	haar uitbeweeg het. Volgens Koch se	kleinseun	Jan Fick was sy oupa so naby
skoonpa	"Hulle vryf sout in my wonde. My	skoonpa	glo ek probeer Evette kwalik
koning (konings)	die meulenaar se jongste seun openbaar nie: die prinses, die vir hom gekomponeer, oor die der is 'n parmantige Yorkie wat aar in Gauteng is Jakaranda die	koning. koning, koning koning koning	Na Charles Perrault Die een oomblik die booswig, die helper/versorger... wat nie kon onthou Wat hy gedroom kraai in Anel en James se huis. van musiekradiostasies onder Afrika:
boer (boere)	'n buitewagpos van die afvalliges die reheerde omstandige gekweek word. g van kapitaalwinstbelasting (KWB) en wat ingestel word en dit beteken dat deer, lyk ook nie aanvaarbaar nie en t kan nogal 'n nagmerrie wees omdat	Boere Boere boere boere boere boere	by 'n beeskraal gekonfronteer. Die burgers h mag nog 'n boord koejawelbome op die sal deeglik daarvan kennis moet neem. Die en ondernemers wat van tyd tot tyd sal dit in hul beplanning in ag baie masjinerie eenmalig vervang of verkoop

president	nthede wat jy op televisie sien– die te lojaliteit sal lei. Met beste wense die Technikon OVS nie! Die plek is et gereeld meer mense soggens na eleiers, Louis Botha, waarnemende	<p>president</p> <p>President</p> <p>President</p> <p>President</p> <p>president</p>	wat netjies wag terwyl een na d Swartpark, Bloemfontein. En die Swartpark gestroom as smidda Schalk Burger, president Steyn,
skrywer (used as feminine noun)	ede was nie daarvan bewus dat die is now again on commando", lui 'n Afrika... C.J. Langenhoven, geliefde en. Ontspan, sê Marina Petropulos, rsorg Handboek (uitgegee deur die n sedert daardie ou dae die woord	<p>skrywer</p> <p>skrywe</p> <p>skrywer</p> <p>skrywer</p> <p>skrywer,</p> <p>"Skrywer"</p>	glo met die dogter van president F van 4 Februarie 1901. Na hul pa van die volk, is op 15 Julie van Die Baba– en Kindersorg Hanc 1999). "Om regtig die potjie te gel agter sy naam in die gids gevoeg.
voorsitter (used as feminine noun)	400 000 per jaar), sê Lester Brown, het sommige om verdaging gevra. Die die spel van uitvoer." Nortjé, wat ook van die Suid–Afrikaanse Lugmag, hy is van die Vivo–koshuisvereniging en ook organisasie gestig. Mev. Karin Pienaar,	<p>voorsitter</p> <p>voorsitter,</p> <p>voorsitter</p> <p>voorsitter</p> <p>voorsitter</p> <p>voorsitter</p>	van die Worldwatch Institute, 'n nie-winsg kol. Abraham Davenport, het daarop ges van die nasionale Nawelwerkgroep van d van die Vivo–koshuisvereniging en ook vc van die Weipe–boerevereniging. Maar uit van dié organisasie, sê die doel daarvan
digter	–17 n.C.) het hierdie twee Latynse , skoonveld en ruveld, gemunt. Die taalgebruik. Die Zen–Boeddhistiese 'n student en sit saam met die sing: Ag, ja, wat sal ons sonder	<p>digters</p> <p>digter</p> <p>digter</p> <p>digter</p> <p>digters</p>	die verbeelding van skrywers en skilders I.D. du Plessis was ook 'n sportjoernalis Breyten Breytenbach se digkuns, byvoort Ernst van Heerden langs die see in in 'n taal doen? Hulle verskaf die
kunstenaar (kunstenars)	sowat driehonderd mense gebou word. tot vandag nie sy sjarme verloor nie. 'n groot bron van inspirasie en die 'soek en individuele denke te ontwikkel. Mense wat navraag wil doen oor die	<p>Kunstenaars</p> <p>Kunstenaars</p> <p>kunstenaar</p> <p>Kunstenaars</p> <p>kunstenaar</p>	van Oudtshoorn en omgewing sal die staan steeds met verslae respek en f in Colette wil net werk, werk, werk. en skrywers– Leonardo da Vinci, Micf en sy konserte, kan7079–491–9230
held (helde) (used as feminine noun)	eenbeen–bliksoldaat hom ook soos 'n ie eenvoudige mense van die plaas se Jy moet net êrens hoor wie die verwysings nie. Die rolspelers is dikwels en Theseus. Die gevegte waarin hierdie	<p>held</p> <p>held.</p> <p>held</p> <p>helde</p> <p>helde</p>	gedra en honderde vyandige soldate En Miriam was mooi, selfs vir dié van die stuk is. Hy of sy en gode wat altyd (anders as in betrokke raak, neem ook verbysterende
bestuurder (bestuurders)	belangstelling in P word waardeer. Die uwe ndag aan die verpligtinge skenk. Met agting mnr M in aanraking gebring word. Groete. 'n bus tot stilstand kom, moes die val, groei hy," sê Johan de Villiers, om te protesteer teen party van die meer as een keer ver ons geagte	<p>BESTUURDER</p> <p>Bestuurder</p> <p>Bestuurder</p> <p>bestuurder</p> <p>bestuurder:</p> <p>bestuurder</p> <p>bestuurder</p>	ter wille van die veiligheid nog 'n omgewing van die Tygerberg–adr se reëls: Die nie–blanke huurders dit gevra en ons bestuur sê hier
profeet (boereprofeet)	keer in die stem van 'n eie net Jesus wat gevind het dat 'n le regsgeleerde is wat die Groot in Hosea wou doen. Hosea was? Hosea was? profeet. Die taak van? kend te maak. Meeste kere het?	<p>profeet.</p> <p>profeet</p> <p>Profeet</p> <p>profeet.</p> <p>profeet</p> <p>profeet</p>	Die kern van hierdie leringe was die nie in sy eie land geëer word van Intelligente Ontwerp geword het) en Die taak van? profeet in die Ou in die Ou Testament was om die met woorde gepraat. Dan was hy soos?
direkteur (direkteure) (used as feminine noun)	ebehuisingsstelsels te verbeter. Mnr. Heyl is is dit soveel makliker, sê Marieta Ferreira, e Ontwerp–beweging geword het, soos die verslag wat deur Roger Brown, uitvoerende : gevaar nie," meen prof. Hussein Solomon, :dere onvermydelik groter. Shao Mingli, die rbaar hoog is." Volgens dr. Angela Mathee,	<p>direkteur</p> <p>direkteur</p> <p>direkteur</p> <p>direkteur</p> <p>direkteur</p> <p>direkteur</p> <p>direkteur</p>	van Dalein Plasbou (Edms) Bpk. van 'n krisissenrum vir swanger 1 van die Amerikaanse Skeptics So van die skuldberadermaatskapp van die Sentrum vir Internasionale van China se Voedsel en Medisyne van die MNR se eenheid vir omge
eienaar (eienaars)	ie 2003 Meneer DORPSHOEWE H14 As rekom soortgelyk aan die ander hoewe ie versoek in vir oorweging namens die van aandeelblokke in N, P. Die huidige ie verkryging van kwotasies besef. Alle	<p>eienaar</p> <p>eienaars.</p> <p>eienaars</p> <p>eienaar</p> <p>eienaar</p>	van genoemde hoewe verneem ek of di Verder loop die waterpyp, dienspad en van aandeelblokke in N, P. Die huidige is: <h weglating> Klousule 9 van die het instemmende reageer behalwe Mnr
redakteur	wat vir meer as dertig jaar taalkundige Nasionale Pers, met prof. J.J. Smith as jy wegkom!" Ek en Willie Kühn, later te laat erken. Hy word in 1912 eds. Hy word sterk gekritiseer deur die anse koerant in Suid–Afrika, Rapport, se	<p>redakteur</p> <p>redakteur.</p> <p>redakteur</p> <p>redakteur</p> <p>redakteur</p> <p>redakteur,</p>	van Nasionale Pers was, het in 1921 'n Kwart van die inhoud van De van Beeld en Huisgenoot, was tot me van die blad, Het Zuid–Westen, waar van Rapport. Transformasie vereis di Tim du Plessis, glo dat as die

<i>meneer</i> <i>(mnr)</i>	ord maagde, skaapwagter word herder, "Van 'n inrigting weet ek nou nie, "Ek sal nou nie kan sê nie, wanneer die kind eendag groot is?" "Ja, uit klap?" Hou haar onnooshk. "Wat wil die kind groot is?" "Ekskuus, ek het nmernis van miss Ingrid se hart gewees,	<i>meneer</i> <i>meneer.</i> <i>meneer.</i> <i>meneer."</i> <i>meneer</i> <i>meneer</i> <i>meneer,</i>	word my heer, vlerke word vleuels, e Net van dat hy altemits kon skool Miss Ingrid het eendag mooi vir die Ja is goed genoeg. Hy't mos nie uit my uit klap?" Hy rys orent seker sleg geverstaan. Baie erge kor daardie ding van Boetatjie wat moet
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(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 21

Concordance Lines Epicene Nouns (1911-1920)

Excerpts Of Patterns Of Use (1911-1920)			
Lemma and Interesting Forms	Excerpt Of Concordance Lines		
persoon (<i>persone</i>)	Invloedrijke deputaties het die regerings het- wat Transvaal betref- die betrokke dus in Julie 1908 aangestel in die Timo Kriel is nie heeltemal 'n onbekende maar nie op die manier as 'n van 'n "diamant delfer" gebruik. Let die	<i>persone</i> <i>persone</i> <i>persoon</i> <i>persoon</i> <i>persoon</i> <i>persoon</i>	ontmoet en die saak bepleit. Op 'n ook daarvoor gesorg dat hulle iets w van Mnr. J. J. A. Coetsee. Die nie. Drie jaar lang het hij gedien 'n tuin omspit nie. Hier beteken die maar goed op hoe hij die aarde
ouer (<i>ouers</i>)	reeds op die grond." Hy het sy kinders het die voorreg gehad hulle j rijk sal word, als sij hoogbejaarde is die enigste seun van welgestelde ouers en van baie goeie famielie. Sij	<i>ouers</i> <i>ouers</i> <i>ouers</i> <i>ouers</i> <i>ouers</i>	tata en memme genoem- 'n gebruik pa en ma te noem. Met al wat nou in die tentwa is, eendag en van baie goeie famielie. Sij ouers het hom egter veels te jonk sij
kind (<i>kinders</i> , <i>kindertjies</i> , <i>kinderen</i> , <i>kindjie</i> , <i>kinderlike</i>)	als ik die vermoge besit om mijn and, die beduienis van die woord mijn latere lewe, toen ik mijn eie logiese definiesie, van die woord e mense, die opvoeding van hulle	<i>kind</i> <i>kind</i> . <i>kind</i> <i>kind</i> . <i>kinders</i> ,	lange jare genoeg op skool te hou Op skool het hulle mij verder geleer op mijn skouer gedraag en mijn arms En als ik nou die korrelaat van hulle kerk, ens., ens., vraë, wat ek
hoof (<i>hoofd</i> , <i>hoofde</i>)	sponde gestaan het en die dokter sijn siel gevoel wat ik tevore in mij die Reize van Sparram bevat selfs 'n enut, maar als minderwaardig oor die word daar by die begrafnis van die die gehele mens opgevoed moet word,	<i>hoof</i> <i>hoof</i> <i>hoof</i> : <i>hoof</i> <i>hoof</i> <i>hoof</i> ,	skud en vir mij fluister: "Ik vrees reeds wis: die eigenlike betekenis, dieper "Berispingen van Kolbe"! Le Vaillant laat h gesien werd. Die gevolg hiervan was, dat van seker volke 'n getal vingerlitte met hart en hand. Maar dit lyk of
baba (<i>baby</i> , <i>babetjie</i>)	was nie 'n kleinigheid nie om drie drie babetjies op te kweek, want ns.ens. en ons het heerlijk gesels-	<i>babetjies</i> <i>babetjies</i> <i>Baby</i>	op te kweek, want babetjies was hulle was hulle al drie; Hettie en Lettie, was ook daar. Sy het driemaal [gedip]
individu (<i>individue</i>)	kom trouwens altijd voor, tussen Ten eerste krij ons te doen met	<i>individue</i> <i>individu'e</i>	selfs, tussen verskillende famielies van so'n aard, ten tweede met kla:
personeel	is alles still! Is die hele onderwysers	<i>personeel</i>	so tevrede met die Salaris-
soldaat	Maar Mokwaseli die man, die getrouweid. Als 'n getrouwe :n at die metselaar, verminkte	<i>soldaat</i> , <i>soldaat</i> <i>soldaat</i> ,	hij sal vanaand 'n mooi p staat hij op s'n post. S'n die skoemaker, en wat
inwoner (<i>inwoners</i>)	nog die soet-stille rus van die ran die weinige oorspronklike rder 'n eikeboom gestaan. Die 'n volk reg kan doen. Als die liever vir 'n van ons Afrikaner dorp 25 jaar na sijn vestiging 300 blanke	<i>inwoners</i> <i>inwoners</i> <i>inwoners</i> <i>inwoners</i> <i>inwoners?</i> <i>inwoners</i>	aan, en slegs hier en daar stijg van die land, wat die stroom van daarvan was ou ledries en ou Sina- van die afhankelike land vas pak aan Hier is tog knap Afrikaners." "Hier is en 200 (ingevoerde) slawe getel 't. Die
dokter (<i>dokters</i>)	sendelinge. Geskenke is toe aan altwee ore krij Ignaas Breeding, 'n welbekende ik moet jou allernoodsakelikst sien." Die het; met sij hele hart wou hij en toe na ses jaar Naas as Dus kan jij wel denk dat die	<i>dokters</i> <i>dokter</i> <i>dokter</i> <i>dokter</i> <i>Dokter</i> <i>Dokter</i>	gegee, maar die sendeling kry niks. Hoe in Johannesburg, 'n telegram van sij broer was nie erg tevrede met die boodskap; worde, maar daar had die vader van terug kom, en 'n vlukse Engelse vrouw blij was, dat hij Ouboetie weer sou

student (<i>studente</i>)	maak nie. Hij is mos 'n ou 'n end aan gemaak word dat die naar Amerika gekom. Maar soas baie en. En, omdat die gewoonte onder die stoomboot, met 'n klompie Afrikaanse goed. Tien jaar gelede, toe ek nog ologie geword het. 'n Veel belowende	student studente studente studente studente student student	van ons kollege, en dus sal die so vrijspel het om te raas en maak het hij die een deel van so algemeen is, verbaas dit ons glad aan boord, wat na die voltooiing van was in München, het ek dikwels myn is hy gewees, en sy heengaan is
lid (<i>lede, leden, ledemate, lidmaat, lidmate</i>)	ontrouw geword het aan die tweede Boesman die gewoonte gehad om 'n z zijn spijt het 't Bestuur dat ieder Bestuur zal verblijd zijn indien ieder Ermelo en 'n verligte Afrikaner tevens	lid lid lid lid lid	van sij tweevoudige sinspreuk, "Vir Moec van 'n vinger (gewoonlik van die pinkie) dit jaar zijn eigen onkosten zal moeten zijn eigen beker, bord, mes, vork, en van die kommissie, het £100 voor die
speler (<i>spelers</i>)	die veld en toe volg die lot	spelers	hom. Ek moet darem sê, c
leerder	not present in corpus		
burger (<i>burgers</i>)	ontwikkeling te maak als mens en als Fransman, Barbier, met behulp van 'n jlp en simpatie kan hul weer waardige burgers word van 'n staat, wat flinke eldhouwkuns gelê het. Want die ander En dan moes Komdt. Fourie en sij	burger. "burger" burgers burgers burgers burgers	Nou nog op die ogenblik, terwijl ik Pletsholt. Dat Afrikaans dan ook 'n "n word van 'n staat, wat flinke burgers en viral hulle kinders nodig het en het deur hulle nuwsgierige of belangs nog veg eers met 'n afdeling polisie
professor (<i>prof. professore, professors</i>)	nie geskrywe gewees het nie als roord van dank aan mijn kollega, dit mij bij dat een van die te laat groei is eenvoudig onmogelik. ander in die pastorie, waar ook 'n	Prof. Prof. professore Professor professor	Dr. J.D. du Toit, wat die noodsaaklikheid Francken, vir welwillende raadgewing op die vorige keer die opmerking ge Widtsoe en baje ander groot landl was, en dat hulle deur die kamer
oorledene	na 'Too'Ga, die vergaderplek van die verdedig, en kos verkry; maar as die	oorledene. oorledene	As Stow se bewering reg is, kan onpopulêr is, begrawe hul hom s
jongmens (<i>jongmense</i>)	en die vrolike getrap van die as werk in die lewe van 'n et nie alleen gesorg word om met al die astrantheid van 'n e van die wakende engel. Die	jongmense jongmens jongmense jongmens jongmense	hoor. Almaal was haar vriend; en vir noodsaaklik is. Doelloosheid is die gev van seker plekke weg te hou nie: die knelbande af te werp en nasionale weet nou hulle is nie te alleen
atleet	not present in corpus		
vyand (<i>vijand</i>)	kind ongewapend tussen sij bitterste kklik is. Doelloosheid is die gevaarlike mwenteling, toen die koning voor sijn hom op sijn solder verberg. Toen die	vijande vijand. vijande vijande	gelaat, en kan hij die kind nou Daar moet nie alleen gesorg word om moes vlug, hom op sijn solder verberg. weer weg was, het hij die koning
deelnemer (<i>deelnemers</i>)	Aansoeke om logies kan deur alle	deelnemers	aan die Kongres gestuur word i
besoeker (<i>besoekers</i>)	aan sij vrouw gesê, om tog geen nabyheid van dié huis word die :nd> MAPELA! Dit is moeilik vir 'n nabel te noeme, maar- sodra hul n ingevoer, wat Genève deur alle js vir ons 'n besonder simpatieke	besoekers besoeker besoeker besoeker besoekers besoeker.	bij hom toe te laat nie. Die nog 'n paar bome aangewys, wat daar om die sombere betekenis te verstaan weg was het hul ook somaarso weer laat bewonder het; en in hom vereer Alleen al as verteenwoordiger van die v
leser (<i>lesers, leseresse, lezers</i>) (distinguishes feminine noun)	rusie-sug verdrijf. Glo mij, trouwe, geagte die boer en sij famielie, moet die kon ontvang !Maar wag! Ek moet die :ur=Scaevola> Een Nieuwe Dichtskool. Die die boekie ten seerste aan bij onse hoofoorsake van die Grote Trek is elke VAN SIKE. (Uit de "Boeren Vriend.") Die	leser, leser leser lesers lesers. leser leseresse	jij wat misskien Sondags 'n paar sillings verstaan dat dit die dogter was wat nou darem eers waarskuw dat dit nie sal misskien verwonder opkijk naar die bov Dit is verkrijgbaar bij "Het Westen", Bus bekend hoe min hij ook mog weet moet goed verstaan dat als iemand dodelik
predikant	Izak:" Kêrel, vanaand moet jij jouw lijf die famielie maar swak," het 'n seker in, omdat hij broer was van die :kose nie, omdat oom Andries altijd als Ds. C. W. Du Toit, die Hervormde Roth, 'n Hollander wat later in Amerika	predikant predikant predikant. predikant predikant predikant	hou! Toen Izak hierbij vreemd opkijk, s altoos aan sijn klas gesê, toen hij Hoewel daarteen nog g'n wet bestaan f daar gestaan het. Sagmoedigheid was s van Potchefstroom. Stephanus Jacobus ' geword het, het dit ook opgemerk en

kliënt (klienten)	hij," nou voel ik warmer." Die volgende uitgereikte Dagvaarding, zyn wy door onze viceereen van bedoeld verslag hebben onze eenige lasterlyke taal van of omtrent uwen om zyn eer te krenken. Trouwens onze	klient Klienten klienten klient klienten	was 'n boereuseun van sowat drie-en-twint de bovengenoemde Verweerdere, geïnstru te goeder trouw en zonder eenige kwade te bezigen, of om zyn eer te erkennen niet dat gemeld verslag iets laste
ondersteuner (ondersteunen)	ik jou met macht en kracht zou verklaard hebben dat zy ons alleen zouden ons Potchefstroomse vriende tot ons ijwerigste	ondersteunen ondersteunen ondersteuners	in jou voorstellen en het was my zolang de oorlog duurt. Jooste ec behoort. Wanneer mens die jubili
minister (ministers)	ons betreur dit ten seerste, dat ons dat gewaarborg word dat die verantwoordelike seker sal hulle sig nog herinner, hoe spelling; en in 1901 het die Franse prijs verdien, sal ons dan weer die pa nie missskien Generaal Bothma, die eerste	ministers ministers minister Minister Minister minister	van hulle ondergeskiktes 'n lessie moes ter plaatse die kontrole behou oor die Burton geroem het op die weldadige inv van Onderwys, met die goedkeuring van die nodige lof toeswaai. Was jij al nie"? Hij bars uit in 'n lag
model (modelle)	aantrek; die benaming "gewigte" vir die laat jeuk het om hom vir 'n :revrouw het laas gevra naar patrone of	modelle model modelle	self, is egter vandag algemeen gebruiklik. te hê. Sij mensliwendheid en goed-harti van kappies, en het verskeie antwoorde c
kollega (kollega's)	De Unie," iets van eie ondervinding aan : "Onderwijs Gazette" sal bespreek word, sal steeds die lof en roem van sij roer in die naburige provinsies onder die egter aan die ander kant van heelwat	kollega's kollega's kollegas kollega's! kollega's,	sou meedeel nie. Meer dan een beginner van grote ondervinding nie nou toetree en en sij medeburgers verwerf deur die held Hoër salarisse word gevra (een seksie in wat nog nie tevrede is en seer
appellant	not present in corpus		
woordvoerder	not present in corpus		

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 22

Concordance Lines Epicene Nouns (1941-1950)

Excerpts Of Patterns Of Use (1941-1950)	
Lemma and Interesting Forms	Excerpt Of Concordance Lines
persoon (<i>persone</i>)	ongegron d. Wat wel waar is, is dat persone wat die mikroskoop deeglik kan hanteer, hanteer, baie meer kan sien as die persoon wat dit nie kan hanteer nie en hang af van die aanwesigheid van besmette persone (of diere) wat water met eierhoudende ui d van geskikte waterslakke en kontak tussen persone en water wat serkariëë bevat. Vir S. vloed op vatbaarheid vir besmetting, hoewel persone onder 20 jaar meer dikwels besmet is
ouer (<i>ouers</i>)	regmaak vir die toekoms. Maar Elsa se ouers het die saak anders ingesien. Húl dogterkon lewe en die natuur te ontdek. Die ouers was tevrede: Aandrus sou ná hul dood ek weer eendag na jou toe. My ouers is al so nuuskierig om die Ketting ner gou weer." En Nonnie probeer haar ouer suster troos. „Maar sê nou net hy jou. Verstaan, jy is te jonk. Jou ouers sal nooit toelaat dat ons nou al is die verlore seun en hy die ouer broer wat nooit verkeerd gedoen het nie." in hom oor sy houding jeens sy ouers was, vernietig. Daar is wel nog die
kind (<i>kinders, kindjie, kindertjies,</i>)	van verpligte skoolbesoek vir alle blanke kinders van 7 tot 14 jaar. Aanvanklik is die onderwyser se taak by die dom kind lê want die slimme leer self. So vrou gekniel by die graf van hul kindjie alles volgehou in die verhewe, gloedvolle, geen oes mee nie. Hy en sy kinders sien nie meer die son opkom nie. an, het die besondere psigologie van die kind en die adollesent breedvoerig behandel,
hoof (<i>hoofde</i>)	algemene verswakking, subnormale groei, hoof- en ruggie en duiseligheid word dikwels by met 'n tergende gesig toelag. Met sy hoof op sy hand gestut, sit professor De versteurde nes, en dit gons deur sy hoof soos 'n konsertinaspel en die gegons van nie gehoor het nie. Hy het sy hoof instemmend geknik, en langsaam het hy gesê: uitnodiging om binne te kom, verskyn die hoof van 'n kelner vir 'n oomblik in
baba (<i>babetjie, babatjies</i>)	Daarom het Hy elke ouderdom deurleef, 'n babatjie geword vir 'n babatjies geword vir 'n babatjies geword vir babatjies om die Dingies-politoer op jou vloere as daar 'n baba geword vir babatjies om die babatjies te om die babatjies te heilig, 'n kind te heilig, 'n kind vir kinders om in die huis is wat gedurig onder
individu (<i>individue</i>)	spysvertering, hardlywigheid, ens., ens. Elke individu is 'n ekonomiese eenheid en 'n nodige stappe nie gedoen word om die individu geskik te hou nie? Daar moet persoon nie so groot is nie. Die individuele, die persoonlike kenmerke tree meer die belangrikste is, terwyl die enkeling, die individu die belangrikste is in die opperlaag, volgens wat die pasiënt kan verdra, daar individue hierin verskil. Hoes onmiddellik na b my doel om vas te stel hoeveel individue van elke soort in 'n vierkantjie en
personeel	van Klara Hefer, 'n dame in die personeel en 'n besondere huisvriendin. Da getalle en by gebrek aan die nodige personeel en ruimte, vir ure soms toustaan 'n pos gekry en wel in die personeel van die Hugenote-Gedenkskool. 'n pos gekry en wel in die personeel van die Publieke Skool te Carnar isser diens aanvaar as assistent in die personeel en onkoste gemaak word; maar ; wat haastig-haastig, met 'n minimum
soldaat	skote wat Trekker en Britse soldaat op mekaar gevuur het by K de botsing tussen die Britse soldaat en die Trekker oorkant die s, Liedere en Gebede van 'n Soldaat van Van Wyk Louw, Aan die ge met Britse sendelinge en soldate, en Kafferopperhoofde en ve
inwoner (<i>inwoners</i>)	in sy uitoefening van kontrole oor die inwoners van suidelike Transoranje oor 'n klein Dis 'n opvallende verskynsel dat al die inwoners van 'n beskaafde land nie dieselfde p bloeiendste tydperk nie meer as 600,000 inwoners gehad nie; en Wales, 'n ander land of sewe huisies rond versprei. Die getal inwoners was naastenby 40. Die Poskantoor wa
dokter (<i>dokters</i>)	die Volksraad self, nog nie 'n enkele dokter in die Republiek woonagtig nie en het bestel het. Af en toe het 'n dokter uit Natal die Republiek besoek, maar "t gebreek moet word, was ongetwyfeld ou dokter B. Poortman, gebore op 17 Oktober 18 Hy het die edel werk wat die dokters vir die land en volk kon doen, mens lewe om te dien, en die dokter, waaraan ons land so 'n nypende tekort
student (<i>studente</i>)	Here Professore en Lektore, Dames en Here Studente, sal kan gesê word nie, en laat mediese skool kry soiets nooit van ons studente is. Onderwyl gryp Niesie ewe skelm 'n Christiana kom en een van die beste studente in die Jaarboek vir Dekker aan die skrywe, waar hy juis een van sy

lid (lede)	rig. Ek laat my ompraat en word wêreldgeskiedenis. Ons volk as geheel en elke gedompel was, het ook mnr. Saul Solomon ¹ , van haar dogter, mev. Broers, sedert 1908 Carinus 'n tydlank presidente en daarná troue ianuskrip: "By die vergadering is skrywer deses,	lid. lid. lid. lid. lid. lid.	Hierdie rapport- ryers was vrygestel daarvan individueel behoort die Vier van die Kaapse Parlement, ontroer. I en vanaf 1915 presidente van die Hk tot op 90-jarige leeftyd van die Pret geword van skynbaar toevallig ontmc
speler (spelers)	jou skoene ingesamel as enige ander Bv. Nie meer as drie of vier nie van hoor om 'n groter aantal	speler spelers, spelers	wat ooit aan hierdie skool verbonde as dit moontlik is nie- die radio te laat kom nie; dit is beter
leerder	not present in corpus		
burger (burgers)	offisiere het wou baas speel oor sommige onderneming soms misluk of die gewillige edenheid veroorsaak het onder die ander nskappe nie. Die gehoorsame en getroue maar my plig sal ek doen as enbare lewe geword het, kom die gewone	burgers burgers burgers. burger burger burger	en dit het twiste veroorsaak. Dan weer in onnodige gevaar gekom het. Daar was Gevolglik het wrywing en ontevredenheid (het nooit geweet wanneer hy in die van die land." „Ek stem nie met selde in beroering. Wat aangehou het was
professor (prof.)	o.m. met dr. W. J. Viljoen, bekende is in dié opsig baie verskuldig aan daar aan die leiding van sake staan. die doseerwerk aan te stel nie; die W. Kruger, M.A., van senior lektor tot	professor professor Professore professore professor	in Nederlands op Stellenbosch en aanv Macowan, wat my van die begin aan, en lektore maak die inrigting; hul denk en lektore moet oortuigde Christelike e in Geskiedenis; mnr. P. B. Ackermann,
oorledene	illeg om die swak eienskappe van die mnr. Pieter Naudé, 'n swaer van die	oorledene oorledene,	te vergeet en vir 'n oomblik ('n klompie sipresboompies g
jongmens (jongmense)	dat die beste jare vir die meeste huwelike verdrag is omdat hierdie getroetel het. Ek weet nie of die hou moet word. Tog, aan duisende kan oorbring. Die kortste pad vir 'n	jongmense jongmense jongmense jongmense jongmeisie	in Amerika netsoos in Suid-Afrika v nie in staat is om werk te van vandag soveel plesier beleef u in ons skole word vertel dat daar na die operasie-tafel is om 'n huw
atleet	not present in corpus		
vyand (vyande)	al sy kennisse, vriende, en selfs en op sy hoede te bly vir erland geskied het, en hoemeer n die Afrikaner se twee bitterste ulle dan deur die land van hulle	vyande vyande vyande vyande, vyande,	bereidwillig om die swak eienskappe v van die Kompanjie. Net die Portugese v ons nou maak hoe minder vriende sal Joe Chamberlain en Cecil Rhodes, was : met wie hulle gedurig in oorlog verkeer
deelnemer	not present in corpus		
besoeker (besoekers)	like helde gelewe, nie soos 'n tydelike moet die vredeliewende deel van die het, nê?" en hy bekyk die ander in die lente van 1946, toe duisende Moerdyk) sy toestemming verleen dat	besoeker besoekers besoekers besoekers besoekers	van 'n eiland nie. Daardeur i keer dat dit nie maklik is nie vraend. „Ja," kom die antwo in die hoofstad was, het die die monument kan besoek "
leser (lesers)	waarde wees en gelukkig dat ons die nkelbaar vas. Maar vanwaar die krag? ekwart miljoen Afrikaners en ons geen en roes. Ek laat dit aan die meen dat dit genoeg is vir elke	leser Leser, lesers leser leser.	die voordeel kan gee van die oordeel u moet dan nog 'n ander borsbeeld onder die miljoene van Nederland en ' oor om te oordeel of ek dit Verder moet hy maar nie in die
predikant	die meer ontwikkelde persone soos fering oor die koms van die tweede gebring het in 1854. Toe die nuwe gewend om gelegitimeer te word tot Ladysmith (Natal) as waarnemende opgeneem is. Uit die pen van die	predikante, predikant, predikant predikant predikant predikant	onderwysers, amptenare, ens.) nuus wat Smellekamp uit Neder ds. Dirk Postma in 1858 aanko van die Ned. Geref. Kerk. Toe op te tree en as waarnemende van die Ned. Geref. Kerk op La
kliënt	not present in corpus		
ondersteuner (ondersteuners)	beurtelings na die burgemeester, sy S. J. du Toit en 'n ywerige nie meer as 'n karige paar honderd wat agter hom staan; daar is talle	ondersteuners ondersteuner ondersteuners ondersteuners	buite en na Wynand. van die Afrikanerbond. In 15 het nie. Hoewel hulle heelter wat vrywillig sy kandidatuur
minister	uitgebrei. Die versoek van die Franse word. Ook het die Sekretaris van die MNR. STIEMENS: Die Sekretaris en die eenkomstig 'n versoek van die Eerste is onderhoude tussen ds. Albertyn en	Minister Ministerie Minister Minister, Minister	van Onderwys aan Binet in 1904 g van Voedselvoorrade (Moran en D het alreeds besluit (op 'n ander st dit noodsaaklik is om onmiddellik Stals waarby ek teenwoordig was.

model <i>(modelle)</i> (instances of use as common noun)	ir. Hierdie styl is seer nobel, dergelike en voorlees, en altyd toesien dat die word deur die nabootsing van 'n goeie Minister in werklikheid geskoei is op 'n	modelle model model. model	ontmoet mens nie aldag nie. Van onbesproke is, aangesien goeie s Klein kinders se gedagtes is fragr uit die vorige eeu en dit in
kollega	moes gaan. Ek wil hier my twee vir sake. Daar ontmoet ek toe my 'n minder knap chirurg nie as sy spat. Daar word gesê dat daardie ou tweede keer in die tronk gestop. Sy	kollegas kollega, kollega kollegas kollega	seker ook namens u hartlik b ons dapper kaptein van die la wat alles met die 'mes wil reg van ons nooit sonde gehad he het sy lewe in die gevangenis
appellant	not present in corpus		
woordvoerder	naoorlogse jare sy vernaamste draer en woordvoerder in die suide gevind		

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 23

Concordance Lines Epicene Nouns (1971-1980)

Excerpts Of Patterns Of Use (1971-1980)			
Lemma and Interesting Forms	Excerpt Of Concordance Lines		
persoon	interpretasie wat gedoen is deur die gekontroleer is deur 'n onafhanklike deur 'n onafhanklike persoon. Enige outief gedoen word. 'n Onafhanklike fter werk wat hy moet verrig. Hierdie tyd tot tyd deur 'n verantwoordelike	persoon persoon. persoon persoon persoon persoon	wat die tenderwerk verrig. 'n Groot p Enige persoon begaan foute maar in begaan foute maar in die hedendaag moet dus die berekenings en syfers k moet waar moontlik ook 'n algemene gekontroleer word. In die bestaande
ouer (ouers)	bande wat jou hier bind nie- geen dit oor haar regterskouer. "Ander glimlaggie. "Jaco, ons is darem jou Elsa met hul twee seuntjies en haar haar ouers, Herman en Maryna se hou. Sy was 'n meisiekind. Nie veel	ouers ouers ouers," ouers, ouers ouer	wat 'n oorval sal wil kry as laat hulle kinders leer sonder om 'r sê sy ma en is onmiddellik bang Herman en Maryna se ouers natuur natuurlik ook, Herman-hulle se nee as Snoekie nie. Miskien tog. Sy het
kind (kinders, kindjie, kindermeisie,	wanneer hulle mans in die werk en r. By die fabriekkampong het swart erskille opnoem. "Gaan my vrou, of vir 'n tyd by sekere groepe jong iders 'n ernstige probleem wees. 'n jeugjare as norm gebruik om haar	kinders kinders kind kinders Kind kinders	by die skool was, kon nie juis die groep met sang verwelkom. die regte soort kos kry of gaan 'n ernstige probleem wees. 'n K wat siek is behoort ondersoek t op te voed... en dis duidelik da
hoof (hoofde)	Marico Spoenkorps- en hy was ook en berus in die S.A. Weermagargief: gaan vleis braai en daarna na die egeerte somer op die stoep uit sy fuse haar skaars gesig en knik haar Minister van Binnelandse Sake is die	hoof Hoof hoof hoof hoof hoof	van Genl. DeLaRey se Spioen korpse in van die lugmag, Oorlogsdagboeke, Eenheid rugby toe. Na rugby is B-hulle huis aan sy seun gedikteer. So gaan 1895 instemmend; dié hoë suster wat so dikwels van die organisasie vir die Republiekfees. I
baba (babas, babatjie)	tot misbruik. Selves strope wat vir ouers. Tydstip van plasing 3.16 s: Die ideale toestand is dat elke n dit is dus vanselfsprekend dat staan kom. as sy weet dat die aar oud is. Kinders wat nie meer	babas Babas: baba babas baba babas	as kalmeermiddels voorgeskryf is, het t Die ideale toestand is dat elke baba van sy geboorte af ononderbroke deur so gou moontlik by die aannemende ou geplaas is. Plasing kan natuurlik nie ge: is nie en reeds bindinge met hulle
individu (individue)	behandelingsvlakke toe te wys of deur op die aflianklike veranderlike van die ehandeling ontvang, is toe te skryf aan ie eksperimentele fout in enige gegewe individu se telling is die gevolg van en 'n steuringsveranderlike is en indien	individue individue individuele individu individuele individue	wat ten opsigte van die steuringsver: wat dieselfde behandeling ontvang, verskille wat reeds voor die aanvang se telling is die gevolg van individueel verskille wat as steuringsveranderlik van oor 'n groot omvang van die
personeel	gereël met die kostedepartement se an voldoende toerusting, kapitaal en keel af te sny indien hy nie oklaaf of 'n dompeltenk, behalwe die sies, 'n tekort aan voltydse opgeleide : van opname en bewaring voorskryf,	personeel, personeel personeel personeel personeel, personeel	waartydens die begroting dan t besit maar kan dit nie winsgewi vir die toekoms oplei om kontra wat deur 'n stortgang gaan en c het vordering baie verdraag. In oplei vir opname van materiaal
soldaat	hom die teuels. Agter hom skree nte opgerig? Vir staatsmanne, vir ritse bevelvoerder en deurknogte aan soldaat-word. Nou nie heeltemal kollege gaan staan, dat geen vroulike	soldate, soldate soldaat soldaat soldaat	knal skote. Maar hy laat t en vir oorloë. Waar is die wat nie 'n hoë dunk van c nie- in ons land is dit immers op George opgelei gaan word

inwoner (inwoners)	die omgewing van Springbok en sy nsggrond beslaan 34 200 ha met 'n in die harte van sy vier miljoen ondelike, woelige cariocas, soos die in Brasilië op Sao Paolo na. Sy Hierdie praktiese, ondernemende	inwonertal inwonertal inwoners inwoners inwoners inwoners,	van 2 900 bewoon 'n gebied van van 900. (u) Goodhouse in Namakv bly hy nog steeds die geliefde stad- van Rio hulself noem volgens 'n ou bestaan uit 'n groot mengelmoes va se trots op hul erfenis op aarde,
dokter (dokters, doktertjie, doktersvrou)	"Dan moet ons Maandag eers by s hoor iemand na hom roep. „Dis om roep. „Dis dokter De la Porte. „Dis dokter De la Porte. Dokter! il nie. Hoe gaan dit?“ „Eersteklas,	Dokter dokter Dokter! Dokter! dokter.	aanry... Wil jy vanaand bly?“ „Ja,“ sê De la Porte. Dokter! Dokter!“ Dis 'n Dokter!“ Dis 'n brose ou vrou tjie. 'n Dis 'n brose ou vrou tjie. 'n Verpleegster Dokter Hutton wou my terughê vir 'n
student (studente)	Dis alles simptome wat 'n ywerige erduidelik. Daagliks stap duisende rige, doelgerigte en hardwerkende tephanus Postma, is daar; ook die uit daar studeer. Die professore en	student studente student, studente studente	dikwels ondervind, maar gelukkig v by die Merenskybiblioteek verby. V wie se professore- soos reeds gesê J. A. du Plessis, P. C. Snyman, ontvang Japie du Toit egter gasvry e
lid (lede, lidmaat, ledemate)	om sy rassebeleid te verander, het die in' bittere geslote sitting aan die Westerse mag werk. Inteendeel, die MWU het sy j aan stadsmense bied,“ sê mnr. Pretorius.	lede lede lede Lede	gesê. Dit sou ook 'n regsgrondslag skep oorgedra. Brittanje se ambassadeur by c bevel om nie vrywillig op Saterdag te van die groep moet op eie stroom
speler (spelers)	aantal van hulle was reeds ywerige	spelers	in die plekke waarvandaan
leerder	not present in corpus		
burger (burger, burgeres) (used as feminine noun)	hanteer van ouers wat nie Suid-Afrikaanse na gedomineer deur die kwessie van "arme landers) se assimilasië met die Transvaalse ie veldkornet van Steenkampsberge met sy sang en musiek. Die voorbeeld van die	burgers burgers" burgers burgers burgers	is nie (bv. immigrante wat onlangs c of "arme blanken". Baie raadslede e te bevorder en te verhaas. Die vyfje te perd die kommando van die wyk uit Lydenburg het nie onopgemerk
professor (prof., professore)	raak ons aan die slaap." „Ja, ook 'n "verslaafde",- daarby rof. H.J. Rousseau, afgetrede ardwerkende student, wie se nek-Hahn, met wie se pa- 'n	Professor. professor,- professor professore- professor	Maar te veel whisky hier kan ons koop 'n boek wat ek oortuig was in Opvoedkunde aan die Universit soos reeds gesê- glo dat hy 'n in Chemie en Mineralogie- dr. Mei
oorledene	not present in corpus		
jongmens (jongmense)	wat hom ten doel gestel het om gevier. Die ondernemingsgees van die nuwe idees van die lewe onder die Jesus Christus en Sy Woord! En ons	jongmense jongmense jongmense. jongmense?	te verenig en hulle die geleentheid het spoedig vrug gedra. „De Expre Dit kan nie anders as verarming in Studente en skoliere? Sien jy 'n mer
atleet	heldin in elke skool is die fikse	atleet,	die lenige naelloopkampioen,
vyand (vyande)	gelê, deur sy roer neergevel. Die stryd teen 'n magtige, onsigbare As hy in die hande van die gestem het. „Elke keer as ek die	vyand vyand, vyand vyand	moes 'n kanon gebruik om Danie bedreig soos 'n hoer sonder soute geval het, sou die stryd waarskynl aandurf, voel dit vir my asof ek
deelnemer	not present in corpus		
besoeker (besoekers)	volgende dag, Kersdag, het die deur al die jare al tienduise te brei en ook om nog meer e juis verse kon voordra oor die klub ook 'n gerieflike plek waar	besoekers besoekers besoekers besoeker besoekers	verder gereis. Die sendingwerksaa gelok. Van die Corcovado („boggelt te lok. Baie nuwe hotelle word gebc se vaardigheid in daardie ou vorm onthaal kon word. Deur die jare is
leser (lesers, leseres, leseren)	E gaan B toe gaan haal die hier maar sê ook ek- hoewel ons c die Afrikaanse boek- by die gewone gesin gehad het. Miskien trek menige	leseren lesers leser leseres	saad by H Oom G gaan saam genoeg gekry het, het nêrens uit te bring. As sy 'n boek 'n bedenklike gesig, omdat m

(used as feminine noun)			
predikant	teenstaan as hy werklik die roeping van nog êrens in Suid-Afrika 'n plek waar manier geskool vir sy toekoms. Hy sal het ds. L. P. Vorster, die plaaslike	predikant predikante predikant predikant, predikant,	kies? Maar die beslissing is tog h vir die Afrikanervolk opgelei wor word en daarvoor bestaan geen t hom gekatkiseer. En op 7 Junie
kliënt	not present in corpus		
ondersteuner (ondersteuners)	. Veral Horst Dieperink was 'n getroue pionier in Katanga, het Gizenga en sy hy wild uitgevaar teen Tshombe en sy van die binnelandse skikking. Aan sy	ondersteuner ondersteuners ondersteuners ondersteuners	van Joop. Hy het nooit 'n die noordelike gedeelte v en hulle "n klomp harlek moet dit 'n teleurstelling
minister (ministers)	eding, Privaatsak 122, PRETORIA Edele 1937 reeds die steun van die destydse die oorlog het wyle Min. Jan Viljoen, staande uit - 'n Voorster wat deur die	Minister Minister Minister Minister	van der Spuy, Vriendelik versoek van Onderwys, Kuns en Wetenska van Onderwys, baie simpatiek tot van Nasionale Onderwys benoem
model (used as common noun)	atige wyse geskep. Enkele van die bestudeer by diere wat natuurlike word as 'n goedkoop dog geskikte e hand van 'n eenvoudige grafiese	modelle modelle model model	wat reeds bestaan, kan hier g is en skakel dit die nodigheid vir nieroorplantings, waarna ir waar daar slegs van een gron
kollega (kollegas)	elgebou 463 PRETORIA 0002 Geagte Andries Engelbrecht (Engel, noem sy in 'n span saam te werk met erkenning en respek betoon vir hulle	Kollega kollegas kollegas. kollegas	1. Ek skryf in opvolging v hom natuurlik leggers en Hulle moet erkenning en i se bydraes tot die totale j
appellant	not present in corpus		
woordvoerder	R1,5 miljoen beloop. Volgens 'n oduktiwiteit verlaag. Volgens die reeds op die mark wees, het die	woordvoerder woordvoerder woordvoerder	van die Departement van (van die Departement van (gesê. <h Datum= 1978>

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 24

Concordance Lines Epicene Nouns (2001-2010)

Excerpts Of Patterns Of Use (2001-2010)		
Lemma and Interesting Forms	Excerpt Of Concordance Lines	
persoon (<i>persone</i>)	<p>irger optree as veelsydige en professionele die professionele rol en status van dié fasette en vereistes gewoonlik in 'n enkele seker is oor die posbenaming van dié ondersteun wanneer hulle aanvoer dat só 'n</p>	<p>persoon wie se plig nie net is om persoon wat die werk doen, op kritiese wyse persoon setel wat verskillende rolle moet vertol persoon wat 'n manuskrip tot 'n volwaardige tel persoon 'n sentrale rol vervul in die dinamiese</p>
ouer (<i>ouers</i>)	<p>verteenwoordig verder ook 'n baie i in baie gevalle teruggekeer na die e van verandering namate die voëls sowat een keer per dag deur die r geleidelik toe namate die kuikens</p>	<p>ouer oorwinningslied as die res van Eksodus ouer, hoogdrawende styl van die Statebybel. ouer word. Anders as wat miskien verwag sc ouers gevoer (Fig. 4). Die gemiddelde aantal ouer word. Op 'n ouderdom van twee tot</p>
kind (<i>kinders, kindjie, kindertjies</i>)	<p>kinders en die fisiese misbruik van pedofiel in sy leeftyd tot vyfhonderd verlei om sodoende toegang tot die te bly om 'n "surrogaatpa" vir hulle natuurlik 'n seksuele drang wat deur :n het bogemiddelde interaksie met ksie met kinders. Daar is gewoonlik</p>	<p>kinders die twee basiese misbruikvorme is wat voork kinders kan molesteer! Die volgende resente voorbe kinders te verkry. Aanvanklike teikens was enkelma's kinders te kry. Baie ander slagoffers kom uit kinders bevredig word. Enkele oortreders sou as psi kinders. Daar is gewoonlik kinders by hierdie mense kinders by hierdie mense se beroepe en of</p>
hoof (<i>hoofde</i>)	<p>en ons strewes. Die uwe. Uitvoerende al die klasse? Is Mnr. Q nog was al meer as eenkeer in die hulle is 'n christelike skool is. Die hoe oningelig mense is. [Lag!] Toe die en dit stink!" Hy streel oor sy</p>	<p>Hoof Droogmakers (Gmf!) Ek was al meer hoof? se kantoor (wat 'n vrou is), maar hoof het toe verbied dat hulle daarmee vc hoof my vra hoe ek aanpas en so hoof. "Kyk hier, my hare is gladder as</p>
baba (<i>babatjie, babas</i>)	<p>veroorzaak: Jy sit bes moontlik met 'n vind om meer tyd saam met jou oor "Dagslaap". Of julle kan oorweeg om e vir spesifieke ouderdomme 0-3 maande (behalwe as jy 'n koliekerige of krielrige Dis 'n goeie gewoonte om by 'n om by 'n baba te vestig. Gee</p>	<p>baba wat in die vroegeand geïrriteerd en oormoeg baba deur te bring, want genoeg slaap is baba by julle in die bed te laat Babas onder ses weke het 'n natuurlike laat baba het). Begin 'n eenvoudige slaapydroetine van baba te vestig. Gee baba haar laaste aandvoeding baba haar laaste aandvoeding in die kamer waar</p>
individu (<i>individue</i>)	<p>hierdie kategorie is dat die betrokke at die slagoffer kan ervaar. Sommige liberalisme vereis naamlik "volwasse" el skep ook die geleentheid dat inde is oorwegend deur manlike territoriale gedragpatrone van</p>	<p>individue redelik bejaard is (gewoonlik individue ervaar ook dikwels nagmerrie individue wat vertrou kan word om hul individue meer tyd aan voedingsaktiwiteite individue verteenwoordig (onderskeidelik 7 individue. opgebreek word. Deur die loop v</p>
personeel	<p>meer in die hande van die militêre ekeringspremies en deposito's van logie gebruik en het altesame 800 die terrein in plek wees en die op die tyd wat ons vennote en</p>	<p>personeel is nie, maar deur die Departem personeel in plaaslike (Wes-Kaapse) spaai personeel in diens. Tot op datum is meer personeel wat op die terrein werksaam is, personeel aan u sake bestee en op die</p>
soldaat	<p>andighede, maar ook omdat sommige die geweld gesterf het. Nie al die Boere by Amersfoort. Sowat 60 Britse Oor die arrogansie van die Romeinse</p>	<p>soldate moeg geword het om 'n ongewilde soldate het hulle rug op Guei gekeer nie. soldate— bygestaan deur 'n aantal joiners— soldate wat hom met minagting behandel?</p>
inwoner (<i>inwoners</i>)	<p>Voeg hierby ook nog die permanente dag se sitting ontvang het, aan die sosiale voordele wat die boom het vir kon ons dorp baat by sy nuwe hulle min vriende gemaak. Die meeste gstelling getoon, iets wat vir die ander</p>	<p>inwoners van Halesowen: Fabian se LSD-versle inwoners van die konsentrasiekampe geskenk inwoners van landelike gebiede as voorsiener inwoner. Want ek praat van dié beroemde No inwoners van ons omgewing is afstammeling inwoners onmoontlik was. Mettertyd het ek da</p>

dokter (dokters)	en Damiaan was 'n tweeling. Hulle was "Ek was maar ses en dertig. Die uiteindelik dood is omdat daar nie 'n kan hoor hoe hy vra: "Waar sit die kombuisdeur in langs die toonbank. Sersant Viljoen lei die patrolië reguit na	dokters dokter dokter dokter "Dokter, dokter	wat mense gratis genees het. As het gereken ek is jonk genoeg e by haar kon kom nie. Hy het Uys?" nie. Dr. Uys en Heather wa daar agter die buitedeur na die Serfontein se huis, want daar is i
student (studente)	oor die volgende sake: – Wat gaan ette, destyds die fabriek waaraan ng Suid-Afrikaners wat as mediese singende en half benewelde klomp 147 vier 'n klompie Suid-Afrikaanse adium in sy vierde jaar as mediese op die kampus en lok groot getalle	studente studente studente studente student studente.	uit 'n honneurskursus kry? – Die san in Suid-Afrika voorkeur gegee het. I by Guy's Hospital ingeskryf was of v Varsity-liedjies soos te dirigeer, tot op hul eie manier die verlowing van aan die Universiteit van Pretoria en i Dit is waar die groot kuiers, soos
lid (lede, lidmate)	te bespreek. Dit is gedoen nadat twintig oortuiging het die twee parlamentslede wat ook swerm as geheel daartoe bydra dat individuele die prosesseerders. Die meeste kwekers is ook k sonder dat nuwe verwickelinge plaasvind. Die rraad, Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes, en nege ongetjies wat spring en dans, skuifelende oues,	lede lede lede lede lede lede	van die raad skriftelik daarom gev van die Grootraad was, Von Steige meer tyd aan voedingsaktiwiteite l van die koöperasies wat verantwo van die Raad van Justisie het die van die Raad van Justisie, wat die van partystrukture met baniere, vl
speler (spelers)	kans gehad om 'n paar jong Indiese n van die sogenaamde internasionale en, vir amper 20 minute 'n ekstra tant was 'n goeie aankondiging van 'n aer rugbytoetse (102) as enige ander skyn, terwyl die Protea ook alleen op "Die rraad wat ek altyd aan jong	spelers spelers speler speler spelers spelers	iets te leer wat hopelik 'n verskil hier was. Wêreldbeker-babbelaas? Si gehad het, was dié nogal na aan wat ons waarskynlik nog baie plesier vir Suid Afrika gespeel het, met die se baadjies sal wees. Die span sal gee, is dat hulle rugby speel om
leerder	word om dit weer op skoolvlak aan wat hy/sy sal nodig kry om aan endes getuig graag hiermee dat D 'n op verskeie gebiede as 'n veelsydige	leerders leerders leerder leerder	oor te dra? 'n Onderwyser as in die laer- en hoërskool te f van Hoërskool U vanaf Gr 8 (bewys. Hy neem graag aan s
burger (burgers)	voorkoms hom uitstaan; die swart i, die onversoete huweliksbed van Botha, toe kunsredakteur van Die nie De la Rey se offisiere en ek nie. Die gevolg was dat hierdie	burgers burgers Burger, burgers burgers	van Suid-Afrika herken hom dadelik v wat nou sonder die hollewaaitjies hul 'n stuk oor hom geskryf het wat moedeloos gemaak het nie. Hulle het meer gerus het as wat vir hulle
professor (prof.)	werk in dié verband gedoen het. Totius, ratorium van Carl Marquart, sy Farmasie te voer nie; allermins met die afgetrede het hy verduidelik, want hy was 'n wat my die meeste verskrik het, die	professor professor. professor. professor professor	aan die Gereformeerde Teologiese Si In 1848 begin hy sy eie laboratorium As sy buurman het ek hom en in mikrobiologie, of so iets. "Friesbee: wat fonetiek en Middel-Nederlands g
oorledene	not present in corpus		
jongmens (jongmense)	samedromming sien. Boemelaars en 'n klompie bioskope en teaters tot hulle beskikking. Toue aangaan, en ek luister. Mense verdwyn, groepe van die soldate af, gaan staan die deur die opgesweepte, byna histeriese, groepe	jongmense jongmense jongmense jongmense jongmense	wat op 'n hoop naby die vrug het van soggens vroeg buite i word arbitrêr gevang en aan stil. Hulle is seker doodbang. afgesper is. In die tuin van O
atleet	not present in corpus		
vyand (vyande)	die oog op ons nietigheid en die Negatiwiteit is kreatiwiteit se vernaamste ne dollars is dat evolusie 'n meedoënlose tion- socio.html Heiligheid in die Huis Die	vyand vyand. vyand vyand	se oormag. Desnietemin het van As jy positief dink, is die stryd is." Zimmer brei hierop uit: "Die lei soveel gelowiges binne hulle l
deelnemer (deelnemers)	was om 'n vraag aan die ander geskied het. Daar is onder meer na veilig in Frankryk. Volgens hom gaan elke Eiland Spa het 'n spesiale tarief vir	deelnemers deelnemers deelnemer deelnemers	te stel, vra hy dat die vo se na- sionale en intern; aan die fietstoer en die aan die gholfdag en hul
besoeker (besoekers)	die Oewerpark nie bereid is om alle dit ingerig was as terwyl die Engelse in daardie dae 'n groot hulp vir i word. 'n Murmelende watersloot sal die herskep word om 'n koel rusplek aan die boonste vlak van die trem sal	besoekers besoeker besoekers besoeker besoekers besoekers	aan P wat van hulle publiek geadver Daniel Beeckman dit insgelyks beski uit die lande van die Gemenebes- k herinner aan Langenhoven se liefde te bied. Die middelste deel van Arb verversings kan geniet soos Langen

leser	woeker met die R13 000 wat ons opsommings is glo 'n gunsteling onder sy van die jaar een van die swakste die raamwerk van wet Nico van Gijzen rig dié waarskuwing na aanleiding van 'n 'n leser se baie duur ervaring. Die	lesers lesers). lesers Lesers leser leser,	laasjaar ingesamel het, maar dit hou ook Sarie en Rooi Rose is gunstelingtydskrifte in die klas. Ouers moet versigtig wees kan gerus daarop let dat die belastingga se baie duur ervaring. Die leser, 'n 'n voormalige streeklanddros en oud-lid
predikant (predikante)	groter as dié van finansiële instellings en per Reglement in werking tree. 2. Alle ie, betrek so gou moontlik 'n sielkundige, die regering. Dit is geskryf deur 'n dink. Bid daarvoor, bespreek dit met jou	predikante. predikante predikant predikant predikant	Omdat hy vererg was en ook wat kragtens KO, art.13 weer of maatskaplike werker vir 'n en goed deurweek met Bybel of pastoor, vind 'n oplossing
kliënt	not present in corpus		
ondersteuner (ondersteuners)	ook wat die reaksie van Ouattara se het, gaan voort om op Ouattara se krieket nie, maar ook vir elke getroue	ondersteuners ondersteuners ondersteuner.	gaan wees- uitgesluit jag te maak. Sommer Nadat die Proteas in c
minister (ministers)	eid. Op 16 Februarie 2005 sê die Transformasie vereis dus, volgens e as tydelike maatreël te versoen. te verteenwoordiging. Dit is waar, vlaggie kry. Die Australiese Eerste	Minister minister Minister Minister. Minister	van Sport, Makhenkesi Stofile, Stofile, van Suid-Afrika om pr Essop Pahad sê egter op 20 M Die wet sê dat baie dinge in het in 1972 op Australiëdag s
model (modelle)	'n voorkeur vir sosialistiese ekonomiese tot twaalf jaar mee te beskryf. Die in humor in kinderverhale. Binne hierdie umor in die teks. 4.4 Die geïntegreerde	modelle. model model model	Demokratiese elemente van p dien dus as instrument by die word drie hoofipes humor on Wanneer humor in 'n verhaal (
kollega (kollegas)	die keer toe hy saam met 'n Dirk se ouer broer Ben was my Swanepoel was ook 'n onvergeetlike pas. Jy kan selfs vriende, familie en hy nie kers vashou vir sy jonger	kollega kollega. kollega. kollegas kollegas	by die Breëriviermond uitgevaar het Ben nooi my een aand na 'n Hy het die vermoë gehad om enige vra om jou te beskryf. Dis veilig wat bygebly het nie. Die ondernemi
appellant	not present in corpus		
woordvoerder	het ek alleen na die Aborigenes se stel. Almal wil nou saam met die mekaar oor alles wat hulle by die slegs op die verskaffer? Sarita van Wyk, te goedere? Volgens me. Tasniem Patel,	woordvoerder woordvoerder woordvoerder woordvoerder woordvoerder	geluister. Nou hang die hele groep afgeneem word. Hy deel vir oulaas gehoor het. Die fauna-en-flora-arg van die nasionale supermarkgroep, van Acsa, is passasiers se bagasie

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 25

Examples Of Concordance Lines For *Vrou* HCSA (1911-2010)

Sub-corpus one

Dit was Jan Breed met sijn	vrouw,	Maria en hul drie kinders, Lo
n Willem Prinsloo met sijn	vrouw	Nellie, en hul drie kindertjes,

Sub-corpus two

sagmoedigheid teenoor sy tweede	vrou.	En dit is meer as net 'n
woorde: "En tog onredelik soos sy	vrou	is, het hy haar lief, soos hy
hy haar lief, soos hy sy eerste	vrou	miskien nie liefgehad het nie." Maa
n nie, gedurende die siekte van sy	vrou,	die roomafskeier draai nie of die d
n plaasonderwyser Hendriks en sy	vrou	Nancy. Hendriks is hier die romant
<h weglating> Dat so 'n man sy	vrou	gruwelik moet verwaarloos, spreek
sy (Hendrik se) siel van wat sy	vrou	al die tyd moes deurgestaan het."

Sub-corpus three

vir Gys van Rooyen hoe is sy	vrou	se groentetuin," vertel Andries van Heerden
" vertel Andries van Heerden se	vrou,	Annie, later. "Hy sê die groente was
orige kwart ná sy dood aan sy	vrou	sou gaan. Die koopsom sou egter eers
ná die dood van Pretorius of sy	vrou,	wie ook al die eerste te sterwe
n gehad het (Jan Goeiman en sy	vrou	het op 3 Januarie 1815 met verlof

Sub-corpus four

kon vervoer. Sedert Karel en sy	vrou	se aankoms het hulle min vriende gemaak.
sy buurman het ek hom en sy	vrou	so nou en dan raakgehoop terwyl hulle
d oorgestap na sy huis, waar sy	vrou	geregte bedien het waarvan ek net in
het hy verduidelik dat hy en sy	vrou	gevlug het van die misdaad in die

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 26

Examples Of Adjectival Collocates For *Vrou* HCSA (1911-2010)

Sub-corpus one

plaas af weg te kom. Die ou	vrou	was 'n onredelike pasiënt en haar dogter
talm sy besluiteloos. Die ouer	vrou	trek haar minsaam nader en sy buk
t'n skewe glimlaggie. Die ouer	vrou	glimlag ook. „Maar jy is so opvlieënd,

Sub-corpus two

nie baie jonger nie. Die ou	tante	sit en beef van opwinding en haar
aan die nuwe dominee; ou	tante	Adriana in die kerk;

Sub-corpus three

wat soldaat wil word?" het die ou	dame	gebrom. Maar die knoop is suksesvol
bowenal was die dood van die ou	dame	'n skok vir mej. Rawlins, vir Poffertjie,

Sub-corpus four

ons bedoel is," se die ou	vrou.	Naas begryp nie. Tog verstaan hy.
iet mekaar; die lywige ou	vrou	die spraaksamigste. Dan verdwyn
smal deurtjie. Net die ou	vrou	en nog een van die inyangas bly
hipnotiese oë van die ou	vrou;	kyk hoe sy gees van sy liggaam

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 27

Examples Of Concordance Lines For *Maagd* And *Hoer* HCSA

 Sub-corpus one – *maagd*

moet ons let:– I. Op die	maagde	vóór die koms van die Bruidegom
an die Bruidegom. II. Die	maagde	met die koms van die Bruidegom
in die Bruidegom. III. Die	maagde	na die koms van die Bruidegom.
teenwoordig deur die tien	maagde,	gaan die hemelse Bruidegom, Ki
kenis te hegte is aan die	„maagde”,	dan skyn dit of die Kerk hier
t of die Kerk hier in haar	maagdlike	staat word voorgestel. Die ewige

 Sub-corpus two – *hoer*

ander in die Bybel vermeld.	Hoerery,	onreinheid, selfbevlekking, sodomie en
d 'n opvatting in omloop dat	hoerery	en onreinheid 'n ding is wat heel
ng dat aan die leiding van 'n	hoere	geestelike mag ter verwerking van di
ots kan vasklem. In oneindig	hoer	mate kon die gelowig-geworde heiden

 Sub-corpus three – *hoer*

vyand, bedreig soos 'n	hoer	sonder souteneur.
------------------------	-------------	-------------------

 Sub-corpus four – *maagd*

nni (c.1374/75 ná 1438), Die	maagd	van die Roostuin (c.1425). I
muur of 'n haag rose is die	Maagd	en die Christuskind altyd aa
welgedaan, jongmeisies word	maagde,	skaapwagter word herder,

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 28

Examples Of Adjectival Collocates For *Man* And *Seun* HCSA

Sub-corpus one

maar het die twee oudste	seuns	tot bij die kis gelei en hulle
toddat die oudste van die	seuns	aangeneem was. Toe denk hu
het die twee ongetrouwde	seuns	naar haar kant toe oorgehaal.

Sub-corpus two

t die gevangene. 'n Dapper	man	by 'n ander dapper man! Gruwelik m
er man by 'n ander dapper	man!	Gruwelik mishandel, pas aan 'n groot
y antwoord: ek is 'n Joodse	man.	Selfs in daardie kritieke oomblik wil P
je getuienis: ek is 'n Joodse	man.	Paulus is nie skaam vir sy volk

Sub-corpus three

jou oupa se wense en as oudste	seun	moet Renier die plaas na my dood
nodig. Tog is hy 'n liewe, sonnige	seuntjie."	„Moeder, ek sal my bes doen om

Sub-corpus four

word. Die "klein kindjie" is die vyfjarige	seuntjie	van Frans en Maria Joosten, Jacob. Vir
in my geheue was ook 'n klein	seuntjie	wat wakker geword het van sang buite
rivier haar wakende hand oor 'n woelige	seunskind	hou. Die stemme het gesê nou is
het die drie pragtige, identiese blou-oog	seuntjies	my vriendelik gegroet. Gasvry Dawid ontdek

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 29

Examples Of Concordance Lines For Masculine Nouns Used For Both Genders

Vriend

Om met 'n meisie te kan **vriende** wees wat nie agter die wêreldsges

Skrywer

Afrika... C.J. Langenhoven, geliefde **skrywer** van die volk, is op 15 Julie
 en. Ontspan, sê Marina Petropulos, **skrywer** van Die Baba- en Kindersorg Hanc
 rsorg Handboek (uitgegee deur die **skrywer**, 1999). "Om regtig die potjie te gel
 n sedert daardie ou dae die woord **"Skrywer"** agter sy naam in die gids gevoeg.

Voorsitter

die spel van uitvoer." Nortjé, wat ook **voorsitter** van die nasionale Nawelwergroep van d
 van die Suid-Afrikaanse Lugmag, hy is **voorsitter** van die Vivo-koshuisvereniging en ook vc
 van die Vivo-koshuisvereniging en ook **voorsitter** van die Weipe-boerevereniging. Maar uit
 organisasie gestig. Mev. Karin Pienaar, **voorsitter** van dié organisasie, sê die doel daarvan

Held

eenbeen-bliksoldaat hom ook soos 'n **held** gedra en honderde vyandige soldate
 ie eenvoudige mense van die plaas se **held**. En Miriam was mooi, selfs vir dié
 Jy moet net êrens hoor wie die **held** van die stuk is. Hy of sy

Direkteur

is dit soveel makliker, sê Marieta Ferreira, **direkteur** van 'n krisissentrum vir swanger
 e Ontwerp-beweging geword het, soos die **direkteur** van die Amerikaanse Skeptics So
 verslag wat deur Roger Brown, uitvoerende **direkteur** van die skuldberadermaatskapp
 ! gevaar nie," meen prof. Hussein Solomon, **direkteur** van die Sentrum vir Internasionak
 :dere onvermydelik groter. Shao Mingli, die **direkteur** van China se Voedsel en Medisyn
 rbaar hoog is." Volgens dr. Angela Mathee, **direkteur** van die MNR se eenheid vir omge

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 30

Examples Of Collocates Of Epicene Nouns Based On Groupings HCSA

Sub-corpus one

j rijk sal word, als sij hoogbejaarde **ouers**, wat nou in die tentwa is, eendag
 is die enigste seun van welgestelde **ouers** en van baie goeie famielie. Sij ouers

Sub-corpus two

offisiere het wou baasspeel oor sommige **burgers** en dit het twiste veroorsaak. Dan weer
 onderneming soms misluk of die gewillige **burgers** in onnodige gevaar gekom het. Daar was
 edenheid veroorsaak het onder die ander **burgers.** Gevolglik het wrywing en ontevredenheid
 nskappe nie. Die gehoorsame en getroue **burger** het nooit geweet wanneer hy in die

Sub-corpus three

gekontroleer is deur 'n onafhanklike **persoon.** Enige persoon begaan foute maar in
 deur 'n onafhanklike persoon. Enige **persoon** begaan foute maar in die hedendaag
 outief gedoen word. 'n Onafhanklike **persoon** moet dus die berekenings en syfers k
 fer werk wat hy moet verrig. Hierdie **persoon** moet waar moontlik ook 'n algemene
 tyd tot tyd deur 'n verantwoordelike **persoon** gekontroleer word. In die bestaande

Sub-corpus four

Negatiwiteit is kreatiwiteit se vernaamste **vyand.** As jy positief dink, is die stryd
 ne dollars is dat evolusie 'n meedoënlose **vyand** is." Zimmer brei hierop uit: "Die

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])

Appendix 31

Examples Of Concordance Lines Of Epicene Nouns Distinguishing Masculine And Feminine Usage HCSA

Sub-corpus one – *lesers* is distinguished by a feminine form *leseresse*

die boekie ten seerste aan bij onse	lesers.	Dit is verkrygbaar bij "Het Westen", Bus
hooforsake van die Grote Trek is elke	leser	bekend hoe min hij ook mog weet
VAN SIKE. (Uit de "Boeren Vriend.") Die	leseresse	moet goed verstaan dat als iemand dodelik

Sub-corpus three – *lesers* is distinguished by a feminine form *leseres*

E gaan B toe gaan haal die	leseren	saad by H Oom G gaan saam
hier maar sê ook ek- hoewel ons	lesers	genoeg gekry het, het nêrens
die Afrikaanse boek- by die gewone	leser	uit te bring. As sy 'n boek
gesin gehad het. Miskien trek menige	leseres	'n bedenklike gesig, omdat m

Sub-corpus three – *burger* is distinguished as *burgeres*

die belofteryke kleinood, die burger en **burgeres** van môre, die eerste lewenslig

(Brezina, Weill-Tessier & McEnery 2020 [software package])