14 Dutch

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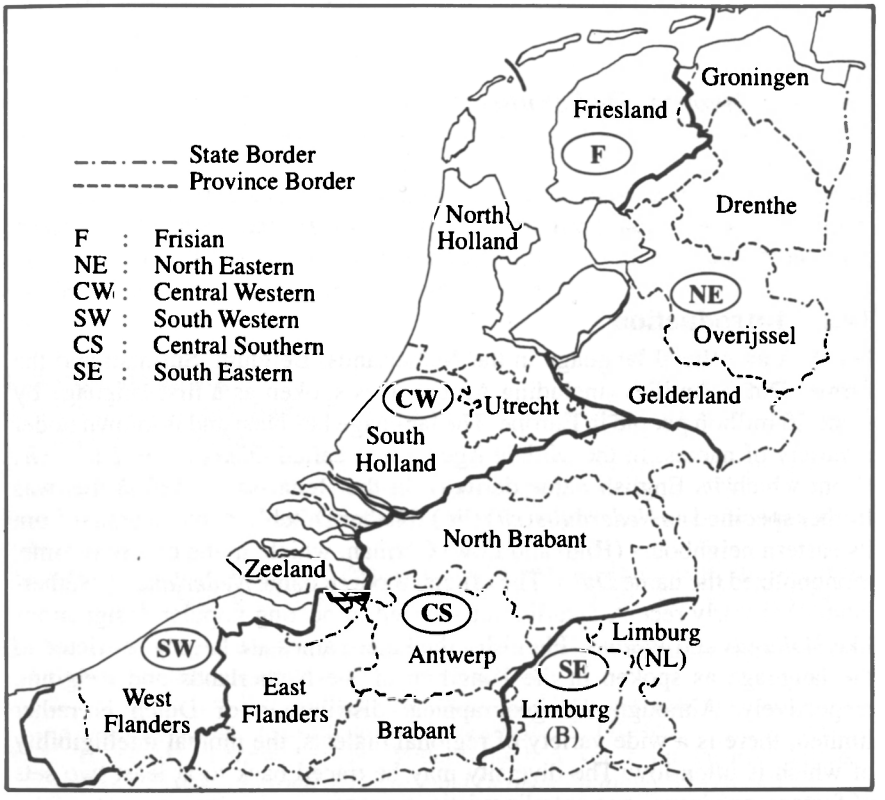
14.1 Introduction

Dutch is an official language in the Netherlands, Belgium, Surinam and the former Dutch Antilles (including Aruba). It is spoken as a first language by some 20 million people in Europe. The language has been and is known under a variety of names. In the Middle Ages it was called *Diets(ch)* or *Duits(ch)* (from which its English name derives), in the Renaissance period this was further specified as *Nederduits(ch)* (lit.) 'Nether Dutch', to distinguish it from its eastern neighbours (High and Low) German, which, in the course of time, monopolized the name *Duits*. The official modern name *Nederlands* ('Netherlandic') is fairly recent, and did not succeed in ousting popular designations like *Hollands* and *Vlaams* 'Flemish'; the latter names are largely restricted to the language as spoken in the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Belgium, respectively. Although the geographical distribution of Dutch is rather limited, there is a wide variety of regional dialects, the mutual intelligibility of which is often low. The diversity may be traced back to at least two sets of factors, one intra-, one extralinguistic in nature.

First of all, the language developed in a geographical area in which no fewer than three or even four major dialects of continental West Germanic come together: Frisian, Saxon and Low Franconian, of which the last split into a western and an eastern branch at a very early stage. Although Frisian, Saxon and East Low Franconian have been partly ousted, partly strongly influenced by the central dialects of Holland and Brabant, both of which have predominant Western Low Franconian characteristics, the old distinctions did to a certain degree live on in later evolutionary stages of dialects.

Apart from the associations based on the old tribal bonds, there is another, even hazier factor, connected with West Germanic history. In his *De Germania* Tacitus divided the Germanic tribes into Ingvaeones, Istvaeones and Erminones, of which the former occupied the coastal regions. It is not clear if this distribution maps in any definable way on to the division based on tribal bonds given above; but the term 'Ingvaeonism' has gained some popularity in Dutch historical linguistics, with reference to the quite considerable number of characteristics (morphophonemic, lexical and even

Figure 14.1 Dutch and Frisian dialects in the Netherlands, Belgium and the North of France



syntactic) common to a great many coastal dialects, irrespective of cataloguing as 'Franconian', 'Frisian' or 'Saxon'.

Even more important appears to be the extralinguistic diachronic factor: the Germanic-speaking Low countries grew together into one state at a fairly late date (late sixteenth century), and almost immediately broke up again into two political entities, due to the 'Reconquista' of the Southern Netherlands by the Spanish monarchy. In fact there was, until the end of the eighteenth century, a third state, that of Liège, to which most of the (Dutch-speaking) southeastern province of Belgian Limburg belonged. After the sixteenth century the southern dialects developed independently of a unifying standard language. For centuries, even up to the 1930s, most if not all administration was conducted in French, and most education was in French and Latin (the latter at the university). Regional dialects continued to be used in everyday life, but natural developments, as well as contact with the dominant language, French, continually drove them further apart, both *vis-à-vis* one another and with respect to the northern dialects. To all this may be added another external

one. For the Roman Catholic clergy the northern dialects, especially those of the central provinces, were associated with Calvinism. Although most of the priests were favourable towards the local vernaculars (and not towards propagation of French), they tried to stop whatever linguistic influence might have come from the northern neighbour. The evolution in the northern dialects was less turbulent, and to some degree it was mitigated by a common written language. But even there the status of Dutch as a unifying language was not always undisputed, especially in a number of peripheral provinces. In Groningen, Low German was a formidable rival for some time, and the southern province of (eastern) Limburg was not attached to the Netherlands until 1848.

The original situation of pluriformity and the external historical facts converge on a picture of extreme dialectal diversification. Traditionally the modern dialects are divided into 5 large groups (Figure 14.1):

1 The central-western dialects (henceforth CW dialects), including all those in the provinces of North and South Holland and Utrecht, large parts of Gelderland, and the Zeeland Isles;
2 The northeastern (NE) dialects in Groningen, Drenthe, Overijsel and the eastern part of Gelderland;
3 The central-southern (CS) dialects in the Netherlands province of North Brabant and adjacent parts of Limburg, and in the Belgian provinces of Antwerp, Brabant and East Flanders; the language of the last province, together with the eastern part of the Netherlands territory of Zeeland Flanders, south of the River Scheldt, appears to be a blend between Brabantic characteristics and a substratum which must have been quite close to the southwestern dialects;
4 The southwestern (SW) dialects in the Belgian province of West Flanders, the western part of Zeeland Flanders; to the same stock belong the now obsolete dialects spoken until quite recently (in fact even up to this day by a dwindling number of elderly people) in the extreme northwestern part of France (French Flanders, between Dunkirk and Bailleul);
5 The southeastern (SE) dialects in the greater part of the Netherlands province of Limburg, and its Belgian namesake.

Of these groups the northeastern dialects are often called 'Saxon', the southeastern ones 'Eastern Low Franconian', the three other groups are supposed to derive more or less directly from 'Western Low Franconian'. Of course modern Frisian dialects, occupying the larger part of the province of Friesland, are not included in this overview, as they are usually considered to belong to another system.

Although there is little dispute among dialectologists concerning the general classification just presented, it is noteworthy that most linguistic

differences cut across at least one of the groups, thus making it virtually impossible to give an overview of the characteristics of any single group. As a typical case we may refer to the effect of *i*-umlaut. This phonological process, common to West Germanic, has a rather limited effect on the western (CW and SW) dialects. In these varieties it does not affect long vowels, and is not generally used as a morphological device. In eastern (NE and SE) dialects it has a range that may be compared to that in Standard German. The central southern dialects, then, do not display a common picture: the western ones pattern together with the first two groups, and the same parallellism exists between eastern central-southern and northeastern/southeastern dialects. Between the extremes all gradations appear as one proceeds from one end of the area to the other. The picture may even be more complex, as is the case with the morphological opposition between *s*- and *n*-plural markers (see section 14.3). *S*-plurals are particularly frequent in southwestern dialects (in fact, they are considered as ingvaeonicisms by many historical linguists), and are almost absent in the southeastern region; in all other groups there is a wide range of choices, depending on the individual words rather than specific characteristics of noun classes. Another quite conspicuous feature is the distribution of palatalized forms of the diminutive suffix *tje* (as opposed to the older form with velar consonant *ke*). Only palatalized forms occur in central-western dialects; they also have a very regular distribution in southwestern dialects. In all other groups both forms occur in at least a number of dialects, but the distribution is blurred by a great number of interfering factors. Palatalized forms are growing less frequent as one moves from the west towards the east and south, and even vanish completely in a relatively small number of southern and eastern dialects.

It is clear from the examples given that the geographic area occupied by Dutch forms a continuum rather than a neat conglomerate of smaller entities, each with a fixed set of proper characteristics.

From the above examples it appears that most differences between regional dialects have an east–west distribution, which is in line with the general picture of an originally coastal (or 'Ingvaeonic') west, and a continental east. The interaction between these two entities is in fact often considered the main source of peculiarities of the Dutch language. But there is also a north–south opposition. Beginning in the Middle Ages, French had a strong influence both on Dutch dialects and on whatever standard there was in the Low Countries. This influence manifested itself not only in the lexicon, but also in a number of syntactic and morphological (derivational) aspects. Much of French influence passed through the mediation of the southern (especially SW and CS) dialects. After the separation of the Low Countries in the sixteenth century the north–south continuum broke down, and direct (though not necessarily indirect) influence from French halted at the border between the two countries, whereas it grew stronger in the southern provinces. In this way the border between Belgium and the

Netherlands turned from a purely political into a (partially) linguistic one. Up to this day the linguistic border has been maintained, and in some respects even reinforced, as dialects north of it are subject to different influences from those to the south. At least three (sets of) factors play a part in this: (a) the standard language, which serves as a reference point, differs in a number of respects; (b) more importantly, the cultural centres, from which linguistic trends and innovations spread, are different in the two countries: the Randstad (the urban area in South Holland and adjoining North Holland and Utrecht) is a highly dominant centre in the Netherlands, the Antwerp–Brussels region serves as a rather weak counterpart in Belgium; and (c) the Netherlands are directed almost exclusively towards the Anglo-Saxon world, whereas French still occupies a preferential position in the cultural and economic life of Belgium as a whole, including Flanders. This situation makes the relations between dialects, several non-standard varieties and the standard language even less conspicuous than might have been expected on the evidence of purely evolutionary processes.

The main difference between dialects in the Netherlands and in Belgium however lies in the social domain rather than in linguistic characteristics. In Belgium, dialects still serve as a common vernacular for people belonging to all social classes, whereas dialects in the Netherlands are restricted to use by a limited number of social groups, and in an ever decreasing set of situations and environments. One side-effect may be the intense use of regional dialects for literary works in the Netherlands. Dialects (or at least some of them) appear to be considered a valuable though rather impractical part of the cultural heritage. In Belgium there is no counterpart to this phenomenon. Dialects are taken as common, but at the same time rather stigmatized vernaculars, inappropriate in most formal domains such as public life.

For historical reasons the standard language, especially formal written Dutch, contains characteristics of the three Western Low Franconian dialect groups. In the sixteenth century the standard began to develop spontaneously on the basis of Brabantic (CS) dialects, which had themselves incorporated quite a lot of Flemish (SW) characteristics. The first *conscious* endeavour towards standardization may have been the Calvinist translation of the Bible (the famous 'Statenbijbel'), in which peculiarities of all dialect regions were incorporated. This fairly fixed form of written language was then widely adopted for all cultural purposes by the central provinces of the Republic of the Netherlands. It formed the basis of a common written standard, which in the course of time incorporated more and more characteristics from the Randstad dialects. The spoken language developed parallel to written styles, but with a more prominent contribution from central-western dialects. In this century it also succeeded in supplanting the old fashioned literary language in all domains, including written styles. Summarizing, we may say that Modern Standard Dutch is a direct heir of the dialects of the provinces of North and South Holland and Utrecht, with some rare admixtures of southern

elements, especially in the rather formal written language. In this respect it is typical that the formal second-person pronoun *u* (su./obj.) developed from a southern form, whereas informal *jij* (su.)/*je* (su./obj./poss.)/*jou*(*w*) (obj./poss.) directly derived from older central-western forms.

The typically northern standard was also adopted in Belgium, though colloquial speech often includes lexical, morphological and syntactic characteristics from regional dialects, and often through these, from French. These deviations from the northern standard are partly general, partly regional. Consequently it is simply impossible to supply a general characterization of the differences between Belgian and Netherlands Dutch.

Dutch is an official language also in the former colonies of Surinam and the Dutch Antilles. In both countries (and in Aruba, which is separated form the Dutch Antilles) it is used side-by-side with a number of indigenous or imported languages: Sranan, Sarnami and a number of other ethnic languages in Surinam, Papiamento (a mainly Portuguese-based creole) and to a lesser degree English in the Antilles. There is a marked difference in the linguistic situation between those countries, however. In Surinam, Sranan and Sarnami are, to a very high degree, 'ethnic' languages of the two major groups of the population (Creoles and Hindustani), consequently neither language enjoys the status of a full-fledged 'national' language, even though Sranan is very widely used in everyday interethnic communication. That is why Dutch up to this day is, by and large, accepted as a national language for most cultural and administrative functions. This status as a national language is even being reinforced by the recent development of a specific Surinam Standard Dutch. Although the language follows the European standard in most respects, non-European characteristics are to be found as well. Among these we find (a) the lexicon, which not only contains words connected with local circumstances, but also displays a fairly large section of vocabulary which has become archaic in European Dutch; and (b) the pronunciation, e.g. retroflex [l], palatalization and nasalization of vowels in certain environments, and a loss of the [± voice] opposition between fricatives. In this way Dutch itself is gradually developing into a Surinam 'national' variety. None of this occurs in the Antilles, where Papiamento and English are ousting Dutch from all but some of the most formal domains.

14.2 Phonology

General Characteristics of Monomorphemic Words

Like all Germanic languages Dutch has a number of different morphological word types, including compound and derived ones. In this section we will concentrate on the phonemic structure of simplex (monomorphemic) words. These are of a widely varied stock. A first group consists of the Germanic heritage of monomorphemes, which during the course of time were all

reduced to mono- or disyllabic words with only one 'full' vowel (disyllabic words having [ə] in the second syllable). Then we have the originally derived or compound words, which lost their composite semantic structure. Most of these still reflect the original compound pattern by the fact that they retain two 'full' vowels, usually with stress on the first syllable (e.g. *antwoord* 'answer', *oorlog* 'war', *hertog* 'duke', *vennoot* 'business partner', but with final stress: *ellende* 'misery' and *forel* 'trout', a loan from German). Some of these polysyllabic words, like *gereed* 'ready', *begin* 'begin', *tevreden* 'content', have a phonological make-up that derives from, or is at least reminiscent of, prefix-derived words (the third one actually goes back to a prepositional phrase). Last, but not least, there are many words of 'foreign' origin, mostly borrowed from Romance, including Latin and the various stages in the development of French. The words of this category that were – and have remained – polysyllabic have a stress pattern which may be called 'final'. The overwhelming majority of those ending in heavy syllables (syllables consisting of tense vowel + consonant or lax vowel + consonant cluster) have stress on the last syllable, and the same applies to quite a number of words with light final syllables. Monomorphemic words may also have stress on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable. The discrepancy with the Proto-Germanic stress pattern is of course the result of the overall tendency to reduce all non-stressed vowels to [ə] in a first stage, after which the syllable itself mostly disappeared. This tendency, which developed at a very early date, appears to have been stronger in Dutch than in German, though not nearly as strong as in English. It has remained in the language as a productive (though minor) rule throughout history, yielding such words as *cement* 'cement', *beton* 'concrete (noun)' (with [ə] in the first syllable) on the one hand, *pruik* 'wig', *krant* 'newspaper' and *kleur* 'colour' on the other (all from French disyllabic originals: *ciment, béton, perruque, courant* and *couleur*). Moreover most tri- and polysyllabic monomorphemes display reduction of full vowels to [ə] in non-peripheral syllables directly preceding or following the syllable which bears the main stress (e.g. the second syllables in *algebra, microfoon*). The latter tendency, however, is restricted to non-formal styles, and even then it does not affect all words to the same degree.

The Dutch Vowel System

The Modern Dutch vowel system is the result of a great number of changes, which left virtually each dialect group with a different set of 'full' vowels, with widely diverging distributions among sets of lexical items. In this section we will only go into the Standard system, which derives from the dialects of the leading 'Randstad' region. As far as systemic aspects of Standard Dutch phonology are concerned there is little or no variation in the whole language area, including Belgium.

The main phonetic oppositions, leading to 'distinctive features', are:

1 Tense–lax, rather than long–short, though there is in one sense a full correlation between both oppositions. Tense vowels are lengthened before homomorphic /r/; in other positions they may become long only in special cases (emphasis, very careful speech, etc.).
2 Front–back. Though distributional characteristics seem to prove that the open vowels /a/ (tense) and /ɑ/ (lax) do not partake in this opposition on the systematic (phonological) level, the opposition shows up at the phonetic level, the former being front, the latter back.
3 Rounded–unrounded. This opposition, with [+round] front vowels mainly the result of palatalization of back vowels in earlier stages of the development of Germanic, is not found with back vowels.
4 Monophthong–diphthong. On the systemic level Dutch has three diphthongs: /ɛⁱ/, /œʏ/ and /ɔᵘ/. Though the latter is subject to rather strong distributional restrictions, it is beyond doubt that it behaves as a single phoneme within the word, just like the other two. This is not true of, for example, the combination of /a/ + /j/, or /e/ + /w/ (as in *waai*(*en*) 'blow (verb)' and *leeuw*(*en*) 'lion(s)'), where the combination of vowel + glide is clearly treated as consisting of two single elements. The difference between the latter combinations and real diphthongs appears most clearly in the distributional characteristics.
5 Closed–open. Contrary to all preceding oppositions, this is a threefold one even at the phonological level: [+open] vs [–open, –closed] vs [+closed].

This leaves us with the phonological system shown in Table 14.1 (rounded vowels follow their non-rounded counterparts). As may be seen, the system of lax monophthongs is asymmetrical, both 'rounded' pairs /u/ – /ɔ/ and /y/ – /ʏ/ having merged in the Holland dialects. An opposition between a closed and a more open variant of /ɔ/ is often reported to exist on the systemic level, but with most (if not all) speakers these sounds are in complementary distribution. They vary according to phonological environments rather than phonological distribution. Oppositions like that between (semi-open) *bot* 'dull' and (semi-closed) *bot* '(hali)but' were mentioned in phonological

Table 14.1 The vowel system in Dutch

	Tense monophthongs		*Lax monophthongs*		*Diphthongs*	
	Front	Back	Front	Back	Front	Back
+closed	i/y	u	ɪ/–	—		
–closed, –open	e/ø	o	ɛ/ʏ	ɔ	ɛⁱ/œʏ	ɔᵘ
+open	a			ɑ		

treatments until some decades ago, but cannot be found in Standard Dutch as it is spoken today.

On the phonetic level, tense and lax vowels differ in quite a number of respects, especially in degree of 'openness'. Thus [ɪ] is more open than [i], [ɛ] more than [e], [ʏ] more than [ø].

Apart from the 'regular' vowels listed in Table 14.1, there exist what may be called loan phonemes, which occur exclusively in loanwords: though words as *frêle* 'frail', *ordinair* 'vulgar', *repère* 'reference' are well integrated into Dutch, they retain the tensed (and long) vowel [ɛː] of their French original. In the same way, though on a much more limited scale, the tensed counterparts of [ɔ] and [ʏ] occur. This would yield a four-level system *vis-à-vis* the open–closed opposition. Yet Dutch phonologists generally adhere to the system proposed in Table 14.1, these vowels being the only ones which may occur in any position available to their subclass. Loan phonemes on the other hand are subject to severe restrictions. For example, they are excluded from word-final position, though all native Dutch tense vowels may occur there.

As for the distribution of vowels, only one very general rule can be identified. Lax vowels do not occur in open syllables. This is of course especially clear in final syllables ending in a vowel (where tense vowels do occur, compare, e.g. *villa* 'villa', *hobo* 'oboe', *lelie* 'lily', *kneu* 'linnet' with /a/–/o/–/i/–/ø/ respectively). Other distributional restrictions concern mainly the positions before /r/, /j/ and /w/, where diphthongs, and to a large degree lax vowels do not occur. On the other hand dental obstruents /s/, /z/, /d/ and /t/ are very favourable to vowels excluded in other environments. For example, apart from the word *pauk* 'kettledrum', the diphthong /ɔᵘ/ only occurs before dental obstruents.

The Consonant System (Including Glides)

On the whole, the consonant system which is generally reconstructed for Proto-Germanic, has survived very well in all Dutch dialects, at least at the systemic phonological level. Table 14.2 depicts the relationship between Indo-European, Proto-Germanic and Modern Dutch. Of course there were some changes. First, Proto-Germanic voiced and voiceless dental fricatives merged, yielding (in the end) uniformly stop /d/. The labials retained the original opposition to some degree. In word-initial position /v/ developed into /b/, /f/ in most words into /v/ (though in quite a number of words /f/ was retained), but in all other positions both Germanic fricatives were retained. It is generally held that the velars underwent the same processes as the labials, but even if that is so, the original situation was more or less restored afterwards: voiced /ɣ/ vs voiceless /x/, at least in post-vocalic position (/g/ became a fricative at a very early date in Dutch). In word-initial position /x/ developed into /h/, which in most dialects, including the Standard language, survived in pre-vocalic position, but was lost in all other positions.

Table 14.2 Dutch consonants and their forebears

Obstruents			*Nasals, Liquids, Glides*		
Dutch	Proto-Germanic	Indo-European	Dutch	Proto-Germanic	Indo-European
p	p	b	m	m	m
t	t	d	n	n	n
k	k	g	ŋ	n+g/k	n+gh/g
b	v	bh	l	l	l
d	θ/ð	t/dh	r	r/z	r/s
f	f	p	w	w/xw/ɣw	w/k^w/g^wh
s	s	s	j	j	j
x	x	k	h	x/xw	k/k^w
v	f/v	p/bh			
z	s	s			
ɣ	ɣ/g	k/gh			

Second, the opposition between voiced and voiceless fricatives word-initially is being lost. In the course of time most occurrences of /s/ and /f/ turned into /z/ and /v/ respectively, if followed by a voiced sound. Laryngeal /h/, which had developed from /x/ in this position, has been exempt from this process. In the modern language, especially in the northern variety, there is a very pronounced tendency to devoice initial fricatives /v/, /z/ and /ɣ/. It should be noted too that voiced obstruents (including stops) are on the whole less strongly voiced in Dutch than, for example, their English counterparts. As was mentioned before, Surinam Dutch, along with a considerable number of northern dialects in the mainland, has dropped the voiced–voiceless opposition completely with fricatives in any position.

Third, Dutch shares with German a devoicing rule through which final obstruents are devoiced. This accounts for the surface differences between *huis/huizen* 'house/houses', *raaf/raven* 'raven/ravens', *weg/wegen* 'road/roads', *goed/goede* (adj.) 'good', *eb/ebbe* 'ebb'. As the written examples show, the surface opposition is represented in the spelling of ‹f/v›, ‹s/z›, but not in the other oppositions: ‹g›, ‹d› and ‹b›, and not ‹ch›, ‹t› and ‹p› are written in endposition.

Fourth, /d/ is subject to a weakening tendency in the position between tense vowel and [ə]. This resulted in two minor rules. The first one applies if [ə] belongs to an affix, and converts /d/ into /w/ after the diphthong /ɔ^u/ or into /j/ (not written if preceded by a front vowel or diphthong, otherwise written ‹i›) in all other positions, including those after back vowels. The other rule deletes the whole onset and nucleus of the syllable [də(C)] in monomorphemic strings. Examples are *oude* 'old', *beneden* 'downstairs', *rijden* 'to ride', *goede* 'good', *rode* 'red' > *ouwe*, *beneeeën*, *rijen*, *goeie*, *rooie*; and *veder* 'feather', *teder* 'tender', *nader* 'near', *mede* 'with' > *veer*, *teer*, *naar*, *mee*. The first rule is restricted to informal usage; the second shows a wide

range of lexical variation. With some words it is generally applied without any lexical consequences in all styles except very formal ones (e.g. *veder, moede* 'tired', *weder*$_{1-2}$ 'weather$_1$/again$_2$', *neder* 'down' > generally *veer, moe, weer, neer*), but it can also lead to word pairs with different meanings, which then appear in all possible styles (*moeder* 'mother' – *moer* 'doe', *nader* 'near' – *naar* 'towards', *teder* 'tender' – *teer* 'weak', *ijdel* 'vain' – *ijl* 'thin (air)'). As minor rules both phenomena are not only restricted stylistically. Quite a lot of words escape from them completely (e.g. *zaad+en* (pl. noun) 'seeds', *vader* 'father'), whereas others have undergone reanalysis (e.g. *vloei+en* flow', *zaai+en* (verb) 'sow (inf.)', cf. *vloed* 'flood', *zaad* 'seed' as singular nouns).

Finally, the velar nasal /ŋ/ originated as a product of assimilation before velar obstruents. As such it may have had the status of a combinatory variant. Phoneme status was (at least partially) achieved when /g/ after /ŋ/ was dropped word-finally, before another consonant and before [ə]. These are still the only positions where /ŋ/ occurs.

Syllable Structure

In Standard Dutch, syllables have exclusively vocalic nuclei, with either full vowels or [ə]. The vowel may be preceded and/or followed by one or more consonantal phonemes. A special restriction, mentioned before, is that lax vowels must be followed by at least one consonantal phoneme in word-final position. Even glides, which have a distribution arguably comparable with that of consonants, will not suffice in this case. Consonantal clusters between vowels in monomorphemes belong at least partly to the syllable controlled by the following vowel. This rule, combined with the necessity of closing the preceding syllable with at least one consonant if the vowel is lax, has led many phonologists to posit ambisyllabic consonants (thus belonging both to the preceding and the following syllable) in, for example, *pak-ken* 'packages', *tel-len* 'to count', *pas-sen* 'to fit'. As this is not corroborated by phonetic facts (Dutch has no gemination with consonants), nor by intuitions about natural syllabification in (even very careful) speech, it seems to be a purely theoretical construct, without factual basis, possibly also brought about by spelling conventions: double consonants are systematically used for marking laxness of the preceding vowel (see Orthography).

Pre-vocalic consonant clusters may contain as many as three elements (e.g. *spring* 'jump'), post-vocalic ones even four (e.g. *herfst* 'autumn'). It must be said however that such final clusters break up in parts of maximally two elements when the word is combined with a suffix beginning with a vowel. Part of the original cluster then forms the onset of the following syllable (e.g. *herf-stig* 'autumn-like', *burch-ten* (*burcht*) 'castle(s)', *oog-sten* (*oogst*) '(to) harvest'). This leaves us with an analysis of such final word clusters as consisting of a genuine syllable-final cluster of maximally two elements, possibly followed by an 'offset' of maximally two more consonants. The

Table 14.3 Onset combinations [obstruent + non-obstruent]

	m	n	l	r	w	j
p		×	+	+		
b			+	+		
t				+	+	×
d				+	+	
k		+	+	+	+	
f		×	+	+		
v			+	+		
s	+	+	+		×	+
z					+	
x			×	×		
ɣ		×	+	+		

'offset' forms the onset of a following syllable if the word becomes part of a derivation with a suffix beginning with [ə].

Consonant clusters, though very frequent in Dutch monomorphemic words, belong to a rather restricted set. Initial (onset) clusters always begin with an obstruent. The second phoneme may be a voiceless obstruent if the first one is /s/. Thus /st/, /sp/ and /sx/ are very commonly found, while /sk/ and /sf/ are restricted to loans, but are nonetheless considered 'normal' by native speakers. All obstruents may also be followed by non-obstruents, except for the velar nasal. Restrictions within this class of combinations may be derived from Table 14.3, in which the possible combinations are marked with + if they appear in the core lexicon, with × if peripheral.

On the whole, voiceless obstruents appear to have more possibilities than their voiced counterparts. An exception to this rule is of course the pair /x/ – /ɣ/, of which the former does not occur in initial position, except in a few loans. /s/ – /z/ represents another special case, as they are, by and large, in complementary distribution.

Clusters with three consonants all begin with /s/. They contain /spl/, /spr/, /str/, /sxr/ and peripheral /skl/.

Syllable-final clusters are somewhat more varied. Biconsonantal clusters may consist of:

1 Two voiceless obstruents: there are three subclasses, namely /s/ + stop (/sp/, /st/, /sk/); obstruent + /t/ (/pt/, /kt/, /ft/, /st/, /xt/); stop + /s/ (/ps/, /ts/, /ks/);
2 Nasal or liquid + obstruent: on the whole the nasals require the obstruent to have the same articulatory position: /n + dental/, /m + labial/, /ŋ + velar/ (e.g. *hand* 'hand', *kamp* 'camp', *plank* 'board'), but there are a few words with /m+d/ and /ŋ+s/ (e.g. *hemd* 'shirt', *langs* 'along');
3 Liquid + nasal: /lm/, /rm/, /rn/, but not */ln/ (e.g. *halm* 'stalk', *arm* 'arm',

kern 'kernel, core'). In informal talk the clusters /lm/, /rm/, /rn/ are broken by epenthetic [ə].

Phonological Rules

As mentioned before, Modern Standard Dutch does not manifest any large-scale variation as far as the phonological system is concerned. Still, it is relatively easy, even for people who do not know the language, to tell apart speakers from Belgium and those of the Netherlands; within either group there is no uniformity either. The limits of acceptability of phonetic variation in the standard language are a matter of debate. The variation itself is a function of the application of a number of phonetic rules. Five such rules are mentioned below.

1 Fricatives are at least partly devoiced in word-initial position. Though this rule is productive among all speakers of Dutch, it is expanding in the speech of Northerners, especially speakers from the Randstad. For many of these speakers the voiced–voiceless opposition is completely lost. This is also the case in Surinam Dutch. It should be noted that at least for those speakers there is no base left at all for the phonological distinction between /x/ and /ɣ/, as those elements are practically in complementary distribution on the phonological level.
2 If consonants with different specifications for voice meet, assimilation takes place, necessarily so between the elements of compound or derived words, preferably between final and initial clusters of subsequent words. The direction of this process (progressive or regressive) and the result (the voiced consonant assimilating to the voiceless one, or vice versa) differ according to the clusters. Though the general tendencies are the same in the whole linguistic area, there are a number of divergences between speakers of different geographical background, even if they use the Standard language.
3 As stated before, vowels immediately following or preceding stressed syllables are subject to a reduction rule, producing [ə] at the surface. On the whole, peripheral, especially final syllables are excluded from this rule, which, furthermore, is firmly restricted stylistically. The more informal the use of language is, the sooner and the more consistently it will be applied.
4 Tense vowels are subject to different tendencies. The most marked characteristic seems to be the diphthongization of /e/, /o/, /ø/ (the [–closed, –open] vowels) in the leading Randstad. Though strong diphthongization is socially stigmatized, a more moderate diphthongization has been widely accepted as a characteristic of the spoken Standard language. Most speakers from the east and south (including those in Belgium) prefer monophthongs however. It must be added that many Belgians (especially from the provinces of Antwerp and Brabant)

lengthen all tense vowels, including /i/, /y/, /u/, to a much greater degree than is accepted in the northern spoken Standard.

5 Standard Dutch has a rule of final-/n/ deletion after [ə], both in monomorphemes (except verb stems) and in derived word forms, e.g. in *regen* 'rain' (sg. noun), *merk+en*$_{1-2}$ 'brands$_1$ / notice$_2$ (verb)' (pl. noun or verb). The rule, which is productive in most regional dialects as well, is commonly applied in all styles of Standard Dutch, formal as well as informal. Many speakers from regions where it does not occur in the autochthonous dialects (the northeast of the Netherlands, and western Belgium), tend to disregard it if they switch over to Standard language. A special feature of the /n/-deletion rule is that it does not apply to verbal stems. Thus (*ik*) *teken* '(I) draw' is always pronounced with /n/, (*het*) *teken* 'the sign' will lose its final consonant in most styles of spoken Dutch. The restriction is generally traced back to the fact that verb stems were originally supplemented by an ending (in Middle Dutch [ə]) if used in the present tense or the imperative. Though the ending has been lost for several centuries now, it appears to have left at least some residue in linguistic consciousness.

Apart from these and a number of other rules, regional and/or social variation is reflected in suprasegmental phonology, e.g. pitch, intonation, and general stress patterns.

Orthography

Dutch orthography is based on the rules devised and published by the Dutch linguists De Vries and Te Winkel (1864), and was adopted officially both in Belgium and in the Netherlands in the second half of the nineteenth century. Though a number of fairly substantial changes have been officially adopted since then (the last ones in 1947), the set of basic principles has remained the same. The main criterion, that of 'received pronunciation', is mitigated by the principle of etymology, which leads to now phonetically unmotivated oppositions as, for example, between ‹ij› and ‹ei›, and between ‹ou› and ‹au› as graphemes for the diphthongs /ɛ^{i}/ and /ɔ^{u}/ respectively, for example, (*ik*) *lijd* '(I) suffer' – (*ik*) *leid* '(I) lead', and *rouw* 'mourning' – *rauw* 'raw'. It is further supplemented by the principles of analogy and uniformity, both of which take care of the homogeneous spelling of stems in various (morpho-) phonemic environments, e.g. (*ik*) *vind* '(I) find', despite final devoicing, because of *vinden* 'to find', and (*hij*) *vindt* '(he) finds' (= verb stem ending in /d/ + ending /t/, together pronounced as simple [t]), because of (*hij*) *vangt* 'he catches' (= stem *vang* + *t*). It should be noted that the principle of uniformity is not applied consistently, as it does not cover the oppositions between /s/ ~ /z/ and /f/ ~ /v/, e.g. *lees* ~ *lezen* '(I) read ~ to read', *raaf* ~ *raven* 'raven ~ ravens'.

Dutch spelling conventions include a rather extensive use of double letters

(graphemes), both for vowels and for consonants. The doubling of consonants is consistently used between vowels (but never word-finally) to mark laxness of the preceding vowel, e.g. in *stellen* 'to put', *ballast* 'dead weight', *vullen* 'to fill', *mollig* 'plump', as opposed to (*ik*) *stel* '(I) put', *bal* 'ball', (*ik*) *vul* '(I) fill', *mol* 'mole'. The double consonant is not pronounced as a geminate. Doubling of vowels is used to mark tenseness in closed syllables, as in, for example, *vaas* 'vase' as opposed to the plural *vazen, steek* 'stick' vs *steken, rood* 'red' vs *rode*. The convention does not apply to /i/, which is written ‹ie› both in closed and in open syllables (except in most loans, where it is written ‹i›) or to /u/, which is written ‹oe›. As in French orthography, ‹u› (and double ‹uu›) are used for the sound /y/.

One of the main problems of Dutch orthography remains the spelling of loans of Romance (Latin or French) origin. Most of these are spelt in partial accordance with the rules of the Dutch system, but quite a number of graphemes are reminiscent of their origin. On the whole this does not bring about too many difficulties, except for /k/, which is spelt ‹k› in autochthonous words of Germanic origin, and in a great number of loans as well, e.g. *klasse* 'class', *praktijk* 'practice', *kwaliteit* 'quality', and generally all words which have undergone phonetic changes making them less conspicuous, e.g. *krant* 'newspaper', *kroon* 'crown', *kleur* 'colour'. On the other hand, a large number of more recent, and therefore potentially less integrated loanwords retain ‹c› or ‹qu› (e.g. *categorie* 'category', *compaan* 'companion', *syncope*, *quarantaine*). The experiment (started in 1953) by which the spelling of some sounds (including /k/) in loanwords was proclaimed 'free' has not been successful, and a popular claim nowadays is that a compulsory single spelling convention should be restored. In which way this has to be achieved is not clear at this moment.

14.3 Morphology

Dutch Word Structure

All word classes in Dutch contain both simplex (monomorphemic) and complex (polymorphemic) words. The latter include not only derivations and compounds, but also derivational compounds.

Compounds are very frequent in both spoken and written Dutch (see section 14.5, Polymorphemic words). They generally have the same categorial status as the last element (the first element then appears to function as a semantic adjunct to the second), though compound nouns in particular may be at variance with this general principle. Examples of compound nouns are (a) *vuilnisman* 'refuse collector', *arbeidersdochter* 'workman's daughter', *werkman* 'workman', *allemansvriend* 'everybody's friend', *binnenpretje* 'private joke', all of which belong to the regular type with a noun as their second element, the first element of the compound belonging either to the

same or to another word category; and (b) *deugniet* 'good-for-nothing', *weetal* 'know-it-all', *vrijaf* 'day off', in which neither element is a noun in its own right. The elements of nominal compounds may be linked together with either of the elements *s* or *ə(n)* (written ‹s› and ‹en› or ‹e› respectively, both are originally genitive markers). Whether a 'linking sound', and if any, which one is used, is a matter of the lexicon.

Ik-/jijzelf 'I myself – you yourself', *elkander* 'each other', *iedereen* 'everybody' are pronominal. Many of these compounds have been reinterpreted as monomorphemic words in the course of history, e.g. *welk* 'which', *iemand* 'somebody'.

Examples of compound adjectives are *mierzoet* 'extremely sweet', *ingoed* 'extremely good', *aartslelijk* 'very ugly', and *geelgroen* 'yellowish green'. The second element is always an adjective, the first one may belong to different word classes. Most adverbs and particles, such as *nagenoeg* 'practically', *vrijwel* 'all but', *voorlangs* 'across in front', and *huiswaarts* 'home' are semantically opaque, i.e. their meaning can only partly be derived from that of the components.

As in most European languages, numerals are formed on the basis of the very limited set of nine names of units, nine names of tens, *elf* 'eleven', *twaalf* 'twelve', *honderd* 'hundred', *duizend* 'thousand', and a set of 'learned' words with *-joen* and *-jard* as a second element (e.g. *miljoen* '(a) million', *triljard* '(a) trilliard'). No remnants of a vigentesimal system survive. From 'thirteen' to 'ninety nine' numbers are formed by having units precede tens (the system that also persists in English numbers from 13 to 19). From 21 upwards units and tens (always in that order) are connected by *en* 'and': *vijftien* 'fifteen', but *vijfentwintig* 'five-and-twenty'. Hundreds and thousands are followed by tens and units (if necessary combined in the way described above), e.g. *honderd (en) vijfentachtig* '185'. Multiples of a hundred, a thousand, etc., are formed by a compound of the specifying number + *honderd*, etc. (e.g. *vijfentwintighonderd/duizend/miljoen* lit. 'five-and-twenty hundred/thousand/million').

A special subcategory of compounds in Dutch is formed by pre- and postposition, e.g. *doorheen* 'throughout', *vanuit* 'starting from', *vanaf* 'from ... onwards'. Some of these combinations may be split by the noun phrase with which they combine, thus forming 'circumpositions', e.g. *om (het huis) heen* 'all around (the house)' (for further discussion see section 14.4, Adpositional phrases).

Compound nouns and verbs have the accent mostly on the first constituent. In most adjectives and numerals stress is not fixed at all: it varies according to the syntactic pattern in which the compound is incorporated. All other compounds typically have the accent on the last component.

Derivatives are both frequent and formally extremely diverse. They may contain prefixes (e.g. *be-legeren* 'beleager'), suffixes (e.g. *beleger-aar* 'besieger') and circumfixes; e.g. *ge-boef-te* 'riff-raff'. As neither **geboef* nor

**boefte* exist as words in their own right, it is clear that *ge ... te* as a whole is added to *boef* 'rascal'.

Prefixes do not, in general, take the main word stress, though the negative *on-* does so in nouns, and optionally in adjectives. Suffixes fall into three categories. Most suffixes of Germanic origin leave the stress pattern of the stem word intact, e.g. *'antwoord* 'answer' – *'antwoord-je* 'answer (dim.)'. Some suffixes draw the main stress towards the last syllable of the stem or the last element of a compound or derived word, e.g. *'algebra – alge'bra-isch* 'algebra – algebraic', *'afstand – af'stand-elijk* 'distance – distant', *'wonderbaar – wonder'baar-lijk* 'wonderful – miraculous'. There is a third class of predominantly (though not exclusively) loan suffixes; derivations with these require main stress on the suffix itself, e.g. *'landvoogd – landvoogd-'es* 'governor – governess', *'koning – koning-'in* 'king – queen'.

The gender of derived nouns is regular. Thus all diminutives are neuter, irrespective of the stem word, words with the suffix *-ing* are feminine (or non-neuter in those dialects which have given up the masculine–feminine dichotomy), and words with the prefix *ge-*, as well as those with the circumfix *ge- ... -te* are neuter.

It is possible to derive ordinals by suffixing cardinal numbers with alternatively *-de* or *-ste*; the latter suffix is used in *eerste* '1st', *achtste* '8th', and from *twintigste* '20th' upwards.

Derivational compounds consist of two or even more words, which are linked together by a suffix, and thus acquire word status. Instances are *eenogig* 'one-eyed' (= *(een+oog)+ig*), *meersyllabig* 'polysyllabic' (= *(meer+syllab(e))+ig*), *tweederangs* 'second rate' (= *(tweede+rang)+s*), *doordeweeks* 'commonplace' (= *door+de+week)+s*). To this class may also be added such words as *bijdehand* 'smart' (= *'bij+de+hand'*), *vanmorgen* 'this morning' (= *'van+morgen'*), which formally consist of a prepositional phrase, but have taken, like comparable concatenations with suffixes, fixed word stress on the last component.

Verbal Inflection

Dutch is no different from the other Germanic languages in having only a two-term tense distinction on the basis of inflectional contrasts: present and preterite. Apart from a few lexicalized remnants (e.g. *(het) zij (zo) – (het) moge (geschieden) – (als het) ware* 'it may be so/may it happen/as if it were (so)'), all traces of the subjunctive have disappeared. The imperative does not distinguish between singular and plural and is generally expressed by the verb stem without an explicit subject. If the addressee of the order or advice has to be foregrounded, the second-person (singular or plural) pronoun may be combined with the indicative verbal form. The clause then has 'inverted' word order (the order common in interrogative clauses), e.g. *maak jij/maken jullie (dat maar af)* 'you (and no other person(s)) better finish that'.

The present tense displays three different forms: (a) the verb stem, used

with the first-person singular, and with *jij/je* 'you (sg.)' in clauses with 'inverted word order', i.e. with the finite verb preceding the subject pronoun; (b) verb stem + *t* (2 sg. except with *jij/je* in the inversion construction, and 3 sg.; the use of this form with the 2 pl. is obsolete); (c) verb stem + ə(*n*) (with plural subject, irrespective of 'person').

Most exceptions to this regular pattern are to be found with the third-person singular: (het) *is* '(it) is', *heeft* 'has', *mag* 'may', *kan* 'can', *wil* 'will', *zal* 'shall'. If *ben* is considered the regular singular stem related to *zijn* 'be', there is only one straightforward exception in second-person singular (*je/u mag* 'you may'), though all other preterite-presents whose 'plural' stems are commonly used to derive otherwise regular forms for the second-person singular, also have the same forms as with the third-person singular e.g. *je/u zult* (regular) or *zal* (deviant) 'you shall'. The first-person singular may be said to have no exceptions at all, given the same presupposition for *ben/zijn*. Plural forms are always identical with the infinitive. A few verbs whose stems end in a vowel or diphthong have *n*, which is of course not subject to the general rule of /n/-deletion (occurring after [ə]): *zijn* 'be', *doen* 'do', *gaan* 'go', *slaan* 'beat', *staan* 'stand', *zien* 'see', but *skiën* 'ski', *oliën* 'oil', *schreien* 'weep' and many other verbs have the regular ending.

Preterite formation may be traced back directly to the distinctions in Proto-Germanic between weak and strong verbs, with a few irregularities in both paradigms. Vowel alternations in strong verbs belong to a very large number of formal classes, though only a few groups contain more than ten different verbs ([i/o], [œʏ/o], [ɛi/e], [ɪ/ɔ], [e/ɑ–a], [ɛ/ɔ], e.g. *bied/bood* 'offer(ed)', *buig/boog* 'bow(ed)', *rijd/reed* 'ride/rode', *bind/bond* 'bind/bound', *nemen/nam – namen* 'take/took', *scheld/schold* 'abuse'. These larger classes in particular have over time attracted quite a number of originally 'weak' verbs, and thus the number of strong verbs remains considerable in the modern language. Vowel alternation in the preterite is now the 'normal' inflectional procedure for about 200 verbs, most of which belong to what may be called the 'core' (basic) lexicon.

Within the preterital paradigm of strong verbs there is only one formal opposition, that between the singular form, which is for all persons restricted to the stem, and the plural, which uniformly attaches ə(*n*) (written ‹en›) to it. Archaic language has one more form, stem + *t*, occasionally used with the second-person plural of strong verbs (*jullie waart/kwaamt* 'you (pl.) were/came'). There is only one class of verbs left, which displays the Proto-Germanic opposition between singular and plural preterital stems, namely that of verbs with [e] or [ɪ] in the present (most deriving form Proto-Germanic classes IV and V), having [ɑ] in the preterite singular, and [a] in the plural, e.g. *stelen/stal – stalen* 'steal', *bidden/bad – baden* 'pray'. In most other classes the now uniform preterital stem goes back to the Proto-Germanic plural. As mentioned before, most preterite-presents still have two different forms, one used for the first- and third-person singular (*ik/hij zal/kan/mag*

'I/he shall/can/may'), the other one for the plural and for one form of the second-person singular (here the form for the third-person singular may be used as well): *we/jullie/ze* + *kunnen/zullen/mogen* ('we/you (pl.)/they + can/shall/may'; *je kunt/zult* or *je kan/zal* 'you (sg.) can/shall', but only *je mag* 'you (sg.) may').

Weak verbs have only one preterite form in spoken Standard Dutch. It is derived from the present stem by suffixing *tə(n)* or *də(n)* to it (the variant with [t] is restricted to verb stems ending in voiceless obstruents). This, of course, covers a 'deep' opposition between (written) *te/de* (sg.) and *ten/den* (pl.), but a number of phonological rules, deleting [n] after [ə] in most environments, on the one hand, and inserting [n] between two [ə]-s, on the other, obscures the opposition to the ear. Of course speakers who do pronounce [n] after [ə] (see section 14.2, Phonological rules) preserve the opposition between both forms even in the spoken language.

Proto-Germanic 'irregular' weak verbs (e.g. **branx-ta*) dropped the vowel of the suffix, and from a synchronic point of view have merged with descendants of strong verbs, as far as the preterite is concerned: as is the case with strong verbs, there is a clear distinction, also phonetically, between singular and plural forms in e.g. *bracht/brachten* 'brought', *dacht/dachten* 'thought', *kocht/kochten* 'bought', *wist/wisten* 'knew'.

There are two infinitives, the bare and the *te*-infinitive. The former consists of the stem followed by the ending *ə(n)* or *n*, as in the plural present forms. The *te*-infinitive consists of *te* + bare infinitive. Though the two elements are still written apart, *te*, which originally was a preposition expressing Goal, followed by the then existing gerund (formally infinitive + *ə*), synchronically may be considered a marker, as, unlike in English, it may under no condition be separated from the rest of the verb form, cf. (*he kept on trying*) *to ultimately find out* (*that* ...) = (*hij bleef maar proberen om*) *ten slotte te ontdekken* (*dat* ...). The distribution between bare and *te*-infinitives depends on the syntactic environment. In Modern Dutch the *te*-infinitive appears to be constantly gaining ground on its bare counterpart. Apart from a few isolated fixed expressions, the *te*-infinitive has become the only possibility with prepositions, and the number of auxiliaries which require it is still growing: in the last century *durven* ('dare') and *weten* ('know (where something/somebody lives, stands, etc.)') were added to the list of *te*-auxiliaries.

The present participle consists of stem + *ənd(ə)* or *nd(ə)*, the latter with verbs taking *n* in the infinitive and the plural present.

For the formation of the past participle, Dutch has a rule which prefixes all stems not preceded by a prefix (like *ver-*, *be-*, *ont-*, etc.) with *ge-*. Unlike its German cognate, the rule also applies to stems with final stress (e.g. *ge-inte'greer-d* = German *inte'griert* 'integrated'). Further the past participle displays the heritage of Proto-Germanic. From a synchronic point of view however we have four types, depending on both whether or not stem alternation is being applied, and the form of the suffix:

1 'Regular' weak verbs with the (infinitive) stem followed by */t/* or */d/*, the first suffix being restricted to stems ending in a voiceless obstruent (cf. the parallel opposition with the weak preterite), e.g. *ge-maak-t* 'made', *ge-waag-d* 'ventured';
2 Strong verbs with the ending *ə(n)* attached to a special stem with vowel alteration, usually identical with the preterite stem, yet not for some descendants of Proto-Germanic *jan*-verbs, and verbs of the classes V and VI, e.g. *ge-bo(o)d-en* 'offered', *ge-bo(o)g-en* 'bowed', *ge-bond-en* 'bound' (all of which have the same vowel as the preterite), but *ge-sto(o)l-en* 'stolen' (pret. *stal/stalen*), *ge-be(e)d-en* 'prayed, bidden' (pret. *bad/baden*);
3 'Strong' verbs with *ə(n)* suffixed to the present stem, most of them deriving from Proto-Germanic class V, VI or VII verbs, e.g. *lezen/ge-lezen* 'to read', *varen/ge-varen* 'to sail', *lopen/ge-lopen* 'to run';
4 'Irregular' verbs with special stem, identical with that of the preterite, e.g. *ge-bracht* 'brought', *ge-kocht* 'bought'.

As may be apparent from the details of the account, there is not much place for what we might call 'irregularity' in verbal paradigms, unless stem alternation in strong verbs is considered as such. Real exceptions to the regular patterns are of course such verbs as *zijn* 'to be' and the preterite-presents (e.g. *mogen* 'may' with singular present stem *mag*, dental preterite *mocht* and past participle *gemoogd* or *gemogen*).

Nominal Inflection

All Dutch count nouns have plural forms which in one way or another differ from the singular form. To this general statement two remarks have to be added. First of all, some nouns referring to units, though having a plural form, are not inflected if preceded by a numeral, in which case the noun phrase is treated like a quantifier (e.g. *drie pond boter* '(the quantity of) three pounds of butter', *vijf man* 'five people (forming a team)'). Second, with some nouns singular and plural forms, though written differently, are pronounced in the same way by the large majority of speakers (e.g. *kudde/kudden* 'herd(s)'). The reason for this is the same as for the two forms of the weak preterite suffix mentioned above. It should be noted that such phonetically null plural forms are generally avoided, often by supplanting them with the *s*-plural (e.g. *kuddes*).

Apart from the stacked suffix *-eren*, formed on the basis of Proto-West Germanic *-V+r*, which is still the plural suffix of some fifteen neuter nouns (e.g. *kind-eren* 'children', *ei-eren* 'eggs') there are two 'productive' formatives, the suffixes *ə(n)* and *s*. Though genuine rules cannot be given, there is a very strong tendency for monosyllabic words to take *ə(n)*, and for polysyllabic ones (both of Germanic and non-Germanic origin) to prefer *s*. Moreover, quite a number of words may be suffixed with either, in which case

the *s*-plural tends to be less formal. While there is a semantic difference between *vaders* 'fathers' and *vaderen* '(spiritual) forebears', there is only a stylistic difference between *maten/maats* 'fellows', *benden/bendes* 'gangs', *leliën/lelies* 'lilies', *appelen/appels* 'apples'.

The origin of the plural ending *-s* is somewhat enigmatic. It is considered an ingvaeonicism by some, but as it is hardly to be found in early Middle Dutch, a direct derivation from the Proto-Germanic inflectional system (as is very probable for the homophonic ending in English) is at least problematic. The suffix *-s* might have spread as a 'clear' inflectional element (used originally for the genitive singular of vocalic stems), possibly also under the influence of French, which enriched Dutch vocabulary with hundreds of words, among those many polysyllabic nouns (the main 'harbour' of *s*-forms).

Stem variation between singular and plural forms is extremely rare in Standard Dutch. The only example of residual umlaut is *stad/steden* 'town(s)'. Some words have other types of vowel variation ([ɑ/a], [ɛ/e], [ɪ/e], [ɔ/o], [ɛ^{i}/e]) when suffixed by *ə(n)*, but never with the alternative plural ending *-s* (e.g. *weg/wegen* 'roads, ways', *lid/leden* 'members, *pad/paden* 'paths', *professor/professoren* 'professors' (but as an alternative *professors*), *waarheid/waarheden* 'truth(s)').

Middle Dutch showed some systematic remnants of Proto-Germanic case inflection, but apart from a few set expressions (e.g. *ten getale van (drie)* 'three in number' *ten tijde van* 'at the time of', both nouns with dative *-ə*) almost nothing of this survives in the modern Standard language. The genitive *-s* survives with proper names and a few kinship names (e.g. *Karels auto* 'Charles' car', *(groot)moeders huis* '(grand)mother's house'), but in spoken Dutch even these have been supplanted either by a new formation with the possessive word following the whole noun phrase, or by a prepositional construction with *van* 'of' (e.g. *de vader/moeder van Karel* 'Charles' father/mother', *Karel z'n/Mieke d'r auto* 'Charles'/Mary's car'). It should be noted that even the 'informal' construction with the possessive word attached to the noun phrase is hardly ever used with non-human noun phrases, and embedded genitival attributions, unlike in English, are avoided, cf. *de moeder van Karel d'r auto/de auto van Karel z'n moeder/de auto van de moeder van Karel/ ??Karel z'n moeder d'r auto* 'Charles' mother's car'. Attribution of noun phrases to other noun phrases is achieved by means of the prepositional group with *van*.

Most Dutch nouns have a diminutive formed with a *jə*-suffix, with the allomorphs *je*, *(e)tje*, *pje*, *kje*. The choice between the allomorphs depends on the syllable structure of the input noun. For the few nouns that have different singular and plural stems, there is no fixed rule for diminutive forms. Some even allow for more than one, e.g. *blad* 'leaf' (with plural *bladen* and *bladeren*) allows for *bladje(s)*, *blaadje(s)* and *bladertjes* (the latter only in the plural). Diminutive formation is not restricted to count input nouns, but

always yields a count word. Thus the diminutive of *water* (*watertje*) always denotes a certain quantity, e.g. a glass, or a certain brand, etc. of water.

Pronominal Forms

In this section all substantival pronominal words will be dealt with; adjectival words (which function as determiners or specifiers to nouns) will be discussed in the section 'Determiners and quantifying words'. There is one notable exception to this: possessives are used attributively, and share some characteristics with determiners, but they are discussed here together with the personal pronouns they are directly related to. The reason for this is clear. Possessives function as the genitives of personal pronouns (in fact they either originated from genitive pronouns or from other pronominal forms, which had supplanted the regular genitives), and share many of their properties with this category.

Most pronominal categories distinguish between two forms according to the character of the concept they stand in for. There is a 'neutral' form, used for singular non-human referents, and one used for human referents, either plural or singular. Thus Dutch has the indefinite pronouns *(n)iemand* 'nobody/somebody', *(n)iets* 'nothing/something', *iedereen* 'everybody', *alles* 'everything', etc.; and the interrogative pronouns *wie* 'who(m)' *wat* 'what'. The deictic pronouns *die*, *dat* 'those, that', *deze*, *dit* 'these, this' have another distribution: *dat* and *dit* are used with reference to a neuter singular noun (whether human or non-human), *die* and *deze* in all other cases. The same applies to the relative pronouns, which are homophonous with both the interrogative and deictic pronouns (*die/dat* as well as *wie/wat*). The syntactic rules governing the choice between *die* and *wie*, and *dat* and *wat* are rather complex, and subject to considerable regional and stylistic variation. *Welk*, *hetwelk* 'which' as alternative relative pronouns, obsolete in the modern Standard, are restricted to highly formal written language now.

The regular forms listed above alternate with 'adverbial' forms, if combined with a pre- or postposition. The pronoun is then generally replaced by the corresponding locative adverbial (respectively *(n)ergens* 'nowhere/somewhere', *overal* 'everywhere' *waar* 'where', *daar* 'there', *hier* 'here') with a postposition, e.g. (*hij dacht*) *(n)ergens aan* or *aan (n)iets*' '(he thought) of something/nothing'. If reference is to non-humans the replacement is obligatory with deictic and relative pronouns, and optional with interrogative and indefinite ones. If humans are referred to, standard usage prefers the combination of preposition + pronoun, and application of the replacement rule is a marker of a more colloquial style. It should be noted also that in Standard Dutch the two parts of the newly formed combination are usually discontinuous: the adverbial element is placed early in the sentence, together with other pronominal words, whereas the postposition is kept together with the clause-final verb group, e.g. (*ze heeft*) *daar* (*toen nog een hele tijd met haar ouders*) *over* (*gepraat*) '(she has then been talking) about

that (for a long time with her parents)'. For the general principles governing Dutch constituent ordering, see section 14.4.

The pronouns referring to humans have genitive forms with *-(n)s*, some also with the combination of pronoun + *z'n/d'r* (*iemands* or *iemand z'n/d'r* 'somebody's', *iedereens* 'everybody's', *wiens* or *wie z'n/d'r* 'whose', *diens* or *die z'n/d'r* 'this one's' or 'these ones').

Personal pronouns are the only Dutch words that still have an opposition between subject and object forms. As corresponding possessives function as genitives, a threefold functional opposition may be set up, as in English. There is no difference between 'accusative' and 'dative' uses of the object forms, though a number of nineteenth-century school grammars propagated an opposition along that line between third-person plural *hen* and *hun* 'them'. The artificial distinction was not found in any regional dialect of Dutch (the opposition between accusative and dative had already been given up in pronouns in the earliest Middle Dutch), and has vanished from grammatical prescription in recent decades.

One peculiarity of Dutch among the Germanic languages is the (almost) general opposition between 'full' and 'reduced' forms in the three surface 'cases'. The reduced forms are used as clitics, and with subject pronouns both pro- and enclitics occur, with the exception of the exclusively enclitic third-person singular masculine *ie*, however. In Standard Dutch full pronouns appear only in stressed positions, though there is some variation as to the combination with a preposition. Belgian speakers of Dutch mostly prefer full forms in this position, even if unstressed ('Holland' *met 'm* vs 'Belgian' *met hem* 'with him'). The third-person singular shows a threeway distinction according to grammatical gender. As to the non-neuter forms *hij/ie* 'he', etc., and *zij/ze* 'she', etc. Northern Dutch has a distribution along lines which may be compared with the English usage. Apart from a few 'special cases' the feminine is restricted to reference to female humans. Masculine covers all other cases where the noun in question is grammatically non-neuter (either human or not). Southern varieties, especially those spoken in Belgium, preserve the historical distinction between masculine, feminine and neuter words, and use the pronouns accordingly.

Standard forms of personal pronouns, including possessive ones, are given in Table 14.4. In most cases the apostrophe ‹'› stands for [ə], though sometimes the consonantal form is used alone, without any vocalic element. In the reduced forms ‹e› also stands for [ə]. It should be noted that many speakers confuse the reduced object forms third-person singular feminine and third-person plural *d'r* ('her' (sg.)) and *ze* ('them' (pl.)). This can be accounted for by the fact that, for both pronouns, both the full subject forms and the reduced possessives are identical.

The second person displays a distinction between the common forms mentioned in Table 14.4, and formal *u* (su./obj.)/*uw* (poss.) (no reduced forms available), which is pragmatically determined by deference towards the

Table 14.4 Personal pronouns

	Subject		*Object*		*Possessive*	
	Full	Reduced	Full	Reduced	Full	Reduced
1 sg.	ik	'k	mij	me	mijn	m'n
2 sg.	jij	je	jou	je	jouw	je
3 sg. m.	hij	ie	hem	'm	zijn	z'n
f.	zij	ze	haar	ze/d'r	haar	d'r
n.	(dat)	het/'t	(dat)	het/'t	zijn	z'n
1 pl.	wij	we	ons	——	ons	——
2 pl.	jullie	je	jullie	je	jullie	je
3 pl.	zij	ze	hen/hun	ze/d'r	hun	d'r

addressee. The actual use of formal pronouns has decreased considerably in recent decades.

Apart from the two forms (full – reduced) mentioned before, there is a third set, the members of which are used if the pronoun is given contrastive function. In this case a compound form with *zelf* 'self' is used with the full subject and object forms (e.g. *ikzelf, onszelf*); *eigen* 'own' (written apart) is added to the full or reduced possessives (*m'n/mijn eigen*).

Mention should also be made of the adverbial pronoun *er* + postposition, which generally takes up the place of an adpositional phrase with a personal pronoun of the third person, if this has a non-human referent, in some styles also if a human referent is meant (see the adverbial indefinites, interrogatives, deictics and relatives discussed above).

Dutch did not originally have at its disposal any reflexive pronouns, not even in the third person. Since Middle Dutch this 'lack' has been remedied to some extent in two ways. First, for all persons the use of the contrastive possessives (*m'n/je/z'n/d'r/ons eigen*) expanded to the reflexive object function, though in informal speech only: *ze heeft d'r eigen in de spiegel bekeken* 'she looked at herself in the mirror'. Second, in the third person *zich* 'him-/her-/itself, themselves' was borrowed from literary German, and this word has become common even in everyday spoken language now. If some contrast is implied (only with transitive verbs used reflexively), the compound forms with *zelf* added to the reduced object form may be used (e.g. *ik schoor mezelf – hij schoor zichzelf* 'I/he shaved myself/himself (not anybody else)'.

Adjectival Inflection

The great profusion of adjectival endings in Proto-Germanic has been dramatically reduced to a mere twosome in the course of the history of Dutch: the stem on the one hand, the [ə]-extended form on the other. The latter is used attributively except with: (a) nouns denoting male human beings in some

indefinite constructions, like *een goed man* 'a good man' – *een goed leraar* 'a good teacher' (the latter denotes somebody who is good as a teacher, different from *een goede leraar*, which would refer to a teacher who has a good character); and (b) indefinite noun phrases with singular neuter nouns. *ə*-less forms may sometimes be used in definite noun phrases with neutral nouns too, but this is only common in southern varieties of Dutch. In most standard variants the uninflected form is restricted to special types of definite neuter noun phrases, and is often also associated with a special meaning. Thus *ons oud huis* 'the house we used to live in before' is opposed to *ons oude huis* 'our house, which is old'.

Though most adjectives exhibit both forms, quite a number lack a special form with *ə*, among them those that end in [ə(n)], and most of the ones ending in monophthongal vowels, e.g. *open* 'open', *indigo*, *oranje* 'orange', but *gedwee+ë* 'meek'.

Comparative adjectives are formed with morphemes deriving directly from Proto-Germanic: *ər* in the comparative, *stə* in the superlative. Analytic constructions with *meer* 'more' and *meest* 'most', though not unknown in the language, are extremely rare, even with polysyllabic adjectives such as *interessant(er/st)* '(more/most) interesting' or *verbazingwekkend(er/st)* '(more/most) amazing'. Apart from *goed* 'good' with the inflectional comparative forms *beter/best* 'better/best', all derived adjectival forms are regular.

Stem variation occurs only (optionally) with one single adjective: *grof* 'coarse', yielding the *ə*-form *grove* and the comparative *grover*.

Two more facts deserve mentioning. First, Dutch adds *s* to the adjective if it is construed with an indefinite pronoun or quantifier such as *(n)iets* 'something/nothing', *veel* 'much', *weinig* 'little', e.g. *iets/veel fraais* 'something beautiful/many beautiful things'. Second, adjectives are used adverbially without any suffixation, but some may none the less take the (originally nominal) diminutive suffix, augmented with *s* (*(ə)tjəs*, etc.). Such words usually imply some sort of attitudinal involvement on the part of the speaker, e.g. *ze is stilletjes binnengekomen* 'she entered silently, which was wise/stupid/to be appreciated, . . .', vs neutral *ze is stil binnengekomen* 'she entered silently'.

Determiners and Quantifying Words

Most determiners (definite article, indefinite, interrogative, deictic words) have two forms, one combining with singular neuter nouns, the other being used in all other cases, e.g. *het/de* 'the', *welk/welke* 'which', *zulk/zulke* 'such', *elk/elke* 'each', *dat/die* 'that, those', *dit/deze* 'this, these'. A notable exception to this rule is the indefinite article, which nowadays has only the invariant singular form *een*, sometimes also written *'n*, pronounced [ən]. Possessive words, which were dealt with in the section on pronouns, have generally only one form left too, except for *ons/onze* 'our', which is an

exception in another respect too, as it has no reduced form (see Table 14.4).

Quantifiers such as *veel*, 'much, many', *weinig* 'little, few', *enig* 'some', have two forms: with or without *ə* added to the stem. *Vele/weinige* is always used if preceded by a definite determiner, and sometimes, though not consistently, in other plural noun combinations (e.g. *het vele water* 'the great amount of water', *weinig(e) mensen* 'few people'). All other quantifying words have a regular distribution of the two forms. The one without *ə* is restricted to indefinite noun phrases with a singular neuter noun (for an exceptional use of *al* 'all' and *heel* 'whole' we refer the reader to section 14.4: The nominal group). Some quantifiers also have comparative and superlative forms, though for *veel* and *weinig* these happen to be irregular (*veel – meer(der) – meest* 'much/many – more – most' and *weinig – minder – minst* 'little/few – less/fewer – least/fewest').

Numerals do not have inflectional forms, with the exception of *een* 'one'. *Ene* is used after definite articles and other definite determiners (demonstratives, possessives and genitives). A very specific use is that with proper names, e.g. *ene Jan van Aken* 'a certain person, named Jan van Aken'.

Other Inflectional Phenomena

It is certainly remarkable that Dutch, with its very restricted set of inflectional categories, should have a few rather uncommon formal oppositions. First, some degree adverbs are formally adjusted to the attributive adjective they qualify: if the adjective takes *ə* the same ending may be added to the adverb, e.g. *een hele/erge kleine boom* 'a very small tree' vs *een heel/erg klein huis* 'a very small house'. Second, cardinal numbers take the ending *ə(n)* in substantival use, if they are the complement of a preposition, e.g (*ze waren*) *met* (*z'n*) *elven* '(they were) eleven', (*het was al*) *na zevenen* '(it was) after seven'. Numerals which have *ə(n)* as a plural marker (*honderd(en)* 'hundred(s)', *duizend(en)* 'thousand(s)', *miljoen(en)* 'million(s)', etc.) do not take the ending after prepositions, thus avoiding semantic ambiguity. So there is an opposition between (*ze kwamen*) *met* (*z'n*) *honderd* 'a hundred of them (came)' and (*ze kwamen*) *met honderden* 'hundreds of them (came)'. A third inflectional phenomenon is one that is not found in standard varieties of Dutch, but which is widespread in regional dialects from very different parts of the language area, namely, the inflection of complementizers (conjunctions and relative and interrogative pronouns) according to the number of the clause subject. In many Holland dialects e.g. (*ik hoop*) *datte ze kome* '(I hope) that they (will) come' is opposed with *dat hij komt* 'that he comes'. The phenomenon, known also from Bavarian dialects of German, has been well studied by a large number of linguists.

14.4 Syntax

Typological Features

Dutch is not easy to classify along the lines of current syntactic typology, though on the whole SOV or head-final patterns prevail. They are dominant in the verb phrase, noun phrase and adjective phrase and also occur in the prepositional phrase. A short survey will do here, as all relevant types of constituents will be dealt with in the following paragraphs.

First of all, there are two important features of Dutch surface word order which are characteristic of SVO rather than SOV: the existence of prepositions and sentence-initial complementizers, and the position of relative clauses after the antecedent. The prepositions are inherited from Proto-Germanic, and perhaps even further back, from Indo-European. In recent stages of the language a fairly large set of postpositions and circumpositions have developed, which are frequent in certain semantic functions, especially to denote temporal posteriority and spatial direction, but the bulk of adpositional phrases in Dutch do not fit the expected SOV picture. With respect to relative clauses, one may mention that formal, especially written Dutch shows a word-order pattern which is more in accordance with dominant SOV structure. Reduced clauses consisting of a participle preceded by any arbitrary combination of verbal complements or specifications (with the single exception of complement clauses), are possible before the noun they qualify: (*de*) *gisteren nog niet helemaal tot in de kleinste details door ons besproken* (*moeilijkheden*), (lit.) '(the) yesterday not yet completely into the smallest detail by us discussed (difficulties)' (= 'the difficulties we did not discuss ...')

The overall picture of word ordering is as follows:

1 In noun phrases all determiners, quantifiers and adjectival specifiers (including participles) precede the head noun, e.g. *die drie mooie grote auto's* 'those three beautiful big cars'; prepositional phrases and clauses follow, as do adverbs: *die man daar/gisteren* 'that man (over) there/ yesterday'.

2 Adjectival phrases may contain noun phrases and adverbs, which precede their head: *het gebabbel meer dan beu* 'more than fed up with the chatter'. All constituents with prepositions or subordinating conjunctions may follow, though many prepositional phrases may precede as well (and even have to if the adjective is used attributively), especially in formal registers, e.g.: *de op dat ogenblik al erg grote oppositie* 'the opposition (which was) already quite large at that moment'. Among the constituents which have to follow is the standard of comparison (*ze is groter dan ik* 'she is taller than me'). In attributive usage this leads to a discontinuous expression, the adjective itself being positionally bound to the noun, cf. *een grotere man dan ik* 'a taller man than me', *een even grote man als ik* 'a man as tall as me'.

3 Clauses have the main verb at the end. But, there are two facts which blur the picture. First of all there is the rule which moves the finite verb to the first (interrogative or imperative) or second (declarative) position in main clauses. If there is no auxiliary in the clause this means that the main verb has to occupy that position, and that the canonical sentence-final verb place may become 'empty', e.g. *ik zoek (een nieuwe tafel voor mijn woonkamer)* 'I'm looking (for a new table for my living room)'. This is not necessary though, as complex verbs 'leave behind' their phrasal particles in sentence-final position, e.g.: *(ik) zette (de baby) neer* '(I) put down (the baby)'. Second, Dutch allows extraposition of a prepositional phrase or clause to the right of the canonical place of the verb (whether occupied or not). The rule is obligatory with complement clauses and optional with all other clauses and most prepositional constituents, but may be applied only once; e.g. *(je zult nog wat langer moeten wachten) op je bevordering/om bevorderd te worden* '(you will have to wait a little longer) for your promotion/to be promoted'.

We may conclude from all this that Dutch, from the point of view of surface typology, is a moderately verb-final (SOV) language. This mitigated status is further reflected in the fact that auxiliaries, if they form a continuous group with the main verb, may either follow (as is common in strict SOV languages) or precede the main verb: *(dat ze het) gezegd had/had gezegd* '(that she) had said (it)'. The latter ordering appears to be gaining ground in the modern language, especially in writing. With two auxiliaries there are sometimes different possibilities as well, e.g. *dat ze het gezegd zou hebben* or *zou hebben gezegd* (in Belgium also: *zou gezegd hebben*) 'that she would have told'. Most combinations, however, are only allowed with the auxiliaries preceding the main verb *(dat ze het) zal moeten zeggen*, not **zeggen zal moeten* '(that she) will be obliged to tell'.

Sentence Patterns

Three main patterns may be distinguished, although the differences only involve the initial elements: (a) subordinated clauses have the subordinating word or constituent in the first place (the finite verb stays at the end of the clause); (b) yes/no questions and imperatives start with the finite verb; all other elements remain in underlying order, i.e. the order they would also occupy in subordinate clauses; and (c) all other main clauses open with the finite verb preceded by an arbitrary constituent (or in *wh*-questions the *wh*-word/phrase). So subordinated clauses are the only type where the finite verb appears in the sentence-final verbal group. Instances are: (a) *(ik zei) dat ze mijn vriendje gisteren misschien ook uitgenodigd had* '(I said) that maybe she had invited my friend too'; (b) *had ze mijn vriendje gisteren misschien ook uitgenodigd?* 'had she perhaps also invited my friend yesterday?'; (c) *misschien had ze mijn vriendje gisteren ook uitgenodigd* 'maybe she had also

invited my friend yesterday'. It is noteworthy that Standard Dutch is the only Germanic language that does not allow complement clauses without an explicit subordinator: *ik zei dat ik het zou doen*/**ik zei ik zou het doen* (cf. Ger. *ich sagte dass ich es machen würde*/*ich sagte ich würde es machen.*) This characteristic of Dutch is sometimes attributed to the influence of French. Anyway, northern dialects, which did not undergo French influence as intensively as the southern ones, go along with other Germanic languages in this respect.

The clause is constructed roughly along the following lines in all sentence types. The opening block is followed by a block containing all personal pronouns and a number of other clitics, if any occur in the clause. The sentence closes with the verbal group (or whatever is left of it in main clauses, which have sentence-initial finite verbs), sometimes followed by a prepositional phrase or clause. The remaining constituents are ordered between the pronominal and the verbal block.

The rule of cliticization of the pronominal elements within the pronominal block, to either the complementizer or the finite verb, is not absolute however. Both the nominal and the pronominal subjects of clauses will in most cases precede all (other) pronouns in (relatively) sentence-initial position, e.g. *misschien heeft iemand het je verteld* (lit.) 'maybe has somebody it you told' (= 'maybe somebody told you'). This is all the more remarkable, as the subject is not bound to the first position after complementizer or finite verb in clauses where there are no pronouns, cf. (*blijkbaar hebben daar bij latere gelegenheden dan toch nog*) *andere mensen* (*aan gedacht*) '(apparently) other people (have thought of that on later occasions)'. This means that Dutch, contrary to German, does not regularly permit S–O inversion if O is a pronoun. Only non-agentive subjects, e.g. with verbs like *schijnen* 'seem', *verschijnen* 'appear', *voorbijgaan* 'pass', may break the regular S–O pattern, especially, if they are indefinite, e.g. (*er zijn*) *hem een paar mensen* (*voorbijgereden*) (lit.) '(there are) him a few people (passed)' (= 'a few people have passed him').

To sum up, the topology of declarative main clauses may thus be represented as: [X – finite verb/(subject) – pronouns/Y/verbal group/Z]. In this formula the positions X and Z may be occupied by topicalized or focused constituents (one in each). As mentioned before, Z may not contain argument noun phrases and a few types of complement prepositional phrases. Y is a concatenation of all remaining constituents: noun phrases, adjective phrases, prepositional phrases, clauses, adverbs and sentence particles. The relative order is rather free from a syntactic point of view, and is determined by the general sentence perspective, topical constituents mostly preceding focal ones. There are a few strict syntactic rules interfering with this simple pragmatic tendency however. Within Y three important rules apply, and partly compete with each other:

1 Argument noun phrases are invariably ordered: subject – indirect object – direct object. The prepositional phrase with *aan*, which often functions as an alternative for the noun phrase-indirect object, however, is free to either precede or follow the noun phrases, both subject and object, it is used with.
2 Non-noun-phrase complements (adjective phrases and prepositional phrases) follow all noun-phrase arguments.
3 Adverbials are usually ordered according to the degree in which the quality they denote is inherent in the verb: complements (e.g. directionals) generally follow phrasal adverbials (denoting e.g. manner, degree) which are in turn preceded by sentence adverbials (e.g. time, place). Cf.: (*ze heeft*) *vandaag*$_1$ *thuis*$_2$ *hard*$_3$ *aan haar proefschrift*$_4$ (*gewerkt*) 'today$_1$ (she has been working) very hard$_3$ on her thesis$_4$ at home$_2$'.

Contrary to (1) and (2), rule (3) allows for deviations under strong pragmatic conditions.

If we look at constituent ordering diachronically, the impression prevails that syntactic rules such as those just mentioned are gaining ground on pragmatic ones, based on sentence perspective, etc.

The Nominal Group

Determiners (articles and demonstratives), possessives and genitival nouns, and 'absolute' quantifiers (*elk* 'each', *ieder* 'every', *geen* 'no', *sommige* 'some (specific)') all precede the noun, and they are mutually exclusive. As to the class of absolute quantifiers, it contains two words which show somewhat irregular behaviour, namely *al* 'all' and *heel* 'whole'. The former may be used in the same way as *elk*, etc., but may also be combined with determiners, possessives and genitives, e.g. *al de/die/mijn/Jan z'n* (*kleren*) 'all the/those/my/John's (clothes)'. In this usage *al* is not inflected (vs. *alle kleren* 'all clothes'). *Heel* may behave in a similar fashion; e.g. *heel de/die/mijn/Jans* (*voorraad*) 'the/that/my/John's whole (stock)', and then this quantifier is not inflected either. It does take *ə* however in the alternating construction, comparable to that found in English, German, etc., where it follows one of the other words: *de/die/mijn/Jans hele* (*voorraad*) 'the/that/my/John's whole (provision)'.

The basic distinction between definite and indefinite articles (either lexical or not) in Dutch runs parallel with that in most West European languages: it is predominantly a matter of (in)definiteness of reference. A few points deserve some attention.

1 Definite articles are not used with most types of proper names. They are however with the names of rivers, lakes, mountain ranges and mountains, and with some names of regions, territories and states, e.g. *de Schelde*

'the Scheldt', *de Alpen* 'the Alps', *de Eiger* 'Mount Eiger', *het Baikalmeer* 'Lake Baikal', *de Sahara* 'the Sahara', (*de*) *Libanon* 'Lebanon', *de Verenigde Staten* 'the United States'.

2 Indefinite articles are not generally used with plural and non-count singular nouns, except in a very specific meaning, to be described in (4) below. Such articles are generally also avoided if the noun is used to denote a function rather than the object or person occupying this function, a usage especially clear with noun phrases in predicative use, e.g.: (*hij is*) *arts* '(he is) a doctor', (*ze zegt dat als*) *arts* '(she says that as) a doctor'; cf also the section on Subject–verb agreement.

3 Noun phrases with definite articles may also be used with a categorial function, e.g. *de walvis is bijna uitgestorven* 'the whale is all but extinct'. Both definite and indefinite articles may apply in generic use: *een/de walvis heeft geen poten* 'a/the whale does not have legs', *walvissen hebben geen poten* 'whales do not have legs', but, as in English, the definite article is restricted to singular nouns.

4 Apart from the usage as a determiner, the indefinite article has developed a somewhat peculiar function: if combined with plural or non-count nouns, it expresses something like 'a great quantity (number) of *x*, in fact a greater quantity (number) than could be expected'; e.g. (*er waren daar toch*) *een mensen* 'an astonishing number of people (were present)'.

Numerals and 'relative' quantifiers such as *veel* 'much, many', *weinig* 'little, few', *enig* 'some (non-specific)', and all types of adjectives (in this order) line up between the determiner (if any) and the noun. Although there is some degree of freedom, adjectives are generally ordered in such a way that the more specific description precedes the more general one, e.g. *de mooie grote gele bloemen* 'the beautiful large yellow flowers'. Nouns may be followed by prepositional phrases and relative and complement clauses, as well as by adverbs (e.g. *die man daar* 'that man over there') and semi-pronominal words like *zelf* 'self', *allebei* 'both', *tezamen* 'together', *gezamenlijk* 'all together'. Instead of being incorporated into the noun phrase the latter may also occur as free adjuncts ('quantifier floating') e.g. both: *de twee delen tezamen kosten 40 gulden* and *die twee delen kosten tezamen 40 gulden* 'those two volumes together cost 40 guilders'.

From a structural point of view, noun phrases present the following pattern: [X – Y – Noun – Z – clause], in which X may be occupied by a member (very rarely more than one) of the determiner cluster, Y by one or more members of the numeral–adjective group, and Z by one or more prepositional phrases, adverbs and/or members of the *zelf* category.

The kernel (noun) position within the noun phrase may be occupied by (a) an inflected adjective, or (b) a bare infinitive. The restriction to inflected adjectives has to be taken literally: adjectives which lack the inflected form in attributive use (like *open* 'open', *verworpen* 'rejected', cf. *de verworpen*

voorstellen 'the rejected proposals') do have such a form in just this construction, e.g. *de verworpene(n)* 'the outcast(s)'. Another consequence of the restriction is that substantivized adjectives referring to humans have both indefinite and definite uses (e.g. *de/een goede* 'the/a good (person)'), whereas those referring to (mainly abstract) objects are confined to definite descriptions. This is because neuter *een* strictly precludes the inflected form in all circumstances. So next to *het slechte* 'the bad things(s)/the wickedness' we do not find **een slecht(e)*; instead *iets slechts* 'something bad' is used (see section 14.3, Adjectival inflection). In regard to infinitives, many have, in the course of time, been reinterpreted as real nouns, also taking plural markers, cf. *het/de vermoeden(s)* 'the conjecture(s)', but as a result of a productive process the nominalized infinitive does not take nominal inflection: *het diepe nadenken* ~ **de diepe nadenkens (over die zaak)* '(the) deep thinking ~ *deep thinkings (about that matter)'.

The Adpositional Phrases

Proto-Germanic does not seem to have had postpositions, but it did have a considerable number of prepositions. This situation lasted through the period of Middle Dutch. Along with the ongoing erosion of the inflection, and certainly also as a consequence of Renaissance 'learned' language use, Dutch developed a large number of new prepositions, mostly on the basis of verb stems, present and past participles, word combinations, etc. Simultaneously, a new category of 'postpositions' made its appearance. It is possible that these originated from constructions in which the prepositional phrase was further specified by addition of an adverb: the combination of prepositional phrase + adverb may then have been reinterpreted as a 'circumposition'. Circumpositions do persist in the modern language; e.g.: *(ze liep) om het huis heen* '(she walked) all around the house'. Circumpositions may eventually have lost their first elements, leaving the functional load completely to the nascent postposition. Whatever their origin, postpositions are now common, at least in Northern Dutch, and are gaining ground in Southern varieties. They are especially common in directional complements and adjuncts to verbs; e.g. *(ze klom) de boom in* 'she climbed into the tree', *(hij is) het huis uit (gelopen)* '(he walked) out of the house'. It should be mentioned that, contrary to prepositional phrases, postpositional ones functioning in clauses cannot be extraposed: e.g. *(hij is) de greppel over/over de greppel naar ons toe gesprongen* or *(hij is) naar ons toe gesprongen over de greppel* vs **(hij is) naar ons toe gesprongen de greppel over* 'he jumped towards us, across the ditch'. Another drawback for postpositional phrases is that they cannot be used as complements to nouns. Both restrictions seem to point in the same direction: only in those positions where the prepositional phrase precedes its head – which is not possible if the head is a noun – do postpositions appear to come into use.

As was mentioned before, prepositional phrases with pronominal complements are often avoided in Dutch: such combinations are replaced by the

construction of corresponding adverb + postposition (see section 14.3, Pronominal forms). The resulting word group is frequently discontinuous, the first element being incorporated in the relatively sentence-initial 'pronominal block', whereas the postposition immediately precedes the final verb group. In Belgian Dutch it may even be incorporated into this group; e.g. Standard: *ze had er/daar heel wat over kunnen zeggen*, Belgian (also) *ze had er/daar heel wat kunnen over zeggen* 'she could have said quite a few things about it/that'.

Apart from the discontinuous construction just mentioned, stranded prepositions do not belong to the standard language, though such sentences as *zijn vader (had hij al heel lang niet meer) aan gedacht* 'his father (he had not been) thinking of (for a very long time)' do occur in a wide range of non-standard and regional varieties.

The Verbal Phrase

Dutch has developed a great number of auxiliaries and auxiliary-like verbs, covering such grammatical categories as voice, tense, mood and modality, causativity, and aspect. These auxiliaries can be combined to yield such combinations as *(dat ze het) had moeten kunnen laten gaan regenen* '(that she) should have been able to make (it) start raining'. One very special syntactic feature is the fact that most auxiliaries, if combined with a perfect-tense auxiliary, do not take the past participle, as would be expected for the syntactic complement of such verbs, but appear in the 'neutral form', i.e. the bare infinitive, cf. *(dat hij het) heeft kunnen doen/*heeft gekund doen/*heeft doen gekund* '(that he) has been able to do (it)'. This phenomenon, which is known from other Germanic languages also, is generally referred to as the 'IPP' (*infinitivus pro participio*) construction or the 'DIC' (double infinitive construction).

The passive voice is expressed by the auxiliary *worden* in the imperfect tenses and by *zijn* in perfect ones. These auxiliaries are restricted to direct passives, taking the natural direct object as the subject of the derived construction. A number of trivalent verbs, mostly compounds, may be construed with *krijgen* 'get' + past participle to form something comparable to English 'indirect passives', cf. *ze kregen het uiteindelijk toch nog toegestuurd* 'in the end they were sent it anyway'.

Most verbs form a perfect tense with *hebben* 'have', though *zijn* 'be' is used with (a) 'middle' verbs (nowadays often referred to as 'ergative' or 'unaccusative' verbs): intransitive verbs with a non-agentive and non-causative subject like *verschijnen* 'appear', *sterven* 'die'; (b) intransitive 'directional' verbs like *vertrekken* 'leave', and verbs of motion like *lopen* 'walk', the latter only if they are combined with a directional complement; cf.: *ze is naar huis gelopen* 'she has walked home' vs *ze heeft nog wat gelopen* 'she has been walking for some time'; (c) a very small number of other verbs, e.g. *zijn* 'be', *(iets) verliezen* 'lose something', *vergeten* 'forget'. Especially in category (c) the usage in regional dialects, and even in non-standard Dutch is rather unstable.

Despite its name, the Dutch 'present perfect' is a preterital tense, and the difference between it and the inflectional preterite is very hard to state. The most conspicuous difference appears to be that between 'recording' (perfect) and 'narrating' (preterite), though quite a number of very special subfunctions must be added to this main opposition.

Future time does not usually require a special marker, though one of the auxiliaries *zullen* 'shall' (originally modal) or in some cases *gaan* (originally aspectual) may occur, especially in the absence of an overt adverb indicating future time. Of the two auxiliaries *zullen* mostly conveys some notion of uncertainty along with futurity; cf.: *hij komt volgende week terug* 'he will come back next week', vs *hij zal volgende week terugkomen* 'he is supposed to (or, intends to) come back next week'.

Although one can distinguish between at least three categories of modality – epistemic, deontic and factitive – on the whole each type makes use of the same set of auxiliaries: *zullen* 'shall', *moeten* 'must', *kunnen* 'can', *mogen* 'may', *willen* 'will', *hoeven* 'need', *(be)horen* 'be supposed to'. Those words may combine in complex verbal groups, in which case the epistemic auxiliary precedes the deontic one, and the last place is taken by the factitive one; cf.: *(ze) zal (het ook nog) moeten kunnen doen* '(it) is probable that (she also) has to get the opportunity to do (it)'. Modal particles (or adverbs) provide an alternative mode for epistemic modality.

Dutch also has a considerable number of aspectual auxiliaries, expressing durativity (*blijven* 'stay' + bare inf.), mutativity (*gaan* 'go' + bare inf.) inchoativity (*beginnen* 'begin' + *te*-inf.), stativity (*zijn* 'be' + *aan het* + bare inf., and other verbs like *staan* 'stand', *liggen* 'lie', *zitten* 'sit', *hangen* 'hang', *lopen* 'walk' + *te*-inf.). Examples are: *ze bleef praten* 'she talked on and on', *ze ging zitten* 'she sat down', *het begint te regenen* 'it starts raining', *ze zijn aan het praten/zitten te praten* 'they are talking'.

Causality and permission are expressed by the same auxiliary *laten* 'let' + inf.: *ik liet d'r komen* thus means both 'I allowed her to come' and 'I made her come'. Dutch used to have a specific causal auxiliary *doen* 'do', which has passed out of common use in the last century. It is still found however in set expressions, and sometimes even beyond these, especially if the subject is a non-human causer: *die opmerking deed me opschrikken* 'that remark made me jump'.

Negation

In Middle Dutch negation was expressed by the Proto-Germanic nasal particle *en/ne* cliticized to the finite verb, whatever the position of the latter in the clause. As in other Germanic languages a phonetically more distinct particle arose: *niet* (originally meaning 'nothing', i.e. 'in no respect') was first added to the negative expression, in the end making *en/ne* superfluous. Most dialects of Dutch, including the Standard variety, lost *en/ne* in the course of the last two centuries. *Niet* is canonically placed towards the end of the clause, in

front of the verb group (if any). It is, however, moved to the front of the focal constituent, e.g. *ik heb die man niet gezien* 'I did not see that man' vs *ik heb niet 'die man gezien* 'I did not see 'that man (i.e. I saw another one)'. If the negative marker is moved in front of an indefinite noun phrase, it obligatorily merges with the article, yielding *geen* 'no', which is sometimes called a negative article, cf.: *ik heb geen films gezien* 'I did not see any movies'. In the same way it obligatorily merges with *iemand* > *niemand* 'somebody' – 'nobody', *iets* > *niets* 'something' – 'nothing', *ooit* > *nooit* 'ever' – 'never', *ergens* > *nergens* 'somewhere' – 'nowhere'.

Subject–Verb Agreement

On the whole, agreement (number and person) occurs between subject and finite verb. Some copula sentences with nominal predicates form an exception here: the verb usually agrees with non-third-person and/or plural predicate nouns if the subject is third-person singular; e.g. *dat ben ik/zijn wij* 'that's me/us', *het zijn leraren* 'they are teachers', *dat groepje zijn leraren* 'that group consists of teachers'. In this construction type the subject pronoun always takes the neuter (singular) form *het/dat* 'it/that', even if it refers to a plural entity or a human being. If the subject is first or second person or consists of a plural noun phrase, the verb agrees with the subject; e.g. *ik ben/ jij bent zijn vriend* 'I am/you are his friend', *die jongens daar zijn ons beste team* 'those boys over there are our best team'.

There is another copula construction with a bare noun, necessarily in the singular, as a predicate. It is used if the predicate designates the person's function. In this case the third-person pronoun is not neutralized, and agreement of the verb is with the subject; e.g. *hij is leraar* 'he is a teacher', *ze/die zijn leraar* 'they/those (people) are teachers'. So, the two Dutch clauses *hij is leraar* and *het is een leraar* (both to be translated as 'he is a teacher') are not equivalent: the function of *leraar* in the former may be called 'specifying/qualifying', that of *een leraar* in the latter 'identifying'.

The Expression of Pragmatic Functions

Although Dutch has the rule of verb-second, common to all Germanic languages, at least in main clauses, there is no equivalent for the English (or French) rule of 'subject-first'. This means that Dutch clauses may be construed along pragmatic lines such as 'topic-initial', 'focus-final', 'given-before-new', etc. Special topicalization (or thematization) constructions such as *wat Wibo betreft, die heb ik in tijden niet meer gezien* 'as for Wibo, I did not see him for years' do occur in Dutch. In most of these the constituent which is focused/topicalized, whatever its syntactic function, is taken up by a resumptive pronoun in the first constituent of the clause proper (in the example: *die* 'that one'). But special topicalized constructions such as this one are strongly marked, and thus extremely rare in everyday speech.

The same appears to be the case with cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences,

which in some languages, as e.g. French, are customary tools for focusing, but which Dutch restricts to situations in which a previous statement has to be refuted or at least amended (e.g. *het is Wim die met d'r mee had moeten gaan* 'it is Bill who should have gone with her'). But even for this pragmatic function Dutch seems to prefer a simpler construction, consisting of a left-dislocated constituent that is taken up again by a resumptive pronoun in the sentence proper, preferably in the first, pre-verb position, cf. *Pieter, die moet komen* 'Peter, that one must come'. If the function of the left-dislocated constituent requires a preposition, this may be expressed twice, but it need only be expressed with the resuming pronoun: (*op*) *je vader, op die wachten we niet meer* 'your father we do not wait for any longer'. Informal language makes an extensive use of this left-dislocated construction.

14.5 Lexis

General Characteristics

Most formal characteristics of the Dutch lexicon have already been given in preceding sections. Words of Germanic stock constitute the overwhelming majority of the non-complex part of the basic vocabulary. These words generally contain only one 'full' vowel, though many have another syllable with [ə]. Examples of the latter category are *koren* 'corn', *korrel* 'grain', *geluk* 'luck'. It should be noted that of these only *koren* was monosyllabic in Proto-Germanic; in *korrel* and *geluk* the syllable with [ə] goes back to an affix. The basic vocabulary has been extended primarily by means of affixation and compounding, but to a considerable degree also with loans from neighbouring languages, in the first place French and its northern dialects (especially Picardian), and from classical and medieval Latin. Classical Greek contributed quite a lot of stems, especially in the fields of science and technology, often through the mediation of Latin. As was said before, this liberal attitude towards loans resulted in a rather complex pattern in the domains of phonology and (especially) accentuation of the modern language.

Quite a number of lexical divergences exist between the national varieties of Dutch. Belgian Dutch is most typically characterized by the existence of hundreds of dialectisms, gallicisms, and calques from French. Moreover lots of words which are considered archaic in the Netherlands are in everyday use in the language of most Belgians. The latter also applies to the variety of the language used in Surinam, where of course, a great number of 'local' circumstances have produced new words, unfamiliar to European varieties of Dutch – mostly borrowed from Sranan or Sarnami – and new meanings. Examples of archaisms common to Belgian and Surinam Dutch are *ijskast* (*koelkast* 'refrigerator'), *kleinzerig* (*lichtgeraakt* 'touchy'), *groen* (*onrijp* 'unripe'), *handlanger* (*hulpje* 'helper'), *stootkar* (*handkar* 'push car').

Monomorphemic Words

Not surprisingly, Dutch forms a group together with English, Frisian and German, deviating from the Scandinavian languages in vocabulary as well as in most other characteristics. Furthermore, it should be noted that its geographical situation between English and German is paralleled by a similar mid-position in the contents of the lexicon. Many Dutch words appear to belong to an Ingvaeonic ('North Sea') stock of words, most of which are also found in English, but not in High German. Among them *ladder* 'ladder', *klaver* 'clover', *wiel* 'wheel', *zwaaien* 'sway', *dus* 'thus', *jou* 'you (obj.)'. In the further evolution Dutch has been subject to a stronger influence from continental German than from insular English. Thus even for West Germanic words (including early loans from Latin), the distance from English, which seems to have been more considerable than that from High German from the very beginning of written evidence, anyway, has grown even larger in the course of time.

Reliable counts concerning the origin of Dutch words, in which such variables as frequency, register use, part of speech status, semantic category, etc., are taken into account, are not available. The following exercise, however, based on interim word counts by the Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie (Leiden), is instructive. From the 500 most frequent words, and a random selection of 500 less frequent ones, taken from the lists for written language (totalling 600,000 tokens), and a comparable sample from those of spoken language (120,000 tokens), the monomorphemic words were selected. They were divided into five frequency classes (the most frequent words make up class 1, the least frequent ones class 5). From the point of view of etymology a division into three classes is made: words of direct Germanic origin (i.e. not through the mediation of any other language), loans, and new creations. The last category is an amalgam of types, ranging from completely new, sometimes onomatopoeic words, to words formed on the basis of existing stems, by means of non-productive procedures. Abbreviations, letter words, etc., are included here too. Examples are *fiets* 'bicycle', *sluw* 'sly' and *beha* 'bra'. The results of this division appear in Table 14.5, which contains only percentages. The number of words was between 100 and 200 in each frequency class both in written and spoken language:

Table 14.5 The origin of monomorphic words in Modern Dutch

	Written Language			*Spoken Language*		
	Germanic	Loans	New	Germanic	Loans	New
Class 1	89.6	0.9	9.6	87.8	1.0	11.2
Class 2	62.9	18.1	19.0	62.0	17.0	21.0
Class 3	63.3	21.5	15.2	52.1	25.2	22.7
Class 4	40.9	46.6	12.5	48.5	34.7	16.8
Class 5	32.1	57.5	10.4	38.6	43.0	18.4

Words of Proto-Germanic origin constitute more than half of the monomorphemic words among the 500 most frequent words (frequency classes 1, 2, 3), both in written and in spoken Dutch. There is a marked decline in the 4th class in the written language, but only in the 5th class (least frequent words) in spoken Dutch. In the two least frequent classes gaps are predominantly filled by loans, rather than by neologisms. Of course here only monomorphemic words are considered: new creation by means of compounding and affixation by far exceeds borrowing as a source of innovations, as illustrated below. Neologicisms are far more widespread in (more informal) spoken than in written language.

If we take a look at the parts of speech of the loans, it appears that the overwhelming majority are nouns, followed by adjectives. Not unexpectedly the other categories (verbs, adverbs, particles, conjunctions, pre- and postpositions, pronouns, determiners, numerals, etc.), have proven to be more immune to foreign influence, though each of them does include at least some loans.

Polymorphemic Words

As was repeatedly pointed out before, Dutch forms new words on the basis of existing ones, both by compounding and by affixation, both processes also allowing simultaneous and recurrent application. In the corpus described above the following percentages for composite words (i.e. words which are recognized as polymorphemic by native speakers) were found:

among the 500 most frequent words (classes 1–3): 26.9 per cent of the items in written, and 27.0 per cent in spoken language;
in the other frequency categories (classes 4–5): 55.1 per cent in written, 59.5 per cent in spoken language.

These percentages indicate that, on the whole, the existing lexicon is the main basis for naming new concepts and relations, derivation and compounding pushing aside borrowing in most domains. The latter restriction has to be made, because some fields, especially relating to the development of new technology, are more susceptible to massive borrowing from English, or – often through English – from international vocabulary. Complex words occur in all major classes of parts of speech, but appear to be most frequent with adverbs, adjectives and verbs.

Further Reading

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