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Setting the standard: norms and usage in Early and Late Modern Dutch (1550-1850)

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Chapter 4 – Corpora and methodology

The influence of prescriptivism on historical language use is typically investigated by mapping out patterns of variation and change in two different corpora. First, language norms and prescriptions are uncovered in a corpus of normative works, containing historical grammars and other metalinguistic publications propagating codified norms. The impact of such normative injunctions on usage is then determined by comparing these developments to a usage corpus that comprises texts representing actual language use. Since I follow the same approach, I elaborate on the two corpora that are employed in this study in section 1 and section 2. In the second part of the chapter, in section 3 and section 4, I shift the attention to the analysis for investigating the influence of prescriptivism on usage.

1 Corpus of normative works

For the purpose of this study, a new reference corpus of the Dutch normative tradition in the Early and Late Modern period was compiled. In this section, I present the corpus of normative works by discussing the selection procedure, and the temporal and geographic spread of works in the corpus. An overview of all the relevant details of each normative work in the corpus concludes this section.

1.1 Selection procedure

For the selection process of grammars and other normative works in this corpus, I was guided by the protocols established for previous normative corpora of English, such as Yáñez-Bouza & Rodríguez-Gil (2013), Anderwald (2016), and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2019).

As a rule in the selection process, I included printed works that were published in either the Northern Netherlands or the Southern Netherlands (including Frans-Vlaanderen and Brussel) with a first publication date between 1550 and

1830. I did not strive for an exhaustive selection of normative works, and I solely focused on publications and grammarians that have an authoritative nature. In defining whether a work or grammarian could be considered authoritative, I applied indicators which point to the importance and status of the grammarian and the work in the normative tradition of Dutch. These indicators are (1) the renown of the grammarian and the publication, (2) the geographical spread of the work, and (3) the number of reprints the work enjoyed. Although this led to a selection of the most well-known and widespread normative works, the corpus is an accurate representation of the normative tradition of Dutch from 1550 to 1830.

I consulted main reference works on the history of Dutch to decide which normative works are considered important in the normative tradition of Dutch in the Early and Late Modern period. The lion's share of the selection derives from entries in Vanderheyden (1971), Bakker & Dibbets (1977), Van der Sijs (2004, 2021), and Van der Sijs & Willemyns (2009), Rutten (2011, 2019), and Vosters (2011). This inventory primarily led to a collection of spelling guides and grammars that appeared in the form of a classic spelling guide or (school) grammar or a pamphlet. Additionally, a small number of other text types formulating normative comments are included. These works can be classified as (1) (a part of) a literary work (Ampzing, 1628; Vollenhove, 1685; Elzevier, 1761; De Haes, 1764), (2) a preface to another publication (De Hubert, 1624; Francius, 1699; Weiland, 1799), or (3) a language-historical study (Ten Kate, 1723). This broader selection of works implies that both normative publications aimed at an elite audience written by prestigious grammarians, such as Moonen (1706), as well as widespread and highly accessible schoolbooks meant for elementary children, such as Van Niervaart (1669), are marked as authoritative and are potentially influential at a linguistic level. However, each work still had to meet some additional criteria before it was included in the corpus of normative works:

- The work had to be written substantially in Dutch by a native speaker of the language;
- The normative publication had to target a readership of mother-tongue language users;
- At least two implicit prescriptions on predetermined linguistic features had to be mentioned in the work.

One exception is made regarding the language of the normative work. Because of the scanty number of Dutch normative publications in the sixteenth century, I included one spelling guide that is written in Latin, viz. Sexagius (1576). I also allowed for one grammar that is written by an author of British descent who temporarily lived in the Low Countries at the time of writing the work, i.e. Dafforne (1627). This grammarian, however, can be considered a naturalised speaker of Dutch (cf. Sundby et al., 1991, p. 15). Another grammarian in the corpus with an English background is Willem Séwel (1708, 1712). Apart from his famous grammars of Dutch, he wrote multiple language books in English, such as *A Compendious Guide to the Low Dutch language* (1700). Séwel lived in England for a couple of months, and fellow grammarians of his time have therefore argued he was an English citizen (De Bonth & Dibbets, 1995, p. 100). However, he was born in Amsterdam, where he returned to after his short stay in England. He was also highly proficient in Dutch, which is why he can be considered a native speaker of the language (Blok & Molhuysen, 1933, p. 1018).

I strived to always include the first edition in the corpus of normative works. If a first print was not available, the earliest preserved reprint of a normative work is considered. In that case, I refer to date of the reprint in the further course of this study. Because of the large amount of self-plagiarism and the number of barely adapted books that were reissued (under a different title), not every reprint is included in the corpus (cf. Anderwald, 2016 for English). Only if a reprint differs substantially from the first edition, viz. when large parts of text are added or when changes are made in the relevant prescriptions, they complement the first edition, and the most reworked version of the book is also included on top of the first edition (e.g. Nylöe, 1703; 1707). I selected reprints that are delivered by the original author. Only in one instance (viz. De Gelliers, 1661), the original print was not available, and the first reprint of the famous schoolbook was already adapted by Johannes Arcerius. This earliest available reprint is therefore the only reprint that is provided by a different author but is still admitted to the corpus. 65 publications were eventually integrated in the corpus as a first edition, whereas for 8 works, a reprint was considered since the original book was not preserved or could not be tracked down (cf. section 1.4).

The selection process resulted in a corpus of 73 normative works written by 62 grammarians. I have interpreted the definition of a normative work rather broadly, since I included actual spelling guides and (school) grammars but also

other contributions that discuss language norms, while other normative works needed to be excluded for the purpose of this study. Journal articles discussing linguistic norms, for instance, are certainly an influential source of language norms, yet they are not included in the corpus from a pragmatic point of view. For many of these journal articles, the author cannot be ascertained, and since such contributions are often written as concise rebuttals going back and forth from one grammarian to the other, it is not possible to isolate them as distinct normative works. Also normative texts dealing with prescriptions on a highly restricted number of linguistic features (e.g. Van den Vondel, 1654), or publications solely about the lexicon of Dutch, like dictionaries, are not considered in this research. The latter group of works might contain implicit prescriptions, but such works are often multilingual and are therefore not strictly meant for mother-tongue language users. Although this selection procedure led to a rather traditional selection of works, and there are certainly lacunae in this corpus with publications that are also considered authoritative not being included, this selection corresponds well with the aim of the present study. Table 1 presents an overview of the authors and normative works that are included in the corpus.

When the corpus of normative works was built in the first year of this PhD project (2019-2020), almost all selected works were available via the online databases of Google Books and Dagenta (<https://dagenta.ivdnt.org>). For the normative works that were not digitised yet, I had access to scans made by Rik Vosters (cf. Vosters, 2011), and for a few other publications I made scans myself. Note that this corpus is a collection of digitised normative publications. The corpus is thus not annotated nor digitally searchable via search expressions, which implies that the normative works in the corpus can only be searched manually.

GRAMMARIAN	YEAR	PL. OF PUB.	TITLE
Joas Lambrecht	1550	Gent	<i>Néderlandsche Spellinghe</i>
Antonius Sexagius	1576	Leuven	<i>Orthographia Linguae Belgicae</i>
Pontus De Heuiter	1581	Antwerpen	<i>Nederduitse orthographie</i>
[Hendrik Laurensz. Spiegel]	1584	Leiden	<i>Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche letterkunst</i>
Cornelis Dirckz. Van Niervaart	1669 [± 1600]	Alkmaar	<i>Oprecht Onderwijs Van de Letter-konst</i>
Jacob Van der Schuere	1612	Haarlem	<i>Nederduydsche Spellinge</i>
Anthonis De Hubert	1624	Haarlem	<i>Noodige waarschouwinge aan alle liefhebbers der Nederduijtz tale</i>
Christiaan Van Heule	1625	Leiden	<i>De Nederduytsche Grammatica ofte Spraec-konst</i>
Richard Dafforne	1627	Amsterdam	<i>Grammatica ofte Leez-leerlings Steunsel</i>
Samuel Ampzing	1628	Haarlem	<i>Nederlandsch Tael-bericht Aen Den Goedwilligen/ ende ver-standigen Lezer/ ende Lief-hebber van onse Nederduytsche Tale</i>
Cornelis Gijbertsz. Plemp	1632	Haarlem	<i>Speldwerk of waerschouinge an den Neerduitschen Schrijver van den spelding</i>
Christiaan Van Heule	1633	Leiden	<i>De Nederduytsche Spraec-konst ofte Tael-beschrijvinghe</i>
Petrus Montanus	1635	Delft	<i>Bericht van een nieuwe konst, genaemt de spreekkonst</i>
Carel De Gelliers	1661 [± 1640]	Franeke	<i>Trap der Jeugd</i> [edited by Johannes Arcerius]
Allardus Lodewijk Kók	1649	Amsterdam	<i>Ont-werp Der Neder-duitsche Letter-konst</i>
Dirckz. Van der Weyden	1651	Utrecht	<i>Inleydinge tot een vast-gegronde Nederduytsche Letter-stellinge</i>
Petrus Leupenius	1653	Amsterdam	<i>Aanmerkingen op de Neederduitsche taale</i>
Guilielmus Bolognino	1657	Antwerpen	<i>Ni'uwe noodelicke orthographie</i>
Johan Van Atteveld	1682	Utrecht	<i>Nederduytsche Letterklank, ofte Korte onderwyzinge van de Nederduytsche spelling</i>
Johannes Gosens van Helderer	1683	Amsterdam	<i>Neerduitse Spelkonst</i>
Wigardus à Winschooten	1683	Leiden	<i>Letterkonst</i>
Joannes Vollenhove	1686	Amsterdam	<i>Aan de Nederduitsche schryvers</i>
Johannes Duykerius	1696	Amsterdam	<i>Schouburgh der Needer-Duytsche letter, spel en leeskonst</i>
Barend Hakvoord	1746 [1697]	Deventer	<i>De nieuwe Nederduitse spel-, lees- en schryf-kunst</i>
Petrus Francius	1699	Amsterdam	<i>Aan den lezer</i> [preface to <i>Van de mededeelzaamheid</i>]
Jacques-François Van Geesdalle	1700	Gent	<i>Le parallèle de la grammaire des deux langues Françoise & Flamende, contenant en abrégé toutes les régles fondamentales de ces deux langues</i> <i>De vergelykinge van de spraek-konste der twee talen de Fransche ende de Vlaemsche, behelsende in het kort alle de gront-regels deser twee talen</i>
Jacobus Nylöe	1703	Amsterdam	<i>Aanleiding tot de Nederduitsche Taal</i>
Johannes Hilarides	1705	Franeke	<i>Nieuwe Taalgronden Der Neederduytsche Taal</i>
Arnold Moonen	1706	Amsterdam	<i>Nederduitsche Spraakkunst</i>
Jacobus Nylöe	1707	Leeuwarden	<i>Aanleiding tot de Nederduitsche Taal, Merkelyk vermeerdert</i>
Willem Séwel	1708	Amsterdam	<i>Nederduytsche spraakkonst</i>
Willem Séwel	1712	Utrecht	<i>Nederduytsche spraakkonst</i>
E.C.P. [Gillis De Witte]	1713	Utrecht	<i>Ontwerp van eene Nederduytsche spraek-konst</i>
Andries Stéven	1784 [1714]	Tielt	<i>Nieuwen Néderlandschen voorschrift-boek</i>
Lambert Ten Kate	1723	Amsterdam	<i>Aanleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake</i>
Balthazar Huydecoper	1730	Amsterdam	<i>Proeve van Taal- en Dichtkunde; in vrijmoedige aanmerkingen op Vondels vertaalde Herscheppingen van Ovidius</i>

Jan Van Belle	1748	Haarlem	<i>Korte wegwyzer, ter spel- spraak- en dichtkuden</i>
Jan Domien Verpoorten	1752	Antwerpen	<i>Woorden-schat, oft letter-konst, gedeylt in twee deelen</i>
Jan Van Belle	1755	Haarlem	<i>Korte schets der Néderduitse spraakkunst</i>
P.B.	1757	Antwerpen	<i>Fundamenten ofte grond-regels der Neder-duytsche spel-konst</i>
Jan Domien Verpoorten	1759	Antwerpen	<i>Woorden-schat, oft letter-konst, gedeylt in twee deelen; veël vermeerderd en verbeterd</i>
Jan Des Roches	[1761]	Antwerpen	<i>Nieuwe Nederduytsche Spraek-konst</i>
Kornelis Elzevier	1761	Haarlem	<i>Een proef eener nieuwe Nederlandsche spraakkunst</i>
Frans De Haes	1764	Amsterdam	<i>Nederduytsche spraakkunst</i>
Kornelis Van der Palm	1769	Rotterdam	<i>Nederduytsche spraakkunst, voor de jeugd</i>
Ernst Zeydelaar	1769	Amsterdam	<i>Régelmaatige Néderduytsche spel-konst</i>
Bastiaan Cramer	1777 [± 1769]	Deventer	<i>Geldersche Trap der Jeugd</i>
J. Ballieu	1792 [1771]	Antwerpen	<i>Néderduytsche spel- en spraek-konst</i>
Ernst Zeydelaar	1772	Amsterdam	<i>Vervólg dér Régelmaatige Néderduytsche spel-konst</i>
P.J. Van Belleghem & Daniël Waterschoot	[1773]	Brugge	<i>Deure oft Ingang tot de Nederduytsche Tael</i>
L. Van Boterdael	1776 [± 1774]	Kortrijk	<i>Gemakkelyke wyze om op korten tyd grooten voordgang te doen in de Nederduytsche spelkonst</i>
Balduinus Janssens	[1775]	Brugge	<i>Verbeterde Vlaemsche spraek- en spel-konste</i>
Ernst Zeydelaar	1781	Utrecht	<i>Néderduytsche spraakkunst, ten dienste der Néderlandsche taalbeminnaars</i>
L. Van Boterdael	1785	Brugge	<i>Gemakkelyke wyze om op korten tyd grooten voordgang te doen in de Nederduytsche spelkonst; kort begryp van de Nederduytsche Spraek-Konst</i>
Lambertus Van Bolhuis	1793	Leiden- Deventer- Groningen	<i>Beknopte Nederduytsche spraakkunst</i>
Hendrik Wester	1797	Groningen	<i>Bevatlyk onderwys in de Nederlandsche spel- en taalkunde</i>
Gerrit Van Varik	1799	Leiden- Deventer- Groningen	<i>Rudimenta of Gronden der Nederduytsche spraake</i>
Petrus Weiland	1799	Amsterdam	<i>Nederduytsch Taalkundig Woordenboek [introduction]</i>
Matthijs Siegenbeek	1804	Amsterdam	<i>Verhandeling over de Nederduytsche spelling ter bevordering van eenparigheid in dezelve</i>
Petrus Weiland	1805	Amsterdam	<i>Nederduytsche Spraakkunst</i>
Olivier Schilperoort	1806	Groningen	<i>Proeve van nieuwere taalkunde, op de Nederduytsche spraakkunst toegepast</i>
Nicolaas Anslin	1814	Leiden	<i>Nederduytsche spraakkunst voor eerstbeginnenden</i>
F.L.N. Henckel	1815	Gent	<i>Nieuwe Vlaemsche spraek-konst</i>
Filip Jacob De Neckere	1815	Ieper	<i>Bewerp van Vlaemsche spelling, gevolgd van eenen oogopslag op de nederlandsche dichtkunst</i>
Jan Abraham Ter Bruggen	1817-1818 [1815]	Antwerpen	<i>Nederduytsche spraek-konst ten gebryke der schoólen</i>
Pieter Behaegel	1817	Brugge	<i>Nederduytsche spraakkunst [volume 1]</i>
Josef Bernard Cannaert	1823	Gent	<i>Iets over de Hollandsche tael, noch voor, noch tegen Nederduytsche spraakkunst naar het Hollands, ten bijzonderen gebryke der Vlaamsch-sprekenden</i>
Jan-Jacob Moke	1823	Gent	<i>Over de Hollandsche en Vlaemsche schryfwyzen van het Nederduytsch</i>
Jan Frans Willems	1824	Antwerpen	<i>Over de Hollandsche en Vlaemsche schryfwyzen van het Nederduytsch</i>
Pieter Behaegel	[± 1825]	Brugge	<i>Nederduytsche spraakkunst [volume 2]</i>
Willem Bilderdijk	1826	Den Haag	<i>Nederlandsche spraakleer</i>
David De Simpel	[1827]	Ieper	<i>Taalkundige tweespraak</i>
Pieter Behaegel	[± 1829]	Brugge	<i>Nederduytsche spraakkunst [volume 3]</i>

Table 1: overview of normative works included in the corpus

1.2 Temporal spread

I initially aspired to obtain an equal spread of normative works across the four periods investigated in this study. However, the production of normative works was not stable across the different periods, with the only a small number of spelling guides appearing in the sixteenth century, and the production of important schoolbooks and grammars booming from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards. Because of the social reorientation of grammars (cf. Rutten, 2019, chapter 4), especially the period 1750-1800 is strongly represented in the corpus of normative works, as is also shown in Figure 2. Although the target audience of grammars widened even more in the nineteenth century, and the production of normative works did thus certainly not diminish, many of these publications were derivatives of the national language policy in the Northern Netherlands (Schoemaker, 2018, pp. 158-162). Since the prescriptions in these works were often copied verbatim from the national language policy, the derivations of the national language policy were not included in the corpus of normative works. This particularly explains the decline of normative works in the corpus in the first half of the nineteenth century.

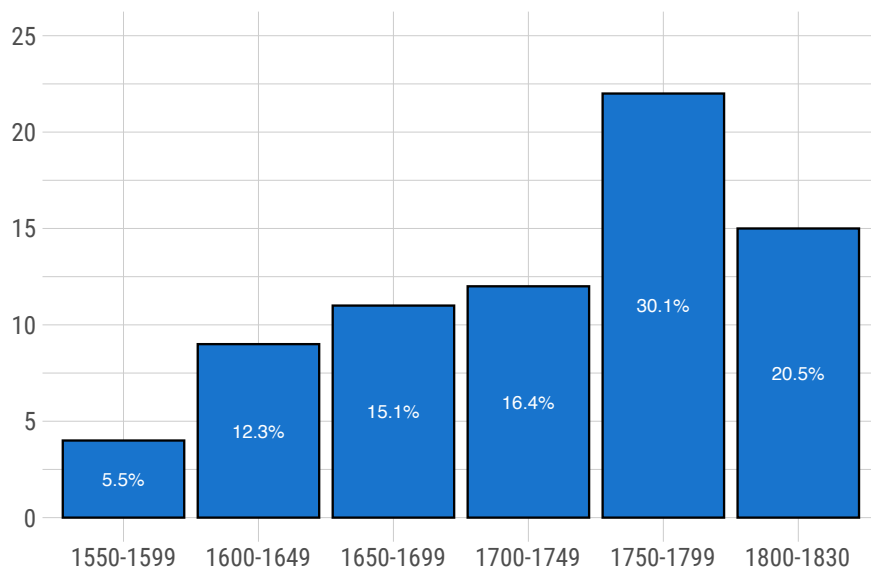


Figure 2: diachronic spread of normative works in the corpus

1.3 Geographical spread

Previous scholars investigating the influence of historical prescriptivism in Dutch often focused on either the Northern Netherlands (e.g. Nobels & Rutten, 2014; Simons & Rutten, 2014; Krogull, 2018) or the Southern Netherlands (e.g. Vosters, 2011; Vosters et al., 2014). As such, the normative corpus applied in these studies is also limited to publications deriving from respectively the Northern or the Southern part of the language area. Since the current study explores the impact of prescriptivism in the entire language area, this corpus of normative works includes spelling guides, grammars, and other normative works from the Northern and the Southern part of the language area. These normative works are also classified in terms of the geographical area in which they were (intended to be) employed.

Earlier historical-sociolinguistic research investigating the effect of prescriptivism in more than one language area (e.g. Anderwald (2016) and Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2019) for British and American English), grouped the normative works according to the place of publication, as the majority of the English grammar books and spelling guides were used in the country in which they were published. In the case of Dutch, however, the place of publication did not always align with the intended geographical audience of the normative work. For example, De Heuiter (1581) still published his work in the Southern Netherlands whilst targeting a Northern readership, and contrary to what his grammar indicates, E.C.P. (1713) published his work in Holland (Dibbets, 2003a, p. 132) while explicitly orienting towards a Southern readership. A classification based on the place of publication alone is therefore less expedient in this study.

When classifying the normative works into the most relevant language area, I therefore also considered the area where the grammarian was active when the work was published. Although these indicators mostly coincide, the parameters sometimes result in a rather atypical geographical classification, particularly for a work like E.C.P. (1713), which is classified as a Northern work in this study. Nonetheless, in the analyses of prescriptive influence, I account for the possible influence this work exerted both on Northern and Southern language users.

As opposed to the distinction between different regions in the usage corpus (cf. section 2), the corpus of normative works distinguishes only between the Northern and the Southern Netherlands. For the normative component, operationalising different regions was not possible due to the highly centralised production of normative works in the region of Holland. Yet, as Figure 3 illustrates, also the limited number of (preserved) normative works from the Southern territories made a detailed classification into different regions practically unworkable.

While most normative works derive from the Northern part of the language area, with Northern norms compellingly representing each of the investigated periods, only 24 of the 73 normative works in the corpus originate from the Southern Netherlands. As was also pointed to in Chapter 2, the lower proportion of Southern works may point to a less-established normative tradition in the Southern Netherlands in the sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries. However, also the strong oral tradition of norm dissemination by rhetoricians, for example, may explain the low number of printed normative works in the Southern Netherlands. The smaller proportion of Southern works is attested only in the seventeenth century and in the first half of the eighteenth century. It is particularly the elitist stage of grammar writing, with normative works that are aimed at high-class writers, that is less distinct in the Southern normative tradition. The social reorientation of normative works in the second half of the eighteenth century, on the contrary, is equally pronounced in the Southern part of the language area (cf. Rutten 2011; Vosters 2011).

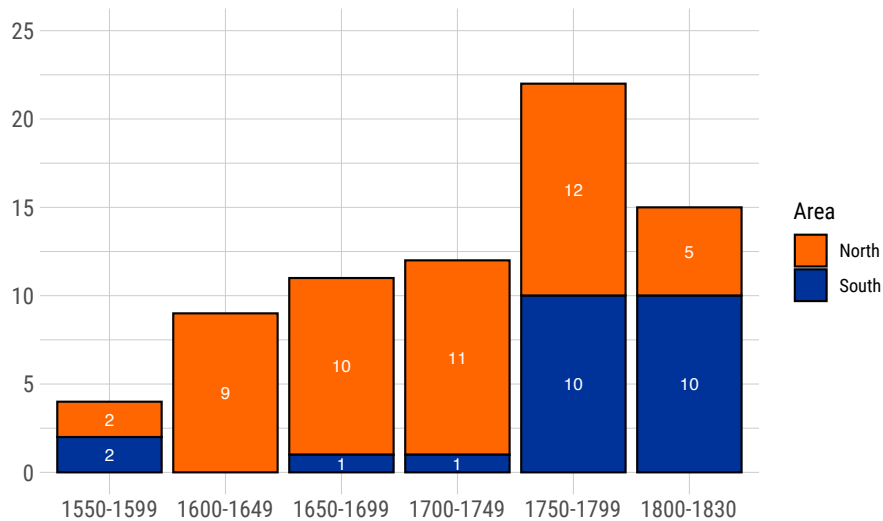


Figure 3: diachronic spread of normative works in the corpus per part of the language area

1.4 Discussion of normative works

For each publication in the corpus of normative works, I offer a concise overview of the codifier and the normative work, in which their importance for the Dutch normative tradition is covered. This discussion is chronologically structured, based on the name of the codifier and the year of publication of the normative work. Since some grammarians are included in the selection with more than one spelling guide or grammar, all selected works of the author are discussed in the same section.¹⁰ First, I provide an overview of the most relevant biographical information about the author. The focus of these summaries is furthermore on the content and the structure of the normative work itself. I mainly reflect on the goal of the grammarians, their target audience, and the social reach of the normative work.

The biographical and bibliographical information in these summaries derives from reference works and linguistic biographies, such as Witsen Geysbeek (1822, 1824), Frederiks & Van den Branden (1888-1891),

¹⁰ Only the work of Verpoorten (1759) is discussed in a separate section, since it is an explicit rebuttal on the grammar of P.B. (1757).

Bakker & Dobbets (1977), Knol & Maas (1977), Van Bork & Verkruijsse (1985), Van der Sijs (2004, 2021) and Van Anrooij et al. (2004).

Lambrecht (1550)

One of the first authors committed to publishing an orthography of Dutch is Joas Lambrecht (± 1491 – ± 1556): a book printer, publisher and typesetter from Gent, who was also involved in the chambers of rhetoric, where he did the printing of multiple refrains and plays. He is often seen as an early humanist, not only because of his reformational mindset, but also through his endeavours in the development of the Dutch language. This is particularly clear in his publishing business: out of approximately 70 of his printed publications, 42 of them are written in Dutch, whereas only a minority is still printed in Latin (Waterschoot, 1992, p. 27). One of the works in which Lambrecht strives for an independent Dutch language is his *Naembouck* (1546), a Dutch-French translation dictionary, mainly aimed at speakers of French (Pleij, 2007, p. 691).¹¹ The innovative mentality is further manifested in his activities as a typesetter and in his printer's mark: *Cessent solita, dum meliora* 'quit the traditional methods, as there are better ones now', which vouches his progressive position towards the use of the Dutch as a universal language, following the example of Latin and French (Waterschoot, 1992, p. 27; Pleij, 2007, p. 691).

The veneration of the Dutch vernacular is again apparent in his *Néderlandsche Spellinghe/ uutghesteld by vrághe ende andwoorde/duer Joas Lambrecht Lettersteker. Tot onderwijs der Jonghers voor haar ear-ste beghin* 'Dutch spelling composed with questions and answers by Joas Lambrecht typesetter. To be used for the first education of the youth', which rolled off his own presses in Gent in 1550. In the 'first spelling guide of Dutch'¹², Lambrecht does not propose a uniform writing system throughout the Dutch language area. The author endorses a phonetic orthography based on his own dialect. To realise his spelling system, he even introduces some unfamiliar diacritical characters into the Dutch language, such as the diagonally crossed out <e> (Dobbets, 1977, p. 24). He argues

¹¹ *Naembouck* (1546) is not included in the corpus of normative works, as it is not directly aimed at speakers of Dutch and as it is mainly set up as a dictionary, without clear prescriptions.

¹² Lambrecht's work is considered the first spelling guide of Dutch. The only manuscripts about the spelling of Dutch written before Lambrecht (1550) are those of Van Varenbraken (± 1530), but these were not published until the twentieth century (i.e. Braekman, 1978).

that every individual phoneme should be represented by one specific grapheme. This way, he aims to uncover differences in pronunciation depending on the regional descent of the author.

The spelling guide itself comprises 72 unnumbered pages, is set up as a dialogue between the *Measter* 'schoolteacher' and a *Learknecht* 'pupil' and is also meant for usage in schools. Three main chapters are distinguished in the work: the first one concerning the letters of the alphabet, where the author discusses the vowels and consonants in terms of their pronunciation. In the second part, the student learns to combine consonants and vowels to produce syllables and words. Punctuation and grammatical figures, such as prothesis and apocope, are subjects that are dealt with in the last chapter. The design of the book indicates that Lambrecht was familiar with Latin and French predecessors, as they applied the same structure years before he did (De Keyser, 1928, p. 1352). Although both the structure and the full title of the work suggest that the spelling guide was meant for an educational context, it is unlikely that the book was seen as an influential source in language teaching (Dibbets, 1977, pp. 24-25). It is assumed that only one original copy of the work survived the test of time, and the book was also not reprinted in the following decades or centuries (De Keyser, 1928, p. 1346).¹³ It is therefore unlikely that the book spread outside the region of Gent. However, the importance of the work for the Dutch normative tradition is undeniable. Lambrecht was clearly familiar with different language varieties of Dutch, which he tried to describe with this phonetic spelling system. This shows that his intention indeed was to facilitate supralocal written communication (Rutten, 2019, p. 110).

Sexagius (1576)

In 1576, *Orthographia Linguae Belgicae* came out in the press of Masius in Leuven. As the title already suggests, the work discusses the spelling of the 'Belgian' language, i.e. the variety of Dutch that is spoken in the Southern part of the language area. More specifically, the book is oriented towards the orthography of Dutch words according to the pronunciation of Brabantians (Goemans, 1899, pp. 175-176).

¹³ The surviving copy is preserved in the library of Ghent University. A heliotypic facsimile edition of the spelling guide appeared in 1882 by *Maatschappij der Vlaamsche bibliophilen* (Dibbets, 1977, p. 36).

The author of spelling guide is Antoon van t'Sestisch, better known as Antonius Sexagius, a lawyer who had already published a legal work in 1573 that was reprinted several times (Goemans, 1899, p. 177). Born in Brussel (1535) and deceased in Mechelen (1585), Sexagius was a real Brabantian himself. Accordingly, the aim of his work was to develop a spelling system of Dutch, explicitly based on the pronunciation of the Brabantians and not on the one of speakers from Vlaanderen (Goemans, 1900-1902, p. 75). Although he makes a distinction between the pronunciation in the Brabantic cities Brussel, Leuven, and Antwerpen, it remains unclear which accent his orthography is actually based on (Goemans, 1900-1902, p. 76). The author did not want to achieve a common language for the entire language area but aspired to describe his own vernacular (Van der Sijs, 2004, p. 250). Thus, just like Lambrecht (1550) did for the Ghentian dialect, Sexagius wrote his work from a local point of view. The similarities between the intent and method of both authors at least suggest that Sexagius read Lambrecht's work. Yet, the author asserts he is not aware of the existence of a previous orthography of Dutch (Goemans, 1899, p. 172).

Although the spelling guide is fully written in Latin, the author's intention for writing the book undoubtedly sprouts from the admiration of his mother tongue.¹⁴ As a father, he noticed the difficulties his sons had with the study of Latin, caused by the differences in character use between Dutch and Latin. Due to the lack of actual spelling regulations in Dutch, Sexagius was determined to develop an orthography system for his vernacular that corresponded with the one of Latin. By first learning to read and write in the mother tongue, he hoped to facilitate the study of Latin (Goemans, 1899, pp. 180-181). In his attempt to adjust the orthography of Dutch to the one of Latin, he opts for a phonetic analogy between both languages, but he quickly encounters a shortage of graphemes to describe all phonemes in Dutch. As the <v> is pronounced as /w/ in Latin, <w> is not recorded in his spelling system. To represent /v/, he uses the reversed digamma that was applied in Latin. For the spelling of the 'bleating' variant of the vowel /ɛ/, he came up with a new sign as well. It is described by the grapheme <ɛ> (Goemans, 1900-1902, pp. 68-70).

¹⁴ For a full understanding of the content of the work, I make use of the original publication, the reissue of the spelling guide by Goemans (1899), and a discussion of Sexagius's prescriptions in Goemans (1900-1902).

The spelling guide comprises 64 unnumbered pages and consists of three chapters on the orthography of (1) vowels, (2) diphthongs and (3) consonants (Goemans, 1900-1902, pp. 65-66). The latter part is concise and, according to Goemans (1900-1902, pp. 69; 72-74), less meticulously compiled compared to the other sections of the book. The author uses the spelling of <c> and <k> inconsistently, which causes irregularities in the prescriptions and in his own language use. The wordlist in the appendix of the work, however, offers examples of each grapheme and allows to uncover and clarify the (implicit) prescriptions. As the orthography guide aims to describe a local vernacular, is written in Latin, and was never reprinted, the work did probably not spread to the wider community or across the entire language area. Sexagius had an impact on later codifiers, such as De Heuiter (1581), who was familiar with his spelling guide (Dibbets, 1968, p. 49). De Heuiter (1581, pp. 29-30) explicitly referred to the work to learn *plat Brabants* 'the Brabantine dialect' (Goemans, 1899, p. 173).

De Heuiter (1581)

The earliest orthography written by a grammarian from the North of the language area is by the hand of Pontus de Heuiter (1535 – 1602), a canon monk who was born in Delft, but who ended up in the Southern Netherlands, after various wanderings from Leiden and Paris to Gorinchem, where he could escape from imprisonment by the Sea Beggars in their battle for an independent Dutch republic in times of the Spanish rule. In his escape to the South, De Heuiter settled again as a canon in Brabant and Vlaanderen, but he temporarily moved back to the Northern Netherlands in 1572. Eventually he was forced to migrate again to the South in 1591, where he died in exile in 1602 (Dibbets, 1972, p. vi). Because of his experiences with different language varieties across the Netherlands, De Heuiter is the first one to advocate a spoken standard for the entire language area in his *Nederduitse orthographie* 'Dutch spelling', published by Plantijn in Antwerpen in 1581. To bring uniformity to the melting pot of spoken languages, he wants to create a euphonious *gemeingelde Tale* 'mixed language', which should arise from the best elements of each vernacular (De Heuiter, 1581, pp. 29-30; p. 93). He claims to merge the Brabantic, Flemish, Hollandic, Guelderish and Kleverlandish varieties into one neutral language, referring to ancient Greek where Ionica, Attica, Dorica and Aeölica formed the base for the koine (De Heuiter, 1581, p. 93). All chosen varieties of Dutch endure the author's criticism, but he also acknowledges their charming features. It is the Hollandic

variety that the author prefers, although typical elements of Brabantic and Flemish are also blended into the proposed common language (Dibbets, 1968, pp. 175-176).

Compared to his precursors, De Heuiter does not want to introduce new diacritical characters to designate a specific phoneme, although he also adjusts the Dutch language to the Latin example, at least in terms of phoneme-grapheme correspondence. As he favours a phonetic spelling system, he opts for the orthography to be clear and practical (De Vooy, 1917, p. 11). He therefore suggests the omission of all redundant graphemes, which he exemplifies with the use of the spelling *oorzake* 'cause' for *oirzaecke*, since both <e> and <c> are not pronounced in the word (De Heuiter, 1581, pp. 83-84; cf. Dibbets, 1972, p. 68). He also rejects any influence from foreign languages, including German (cf. De Heuiter, 1581, pp. 93-94; p. 98; Dibbets, 1977, p. 25).¹⁵

Although De Heuiter expresses his desire for a grammar of Dutch, he only discusses orthographical features in his work. The spelling guide contains 112 pages and commences with multiple prefaces before the grammarian moves on to the letters of the alphabet, which are followed by an extensive discussion on the pronunciation, the use and spelling of vowels, consonants, diphthongs and triphthongs. From page 82 onwards, he discusses 16 spelling regulations, mainly concerning the correct use of graphemes and Dutch equivalents for foreign words. In addition, he examines the specific features of each language variety. He distinguishes, for instance, the Brabantic language because of *t'lelic gegaap der diphthongen* 'the ugly yawning of diphthongs' and *t'lainc gelei der vocalen* 'the lingering sound of vowels' (De Heuiter, 1581, p. 94).

The preface of De Heuiter's work indicates that his spelling guide was primarily intended for schoolteachers (De Vooy, 1917, p. 7; Dibbets, 1972, p. 14). Although the work was never reprinted, it was certainly read by later grammarians, such as Van Heule (1625, 1633), Dafforne (1627), Ampzing (1628) and Moonen (1706), who explicitly commented on his ideas (Dibbets, 1968, pp. 54-62).

¹⁵ A thorough analysis of Pontus de Heuiter, his *Nederduitsche orthographie*, and the applied spelling system can be found in Dibbets (1968).

Spiegel (1584)

In 1584, only three years after the publication of De Heuiter's spelling guide, the first full grammar of Dutch appeared. The *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche letterkunst* 'Dialogue of the Dutch language' was published anonymously at the Leiden branch of Christoffel Plantijn. The title page of the book mentions the blazon *de Kamer In Liefd Bloeyende* 'the chamber blooming in love', which assigns the work to the well-known Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric *De Eglentier*. Although the grammar book is their most famous and widespread linguistic publication, the literary company also conducted three smaller language books in the second half of the sixteenth century, all of them related to the dialectica and rhetoric of Dutch. For all these works, it is assumed that Hendrik Laurensz. Spiegel (1549 – 1612) is the main author. I will henceforth refer to Spiegel as the author of the grammar.

Spiegel's main goal is to refine the Dutch language. He already deems the vernacular a *ryke, cierlyke ende verstandelyke spraack* 'rich, graceful and intellectual language', but as it is lacking uniformity, the author wants to create a tool to make language norms accessible for the wider language community – and not only for poets and the elite (Caron 1962, p. 4). However, as the book appeared in the tradition of Trivium grammars, it was mainly applied for the language education of adult men from the upper and middle ranks of society (cf. Klifman, 1983). The author anyhow strived for the book to be used for language education. The grammar is therefore set up as a dialogue between Roemer (Visscher) and Gedeon (Fallet), both members of the literary society, respectively fulfilling the role of an Amsterdam student, and a language teacher originating from Brabant in the Southern Netherlands.

The *Twe-spraack* consists of 128 pages, of which 16 pages are devoted to the preface, written by Spiegel's friend, Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert, who praised the grammar for its ambition for language purification. Most of the book deals with orthography and pronunciation, a section that is elaborated on meticulously. Prosody, etymology and syntax are also discussed.

Van Niervaart (1669) [± 1600]

In the early years of the seventeenth century, a small book by the hand of Cornelis Dirckz. Van Niervaart (? – ?) appears in the Northern Netherlands. The work is called *Oprecht Onderwijs Van de Letter-konst* ‘True education of spelling’ and is meant for use in primary schools. The subtitle of the work, however, also signifies that everyone, including adults who did not learn the alphabet, can employ the book to familiarise themselves with reading and writing in their mother tongue (Smeyers, 1959, p. 167).¹⁶ Rather than prescribing actual spelling regulations and rules of grammar, the book offers very basic principles regarding correct language use, such as thematic word lists and glossaries with translations of Latin and French terms. These are typical subjects in schoolbooks aimed at members of the lower ranks of society at the time (De Vroede, 1970, pp. 48-49; Rutten, 2011, pp. 37-38). Besides learning to read and write, other basic skills, such as simple mathematic exercises and catechisation in the form of prayers, but also rules of conduct in school and good manners are taught (ibid.).

Probably due to the low-quality impression, the first edition of the book, dating from ± 1600, is not preserved, nor are the exact data of the printer. Yet, the book is reprinted multiple times until the late eighteenth century. In 1752, also a Southern reprint of the book rolls off the presses in Antwerpen. Later Southern editions appeared by other printers in Antwerpen, but also in Brussel, Dendermonde and Gent. The work remained also popular in the North of the language area, with reprints appearing at least until 1776 (Smeyers, 1959, p. 117).¹⁷ Some of the Southern reissues are edited by ‘N.V.M.’, but the content of the work stays the same, with only slight changes and additions in the word lists. The applied spelling is sometimes adjusted, mostly because of regional differences related to the place of publication, or temporal evolutions in terms of spelling. In some editions of the book, the part about the school ordinances is left

¹⁶ Full title: *Oprecht Onderwijs Van de Letter-konst / Bequaem om alle personen / soo Mans / Vrouwen / Dochters en Jonge-gesellen / als alle andere aenkomende Scholieren in korten tijt wel en volkomenlijck te leeren spellen en lesen. Alwaert oock datse in hare jeught noch A. noch B. geleert en hadde / gelijk men sulcx (die dit Boecxken sullen veur lesen) breeder hooren sal.* ‘True education of spelling meant for everyone, both men, women, daughters and young gentlemen, as well as all other young pupils, to learn how to spell and read in short term. Also for those who did not learn the alphabet in their youth, alike one (who will read out this small book) will learn more about’.

¹⁷ Smeyers (1959, p. 117) and Dibbets (1977, p. 366) even mention reprints in the beginning of the nineteenth century, although these editions could not be found in universities and royal libraries across Belgium and the Netherlands.

out. The edition applied in this dissertation is the earliest preserved edition. This reprint dates from 1669 and is printed in Alkmaar. According to the title page, the edition is corrected and supplemented with terms and names in the word lists. The edition from 1669 comprises 64 pages, whereas later versions vary from 48 pages (with the omission of the school ordinances) to 56 pages. There are no substantial differences regarding the language prescriptions across all editions.

Although explicit language prescriptions are not discussed in the schoolbook, the work is seen as a crucial source in language teaching. Not only the large number of reprints, but also the widespread distribution and the frequent use of the work in schools, emphasise its importance for the dissemination of language norms.

Van der Schuere (1612)

In 1627, the *Nederduydsche Spellinge* 'Dutch spelling' was printed at the press of Kasteleyn in Haarlem.¹⁸ The writer of the spelling guide chose to stay anonymous in the first place, but from the title page of the book, we can deduce that the work is written by a spelling enthusiast (i.e. *lief-hebber der zelver*). Zwaan (1957, p. ix) confirms the identity of the writer elsewhere, more specifically in the preface to a collection of elegies that appeared in 1612. In this work, the translator of the poems alludes to be the composer of the spelling guide. Zwaan (ibid.) therefore assumes that the main author of the orthography is Jacob van der Schuere (1576 – >1643), a poet from Meenen (Vlaanderen), who moved to Haarlem at a young age, where Van der Schuere became a schoolteacher of French and mathematics. In line of the latter subject, he published a famous arithmetic work in 1600, which was reprinted multiple times (Zwaan, 1957, p. x). Apart from that, he was also a member of *De Witte Angieren* 'The white carnations', a chamber of rhetoric, founded by a group of Southern immigrants in Holland (Porteman & Smits, 2016, p. 158). As the pupil of Karel van Mander, Van der Schuere made translations of literary works and wrote poems (Zwaan, 1957, pp. x-xi). By producing poetry, Van der Schuere discovered irregularities in the language, which he wanted to eliminate with his spelling guide (Zwaan, 1957, p. xii). The

¹⁸ Full title: *Nederduydsche Spellinge/ ofte Een korte verklaringe / Zoo van elke Letter in't byzonder / twee-klanken ende drie-klanken / als van de Spellinge in't gemeen*. 'Dutch spelling or a short explanation of each letter in particular, diphthongs and triphthongs, and of the orthography in general'

Nederduydsche Spellinge only embraces the domain of spelling and is set up with an alphabetical discussion of each grapheme, for which the author starts with possible combinations of the letter with other vowels and consonants. Furthermore, he elaborates on the discussion of vowels and consonants, as well as on the diphthongs and triphthongs. A short piece of the work is dedicated to punctuation. Despite the small size of the book (68 pages) and the unpretentious approach of the author, Van der Schuere's aim was clear: he wanted a uniform, but euphonious language for producing literature (Dibbets, 1977, p. 42). Echoing the goal of the *Twe-spraack*, his proposed spelling mainly derived from Holland, although some influences from Vlaanderen can be detected (Van der Sijs, 2004, p. 258).

De Hubert (1624)

In 1624, Anthonis De Hubert (1583-1644), a legist and specialist in the Hebrew language, provided the Dutch translation of *De Psalmen des Propheeten Davids* 'The psalms of the prophet David', a book that is printed by Pieter Muller in Leiden. To justify his language use in the translation copy, he included a report on the Dutch language as a preface to the actual work. The comments mainly concern the applied spelling and are bundled in the 10-page chapter *Noodige waarschouwinge aan alle liefhebbers der Nederduijtze tale* 'Necessary warning to all lovers of the Dutch language' (Dibbets, 1977, p. 44).

De Hubert was born in Zeeland but moved to Holland in 1622. He first lived in Amsterdam, where he was part of the assembly to discuss linguistic issues for the translation of the *Statenbijbel*. During that gathering, he was closely collaborating with the famous poets Joost van den Vondel and P.C. Hooft (Zwaan, 1939, p. 12; Dibbets, 1977, p. 46). The former even dedicated his *Hecuba* to De Hubert, indicating the sincere relationship and the high value that was attached to the grammarian. Not only literary authors had a good esteem of De Hubert, also other codifiers, such as Ampzing (1628) and Van Heule (1625, 1633) referred to the author as a linguistic authority (Zwaan, 1939, pp. 12-13).¹⁹ Although the author had a direct impact on writers and grammarians in the seventeenth century, there is hardly anything to say about the influence other

¹⁹ Still in the nineteenth century, De Hubert is called *een' onzer beste en oordeelkundigste taalopbouwers* 'one of our best and judicial language constructors' (Witsen Geysbeek, 1822, p. 427).

codifiers had on him. In his comments, De Hubert only mentions Spiegel's *Twe-spraack*, albeit with a lot of criticism (Zwaan, 1939, p. 13). In his strive for good usage, the author explicitly aims for clarity in language norms as these are directly associated with a correct pronunciation (Zwaan, 1939, p. 15; Dibbets, 1977, pp. 49-50). Although he is aware that his language report is not comparable to other spelling guides, he hopes his work can stimulate the study of the mother tongue (*ibid.*).

As mentioned above, the normative comments comprise 10 pages, which mainly deal with linguistic issues De Hubert could not find an answer for in previous normative works. The report is therefore not an exhaustive collection of the author's ideas on correct language use. No fixed structure is followed in the work. The author commences with the discussion of some morphosyntactic features, including the inflection forms and the gender of nouns, and ends with the domain of spelling.

Van Heule (1625) and (1633)

The mathematician, Christiaan van Heule (? – 1655), enriched the seventeenth century with two important grammars of Dutch. *De Nederduytsche Grammatica ofte Spraec-konst* 'Dutch grammar' appeared in 1625 at the presses of Daniel Roels in Leiden, whereas the sequel, *De Nederduytsche Spraec-konst ofte Tael-beschrijvinghe* 'Dutch grammar or language description' was printed eight years later (1633) by Jacob Roels in the same city. Both works are seen as the first real grammars of Dutch after Spiegel's *Twe-spraack* (1584) (Rutten, 2019, p. 113).

Van Heule is introduced as the most eminent grammarian of the seventeenth century (Dibbets, 1977, p. 58). However, not much is known about the author, even his regional descent is uncertain. Some scholars assume he is born in Delft (e.g. Caron, 1953, p. vx), whereas others suggest a Southern ancestry (e.g. Geerts, 1966, pp. 68-85). Van Heule was active in the Northern Netherlands and maintained friendships with Van der Schuere, De Hubert and Ampzing. This is indicated by his involvement in their linguistic ventures. He read their linguistic works, reissued Ampzing's *Tael-bericht* (1628), and dedicated his second grammar to De Hubert (Caron, 1953, p. xviii). Van Heule shares their idea of a common language, although he argues that the written language is already invariable in written form. In his opinion, it is only the spoken language that

varies (Van Heule, 1633, p. 161). For example, in his grammar, he repeatedly contrasts the Hollandic pronunciation, which he considers best, with the Brabantic and Flemish varieties (De Vooy, 1917, pp. 213-214). The proposed norm in both grammars is therefore based on the language use of eminent Hollandic writers (Van Heule, 1625; Dibbets, 1977, p. 48). Although Van Heule (1633) emphasises that his second grammar only structurally differs from the first book, there are substantial adjustments in terms of content. While the earliest version of the work consists of 136 pages (including a 16-page word list), the second grammar is expanded to a 168-page book, in which the word list is omitted (Caron, 1953, p. xxvii). The most innovative aspect of both works is probably the large number of pages that is devoted to etymology and morphosyntactic issues. This thorough and overarching analysis makes Van Heule's grammars even more comprehensive compared to the *Twe-spraack* (1584) (Dibbets, 1977, p. 58).²⁰

Dafforne (1627)

The only grammar in the corpus of normative works that is produced by a non-native speaker of Dutch is written by Richard Dafforne (? - ?). He is an Englishman, born in Northampton at the end of the sixteenth century. According to other publications by his hand, he lived quite some time in Amsterdam, where he presumably learned Dutch, before he moved to London in 1630 (Van der Sijs, 2004, p. 263). Knowing he is a foreigner, who is not as proficient in Dutch as other codifiers in this corpus, he positions himself in a humble manner in his *Grammatica ofte Leez-leerlings Steunsel* 'Grammar to support reading', which is published by Evertsz. Kloppenburgh in Amsterdam. The references to other grammarians are omnipresent. The author thus clearly indicates that he is indebted to other norm givers (Dafforne, 1627, pp. 155-156). His sources of inspiration include De Heuter (1581), Spiegel (1584), Van Heule (1625, 1633) and Van Niervaart (1669). Since the references from earlier grammars and spelling guides are generally very explicit, Dafforne's work can be read as a compilation of existing Northern-oriented language prescriptions (De Vooy, 1917, p. 214; Dibbets, 1977, p. 41). The grammar is thus not innovative

²⁰ Especially the version from 1633 is more comprehensive, as the first edition (1625) only discusses 5 pages of spelling and 12 pages of prosody, compared to respectively 111 and 141 pages in 1633. Van Heule (1625) argued that orthography was already sufficiently discussed by other codifiers (Dibbets, 1977, pp. 50-51).

content-wise but is perhaps more accessible for the wider audience compared to previous normative works, as the book is aimed at schoolteachers to help their pupils learn to read in Dutch. The 156-page work is compiled as a dialogue between L. (*Lees-ghier*, 'one who is eager to read') and B. (*Berichter*, 'messenger'), and mostly discusses spelling issues. In between the language prescriptions we find some didactic ideas as well.

Ampzing (1628)

An important normative publication in the seventeenth century is written by Samuel Ampzing (1590 – 1632), a Calvinist preacher in the city of Haarlem. Already in his student years, in 1616, Ampzing published *Het Lof der Stadt Haerlem in Holland* 'The laudation of the city Haarlem in Holland'. A reissue of the book appeared in 1621, and in 1628, it is published with the title *Beschryvinge ende Lof der Stad Haerlem in Holland* 'Description and laudation of the city Haarlem in Holland'. As a prologue to the latter version, the author composed *Nederlandsch Tael-bericht Aen Den Goedwilligen/ ende ver-standigen Lezer/ ende Lief-hebber van onse Nederduytsche Tale* 'Dutch language report for the benevolent and well-informed reader and for the admirer of our Dutch language' (henceforth: *Nederlandsch Tael-bericht*) (Zwaan, 1939, p. 22). The first edition of the language advice book consists of 50 pages of prescriptions and is thus part of a larger book that discusses different writings related to the Hollandic city. Only in 1649, *Nederlandsch Tael-bericht* is reissued with slight changes by Christiaen van Heule. Although it is years after his death, Ampzing's voice still echoes through the book. In the preface, Van Heule (1649, p. 5) explains why the language report is reprinted in separate form.

Dat selve [is] een groot en kostelijk boek, dat yder niet gelegen en is te kopen, ende te bekostigen: so hebbe ik [...] Tael-bericht aldus alleen tot nut vanden gemeynen man doen drucken

'Beschryvinge ende Lof der Stad Haerlem in Holland is a large and expensive book. Not everyone is able to buy and finance it. That is why I decided to publish Tael-bericht for the ordinary men only'

It is no surprise that especially Van Heule took care of the reissue. Both authors appreciated each other's work (Caron, 1953, p. xx). Affected by the principles of De Hubert (1624) and Van Heule (1625), Ampzing's intention was to purify the written language by establishing language norms, and specifically in the domain of orthography (De Vooy, 1917, pp. 278-279; Zwaan, 1939, p. 24). The book's preponderance is thus clearly fixed on spelling, yet some morphological features, such as the inflection of nouns and pronouns, are also dealt with. Rather than creating a fully-fledged normative resource, the author's purpose is to justify his own language use, just like De Hubert (1624) did a few years before him (Dibbets, 1977, p. 49). In his prescriptions, Ampzing (1628) does not ignore ordinary usage, but admits that the language of intellectuals should always be pursued (cf. Ampzing, 1628; Dibbets, 1977, p. 48).

Plemp (1632)

One of P.C. Hooft's closest friends, Cornelis Gijsbertsz. Plemp (1574 – 1638), a lawyer by profession and a mediocre poet, wrote a new collection of poetry in 1631. A year later, he justifies the spelling applied in his literary work in *Speldwerk of waerschouinge an den Neerduitschen Schrijver van den spelding* 'Spelling or warning to the Dutch writer of spelling' (henceforth: *Speldwerk*), which is published in Amsterdam by Adriaen Hoflant. Plemp's main concern is the orthography that is proposed 50 years earlier. Referring to Spiegel (1584), he claims that the spelling prescriptions are too far-reaching in leaving the older writing tradition behind. He therefore advocates 15 instructions in hope to reintroduce his preferred, old way of spelling (Dibbets, 1977, p. 42). It is striking, however, that Plemp is not always loyal to his own regulations. In the proposition to write *heb-en* instead of *hebben* 'to have', he must have overlooked his own language use when consistently applying the double-consonant spelling himself. This indicates how common the doubling of the grapheme already was (Van der Sijs, 2004, p. 268). From the other proposed norms, one can generally deduce a preference for a phonetic spelling, based on the orthographic conventions that were in use before 1584 in the North of the language area (Dibbets, 1977, p. 42). The spelling guide is never reprinted, but in 1637, Plemp translates his work into Latin and reissues it in enlarged form as *Orthographia Belgica*.²¹ It is reasonable to

²¹ The original version consists of 15 pages, whereas the Latin edition comprises 48 pages and 24 spelling regulations. The reprint is not included in the corpus of normative works.

assume that both the original work and the reprint are written for an elite audience as an attempt to convince writers and other grammarians to change their spelling back to traditional and older writing practices (cf. Plemp, 1632, p. 3).

Montanus (1635)

A rather exceptional book in the precept corpus is *Bericht van een nieuwe konst, genaemt de spreekkonst* 'Report of a new art, called the art of speaking' (henceforth: *Spreekkonst*), that appeared in 1635 at the presses of Ian Pietersz. Waalpot in Delft. The author is Petrus Montanus (1595 – 1638), a preacher from Delft who wrote the book for usage in schools. The peculiarity of the work lies in its complete overview of the seventeenth-century phonetics of Dutch; something that was never discussed before in any of the normative works. In the author's opinion, one should first learn how to pronounce words correctly, before one can move on to reading and writing. That is why Montanus thought this book would be an asset in the teaching practice (Dibbets, 1977, p. 60). In the preface, the author explicitly addresses the policymakers in Holland and western Friesland and pleads to introduce his book in schools (Montanus, 1635, pp. *2-*3). Yet, the work provides a detailed and technical description of the articulation and the speech organ and it consists of many unfamiliar linguistic designations that were not in use in the seventeenth century (Dibbets, 1977, p. 61; p. 69). This all suggests that Montanus's work was not accessible enough to be applied in schools (Van der Sijs, 2004, p. 157).

De Gelliers (1661) [± 1640]

Whereas most of the normative works in the corpus only experienced one or two reprints, a few books enjoyed a tremendous number of reissues across multiple centuries. One of these works is *Trap der Jeugd* 'Stairs of youth' by Carel de Gelliers (? – 1644), a schoolteacher in Leeuwarden in the upper north of the language area.²² The first print of the book is not preserved but it probably appeared in 1640 in Leeuwarden (Dibbets, 1977, p. 99). A second edition

²² Full title: *Trap der Jeugd of Letter en Leeskunsts onderwys: synde een nette en effene maniere, om Jonge en Oude licht en bondig te leeren spellen en leesen*. 'Stairs of youth for the education of writing and reading: being a decent manner to succinctly teach youngsters and older people how to spell and read'.

followed in 1661, fifteen years after the author deceased. This version is edited and printed by Johannes Arcerius, also in the province of Friesland. More than 25 reissues, spread over Holland and the upper Northern region of the Netherlands, ultimately emerged during the eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The last edition, edited by D. Nyland, rolled off the presses in 1808 (Dibbets, 1977, p. 352). The (sub)title of the book knows many variations across all reprints but the content stays more or less the same. If changes are made, it is in terms of reformulations or additions of word lists and prayers. As the book is used in education, it cannot just be read as a grammar or a traditional spelling guide. It mainly discusses large sequences of word lists to help the pupils with reading and writing (Dibbets, 1977, p. 99). Like many similar seventeenth-century schoolbooks, *Trap der Jeugd* also discusses moral lessons and prayers (Rutten, 2011, p. 45). Given the target audience and the large number of (cheap) reprints, this schoolbook had a place in many classes and households (Blok & Molhuysen, 1911). The book was probably not only read by children in schools but also by their (lower-educated) relatives.

The second edition of the work (1661) that I am considering in this dissertation, contains a preface by Petrus Leupenius. In the preface to the work, Johannes Arcerius points out that the proposed spelling of Leupenius should be followed. He explicitly addresses the schoolteachers in *Vriesland, soo inde Steeden als ten platten lande* 'Friesland, both in cities and in the countryside' (De Gelliers, 1661, Voor-reeden A3). I can thus assume that the work was aimed at people in the upper Northern region only, yet later editions of the book also appeared in the region of Holland (e.g. Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, etc.).

Kók (1649)

In 1639, a concise and schematically designed school grammar appeared at the presses of Johannes Troost in Amsterdam. The 58-page book was written by Allardus Lodewijk Kók (1616 – 1653), a Hollandic philosophy professor and a translator of multiple Latin publications. For the latter job, he is well-known due to his avoidance of foreign words in the Dutch translations (Van der Sijs, 2004, p. 378). This purist nature is also expressed in his *Ont-werp Der Neder-duitsche Letter-konst* 'Design of the Dutch spelling', in which he managed to translate all

grammatical concepts – formerly described in Latin – into Dutch.²³ Although some of these designations derive from earlier codifiers (De Vooy, 1920, pp. 48-49), the author is praised for his effort in the development of the vernacular as an independent (scientific) language (Dibbets, 1981, pp. xxiv-xxvi). Since Kók clearly based his work on Van Heule (1625, 1633) (Geerts, 1966, p. 85), the book is sometimes negatively depicted because of its recapitulation of previous Latin and Northern normative works (Dibbets, 1981, pp. xxxi-xxxiii). Kók may therefore not be an independent observer of the language himself (De Vooy, 1920, p. 50), but his work is appreciated by Moonen (1706), Zeydelaar (1772) and still in the nineteenth century by IJpeij (1812) (Dibbets, 1981, p. xxix). While the book is never reprinted, De Vooy (1920, p. 50) characterises it as *de brug die Van Heule naar Moonen voert* ‘the bridge that leads Van Heule to Moonen’, emphasising its importance within the period of Trivium grammar (Rutten, 2013, pp. 272-274). Thus, as expected, not many new prescriptions are laid down by the author. In addition to that, the structure of the grammar is quite traditional, as deals with orthography, prosody, etymology and morphosyntax in chronological order.

Van der Weyden (1651)

Another work meant for use in primary education is *Inleydinge tot een vast-gegronde Nederduytsche Letter-stelling* ‘Introduction to a grounded Dutch spelling’. The schoolbook is published in Utrecht by weduwe Dirk van Rijsbeek in 1651. The author is Dirckz. Van der Weyden (? – ?), who wrote the 47-page book as an aid in reading and writing (Rutten, 2011, p. 46). This way, the schoolteacher could help the pupils learn to spell and pronounce letters and sounds correctly (Rutten, 2011, p. 90). According to the author, the book does not only come in handy for students, but also adults can apply the language guide as they please (Van der Weyden, 1651, p. 3). In terms of content, the schoolbook does not offer new language prescriptions, but it implements norms of previous codifiers who *dapperlijk gezweet hebbe* ‘sweat bravely’ to improve the Dutch language (Van der Weyden, 1651, p. 7). The author specifically refers to the

²³ Full title: *Ont-werp Der Neder-duitsche Letter-konst. Uit de Natuur der Neder-duische Taal/ de redelijke ghe-woonte en 't ghe-bruik der ghoede Schrijvers/ ten besten van alle Lief-hebbers der zelve in de noódigste Uyt-beeldingen/ Schif-tingen en Ghrondt-reeghelen t' zaâm-ghe-stelt/ door A.L. Kók* ‘Design of the Dutch spelling. From the nature of the Dutch language, the reasonable habits and the usage of good writers, in the first place meant for all lovers of the Dutch language with essential illustrations, distinctions and precepts, composed by A.L. Kók’.

Twe-spraack (1584), Van der Schuere (1612), and De Gelliers (1661) to compose the spelling regulations in his book.

Leupenius (1653)

The in England born Petrus Leupenius (1607 – 1670), was a clergyman in Holland, first in Leiden and later in Amsterdam, where he practiced the profession until his death (Dibbets, 1999, p. 113). Besides theology, he was interested in the development of the Dutch language. In 1651, he published the bulky work *De geessel der sonden* ‘The scourge of sins’, in which the author turns against loan words in Dutch, clearly being influenced by Spiegel’s *Twe-spraack* (1584) and also by Christiaen van Heule (1625, 1633) (Caron, 1958, p. xi; Dibbets, 1999, pp. 113-114). His second publication, *Aanmerkingen op de Nederduitsche taale* ‘Remarks on the Dutch language’, appeared two years later at the presses of Hendryk Donker in Amsterdam. In this 80-page book, Leupenius proposes comments on the works of earlier codifiers, such as Spiegel (1584), De Hubert (1612), Van Heule (1625, 1633), Ampzing (1628) and Kók (1649) (Caron, 1958, p. xiii). Building on Van Heule, who only strived for uniformity in writing, Leupenius goes beyond that and advocates a common spoken language as a neutral variety, in addition to the regionally marked vernaculars (Rutten, 2019, p. 114). He thereby proposes one ‘unmarked’ variety that is preferred above the other regional dialects. By erasing all alternative variants, the author arrives at the alleged neutral language that is found in highly respected literature and in other printed books. Leupenius thus argues that the ‘neutral’ spoken variety should be based on the written language use of the Hollandic writers Vondel and Hooft.

Most attention in Leupenius’s work is paid to spelling, and specifically to the doubling of vowels and consonants, where the author generally follows the phonological principle (Caron, 1958, p. xvii). However, in open syllables, he chooses the morphological principle and prescribes a single-grapheme spelling in words like *dagen* of which the singular form is *dag* ‘day’. When there is a stressed open syllable in the singular form, he opts for the double-grapheme spelling (e.g. *vaader* instead of *vader* ‘father’) (Caron, 1958, p. xvii; Van der Sijs, 2004, p. 272). The latter prescription was not common in the seventeenth century and was therefore often criticised by fellow norm givers. Joost van den Vondel, for example, reacted polemical on Leupenius in his *Noodigh Berecht over*

de nieuwe Nederduitsche misspellinge 'Necessary message on the new Dutch spelling mistake' (1654), that was added to the print of the famous play *Lucifer*.

Bolognino (1657)

The corpus of normative works only comprises one seventeenth-century work from the Southern Netherlands. The spelling guide, *Ni'uwe noodeliicke orthographie* 'New necessary orthography', is a 40-page book that is published in Antwerpen by Jacobus Mesens in 1657.²⁴ Guilielmus Bolognino (1590 – 1669), a canon monk and priest in the city of Antwerpen, is the author of the work. The idea of writing this spelling guide was conceived when the author tried to translate the Latin bible into Dutch (Bolognino, 1657, p. 3; Dibbets, 1977 p. 40). Encountering spelling difficulties when pondering on the representation of certain sounds, Bolognino proposed spelling regulations based on what he considered the best variety of Dutch: the vernacular spoken in Antwerpen (Bolognino, 1657, p. 8). Alike the Southern codifiers from the sixteenth century, Lambrecht (Gent) and Sexagius (Brabant), Bolognino pleads for a phonetic spelling, in which every grapheme represents one sound (Rutten, 2011, p. 85; Bolognino, 1657, p. 5). Bolognino's work is thus still locally oriented. His spelling prescriptions are therefore rather odd at times that Northern codifiers were already striving for a supraregional language. Nonetheless, the Southern poet and priest, Godefridus Bouvaert, still applied Bolognino's spelling system around 1712, implying that he at least had some impact in the Southern part of the language area (Rutten, 2011, pp. 199-200).

Van Atteveld (1682)

In 1650, Johan van Atteveld ([±1600] – [1674]) wrote a very brief spelling guide, called *Wat nius. D'oude vry-eygen letter-klanc* 'Something new. The old free and unique letter sound'. The book was printed by Van Paddenburgh in Utrecht and consists of only eight pages describing the spelling of vowels. The book does not provide sufficient explicit language prescriptions to be included in the corpus of

²⁴ Full title: *Ni'uwe noodeliicke orthographie, Tot het schrijven en't drucken van onse Neder-duytse Tale: Sonder vvelke het eyghen gheluydt der vvórdén oft sillaben der selve, nit en kan uytghedruckt vvorden, noch de verscheydenyheydt der vvór-den in't geluydt ende beteekenisse*. 'New necessary orthography, for the writing and printing of our Dutch language: without it, the particular sound of words and syllables cannot be expressed, nor can the distinction between words concerning the sound and meaning'.

normative works. However, after the death of the author, a reissue appeared in 1682 at the press of Rudolph van Zijl in Utrecht. The title of the work is changed to *Nederduytsche Letterklank, ofte Korte onderwyzinge van de Nederduytsche spelling* ‘Dutch sound of letters, or a short teaching of the Dutch spelling’. In the preface, one reads that Van Atteveld (1682, p. 2) thought his first book needed some corrections. He therefore decided to edit and reissue the spelling guide as a schoolbook. The publication appeared only after he deceased on request of some language enthusiasts. The second edition is larger, but still consists of only eleven pages. This book offers a more detailed discussion of spelling issues. As opposed to the first work, the reprint examines enough orthographic features to include the schoolbook in the corpus of normative works. Although the number of language prescriptions remains limited, Van Atteveld generally relates to the Northern normative tradition. Different from other grammarians, is his proposition to double all graphemes in every long vowel, which results in the <aa>-spelling – something which multiple Northern codifiers agree on – but he also prescribes <ii> to represent the long /i/, which is not common at all (Van Atteveld, 1682, p. 3).

Gosens van Helderer (1683)

Another book meant for usage in schools in the Northern Netherlands is written by Johannes Gosens van Helderer (? – ?). A first edition of his *Neerduitse Spelkonst* ‘Dutch spelling’ seem to have appeared already in 1679, but the title page of this book mentions *Gedrukt voor den Auteur* ‘printed for the author’. Some reference works (e.g. Dibbets, 1977, p. 41) mention that the actual first edition was printed only in 1683 by Jacob vande Velde in Amsterdam. The edition from 1683 was probably printed in a larger impression, which is why I consider this book in the corpus. The schoolbook consists of 16 pages and discusses 12 spelling lessons. Besides the elaboration on letters and sounds, the author demonstrates the differences between the old and new ways of spelling, such as *vis* instead of *visch* ‘fish’ (Gosens van Helderer, 1683, p. 10). In all examples, he opts for brevity. Other enumerations that are dealt with include a word list with the pronunciation and meaning of foreign words, as well as a discussion on punctuation marks. Although the author is aware of variation in language use, Gosens van Helderer seems to prefer the Northern spelling.

Winschooten (1683)

Wigardus à Winschooten (1639 – ± 1685) was born in Amsterdam, where he went to the Latin school, but he moved to Leiden afterwards to become a schoolteacher. Being fond of the Dutch language, he published a dictionary of sailor jargon: *Seeman* ‘Sailor’ in 1681. In 1683, his *Letterkonst* ‘Spelling’ appeared in Leiden. It should have been the first part of a larger grammar work, but later elaborations were never published (Van der Sijs, 2004, p. 277). This 78-page book is subdivided in different chapters, which all discuss spelling features. Besides an alphabetical explanation of all letters and their orthographical challenges, the author briefly discusses syllables and accents. In his prescriptions, the author generally follows the seventeenth-century Northern tradition, by supporting the uniformity principle and the idea that good usage can only derive from one language variety: the language of elite writers from Holland (Dibbets, 1977, p. 42; Van der Sijs, 2004, p. 278). Moreover, just like in Greek, Winschooten (1683, p.74) distinguishes different dialectal regions. The division into Southern (Vlaanderen and Brabant), Western (Zeeland and Holland), Eastern (Gelderland, Overijssel) and Northern (Groningen and Friesland) varieties reminds of De Heuter’s classification (1581) (Rutten, 2019, pp. 114-115). Although the author is thus aware of different language varieties across the Netherlands, Winschooten clearly prefers the Hollandic variety for the standard language.

Vollenhove (1686)

An authoritative figure in the Northern normative tradition is Joannes Vollenhove (1631 – 1708). He was not only a minister in the north-western region of the Northern Netherlands and later in Den Haag, but he also wrote sermons and was regarded as a meritorious poet. In fact, he is considered ‘the artistic son of Vondel’ (Dibbets, 2003b). Both authors indeed had an incredible appreciation for each other; Vondel was fond of Vollenhove’s poetry and likewise was Vollenhove influenced by Vondel, both thematically in his literary work and linguistically when providing language advice (Dibbets, 2003a, p. 106; Rutten, 2019, pp. 11-12; p. 83). The impact of Vondel is also clear in the poem *Aan de Nederduitsche schryvers* ‘To the Dutch writers’, in which Vollenhove discusses

language issues in 320 lines of verse.²⁵ The author reviews both the orthography and different aspects of morphology. In terms of orthography, Vollenhove almost exclusively follows Vondel's linguistic practice (Dibbets, 2003b, p. 42). He prefers the spoken variety over the written variety, and he also criticises the stiltedness of poets and opts for a simple writing style without abundant words. Vollenhove (1686, pp. 571-572) argues:

*Pöeten zelfs [...]
of rymers, die zo heten,
Verlegen om te vinden maat en rym,
En hecht aan een te smeren, als met lym,
Bezwalken d'eer der kunst met dees gebreken,
En wanen noch Parnassus taal te spreken.*

'Even poets
or rhymers, who are called alike,
Shy to find beat and rhyme,
And connect one to the other, as with glue,
Tarnish the honour of art with these faults,
And pretend to speak Parnassus's language.'

The citation above emphasises the elite target audience of Vollenhove's work. He explicitly addresses other writers and poets. This attempt appears successful, as his poem is referenced by different grammarians in the eighteenth century (Dibbets, 1995, p. 155). In addition, he was often approached by other writers and grammarians for linguistic advice. For example, he acted as a mentor for Jacobus Nylöe (Dibbets, 2003a, pp. 101-102; Dibbets, 2003b, pp. 19-20). As such, Vollenhove was generally considered a 'renowned connoisseur of the Dutch language' (Dibbets, 2003a, p. 128).

Duykerius (1696)

A schoolbook to be used particularly in a smaller part of the Netherlands only is *Schouburgh der Needer-Duytsche letter, spel en leeskonst* 'Theatre of Dutch letter, spelling and reading', which appeared in Amsterdam in 1696. Like other language books that were meant for use in primary schools, the aim of this book

²⁵ Although the poem was already written in 1678, it only appeared in the bundle *Poëzy* 'Poetry' that was published in 1686 by Boom in Amsterdam (Dibbets, 1991, p. 34).

is to help pupils with the basic practice of reading and writing. Unlike similar publications, the book explicitly mentions that it is meant to be used in schools in the province of Holland and the western part of Friesland (Duykerius, 1696). The author, the theologian and Spinozist Johannes Duykerius (ca. 1661 – 1702), argues that previous schoolbooks contained several mistakes and foreign words. He thereby specifically criticises the works of De Gelliers (1661) and Winschooten (1683) (Duykerius, 1696). The schoolbook consists of 88 pages, is divided in small chapters and it mainly deals with spelling prescriptions, lists of glossaries, a discussion on interpunction and some moral-philosophical sayings. In his language norms, Duykerius generally follows the Northern tradition (Rutten, 2011, p. 90). Whether and to what extent Duykerius's work is used and spread across the country is not known. Yet, the schoolbook at least had an impact on Gillis De Witte, who is also known as E.C.P., when he wrote his grammar in 1713 (Dibbets, 2003a, p. 156).

Hakvoord (1746) [1697]

There is no doubt that Barend Hakvoord (1652 – 1735) was a much-discussed and controversial person in the seventeenth century. This precentor and catechist from Zwolle published some religious and linguistic books towards the end of the seventeenth and in the beginning of the eighteenth century. He also ventured into Spinozist circles, something that led to his eventual accusation. This impeachment led to a ban on publishing any of his religious works from 1708 onwards (Van der Wal, 2017, p. 304). The language books, however, continued to be printed. These works are briefly described below.

The author wrote three language guides: *Gemeene zend-brieven* 'General letters', which was first published in 1696, *De nieuwe Nederduitse spel-, lees- en schryf-kunst* (1746 [1697]) 'The new Dutch art of spelling, reading and writing', and lastly, *Oprecht onderwys van de letter-kunst* 'True education of spelling', which probably appeared around 1702 (Van der Wal, 2017). These books were all printed in large impressions and were reprinted until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While the first book offers guidelines on how to write letters, and is therefore less interesting for this study, the other two are more oriented towards spelling and correct language use. *De nieuwe Nederduitse spel-, lees- en schryf-kunst* (1746) appeared as a new schoolbook, because earlier schoolbooks, such as the ones of Van Niervaart (1669) and De Gelliers (1661),

were – according to the author – full of mistakes and foreign words (Van der Wal, 2017, p. 307). The book consists of 96 pages, and in terms of content, it is similar to previous schoolbooks. Besides glossaries, writing instructions and a description of interpunction, Hakvoord presents an alphabetical discussion of spelling prescriptions. Some grammatical issues, such as the difference between personal pronoun *hem* ‘him’ and reflexive pronoun *zich* ‘oneself’, are illustrated in *Kort Taal-Berigt* ‘Short language report’ (pp. 81-85). However, it appears that not only the title of this small chapter is literally borrowed from Ampzing’s *Nederlandsch Tael-bericht* (1628), also the prescriptions in this part are copied from his predecessor (Van der Wal, 2017, p. 312).

The most recent language book by the hand of Hakvoord, *Oprecht onderwys van de letter-konst*, is nothing more than a concise version of *De nieuwe Nederduitse spel-, lees- en schryf-kunst* (1746). It has the same structure with glossaries, writing instructions and the copied *Kort Taal-Berigt*, only the discussion of spelling norms is lacking (Van der Wal, 2017, p. 310). I therefore consider the first, and most complete edition of the schoolbook in the corpus of normative works, i.e. *De nieuwe Nederduitse spel-, lees- en schryf-kunst*. After the earliest preserved edition of this book, that appeared in 1746 by Abraham van Wezel in Deventer, there are at least eight, barely modified reissues that followed up until 1800 (Van der Wal, 2017, p. 307). That many reprints appeared in a period of 50 years suggests how immensely the schoolbook must have been used in the Northern Netherlands. Yet, it seems that all reprints in the period 1746-1800 were published in the north-western region of the Northern Netherlands (Groningen, Leeuwarden, Deventer), which could imply that the schoolbook only knew a rather confined regional spread.²⁶

Francius (1699)

Petrus Francius (1645 – 1704) was a respected man who practiced different professions. Within the region of Amsterdam, he was a poet, a gifted orator and a professor of classical eloquence. His orations and poems were both written in Latin and Dutch, yet he was also fluent in Greek. In 1699, he translated an oration of the fourth-century church father Gregorius den Nanzianzener from Greek into

²⁶ In the preface of the book, Hakvoord (1746, Voorreden) mentions that he does not aim to spread the work across the whole country, as it is impossible to have everyone apply the same spelling system.

Dutch. Not only did he provide the translation of *Van de mededeelzaamheid* 'About the mercifulness for the poor', but he also offered a report on his applied language use as a preface to the book and a note to the reader (Dibbets, 1995, p. 151). This linguistic commentary of 74 pages is called *Aan den lezer* 'To the reader' and envisions an elite readership of (future) clergymen (Dibbets, 1995, p. 178). The report mainly discusses spelling issues that writers would not make if they would read the works of the best writers (Dibbets, 1995, p. 156; Rutten, 2019, p. 84). While focused on a high-class audience and a specific genre of texts (i.e. sermons), Francius (1699, pp. 35-37) argues that the variety used in poetry and prose should be considered the best language use. As a matter of course, both Moonen and Vollenhove had an impact on Francius (Dibbets, 2003a, pp. 117-120). In fact, Francius even sent his manuscript with language norms to Vollenhove with the message: *om van u, die meester in deeze kunst zyt, gelezen en verbeterd te worden* 'to be read and corrected by you, who masters this art' (Dibbets, 2003a, p. 118). However, also Francius is seen as an important source in the development of the Dutch language. Multiple grammarians in the eighteenth century refer to his work, and he was also involved in the preparations of Moonen's grammar (1706) (Dibbets, 1995, pp. 151-153).

Van Geesdalle (1700)

After a long period of only Northern normative works, a new Southern grammar appears in 1700 at the presses of Maximilien Graet in Gent.²⁷ The title of the work already gives an impression of the structure of the book:

Le parallèle de la grammaire Des deux Langues Française & Fla-mende, contenant en abrégé toutes les règles fondamentales de ces deux Langues

De vergelykinge van de spraek-konste Der twee Talen de Fransche ende de Vlaemsche, behelzende in het kort alle de Gront-regels deser twee Talen

'The comparison of the grammar of two languages French and Dutch, briefly comprising all foundations of these two languages'

Since we are dealing with a contrastive grammar of Dutch and French, it is not surprising that the author is bilingual. Jacques-François Van Geesdalle (1672 –

²⁷ See Boone (2000, p. 336) for a discussion on the date of printing. The applied edition in this study dates back from 1700. The book mentions 1699 as the date of approbation.

1748), was born in the French-speaking Hainaut (part of present-day Wallonia), but moved to Gent, where he probably kept a boarding school (Willems, 1824, p. 37). After the publication of his grammar, he became a schoolteacher in the Flemish cities Waregem and Tielt (Boone, 2000). The author's profession also explains the didactic approach of the work, which suggests that Van Geesdalle probably applied the book in his own teaching practice. With its 309 pages, the grammar is more comprehensive compared to the typical schoolbooks that were published in the middle of the seventeenth century. It is thus reasonable to assume that the author had a broader audience in mind, ranging from adults who wanted to increase their proficiency in the mother tongue, to second-language learners aiming to become fluent in Dutch or French (Boone, 2000, p. 338). In terms of structure, the book is fully oriented towards Dutch and French readers. It discusses the same language prescriptions in French, in the left-hand column, and in Dutch, on the right-hand side of the page. The three large chapters of the book include a first part on spelling and pronunciation, a second – most substantial – part on morphology, and a last chapter on syntax. The proposed language norms are clearly distinct from what can be observed in Northern normative works (Rutten, 2011, p. 118). Also Willems (1824, p. 37) also recognises the book as a real Southern grammar that had some influence on language use, although this influence is probably limited to the region of Vlaanderen.

Nylöe (1703) & (1707)

Jacobus Nylöe (1670 – 1714), a preacher and poet from the north-east of the Northern Netherlands, is seen as the pupil of Joannes Vollenhove (Rutten, 2019, p. 84). Submissive to Vollenhove's linguistic ideas, Nylöe wrote his *Aanleiding tot de Nederduitsche Taal* 'Incentive to the Dutch language', that was published in 1703 by Gerardus Borstius in Amsterdam.²⁸ The work can be considered a stylistic guide that also comments on spelling, morphological inflection and good language use in general (De Bonth & Dibbets, 1995, p. 19).

Four years later, in 1707, an enhanced edition of the work appears at the presses of Hero Nauta in Leeuwarden. This time, the name of the author is announced

²⁸ The name of the author is not mentioned in the work. On the title page is mentioned *Door een Liefhebber dezer tale ten nutte zyner Landtgenoten opgesteld*, 'Composed by a lover of this language for the benefit of his fellow countrymen'.

below the preface but still not on the front page. The title of the book remains the same and the subtitle mentions *Merkelyk vermeerdert* 'significantly increased'. The 43 pages of the first print are indeed more than doubled in the second edition, which now consists of 90 pages of language prescriptions and an annex of 32 pages about proverbs and expressions. The added chapters in the second edition mostly deal with style and do not include explicit language prescriptions. The resumed parts of the work, however, are revised and amply expanded with discussions of additional linguistic features.

In 1711, again four years later, another reprint appears at the same printing house. This version is identical to the second print, except for an added sequel of 36 pages, that deals with a few remarks on the spelling of diphthongs and long vowels, the gender of nouns and some more examples of proverbs. The latest edition of the work is reprinted five times in the eighteenth century, without any more changes in the content of the book. Compared to the first three prints, which all appeared in the north-western region of the Northern Netherlands, all later reissues are published in Amsterdam, which implies that the style guide spread from the upper north of the language area to region of Holland. As the second reprint (1707) is extensively reworked compared to the first edition (1703), both the first and the second print are considered in the precept corpus. The third version (1711) is only slightly different from the second print and does not discuss many additional linguistic features. It is therefore not included in the corpus of normative works.

The stylistic prescriptions in *Aanleiding tot de Nederduitsche Taal* are illustrated by citations from the most famous writers (Van der Sijs, 2004, p. 422). Not only Hooft and Vondel, but also Moonen and Vollenhove are listed as main examples of good language use (Nylöe, 1707, p. 4).²⁹ Nylöe (1703, pp. 3-4) convincingly argues which other language praxis writers should follow:

²⁹ Although Nylöe (1707, p. 4) considers Moonen as one of the best writers, he does not agree with all the linguistic ideas that are proposed in Moonen's grammar, especially not regarding spelling. For an elucidation on this matter, I refer to Dibbets (2003a, pp. 121-126), who discusses the correspondence between Vollenhove and Nylöe that is related to the appearance of Moonen's *Nederduitsche Spraekkunst* (1706).

Men kan en moet hier ook met het gebruik te rade gaan, en onderzoeken hoe de taal doorgaans gesproken wort by menschen die hier keurig en net op zyn; het geen men nergens beter dan in Hollant vint, daar de Nederduitsche taal best en aangenaamst gesproken wort, inzonderheit by menschen van aanzien, en die hier hun werk van maken.

‘One should also consider usage and investigate how the language is generally spoken by people who are neat on their language; something one will not find better than in Holland, where the Dutch language is spoken best and most appealingly, especially by people of standing, and by those who do this by profession.’

Hilarides (1705)

In 1705, in the upper Northern region of the language area, in the province of Friesland, appeared a grammar entitled:

Nieuwe Taalgronden Der Neederduitsche Taal; Weegens het Gebruik der Voorleedekens/ de/ den: die; deeze/ dit/ dat/ het; en de Neederlantsche Woordrekkinge: voor Daavid van Hoochstraaten Med. Doct. En conrector t' Amsterdam

‘New linguistic grounds of the Dutch language; for the usage of the articles *de / den: die; deeze/ dit/ dat/ het;* and the lengthening of Dutch words: for Daavid van Hoochstraaten Med. Doct. and vice rector in Amsterdam’

The author of the book is Johannes Hilarides (± 1648 – 1726), a Frisian rector at the Latin school and a book seller, who wrote his grammar as a rebuttal on the well-known gender list of his opponent, David van Hoogstraten, which appeared in Amsterdam five years earlier. The author’s main exasperation lies in Van Hoogstraten’s choice to prescribe the literary norm of the writers Hooft and Vondel. According to Hilarides, the Hollandic language gets too much credit, whereas the varieties spoken in the other Northern provinces should also be considered. It is the Frisian variety that he chooses for the supraregional norm (Rutten, 2006, p. 379; Rutten, 2019, p. 197). This preference is clear in his 63-page work, in which the author mainly discusses grammatical features and illustrates, for example:

*Zoo zal een Hollander zeg-gen / paard, vaardig, naarstig, baard, staart, gaarne.
Een Geldersman alles met (æ) paerd, vaerdig, enz. Maar in de gemee-ne taal / is
dat alles met (ee) peerd, veerdig maar in't Friesch is feerdig*
(Hilarides, 1705, p. 20)

'An inhabitant from Holland will say *paard, vaardig, naarstig, baard, staart, gaarne*. A man from Gelderland will say everything with (æ) *paerd, vaerdig*, etc. But in the common language is all that spelled with (ee) *peerd, veerdig* but in Frisian it is *feerdig*'

Because of the Frisian-based language prescriptions, Hilarides's work is coarsely criticised by Van Hoogstraten (1711, p. 158), who blames *een botterik in Vrieslant* 'a blunt man in Friesland' for disparaging the authority of the Hollandic literary writers (Rutten, 2006, pp. 378-379; Dibbets, 1996, pp. 62-65). Although the author prescribes a less-common Northern variety as the norm, note that the Southern varieties (of Brabant and Vlaanderen) are not mentioned at all. This again emphasises the prominent role of the North of the language area, and especially the region of Holland in the normative tradition of Dutch.

Moonen (1706)

The *Nederduitsche Spraekkunst* 'Dutch grammar' of Arnold Moonen (1644 – 1711) is perhaps one of the most well-known normative publications in the history of Dutch. After several decades without a new Northern grammar, the Amsterdam printer François Halma encouraged Moonen to write a comprehensive work in which language norms were laid down again. The minister from Deventer started writing the grammar in 1697. He initially aspired to publish the work in 1700 but it only rolled off Halma's presses in 1706 (Dibbets, 2003a, p. 116). Following the belief that grammar must serve literature, Moonen occupies an eminent position in the tradition of grammarians who aim their language norms at the highest ranks of society (Rutten, 2009, p. 57). Alike other codifiers in this tradition, the author's norms derive from the language use in the literary works of P.C. Hooft and Joost van den Vondel (Rutten, 2019, pp. 84-85).

With its 359 pages of language prescriptions, the grammar is the most extensive normative work in the corpus so far. The author splits up the book into *Woortgronding* and *Woortvoeging* (Schaars, 1988, pp. 76-77). The first part of

the work is devoted to spelling (44 pages), including remarks on pronunciation and prosody. Morphological issues, such as the inflection and gender of nouns, comprise the biggest part of the work (211 pages) and are also addressed in the chapters covered by *Woortgronding*. The last 88 pages deal with syntax and are attached to the concept *Woortvoeging*.³⁰ Although the grammarian offers a detailed discussion of the linguistic features, his reliance on the famous literary authors is again apparent when he copies examples from Vondel's prose to illustrate his syntactic arguments (Schaars, 1988, pp. 59-63). Nevertheless, Moonen is considered one of the most influential codifiers of the eighteenth century. Many grammarians, such as Van Belle (1748, 1755), Elzevier (1761), De Haes (1763) and Van der Palm (1769), deeply respected the author and took his book as a basis for their own normative works (Rutten, 2011, p. 34).

Séwel (1708) and (1712)

In the early years of the eighteenth century, a high number of important normative works appeared (Rutten, 2019, p. 54). Willem Séwel (1654 – 1720) also contributed to the production of these works. The writer and translator, from English descent but born in the Low Countries, wrote different dictionaries and grammars for second-language learners of English and Dutch (De Bonth & Dibbets, 1995, p. 49). His insights into the linguistics of his mother tongue are covered in multiple of his contributions to the journal *De Boekzaal* 'The Library', which were published between 1700 and 1708 (Dibbets, 1977, pp. 65-66). It is also in 1708 that the author's full grammar of Dutch appears at the presses of Assuerus Lansvelt in Amsterdam. In his *Nederduytsche spraakkonst* 'Dutch grammar', Séwel (1708) emphasises that he carefully read the books of Moonen (1706) and Nylöe (1703), and he also praises the language of the literary authors Hooft and Vondel. Compared to other grammarians, who only target their language prescriptions to the written variety in specific registers, Séwel prefers the Hollandic dialect to form the written language (De Bonth & Dibbets, 1995, p. 49; Rutten, 2019, p. 117; Rutten, 2006, pp. 373-378). The orientation on the spoken variety was rather odd in the eighteenth century, as the prevailing idea was to base language norms on the written language use of literary authors (Rutten, 2019, p. 117). This focus consequently caused a divided reception of Séwel's grammar. For example, David van Hoogstraten and Adriaen

³⁰ For a detailed discussion on the structure and content of the grammar, see Schaars (1988).

Verwer (± 1655 – 1717) argued that the author wrote a *Spreekunst* ‘speech guide’ rather than a *Spraakkunst* ‘grammar’ (De Bonth & Dibbets, 1995, p. 93). In his defense, Séwel (1708, pp.139-140) asserted that the speech should be considered for the written language. He explains that writers should not simply write down any spoken variety, but *de taal welke men in een verhoog, óf in een ernstig gesprek, behoort te spreken* ‘the language one should use in an expostulation or in a serious conversation’ (Dibbets, 1977, p. 78).

The grammar comprises language norms in the domains of orthography (35 pp.), morphology and etymology (151 pp.), syntax (21 pp.) and prosody (23 pp.). A second edition of the work appeared in 1712 and is extensively modified by the author.³¹ Not only was the grammar published in enlarged form (452 pages compared to 230 pages in the first print), but it also consists of a gender list of nouns (60 pp.) and a discussion on grammatical and rhetorical figures (20 pp.). Although the structure of the book stays more or less the same, the existing language prescriptions are often clarified or exemplified in the second edition of the work. Later reissues, that appeared in 1733 and 1756, are identical to the second print.³² Willem Séwel is generally considered one of the most important grammarians of the eighteenth century (Rutten, 2009, p. 58).

E.C.P. (1713)

In 1713, the Jansenist cleric Gillis De Witte (1648 – 1721), who was born in Gent, published his *Ontwerp van eene Nederduytsche spraek-konst* ‘Outline of a Dutch grammar’, using the pseudonym E.C.P. (Egidius Candidus Pastor) (Dibbets, 2003a, p. 133). The front page of the work mentions that Theodorus vanden Eynden published the book in Meenen (Vlaanderen), but it seems that the printer never had a branch in the Flemish city. It is thus more likely that the book was

³¹ Title: *Nederduytsche Spraakkunst, doorgaans veel vermeerderd, en met eene lyst van de Geslachten der Naamwoorden, die onder geene vaste Regelen betrekkelijk zyn; nevens eene Verhandeling van de Redenkonstige Figuren, en andere Taalcieraaden, verrykt.* ‘Dutch grammar, generally largely enhanced and enriched with a gender list of nouns, which differ from the common norms, as well as a discussion on grammatical figures, and other language improvements’, published in Amsterdam by Robert Blokland.

³² There are two different Amsterdam editions that mention ‘second print’; the other one was published in 1724 (De Bonth & Dibbets, 1995, p. 49). Because the reprint from 1712 is generally considered as the second edition, I consider both the first print (1708) and this second (1712) edition in the corpus of normative works.

printed in Utrecht, especially because the Hollandic city was also De Witte's place of residence back then (Dibbets, 2003a, p. 132). Showing the Southern city as the place of publication must have been the author's way of indicating the target audience of his grammar (ibid.). The subtitle *Opgedragen aen de Schôl-mee-sters der Stadt van Gendt* 'Dedicated to the schoolteachers in the city of Gent' gives an explicit idea of who the grammar is meant for. The school grammar is clearly oriented towards a Southern readership, and it specifically targets Flemish schoolteachers.

Although De Witte takes a clear stance in rejecting typical Flemish elements for some features, he is more tolerable towards language variation when it comes to other features, such as the gender of nouns. Linguistic differences between the Southern and Northern Netherlands are then observed but not condemned for usage (Dibbets, 2003a, p. 148). The reader of the grammar can clearly discern influences of the linguists Moonen, Nylöe and Séwel, which indicates that the author has a slight preference for the Northern variety (Dibbets, 2003a, pp. 140-147).

De Witte's grammar is divided into nine chapters. The part on orthography is alphabetically arranged and is discussed first (pp. 7-34). It is followed by the chapters on morphology (pp. 34-91), before the book is concluded with general remarks on the language (pp. 91-100). Although the grammar is still well received by nineteenth-century grammarians, such as Willem Bilderdijk and Jan Frans Willems, it was less known by fellow codifiers in the eighteenth century (Dibbets, 2003a, p. 131). The Southern descent of the author and the target audience of the book possibly explain why Northern grammarians did not refer to the schoolbook.

Stéven (1784) [1714]

In 1714, a book oriented towards schoolteachers and pupils appeared in Vlaanderen. The work, written by 'A.S.', goes by the title *Nieuwen Néderlandschen voorschrift-boek* 'New Dutch book of prescriptions'. As the first print is not preserved, the original place of publication is unknown. However, we know that the author behind the initials is Andries Stéven (\pm 1676 – 1747), a rhetorician and schoolteacher in Frans-Vlaanderen, the area in the western part of Vlaanderen that was annexed as part of France in the seventeenth

century (Huygebaert, 1983, p. 382). Although the content of the schoolbook stays more or less the same in the large number of reprints that appeared between 1714 and 1833, the work is enriched with a *Byvoegsel* 'Appendix' of eight pages from 1734 onwards (Rutten, 2011, pp. 20-21). The first available edition, and thus also the one that is applied in this study, dates from 1784. This version was printed in Ieper and is presumably a pirated copy from the edition of 1734 (Schmook, 1977, p. 78; Rutten, 2011, p. 22).

Rather than a purely linguistic book, the work is a moral guide, in which the author also presents catholic rhymes and examples of New Year's letters. Both the moral comments and the language norms are alphabetically arranged, and for each letter follows an enumeration of about 18 prescriptions. Explicit spelling regulations comprise 33 pages and are discussed in the *Byvoegsel* (pp. 46-53) and in the chapter *Korte aen-merkingen op het verbasteren der Néder-duytsche tael* 'Short remarks on the bastardising of the Dutch language' (pp. 21-45). The structure of the book, combining both moral norms and language prescriptions, is characteristic for normative works that were applied in eighteenth-century schools, as they were meant to be read in class by teachers and pupils in primary education (Rutten, 2011, p. 22). In general, Stéven wants to achieve a uniform written language without foreign elements. Words of foreign descent that are used in regional speech and writing are described as glosses in the margins of the text, but only correct Dutch words are considered in the actual prescriptions (Smeyers, 1959, p. 113). In order to establish a consistent spelling system, he builds on language norms that were already in use in the North and the South of the language area.

As mentioned above, the book has been in print during the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century. Smeyers (1959, p. 113) suggests that Stéven's work was used as a schoolbook in Vlaanderen during this entire period. Huygebaert (1983, p. 393) and Rutten (2011, p. 24) also argue that the book was aimed at an audience beyond Frans-Vlaanderen, and that it consequently might have had an immense impact on the South-Western part of the language area. The influence on later grammarians, such as Van Belleghem & Waterschoot (1773), Janssens ([1775]) and the author of *Snoeijmes der Vlaemsche Tale* ([± 1750 - 1760] 'Pruning knife of the Flemish Language', cf. Vosters & Rutten, 2013) is also suggested (Rutten, 2011, p. 20; p. 202).

Ten Kate (1723)

A normative work, written in two separate and bulky volumes, appeared in 1723 at the presses of Rudolph and Gerard Wetstein in Amsterdam. Each part of *Aanleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* ‘Introduction to the knowledge of the elevated part of the Dutch language’ comprises approximately 750 pages and is therefore the most voluminous work in the corpus of normative works. The author of the book is Lambert ten Kate (1674 – 1731), a Hollandic member of a merchant family, who was also captivated by art, science and religion. It is especially the history of languages and the similarities between languages that sparked his interest. In 1711, Ten Kate starts writing his magnum opus, *Aanleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake*, but it is published only in 1723. Fellow grammarians might have read some parts of the book before it was in print, as Séwel (1712), for example, refers to Ten Kate in his grammar (De Bonth & Dibbets, 1995, p. 118). Together with other eighteenth-century grammarians, also Balthazar Huydecoper seems to rely on Ten Kate’s book (Van der Wal, 2002, p. 60).

Compared to other eighteenth-century grammars, Ten Kate does not explicitly target literary writers, although he adheres to Vondel’s language use in most of his prescriptions (Rutten, 2019, p. 197). Different from other codifiers, he aims to discover and explain similarities between languages. And rather than advocating his own language norms, he builds on the etymology of languages to establish the spelling and grammar rules of Dutch (Noordegraaf & Van der Wal, 2001). The book is considered a scientific publication, which is meant to be read by the higher ranks of society (Rutten, 2019, p. 53). Another aspect in which the work differs from other normative publications is the attention for variation in language use, something Ten Kate discusses consistently in terms of how variation can be applied in three distinct registers and writing styles. He distinguishes (1) the sublime style, (2) the solemn style and (3) the plain style. The first writing style refers to ancient usage that should be applied by scholars. The second and third style approach daily usage, but the solemn style is more formal as shortenings are not allowed whereas they can occur in the plain style. Ten Kate remarks that even the latter, least formal writing style does not relate to *de platte Spreek- en Straettaal* ‘the vulgar and colloquial language’ (Ten Kate, 1723, I, p. 334; Van der Wal, 2002, pp. 56-57).

Both orthography, morphology and syntax are examined in Ten Kate's book. Each volume comprises a part with discussions on the Dutch language in the form of dialogues between 'L' – short for *Liefhebber* 'lover' or the name of the author, Lambert, and 'N', which refers to the author's preceptor, Adriaan Verwer (Jongeneelen, 1992, pp. 203-206). The author also discusses phenomena in other Germanic languages (e.g. German, Saxon, Gothic, ...), which are mainly debated in the first volume. Besides the discussion of language issues, both books comprise extensive appendices, for example, gender lists of nouns, and an etymological dictionary of Dutch.

Huydecoper (1730)

One of the most-read authors from the classical period is the Roman poet Ovidius. Over time, his work *Metamorphosen libri xv*, is translated into different languages, both in prose and in verse. Also for Dutch, the work knows a number of translations with multiple reprints. However, it is the translation of 1671 by Joost van den Vondel which is best known in the Dutch language area. The third print of this translation appeared in 1730, together with an essay on Vondel's language that was used in the translation copy. Both the publication of the translation and the essay on Vondel's language use were provided by the Amsterdam-based poet and administrator, Balthazar Huydecoper (1695 – 1778), and were sold by Visscher and Tirion in Amsterdam.³³ As many readers already possessed one of the previous translation copies of the book, the potential reader could also opt to buy only Huydecoper's essay (De Bonth, 1998, p. 37-38). In this study, I consider the essay entitled *Proeve van Taal- en Dichtkunde; in vrijmoedige aanmerkingen op Vondels vertaalde Herscheppingen van Ovidius* 'Essay on the study of the language and poetry; bold remarks on Vondel's translation of metamorphoses by Ovidius' (henceforth: *Proeve van Taal- en Dichtkunde*).

The essay includes remarks on Vondel's language and literary usage, especially on the language use in the translation copy. Huydecoper discusses linguistic mistakes in Vondel's work and asserts that pointing out the incorrect usage of the famous authors would help others write correctly. Alike Ten Kate,

³³ For a detailed discussion of Huydecoper as a linguist and the essay in particular, see De Bonth (1998).

Huydecoper searched for the norm in historical usage. Although he praises Vondel for his good language use, the grammarian argues that even Vondel makes mistakes and he claims the purest language can be found in the thirteenth century, especially in the works of Melis Stoke (1235 – ± 1305) and in the writing practice of Flemish authors (De Bonth, 1998, pp. 35; 97-98; Rutten, 2019, p. 85). In one of his letters Huydecoper wrote:

En ik mag wel zeggen dat de vlamingen vroeger begonnen hebben de taal te beschaaven, en met naauwkeurigheid te schryven, dan de Hollanders
(De Bonth, 1998, p. 100)

‘And I can say that the Flemish have started earlier in cultivating the language and writing more correctly compared to the people in Holland’

According to the author, the written norm should be based on the language use of these thirteenth-century authors, as their usage is closest to the origin of Dutch (De Bonth, 1998, p. 110). He specifically targets literary authors and elite writers in his essay, since he did not want them to make the same mistakes as Vondel did (De Bonth & Dibbets, 1995, p. 158). The work was widely read in literary circles in the second half of the century, and Huydecoper is therefore considered one of the most important grammarians in the eighteenth century (Jongeneelen, 1996; De Bonth, 1998).

The essay comprises 694 pages, of which 682 pages discuss the language use of Vondel. In addition to the introduction and appendices, the work is further divided into fifteen chapters. Each chapter is called *Boek* ‘Book’ and is numbered from 1 to 15. The length of the chapters ranges from 18 to 96 pages, in which both orthographical and morphosyntactic features are discussed. Throughout the essay, Huydecoper consistently examines individual utterances in Vondel’s translation, and he corrects them by referring to the language use of medieval writers or to the writing practice of Vondel in his other literary works.

Van Belle (1748) and (1755)

Jan van Belle (± 1690 – 1754) was a schoolteacher in Haarlem and was one of the first codifiers to write a schoolbook that was largely based on the foundational work of the elitist grammarians from the first half of the eighteenth century.

Compared to these voluminous and complex grammars, Van Belle managed to simplify the language norms by making them didactically attractable and comprehensible for the wider community, i.e. the middle ranks of society (Rutten, 2019, p. 54). Van Belle's first work appeared in 1748 and was printed by Izaak van de Vinne, who also lived in Haarlem. The title of the book is:

Korte wegwyzer, ter spel- spraak- en dichtkunden. Tót gemak voor 't geheugen van Ouden en Jongen, in Neederduitse Dichtmaate, op 100 Bladzyden gesteld

'Short guide, for spelling, speech and poetry. For the convenience of the memory of old and young, in the format of Dutch poetry, written on 100 pages'

As the title suggests, the work indeed consists of exactly 100 pages (not counting the five concluding pages). The manual was not only intended for young learners but also for adults. The structure of the work may even hint to these differences in target audience. The language norms are all formulated in verse, which is quite unique in the history of normative works, and particularly schoolbooks. As the prescriptions are written in rhyme, the idea is that learners would memorise them more easily. The more advanced pupils or adults can consult the footnotes for an explanation of the prescriptions. Such a didactic approach is innovative at the time. Furthermore, Van Belle, introduces other teaching methods, such as tables, charts, word lists and mnemonics to help the pupils memorise the language norms (Rutten, 2008, pp. 99-100). The book comprises prescriptions on spelling issues and morphosyntactic features, which were also covered in the works of Moonen, Séwel and Ten Kate. The author explicitly refers to his predecessors, and he addresses many of the same arguments, but in a less nuanced manner (Rutten, 2008, p. 203).

In 1755, after Van Belle's death, another grammar by his hand was published at the presses of Christoph Henrich Bohn in Haarlem. This time, the book was entitled:

Korte schets der Néderduitse spraakkonst, Waar in, op eene zeer korte en beknópte wyze, niet alleen de waare Gronden van de Né-derduitse Taale worden aangewezen, maar ook, inzonderheid, de waare Eigenschap der Naambuigingen, (Declinatien,) en der Tydvoegingen, (Conjugatien,) wor-den voorgesteld, en met duide-lyke, en voor elk bevat-baare, Voorbeelden bevestigd

‘Short sketch of the Dutch grammar, in which, in a very short and concise manner, not only the true foundations of the Dutch language are pointed out, but in particular also the true properties of the inflections and of the conjugations are presented, which are illustrated with clear and comprehensible examples’

The grammar from 1755 targets the same audience but is even more concise compared to the previous one. It covers 55 pages and one foldable sheet with examples of verb conjugations. The book is written in prose, which allows the author to give a more detailed definition of certain concepts. Van Belle generally discusses the same topics as in his previous book: spelling (pp. 1-14), different types of nouns, grammatical case (pp. 14-45) and verb conjugation (pp. 46-55) complete the work.

Verpoorten (1752)

In the second half of the eighteenth century, several schoolteachers who were based in Antwerpen wrote schoolbooks to innovate and improve language education in the Southern Netherlands. One of these teachers is Jan Domien Verpoorten (1706 – 1773). He wrote an instruction book in 1752 that was printed by Weduwe Du Caju in Antwerpen. The work was entitled: *Woôrdenschat, oft letter-konst, gedeylt in twee deelen* ‘Vocabulary, or grammar, split up in two parts’. As the title indicates, the book was divided into two separated parts which had different subtitles. Each subtitle largely covers the content of the piece.

The subtitle of the first part (pp. 4-56) is:

Nut voôr alle Jonkheyd, om doôr de selve, met hulpe van hunnen Meester, in de uysterste volmaektheyd te leeren spellen, uytspreken ende schryven van alle woôrden af-geteekent met hunne verscheydene teekentiens van uyt-spraek

‘Useful for all youth, to thereby, with the help of their teacher, to learn to spell, pronounce and write all words in utter perfection, with regards to different characters of pronunciation’

And, the subtitle of the second part (pp. 3-46):

Inhoudende meest alle de gebastardeerde of vervalschte woorden die hier in onse nederlandsche taele gebruykt worden, gestelt op den ABC. Nut voôr die sig genegen vinden de selve te gebruyken ende geërne den eygendom daer van souden willen weten

‘Comprising most bastard words or falsified words that are in use in the Dutch language, compiled on the basis of the ABC. Useful for all who consider using these words and would like to know its Dutch counterpart’

As the subtitles of the work suggest, the book was meant to be used in schools for non-elite citizens, who were not familiar with the French or Latin language. With the aid of the teacher, the pupils would learn to read and write correctly. Besides its appliance in schools, the book is meant for an older readership. The first part of the book comprises 52 pages and is devoted to orthography and pronunciation. The author distinguishes the different letters of the alphabet, which includes 24 letters instead of 26. Furthermore, he discusses syllables, diphthongs, diacritical characters, and punctuation marks. The first section is concluded with multiple word lists, for which Verpoorten presumably relies on other normative sources. The second part of the work includes an alphabetical list with loan words and their Dutch equivalent and is largely based on Lodewijk Meijers’s *Nederlandsche Woorden-schat* ‘Dutch vocabulary’ (1654). However, the book is not without mistakes. In the second part of the schoolbook, the alphabetical order is not always correct, and some words appear twice in the list (Rutten, 2011, pp. 38-39). One of Verpoorten’s most important spelling innovations is to simplify the orthography system. He suggests omitting redundant graphemes, such as <j> and <v>, but also <-h>, <-t> and <-c> are omitted in the following clusters: <gh->, <-dt> and <-ck> (Verpoorten, 1752, A1v-2r). The multiple word lists in the book are the author’s way of introducing the system. Learners who want to become proficient in writing should, according to the author, simply copy the word lists frequently.

P.B. (1757)

A few years later, in 1757, another work to be used in schools appears. This time, the author is more mysterious, as only the initials ‘P.B.’ are mentioned on the

front page of the book. De Vos's assumption (1939, p. 50) that P. Bincken wrote the work is nowadays more or less accepted and the idea becomes even more presumable when we consider that Hubertus Bincken (1724 – 1804) was the publisher who printed the work in Antwerpen. The printer's father was called Petrus Bincken, and in previous studies (cf. Rutten, 2011; Vosters, 2011) it is believed that he could be the author of this work. However, as this presumption is still uncertain, I will refer to the author as P.B. The full title of his schoolbook is:

Fondamenten ofte grond-regels der Neder-duytsche spel-konst. Om de zelve in korten tyd in d'uyterste volmaektheyd te leeren. Waer by gevoegt zyn eenige Regels van de Wel-gemaniertheyd, als ook eenige gemeyne Brieven. Alles zeer nut ende profytig voôr de jongheyd.

'Foundations or ground rules of the Dutch orthography. To learn the orthography in utter perfection in short time. Attached are some rules of conduct, as well as some general letters. All of this is extremely useful and profitable for the youth'

According to the title and the preface of the book, P.B. targets the same audience as Verpoorten (1752). He explicitly wants to reach teachers and pupils in a school context, but the book is also meant for less-proficient adults (Rutten, 2011, p. 42). Unlike Verpoorten, P.B. did not impose the method of copying word lists on the pupils. The work mentions some thematical word lists, yet the approach does not expect the readers to learn the spelling of the words by heart. Students should first learn the alphabet and other concepts that are relevant for spelling, such as sounds and signs, but also the principles of analogy and uniformity, before one starts to actually write (Rutten, 2011, p. 45). The structure of the book follows this idea, as it is divided into six chapters; word lists and rules of conduct are added as addenda. All letters and sounds are addressed in the chapters, as well as comments on spelling issues and morphological topics. Capitalisation and punctuation are mentioned in the last chapter of the 93-page book. As mentioned before, P.B.'s approach is didactically more modern compared to the method of Verpoorten. This is probably also the reason why the book of P.B. was reprinted a few times and in different cities, both in Brabant (Antwerpen, Leuven) and in Vlaanderen (Brugge). Even though the work seems an innovation compared to Verpoorten's book, the structure with the thematic word lists and the rules of conduct are very reminiscent of the schoolbooks that

were in use in the Northern part of the Low Countries, such as Hakvoord (1746) and Van Niervaart (1669) (Rutten, 2011, p. 56). Nevertheless, the popularity of the work and the modern approach of the author probably influenced other Southern teachers, like Ballieu (1792) and were also an incentive for Verpoorten to write a new and better work in 1759 (ibid.).

Verpoorten (1759)

Seven years after the publication of his first schoolbook, Verpoorten's *Woôrdenschat, oft letter-konst* was published again at the presses of Gerardus Berbie in Antwerpen. According to the title page, the work is *veêl vermeerderd en verbeterd* 'much expanded and improved'. Indeed, the author added 60 pages of language norms to the new schoolbook. The full title of the schoolbook is also adjusted to:

Woôrdenschat, oft letter-konst, gedeyld in twee deelen, Volgens de Nieuwe, en kortere maniere van schryven na den Oorsprong der Tael nevens de uytlegginge, hoe; ende waerom de af-laetinge der Letteren geschied, hoe, ende waerom de Woôrden veranderd worden van den tegenwoôrdigen tyd in den onvolmaekten, nevens de Veranderingen der Naem-woôrden, dienstig voôr onze nieuws-gierige Tael-schryvers. Doôr J.D. Verpoorten, Schoôl-meester binnen Antwerpen

'Vocabulary, or grammar, split up in two parts, according to the new and shorter ways of writing, based on the etymology of the language, besides the explanation how and why the omittance of letters is applied, how and why the words change from the present tense to the imperfect, next to the changes of nouns, useful for our curious writers. By J.D. Verpoorten, schoolteacher in Antwerpen'

The work still consists of two separate volumes. The second part, which includes a list with foreign words, remains the same as in the first print of 1752. The first part of the book is expanded with new spelling prescriptions and morphological items, which are largely based on P.B.'s injunctions of 1757 (Rutten, 2011, p. 49). Verpoorten now omits the principle of copying word lists, and visualises the norm with more attractive grids with the old and new ways of spelling. Furthermore, the author also seems to rely on E.C.P. (1713) and on Northern grammarians, like Nylöe (1703, 1707), Moonen (1706) and Séwel (1708, 1712), which suggests that some Southern authors indeed considered the Northern grammarians as the example to follow in the Southern Netherlands as well (Rutten, 2011, p. 56).

Des Roches (s.d. [1761])

Born in Den Haag as the illegitimate child of a maid, Jan Des Roches (± 1740 – 1787) had a difficult childhood and moved to the South of the language area in 1757 to pursue a career there.³⁴ He first became a schoolteacher in a boarding school in Antwerpen, the institution of which he would later become the director. Very soon, he also skilled himself in French and Latin. Apart from teaching these two languages in school, he taught reading and writing in Dutch. He later also had his say in the education policy in the Austrian Netherlands as superintendent and director of the scholastic department. Thanks to these prestigious positions, he is considered one of the most influential persons in the eighteenth-century Southern Netherlands, both from a political and a linguistic point of view. Already at young age, in 1761, Des Roches wrote his *Nieuwe Nederduytsche Spraek-konst* ‘New Dutch Grammar’, which was published by J. Grangé in Antwerpen.³⁵ The printer also delivered two other works by the author in the same decade: a French grammar in 1763 and a French-Dutch translation dictionary in 1769.³⁶ In this study, I will only consider the Dutch grammar, of which multiple reprints appeared across the Southern Netherlands in the eighteenth and in the beginning of the nineteenth century (De Clercq, 2000, p. 136). Jan Frans Willems (1824, pp. 39-40) emphasises the importance of the book when arguing that Des Roches’s grammar has the most authority of all grammars in the Southern Netherlands. Yet, Willems also claims that the book is only rarely used in Brabantine schools.

Nieuwe Nederduytsche Spraek-konst consists of 89 pages of language prescriptions and is innovative in different ways. Rather than simply discussing spelling norms and some separate grammatical issues, as was often the case in earlier works, Des Roches moves beyond such restricted discussions by highlighting all aspects of a traditional grammar. He elaborates on spelling in alphabetical order and the morphology of all word classes, but he also dedicates a part of his work to syntax. The aim of the author clearly is to use the work in

³⁴ For the brief description of the life and work of Des Roches, I rely on Smeyers (1951), Rutten (2009), and Vosters (2011). For an extensive discussion, see Rutten (2011, chapter 4).

³⁵ The date of publication is controversial: the work mentions 1761 as the date of approbation, but some of surviving prints call this a third edition. This is possibly a sales trick, and it is plausible to consider 1761 as the year of publication (De Clercq, 2000, p. 136).

³⁶ The works are entitled: *Nieuwe Fransche spraek-konst* (1763) ‘New grammar of French’ and *Nieuw Nederduytsch en Fransch woorden-boek* (1769) (New Dutch and French dictionary’.

schools. He specifically targets pupils of the middle classes, and he applies didactic principles, such as mnemonics, to help them study the imposed language norms. Rutten (2009, p. 367) therefore considers this book the first full school grammar that appeared in the Low Countries.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Des Roches is seen as a particularist, who clings to Southern dialects in the search for language norms. However, the author does not prescribe a dialectal norm, and his work is rather a combination of Northern and Southern influences. Whereas his spelling prescriptions are largely based on the work of P.B. (1757) and Verpoorten (1752, 1759), he also consulted the grammars of Northern predecessors Moonen (1706) and Séwel (1708, 1712) for other (grammatical) prescriptions, and he also considers Vondel one of the *zuyverste Schryvers der Nederduytsche Tael* 'one of the purest writers of the Dutch language' (Rutten, 2011, p. 61).

Elzevier (1761)

The Rotterdam-based poet and member of the literary society *Nature et Arte*, Kornelis Elzevier (1717 – 1761), wrote a grammar that was published together with a collection of poems. The volume was entitled *Drie dichtproeven, bestaende in drie dichtstukken: De Waere dichtkonst, zedezang: God verheerlykt in zyne werken of reis door 't heelal: En eerkroon voor de matigheid. Benevens een proef van een nieuwe Nederduitsche spraekkonst*, 'Three pieces of poetry, consisting of three poems: The True art of poetry, hymn: God glorified in his works or a journey through the universe: and honorary crown for the temperance. In addition, also an outline of a new Dutch grammar', and appeared in 1761 by J. Bosch in Haarlem.

In this study, I will only consider the grammar: *een proef eener nieuwe Nederlandsche spraekkonst* 'outline of a new Dutch grammar', which comprises 100 pages of the 140-page book. The author discusses the most common grammatical issues: the case system, different types of (pro)nouns, verb conjugations, etc. Spelling is mentioned throughout the morphosyntactic topics and in the concluding pages of the book. Many of the examples that illustrate the prescriptions derive from Vondel's work, which implies the continuing leading role of the literary author as the example of correct language use (Rutten, 2003, p. 136). Like other grammarians at the time, Elzevier tried to make the language

norms accessible for the wider community by simplifying the prescriptions that were imposed by early eighteenth-century codifiers. He relies most heavily on the work of Moonen (1706), to whom he often refers explicitly (Rutten, 2003, p. 148). Also Frans de Haes seems to have influenced Elzevier's work to a large extent. Although his grammar only appeared in 1764, parts of the work were already circulating in the literary circle of *Nature et Arte*, of which De Haes was also a member (Dibbets, 2003a, p. 212).

De Haes (1764)

Frans De Haes (1708-1761), a cotton merchant and accountant in the city of Rotterdam, was a member of *Nature et Arte*, the literary society that published several pieces of poetry of some Rotterdam-based writers.³⁷ As was clear in the discussion of another member of the group, Kornelis Elzevier, the society was also involved with normative reflection on the Dutch language. Already around 1740, De Haes wrote a grammar, which circulated in the literary group, and which influenced Elzevier to write his normative work. It is only after the De Haes's death, in 1764, that his grammar was published, together with a collection of poems. The book was entitled *De nagelaten gedichten, en Nederduitsche spraekkunst* 'The posthumous poems, and a Dutch grammar', and appeared at the presses of Pieter Meijer in Amsterdam. Alike Elzevier, the author aims to simplify the norms of Moonen (1706) and Séwel (1708, 1712) to reach an audience of middle-class citizens who only enjoyed limited schooling. De Haes (1764, p. 1) clarifies:

alleen voor Nederduitschen, voor menschen die in Nederland wonen, [...] [die] by gebrek van goed onderwys [...] niet dan een kreupel spellen en verminkt lezen leeren, of geleert hebben

'only for Dutch people, who live in the Netherlands, who, due a lack of proper education, learn or have learned nothing but a crippled spelling and mutilated reading'

According to Van der Palm, however, the members of *Nature et Arte* target their works at a more scholarly audience and not directly at pupils in schools (Rutten,

³⁷ For a content-based discussion of the work, the sources and the influence of the author, I refer to Dibbets (2003a, chapter 11).

2019, p. 59). Compared to the grammars of Van Belle (1748, 1755), for example, the didactic approach is indeed missing in the works of Elzevier and De Haes, suggesting that the books were not meant to be used in primary schools. *Nederduitsche spraekkunst* comprises 171 pages and is divided into two different parts. The first 125 pages are subdivided in 24 chapters on orthography and the morphology of word classes. Syntax and comments on the lexicon are discussed in the 16 chapters of the second part.

Van der Palm (1769)

The elementary instruction books were long used in education to teach pupils to read and write. It is not until 1769 that a first full school grammar of Dutch appears in the North of the language area. The book is similar to the grammar of Des Roches (s.d. [1761]) that was published a few years earlier in the Southern Netherlands. The author of the Northern grammar is Kornelis van der Palm (1730 – 1789), who was a schoolteacher in Rotterdam. Importantly, he is also the father of Johan Hendrik van der Palm (1763 – 1840), the Minister of Education who was responsible for the language and education policies in the early nineteenth century, and who subsequently decreed the spelling of Siegenbeek (1804) and the grammar of Weiland (1805) as the official language regulations at the time (Rutten, 2011, p. 14). Kornelis van der Palm's grammar, *Nederduitsche spraekkunst, voor de jeugd*. 'Dutch grammar, for the youth', is printed in Rotterdam by Reinier Arrenberg. Alike other grammarians in the second half of the eighteenth century, the author aims to simplify the prescriptions of Moonen (1706) and Séwel (1708, 1712). Yet, he also considers the structure of the elementary instruction books that were applied in schools before. He specifically tries to combine both perspectives – viz. the traditional grammar and the basic schoolbooks – into a full grammar for usage in education (Rutten, 2008, 2009). As the author offers a grammar that is tailored to the pupils, with the basic rules and without complex sentences, this book can be seen as the first pedagogical grammar in the Northern Netherlands (Rutten, 2019, p. 53). The grammar is written in the structure of a dialogue to facilitate the learning and understanding of the imposed norm. Unlike the seventeenth-century dialogue books I have discussed before, this work is not intended to be read out loud in class. The book consists of four different parts that are all devoted to a different aspect of the language. The first chapter (pp. 1-52) deals with spelling and a word list with frequent homonyms. The second

part (pp. 1-104) is fully devoted to the declination of different word classes, cases and the conjugation of verbs, whereas the third booklet discusses syntax and interpunction (pp. 1-68). An alphabetical word list with the gender of nouns and some additional spelling comments makes up the last part of the grammar (pp. 1-110).

Zeydelaar (1769), (1772) and (1781)

Ernst Zeydelaar (1742 – 1820) was an Amsterdam teacher, who moved to Gelderland in 1778 to become a boarding school keeper in the city of Tiel. During his time in Holland, he first published a bilingual booklet in 1768, in which spelling rules in Dutch and French are discussed.³⁸ Only one year later, in 1769, his *Régelmaatige Néderduitsche spél-konst* ‘Regular Dutch spelling’ was printed in Amsterdam by Steven van Esveldt. With its 402 pages, the book is quite bulky for normative works at the time, especially when compared to the majority of schoolbooks that had appeared. Zeydelaar’s book is set up in dialogue form, in which the discussion of prescriptions appears alphabetically. For each letter follow a few related prescriptions and a glossary with the different meanings of a selection of words. Although the title suggests that the book only deals with spelling, we also find prescriptions on grammatical items, such as the conjugation of verbs and the inflection of grammatical cases.

A sequel to this spelling guide appears at the same presses in 1772 and is entitled *Vervólq dér Régelmaatige Néderduitsche spél-konst* ‘Sequel of the Regular Dutch spelling’. Zeydelaar (1772, pp. xii-xiii) prefaces this work with the following words:

Men zal dus uit dit mijn Vervólq zien dat ik ‘er mij weesenlijk op toegeleid hèbbe, om mijne voorige misslagen te verhèlpen, én dat ik ‘er eene eere in stèlle, dat ik, na een naauwkeurig onderzoek, mijne gedagten hèbb’ verbéterd.

‘One will therefore see from this continuation that I have truly made an effort to correct my previous mistakes, and that I take pride in having, after thorough investigation, improved my opinions.’

³⁸ The title of the work is *Grammaire générale raisonnée & hollandoise of Algemeene beredeneerde Fransche en Neder-duitsche spraak-konst* ‘General and reasoned grammar of French and Dutch’

In this book, the author does indeed stick to rectifying his misconceptions. Following the structure of his previous spelling guide, he explains the improved language norms and additions to the earlier prescriptions in 210 pages. Page by page, he thus discusses the revisions to the first edition of his work.

As it was the author's aim to also write a grammar of Dutch, he published his *Néderduitsche spraakkonst, ten dienste der Néderlandsche taalbeminnaars*, 'Dutch grammar, at the service of Dutch language lovers' in 1781. This time, the work was printed in Utrecht. The book comprises the different aspects of a traditional grammar. The part on spelling is similar to his previous works, in which the prescriptions are discussed alphabetically (pp. 1-138). A report of the different word classes and their inflection and conjugation patterns is discussed (pp. 138-260) before the author moves on to syntax and interpunction (pp. 260-295). The work concludes with a glossary in which homonymous words and their meanings are explained (pp. 195-392).

As was already indicated, Zeydelaar is a rather exceptional case in the normative tradition of Dutch. Especially when considering his spelling prescriptions in 1769 and 1772, we observe a system that reminds us of the spelling proposals of the Southern grammarians Lambrecht (1550), Sexagius (1576) and Bolognino (1657), in which a range of diacritical marks is used to indicate pronunciation differences. For example, he distinguishes six different sounds for the long *e* and is not always consistent in his own spelling practice (Rutten, 2011, p. 103). Diverging spelling practices are even found in the same word. For example, the spelling *dood* is attested in the work next to *dóód* 'death' (Rutten, 2011, p. 118). For his morphosyntactic prescriptions, the author mainly consulted the work of Moonen (1706), and the discussion on the grammatical cases is entirely copied from De Haes's grammar (1764) (Dibbets, 2003a, p. 220).

Cramer (1777) [± 1769]

Another schoolbook meant for primary education rolled off the presses probably in 1769 and was at least reprinted (in adjusted form) until 1888 (Buijnsters & Buijnsters-Smets, 1997, pp. 44-45). The title of the schoolbook is *Geldersche Trap der Jeugd* 'Gelderland's staircase of youth', which already suggests that the book was primarily used in schools in the province of Gelderland. Later editions of the work were also printed in Holland and Overijssel. The actual audience of the

book might thus well have been larger than the middle and eastern region of the Northern Netherlands.

The author of *Geldersche Trap der Jeugd* is Bastiaan Cramer (? – ?), who was a schoolteacher and a cantor in Gendringen, and in Arnhem (Gelderland). Following the example of Carel de Gelliers, he wanted to develop a manual for teachers, in which reading and writing instructions could be taught to primary schoolchildren. He considered the works by van Niervaart (1669), Hakvoord (1746) inadequate, and the grammars by Moonen (1706) and Séwel (1708) too complicated to be used in education (Cramer, 1777). Cramer mainly discusses basic reading and writing instructions, but also some morphosyntactic features are raised in order to familiarise pupils with the basic concepts of grammar. For the latter group of prescriptions, he relies heavily on Séwel's work (1708) (Schoemaker, 2018, pp. 243-244). In this dissertation, the edition of 1777 is applied. This is the third print of the schoolbook, and the earliest surviving print I could find in Dutch libraries. The reprint appeared at the presses of J. de Lange in Deventer (Overijssel). Although the first edition has not survived, the third print may give a good idea of what the original edition looked like. When comparing the reprint of 1777 to later reprints, I noticed that the content of the work remains largely the same. The differences between the editions are mainly situated in the grammarian's own language use. And, from 1805 onwards, the prescriptions are adapted to the official spelling of Siegenbeek (1804). The schoolbook is set up as a dialogue and comprises 144 pages, of which the largest part is devoted to spelling and thematic word lists (pp. 15-106). The morphosyntactic items, such as the grammatical cases, are briefly discussed and only include a few pages (pp. 106-119). They are followed by a part on interpunction (pp. 119-128), simple mathematic exercises (pp. 129-131), general rules of conduct and prayers (pp. 132-144).

Ballieu (1771) [1792]

In 1771, a new grammar was published in Antwerpen with the title *Néderduytsche spel- en spraek-konst* 'Dutch spelling and grammar'. According to the author of the work, as many as 2000 copies of the first edition were sold (Ballieu, 1792, II, p. 2). A second print of the same work was published more than 20 years later, in 1792, and was printed by J.E. Parys in Antwerpen. As the original print cannot be traced in archives and libraries in Belgium or the

Netherlands (cf. also Vosters, 2011), I will consider the edition from 1792 in this dissertation. This version of the grammar is substantially supplemented with a 130-page *byvoegsel van naedere bemerkingen* ‘addendum of further remarks’, which was not included in the first print of the work. The author of the grammar is a certain J. Ballieu (? – ?), about whom hardly anything is known. From the title page of his book, we can deduce that he was a schoolteacher in the city of Antwerpen, and according to archival documents (cf. Vosters, 2011, p. 62), he taught Dutch, French, Latin, reading and writing, but also mathematics in school. Although it is assumed that his *Néderduytsche spel- en spraek-konst* was probably used as a schoolbook, the author also had a broader audience in mind, as he also elucidates on the front page of his work:

niet alleen voór de Né-derlandsche Jongheyd, maer zelfs voór alle Vreémdelingen om deéze tael met gemak en in de uysterste volmaektheyd op korten tyd te leeren en ook dienstig voór alle minnaers der zelve

‘Not only for the Dutch youth, but even for all foreigners to learn this language in the utmost perfection in a short time and also for all lovers of this language’

The grammar is structured as a dialogue, in which spelling issues, and a number of word lists are addressed in alphabetical order (pp. 1-72). For this part, the author is largely inspired by P.B. (1757) and Des Roches (s.d. [1761]). In a first appendix, Ballieu discusses morphosyntactic features of the language, such as different word classes and their inflectional forms, and the conjugation patterns of verbs (pp. 72-120). The addendum, that is attached to the edition of 1792, is preceded by a new preface and comprises comments on earlier prescriptions but also focuses on other spelling features and morphosyntactic items (pp. 1-130). This newly added chapter is largely based on Des Roches (s.d. [1761]) and the author also explicitly mentions his dependence on Zeydelaar (1769) (Smeyers, 1959, pp. 120-121).

Van Belleghem & Waterschoot (s.d. [1773])

A rather odd publication with the title *Deure oft Ingang tot de Nederduytsche Tael* ‘Door or entrance to the Dutch language’ was printed by Joseph van Praet in Brugge, probably in 1773. The book is written by two authors: P.J. van Belleghem (1704 – 1779), about whom we know hardly anything, except that he

was a schoolteacher in Brugge, and Daniël Waterschoot (1732 – 1775). The latter, also a schoolteacher, is somewhat better known because he also published other works, such as a piece about the parish of Zele (Vlaanderen), the town where he lived, and a Dutch translation of a moral lesson. *Deure oft Ingang tot de Nederduytsche Taele* is meant for educational use, and consists of three larger parts, which are all divided into small chapters. The domain of spelling is introduced, before the authors move on to an alphabetical discussion of orthographic issues (pp. 8-40). In the second part, morphological, phonological and lexical items are discussed (pp. 41-124), and finally, some general writing instructions and an almanac follow in the third part (pp. 125-178).

Huyghebaert (1988) argues that only the latter part is written by Van Belleghem, whereas the other two parts are delivered by Waterschoot. In their prescriptions, the grammarians strive for a common written norm, in which dialectal features and regional forms are excluded. Compared to other Flemish grammarians at the time, they oppose to the reigning idea of particularism, and Flemish as an independent language (Smeyers, 1959, p. 121). For example, the authors illustrate that enclitic constructions like *dak* and *damme* are regional, and therefore incorrect forms for *dat ik* ‘that I’ and *wat wy* ‘what we’ (Van Belleghem & Waterschoot, s.d. [1773], pp. 78-79) (cf. Smeyers 1959). The spelling prescriptions are clearly based on the work of Stéven (1784), whereas there is no noticeable influence of more recent publications, such as the ones of the Brabantine grammarians P.B. (1759), Verpoorten (1752, 1759) and Des Roches (s.d. [1761]) (Rutten, 2011, p. 146). Although the work is criticised by De Vos (1939, p. 51) and Huyghebaert (1988, p. 69), who call it a linguistic low point in the eighteenth-century South, Put (1988) considers it a ‘schoolbook bestseller’ in the late eighteenth century.

Van Boterdael (1776) [±1774] and (1785)

Another grammarian about whom little is known is L. Van Boterdael (? – ?). According to the title page of his normative work, is he a schoolteacher of Dutch and French in the city of Harelbeke (Vlaanderen), and he apparently also worked as a teacher in Gent (Vosters, 2011, p. 66). His schoolbook was entitled: *Gemakkelyke wyze om op korten tyd grooten voordgang te doen in de Nederduytsche spelkonst* ‘Easy way to make great progress in a short time in the Dutch spelling’ and appeared in Kortrijk in 1776. This print, however, was a

second print of a book that was published in 1774 or 1775, but the first edition is probably not preserved (Smeyers, 1959, p. 125). An expanded third print was published in Brugge in 1785.

I consider both the second and third print of the book in this dissertation. The work from 1776 comprises 80 pages, whereas the enlarged version of 1785 consists of 107 pages and includes a *kort begryp van de Nederduytsche Spraek-Konst* 'short description of the Dutch grammar', in which some grammatical features are discussed in a more detailed manner (pp. 107-139). Also included in the latter version, is a part on *Les principes les plus utiles de la langue françoise* 'The most useful principles of the French language' (pp. 140-171). Given the focus on the French language, this part is not considered in this dissertation. Both books are clearly meant to be used by pupils in class. The author first discusses spelling issues in alphabetical order and later on the morphology of different word classes. Each chapter is concluded with a small poem, in which Van Boterdael emphasises the core idea of the chapter. He also encourages his pupils to study the language rules in a letter that follows each chapter. Both approaches, i.e. the poem and the letter, can be seen as new didactic methods to help the pupils comprehend the prescriptions (Rutten, 2011, pp. 151; p. 165). As a grammarian in Vlaanderen, Van Boterdael is not influenced by Stéven's prescriptions (1784 [1714]). Although the author aims his work at a readership in Vlaanderen, he also indicates that he wants to focus on the Hollandic spelling (1776, p. 6). His actual spelling practice and prescriptions, however, lean heavily towards the proposals Des Roches (s.d. [1761]) made more than a decade earlier (Rutten, 2011, p. 151).

Janssens ([1775])

Another publication that appeared in Vlaanderen is the work of Balduinus Janssens (? - ?), a grammarian about whom we only know that he was a schoolteacher in Brugge. The book is printed in Brugge by Joseph De Busscher, mentions 1775 as date of approbation, and is published together with the author's *Fransche spraek- en spel-konste* 'French grammar and spelling'. The work that I consider in this dissertation is the *Verbeterde Vlaemsche spraek- en spel-konste, waer in onzydig de gevoelens tegengesproken worden der volgende schruvers, Richelet, Desroches, J.B. en besonderlyk Van Bellegem* 'Improved Flemish grammar and spelling, in which the sentiments of the following writers

are neutrally opposed, Richelet, Des Roches, J.B. and especially Van Bellegem'. As the title suggests, Janssens explicitly sets himself against the Brabantine normative tradition, which includes the work of Des Roches (s.d. [1761]), P.B. (1757) and Verpoorten (1752, 1759). In fact, Janssens ([1775], p. 16) advocates for a normative work that codifies the language spoken in Vlaanderen. He thereby not only set himself against the schoolbooks that were published in Antwerpen, he also fiercely criticises Van Belleghem, another Flemish schoolteacher. In the last five pages of his work, he discusses critical comments which are explicitly oriented towards Van Belleghem (pp. 55-59). Rather than a linguistic feud, however, Huyghebaert (1988, p. 67) considers this insult a personal dispute between the two Flemish teachers.

The author mainly discusses orthographic issues in his 59-page book. For the first chapter, in which he complains about the condition of Dutch and the advocacy of the Flemish language, he relies strongly on Stéven (1784). In his spelling prescriptions, he continues advocating the Flemish aspects of the language, and thereby often proposes language norms that are very different from those of his predecessors (cf. Rutten, 2011). Despite the deviating prescriptions, Willems (1824, p. 41) concludes that this work was very popular among inhabitants of Brugge.

Van Bolhuis (1793)

Minister and university lecturer of Dutch in Groningen, Lambertus van Bolhuis (1741 – 1826), became a member of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* 'Society for Dutch Language and Literature' in 1780. This influential society, which is mainly concerned with language-oriented activities, had the aim of spreading language and other actions of education and emancipation across the entire nation. With that purpose in mind, they organised a contest in 1792 in which they searched for a new and comprehensible grammar that was particularly meant for the education of the youth in schools. One of the contributions was submitted by member Van Bolhuis himself, who wrote a grammar that was largely based on his edited version of the work of Klaas Stijl (1778). His *Beknopte Nederduitsche spraakkunst* 'Concise Dutch grammar' won the gold medal, and was published one year later, in 1793, by the *Nederlandsche Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* 'Dutch Society for the Benefit of the Common Good' in Leiden, Deventer and Groningen. Van Bolhuis submitted his

grammar with a saying he borrowed from his predecessor Lambert Ten Kate *het past ieder volk zijne eigene taal op te bouwen* 'it suits every community to build its own language'. With the idea of building a fully-fledged language for an entire nation, he aimed to make the grammar of Dutch more accessible for the wider public.

Consisting of 100 pages, the grammar was indeed more concise and easier structured compared to earlier works in the eighteenth century, such as the grammars of Moonen (1706), Ten Kate (1723) and Huydecoper (1730). One would thus assume that this work could help pupils get a better understanding of the Dutch grammar. Despite the many examples given to illustrate the prescriptions, his work was deemed ineligible for children to learn the grammar of Dutch. The book was therefore used for teachers, and at a university level (Noordegraaf, 2004). Although Van Bolhuis's work was thus not applied by pupils in elementary schools, his grammar is considered an important contribution in the transition from normative works that are used by upper- and upper-middle class citizens to publications meant for the entire nation, including men and women from the lower-class ranks of society (Rutten, 2019, p. 166). However, due to the inadequacy of the work for primary education, the *Nederlandsche Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* still had to look for another grammar that was suitable to be used in schools. This work was ultimately provided anonymously by Gerrit van Varik in 1799.

The 100 pages of Van Bolhuis's grammar are divided into 68 short chapters, which mainly deal with morphosyntactic issues, such as a discussion on the different word classes and their inflections. Contrary to other works at the time, spelling only makes up a limited part of the book, and is discussed after the morphosyntactic prescriptions. The focus of the work is thus not on orthography itself, but rather on understanding of what someone says and the different ways of how someone else expresses himself at a pragmatic level (Noordegraaf, 2004). As Van Bolhuis considers actual language practices in his work, his prescriptions are also more closely tied to everyday language use. For example, he was the first grammarian to only prescribe the less formal analytical form of the genitive, while other grammarians still preferred the synthetic form or prescribed both the synthetic and analytic variants (Rutten, 2019, p. 66).

Wester (1797)

Ik bied hier geene regelmatige Spraakkunst aan [...]. Ook bied ik geene Rudimenta aan [...]. Ik geef een Spel- en taalkundig onderwys voor de schooljeugd. Mijn doelwit was, om, in een schoolboekje, de noodigste beginselen onzer Nederlandsche spel- en taalkunde, op eene eenvoudiger en bevatlyker wyze voor te draagen

'I do not offer a regular grammar. Also not a rudimenta. I offer orthographic and grammatical education for schoolchildren. My goal was to teach the necessary principles of our Dutch orthography and grammar in a simple and comprehensible manner in a small schoolbook'

With these words, Hendrik Wester (1752 – 1821) commences the prologue of his *Bevatlyk onderwys in de Nederlandsche spel- en taalkunde* 'Comprehensible education in Dutch orthography and grammar', which appeared at the presses of J. Oomkens in Groningen in 1797. Wester, who was a schoolteacher in Groningen, aimed to create a textbook to be used in primary schools that comprised both orthography and grammar. He wrote this grammar under the wings of his mentor, Lambertus van Bolhuis, who also published a similar book in 1793. The schoolbook is indeed very much alike Van Bolhuis's grammar, as it applies accessible language use, an easy structure, and many examples to underpin the prescriptions. The grammar was therefore eminently suitable to be used in primary schools in the northeast of the Northern Netherlands. The work had known eight reprints by 1814. Compared to earlier textbooks for primary schools, this 92-page book does not consist of thematic word lists that needed to be read out loud in class. About half of the work discusses spelling prescriptions (pp. 1-51), and in the remaining chapters, the author elaborates on the inflections of word classes and cases, which are sometimes presented in diagrams to help the pupils memorise the correct forms (pp. 52-76). He also explains homonyms and the correct use of words that are often used interchangeably, such as the difference between the accusative *hen* and dative *hun* 'they' (pp. 77-82). Some concluding remarks are devoted to interpunction (pp. 82-92).

Van Varik (1799)

As the grammar of Van Bolhuis (1793) was not deemed suitable for usage in primary schools, the *Nederlandsche Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen* asked Gerrit van Varik (1763 – 1825) to rework his already written but not yet published grammar into a school grammar (Van Varik, 1799, pp. iii-iv). The author accepted the proposition, and in 1799 appeared *Rudimenta of Gronden der Nederduitsche spraake* 'Rudimenta or Principles of the Dutch language' in Leiden, Deventer and Utrecht.

Van Varik (1799, p. vii), who was a school holder in Amsterdam, advised the teachers in the prologue of his grammar to only use his book with children *die reeds in het leezen zoo verre gevorderd zijn, dat zij met verstand en oordeel kunnen leezen* 'who are already advanced in reading that they can read with reason and judgement'. The fact that this book is not meant for novice learners is also apparent via the content of the book. Rather than first explaining every letter of the alphabet in much detail, Van Varik starts with an explanation of the gender and plural of nouns, the case system, and a discussion of the different word classes, after a short introductory lesson on the different vowels and consonants. Spelling is discussed rather briefly in the schoolbook (pp. 47-69). The book is divided into 42 different lessons, comprising 85 pages, of which the pupils should acquire one lesson every week. This way, the schoolbook lasts for an entire year of teaching. Additionally, as the author explains in the prologue, the teacher should provide practical exercises for the pupils in order to rehearse the inflection of nouns and verbs.

Weiland (1799) and (1805)

Pieter (later Latinised to Petrus) Weiland (1754 – 1842) was born in Amsterdam, studied theology in Leiden and became a minister in the city of Rotterdam. In 1789, the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde* 'Society for Dutch Language and Literature' had the aim to compile a comprehensive dictionary of Dutch, and they asked Weiland to become a member of the society. He accepted, and as a lexicographer, Weiland decided to write the *Nederduitsch Taalkundig Woordenboek* 'Dutch Linguistic Dictionary', which was printed in eleven volumes and appeared between 1799 and 1811 by order of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*. Before Weiland commences with an alphabetical

enumeration and explanation of the Dutch lexicon, he devotes the first 196 pages of the first volume of the dictionary to an introduction. In this prologue, which is the only part of the book I consider in this dissertation, he discusses spelling and grammatical issues, such as the different word classes and case inflection. The book is – besides a dictionary – thus also a full grammar of Dutch.

Furthermore, in 1801, The Batavian government wanted to develop an official language policy for Dutch that should be used in all educational and administrative domains in the Northern Netherlands. The Minister of Education, Johan Hendrik van der Palm, requested Weiland to codify this national grammar of Dutch. He accepted, and his *Nederduitse Spraakkunst* ‘Dutch Grammar’, which was largely based on the introduction to the dictionary (1799), appeared in 1805 in Amsterdam (Noordegraaf, 2018, p. 146). For this grammar, Weiland was also influenced by the work of Ten Kate (1723) and the *Umständliches Lerhgebäude der deutschen Sprache* (1782) ‘Elaborate instructional framework of the German language’ of the German grammarian Johann Christoph Adelung (1732-1806). Weiland follows the latter work very closely, to the extent that some parts of his grammar are even literally translated (Noordegraaf, 2018, p. 155).

Weiland’s grammar consists of 328 pages of language norms, and the book is divided into two large parts: *Spelling* ‘Spelling’ and *Woordvoeging* ‘Syntax’. It is the first part that is largely a revised version of the introduction from 1799, whereas the second part of the grammar is devoted to syntax.³⁹ Because this grammar had to be available for the entire nation, Weiland wanted to create a practical grammar that particularly targeted civil servants, schoolteachers, and so on (Noordegraaf, 2018, pp. 153-154). Due to the setting in which the grammar appeared, with the aim of spreading language norms on a national level, the work can be considered an influential publication. The grammar is reprinted multiple times in the nineteenth century, and one year after its first print, the book is also adapted into a school grammar. Other textbooks were also based on Weiland’s grammar (Noordegraaf, 2018, p. 146).

³⁹ See Noordegraaf (1985, pp. 182-190) for a thorough description of the content of the grammar.

Siegenbeek (1804)

While Petrus Weiland was requested to write the national grammar of Dutch, the Batavian government also needed an author to provide the national orthography of Dutch. Their choice fell on Matthijs Siegenbeek (1774 – 1854), a clergyman from Amsterdam, who became a professor in Leiden in 1797, and who is often considered the first professor of Dutch. Although Siegenbeek was not the first to teach Dutch at university, he remains the first professor to hold a chair that is solely devoted to Dutch (Rutten, 2018, p. 26). Besides his professorship, Siegenbeek was also involved in the *Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde*. He was an active member, and he published several works on Dutch literary history and linguistics, but his best-known work is his share of the *Schrijftaalregeling* ‘Written language regulation’: the national orthography of Dutch. Alike Weiland’s official grammar, Siegenbeek’s *Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche spelling ter bevordering van eenparigheid in dezelve* ‘Treatise on the Dutch spelling for the promotion of uniformity therein’ is commissioned by the Batavian Republic, and the imposed spelling was meant to be used in all official domains in the Northern Netherlands, such as administration and education. The book was published in 1804 (a year before Weiland’s national grammar) by Johannes Allart in Amsterdam.

Siegenbeek’s spelling guide comprises 336 pages plus an alphabetical word list of 50 pages and is divided into two main parts: the first one discussing the *algemeene regelen der spelling* ‘the general spelling regulations’, while the second part, *over de geschilpunten in de spelling der Nederduitsche taal* ‘on the contentious points in the spelling of Dutch’, deals with actual prescriptions on orthographic issues. Before elaborating on the prescriptions, Siegenbeek explains the underlying principles for his spelling system in the first part of the work. He distinguishes three main concepts on which his orthography is modelled (e.g. Van der Sijs, 2004, p. 282; Van der Wal & Van Bree, 2008, pp. 318-322):

1. *Schrijf, zoo als gij spreekt* ‘Write as you speak’ (Siegenbeek, 1804, pp. 13-14); which indicates a phonological principle as the most fundamental of all, because the speech should always be the guideline for writing. Not just any speech, of course, but the purest and most polite pronunciation, as can only be heard in Holland (Siegenbeek, 1804, p. 18, p. 20; Rutten, 2018, p. 34);

2. Second, the *Afleiding der Woorden* ‘Derivation of words’, by which he refers to the etymological principle;
3. and lastly, *Het algemeen erkend en aangenomen gebruik* ‘The generally acknowledged and accepted usage’, which is closely related to the previous principle, because only considering the etymology for spelling is not enough. One should also take account of the principle of uniformity ‘*gelijkvormigheid*’ in order to ensure morpheme consistency (Siegenbeek, 1804, p. 29).

Siegenbeek’s official spelling guide gained authority at a national level, as he contributed to “construct[ing] a homogeneous and unmixed Dutch language, symbolising the Dutch nation” (Rutten, 2018, p. 44). Alike Weiland’s grammar, Siegenbeek’s orthography is adjusted to a spelling guide that is specifically meant for usage in schools, and his spelling system is also followed and copied in many other normative works that appeared in the nineteenth century. Many schoolbooks that were reprinted after 1805 also adapted their title (and prescriptions) to emphasise the appliance of the regulations of Siegenbeek and Weiland (cf. Schoemaker, 2018, pp. 158-160).

Schilperoort (1806)

One of the first grammars that was published after the official orthography of Siegenbeek (1804) and grammar of Weiland (1805) is by the hand of Olivier Schilperoort (1781 – 1851), who was a teacher at a military school in Holland at the time of writing, but he later moved to the Southern Netherlands where he became the secretary of the mayor in Antwerpen (1812) (Blok & Molhuysen, 1921). Besides a grammar of Dutch, he wrote different schoolbooks on mathematics and geography (De Vooy, 1934, p. 17). In his *Proeve van nieuwere taalkunde, op de Nederduitsche spraakkunst toegepast* ‘Proof of a newer grammar, applied to the grammar of Dutch’, which was published by J. Oomkens in Groningen, he criticised Weiland’s grammar but also the orthography of Siegenbeek was not without its failures, he believed. In his opinion, a good grammar should consist of five different parts: (1) pronunciation, (2) spelling, (3) etymology, (4) syntax, and (5) the correct use of words. Schilperoort (1806, p. 4) argues that the grammar of Weiland does not discuss the first and the last domain, which is why he writes a new grammar in which these items are included. After a critical review of Weiland’s work in the first five pages of his grammar, Schilperoort discusses the pronunciation (pp. 6-16), spelling

(pp. 17-24), the traditional morphological items, such as word classes and cases (pp. 25-112), a short part on syntax (pp. 113-122) and the correct use of words (pp. 123-131).

In his grammar, Schilperoort thus reflects on both the orthography of Siegenbeek and the grammar of Weiland, and he explicitly refers to prescriptions and normative comments that the national codifiers have, in his opinion, falsely or insufficiently approached. However, it is not only criticism that is formulated in his grammar. The author generally agrees with Siegenbeek's spelling and he applies the orthography system in his own work as well (Schilperoort, 1806, p. 17).⁴⁰

Anslijn (1814)

Nicolaas Anslijn (1777 – 1838) started working as a schoolteacher in Amsterdam, and he later became the head of a school in Haarlem. With his pedagogical background, he wrote several schoolbooks that were meant to improve the reading skills of the pupils. Although Anslijn's social background and professional experiences are similar to those of other grammarians, with his *Nederduitse spraakkunst voor eerstbeginnenden* 'Dutch grammar for beginners', he is an odd one out in this corpus of normative works. This is because Anslijn discusses grammar from a structural perspective. He thus centralises the analysis of the sentence (Noordegraaf, 1985, pp. 19-28). This means that the focus of the schoolbook is partly on sentence parsing and analysing the sentence structure by recognising the subject and objects of the sentence, something which is not discussed in other normative works (pp. 1-19). Apart from that, also the traditional morphosyntactic issues, such as the inflection of word classes and verb conjugations, are addressed by the author (pp. 19-130). In his prescriptions, Anslijn generally follows Weiland (1805), although he does not acknowledge the existence of a case system. Instead, he defines and interprets every representation of an utterance in terms of its function in the sentence, thus by referring to it as subject, object, a clause, etc. (Anslijn, 1814, p. 34; Van der Woude, 1981, pp. 145-147). Furthermore, the schoolbook is innovative as all language prescriptions are taught deductively.

⁴⁰ See De Vooy (1934) for an extensive discussion of Schilperoort's criticism on the national grammar of Weiland.

The pupils first learn the specific rule, and subsequently the school grammar offers a few sentences and exercises, which the students must correct or fill in by applying the norm correctly. The work was therefore a popular school grammar at the time. By 1861, the *Nederduitsche spraakkunst voor eerstbeginnenden* was already at its tenth edition (Schoemaker, 2018, p. 299).

Henckel (1815)

The first work that appeared in the Southern Netherlands at the time of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands is written by F.L.N. Henckel (1753 – 1835).⁴¹ After Henckel was expelled from the monastery of Lo, which he had joined in 1772, he became a boarding school keeper, and later a teacher in Gent, Oudenaarde, Aalst, and Kortrijk. Apart from his official profession, he was a member of different Flemish chambers of rhetoric. He ultimately died in solitude in an asylum for the mentally ill in Brugge in 1835. Henckel had extreme particularistic and puristic ideas when it comes to the Flemish language. For example, he organised a poetry competition in which he banned the use of loan words and the Hollandic Siegenbeekian spellings.

In his *Nieuwe Vlaemsche spraek-konst, geschikt na de spelling der hoogleeraeren Siegenbeek en Weiland, Voor zoo veel die niet tegenstrijdig zij aen de woordgronding en regels onzer Vlaemsche Moeder-tael, en gestaefd op het gezag der beste Tael-bebouwers van Vlaenderen en Brabant*. ‘New Flemish grammar, adapted to the spelling of the professors Siegenbeek and Weiland, insofar as it is not contradictory to the etymology and regulations of our Flemish mother tongue, and evidenced by the authority of the best language makers of Vlaenderen and Brabant’, Henckel argues in favour of a unified language in the Northern and the Southern Netherlands, which should not just be based on the orthography of Siegenbeek (1804) and the grammar of Weiland (1805). The author by no means pleads for an autonomous Southern language policy, but he aims to arrive at a consensus between the two varieties by merging the best elements of each variety into a common language. Although he suggests adopting some Southern spelling practices, such as the <ae> spelling, his own language use sometimes adheres to the Siegenbeekian norm (Vosters, 2011, p. 142).

⁴¹ The description of Henckel (1815) is entirely based on Vosters (2011, pp. 77-79) and Huygebaert (1990).

Besides building on the work of Northern codifiers, he also refers to Southern grammarians, such as Van Belleghem, Janssens, Bincken and Des Roches (ibid.). In the introduction of his grammar, which is meant to be read by schoolteachers *bezonderlijk ten platte lande* 'especially in the countryside', Henckel emphasises that he is satisfied with the regime of King William I, in which the Dutchification of the Southern Netherlands is put central. He also explains that one can only find reputable language use in his work. After the introduction, follows a list with translated words out of French and Latin, which are all related to linguistics (pp. 1-4), a short part on orthography (pp. 4-9), an extensive discussion on the traditional morphological items (pp. 9-96), and a chapter on syntax (pp. 96-160). At the end of the grammar, the author includes two dialogues: one on the differences between the Hollandic and Flemish language (pp. 160-177), and another that takes place between a teacher and a student (pp. 177-186), and which foregrounds Henckel's ideas and feelings towards the Northern language norms (cf. Vosters, 2011, chapter 4).

De Neckere (1815)

In the same year as the grammar of Henckel, another normative work appeared that was aimed at a readership of Southern language users. The author of the book is Filip Jacob De Neckere (1740 – 1811) from Geluwe (Vlaanderen), who was a clerk, bailiff, and a notary in the western part of Vlaanderen.⁴² A few years after his death, his grammar was published in Ieper by J.B. Smaelen-Moerman. The book is entitled: *Bewerp van Vlaemsche spelling, gevolgd van eenen oogopslag op de nederlandsche dichtkunst* 'Objection of the Flemish spelling, followed by a glance on Dutch poetry'. In this grammar, the author examines the spelling that was in use in the Southern Netherlands, and he compares the orthography with its Hollandic counterpart to point out differences between the two systems. He thereby refers to a number of normative works, which he either criticises or praises. In the category of excellent grammarians, he includes the Northern codifiers Siegenbeek and Weiland, whom he specifically admires for their effort for the Dutch language in the Northern Netherlands. De Neckere therefore aims to achieve the same uniformity in spelling and grammar for Dutch in the Southern Netherlands. De Neckere (1815, p. 3) clarifies:

⁴² This summary is entirely based on Vosters (2011, pp. 79-81) and Huyghebaert (1996).

Onze pooging evenwel bepálen wy tot de vlaemsche spelling: want wat de spraekkunde [...] betreft, wy sien daer ontrent by de Hollanders voor ons eerder véel te leeren, dan iet te verbeteren.

‘With our attempt we concentrate on the Flemish spelling: because in terms of grammar, we have noticed that we can learn a lot from the Dutch, more than we can correct them.’

Although De Neckere is fond of Siegenbeek’s national orthography, he deems the system inadequate for the Southern Netherlands. In his own work, he mainly builds upon the norms of Des Roches (s.d. [1761]), and he explicitly refers to his predecessor, for example when distinguishing the etymologically distinct vowels (De Neckere, 1815, p. 146). For some of his other prescriptions, the author relies on normative works from the sixteenth century, such as the grammar of Spiegel (1584). De Neckere’s grammar consists of 227 pages, in which he mainly discusses spelling issues, but he also elaborates on the traditional grammatical items, such as the gender of nouns and verb conjugations. He also focuses on lexical differences, by discussing words that differ in the Northern and Southern part of the language area (pp. 127-146), and he offers word lists in which the differences between the different types of vowels are illustrated. A short chapter at the end of the book is devoted to poetry in Vlaanderen.

Ter Bruggen (1817-1818) [± 1815]

Jan Abraham ter Bruggen (1755 – 1819) was born in Utrecht, but moved to Antwerpen, where he became a schoolteacher.⁴³ Apart from his profession, he was a member of *het Antwerpsch Taal- en dichtlievend Genootschap Tot Nut der Jeugd* ‘the Antwerp linguistic and literary society for the benefit of youth’, which he co-founded with some colleagues, after the Northern *Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen*. Within the society, he gave several lectures, among them one about the unity of the Hollandic and Brabantine language. In this contribution, he argued that there was no actual difference between both varieties, apart from the accent and spelling (Ter Bruggen, 1817-1818, pp. 57-59). Concerning the orthography, the norm is clearly situated in the Northern Netherlands, he asserts. Ter Bruggen was very active within the society, which resulted in the publication of his *Nederduytsche spraek-konst ten gebruyke der schoólen* ‘Dutch

⁴³ The bio- and bibliographical data derive from Vosters (2011, pp. 81-83).

grammar to be used in schools', of which the first edition probably appeared in 1815. Yet, this version is not preserved, and the earliest edition dates to the first reprint of 1817-1818. The grammar, which is divided into two volumes of approximately 100 pages each, mainly discusses spelling, interpunction, and several word lists in the first volume, whereas the second part is largely devoted to a discussion of the traditional grammatical items. In this book, the author explicitly mentions Verpoorten, Des Roches, and Ballieu as his examples, and although Ter Bruggen is indeed inspired by these grammarians, his work cannot be read as a simple copy of these eighteenth-century grammars. Although his orthographic prescriptions are in line with what Des Roches prescribed, his word lists are quite innovative, as they discuss abbreviations and words for which the spelling is different in the Northern Netherlands and the Southern Netherlands. Although the author thus intends to follow the Northern norm, his work is strongly associated with the Southern normative tradition. The grammar was very popular in the Southern Netherlands. Already in 1822, a fifth edition rolled off the presses.

Behaegel (1817), (s.d. [± 1825]) and (s.d. [± 1829])

Pieter Behaegel (1783 – 1857) is one of the most well-known Southern grammarians of the nineteenth century. He is often considered a leading character in the Flemish particularistic opposition, which vehemently fought against the *commissiespelling* 'commission spelling' between 1830 and 1840 by protesting the implementation of a spelling system in Vlaanderen that strongly leaned towards the Siegenbeekian norm.⁴⁴ Behaegel, who was born in Tielt and who became a boarding school keeper in Torhout, was already very active at the time of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. He published several books on language and education, but his most popular work is the *Nederduytsche spraekkunst* 'Dutch grammar', which appeared in three separate volumes. Dating this grammar is not evident. The work first appeared in individual issues between 1815 and 1817, and all the issues of the first part were then printed into one volume in 1817 in Brugge. The first issue of the second volume appeared in 1820, and when all issues were printed separately, the second volume was published. When considering the three volumes of the grammar, the second and third part are not dated, which makes it hard to determine the actual date of

⁴⁴ The bio- and bibliographical data derive from Vosters (2011, pp. 84-86).

publication. However, following Janssens & Steyaert (2008, p. 245) and Vosters (2011, p. 85), the three volumes were probably published separately between 1817 and 1829 in Brugge. The second part is then most likely issued around 1825, whereas the third volume is probably released around 1829.

The three bulky volumes respectively comprise 529, 500 and 678 pages. The first part mainly deals with spelling and pronunciation, whereas the traditional morphosyntactic items and a dictionary (pp. 501-684) make up the second part. The third volume is devoted to an in-depth discussion on the grammatical items, such as the inflection of the different word classes. In the latter part, Behaegel commences with an extensive prologue (pp. xv – xxxx), in which he addresses the current language-political context in the Low Countries.

The structure of his grammar is not traditional, to say the least. The author frequently elaborates on philosophical discussions on linguistic ideas, which result in a collection of language norms which are not straightforward to interpret. As Behaegel's arguments often remain vague, the work is considered an unintelligible grammar (Couvreur, 1973, p. 61). Nonetheless, the work illustrates that Behaegel is well informed about the normative tradition in the Northern and the Southern Netherlands. He literally refers to the Northern grammarians Siegenbeek, Weiland and Ten Kate, and he praises them for their achievements in the Northern Netherlands. But, as a particularist, he also criticises Siegenbeek and Weiland, particularly for not considering the Southern usage in their prescriptions (Behaegel, 1817, pp. ii-iii). In the second volume of the grammar, Behaegel is less lenient towards the Northern codifiers, and he calls for the Northern norms not to be implemented in the Southern Netherlands (Behaegel, s.d. [± 1829], pp. xxiv), yet he strives for a common norm in both language areas, which is based on the best elements of each variety (Behaegel, s.d. [± 1825], p. 8). In the last volume of the grammar, the author is less Flemish-minded, and he partly adjusts his prescriptions to the spelling norms of Siegenbeek, for instance by prescribing <aa> in closed syllables. A few years later, however, Behaegel again turns to a particularistic ideology (Vosters, 2011).

Cannaert (1823)

In 1823, a publication with the title *Iets over de Hollandsche tael, noch voor, noch tegen, latende elk dienaengaende vry en verlet als naer goedvinden, in eenige*

familiaire brieven ‘Something about the Hollandic language, neither in favour, nor against it, leaving each person free in his own judgement on the matter, in the form of several private letters’ appeared at the presses of A.B. Stéven in Gent. Although the author preferred not to share his name, the work was assigned to the Ghentian lawyer Josef Bernard Canaert (1768 – 1848).⁴⁵ The book consists of 45 numbered pages, in which the author discusses a number of linguistic features. He categorises these variables as typically Southern practices, and offers their Northern – often Siegenbeekian – counterpart in his normative explanation. The focus of the work is clearly on orthographic variables, for which the differences between the Southern and the Northern spelling are laid out, but also some morphosyntactic and phonetic discrepancies are discussed by the author (cf. Rutten & Vosters, 2017, pp. 143-44). As the title of the work suggests, Canaert generally does not explicitly express a preference for either the Southern or the Northern way of spelling. Yet, an implicit preference for the Northern variety can sometimes be observed. The author is convinced that Southern language users should acknowledge that the Northern variety is more developed and refined. Canaert (1823, pp. 42-43) therefore refers to the Northern part of the language area as *de noordelyke gewesten van ons vaderland, alwaer de moedertael, sints lange, met het beste gevolg, is beoefend geworden* ‘the Northern regions of our homeland, where the mother tongue has long been practised with the best results’. Particularly because of the ongoing Frenchification in Vlaanderen, Canaert argues that the Southern citizens are not proficient enough in their mother tongue, and he therefore strives for all Southerners to acquire the Northern variety. For example, in the introductory chapter to his prescriptions, he refutes the arguments of many Southerners who do not want to adapt to the Northern norm. With this work, he thus wants to persuade and support them in learning the language properly (Canaert, 1823, pp. 4-7).

Moke (1823)

Another grammarian who wanted the Southerners to apply the Northern language norms is Jan-Jacob Moke (1771 – ?), a school holder and teacher in Gent and Aalst. He published a few works on language-related issues, but the book I consider in this dissertation is his *Nederduitsche spraakkunst naar het Hollands*,

⁴⁵ For more background information on the author, see Vosters & Rutten (2011).

ten bijzonderen gebruike der Vlaamsch-sprekenden ‘Dutch grammar after the Hollandic, especially to be used by speakers of Flemish’, which appeared in 1823 at the presses of J.-N. Houdin in Gent. The work consists of 138 pages and the structure of the grammar is quite traditional. The author discusses spelling features and grammatical items, such as the gender of nouns and the inflection of word classes. In his prescriptions, he generally follows Siegenbeek for orthography and Weiland for grammar, which emphasises his commitment to the Northern variety. This preference for Northern language norms is also clear in his correspondence with J.F. Willems, who praised his work and asked Moke to join the *Antwerpsch Taal- en dichtlievend Genootschap Tot Nut der Jeugd* (Vosters, 2011, p. 96).

Willems (1824)

Jan Frans Willems (1793 – 1846) was born in Lier and was later active as a poet in Antwerpen, where he was a prominent member of the *Antwerpsch Taal- en dichtlievend Genootschap Tot Nut der Jeugd*. After the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, Willems pleaded for the use of Dutch in the public life, and he explicitly supported the Dutchification policy of William I at the time of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. He advocated that no longer French, but Dutch should be the language of the Belgian nation. In order to accomplish this shift in public life, he took an integrationist perspective, and thus wanted to implement the Northern variety in Vlaanderen. Willems wrote several works on the linguistics of Northern and Southern Dutch. His most important publication is included in the corpus of normative works and is entitled *Over de Hollandsche en Vlaamsche schryfwyzen van het Nederduitsch* ‘On the Hollandic and Flemish spelling of Dutch’. The piece first appeared in 1824 as a closing on his *Verhandeling over de Nederduytsche Tael- en Letterkunde, opzigtelyk de Zuydelyke provincien der Nederlanden* ‘Treatise on the Dutch language and literature, notably in the Southern provinces of the Netherlands’, which he had submitted to a contest about *het bestaande verschil in onze taal, tusschen de Hollandsche en Vlaamsche spelling* ‘the existing difference in our language, between the Hollandic and Flemish orthography’ (cf. Weijermars, 2012). Although the title suggests that the author focuses on spelling differences, he also discusses grammatical issues, in which he consistently compares the Northern and the Southern language practices. This way, he wants to arrive at a written variety of Dutch that can be applied in both language areas. Willems (1824,

p. 140) argues that *Bataven en Belgen [...] op het altaer van broederlyke hereeniging, onderinge beschaving en volmaking [...] voortaan geen Vlaemsch, geen Hollandsch meer schryvende, maer NEDERDUITSCH!* 'Batavians and Belgians on the altar of fraternal reunification should from now on not speak Flemish or Hollandic anymore in order to arrive at civilisation and perfection, but DUTCH!'

Willems thus wants to achieve a common norm based on both varieties to guarantee language unity in the Northern and the Southern Netherlands. Yet, he continues that there are no authoritative linguists in the South, and he therefore prefers the norms of Siegenbeek and Weiland for the Dutch language. Willems (1824, p. 106) explains:

De Hollanders hebben werkelyk getoond, dat zy hunne tael ter harte namen, en met den besten uitslag beoefenden. [...] Dat hebben de Brabanders niet gedaen, die hunne tael toen juist hebben gaen veranderen, wanneer zy de zelve begonnen te verwaerloozen

'The Hollanders have truly shown that they took their language to heart and practiced it with the best result. The people from Brabant have not done that, who precisely then went on to change their language, when they began to neglect it'

However, the Northern norms should not just be adopted in the Southern Netherlands, he argues. Also the spelling of Siegenbeek and the grammar of Weiland need to be adjusted to some extent (Willems, 1824, p. 15). Nonetheless, Willems can certainly be considered a Southern proponent of the Northern variety, but he still looks for a compromise in which the Northern and Southern writing practices are unified.

Bilderdijk (1826)

Willem Bilderdijk (1756 – 1831) was a lawyer but is mostly known as a poet with an impressive oeuvre. Although the Holland-based writer was mainly occupied with literature, he also wrote works about philosophy, religion and linguistics.⁴⁶ In the latter category, he had already published about the gender of nouns, but his most important book on linguistics is the *Nederlandsche spraakleer* 'Dutch

⁴⁶ For a full biography of the author, I refer to Kolléwijn (1891).

grammar', which rolled off Immerzeel's presses in Den Haag in 1826. In this grammar, Bilderdijk discusses pronunciation and orthography (pp. 18-74) in a first chapter. The traditional grammatical issues, such as the cases and the inflection of the different word classes (pp. 75-261) make up the largest part of the grammar in a second chapter, and a discussion on syntax (pp. 262-378) and prosody (pp. 379-390) is included in the two last chapters of the book.

Bilderdijk generally intends to base his (spelling) prescriptions on the principle of etymology, and with that, he fiercely criticises Siegenbeek's orthography system. When Siegenbeek replied to Bilderdijk's remarks, Bilderdijk reproaches the professor in a few publications by calling him a tyrant who was not up for the task he had to accomplish, viz. writing the national orthography of Dutch (Matthijsen, 1988, p. 131). When comparing both orthography systems, however, there are only small and often meaningless distinctions. For example, Bilderdijk argues that <y> should be used for <ij> in some words, and that one should write *nogthands* instead of *nogtans* 'however' (cf. Matthijsen, 1988). Despite these small disagreements, both authors had their followers. Bilderdijk particularly received support from some young poets (ibid.).

De Simpel (s.d. [1827])

The last Southern work included in the corpus of normative works is written by David De Simpel (1778 – 1851), who was born in Moorslede. He first delved into the study of Dutch and French literature, before he was involved in rhetorician's circles. In 1803, he joined the chamber of rhetoric of Hooglede, and later, he became a teacher.⁴⁷ De Simpel was also active in the domain of linguistics. It is in 1827 that his most comprehensive linguistic work was published at the presses of F.-L. Smaelen in Ieper. The grammar appeared with the title:

Taalkundige tweespraak, waarin de Hollandsche taalregels van Weiland en de spelling van Siegenbeek tegen die der voornaamste Vlaamsche taalopbouwers opgewogen, of tegengesproken en verdedigd worden, enz. Zeer dienstig voor alle Schoolonderwijzers, publieke Ambtenaren, en allen die wenschen het wezenlijk verschil tusschen de Hollandsche en Vlaamsche spelling, woordschikking, enz. te leeren kennen.

⁴⁷ The bio- and bibliographical data derive from Vosters (2011, pp. 101-102) and Huyghebaert (1977).

‘Linguistic dialogue, in which the Hollandic language norms of Weiland and the spelling of Siegenbeek are compared to those of the most important Flemish grammarians, they are either refuted or justified, etc. Highly appropriate for all schoolteachers, public servants, and everyone who wishes to know the actual difference between the Hollandic and Flemish spelling, syntax, etc.’

As the title already suggests, the work is structured as a dialogue between ‘A.’, a skeptical Flemish citizen who is seeking advice on language use, and ‘B.’, a friend of A. and an expert of the Northern language norms, in particular those of Siegenbeek and Weiland. Although A. has numerous doubts and prejudices about the Hollandic norms, B. manages to refute these concerns and convince A. to follow the Northern prescriptions. With this work of 266 pages, De Simpel thus clearly takes an integrationist perspective in advocating for the implementation of the Northern norms in the Southern Netherlands (cf. De Simpel, s.d. [1827], p. 6). The aim of the grammarian is apparent: he wants the Flemish citizens to excel in cultural and intellectual domains and, according to the author, that is only possible if the Southerners follow the example of Holland on a linguistic level (De Simpel, s.d. [1827], p. 8). His suggestion of adopting the norms of Siegenbeek and Weiland was therefore appreciated by many members of the chamber of rhetoric, but others considered it government propaganda and did not want to accommodate to De Simpel’s prescriptions. After the independence of Belgium (1830), however, De Simpel switched his extreme integrationist mindset to a particularistic one. This is especially clear in his pamphlet *Den waeren vaderlander of den getrouwen belg* (1830) ‘The true patriot or the faithful Belgian’, in which he exchanges the Northern spelling practices for a Southern writing tradition which reminds of Des Roches in the eighteenth century (Vosters, 2011, p. 102).

1.5 Summary

The corpus of normative works shows great diversity in the publications that are set out to ordain codified language norms of Dutch. The discussion of the individual normative works illustrates that some codifiers argued that their proposed norms were applicable only to a specific region in the Low Countries, with particularly grammarians in the sixteenth century viewing language codification as a local phenomenon, while grammarians increasingly propagated

norms for a larger region in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Eventually, the normative injunctions were oriented towards the entire North or South in the context of nation building (Rutten, 2019, p. 25). Furthermore, the discussion of individual works also shows that some grammarians formulated norms only for a restricted audience of literary and other high-class writers, while – also in the context of nation building – other authors aimed for spreading codified norms to large parts of the language community. The latter type of codifiers often had a clear pedagogical focus, making the grammar of Dutch accessible for usage in schools (Rutten, 2019, p. 25).

As such, for each normative work in the corpus, Table 2 summarises the way in which the grammarian conceptualises the Dutch language (area) and the readership that is targeted. The table also indicates whether the codifier intended the normative work to be used in a school context. In addition, the table mentions for which language domains explicit prescriptions (cf. section 4.1) are found in the work. Note, however, that the classification of the normative works into distinct categories in terms of target audience and language conceptualisation is based on a generalisation of the concepts and categories, on the one hand, and of the normative works in the corpus, on the other hand. In alignment with the developments in the stages of normative grammar (Rutten, 2019, pp. 51-59), I opt to distinguish between the levels ‘elite’, ‘(upper) middle class’ or ‘(U)MC’, and ‘general public’ for target audience, and between ‘local’, ‘supraregional’, and ‘primarily national’ as levels for the conceptualisation of the language (area).

Many normative works in the corpus do not belong to one distinct category. For some parts of a work, or some works in general, the codifiers express their intended readership explicitly (e.g. Vollenhove, 1686; Van Niervaart, 1669), while for other parts or books, the target audience is less straightforward. These works thus often fit into more than one category of target audiences (e.g. Verpoorten, 1752, 1759; Zeydelaar, 1769; 1772; 1781). The categories that are assigned to a particular work should therefore be read as the level to which the normative work is the closest related. Still, for some grammars and schoolbooks, the intended readership could not be determined with sufficient certainty, which is why the target audience for these works is left blank.

The same is true for the conceptualisation of the Dutch language (area). While the author's incentive of writing the work can sometimes be found in the introduction or foreword, and in the concluding statements of a normative work, grammarians mostly do not share their view explicitly. The normative injunctions may also shed light on the norm giver's idea of the geographical coverage of their prescriptions. This is illustrated, for example, in the work of Janssens ([1775], p. 16), who attests differences in the language that is used in Holland, Brabant, and Vlaanderen. Based on the following citation, we can assume that he pleads for a distinct language norm – or at least diverging language regulations in schoolbooks – in the region of Vlaanderen.

[Several books] zyn lauter Hollands, of Brabands, en teénmael onvoldoende aen de gemoederen van vele Vlamingen, als gantsch strydig aen hunne Spraeke; [...] zy [have] uitdrukkingen, die met onze wyze van spreken niet overeénkomen, en die wy niet verpligt zyn te volgen [...] om welke oórzaeke de School-meesters die Boekskens in de vlaemsche Scholen niet gedooft hebben

'Several books are purely Hollandic or Brabantine, and entirely inadequate to the minds of many Flemish people, being completely contrary to their language use; they contain expressions that do not correspond to our way of speaking, and which we are not obliged to follow for which reason the schoolteachers have not allowed these books in Flemish schools'

Since not all normative works enable such an interpretation of the conceptualisation of the language (area), the classification is made based on the grammarian's discourse in the normative work, viz. how the grammarian perceives the language in its geographical context, but also on the socio-historical and language-political context in which the normative work appeared.

Finally, in establishing whether a normative work had a pedagogical purpose, I included (school) books that were (meant to be) used in schools for children. Publications for which the grammarian explicitly intended the work for usage in schools, but where it is unlikely that the book was actually applied for educating children (e.g. Montanus, 1635) are indicated with an '(x)'. Spelling guides or grammars that were used for the education of adults are not considered pedagogical (e.g. Kók, 1649).

In overall, Table 2 aligns with the different stages of grammar defined by Rutten (2019), with supraregional norms changing into a national orientation only in the context of the nation-building enterprise at the end of the eighteenth century in both the North and the South. This change in the conceptualisation of the language area is also accompanied by the social broadening of language norms. Although some early spelling manuals and schoolbooks, like Van Niervaart (1669) and Hakvoord (1746), were also set out to spread codified norms to the wider public, language norms at the time were particularly meant for the elite and high-class audiences. A gradual broadening of the target audience takes place only in the second half of the eighteenth century (Rutten, 2019, pp. 51-59). Table 2 also indicates that the domain of spelling is most saliently discussed by Northern and Southern codifiers, with every normative work in the corpus explicitly commenting on spelling issues. Explicit discussions on grammatical items show up regularly in the seventeenth-century normative discourse, yet it is only in the eighteenth century that codifiers consistently formulate prescriptions on the grammar of Dutch.

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GRAMMARIAN	YEAR	AREA	REGION	AUD.	LG. AREA	PED?	SPELL.	GRAMMAR
Lambrecht	1550	South	Vlaanderen		local	x	x	
Sexagius	1576	South	Brabant	elite			x	
De Heuiter	1581	North	Holland		suprareg.	x	x	
Spiegel	1584	North	Holland	(U)MC	suprareg.		x	x
Van Niervaart	1669 [± 1600]	North	Holland	gen. public	suprareg.	x	x	
Van der Schuere	1612	North	Holland	elite	suprareg.		x	
De Hubert	1624	North	Holland	elite	suprareg.		x	x
Van Heule	1625	North	Holland		suprareg.		x	x
Dafforne	1627	North	Holland	(U)MC	suprareg.	x	x	
Ampzing	1628	North	Holland	elite	suprareg.		x	x
Plemp	1632	North	Holland	elite	suprareg.		x	
Van Heule	1633	North	Holland		suprareg.		x	x
Montanus	1635	North	Holland	elite	suprareg.	(x)	x	
De Gelliers	1661 [± 1640]	North	North-east	gen. public	suprareg.	x	x	
Kók	1649	North	Holland	(U)MC	suprareg.		x	x
Van der Weyden	1651	North	Holland	gen. public	suprareg.	x	x	
Leupenius	1653	North	Holland		suprareg.		x	
Bolognino	1657	South	Brabant		local		x	x
Van Atteveld	1682	North	Holland	gen. public	suprareg.	x	x	
Gosens van Helderer	1683	North	Holland	gen. public	suprareg.	x	x	
Winschooten	1683	North	Holland		suprareg.		x	
Vollenhove	1686	North	Holland	elite	suprareg.		x	x
Duykerius	1696	North	Holland	gen. public	suprareg.	x	x	
Hakvoord	1746 [1697]	North	North-east	gen. public	suprareg.	x	x	
Francius	1699	North	Holland	elite	suprareg.		x	
Van Geesdalle	1700	South	Vlaanderen	(U)MC	suprareg.	x	x	x
Nylöe	1703	North	North-east	elite	suprareg.		x	x
Hilarides	1705	North	North-east		suprareg.		x	x
Moonen	1706	North	Holland	elite	suprareg.		x	x
Nylöe	1707	North	North-east	elite	suprareg.		x	x
Séwel	1708	North	Holland	elite	suprareg.		x	x
Séwel	1712	North	Holland	elite	suprareg.		x	x
E.C.P.	1713	North	Holland		suprareg.	x	x	x
Stéven	1784 [1714]	South	Vlaanderen	gen. public	suprareg.	x	x	
Ten Kate	1723	North	Holland	elite	suprareg.		x	x
Huydecoper	1730	North	Holland	elite	suprareg.		x	x
Van Belle	1748	North	Holland	(U)MC	suprareg.	x	x	x
Verpoorten	1752	South	Brabant	(U)MC	suprareg.	x	x	
Van Belle	1755	North	Holland	(U)MC	suprareg.	x	x	x
P.B.	1757	South	Brabant	(U)MC	suprareg.	x	x	x
Verpoorten	1759	South	Brabant	(U)MC	suprareg.	x	x	x
Des Roches	[1761]	South	Brabant	(U)MC	suprareg.	x	x	x
Elzevier	1761	North	Holland	(U)MC	suprareg.		x	x
De Haes	1764	North	Holland	(U)MC	suprareg.		x	x
Van der Palm	1769	North	Holland	(U)MC	suprareg.	x	x	x
Zeydelaar	1769	North	Holland		suprareg.	x	x	x
Cramer	1777 [± 1769]	North	North-east	gen. public	suprareg.	x	x	x
Ballieu	1792 [1771]	South	Brabant	(U)MC	suprareg.	x	x	x
Zeydelaar	1772	North	Holland		suprareg.	x	x	x

Van Belleghem & Waterschoot	[1773]	South	Vlaanderen	gen. public	suprareg.	x	x	x
Van Boterdael	1776 [± 1774]	South	Vlaanderen	gen. public	suprareg.	x	x	x
Janssens	[1775]	South	Vlaanderen		suprareg.	x	x	
Zeydelaar	1781	North	Holland		suprareg.	x	x	x
Van Boterdael	1785	South	Vlaanderen	gen. public	suprareg.	x	x	x
Van Bolhuis	1793	North	North-east	gen. public	primarily national	x	x	x
Wester	1797	North	North-east	gen. public	primarily national	x	x	x
Van Varik	1799	North	Holland	gen. public	primarily national	x	x	x
Weiland	1799	North	Holland	gen. public	primarily national		x	x
Siegenbeek	1804	North	Holland	gen. public	primarily national	x	x	x
Weiland	1805	North	Holland	gen. public	primarily national	x	x	x
Schilperoort	1806	North	Holland	gen. public	primarily national		x	x
Anslijn	1814	North	Holland	gen. public	primarily national	x	x	x
Henckel	1815	South	Vlaanderen	gen. public	primarily national	x	x	x
De Neckere	1815	South	Vlaanderen		primarily national		x	x
Ter Bruggen	1817- 1818 [1815]	South	Brabant	gen. public	primarily national	x	x	x
Behaegel	1817	South	Vlaanderen		primarily national	(x)	x	x
Cannaert	1823	South	Vlaanderen	gen. public	primarily national		x	x
Moke	1823	South	Vlaanderen	gen. public	primarily national	(x)	x	x
Willems	1824	South	Brabant	gen. public	primarily national		x	x
Behaegel	[± 1825]	South	Vlaanderen		primarily national	(x)	x	x
Bilderdijk	1826	North	Holland	gen. public	primarily national		x	x
De Simpel	[1827]	South	Vlaanderen	gen. public	primarily national	x	x	x
Behaegel	[± 1829]	South	Vlaanderen		primarily national	(x)	x	x

Table 2: overview of the target audience, conceptualisation of the Dutch language (area), pedagogical orientation, and language domains discussed in normative works

Target audience

Before moving on to the usage corpus that is applied in this study, still a short remark on the relationship between the different target audiences of normative works and prescriptive influence. Whereas bulky and Latin-based grammars written by eminent literary authors and ministers in the eighteenth century are evidently the precepts on which later grammarians built to write their grammars and schoolbooks (Rutten, 2019, p. 54), and are thus perhaps seen as the ultimate language authorities, it is important to keep in mind that elitist grammars enjoyed only a limited social reach. McLelland (2021, p. 283) therefore argues that this elitist approach to grammar writing might reduce the possibility of prescriptive influence of these highly prestigious normative works on general language use. Normative publications meant for spreading language norms to the general public, conversely, are considered less prestigious overall, but they often have a wider social reach. Since many of the latter type of works are applied in an educational context, it is more likely that the prescriptions in these works actually reached a broader audience. In sum, McLelland (2021, p. 283) thus poses that the possibility of prescriptive impact on usage may increase when the prestige of the work decreases.

Since this normative corpus spans over multiple centuries and comprises normative works with a restricted elite audience, on the one hand, and highly accessible schoolbooks, on the other hand, it is important to consider such differences in target audience when investigating prescriptive impact in this study. We can assume that an influence of prescriptivism is most likely in the language practice of the intended readership of the work. This implies, for example, that it is unlikely for elitist grammars meant for high-class audiences only to directly influence the language use of middle- or lower-class writers. The expectations of prescriptive influence should thus align with the usage that is investigated.

2 Historical Corpus of Dutch (*HCD*)

The usage corpus that is employed in this study is the *Historical Corpus of Dutch* (henceforth: *HCD*). This corpus was recently assembled by colleagues in Brussel and Leiden (cf. Van de Voorde et al., 2023), and it was specifically compiled as part of the doctoral study of Iris Van de Voorde (2022). At the time that I used the corpus for the empirical analyses in this dissertation, the *HCD* had not yet been tagged.

Like ARCHER is for English, and GerManC is for German, the *HCD* is a **diachronic** corpus that focuses on Early and Late Modern Dutch. Spanning the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the corpus includes textual material from the middle 50 years of each century, i.e. the periods 1530-1570, 1630-1670, 1730-1770, and 1830-1870, which allows for mapping out diachronic developments in language use (Van de Voorde et al., 2023, p. 118).

The *HCD* is also structured at a **diatopic** level. The corpus comprises a balanced proportion of texts from the Northern and the Southern Netherlands, yet this regional distinction can even be explored in more detail. More specifically, since the corpus was originally designed for investigating historical pluricentricity in Dutch (cf. Van de Voorde, 2022), it consists of textual material from central and peripheral regions in the Northern and Southern territories. For the Northern Netherlands, that is the present-day Kingdom of the Netherlands, the culturally and economically important region of Holland (HO) is included as the central region (i.e. the entire dark green region in Figure 4, while Zeeland (ZE) fills the peripheral region. In the Southern Netherlands, which roughly correspond to the Dutch-speaking regions of the modern-day Belgium, Brabant (BR) is considered as the central region, where texts from the provinces Vlaams-Brabant and Antwerpen are included (i.e. the dark blue colour in the map). Vlaanderen (VL), conversely, encompasses the peripheral region in the South (i.e. the two light blue regions on the left-hand side of Brabant). Note that Vlaanderen thus refers to Oost- and West-Vlaanderen as provinces, and not to what is today considered Vlaanderen (Van de Voorde et al., 2023, p. 118).



Figure 4: diatopic spread in the *HCD*. Map retrieved from Van de Voorde (2022, p. 63)

Importantly, the *HCD* is also a **multi-genre** corpus consisting of textual material from three distinct genres: administrative texts, ego-documents, and pamphlets. The genre of administrative texts (*ADM*) is a handwritten yet formal genre, comprising similar types of documents like reports of council meetings and legislation texts for guild members. Due to the similarity of the documents, the administrative texts are a homogenous genre that is entirely provided by experienced writers. Since certain semi-official documents were meant to be preserved, it is possible that some degree of editorial work has been applied to these texts. For example, a draft version may have preceded the final document that is included as an administrative text in the corpus (Van de Voorde, 2022, pp. 66-67).

As a handwritten genre but with an informal and personal nature, the ego-documents (*EGO*) in the *HCD* are probably least influenced by standardisation

attempts and prescriptive activities. These personal documents have been applied numerously in historical-sociolinguistic research to investigate texts that come closest to the historical spoken language (Elspaß, 2012, p. 156). Although they certainly do not form a simple reflection of the spoken language, personal correspondence appears most fruitful for representing spoken usage due to the dialogic nature of the document (Elspaß, 2012, p. 158). However, such documents could, due to a lack of suitable textual material, not be included in the *HCD* (Van de Voorde, 2022, p. 75). Instead, although generally monologic of nature, and therefore probably further away from the 'language of immediacy' (Koch & Oesterreicher, 1985), diaries and travelogues were selected as one genre of ego-documents in the corpus. Although there is some social stratification among the writers of ego-documents, most texts are provided by members of the broad middle class, with wealthy merchants, notaries, civil servants, teachers, and village pastors contributing a diary or travelogue to the *HCD* (Van de Voorde, 2022, p. 76). This means that, contrary to the authors of the administrative texts, the writers of ego-documents have more diverse backgrounds and were no professional writers. Furthermore, the selected documents are all written from a personal point of view, without the purpose of reaching a broader readership or publication (ibid., p. 77).

In addition to two handwritten genres, the *HCD* is composed with pamphlets (PAM) as a third and printed genre. Since different types of documents fall within the concept 'pamphlet', this is the most heterogenous genre in the corpus. Although all pamphlets are printed, and thus subject to editorial practices, the array of different text types, such as tidings, ordinances, supplications, and placards discussing public and current affairs showcase the diversity of the genre.

The *HCD* comprises a total of 463.248 words deriving from 209 documents, divided across the sociolinguistic dimensions of the corpus: time, region, and genre, as Table 3 shows. Each document in the corpus is enriched with metadata of the author, the year and place of writing, and the archival details. Despite a few lacunae in the corpus compilation, particularly in the sixteenth century due to scarcity of available material, the corpus is well balanced with an average

10.000 words per segment (Van de Voorde, 2022, p. 65).⁴⁸ As the usage corpus against which normative developments are compared in this study, the *HCD* thus enables a detailed investigation of Dutch language use across time, space, and genre.

	16C	17C	18C	19C
Administrative texts				
Holland	9.710	9.902	10.007	9.817
Zeeland	9.821	10.043	10.350	9.623
Brabant	9.936	9.902	9.943	10.945
Vlaanderen	4.889	9.938	10.170	9.857
Ego-documents				
Holland	10.134	10.031	9.932	10.024
Zeeland	3.156	10.043	9.873	9.948
Brabant	9.177	9.446	10.711	7.129
Vlaanderen	10.232	9.935	9.763	11.140
Pamphlets				
Holland	4.946	12.199	10.638	10.212
Zeeland	0	11.962	11.975	10.143
Brabant	10.145	9.911	9.878	10.571
Vlaanderen	10.678	14.710	9.871	9.856
Total	92.824	128.048	123.111	119.265

Table 3: word count in the *HCD* across period, region, and genre (Van de Voorde, 2022, p. 65)

⁴⁸ More details on the data collection and annotation of the corpus can be found in Van de Voorde (2022).

3 Selection of linguistic features

As outlined in Chapter 3, this research aims for investigating the impact of the possible determinants of prescriptive success, as they were proposed by Rutten & Vosters (2021). To recap, the factors that potentially interfere in prescriptive success are:

- (1) the chronology of language change
- (2) progressive versus conservative norms
- (3) the nature of the variable
- (4) the complexity of the feature
- (5) metalinguistic salience

While factors (1) and (2) are operationalised in the empirical analyses of each linguistic feature (cf. *infra*), the determinants (3) to (5) are implemented in the overall design of the study, more specifically in the selection of linguistic features. In this section, I explain how the linguistic variables were selected for investigation.

Based on previous historical-sociolinguistic corpus studies of Dutch (e.g. Vosters, 2011; Nobels & Rutten, 2014; Simons & Rutten, 2014; Rutten & Vosters, 2017; Krogull, 2018) and exploratory analyses in the corpora applied in this study, a selection was made of features that were standardised in the Early and Late Modern period. All these features were also undergoing change in usage in the periods under investigation. To control for the nature of the variable, I selected two orthographic and three grammatical features. In operationalising this twofold distinction, I can detect differences in prescriptive influence for spelling and grammatical features. Furthermore, each linguistic feature was defined in terms of complexity, for which I considered the number of possible variants in usage. A distinction is made between binary and multivariate linguistic variables. Although I am aware that, also for binary features, more variability than reported here is probably attested in usage (cf. Kretzschmar et al., 2003), I decided to base the classification of complexity on the number of main variants in the *HCD*. Finally, the amount of metalinguistic attention is considered in the selection of features. Here, the frequency of explicit prescriptions determined whether a feature is categorised as high, medium, or low salient at a metalinguistic level.

While the distinction appears to be threefold, the factor is actually considered twofold. The threefold distinction primarily lies in the difference between spelling and grammar. The domain of spelling is inherently more frequently addressed in normative works. Therefore, low metalinguistic salience, with less than half of the normative works formulating an explicit prescription on the issue, was not attested for the selected spelling features. Essentially, the distinction is thus binary both for spelling (high vs. medium salience) and grammar (high vs. low salience). These criteria eventually led to five linguistic features that are investigated in this dissertation:

- (1) spelling of long /a/ in closed syllables
- (2) spelling of final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs
- (3) comparative marker
- (4) diminutive suffix
- (5) direct and indirect object of the plural personal pronoun

Each of the selected features has different characteristics in terms of the nature of the variable, the complexity of the feature, and metalinguistic salience, leading to diverse combinations of factor levels, as Table 4 also summarises. Further details on the possible variants and metalinguistic salience of each feature are discussed in the empirical chapters (cf. Chapters 5-9).

	nature	complexity	met. salience
long /a/	spelling	binary	high
final /t/	spelling	multi	medium
comparative marker	grammar	binary	low
diminutive suffix	grammar	multi	high
object 3pl. pron.	grammar	binary	high

Table 4: characteristics of the selected linguistic features

The diversity of features allows for evaluating the role of the potential determinants in the corpus analyses. After the individual case studies have been investigated, I thus also reflect on how these factors impact the success of prescriptivism.

4 Analysis

Before we can arrive at an overarching evaluation of prescriptive success, the possible influence of prescriptivism is thus first investigated for individual linguistic features. In the empirical case studies, I investigate the developments in language norms before I explore the patterns of variation and change in the *HCD*. Only after the individual developments in norms and usage have been uncovered, we are able to compare developments in norms and usage to evaluate the possibility of prescriptive influence on language change. The impact of the possible determinants of prescriptive influence is evaluated in the conclusion of this dissertation. In what follows in this section, I explain how each part of the analysis is conducted in the individual empirical chapters.

4.1 Language norms

For each investigated linguistic feature, the corpus of normative works was manually searched for relevant metalinguistic commentaries and prescriptions regarding the feature. Since all normative works were digitally available, the relevant sections were saved via screenshots. The searching of the normative works for relevant normative comments was done by the author of this thesis and multiple student-assistants. The retrieved metalanguage was subsequently classified according to the type of prescription. In this study, the distinction is made between *explicit prescriptions* and *implicit prescriptions*. As both terms suggest, the former discusses the feature explicitly, with the grammarian devoting a (short or long) part of the work to a metalinguistic comment. Implicit prescriptions, conversely, do not relate to the feature directly. In this case, the prescription relates to the feature, but the broader setting is lacking in the metalanguage. For example, from the prescription on the spelling of the final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs in Example 1, we can infer that the grammarian prefers the spelling <d> in the third-person singular, as is indicated by the example *hij bid* 'he prays' in the enumeration of conjugations in the present indicative. However, the codifier does not discuss this preference for the spelling <d> explicitly. Also enumerations in word list and glossaries often include implicit prescriptions, but the majority of implicit prescriptions derives from codifiers who give an example in which the feature is used while they are discussing another linguistic item.

- (1) *De aentonende wijze is, waer door men iet regtsdraets na de verscheidenheid der tijden aentoont of veerklaert; als: ik schrijf; gij begrijpt, hij bid; wij ontfangen, gij-l. ver-liest; zij maeken*
(Henckel, 1815, pp. 23-24)

‘The indicative tense is that by which one directly shows or explains something according to the variation of tenses; as in: *ik schrijf; gij begrijpt, hij bid; wij ontfangen, gij-l. ver-liest; zij maeken*’

To illustrate the difference between an explicit and implicit prescription, Example 2 discusses an explicit prescription on the spelling of the final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs.

- (2) *Alle werkwoorden hebben in den tweeden en derden persoon van den tegenwoordigen tijd, in het enkelvoudige getal, eene t, als: gij en hij zegt, leest, enz. (*) Zoo ook die werkwoorden, welke eene d in hun zakelijk deel hebben, als: gij en hij brandt, zendt, bidt, wordt enz.*
(Weiland, 1805, p. 149)

‘All verbs in the second and third person of the present tense, in the singular form, take a *t*, as in: *gij* and *hij zegt, leest*, etc. The same applies to those verbs whose root contains a *d*, such as: *gij* and *hij brandt, zendt, bidt, wordt*, etc.’

Although the distinction between explicit and implicit metalanguage appears straightforward, what can be considered an explicit or implicit prescription depends strongly on the linguistic item. Whereas spelling issues are mostly discussed explicitly in the text, grammatical items are often part of a case paradigm, with codifiers not always formulating additional comments on the feature. Since case paradigms immediately capture the attention of the reader when consulting a normative work, they are also considered explicit prescriptions, at least for the linguistic items to which the paradigm is devoted. Although the classification of normative comments into explicit and implicit prescriptions thus follows the general guideline outlined in this section, small adaptations are considered for specific features. Each empirical chapter therefore also specifies what is considered an explicit and implicit prescription for the variable under scrutiny.

The prescriptions that are retrieved from the corpus of normative works are annotated for the variant that is prescribed. When a codifier allowed for variation, and thus prescribed multiple forms, all these variants are annotated as prescribed form. Also other variants that are mentioned in the metalanguage, and that the norm giver either rejects or allows for usage (under certain conditions) are annotated. Apart from the diachronic view on the prescribed variants, each empirical chapter therefore also includes a discussion on alternative variants which sheds light on the codifiers' stance towards variation for the feature under investigation. For each investigated feature, an annotation protocol is designed for the coding of language norms.

In developing the protocol for the first case studies, I aimed to streamline the annotation (of the prescribed and proscribed variants) and categorisation (into explicit and implicit prescriptions) of the metalanguage. Although establishing the protocols and annotating the language norms are performed by the author of this dissertation, initial validation of the protocol involved tasking a student-assistant with coding the same set of prescriptions based on the protocol. This process allowed for refinement of the protocol, ensuring consistent annotation of language norms.

In addition to mapping out developments in the prescriptions and normative comments of the codifiers, also the language practice of the grammarians is investigated. I therefore consider the language use that is applied in the normative work, yet only the parts of the book that were most likely written by the codifier are considered. As introductions, prefaces, and epilogues are sometimes delivered by another author, only the part of the actual normative comments falls within evaluation for the language use of the grammarian. References and citations, however, were not included in the analysis of the codifier's usage. For each normative work in the corpus, the majority variant in that grammarian's language use was selected based on ten randomly selected observations of the investigated feature. If no variant was dominantly used, all employed variants were coded as majority forms.

The language norms are analysed using the quantitative method of grammaticography (cf. Anderwald, 2014a). This includes the categorisation of norms into different types – explicit and implicit prescriptions and grammarians' usage – providing a comprehensive understanding of the diachronic evolution of

normative preferences. Additionally, the distinction is made between language norms of Northern and Southern codifiers. The quantitative analysis is carried out using the programming language *R* (R Core Team, 2021). I employed packages from *tidyverse* (Wickham et al., 2019), more specifically *dplyr* (Wickham et al., 2023) for data manipulation, and *ggplot2* (Wickham, 2016) for data visualisation. The package *hrbrthemes* (Rudis, 2020) is employed for customising the theme of the plots.

Note that, in visualising the results of language norms in bar plots, I chose to emphasise variability rather than frequency. The focus lies on comparative trends across sociolinguistic variables, like period and area, and less on the absolute number of norms in a particular period and area. To this end, I opted for normalised bar charts, while still including raw frequencies as annotations on the bars for reference.

4.2 Language use

For the investigation of actual language use, the selected linguistic features need to be retrieved from the *HCD*. For each of the investigated features, regular expressions were therefore compiled in *R* to extract the relevant textual material from the usage corpus. An overview of the applied regular expressions can be found in the Appendix.

The obtained data were manually filtered to remove false positive results from the dataset. The accompanying metadata of the results in the usage corpus, such as the individual document (*id*) in which the datapoint is attested and the extralinguistic variables (*period*, *region*, and *genre*), were also collected. In addition to regional differences in the data, I also account for geographical differences in terms of the language area to align with the discussion of language norms. The data from the independent variable *region* are therefore also recoded into a new variable *area*. This concretely means that the levels ‘Holland’ and ‘Zeeland’ from the predictor *region* are merged into the level ‘North’, while the variants ‘Brabant’ and ‘Vlaanderen’ are aggregated into the level ‘South’.

Although this study particularly investigates the influence of the sociolinguistic predictors *period*, *region* and *area*, and *genre*, intralinguistic variables were

manually added to the dataset as well. Where applicable, the matching lemma of the datapoints is annotated, together with other relevant language-internal factors. More details on the regular expression, the filtering and annotation of the usage data are discussed in the empirical chapters.

After cleaning and annotating the data, the results are explored and visualised in *R*, using the same packages as for the analyses of language norms (cf. *supra*). The data are quantitatively analysed across the extralinguistic factors: *period*, *region* and *area*, and *genre*. Particular attention is devoted to the interaction of these independent variables. Since these interactions sometimes resulted in low data frequencies, both the relative and absolute frequencies are involved in the discussion of the results.

Statistical analysis

The descriptive statistics of the results in language use are supplemented with inferential statistical techniques. I generally employ a mixed-effects logistic regression analysis for the interpretation of the results; however, if the usage data do not support such complex statistical modelling (e.g. because of data scarcity and complete separation), I use a binary logistic regression model with fixed effects. I choose for a mixed-effects design, since these advanced statistical models allow for controlling related datapoints which “share characteristics other than straightforward predictor variables”, such as datapoints of the same writer, and items relating to the same lemma or word (Gries, 2021, p. 394). Apart from *period*, *region* or *area*, and *genre* as possible fixed predictors, this study thus also considers the individual document in the corpus (*id*) and the lemma corresponding to the datapoint (*lemma*) as random intercepts.

Since the response variable is categorical in all case studies, the relationship between the outcome of each linguistic feature (i.e. response variable) and the predictor variables is modelled in a logistic regression (Winter, 2020, p. 198). As Levshina (2015, p. 253) notes, this statistical technique “is particularly popular in probabilistic multifactorial models that explain and predict the speaker’s [or writer’s] choice between two or more [...] variants on the basis of conceptual, geographic, social, pragmatic and other factors”. I always opt for a *binomial* (mixed-effects) logistic regression model due to its simplicity and interpretability when compared to multinomial models. In fact, given the sample

size of the results from the usage corpus, binary logistic regression provides more stable estimates, maximising statistical power in examining the relationship between the predictors and the response variable. The possible linguistic variants that are part of the descriptive analysis are therefore recoded into a binary response variable, in which the distinction is made between an incoming variant and (an) outgoing variant(s). Table 5 illustrates that this approach only needs simple recoding for the features which already have an opposition of possible variants (e.g. spelling of long /a/ in closed syllables), yet for multivariate features, the incoming form is weighed against all other variants, which are classified as outgoing (e.g. diminutive suffix).

	descriptive analysis	statistical analysis
long /a/	<ae> vs. <aa>	outgoing variant: <ae> incoming variant: <aa>
diminutive suffix	-kin/ke(n) vs. -ge(n) vs. -je(n) vs. ie(n)	outgoing variant: -kin/ke(n), -ge(n), and -ie(n) incoming variant: -je(n)

Table 5: coding of the linguistic variants in the descriptive and statistical analysis

For model building, I was guided by the procedure outlined by Gries (2021, pp. 414-450) for mixed-effects regression modelling.⁴⁹ After proper exploration of the data distribution across the main predictors of interest, the model is fit with the function *glmer* (or *glm* for a fixed-effect logistic regression), which is part of the package *lme4* (Bates et al., 2015). The variables that are considered for inclusion in the model are *period*, *region* or *area*, and *genre* as fixed predictors, while *id* and *lemma* are involved in the random-effect structure of model building using random intercepts. Due to convergence problems when starting model selection from a maximal model, however, I began with a minimal model with an intercept only. A forward selection process based on significance testing with *anova* and the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC) is used to add predictors and interactions to the model until an optimal model is obtained. Afterwards, the function *drop1* is applied to perform backward elimination by dropping one term at a time from the model, and subsequently evaluate the impact of the model fit to check whether any predictors could be removed. For each empirical chapter,

⁴⁹ Note that the software packages applied for the statistical modelling in this study differ from what is described by Gries (2021), since he discusses examples of linear mixed-effects regression models.

the model selection process and the final model are specified in the results section of the respective chapter.

The diagnostics of the final model are verified, checking the residuals and possible collinearity, using respectively the packages *DHARMA* (Hartig, 2022) and *car* (Fox & Weisberg, 2019). A confusion matrix is created to assess the performance of the model, using the package *caret* (Kuhn, 2022). In addition to the parameters in the confusion matrix and the R^2 conditional as indicators of model performance, the C-statistic was generated using the function *somers2* from the package *Hmisc* (Harrell, 2022).

Performance indicators like the C-statistic are often a lot higher in mixed-effect models than in regression models with only fixed effects (Gries, 2021, p. 400). Also in this study, the C-statistic of the mixed-effects models often suggests excellent or even outstanding discrimination by the model (Levshina, 2015, p. 259; Gries, 2021, p. 327). However, with such high scores on the model's evaluation, and the generally modest frequency of usage data on which the model is built, it is important to consider the risk of overfitting (cf. Gries, 2021, p. 385). For the features where overfitting could be expected, I also assess the model's performance on a stratified dataset using the package *tidymodels* (Kuhn & Wickham, 2020). This approach builds the model on a training set of 80% of the data, and only after reaching a final model, tests it on a test set of the remaining 20% of the data to avoid data leakage (Kuhn & Silge, 2022). Nonetheless, with still very high scores for classification accuracy of the model on the testing dataset, no issues with overfitting were attested.

The results from the regression analysis are presented in regression tables which are generated using the package *sjPlot* (Lüdtke, 2022). This summary of the statistical results is supplemented with a visualisation of the significant effects employing the packages *effects* (Fox & Weisberg, 2019) and *ggplot2* (Wickham, 2016). The results from the statistical analysis are discussed together with the descriptive statistics in the results section of the empirical chapters.

4.3 Prescriptive influence

After the patterns of variation and change are investigated in language norms and usage separately, both developments are also analysed next to each other to determine whether prescriptivism influenced language use. To that end, the results in norms and usage are compared in more detail to uncover possible instances of prescriptive interference. As was explained in Chapter 3, the chronology of language change not only reveals whether prescriptivism interfered in language change, but also suggests which type of impact prescriptivism had on usage.

Although I explored the possibility of investigating the correlation between language norms and usage statistically via a simple logistic regression (on aggregate data), the regression model had little predictive power, particularly due to the low frequency of data for language norms and the considerable number of predictor variables. These issues led to convergence problems, large confidence intervals, and thus unreliable predictions. I therefore decided to evaluate prescriptive influence only empirically via the comparison of the observed patterns of variation and change in norms and language use.

The approach of comparing developments in norms to developments in usage is the common method of evaluating prescriptive impact on language use. As opposed to previous research, which either analyses the impact of specific norms or codifiers on usage, or investigates the influence of a broader set of prescriptions on usage in a specific period, this study is set out to explore the impact of prescriptivism in a broader timeframe of four centuries. The impact of prescriptivism is thus investigated by diachronically visualising the prescriptions in norms and the developments in usage per year from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. For each case study, I therefore generate two scatterplots, one for norms and another for usage, in which the datapoints of the different variants (e.g. <ae> and <aa> for the spelling of long /a/ in closed syllables) are projected onto distinct points on a numeric scale on the *y*-axis (e.g. 1-2 in the case of the long /a/ in closed syllables). By also distinguishing between developments in the North and the South, these scatterplots offer a detailed overview of the prescribed variants in each part of the language area, on the one hand, and of the observed frequencies in Northern and Southern usage,

on the other hand. Moreover, this method of visualising enabled adding a locally estimated smoothing to illustrate general trends in the data. These trends are indicated by the coloured lines in the scatterplots.

A careful comparison of the chronology of change allows me to detect possibilities in which prescriptivism potentially impacted usage. Each of these options of prescriptive influence subsequently undergoes in-depth qualitative investigation, also considering the strength and the target audience of the prescriptions as well as the regional and genre differences in usage, for evaluating the likelihood and the extent of prescriptive interference. This way, for each of the investigated features, I determine whether, when, and under which circumstances prescriptivism was able to influence language change (cf. Anderwald, 2012, 2014a, 2016, 2018).