Policy versus Practice. Language variation and change in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch

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Orthographic variables (2)
Final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs

1   Discussion in Siegenbeek (1804)

The case study in this chapter investigates the orthographic representation of final /t/ in second and third person singular and second person plural present tense indicative forms of verbs with *d*-stems, such as *worden* 'to become' or *vinden* 'to find'. It is one of the consonantal features codified in Siegenbeek's (1804) orthography, which touches upon the levels of both orthography and morphology. Even though Siegenbeek (1804: 156) did not elaborately comment on this spelling issue[45], he unambiguously prescribed <dt> as the standard variant for verb-final /t/:

> Ten aanzien der *dt*, welker vereeniging zeker op zich zelve iets vreemds en wanstaltigs heeft, zij nog met een woord aangemerkt, dat men dezelve, ter voldoening aan het tegenwoordige gebruik, en ter bevordering der duidelijkheid, die hoofdwet der tale, alleen dan te gebruiken heeft, wanneer zij voorkomt als eene verkorting van *det*, dat is, met andere woorden, in den tweeden en derden persoon van den tegenwoordigen, en den tweeden van den onvolmaakt verledenen tijd der aantoonende wijze, in de werkwoorden *binden*, *vinden*, en meer dergelijke. Immers is het te voren reeds aangemerkt, dat men oudtijds deze, gelijk alle andere werkwoorden, op de volgende wijze vervoegd heeft:
> Ik *binde*, gij *bindet*, hij *bindet*.
> Ik *bonde*, gij *bondet*, hij *bonde*.
> waaruit bij de weglating der zachte *e*, *ik bind*, *gij*, *hij bindt*, *ik*, *hij bond*, *gij bondt*, geboren wordt.

> 'With regard to the *dt*, whose combination certainly has something odd and malformed in itself, it should be noted that, in order to meet the contemporary usage and to enhance clarity, the main principle of language, one has to use it (*dt*) only when it occurs as a shortening of *det*, that is, in other words, in the second and third person of the present tense, and the second of the imperfect of the indicative, in the verbs *binden*, *vinden*, and the like. After all, it has already been noted that in the olden days, these verbs, as all other verbs, were conjugated in the following way:
> Ik *binde*, gij *bindet*, hij *bindet*.
> Ik *bonde*, gij *bondet*, hij *bonde*.
> Through the omission of the soft *e*, *ik bind*, *gij*, *hij bindt*, *ik*, *hij bond*, *gij bondt*, are born.'

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[45] As van der Velde (1956: 92) rightly remarks, Siegenbeek generally discussed the spelling of verbs only incidentally and very concisely.

To begin with, Siegenbeek remarked that the combination of the letters *d* and *t* has something 'odd' and 'malformed' ("iets vreemds en wanstaltigs") to it. However, he argued that it is necessary to use the <dt> spelling in order to comply with contemporary practices, as well as to enhance the clarity, which he regarded as the fundamental law of the language. Siegenbeek further explained that <dt> is a contracted form of the historical ending *-det*. Schwa syncope ("de weglating der zachte *e*") in these forms gave rise to new forms with <dt>, for instance *gij bindt < gij bindet* or *hij bindt < hij bindet*. Therefore, <dt> should only be applied in forms which originally had an ending in *-det*. This means that Siegenbeek's main argument in favour of <dt> is chiefly based on etymology, whereas morphologically motivated arguments are not mentioned explicitly. In this respect, he deviated from many eighteenth-century grammarians, who argued that verbs with a *d*-stem should be inflected like any other (non-*d*-stem) verb, which will be further outlined in Section 2.

There is yet another aspect of Siegenbeek's prescription, which remains implicit. In fact, it is remarkable that Siegenbeek did not specifically address the number of second person forms, i.e. whether *gij* 'you' only refers to second person singular, or to both second person singular and plural. However, as second person plural verb forms with *gij* or *gijlieden* 'you (pl.)' historically had a *-det* ending as well, Siegenbeek most likely included both singular and plural forms of the second person.

Finally, it has to be mentioned that Siegenbeek's prescription also covered simple past forms ending in *-dt*, viz. second person indicative such as *gij bondt* (< *gij bondet*). In eighteenth-century metalinguistic discourse, however, past tense forms were commonly treated in separate paradigms (i.e. not combined with present tense forms), which is why the spelling of final /t/ in simple past forms of *d*-stem words is best regarded as a variable in its own right. Aiming to investigate a diverse range of orthographic features, the focus on present tense indicative forms seems sufficient to examine patterns of variation and change in the representation of verb-final /t/. For this reason, verb-final /t/ in second person simple past indicative forms will not be considered in this dissertation.

2   Eighteenth-century normative discussion

Already in the eighteenth century, metalinguistic comments on the orthographic representation of final /t/ in second and third person singular and second person plural present tense indicative forms of *d*-stem verbs were remarkably homogeneous in the Northern Netherlands (cf. also Vosters et al. 2014: 80). Like Siegenbeek (1804), the vast majority of eighteenth-century normative works advocated the <dt> spelling. In fact, this preference is represented throughout the eighteenth century, from Moonen (1706), Verwer (1707) and Sewel (1708/1712) in the early 1700s, to Huydecoper (1730), Elzevier (1761), Zeydelaar (1774), Stijl & van Bolhuis (1776) and Kluit (1777), to the *Rudimenta* (1799), Weiland (1799) and Wester (1799) just before the turn of the century.

It is surprising to see that some eighteenth-century comments on this spelling issue were considerably more elaborate than Siegenbeek's official prescription. Whereas Siegenbeek only motivated the prescribed <dt> spelling with reference to the historical endings in *-det*, thus focusing on etymological reasons (Section 1), several eighteenth-century grammarians discussed the spelling of verb-final /t/ more explicitly. While the general eighteenth-century preference was in favour of <dt>, three different approaches can be identified, which are based on (1) morphological motivations, (2) etymological motivations, or (3) a combination of those two.

One of the earliest eighteenth-century attestations of <dt> as the preferred variant for verb-final /t/ can be found in Moonen (1706: 13), whose approach was morphologically motivated:

> De T is ook de merkletter en nootwendigh in het spellen der tweede persoonen van beide Getallen der Aentoonende Wyze, en des derden persoons in het Eenvouwige Getal: als *Gy*, *Hy*, *Neemt*, *geeft*, *leeft*, *hoort*, *zingt* &c.
> Dit houdt zynen regel, schoon het Wortelwoort in een D eindigt, wanneer de T niet achtergelaeten wordt, noch de D in de T verandert. Want men schryft *Gy*, *Hy houdt*, *wordt*, *vindt*, *landt*, *grondt*, &c. alle afgeleidt van de Wortelwoorden in de Gebiedende Wyze, *Houd*, *word*, *bind*, *vind*, *land*, *grond*.

> 'The T is also the characteristic letter and necessary for the spelling of the second person of both numbers of the indicative case, and of the third person in the singular, as *Gy*, *Hy*, *Neemt*, *geeft*, *leeft*, *hoort*, *zingt*, etc.
> This rule also applies when the root word ends in a D, when neither the T is left behind, nor the D is changed into T. Because one writes *Hy houdt*, *wordt*, *vindt*, *landt*, *grondt*, etc., all derived from the root words in the imperative, *Houd*, *word*, *bind*, *vind*, *land*, *grond*.'

Moonen pointed out that in second and third person singular and second person plural forms of *d*-stem verbs like *houden* 'to hold' and *vinden* 'to find', neither the inflectional suffix *-t* must be omitted, nor must stem-final *d* be orthographically altered into <t>. In other words, final /t/ has to be represented as <dt>, not as <d> or <t>.

Sewel (1712: 17-18), also prescribing <dt>, explicitly disfavoured the <d> spelling for second and third person verb forms:

> Wyders kan de D niet gemist, maar behoort echter met eene T getemperd te worden, om de Tweeden en derde persoon te betekenen der Werkwoorden, die in de Onbepaalende wyze een D hebben, als *Bidden*, *Myden*, *Leyden*, *Lyden*, *Kleeden*. Want men behoort te schryven: *Gy bidt*: *Hy mydt haar niet*: *De weg leydt ten verderve*: *Hy leedt veel ongemaks*: *zy kleedt het kind*: maar in woorden waarin geen D komt, als *Beminnen*, *komen*, *vermaanen*, is het ten hoogste wanschikkelyk eene D in den Tegenwoordigen tyd te brengen, alhoewel veele zich niet ontzien te schryven, *Hy bemind haar niet*: *Zy komd straks* [...] doch zulks is een quaade gewoonte. Nog inschikkelyker is het te schryven: *Hy arbeyd sterk*; *Hy bloed uyt de neus*; *Men vind*: omdat deeze woorden de *d* niet konnen missen: maar nogtans is een *t* daarby beter.

'Further, the D cannot be missed, but has to be tempered with a T, in order to denote the second and third person of verbs, which have a D in the infinitive, as *Bidden*, *Myden*, *Leyden*, *Lyden*, *Kleeden*. Because one has to write *Gy bidt*: *Hy mydt haar niet*: *De weg leydt ten verderve*: *Hy leedt veel ongemaks*: *zy kleedt het kind*. But in words, in which there is no D, as *Beminnen*, *komen*, *vermaanen*, it is highly irregular to add a D to the present tense, although many do not shy away from writing *Hy bemind haar niet*: *Zy komd straks* […] but this is a bad habit. It is even more obliging to write *Hy arbeyd sterk*; *Hy bloed uyt de neus*; *Men vind*, because these words cannot go without the *d*. However, it is better together with a *t*.'

Like Siegenbeek (1804), Sewel also included simple past forms in his spelling rule, although he did so rather implicitly by giving the example of *Hij leedt* 'he suffered', alongside present tense forms.

In the late 1700s, the *Rudimenta* (1799: 62), for example, still advocated <dt> in a similar way as Moonen (1706) in the beginning of the century. The (morphologically) consistent use of final *-t* in second and third person singular and second person plural verb forms was central to the rule:

> Wat de spelling met DT aangaat, die vloeit uit dezelfde regelen voort, en wordt alleen veroorzaakt als er in de werkwoorden ééne D in de *onbepaalde* wijze is, b. v. *gij*, *hij*, *zij* of *men*, *andwoordt*, *vindt*, *wordt*, *houdt*, *doodt*, enz. in den tegenwoordigen tijd […] komende van de *onbepaalde* wijze *andwoorden*, *vinden*, *worden*, *houden*, *dooden*; en wanneer men twijfelt, of men noodig hebbe de T te gebruiken, neeme men, ter beproeving, een werkwoord, in welks *onbepaalde* wijze geen D noch T gevonden wordt gelijk b. v. *loopen*, *beminnen*, *vertellen*, en vergelijke dat met zodanig een in welks onbepaalde wijze D of T voorkomen, zo als *lijden*, *bieden*, en bevindende, gelijk men zal, dat in den tegenwoordigen tijd, in den tweeden en derden persoon enkelvouwig, en den tweeden meervouwig, gelijk hier voor gezegd is, de T noodig is, zal men bevinden dezelve in die laatst genoemde woorden aldaar ook niet te kunnen missen.

> 'As regards the spelling with DT, this arises from the same rules, and is only caused when there is a D in the verbs in the infinitive, e.g. *gij*, *hij*, *zij* or *men*, *andwoordt*, *vindt*, *wordt*, *houdt*, *doodt*, etc. in the present tense […] coming from the infinitive *andwoorden*, *vinden*, *worden*, *houden*, *dooden*. And when one doubts whether one needs to use the T, one should test by taking a verb, in which neither D nor T is found, like e.g. *loopen*, *beminnen*, *vertellen*, and compare it to such a verb in whose infinitive D or T occur, as in *lijden*, *bieden*. If one finds, as one should, that the T is necessary in the present tense, in the second and third person singular, and the second person plural, as said before, one will find that one cannot go without it (the T) in the latter words either.'

In the same year as the *Rudimenta*, Weiland (1799: 49-50) added an etymological dimension to his primarily morphologically motivated spelling rule:

> daar alle de werkwoorden in den tweeden en derden person van den tegenwoordigen tijd der aantoonende wijs, in het enkelvoudige getal, eene т hebben, als *gij* en *hij zegt*, *leest* enz.; zoo is het natuurlijk, dat diezelfde tweede en derde persoon van de werkwoorden, welken eene D in hun zaaklijk deel hebben,

als *zenden, randen, branden, binden, vinden* enz. eene DT ontvange, als *gij* en *hij zendt, randt, brandt, bindt, vindt,* enz., waarvoor de Ouden schreven, *gij zendest, hij zendet – randest, randet – brandest, brandet – bindest, bindet – vindest, vindet* enz.

'As all verbs in the second and third person of the present tense of the indicative, in the singular, have a T, as *gij* and *hij zegt, leest* etc., it is natural that the same second and third person of the verbs which have a D in their essential part (root), as *zenden, randen, branden, binden, vinden* etc. receive a DT, as *gij* and *hij zendt, randt, brandt, bindt, vindt,* etc., for which the Old wrote, *gij zendest, hij zendet – randest, randet – brandest, brandet – bindest, bindet – vindest, vindet* etc.'

Weiland and, of course, Siegenbeek in his 1804 spelling were not the first to establish a link between the <dt> spelling and the historical verb forms ending in *-det*. Seven decades earlier, Huydecoper (1730: 288) already argued the following:

Overal dan, daar wy nu de spelling van DT behouden, moet men denken dat de Ouden geschreeven zouden hebben DET.

'Everywhere that we now maintain the spelling of DT, one must think that the Old would have written DET.'

Some eighteenth-century choices in favour of <dt> were also purely etymologically motivated, probably serving as a source of inspiration for Siegenbeek (1804). Apart from Zeydelaar (1774: 82-83), this approach is found in Kluit (1777: 33), who elaborately commented on the development from verb forms ending in *-det* to the <dt> spelling:

zoo de D en T letteren van een natuur waren, men gevolglijk niet, dan walglijk en ongerijmd, dezelve kan te zamen voegen, en de een door de andere besluiten; wanneer men schrijft, *hij zen*DT, *hij ran*DT, *hij bran*DT. Maar, die dit tegenwerpen, bedenken niet, dat zij iets opwerpen, 't welk zelf in de oudheid geenen grond heeft, en dus, dat, als er walglijkheid en ongerijmdheid in deze spelling is, deze ongerijmdheid uit de later opgerezen en nu in zwang gaande spelling voordgevloeid, en niet uit de oudheid herkomstig is. Deze kende zulke spelling met *dt* niet; in tegendeel, wanneer men daar *hij brandt, hij wordt,* enz. schrijft, zoo vindt men of *hij bran*DET, *hij wor*DET, of eenvoudig *hij bran*T, *hij wor*T.

'if the D and T were letters of one nature, one cannot consequently combine them other than disgustingly and absurdly, and close the one by the other, when one writes *hij zen*DT, *hij ran*DT, *hij bran*DT. But those, who object this, do not consider that they bring something up which does not even have ground in ancient times, and that, when there is disguistingness and absurdity in this spelling, this absurdity arose from the spelling that emerged later and is now coming in use, and does not derive from the ancient times. They did not know such a spelling with *dt.* On the contrary, when one writes *hij brandt, hij wordt,* etc. there, then one finds either *hij bran*DET, *hij wor*DET, or simply *hij bran*T, *hij wor*T.'

Moreover, Siegenbeek's evaluation of <dt> as something *vreemds* 'odd' and *wanstaltigs* 'malformed' was obviously influenced by Kluit's *walglijk* 'disgusting' and *ongerijmd* 'absurd'.

Although the strong preference for <dt> is attested in metalinguistic discourse throughout the eighteenth century (morphologically and/or etymologically motivated), there were a few grammarians who still advocated the <d> spelling. One of these remarkable exceptions was the approach by van Belle (1748: 8-9), who expressed his sympathy for the 'poor' first person singular verb forms for not having a -*t* ending (unlike second and third person forms):

> In allen gevalle, ik beklaag den armen eersten persoon in 't enkelvoudig, dat die (schoon de liefde, gelyk men zegt, van zig zelven eerst komt) naer zulker Dryveren spellinge [T-naa D-Dryvers], zo veele eer, van met eene T vermeerderd te worden, niet mag genieten, dat men zo wel schryve, ik *redt*, als gy hy, gyl: *redt*; terwyl hy doch met dezelve persoonen gelyk staat, in zig door het Voornaamwoord bekend te maaken.
> Kortom, ik ontken dat 'er nader reegel zy, dan om de Werkwoorden, die D óf DD in de onbepaalende Wyze hebben, op den zelven leeft te schoeijen als die 'er T óf TT hebben, en zo wel te schryven: ik, gy, hy, gyl: *red, bid, brand, zend*, als ik, gy, hy, gyl: *bet, zit, laat, weet*, enz:

> 'In any case, I pity the poor first person in the singular, that this (although the love, as they say, comes from oneself first), according to the spelling of such pushers [pushers of T after D], may not enjoy so much honour of being augmented with a T, so that one can equally write ik *redt*, as gy hy, gyl: *redt*, while it (the first person) is equal to the other persons in that it reveals itself through the pronoun.
> In short, I deny that there is a more precise rule than to lump the verbs, which have D or DD in the infinitive, together with those which have T or TT, and to write: ik, gy, hy, gyl: *red, bid, brand, zend*, as ik, gy, hy, gyl: *bet, zit, laat, weet*, etc.'

In slightly different words, van Belle (1755: 7) discussed the 'unequal treatment' of singular present indicative forms, referring to Sewel's (1712) <dt> spelling in second and third (but not first person) forms:

> Voorwaar de eerste person staat by hem [Sewel] zeerwel op voeten, zo dat de D in die woorden alleen kan gaan; maar hoe de tweede en derde persoon daar in zo zwak zyn, datze de T tót eene kruk gebruiken moeten is buiten myn boekje en ook buiten réden.

> 'Indeed, in Sewel the first person stands on its own feet very well, so that the D can go alone in those words. But why the second and third person are so weak in that respect, that they have to use the T as a crutch, oversteps my bounds and is also without a reason.'

Like van Belle, ten Kate (1723) preferred the <d> spelling. Although he did not propose an explicit rule, his preference for <d> occasionally shines through, e.g. in *Ik, Gij, en Hij word Gemerkt* (1723: 678). Furthermore, ten Kate was consistent in his use of <d> for second and third person singular and second person plural present indicative forms of *d*-stem verbs (van der Velde 1956: 66).

Yet another approach is found in de Haes (1764) and van der Palm (1769). Although they did not explicitly comment on the conjugation of *d*-stem verbs

either, their paradigms of the auxiliary verb *worden* 'to become' revealed a striking difference with most eighteenth-century normative works. Both de Haes (1764: 59) and van der Palm (1769: 70) prescribed the <dt> spelling only for second person present indicative forms (both singular and plural), but <d> for third person singular forms:

Eenvouwig.	Meervouwig.
Ik word.	Wy worden.
Gy wordt.	Gylieden wordt.
Hy, zy, het word.	Zy worden.

Apart from these few exceptions, eighteenth-century metalinguistic discourse largely promoted <dt>, paving the way for Siegenbeek's logical choice in his 1804 orthography. However, compared to the approaches in most normative works, most notably the elaborate discussion by Kluit (1777), Siegenbeek's (1804) prescription is surprisingly concise, particularly with regard to the morphological motivations in favour of <dt>, which he did not address at all.

3   Previous research

The orthographic representation of verb-final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs has been the subject of numerous linguistic studies. As Vosters et al. (2014: 84) rightly note, the "history of <d> and <dt> spellings is well-documented". Indeed, van der Velde (1956), Gledhill (1973) and Daems (2002), among others, provide overviews of the development of the spelling of verb forms, including final /t/ in second and third person present tense indicative forms of *d*-stem verbs, as investigated in this chapter.

Van der Velde (1956) summarises and comments on the metalinguistic perspectives on verbal spelling in a number of eighteenth-century normative works such as Moonen (1706), ten Kate (1723), Kluit (1763/1777), van der Palm (1769) and Zeydelaar (1781), as well as in the officialised reference works by Siegenbeek (1804) and Weiland (1805).

The concise overview in Daems (2002) focuses on the major changes in verbal spelling from the Middle Dutch period until the twentieth century, mainly addressing the different principles and motivations (i.e. phonetic, etymological and morphological spelling).

Gledhill (1973) dedicates an entire chapter to *-d* in second and third person singular verb endings, and also discusses the special case of *d*-stem verbs, which he described as "probably the most discussed in the developments of verbal spelling" (1973: 255). For each of the three orthographic variants, viz. <t>, <d> and <dt>, Gledhill outlines the developments from Middle Dutch until 1850 (and beyond).

More recently, the spelling of verbal endings of *d*-stem verbs has also been investigated from a historical-sociolinguistic perspective, most notably in the works by Vosters (2011), Vosters et al. (2010), Vosters et al. (2012) and Vosters et al. (2014). While the present dissertation examines norms and usage in the Northern

Netherlands, previous research mainly focused on the situation in the Southern Netherlands. Generally speaking, the <d> spelling has prototypically been perceived as a characteristic spelling feature of Southern Dutch, whereas <dt> has been regarded as its prototypically Northern counterpart.

Investigating nineteenth-century norms and usage in the Southern Netherlands, Vosters et al. (2014) select the spelling of verbal endings in *d*-stem verbs as one of their case studies. They point out that <d> was prescribed in almost all Southern normative works throughout the eighteenth century until 1815, whereas the Northern (Siegenbeek) variant <dt> became "by far the most dominant form in prescriptions in the 1820s" (Vosters et al. 2014: 95). A similar development can be witnessed in the nineteenth-century usage data based on a corpus of (handwritten) judicial and administrative texts, showing that in the relatively short time period between 1823 and 1829, "a radical shift from a strong predominance of traditional Southern <d> spellings to a majority prevalence of Northern <dt> spellings" (ibid.) took place.

The more contrastive case study presented in Vosters et al. (2010) gives some first insights into late eighteenth-century language norms and practice in both the Southern and Northern Netherlands[46]. Whereas the prototypically Southern <d> spelling was indeed dominant in normative works as well as in actual usage in the Southern Netherlands, the paper also shows that the situation in the Northern Netherlands was different. It is true that the Northern normative tradition mainly prescribed the <dt> spelling (cf. Section 2), but at the same time, actual language practice did not comply with the normative tradition. Despite a relatively low number of tokens, Vosters et al. (2010: 104-105) reveal the surprising tendency that the letter writers in the corpus mainly use <d> (84%; 16 tokens) rather than the 'Northern' <dt> spelling (16%; 3 tokens) as widely favoured in the normative tradition. Based on data from the newly compiled *Going Dutch Corpus*, Section 4 follows up on these exploratory results by taking a more thorough look at the late eighteenth-century situation and, most importantly, the developments in actual language use after Siegenbeek's (1804) officialised prescription in favour of <dt>.

4   Corpus analysis[47]

4.1   Method

In the corpus analysis of the orthographic representation of final /t/ in second and third person single and second person plural indicative forms of verbs with a dental root ending in -*d*, three variants will be considered, viz. <dt>, <d> and <t>. These variants occur in the history of Dutch and also in the *Going Dutch Corpus*. It is

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[46] The corpus used in the analysis of Southern Dutch, again, comprises handwritten texts from the judicial and administrative domains (Vosters 2011). The analysis of Northern practices, however, is based on a selection of 100 private letters from the 1780s, taken from the *Letters as Loot* corpus (Rutten & van der Wal 2014).

[47] Parts of this case study were also presented in Krogull (2018).

important to highlight that there is no phonetic difference between <dt>, <d> and <t>, all of them being pronounced as /t/ due to final devoicing.

The first and most complex variant <dt>, as prescribed by Siegenbeek and most eighteenth-century grammarians before him, is primarily grounded on morphological reasons. As a rule, the ending -*t* is attached to second and third person singular and second person plural present indicative verb forms (e.g. *hij neemt < neem + t* 'he takes'). <dt> is thus an analogical spelling in conformity with the stem + <t> principle. Moreover, <dt> can also be considered an etymological variant, implying that <dt> is a contracted form of the historical verb ending -*det* (e.g. Siegenbeek 1804).

Secondly, the variant <d> is based on the principle of uniformity (*gelijkvormigheid*), according to which all forms of *d*-stem verbs, irrespective of pronunciation, are spelled <d>. In other words, <d> in final position is analogous to those forms in which /d/ is pronounced, such as the infinitive (e.g. *vin*<u>*d*</u>*en*).

Finally, the variant <t> represents the voiceless pronunciation of verb-final /t/, i.e. due to final devoicing in Dutch. This phonetic spelling, which dates back to the Middle Dutch period, is "based on the principle of a complete grapheme–phoneme correspondence" (Vosters et al. 2014: 84). While previous studies, including Vosters et al. (2014), only considered <dt> and <d> as the two main variants, I also take into account <t> as a third variant, given its occurrence in the *Going Dutch Corpus*.

By consulting a retrograde dictionary of Dutch (Nieuwborg 1969), searching for dental-root verbs ending in -*den* (infinitive forms) and subsequently checking their frequency in the *Going Dutch Corpus*, the following fifteen verbs[48] were selected (listed in order of decreasing frequency in the corpus):

- WORDEN; VINDEN; HOUDEN[49]; MELDEN, ZOUDEN; RIJDEN; ZENDEN; BIEDEN; LIJDEN; WENDEN; TREDEN; ANTWOORDEN; RADEN; SCHEIDEN; BIDDEN

These verbs have to be regarded as search queries (e.g. *VINDT, *VIND, *VINT), as they also cover second and third person forms of derived verbs with prefixes, for instance *bevinden* and *ondervinden* in the case of VINDEN, and *aanhouden* and *behouden* in the case of HOUDEN. Furthermore, possible spelling variation such as *s*/*z* variation in *souden*/*zouden* and *senden*/*zenden* was also taken into account.

In terms of frequency, it has to be noted that the selected verbs considerably differ from each other. The auxiliary WORDEN 'to become' is by far the most frequent *d*-stem verb (456 tokens in the entire corpus), followed by

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[48] It has to be noted that ZOUDEN, unlike the other fourteen *d*-stem verbs, is not the infinitive but an inflected form of the verb ZULLEN. However, as the second and third person forms end in /t/ (search queries: ZOUDT, ZOUD, ZOUT), it was decided to include ZOUDEN in this analysis.

[49] For some of these verbs, *d*-syncope might be relevant, for instance in *houden > hou(w)en > ik hou*. Therefore, the use of <t> as in *hij hout* could also represent the stem + <t> rule. In the *Going Dutch Corpus*, these instances of <t> are rare, though.

VINDEN 'to find' (140 tokens) and HOUDEN 'to hold' (54 tokens). The frequency of most other verbs is relatively low in the *Going Dutch Corpus* (<50 tokens each).

4.2   Results

Giving an overview of the orthographic representation of final /t/ in second and third person singular and second personal plural present tense indicative forms of *d*-stem verbs, Table 1 shows the general distribution of variants across the two periods, based on data from the entire *Going Dutch Corpus*. The officially prescribed variant after 1804 (i.e. <dt>) is highlighted in light grey.

Table 1. Distribution of variants across time.

	Period 1: 1770–1790			Period 2: 1820–1840		
	<dt>	**<d>**	**<t>**	**<dt>**	**<d>**	**<t>**
	N (%)	**N (%)**	**N (%)**	**N (%)**	**N (%)**	**N (%)**
Total	62 (17.1)	258 (71.1)	43 (11.8)	293 (66.3)	138 (31.2)	11 (2.5)
WORDEN	34 (15.5)	157 (71.4)	29 (13.2)	158 (66.9)	71 (30.1)	7 (3.0)
−WORDEN	28 (19.6)	101 (70.6)	14 (9.8)	135 (65.5)	67 (32.5)	4 (1.9)

In the late eighteenth-century period, <d> turns out to be by far the most common variant, occurring in 71.1%. <dt> is considerably less frequent, with a share of no more than 17.1%. Against the background of a strong preference for <dt> in eighteenth-century normative works (Section 2), this is certainly a surprising result, indicating a discrepancy between norms and usage. The third variant <t> occurs in 11.8% of all instances.

In the early nineteenth-century, a striking increase of the prescribed spelling <dt> can be witnessed, becoming the main variant in actual usage with a share of 66.3%. The previously dominant <d> considerably loses ground, dropping from 71.1% to 31.2%. Nonetheless, its rather strong share of almost one-third shows that <d> does not disappear completely from language use. Furthermore, there are still a few remnants of <t> (2.5% of all instances), although it can no longer be considered a relevant variant in the nineteenth century.

While the orthographic analyses in this dissertation mainly focus on the effects of external variables, this case study also considers two internal factors as potential sources of influence on the distribution of variants, viz. (1) frequency and (2) grammatical person (second versus third person). To begin with, it was noted in Section 4.1 that the fifteen selected *d*-stem verbs differ in terms of frequency in the *Going Dutch Corpus*. Forms of auxiliary WORDEN 'to become' are by far the most frequent, and occur considerably more often than any other *d*-stem verb under

investigation. In fact, more than half of all 805 tokens (56.6%) are forms of WORDEN, whereas the remaining 43.4% comprise forms of the other fourteen *d*-stem verbs. In order to see whether the exceptionally high frequency of WORDEN has an effect on the distribution of variants, the overall results in Table 1 were split into two groups according to their frequency, viz. the highly frequent WORDEN versus the other *d*-stem verbs (referred to as –WORDEN). However, as the results in Table 1 show, frequency does not have an effect on the distribution of /t/ variants. In both periods, the variants are distributed very similarly, with <d> as the main variant in the eighteenth century (71.4% WORDEN vs. 70.6% other verbs) and <dt> in the nineteenth century (66.9% WORDEN vs. 65.5% other verbs).

The second internal factor that was initially considered is the difference between grammatical persons, viz. second person (singular/plural) versus third person (singular) forms. With regard to the multi-genre design of the *Going Dutch Corpus*, this distinction has its drawbacks, though. Generally, second person verb forms are most typically found in private letters (as a dialogical genre) rather than in diaries and newspapers, where they rarely occur given the monological character of these texts. Even in private letters, second person forms of *d*-stem verbs turn out to be relatively low in frequency. As a consequence, grammatical person as a supposedly internal factor would be strongly influenced by genre as an external factor. Therefore, the effect of grammatical person will not be investigated any further at this point.

Genre variation

Focusing on possible gender differences, Figure 1 presents the distribution of variants across the three genres of the *Going Dutch Corpus*, i.e. private letters (LET), diaries and travelogues (DIA), and newspapers (NEW).

Figure 1. Distribution of variants across genre and time.
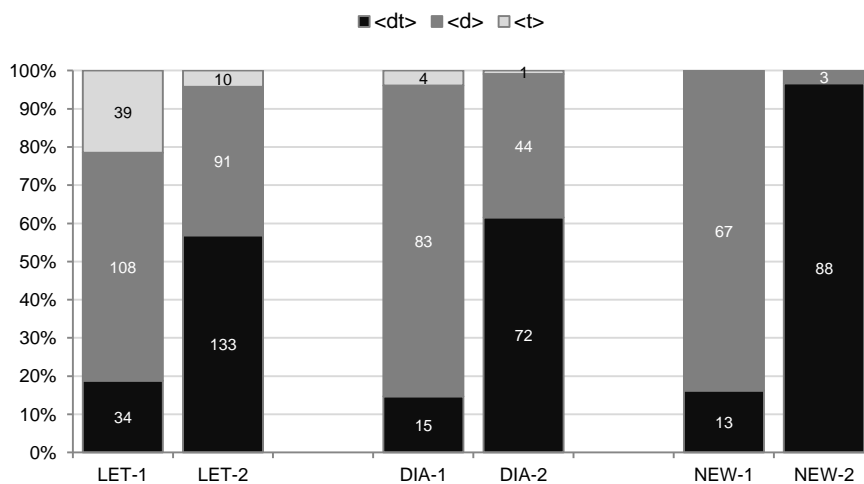
The eighteenth-century results display a striking similarity across all three genres, revealing that <dt>, as widely preferred in metalinguistic discourse, plays an equally marginal role in each of the sub-corpora, i.e. private letters (18.8%), diaries and travelogues (14.7%) and newspapers (16.3%). <d> is the main variant across all genres, particularly in diaries and travelogues (81.4%) and in newspapers (83.8%). The somewhat lower share of <d> in private letters (59.7%) can be explained by a relatively high frequency of the third variant <t> in these texts. In fact, <t> occurs in 21.5% in eighteenth-century private letters (which is, in fact, slightly higher than <dt>), but only very marginally in diaries and travelogues (3.9%) and not at all in newspapers. It seems that this phonetic spelling was merely a manuscript variant in the late eighteenth-century.

In the nineteenth-century period, the distribution of variants changes in the direction of Siegenbeek's prescription, as <dt> becomes the main variant across all three genres. Most remarkably, a complete shift from <d> to <dt> can be witnessed in newspapers, adopting the prescribed variant in 96.7% of all instances (previously 16.3%). In the two types of ego-documents, the increase of the prescribed variant is less drastic but still remarkable, increasing from less than 20% to 56.8% in private letters and to 61.5% in diaries and travelogues. At the same time, <d> remains a fairly strong second variant in ego-documents, both in private letters (38.9%) and diaries and travelogues (37.6%). The phonetic spelling <t>, on the other hand, practically disappears from usage with only a few remaining tokens in private letters (4.3%) and one single token in diaries and travelogues (0.9%).

Regional variation
Moving on to regional variation, Table 2 presents the distribution of variants across the seven regions (FR = Friesland, GR = Groningen, NB = North Brabant, NH = North Holland, SH = South Holland, UT = Utrecht, ZE = Zeeland).

Table 2. Distribution of variants across region and time.

|	Period 1: 1770–1790						Period 2: 1820–1840					
	<dt>		<d>		<t>		<dt>		<d>		<t>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
FR	5	12.2	26	63.4	10	24.4	48	80.0	11	18.3	1	1.7
GR	10	15.4	51	78.5	4	6.2	22	44.0	19	38.0	9	18.0
NB	1	2.3	40	93.0	2	4.7	41	49.4	41	49.4	1	1.2
NH	21	47.7	16	36.4	7	15.9	47	64.4	26	35.6	0	0.0
SH	13	21.0	44	71.0	5	8.1	41	73.2	15	26.8	0	0.0
UT	10	15.6	43	67.2	11	17.2	55	76.4	17	23.6	0.0	0.0
ZE	2	4.5	38	86.4	4	9.1	39	81.3	9	18.8	0.0	0.0

In all seven regions, the eighteenth-century usage data reveal the co-occurrence of three variants. The prevalent variant is <d>, except for the region of North Holland, where <dt> is more frequent (47.7%) than <d> (36.4%). Notably, <dt> is practically absent in North Brabant (2.3%) and also very marginal in Zeeland (4.5%). One might argue that these two border regions in the south of the Northern Netherlands were more strongly oriented towards Southern writing conventions, typically favouring <d> (Section 3), than the rest of the language area.

In the nineteenth-century results, prescribed <dt> gains ground across all regions, although its share in Groningen and North Brabant is below 50% each. It is particularly striking that <d> and <dt> are equally frequent in North Brabant (both 49.4%). It seems as if the orientation of North Brabant towards either the Southern or the Northern normative tradition was rather unclear in this period, resulting in a competing coexistence of prototypically Northern (<dt>) and prototypically Southern (<d>) norms[50] in usage. The phonetic <t> practically disappears across all regions, except for nine tokens in the Groningen data.

Regional variation across genres
Regional variation was further investigated by zooming in on genres. It has to be noted, though, that the absolute numbers of tokens are relatively low when we subdivide the occurrences of <dt>, <d> and <t> into two periods, three genres and seven regions. Therefore, all results should be regarded as rough tendencies.

**Figure 2.** Distribution of variants across region and time (private letters).

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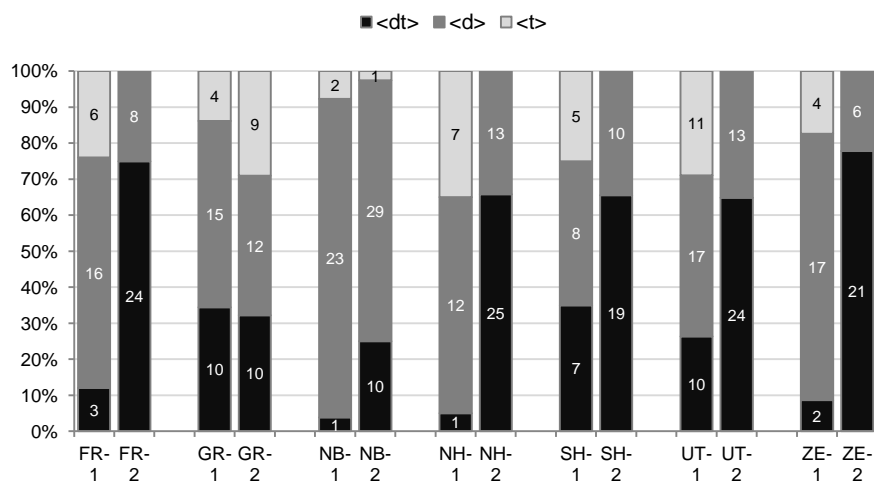
[50] As the overview provided by Vosters et al. (2014: 83-84) shows, <d> was the traditionally preferred variant by most eighteenth-century grammarians in the Southern Netherlands. Even after 1815, <d> was still prescribed in most Southern normative works, often alongside the official Northern variant <dt>.

Figure 2 presents the distribution of variants across regions in the sub-corpus of private letters. In eighteenth-century private letters, all three variants occur in usage in all seven regions, with <d> being the most frequently used variant across the entire language area. After Siegenbeek (1804), all regions shift to <dt> as the main variant in private letters with a share of at least 60% each, except for the regions of Groningen, where <d> remains stable, and most notably of North Brabant, where <d> maintains its prevalence with a share of 72.5%. It is striking that the only nineteenth-century remnants of the <t> spelling are also in these two regions.

Next, the distribution across regions in the sub-corpus of diaries and travelogues is presented in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Distribution of variants across region and time (diaries and travelogues).
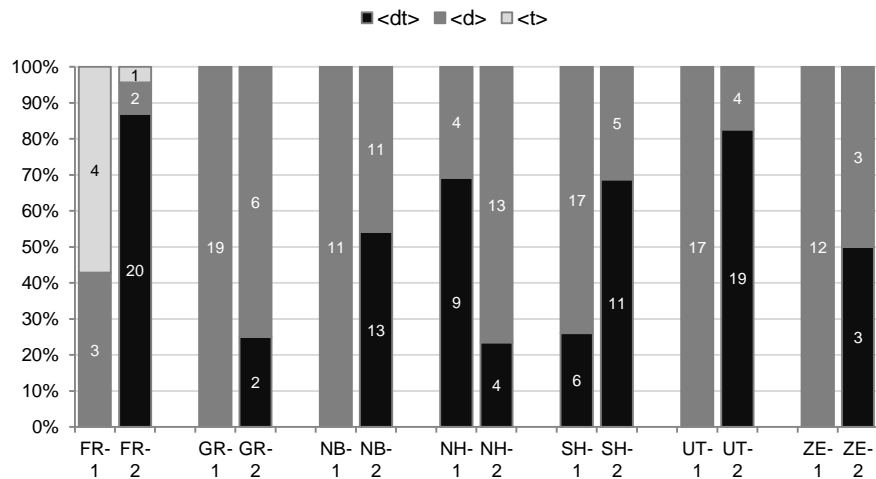
The results nicely illustrate that <dt> only occurs in the Holland area in the eighteenth-century period, whereas <d> is the only variant used in texts from the remaining regions, or co-existing with <t> in the case of Friesland. In the nineteenth-century period, prescribed <dt> emerges as a 'new' variant in diaries and travelogues from all regions, particularly in Friesland (87.0%) and Utrecht (82.6%), although its share considerably differs per region. In fact, the relative decrease of <dt> in North Holland is unexpected, but can also be a result of the low number of tokens.

Finally, Figure 4 displays the distribution of variants across regions in the sub-corpus of newspapers. These results, in fact, provide a good example of a case, in which a remarkable tendency can be observed despite a low number of tokens. Whereas most late eighteenth-century newspapers have <d> as the only variant, newspapers from North Holland already use <dt> in all instances. In the newspaper data from Friesland, <d> occurs alongside a few instances of <dt>.

Figure 4. Distribution of variants across region and time (newspapers).

■ \<dt\> ■ \<d\> □ \<t\>
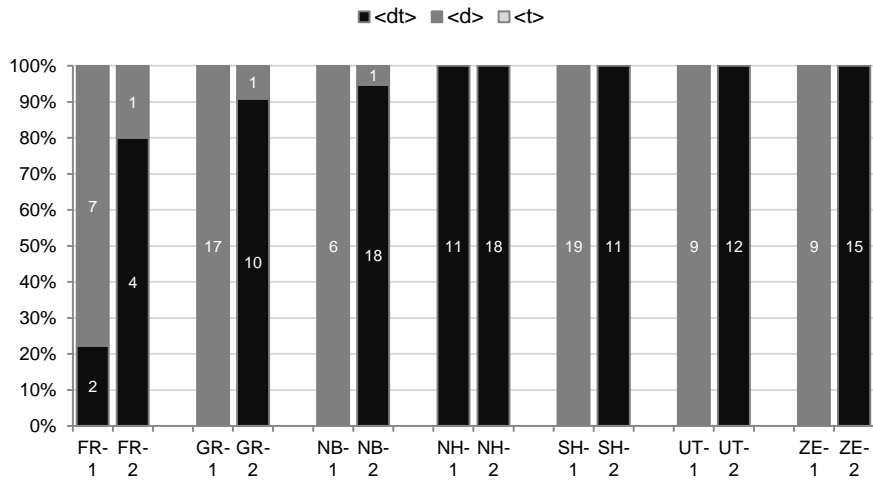
Diachronically, it is striking that newspapers from all regions shift from \<d\> to prescribed \<dt\> in the early nineteenth century, whereas North Holland maintains \<dt\> in both periods.

Variation across centre and periphery

Figure 5 shows the distribution of variants across the centre (CEN) and the periphery (PER), based on the entire *Going Dutch Corpus*.

Figure 5. Distribution of variants across centre–periphery and time.


■ \<dt\> ■ \<d\> □ \<t\>
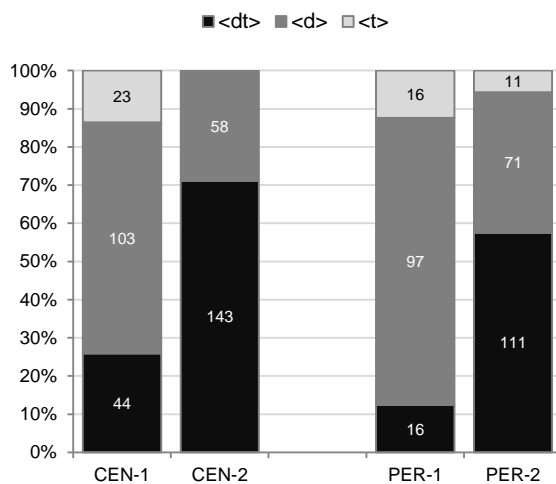
The results reveal quite some variation in both periods. In the eighteenth century, <dt> already appears to be more common in the centre (25.9%) than in the periphery (12.4%). The <d> variant is the main variant in the centre (60.6%), but particularly prevalent in the periphery with a share of 75.2%. Interestingly, there is no centre–periphery difference in the use of <t>, which occurs in approximately 13% in each of the two categories. In the nineteenth century, both the centre and the periphery shift to <dt> as the main variant in usage, although the centre adopts the prescribed spelling to a greater extent (71.1%) than the periphery (57.5%). Remarkably, all remnants of the phonetic spelling <t> are found in data from the periphery.

Gender variation

Figure 6 presents the distribution of variants across gender (M = male writers, F = female writers), based on data from the two sub-corpora of ego-documents.

Figure 6. Distribution of variants across gender and time.
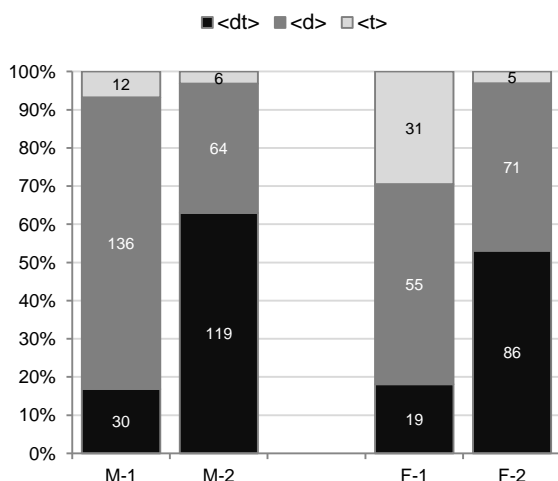
The eighteenth-century results show that there is no gender difference in the use of <dt>, occurring almost equally low in ego-documents written by men (16.9%) and women (18.1%). Irrespective of gender, <d> is the preferred variant among male writers (76.4%) and, to a considerably lesser degree, among female writers (52.4%). Furthermore, the use of <t> reveals interesting gender differences, as it is much more common in texts by women (29.5%) than by men (6.7%). In other words, eighteenth-century women use <t> even more often than <dt>.

In the nineteenth century, the majority of both men and women shift to <dt>, i.e. in conformity with Siegenbeek's prescription. However, the shares of 63.0% and 53.1%, respectively, show that there is still a considerable degree of variation in terms of co-existing variants. <d> is still used by men (33.9%) and

particularly women (43.8%). Apart from a few remnants of <t> in both male and female data, this variant no longer plays a significant role in the nineteenth century.

5   Discussion

In this chapter, I investigated the orthographic representation of verb-final /t/ in second and third person singular and second person plural present tense indicative of *d*-stem verbs as either <dt>, <d> or <t>. Most notably, this case study revealed major changes in the effectiveness of language norms on actual language usage in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

As outlined in Section 1, Siegenbeek's (1804) orthography officially prescribed <dt> as the standard variant for verb-final /t/, referring to this spelling as contracted forms of the historical verbal ending *-det*. His choice, however, was no innovation but rather a continuation of the more or less coherent eighteenth-century normative tradition. As discussed in Section 2, there had been a strong preference for <dt> in most metalinguistic comments and normative works throughout the eighteenth century (e.g. Moonen 1706; Verwer 1707: Sewel 1708/1712; Huydecoper 1730; Elzevier 1761, Zeydelaar 1774, Stijl & van Bolhuis 1776; Kluit 1777; van Bolhuis 1793; *Rudimenta* 1799; Weiland 1799; Wester 1799). Only a few grammarians either explicitly (van Belle 1748/1755) or implicitly (ten Kate 1723) advocated the <d> spelling, whereas a few others (de Haes 1764; van der Palm 1769) prescribed <dt> for second person and <d> for third person forms.

Even though the individual choices were motivated differently (morphologically and/or etymologically), the widely promoted and prescribed representation of verb-final /t/ was thus <dt>, both in the eighteenth-century normative tradition and in Siegenbeek's (1804) orthography. However, the corpus results (Section 4.2) revealed a completely different picture in actual language usage. Against the normative preference for <dt>, <d> appeared to be by far the most frequently used variant in the late eighteenth century – both in (handwritten) ego-documents and in (printed) newspapers. On the other hand, <dt> was merely one of the minor variants, alongside <t>. In other words, the corpus results signalled a clear discrepancy between language norms and language use in the eighteenth century. This is in line with earlier observations by Vosters et al. (2010). Based on a comparatively small corpus of 100 private letters from the 1780s, they also point out that language practice in the Northern Netherlands (84% <d> vs. 16% <dt>) did not coincide with the <dt>-dominated Northern normative tradition.

Keeping in mind that there was no considerable evolution in metalinguistic discourse on the orthographic representation of verb-final /t/ from the early 1700s until Siegenbeek (1804), the shift from <d> as the common variant in the late eighteenth century to the prevalent use of <dt> in the early nineteenth century is striking. It can be assumed that this change in spelling practices must have taken place under the influence of the top-down implementation of Standard Dutch and Siegenbeek's officialised spelling norms. More generally, these developments

indicate that the normative awareness and influence on actual language use were probably limited in the eighteenth century. Otherwise, the general normative preference for <dt> would have been more clearly reflected in the corpus results from that period.

In fact, the shift from <d> to <dt> as the main variant in language use was witnessed across all genres in the *Going Dutch Corpus*, both handwritten and printed. However, some genre-related differences could be observed. In nineteenth-century newspapers, <dt> was adopted almost invariably, much more than in ego-documents. In private letters, diaries and travelogues, <d> continued to be used as an alternative variant well into the nineteenth century. Similarly to the previous orthographic case study in Chapter 5, these findings indicate a specific genre gradation from newspapers (i.e. following the prescription most successfully) to private letters (i.e. highest degree of variation of both prescribed and alternative variants).

With regard to regional variation, some interesting tendencies emerged. In the eighteenth-century, <dt> was practically absent in the southernmost regions of North Brabant and Zeeland, while it already occurred in the rest of the language area. Even in the nineteenth century, North Brabant still maintained <d> in almost 50% of all instances, competing with the equally frequent <dt>. As North Brabant is a border region to the Southern Netherlands, the co-existence of <d> and <dt> even after 1804 can possibly be explained by a stronger orientation towards the <d>-promoting Southern normative tradition. In Zeeland, the other border region to the Southern Netherlands, however, the striking change from <d> to <dt> suggests a shift from a more Southern-oriented region in the eighteenth century to a more Northern-oriented region in the nineteenth century. Another interesting finding was revealed in the North Holland data. Here, <dt> was already found in late eighteenth-century newspapers and also in some diaries and travelogues, which is in sharp contrast to almost all other regions, still using <d> exclusively.

These regional tendencies were further supported by the results focusing on possible differences on the centre–periphery level. In the eighteenth century, <dt> was already more common in the centre, suggesting that the normative awareness in these parts of the language area was probably higher than in the periphery. After the introduction of Siegenbeek's orthography, <dt> was also more successfully adopted in the centre.

In terms of gender variation, male writers of the post-Siegenbeek generation appeared to be faster in adopting the prescribed variant than their female contemporaries. This is interesting as there were no gender differences in the use of <dt> in the late eighteenth century, possibly indicating that the official spelling norm 'reached' female language users to a lesser extent (or less successfully) than male users.

To sum up, the corpus results for this case study give clear evidence of the effectiveness of Siegenbeek's 1804 orthography on the representation of final /t/ in second and third person singular and second person plural present tense indicative forms of *d*-stem verbs. More generally, the developments in language practice suggest that language norms only became effective after they had been

codified officially and disseminated on a national level, given the discrepancy between eighteenth-century norms and usage. Nevertheless, the results also reveal a considerable degree of nineteenth-century variation with regard to genres as well as on the regional and gender dimensions, which disproves that spelling was entirely homogeneous in the Northern Netherlands after the *schrijftaalregeling* of 1804/1805.