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

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Citation

Lismont, E. (2025, April 2). *Setting the standard: norms and usage in Early and Late Modern Dutch (1550-1850)*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Amsterdam. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4210054>

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Chapter 6 – Spelling of final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs

In this case study, I investigate the changes in the orthographic representation of the final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs.⁵⁷ This /t/ ending characterises the second- and third-person singular, and the second-person plural verb forms of the present indicative tense, where different spelling practices are distinguished during the standardisation history of Dutch, and particularly in verbs of which the stem ends in *d*, such as *worden* ‘to become’ (stem: *word*) or *leiden* ‘to lead’ (stem: *leid*).

2. Sg.	jij/gij		‘you lead’
3. Sg.	hij/zij/het	<i>leit</i> – <i>leid</i> – <i>leidt</i>	‘he/she/it leads’
2. Pl.	u/gijlieden		‘you lead’

In medieval times, these conjugations generally had an ending in *-det*, but from the Middle Dutch period onwards, forms as *(hij) leidet* were considered archaic, and the phonetic variant <t> was commonly used instead (e.g. *leit*) (Gledhill, 1973, p. 255). This variant arose since the final consonant is pronounced as /t/ because of final devoicing. The spelling therefore conforms to the principle of grapheme-phoneme correspondence (Vosters et al., 2014, p. 84). In the course of the seventeenth century, the variants <d> and <dt> gained ground. The former spelling was based on a principle of uniformity in morphology (*gelijkvormigheid*), where all singular and the second-person plural *d*-stem verbal endings were spelled in the same way, viz. as the stem of the verb (e.g. *leid*). The variant <dt>, conversely, is the modern-day spelling, which is motivated on etymological (abbreviation of *-det* due to the syncope of *e*) and analogical grounds (stem + *t* principle) (Daems, 2002). The latter principle encompasses the idea that forms like *(hij) leidt* are in analogy with non-*d*-stem verb conjugations, as in *(hij) werkt* ‘(he) works’.

⁵⁷ Parts of this case study are also presented in Lismont, Rutten & Vosters (2023).

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, three diverging spelling practices were thus applied to represent the verb-final /t/ in the second- and third-person singular and the second-person plural of *d*-stem verbs: the phonetic <t>, the morphological <d>, and the etymological and analogical <dt>. While the spelling practices differed in the Early and Late Modern period, the *d*-stem verbal endings are all pronounced as /t/ due to final devoicing (Vosters et al., 2014, p. 80).

1 Previous research

This spelling issue has been investigated from various perspectives. From a historical and linguistic point of view, Daems (2002), for example, frames and describes the principles and motivations for the different ways of spelling from Middle Dutch until the twentieth century (cf. the principles mentioned in the previous section). Other researchers, such as Van de Velde (1956) and Gledhill (1973), primarily focus on the developments of the feature in the normative discourse. Whereas Van de Velde (1956) concentrates on metalinguistic comments of Northern grammarians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Gledhill (1973, pp. 255-276) discusses the changes in the normative perspectives of Northern and Southern codifiers from Middle Dutch until (and beyond) 1850. He explains that both the variants <t>, <d>, and <dt> were in use in (and probably before) the beginning of the sixteenth century, although <t> was most common at the time (Gledhill, 1973, p. 255). Adherents of the spelling <d> arise in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, while also the supporters of the ending <dt> claim their place in the normative tradition. By the middle of the eighteenth century, Southern grammarians adopt the <d> spelling, whereas Northerners generally prefer <dt>. After the spelling <dt> is officially codified in the nineteenth-century Northern Netherlands, the form also spreads more widely to norm givers in the Southern Netherlands (Gledhill, 1973, pp. 268-269).

Although earlier studies primarily research trends in the normative discourse, recent scholars in historical sociolinguistics are concerned with patterns of variation and change in actual language use. One of these studies is conducted by Puttaert (2019), who investigates the orthographic representation of the verb-final /t/ in a language history ‘from below’ perspective. She explores variation in the language use of the lower social classes in Western regions of the Low

Countries, and particularly in West-Vlaanderen and Zeeland. In a corpus of nineteenth-century pauper letters (1810-1899) and soldiers' letters (1799-1813), the three variants of the feature are extracted for the most frequent lemmas. Although only a low number of results is obtained, all possible variants for the verbal /t/ ending are represented in the corpus.⁵⁸ In both the pauper letters and the soldiers' letters, <d> is established as the majority variant. A discrepancy arises with the variant <t>, which is still used considerably in the soldiers' letters (23.68%), yet the form is outgoing in the pauper letters (13.89%), which largely originate from a later period. The present-day variant <dt> is an incoming form in both corpora: it makes up for 23.61% of the tokens in the pauper letters, and it is used only once in the soldiers' letters (2.63%). This at least indicates that variability prevailed in the nineteenth century. The modern-day variant was not established yet as a main form in the manuscripts from the lower social classes (Puttaert, 2019, pp. 133; 142).

From a norms-and-usage perspective, Vosters (2011) investigates patterns of variation and change in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Southern Netherlands. He explores variability between <d> and <dt>, and alike Gledhill (1973), he observes that Southern grammarians adhere to <d> in the eighteenth century, while they often explicitly reject <dt>. During the time span of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815-1830), and especially after 1820, Southern prescriptions abruptly change from <d> to <dt> (Vosters, 2011, p. 273). When these findings in language norms are compared to a corpus of Southern administrative and judicial texts, a parallel development appears, with the dominant form <d> strongly dropping at the end of the period of reunification (from 88% <d> in 1823 to 35% <d> in 1829), where it is replaced by <dt> (Vosters, 2011, p. 312). The increase of the modern-day variant is then most visible in the formal documents of indictment, but also in the more informal reports of interrogation (Vosters, 2011, p. 321).

In a subsequent study, Vosters et al. (2014) explicitly approach the results from Vosters (2011) from the perspective of determining prescriptive influence, and they investigate whether Southern norms might have influenced language change in the early nineteenth century. As shown in Vosters (2011, p. 273; p. 312), the same development – with the Northern norm <dt> increasingly being

⁵⁸ n=72 in the pauper letters, n=38 in the soldiers' letters (Puttaert, 2019, p. 133; p. 142).

implemented in the Southern Netherlands – is reflected in Southern norms and usage. This change towards <dt> in Southern language use is, according to Vosters et al. (2014, p. 96), not directly related to an impact of prescriptivism. Although the chronology of language change allows for a possible influence of prescriptions on language use, the highly specific context of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands suggests that language norms and usage develop in the same direction. However, norms and usage change independently, due to the changed socio-historical and language-political situation, which is characterised by the intensified contact between the Northern and the Southern Netherlands. As the usage data in this study derive from very distinctive texts (i.e. administrative and judicial documents), the authors anyhow recommend investigating the relationship between language norms and usage in a broader scope of text types and genres (Vosters et al., 2014, p. 95).

A similar approach is taken by Vosters et al. (2010), who contrast the Southern data presented in Vosters (2011) to Northern prescriptions and language use. For Northern usage, the authors work with late eighteenth-century personal correspondence of the lower and middle classes in the *Letters as Loot* corpus (Rutten & Van der Wal, 2014). In the normative component, it is apparent that <d> is characteristic for Southern prescriptions, whereas <dt> is clearly the favoured variant of Northern grammarians. Surprisingly, despite the low number of observations in Northern usage (N = 19), the authors observe that the eighteenth-century writers in the *Letters as Loot* corpus largely adhere to the Southern variant <d> (84%) instead of the Northern <dt> (Vosters et al., 2010, pp. 104–105).

Building on these results of Vosters et al. (2010), Krogull (2018) researches the relationship between language norms and usage in the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Northern Netherlands. He specifically determines the effect of the official language policy (1804-1805) in the *Going Dutch Corpus*, a multi-genre corpus comprising texts from two periods in time, i.e. the late eighteenth century (1770-1790) and the first half of the nineteenth century (1820-1840), as well as three genres: (1) private letters, (2) diaries and travelogues, and (3) newspapers (Krogull, 2018, p. 37).⁵⁹ In his case study on the verb-final /t/,

⁵⁹ The corpus is built with Northern texts from the regions Friesland, Groningen, North-Brabant, North-Holland, South-Holland, Utrecht, and Zeeland (Krogull, 2018, p. 37).

Krogull (2018, pp. 92; 99-101) includes the fifteen most frequent lemmas in the corpus analysis, and discovers that <d> was most common variant in all genres in the late eighteenth century (71.1%). These findings are in contrast with the language norms, where <dt> was already being prescribed by Northern grammarians in the first half of the eighteenth century. At this time, the modern-day <dt> plays only a role as a minority variant in language use (17.1%), next to the phonetic <t>, which mainly shows up in the corpus of private letters (21.5%). In the eighteenth century, Northern language norms thus diverge from language use, since codifiers favour <dt> while language users still adhere to <d> (cf. also Vosters et al., 2010). In the nineteenth-century data, conversely, a considerable increase of the spelling <dt> is observed in language use (from 17.1% in the eighteenth century to 66.3% in the nineteenth century), with <dt> becoming the majority variant in all genres. The radical shift to the modern-day variant is most striking in the newspapers, where the results show an almost complete change, with <dt> representing 96.7% of the results (previously 16.3%). This change is accompanied by the enormous decrease of <d> in all genres (31.2%), although the variant did not entirely disappear from usage yet. In the corpus of ego-documents, viz. private letters vs. diaries and travelogues, <d> remains in use as an alternative variant, respectively in 38.9% and 37.6% of the instances. The phonetic form <t> only makes up for 2.5% of the data and can no longer be considered a variant of importance in the nineteenth century (Krogull, 2018, p. 99). With these results in usage, where <dt> is abruptly and massively implemented across all genres in the nineteenth century, Krogull (2018, p. 107) assumes that the official language policy has been effective, at least for this spelling variable. However, since the change from <d> to <dt> occurs only in nineteenth-century usage, while grammarians had been prescribing the newer variant already in the eighteenth century, Krogull (2018, p. 107) reasonably argues that the imposed norms only reached language users when they were disseminated at a nation-wide scale.

In sum, previous research shows that a change towards the modern-day variant <dt> has been attested from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries in both norms and language use. The studies discussed above indicate that the morphological <d> is characteristic for the Southern Netherlands, while <dt> is favoured in the North, and then primarily in language norms. Although little research has been conducted from the perspective of determining prescriptive influence, and particularly the developments from the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth

century remain understudied for this orthographic feature, a possibility for prescriptive influence was detected in the nineteenth-century North. In the Southern Netherlands, no such effect was identified.

2 Hypotheses

In line with the results of Gledhill (1973), I expect the phonetic <t> to be prescribed by grammarians in the early periods (i.e. in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). Also in language use, the variant will most likely appear as a main variant in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. However, as the research of Krogull (2018) and Puttaert (2019) suggests, the frequency of the form might decrease over time. As such, I assume <t> may first disappear from the normative discourse, probably in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century, and later on, I expect the variant to die out in usage as well; first in printed and formal text genres, i.e. pamphlets and the administrative documents. It is probable that the variant persists the longest in the ego-documents, where the form might still occur as a minority variant in the nineteenth century. This particular chronology of change, where a shift in norms precedes the same change in usage, allows for an impact of prescriptivism (**hypothesis 1**).

As for the variant <d>, the findings of Vosters et al. (2010) and Krogull (2018) point to diverging patterns in norms and usage in the eighteenth-century North. When contemplating that grammarians in the eighteenth century probably prescribed <dt>, while usage largely adhered to <d>, an influence of language codifications is rather unlikely in the Northern part of the language area. Based on the work of Vosters (2011) in the Southern Netherlands, I expect <d> to be the majority variant in both language norms and usage in the eighteenth century. In this context, the chronology of change needs to shed light on the possibility of prescriptive influence in the Southern Netherlands (**hypothesis 2**).

As the work of Vosters et al. (2010) and Krogull (2018) on the Northern Netherlands indicates, it can be assumed that <dt> is the main form in the nineteenth-century North, in both language norms and usage. Similar to the findings of Krogull (2018), I expect an increase of <dt> in nineteenth-century usage, which may be explained by an effect of the national language policy. If an

impact ‘from above’ is discerned, the effect will most likely be pronounced in the pamphlets as a printed and edited genre. Nevertheless, an increase of <dt> related to prescriptive influence could also be visible in the handwritten administrative texts and ego-documents, but these genres might still show variation with <d>, and possibly <t> as well. Since the Northern prescriptions favouring <dt> in the eighteenth century were ineffective in Krogull’s study (2018), I also do not predict an influence of <dt> prescriptions before the nineteenth century in my study. Furthermore, in line with Vosters (2011), I suppose Southern codifiers eventually follow the prescriptions of Northern grammarians, and as such, they will probably shift their prescriptions from <d> to <dt> in the nineteenth century. Also in Southern language use, it is likely that <dt> gains importance in the nineteenth century, although <d> may still be a main variant in this part of the language area. By relying on Vosters et al. (2014), I expect that the incline of <dt> is related to the changed socio-political context in the nineteenth century (**hypothesis 3**).

3 Methodology

3.1 Language norms

In the normative discourse, different language norms concerning the orthographic representation of the final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs are mapped out for the corpus analysis. All comments in the normative discourse deal with (or refer to) the second- and/or third-person singular, or the second-person plural verb conjugations in the present indicative tense. The metalinguistic comments and prescriptions were first collected for the different persons separately, viz. second person singular vs. third person singular vs. second person plural. However, since the prescriptions for the different verb conjugations remained the same, I was able to work with one person of the conjugation paradigm. I therefore included the prescriptions on the third person singular of the present indicative tense in the analysis of language norms.

The choice for taking the third person singular as a starting point is made because this conjugation was often discussed explicitly and used by grammarians, while the second person singular and the second person plural

verb forms rarely occur in the normative works. When a prescription on the third person singular was lacking, and the grammarian made a comment on (one of) the other two verb conjugations, the results for the second person singular and/or the second person plural are considered in the analysis. As such, the data for the different verb conjugations are merged to obtain one prescribed variant for the second- and third-person singular, and the second-person plural verbal endings.

As **explicit prescriptions**, I selected metalinguistic comments which are entirely devoted to the spelling of the final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs. In this type, grammarians embed the endings of *d*-stem verbs in the broader domain of orthography, and they thus explicitly discuss the spelling of the second and/or third person singular, and/or the second person plural in the present indicative tense, with or without examples (cf. Example 1-2).

- (1) *Dóch om weder tót de T te keeren, zy behoort ook gebruykt te worden in de tweede en derde persoon der Werkwoorden, als Gy, hy, zy wordt, bidt, houdt, bindt, vindt, biedt, enz. tot onder-scheydinge van Ik word, bid, houd, bind, vind, bied*
(Séwel, 1708, p. 27).

‘To say something more about *T*, it also needs to be used in the second and third person of the verbs, as in *Gy, hy, zy wordt, bidt, houdt, bindt, vindt, biedt*, and so on. These spellings need to be distinguished from *Ik word, bid, houd, bind, vind, bied*’

- (2) *Mén moet mèt dt eindigen, de twéde én dérde pèrsoon dés ènkeltvouwds én de twéde pèrsoon dés meêrvouwds dér wérk-woorden, wier eerste pèrsoonen mèt een d eindigen*
(Zeydelaar, 1769, p. 114)

‘One must end with *dt*, the second and third person singular and the second person plural of verbs of which the first person ends in *d*’

Implicit prescriptions comprise different kinds of comments. In this category, I included comments on the spelling of non-*d*-stem verbs, and of verbal conjugations where the type of verb or the person is not specified. Also (verbal) paradigms in which a *d*-stem verb is conjugated are part of these prescriptions, so are example sentences (without an explicit comment on the spelling of the

verb-final /t/), and general reflections on the spelling of words that lengthen in /d/ or end in <d> (cf. Example 3-4).

- (3) *Binden heéft eene D; daerom schryft men, ik bind; gy bind, en alles wat van binden komt, met eene d*
(Van Boterdael, 1776, p. 44)

'*Binden* possesses a D; one therefore writes, *ik bind; gy bind*, and everything deriving from *binden*, with a *d*'

- (4) *schryft men leest men eene t, dan moet men, in hetzelfde geval, ook bidt met t sluiten*
(Wester, 1797, p. 37)

'If one writes *leest* with a *t*, one should also end *bidt* with a *t*'

For **grammarians' usage**, I processed ten randomly selected observations of *d*-stem verbs in the language practice of the grammarians in their normative work. These observations needed to be conjugated in the third person singular of the present indicative tense. The majority variant in grammarians' language use was considered for the analyses. Verb conjugations for which it was unclear whether the codifier intended to use a present indicative were excluded. For two codifiers, I considered fewer than ten results of the third person singular verb forms, since no ten observations of the feature were attested in the work. The verb with the highest frequency is *worden* 'to become', which is always used as an auxiliary verb in the present indicative, e.g. *zoals het geschreeven wordt* 'as it is written'. All grammarians in the normative corpus had at least one token with this auxiliary verb, although for most of them, lexical variation in the *d*-stem verbs was attested. Besides *worden*, common conjugations in the third person singular were made with the verbs *vinden* 'to find', *geschieden* 'to happen', *behouden* 'to keep', and *luiden* 'to call'. In seven normative works, only attestations with the auxiliary verb *worden* occur.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ These works are: Van Heule (1633), De Gelliers (1661), Elzevier (1761), Van Boterdael (1776), Van Boterdael (1785), Weiland (1805), and De Simpel (s.d. [1827]).

3.2 Language use

For the results in language use, I was allowed to work with the annotated dataset of Van de Voorde (2022), who investigated the orthographic representation of the verb-final /t/ in her study on historical pluricentricity in the Dutch language area. The regular expression for this variable has been searched broadly. Unlike previous studies, where the results for the most frequent lemmas of *d*-stem verbs were retrieved in the corpus analysis (e.g. Krogull, 2018; Puttaert, 2019), all tokens ending in <t>, <d>, or <dt> were collected via the regular expression. This way, more than 50.000 tokens were obtained. Van de Voorde (2022, p. 119) verified these results manually, in order to solely maintain the *d*-stem verb conjugations in the second- and third-person singular, and the second-person plural of the present indicative. Alike in the language use of the grammarians, many of the results for the variants <t>, <d>, and <dt> were conjugations of the verb *worden*. Since different variants of the conjugation were used (e.g. *wort*, *wert*, *wart*), viz. forms that could be applied in both the present and the past tense, it was not always clear whether the writer intended to conjugate the verb in the present tense. When the context in the sentence did not bring clarification, the token was excluded from the results (Van de Voorde, 2022, p. 119).

4 Results

4.1 Language norms

In this section, I discuss the results in language norms. The first part deals with the metalinguistic salience of the variable, while the second section presents the developments in the prescriptions. The last section discusses the treatment of alternative variants.

4.1.1 Metalinguistic salience

The frequency of grammarians formulating a prescription on the spelling of the verb-final /t/ is visualised in Figure 18, where the relative proportions are shown on the y-axis, and the absolute frequency is printed on the bar plots. The

results are shown per period of 50 years to shed light on abrupt shifts in metalinguistic salience.

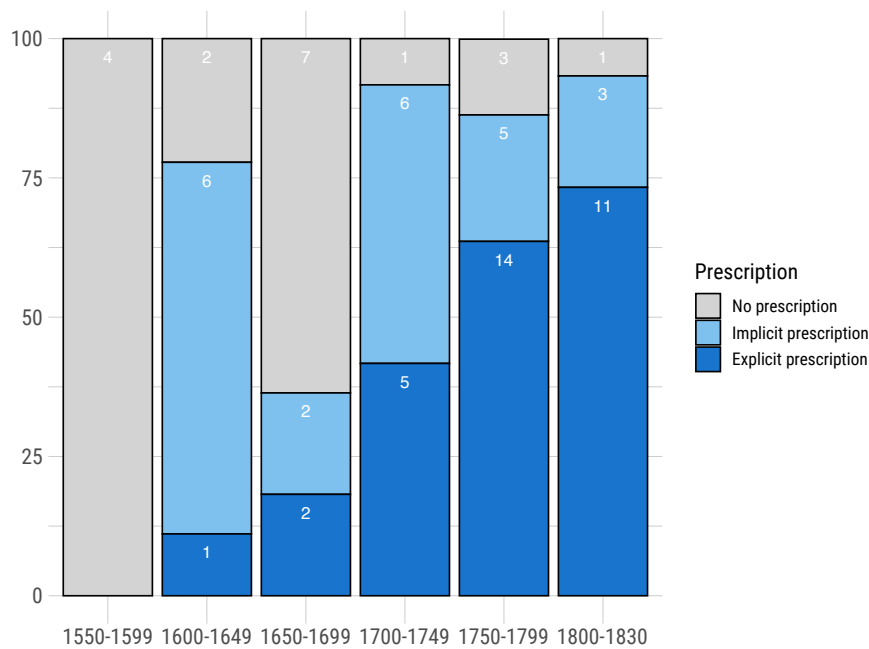


Figure 18: metalinguistic salience final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs

In the sixteenth century, no normative comments on the *d*-stem verbal endings occur yet. It is only in the early seventeenth century that Ampzing (1628) formulates the first explicit prescription on the issue (11.1%) by prescribing <d> and proscribing <dt> in the third-person singular:

So schrijf ik ook inde werk-woorden den derden persoon in't een-voudig getal [...] met eene d, om 'tgevolg van den eersten persoon in den onvolmaekten tijd, in die woorden die dat gevolg hebben [...]. ja hoe nodig op dit gevolg diend gelet te worden betonen veele die sulke woorden met dt schrijven, de d om't gevolg, ende de t om den soeten ende lichten klank gebruykende: maer (lieve!) als wy door eenen gemeynen vasten regel, de d dan klank van de t in't eynde der zilben verlenen, [...], wat behoe-ven wy hier dan met die onnodige t noch om te slepen, ende het gesicht te belemmeren, ende den druck te beswaren?

(Ampzing, 1628)

'I also write verbs in the third person singular with a *d* to reflect the ending of the first person in the imperfect tense for those verbs that require it. It is important to emphasise this ending since many people write these words with *dt*, using the *d* for the ending and the *t* for a soft sound. But, dear reader, if we can simply follow a consistent rule where the *d* takes on the sound of the *t* at the end of syllables, why should we unnecessarily complicate things by adding the *t*, which only clutters the texts and makes printing more cumbersome?'

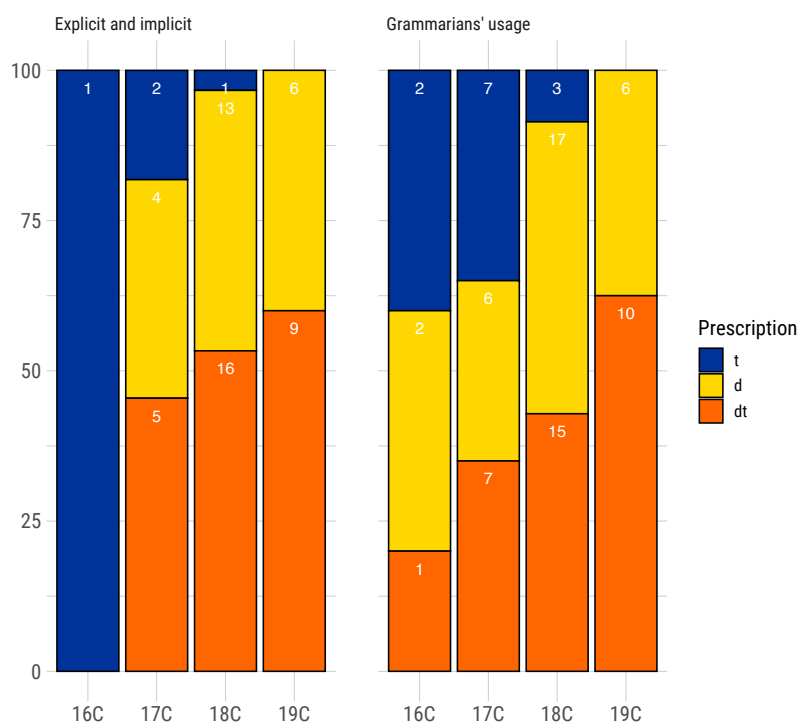
The number of metalinguistic comments on the topic increases in the eighteenth century, and especially in the second half of the period, where 63.6% of the orthography guides and grammars make an explicit remark on the spelling of the verb-final /t/. The metalinguistic salience of the variable still rises in the early nineteenth century, since 73.3% of the normative works in the corpus establish a prescription on the verbal spelling. With 33 out of 73 normative works making an explicit comment, the feature can be considered a spelling variable with medium salience. This variable is less prominent in the normative discourse compared to the spelling of the long /a/ in closed syllables, for example (cf. Chapter 5). In the early centuries, grammarians only rarely express concerns or thoughts about the representation of the verb-final /t/, while in the second half of the eighteenth and in the nineteenth century, the orthographic issue compellingly rises above the level of codifiers' awareness.

4.1.2 Prescriptions

Norms per period

In this section, I focus on the prescribed variants for the spelling of the verb-final /t/. In Figure 19, the explicit and implicit prescriptions are visualised, together with the writing practice of the grammarians.

When comparing the plot of the prescriptions to the one of grammarians' usage, a similar pattern of language variation and change emerges. It is striking that a great deal of variability is attested across the four centuries. Apart from the one prescription in favour of <t> in the sixteenth century, variation between three forms persists in the language norms from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, which subsequently changes to variability between two variants, <d> and <dt>, in the nineteenth century.

Figure 19: norms final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs per period

In addition, the decline of the variant <t> is depicted from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, in both prescriptions (from 100.0% to 3.33%) and in grammarians' usage (from 40% to 8.57%). The form even completely disappears from the language norms in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, the proportion of the variant <d> remains more or less stable, with small fluctuations occurring across the four periods. In grammarians' usage, the variant is used by two codifiers in the sixteenth century (40%), although the form is only prescribed for the first time in the seventeenth century (36.4%). Particularly in the eighteenth century, the variant gains popularity, as it appears more frequently in the prescriptions (43.3%) and is used more often by grammarians (48.6%). In the nineteenth century, the form slightly decreases again in both prescriptions (40%) and in usage (37.5%). Simultaneously with the fall of <t>, the increase of the variant <dt> emerges. This variant is first applied in usage by one grammarian in the sixteenth century, before the form is established as one of the main variants in the seventeenth century. From that moment onwards, the

variant <dt> steadily increases until the nineteenth century, in both prescriptions (from 45.5% to 60%) and in the language practice of grammarians (from 20% to 62.5%).

As such, the general visualisation of the development of norms points to two important observations. First it seems that <dt> increasingly suppresses the <t> and <d> prescriptions over time, although no uniformity is reached in language norms. And second, when comparing the explicit and implicit prescriptions to grammarians' usage, codifiers are generally slower in implementing newer variants in their own writing practice. This is particularly visible in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where the proportions of <d> or <dt> are higher in the prescriptions than in grammarians' language use.

Explicit and implicit prescriptions per period and area

When splitting up the data of the norms per part of the language area, a different picture unfolds, as Figure 20 shows. While variability in language norms persists in the diachronic development of the feature, a gradual process towards uniformity in <dt> prescriptions is observed in the Northern Netherlands. Here, the new variant <dt> rises from 45.4% in the seventeenth century to 72.7% in the eighteenth century, until it becomes the only prescribed variant in the nineteenth century (100%). The form <d>, on the contrary, appears in the seventeenth century (36.4%) and already decreases in the eighteenth-century language norms (22.7%). Then, in the nineteenth century, the variant disappears entirely from the prescriptions in the Northern Netherlands. This is in line with the findings of Vosters et al. (2010), who also argued that <dt> was the favoured form of Northern grammarians in the eighteenth century. Apart from that, the fall of <t> in the language norms shows up in the Northern Netherlands only. Since <t> is never prescribed by Southern codifiers, variation in the prescriptions in the South solely exists between two forms: <d> and <dt>. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Southern grammarians do not formulate explicit or implicit prescriptions on the feature. In the eighteenth century, the first prescriptions by Southern codifiers emerge, and these are all in favour of <d> (100%). The incoming variant <dt> is first witnessed in the nineteenth century, where it is convincingly introduced in 45.4% of the prescriptions. The variant <d> is then prescribed only by more conservative grammarians in the Southern

Netherlands, such as Behaegel (1817; s.d. [± 1825]; s.d. [± 1829]) (cf. also Vosters, 2011, p. 286).

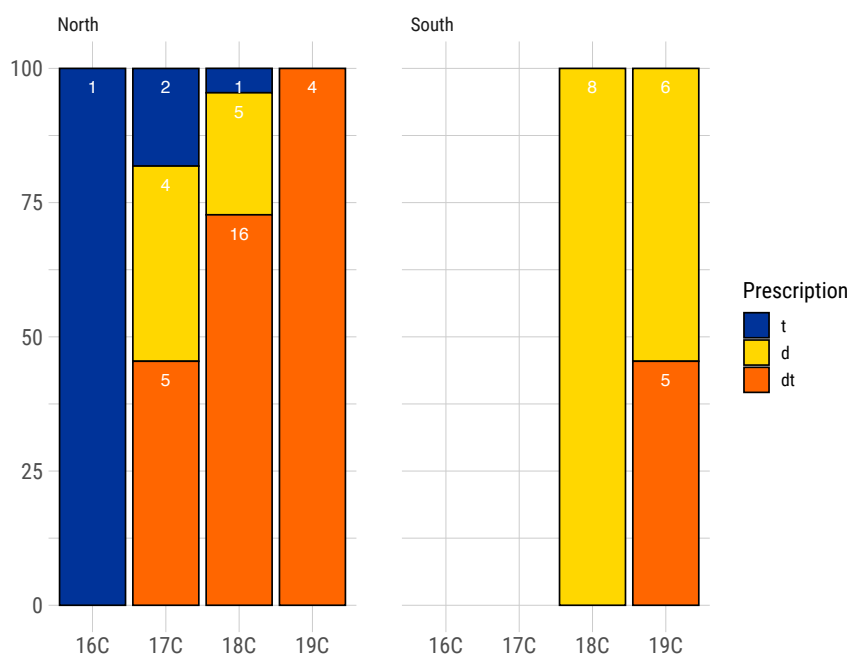


Figure 20: norms final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs per period and area

Types of language norms per period and area

For this variable, it is also interesting to make the threefold distinction between explicit prescriptions, implicit prescriptions, and the language use of grammarians. Whereas the pattern of change is similar across the different types of language norms in overall, one considerable discrepancy needs to be signalled when comparing the different types of prescriptions in Northern norms. More specifically, in the previous section, I already mentioned that <t> was prescribed only by Northern grammarians from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. When distinguishing between the different types of language norms in Figure 21, however, it is apparent that the variant <t> was never explicitly prescribed. Thus, up until the eighteenth century, <t> was only used in implicit prescriptions, and in grammarians' own usage. Although explicit prescriptions are lacking

altogether in the sixteenth century, the variant <t> was also relegated to the implicit prescriptions in the seventeenth century, when explicit precepts were formulated for the alternative variants. As such, the fact that the older <t> solely persisted in the implicit norms and in grammarians' own language use suggests that the variant was already considered an archaic way of spelling in the seventeenth-century language norms. Norm givers were probably more conservative in their writing practice for this variable compared to their explicit injunctions.

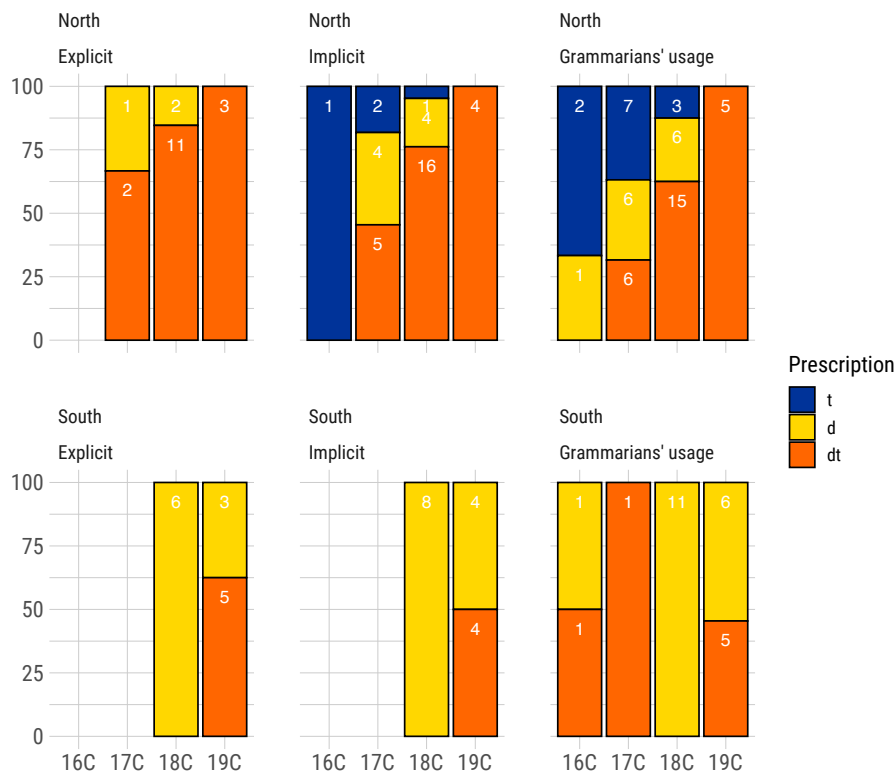


Figure 21: types of norms final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs per period and area

4.1.3 Treatment of alternative variants

Apart from the prescribed forms, codifiers sometimes also review variation in usage. Variability in language use is then discarded as proscribed usage, or it is employed to explain in which contexts variation is allowed (cf. Moschonas, 2020). When considering the alternative variants that are mentioned in the prescriptions on the verb-final /t/, Table 11 shows that norm givers rarely discuss other variants in the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Only three Northern codifiers explicitly proscribe a variant whilst prescribing another form, yet there is no consistency in the variants that are rejected. Van Atteveld (1682), for example, disapproves of the use of <t>, whereas another Northern codifier, Ampzing (1628, p. 35), is the first one to explicitly formulate a proscription on <dt>.

From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, when the metalinguistic salience of the feature increases, grammarians comment more often on alternative variants. Especially in the period from 1759 to 1781, multiple codifiers reject variation in the form of correctives proper, and they thus allow only for one correct variant (Moschonas, 2020). Yet again, there is no consistency in the proscriptions, as the three possible variants are in turns being criticised. This high degree of variability was also apparent in section 4.1.2, where both <t>, <d>, and <dt> were still being prescribed and used by grammarians in the eighteenth-century Northern Netherlands. At the end of the eighteenth century, the discussion of proscribed variants temporarily declines, despite the large number of codifiers explicitly formulating a prescription on the spelling issue. This decrease of rejecting alternative variants co-occurs with the stability of <dt> prescriptions in the Northern Netherlands, and with the equally consistent precepts in favour of <d> in the Southern Netherlands.

Shortly thereafter, during the time span of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, an increase of grammarians mentioning variation is observed again. In this period, most of the norm givers in this corpus operate in the Southern Netherlands, so it is all Southerners who reflect on variation in language use. One grammarian tolerates variation in the nineteenth century, while four others still reject the use of alternative variants and proscribe either <d> or <dt>. The refusals of the variant <dt> are by some nineteenth-century norm givers motivated on geographical grounds. Two codifiers from the

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Southern Netherlands, for example, associate the form with the Hollandic region (Ter Bruggen, 1817-1818; De Simpel, s.d. [1827]), and they believe the spelling is certainly not applied by language users in Brabant. In the words of Ter Bruggen:

zelfs stellen de hedendaegsche taelkundigen in Holland, eene t na de d, in die twee personen der werk-woorden uytgaende in den: schryvende gy schendt, hy verblindt enz.; [...] doch dit gebruyk word in Braband doór niemand gevolgd.
(Ter Bruggen, 1817-1818, pp. 11-12)

‘Even the contemporary grammarians in Holland, who prescribe *t* after *d* in two persons of the verbs ending in *-den*, writing *gy schendt*, *hy verbindt* etc.; however, this usage is not followed in Brabant.’

A few years later, the Flemish grammarian Cannaert (1823) claims the spelling <dt> is just as well used by Flemish writers. No explicit geographic meaning is ascribed to the variant <d>. Thus, although a number of codifiers make regional associations during the period of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, i.e. by ascribing the meaning ‘Hollandic’ to the variant <dt>, an explicit North-South distinction is not identified as such by codifiers in the nineteenth century (cf. Vosters, 2011, p. 273).

GRAMMARIAN	YEAR	AREA	PRESCR. EXPL.	PRESCR. IMPL.	PRESCR. USAGE	OTHER VARIANT	TREAT MENT
Lambrecht	1550	South	--	--	-d/-dt	--	--
Sexagius	1576	South	--	--	--	--	--
De Heuiter	1581	North	--	-t	-t	--	--
Spiegel	1584	North	--	--	-t/-d	--	--
Van der Schuere	1612	North	--	-d	-d	--	--
De Hubert	1624	North	--	--	-d	--	--
Van Heule	1625	North	--	-d	-t	--	--
Dafforne	1627	North	--	-dt	-t	--	--
Ampzing	1628	North	-d/-det	-d/-det	-d	-dt	rejected
Plemp	1632	North	--	--	-d (1)	--	--
Van Heule	1633	North	--	-t	-t	--	--
Montanus	1635	North	--	-t	-t	--	--
Kók	1649	North	--	-dt	-dt	--	--
Van der Weyden	1651	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	--	--
Leupenius	1653	North	--	-dt	-dt	--	--
Bolognino	1657	South	--	--	-dt	--	--
De Gelliers	1661 [± 1640]	North	--	--	-dt	--	--
Van Niervaart	1669 [± 1600]	North	--	--	-t	--	--
Van Atteveld	1682	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	-t	rejected
Gosens van Helden	1683	North	--	--	-t	--	--
Winschooten	1683	North	--	-d	-d	--	--

Vollenhove	1686	North	--	--	-t	--	--
Duykerius	1696	North	--	--	-d	--	--
Francius	1699	North	--	--	-dt	--	--
Van Geesdalle	1700	South	-d	-d	-d	--	--
Nyløe	1703	North	--	-dt	-t	--	--
Hilarides	1705	North	--	-t	-t	--	--
Moonen	1706	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	-d	rejected
Nyløe	1707	North	--	-dt	-t/-dt	--	--
Séwel	1708	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	--	--
Séwel	1712	North	--	-dt	-dt	--	--
E.C.P.	1713	North	--	-dt	-dt	--	--
Ten Kate	1723	North	--	-d	-d	--	--
Huydecoper	1730	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	--	--
Hakvoord	1746 [1698]	North	--	--	-d	--	--
Van Belle	1748	North	-d	-d	-d	--	--
Verpoorten	1752	South	--	--	-d (5)	--	--
Van Belle	1755	North	--	-d	-d	--	--
P.B.	1757	South	--	-d	-d	--	--
Verpoorten	1759	South	-d	-d	-d	-dt	tolerated
Des Roches	[1761]	South	-d	-d	-d	-t/-dt	rejected
Elzevier	1761	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	--	--
De Haes	1764	North	-d	--	-d	-t/-dt	rejected
Van der Palm	1769	North	--	-dt	-dt	--	--
Zeydelaar	1769	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	--	--
Zeydelaar	1772	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	-d	rejected
Van Bellegheem & Waterschoot	[1773]	South	--	--	-d	--	--
Janssens	[1775]	South	--	-d	-d	-t	rejected
Van Boterdael	1776 [± 1774]	South	-d	-d	-d	--	--
Cramer	1777 [± 1769]	North	--	-d	-d	--	--
Zeydelaar	1781	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	-d	rejected
Stéven	1784 [1714]	South	--	--	-d	--	--
Van Boterdael	1785	South	-d	-d	-d	--	--
Ballieu	1792 [1771]	South	-d	-d	-d	--	--
Van Bolhuis	1793	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	--	--
Wester	1797	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	--	--
Van Varik	1799	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	-d	rejected
Weiland	1799	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	--	--
Siegenbeek	1804	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	--	--
Weiland	1805	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	--	--
Schilperoort	1806	North	--	--	-dt	--	--
Anslijn	1814	North	--	-dt	-dt	--	--
Henckel	1815	South	--	-d	-d	--	--
De Neckere	1815	South	-d	-d	-dt	-dt	rejected
Ter Bruggen	1817-1818 [1815]	South	-d	--	-d	-dt	tolerated
Behaegel	1817	South	-d/-dt	--	-d	--	--
Cannaert	1823	South	-dt	-dt	-dt	-d	rejected
Moke	1823	South	-dt	-dt	-dt	--	--
Willems	1824	South	-dt	-dt	-dt	--	--
Behaegel	[± 1825]	South	-d	-d	-d	-dt	rejected
Bilderdijk	1826	North	-dt	-dt	-dt	--	--
De Simpel	[1827]	South	-dt	-dt	-dt	-d	rejected
Behaegel	[± 1829]	South	--	-d	-d	--	--

Table 11: norms and variant treatment final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs

Conclusion

The findings in language norms indicate that the spelling of the verb-final /t/ became a salient topic in the metalinguistic discussions from the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, with most of the norm givers explicitly commenting on the feature in their prescriptions. Despite the lack of consistency in norms, the results in section 4.1.2 clearly demonstrate the (ongoing) change towards the modern-day <dt> in the prescriptions, in both the Northern and the Southern Netherlands. In the Northern Netherlands, a gradual development emerges, in which variation between three variants is exchanged for uniform <dt> prescriptions in the nineteenth century. In the Southern Netherlands, an entirely different pattern is uncovered. In this part of the language area, the uniformity in favour of <d> is replaced by variability in the nineteenth century, where <dt> is first prescribed, next to <d> (cf. also Vosters, 2011; Vosters et al., 2014). Surprisingly, though, the older variant <t>, which appears solely in the Northern norms, never shows up in explicit injunctions. This pattern of change suggests that grammarians considered <t> an outdated variant already in the seventeenth century.

Furthermore, the discussion in section 4.1.3 revealed that codifiers made comments about the spelling of the verb-final /t/ in a highly prescriptive manner. By formulating strict language norms, most grammarians did not allow for variation in usage and prescribed only one variant in the form of correctives proper (Moschonas, 2020). The same norm givers did not reach mutual agreement on which variants to prescribe and proscribe, especially when considering the earlier periods from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Although the social evaluations of the spelling of the verb-final /t/ are limited to the nineteenth century, a few grammarians consider the form <dt> exogenous from the Southern Netherlands, and they emphasise its Hollandic origins instead. However, these arguments are raised only within the context of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. The boost in the discussion of alternative variants, the increased variability in Southern language norms, and the sudden emergence of social-geographic meanings ascribed to variants, may therefore be embedded within the changed socio-historical and language-political situation in the nineteenth century (cf. Vosters, 2011, p. 273).

4.2 Language use

In what follows in this section, I investigate patterns of variation and change in actual language use. These results are analysed using descriptive and inferential statistical techniques. For the descriptive analysis, the observed data from the usage corpus are discussed for each of the three variants, <t>, <d>, and <dt>, whereas in the statistical analysis, the variants are recoded into a binary response variable, in which <t> and <d> are both classified as ‘outgoing variant’, and <dt> is categorised as ‘incoming variant’.

As for the statistical part, I employed a mixed-effects logistic regression model, which was built from a minimal model that included only an intercept. Predictors and interactions were added manually, but only if they improved the model’s goodness of fit. The AIC of the individual models indicated that the predictors *period* and *region* contributed the most to the model, although the predictor *genre* also provided model improvement. In terms of interactions, three-way interactions always led to convergence issues. Only the two-way interaction between *period* and *region* was initially included, but it was eventually removed following a backward stepwise selection based on significance using the function *drop1*. Moreover, while the inclusion of *lemma* as a random intercept did not improve the model, the random intercept *id* significantly enhanced the regression model ($p = < 0.001$). The mixed-effects logistic regression model that is employed for investigating language use thus includes three fixed predictors – *period*, *region*, and *genre* – and the individual text in the corpus as a random effect to account for text-level variability.

Diagnostic checks revealed several influential observations when including *id* as a random effect. These observations were identified using Cook’s distance and leverage, suggesting that certain texts have a significant influence on the model’s parameter estimates. After manual investigation, these observations were retained, as they were legitimate representations of the underlying data and not data anomalies. The importance of individual texts in explaining variation is also suggested by the variance components of the random effect *id* (cf. Figure 22). Furthermore, residual diagnostics signalled deviations from normality. Despite these deviations, the overall model fit was deemed appropriate due to the improved Conditional R^2 and predictive performance, supported by a C-statistic

of 0.98, and a classification accuracy of 91%. To exclude the possibility of overfitting, the model's performance was also assessed on stratified testing data. With comparable scores for classification accuracy, no overfitting was attested. As such, the predictions of the described regression model are summarised in Figure 22, where the coefficients show the log odds of <dt> as the incoming form.

Main effects on the occurrence of <dt> as incoming form			
<i>Predictors</i>	<i>Log-Odds</i>	<i>CI</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	0.91	-1.64 – 3.47	0.483
PERIOD - 17th century	-2.70	-5.42 – 0.02	0.052
PERIOD - 18th century	-2.87	-5.63 – -0.12	0.041
PERIOD - 19th century	3.38	0.62 – 6.15	0.016
REGION - Zeeland	-0.71	-3.11 – 1.69	0.562
REGION - Brabant	2.20	-0.27 – 4.67	0.081
REGION - Vlaanderen	-1.42	-3.62 – 0.77	0.203
GENRE - Ego-documents	-2.57	-4.96 – -0.18	0.035
GENRE - Pamphlets	0.75	-1.23 – 2.73	0.460
Random Effects			
σ^2	3.29		
τ_{00} ID	15.00		
ICC	0.82		
N_{ID}	146		
Observations	718		
Marginal R^2 / Conditional R^2	0.403 / 0.893		

Figure 22: regression table of the main effects on the occurrence of <dt> as incoming form in language use

Turning to the actual discussion of the results in language use, I start by presenting the general distribution of the three variants as they are observed in the usage corpus. The sociolinguistic variables period, region (and area), and genre are subsequently involved in the discussion. Where applicable, I interpret the plots with significant effects from the statistical model, before I supplement these results with the descriptive statistics of the observed data.

General distribution

For this feature, 718 valid results were obtained in the *HCD*. The general distribution of the variants in language use shows that the same three variants as in language norms are represented in usage: <t>, <d>, and <dt>. This is illustrated by the examples from the corpus in Examples 5, 6 and 7.

- (5) *snamiddags sagen wy de Wagt op trekken 600 Man verdeelt in 3 Compagnie wierden ge Exerceert dat **geschiet** alle maande wanneer hun betaling krygen*
(EGO-1750-HO-2)

‘In the afternoon, we watched the guard march out. Six hundred men, organised into three companies, were being drilled. This drill takes place every month when they receive their payment’

- (6) *Het geen ik u hier vertaal, **geschied** als alles wel gaat*
(EGO-1850-VL-4)

‘What I am telling you here happens when everything goes well’

- (7) *zoo wy hier boven gezegd hebben geheel hare professie **geschiedt** volgens den nieuwen ceremonie-boek.*
(EGO-1850-VL-3)

‘As we stated earlier, their entire practice is carried out in accordance with the new ceremonial book’

Figure 23 indicates that the modern-day variant is clearly the majority form in the entire corpus (n=399; 55.6%), while the variants <t> and <d> are almost equally distributed. The phonetic <t> makes up for 21.3% of the data (n=153), and with 23.1%, <d> is used slightly more (n=166).

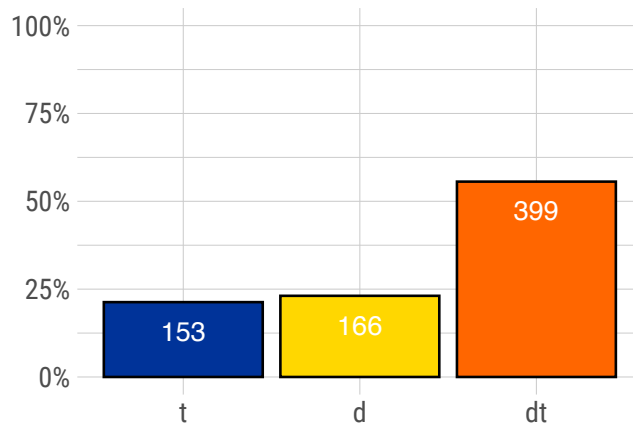
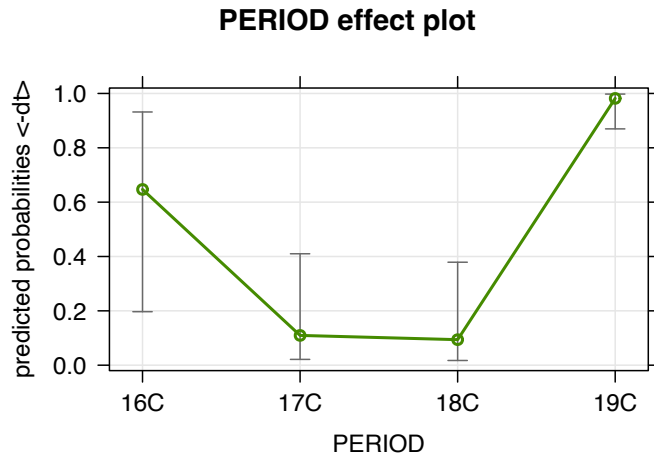


Figure 23: general distribution final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs

Per period

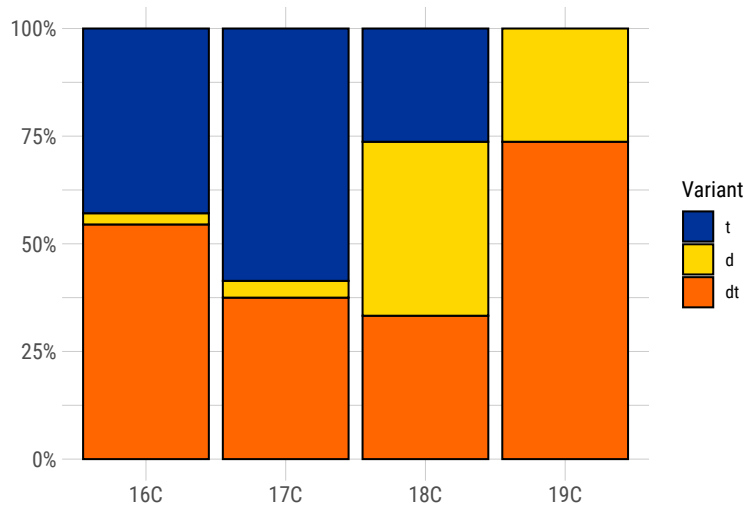
In terms of *period*, the regression model predicts a significant effect in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the eighteenth century, the model estimates a negative effect ($p = 0.04$), suggesting a lower likelihood of finding <dt> in the eighteenth century when compared to the sixteenth century as the reference level. In the nineteenth century, conversely, a strong positive effect is predicted ($p = 0.016$), indicating a higher likelihood of observing <dt> in the nineteenth century. This significant effect is also visualised in Figure 24. Furthermore, a pairwise comparison demonstrates that the use of <dt> in the nineteenth century not only differs from the sixteenth century. Also when comparing the most recent period to the seventeenth century, on the one hand, and to the eighteenth century, on the other hand, the use of <dt> differs significantly ($p = < 0.001$ for both periods). The regression model thus signifies that <dt> is convincingly implemented in nineteenth-century usage.

Figure 24: effect plot *period* - final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs

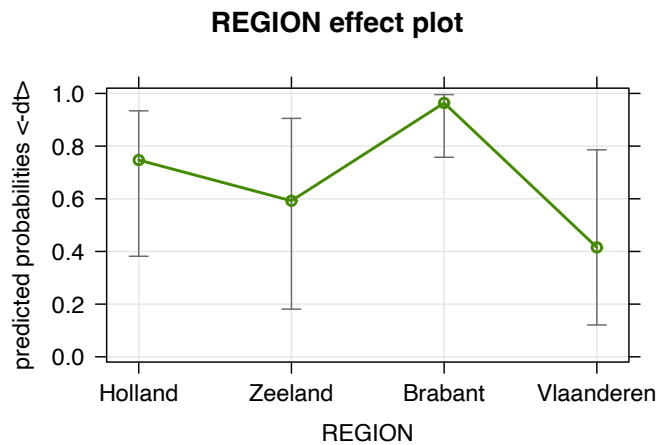
Turning to the observed data in the usage corpus, shown in Table 12 and Figure 25, we observe an almost binary opposition between <t> and <dt> in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century usage. While the phonetic variant <t> makes up for 42.9% of the data (n=33), <dt> is with 54.5% the majority variant in the earliest period (n=42). The proportions of the modern-day variant soon decrease in the seventeenth century (37.5%; n=48), where the phonetic <t>, in turn, is the dominant variant (58.6%; n=75). The form <d> is, with respectively 2 and 5 occurrences, only a marginal form at the time. This changes in the eighteenth century, when <d> strongly increases to 40.4% (n=69). As a result, the oldest variant <t> declines to 26.3% (n=45) in the eighteenth century. The phonetic <t> eventually disappears from usage in the nineteenth century. This again results in a binary opposition, this time with <d> and <dt> as the opposed variants. The present-day <dt> is with 73.7% (n=252) clearly the dominant variant in the nineteenth century, as was also indicated by the regression model.

	<t>	<d>	<dt>
16 th century	33 (42.9%)	2 (2.6%)	42 (54.5%)
17 th century	75 (58.6%)	5 (3.9%)	48 (37.5%)
18 th century	45 (26.3%)	69 (40.4%)	57 (33.3%)
19 th century	0 (0.0%)	90 (26.3%)	252 (73.7%)

Table 12: absolute and relative frequencies final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs per period

Figure 25: relative frequencies final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs per period

Per period and region

Figure 26: effect plot *region* - final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs

The regression model does not show significant differences in terms of *region*. This is also illustrated in the effect plot in Figure 26. Although none of the regions thus deviates significantly when compared to Holland as the reference level, a pairwise comparison indicates that usage in Brabant differs significantly from

the peripheral regions, Zeeland ($p = 0.037$) and Vlaanderen ($p = 0.005$). More specifically, the regression model predicts a higher overall frequency of <dt> in Brabant when compared to Zeeland and Vlaanderen.

In addition to general regional differences, Figure 27 presents regional variation from a diachronic point of view (cf. also Table 13). In line with the expectations of the regression model, the plot in Figure 27 exposes the robust distribution of <dt> in Brabant. While the incoming variant is dominant in Brabant across the four centuries, with relative proportions ranging from 52.4% to 72.1%, the use of <dt> fluctuates in the other regions. In Holland, for instance, <dt> is the main variant in the sixteenth century (64.7%, $n=11$), yet the form declines to 23.5% ($n=8$) in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, the variant rises again until <dt> is almost uniformly used in the nineteenth century (97.9%; $n=91$). A similar pattern is observed in Zeeland, where a massive increase of <dt> is observed in the nineteenth century (92.7%; $n=76$). While the modern-day <dt> thus breaks through in these regions, the share of the variant is more modest in Vlaanderen. Here, the form <dt> fails to achieve a compelling majority, and it does also not become dominant in the nineteenth century. In this region, the variant <d> fulfils the role as main variant in the nineteenth century (63.6%; $n=63$).

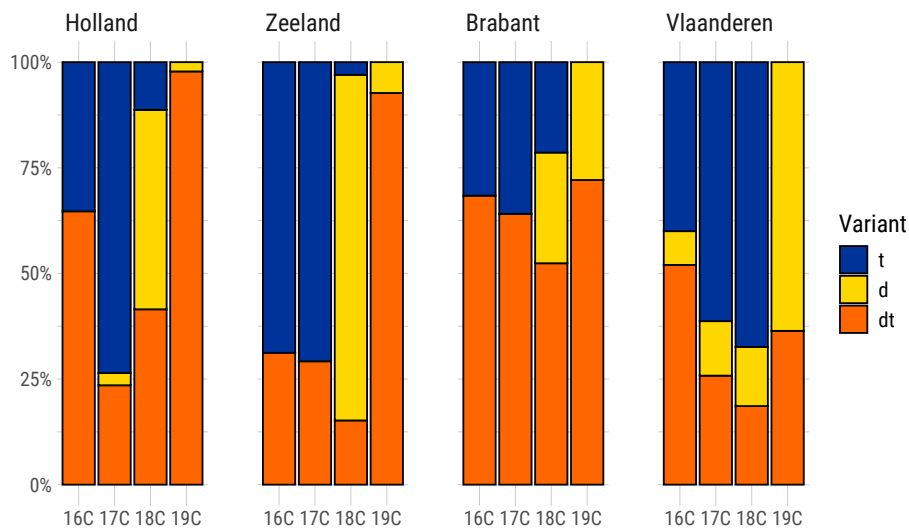


Figure 27: relative frequencies final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs per period and region

While the variant <d> is dominant in nineteenth-century Vlaanderen, the form loses importance in the other regions. In Brabant, the variant is still a minority spelling in the nineteenth century (27.9%; n=19). In the Northern regions, the variant <d> was a main variant in the eighteenth century, before the form considerably decreased to a minority variant in the nineteenth century.

The phonetic <t> also loses ground over time. In Holland and Zeeland, the variant was considerably used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, yet the form strongly declined in the eighteenth century, in favour of the variant <d>. In Brabant, the phonetic variant was used less frequently, but also here, a decrease of <t> is observed in the eighteenth century. In Vlaanderen, conversely, the variant <t> increased from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. When the form thus slowly disappeared from usage in the other regions, the spelling <t> was still used in 67.4% (n=29) of the instances in Vlaanderen. In the nineteenth century, the oldest spelling vanished entirely from usage in all investigated regions.

The observed data thus illustrate the relevance of considering regional differences. After all, no clear North-South distinction was detected in language use. It is therefore important to recollect that the usage patterns in Holland and Zeeland are more or less similar, with the exception that Holland adopts the spelling <dt> more strongly in the eighteenth century. Larger differences are observed between the Southern regions. Language users from Brabant employ more <dt> forms in overall, whereas language users from Vlaanderen are more conservative and reluctant in implementing the modern-day variant.

<i>Holland</i>			
	<t>	<d>	<dt>
16 th century	6 (35.3%)	0 (0.0%)	11 (64.7%)
17 th century	25 (73.5%)	1 (2.9%)	8 (23.5%)
18 th century	6 (11.3%)	25 (47.2%)	22 (41.5%)
19 th century	0 (0.0%)	2 (2.2%)	91 (97.8%)
<i>Zeeland</i>			
	<t>	<d>	<dt>
16 th century	11 (68.8%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (31.2%)
17 th century	17 (70.8%)	0 (0.0%)	7 (29.2%)
18 th century	1 (3.0%)	27 (81.8%)	5 (15.2%)
19 th century	0 (0.0%)	6 (7.3%)	76 (92.7%)
<i>Brabant</i>			
	<t>	<d>	<dt>
16 th century	6 (31.6%)	0 (0.0%)	13 (68.4%)
17 th century	14 (35.9%)	0 (0.0%)	25 (64.1%)
18 th century	9 (21.4%)	11 (26.2%)	22 (52.4%)
19 th century	0 (0.0%)	19 (27.9%)	49 (72.1%)
<i>Vlaanderen</i>			
	<t>	<d>	<dt>
16 th century	10 (40.0%)	2 (8.0%)	13 (52.0%)
17 th century	19 (61.3%)	4 (12.9%)	8 (25.8%)
18 th century	29 (67.4%)	6 (14.0%)	8 (18.6%)
19 th century	0 (0.0%)	63 (63.6%)	36 (36.4%)

Table 13: absolute and relative frequencies final /t/ in d-stem verbs per period and region

Per period, area, and genre

As the effect plot in Figure 28 shows, the regression model also foresees a significant effect for *genre*. More specifically, a negative effect is expected in the ego-documents, suggesting a significantly lower likelihood of attesting <dt> forms in this genre, when compared to the administrative texts as the reference level ($p = 0.035$). Additionally, a pairwise comparison indicates that the spelling practice in the ego-documents also deviates significantly from the pamphlets ($p = 0.003$). The statistical analysis thus shows that <dt> spelling practices are generally less prevalent in ego-documents.

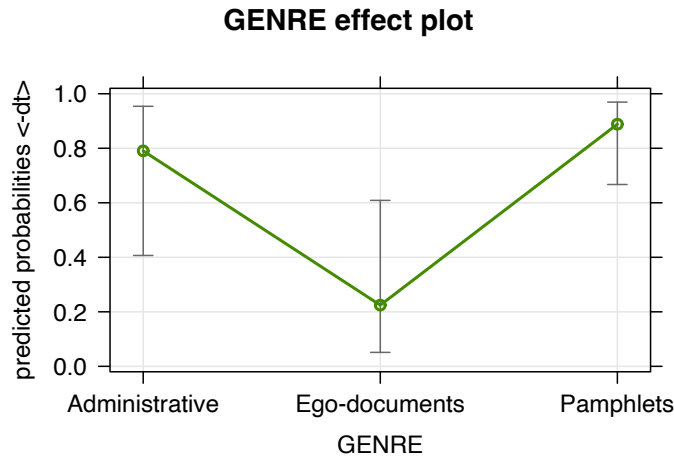


Figure 28: effect plot *genre* - final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs

Due to the low number of observations when analysing the diachronic evolution of genres per region, the differences between the genres are not discussed for each individual region but for the two parts of the language area. Where relevant, the regional nuances that were signalled before are still considered.

The observed results presented in Figure 29 illustrate that ego-documents are indeed the most conservative genre (cf. also Table 14). These texts not only have the lowest frequency of <dt> forms in general. In the nineteenth century, when <dt> is clearly the favoured variant in the other genres, the change to <dt> is also not as far progressed in this informal handwritten genre. In both Northern and Southern ego-documents, the proportions of the modern-day variant fluctuate around 55% in the nineteenth century. Only the Southern administrative texts are with 38.2% <dt> (n=85) more conservative at the time. The administrative texts and pamphlets from the North, on the contrary, show an almost complete change to <dt> in the nineteenth century.

Although the change to <dt> is thus reflected in all genres, the variant <d> is still considerably used in the nineteenth-century South. The form is used in Brabant and Vlaanderen, but the spelling clearly occurs more frequently in the peripheral Vlaanderen. Brabantine language users particularly employ the form in ego-documents (78.9% <dt>; n=15), while <d> is attested across all genres in Vlaanderen. Here, the variant is dominant in the administrative texts (81.0%, n=51), and it still occurs in printed genres like the pamphlets as well (11.1%,

n=7). In Northern usage, the variant <d> has clearly lost ground. It only remains a variant of importance in the ego-documents (41.7%, n=5).

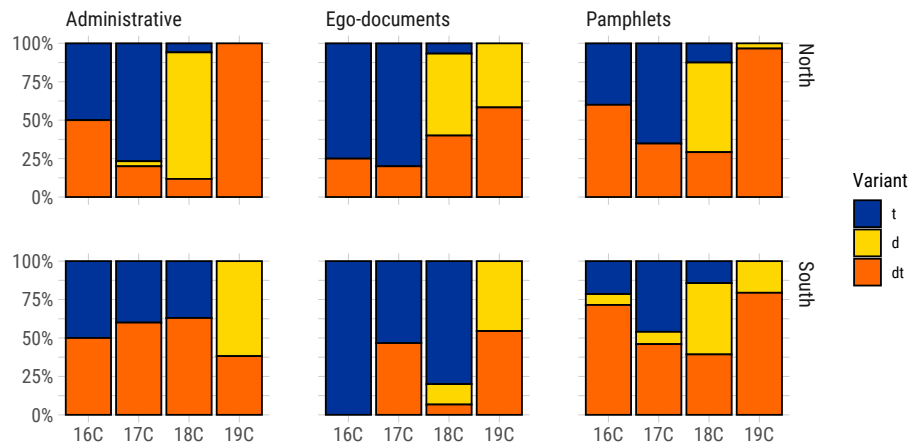


Figure 29: relative frequencies final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs per period, area, and genre

In line with the statistical analysis, the observed results indicate that the modern-day <dt> was implemented most radically in the pamphlets and administrative texts. Although pamphlets indeed display an almost complete shift to <dt> in both the North and the South, the observed data also nuance that Southern administrative texts may have been less progressive in adopting <dt> compared to those in the North. Together with the entire genre of ego-documents, these administrative documents adhered most strongly to <d> in the nineteenth century.

Administrative texts

	NORTHERN NETHERLANDS			SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS		
	<t>	<d>	<dt>	<t>	<d>	<dt>
16 th century	12 (50.0%)	0 (0.0%)	12 (50.0%)	6 (50.0%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (50.0%)
17 th century	23 (76.7%)	1 (3.3%)	6 (20.0%)	2 (40.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (60.0%)
18 th century	1 (5.9%)	14 (82.4%)	2 (11.8%)	10 (37.0%)	0 (0.0%)	17 (63.0%)
19 th century	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	74 (100%)	0 (0.0%)	55 (61.8%)	85 (38.2%)

Ego-documents

	NORTHERN NETHERLANDS			SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS		
	<t>	<d>	<dt>	<t>	<d>	<dt>
16 th century	3 (75.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (25.0%)	4 (100%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
17 th century	4 (80.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (20.0%)	8 (53.3%)	0 (0.0%)	7 (46.7%)
18 th century	3 (6.7%)	24 (53.3%)	18 (40.0%)	24 (80.0%)	4 (13.3%)	2 (6.7%)
19 th century	0 (0.0%)	5 (41.7%)	7 (58.3%)	0 (0.0%)	20 (45.5%)	24 (54.5%)

Pamphlets

	NORTHERN NETHERLANDS			SOUTHERN NETHERLANDS		
	<t>	<d>	<dt>	<t>	<d>	<dt>
16 th century	2 (40.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3 (60.0%)	6 (21.4%)	2 (7.1%)	20 (71.4%)
17 th century	15 (65.2%)	0 (0.0%)	8 (34.8%)	23 (46.0%)	4 (8.0%)	23 (46.0%)
18 th century	3 (12.5%)	14 (58.3%)	7 (29.2%)	4 (14.3%)	13 (46.4%)	11 (39.3%)
19 th century	0 (0.0%)	3 (3.4%)	86 (96.6%)	0 (0.0%)	7 (20.6%)	27 (79.4%)

Table 14: absolute and relative frequencies final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs per period, area, and genre

Conclusion

The overall pattern in language use indicates that usage is highly variable from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Alike in the prescriptions, three variants show up in usage until the eighteenth century. The phonetic <t>, however, entirely disappears from usage in the nineteenth century. This variant probably became archaic when the newer <d> and <dt> emerged. In the most recent period, tension thus remains between the latter two variants, although <dt> convincingly establishes as the dominant spelling in nineteenth-century usage.

Although the change to <dt> is attested in the Northern and Southern Netherlands, regional differences were identified. In the two Northern regions, we see the variant <d> increasing in the eighteenth century until it is suppressed by the modern-day <dt> in the nineteenth century. This results in a largely finalised change to <dt> in both Holland and Zeeland. Greater regional discrepancies arise in Southern usage. In this part of the language area, Brabant emerges as a progressive region, whereas Vlaanderen remains conservative regarding this spelling feature. In fact, Brabant shows high proportions of <dt> over time, while Vlaanderen strongly adheres to older variants <t> and <d>. As a result, the peripheral region in the South is the only region where <dt> is not a dominant variant in the nineteenth century.

In terms of genre differences, the transition to <dt> is most pronounced in the pamphlets and in the Northern administrative texts. These genres thus fulfil the most progressive role in implementing the incoming variant in the nineteenth century. The rather informal ego-documents are, together with the Southern administrative texts, the most conservative genre, as they are more reluctant in adopting <dt> in the nineteenth century.

4.3 Prescriptive influence

In this section, the influence of prescriptivism on usage is investigated. I explore patterns of change in language norms and usage to determine the relationship between both actors. The chronology of language change is mapped out to establish which changes are possibly caused by prescriptive interventions. These

options of prescriptive influence are subsequently discussed and interpreted in section 5.

Chronology of change

In Figure 30 and Figure 31, the observed chronology of change is visualised for norms and usage respectively. All datapoints are therefore projected onto an underlying numeric scale with equal distance between each variant (1-2-3). The trendlines in the plots give a general indication of the pattern of change, whereas the plotted dots represent the observed data points. In ascertaining the chronology of language change, I distinguish between the three observed variants in norms and usage: <t>, <d>, and <dt>.

The prescriptions for the spelling of the verb-final /t/ commence with one Northern codifier favouring the spelling <t> in the sixteenth century, before variability arises, with three variants appearing in seventeenth-century norms. Although variable prescriptions continue in the eighteenth century, <t> disappears from the prescriptions, and a preference for <dt> emerges in the North. This preference culminates in uniformity towards the end of the eighteenth century. A diachronic change from variability to uniform <dt> prescriptions is thus observed in the Northern part of the language area.

When these changes are compared to Northern usage, Figure 31 illustrates that usage is also characterised by variability. The early variability between <t> and <dt> even increases in the first half of the seventeenth century, when also <d> shows up in language use. Interesting in this respect is the sudden appearance of the analogical <d> in seventeenth-century usage, which occurs a few decades after the first <d> prescription in 1612. In fact, as I will discuss later, this is an option in which prescriptive influence is possible. In any case, this potential effect of prescriptivism for the variant <d> is only temporary, since Northern usage almost uniformly adopts <dt> in the nineteenth century. This adherence to <dt> is the result of a massive increase of the present-day variant, following on the highly consistent <dt> prescriptions at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. Also this change in usage suggests a possible relationship between language norms and usage.

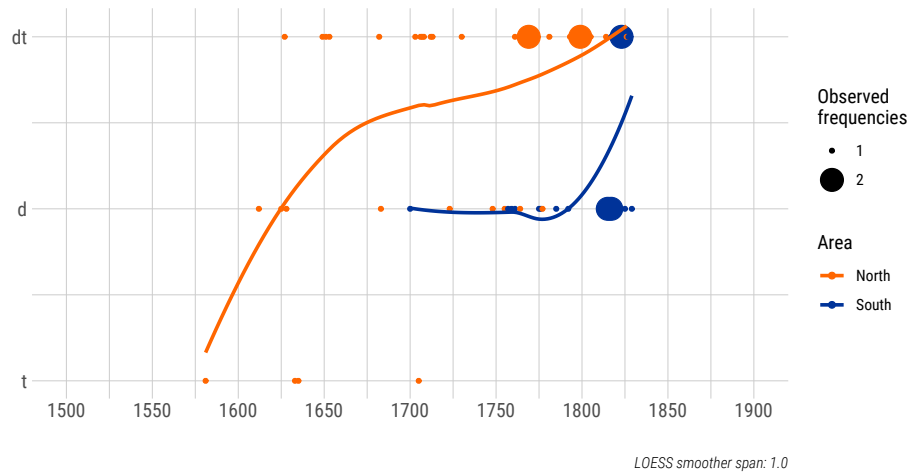


Figure 30: prescriptions final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs per year and area

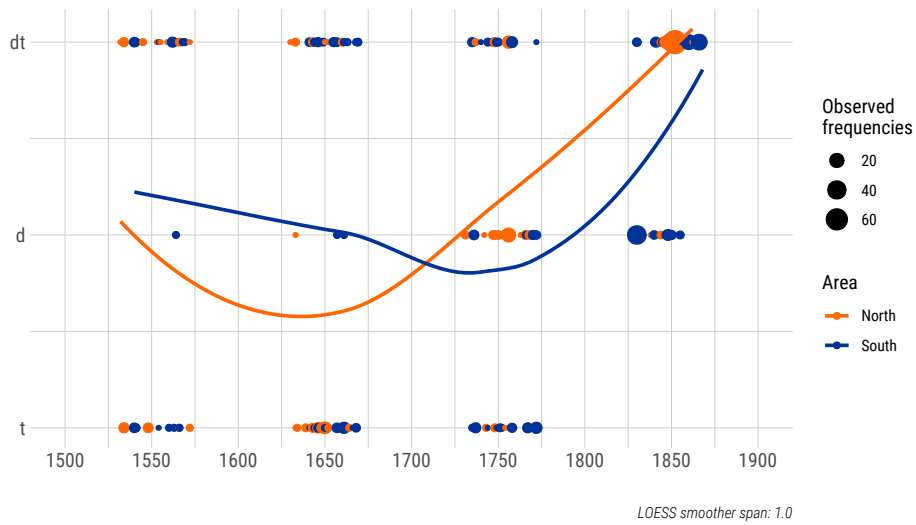


Figure 31: language use final /t/ in *d*-stem verbs per year and area

In the Southern Netherlands, the very first prescription on the topic is introduced in the beginning of the eighteenth century. A few decades after this prescription, multiple <d> prescriptions show up in Southern norms. This uniform tradition of <d> prescriptions lasts until the early nineteenth century, when Southern codifiers start prescribing <dt>. This shift in the prescriptions is particularly pronounced towards the end of the period of political reunification with the Northern Netherlands (viz. United Kingdom of the Netherlands). However, not all grammarians in the South make this change. A couple of grammarians still adhere to the variant <d> at the time.

The initial uniformity in Southern language norms is certainly lacking in Southern usage, where variability between <t>, <d>, and <dt> persists from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Also here, <t> disappears from usage in the nineteenth century, when <d> and <dt> are both considerably used. After the first prescriptions for <dt> appeared in the South, the modern-day variant increases strongly in Southern usage. Although this again suggests possible prescriptive interference, a considerable number of writers still uses the variant <d> at the time. This at least implies that the real breakthrough of <dt> in the South did not occur before 1850 and is probably situated later in the nineteenth century.

As such, the comparison of patterns in norms and usage indicates variable norms and usage from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries. Although prevailing variability makes prescriptive influence less likely, an impact of prescriptivism may also take place when prescriptions and usage are not uniform, of course. However, when considering the chronology of change, prescriptive influence appears most probable in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. All options in which prescriptivism possibly interfered in usage are summed up below.

- (1) Although Northern grammarians in the seventeenth century did not reach consistency in their prescriptions, the language norms favouring <d> precede the increase of the variant in eighteenth-century usage in the Northern Netherlands.

- (2) Also in the Northern Netherlands, the variant <t> disappeared from eighteenth-century language norms, which prescribed alternative variants at the time. A century later, <t> also vanished from Northern usage.
- (3) By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Northern codifiers were all prescribing <dt>. Although this variant was already in use, the consistency in norms is followed by a massive increase of <dt> variants in Northern usage around 1850.
- (4) Even though <d> was applied in Southern usage before the first prescriptions for the variant appeared, an increase of the form is observed in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Southern usage.
- (5) The phonetic <t> disappeared from Southern usage in the nineteenth century. This happens right after a century of consistent <d> prescriptions by Southern codifiers.
- (6) Southern language practices show an increased use of <dt> around the middle of the nineteenth century. Although norms and usage remain variable, the increase occurs around 1825 in the prescriptions, while language use changes a few decades later.

In the following section, I will evaluate whether these changes in language use are caused by prescriptivists' attempts of regulating the spelling of the verb-final /t/.

5 Discussion

As is the case for all case studies investigated in this dissertation, extralinguistic factors like the target audience of normative works, the type of the prescription, and genre differences are considered to evaluate whether and to what extent prescriptivism exerted an impact on language change.

For **option 1**, we start in the Northern Netherlands, where an increase of the variant <d> in usage is preceded by individual prescriptions for the same form. Although this chronology of change in principle allows for prescriptive influence, an impact of Northern prescriptions is unlikely. An influence of prescriptivism is not expected due to the type of prescriptions that favour <d> in the seventeenth century. Only one grammarian explicitly prescribes <d> (cf. Ampzing, 1628),

while all other prescriptions are implicit in nature. Apart from the fact that explicit injunctions on the topic were not prominent, Northern prescriptions were highly variable at the time. Also the genre tendencies suggest that prescriptive influence is unlikely. It is improbable that individual norm givers in the seventeenth century reached both pamphlets, administrative texts, and ego-documents. It is therefore more likely that <d> arose as an innovation in Northern usage between 1670 and 1730.

Following the prescriptions for <d> and <dt> in the Northern Netherlands, the phonetic <t> disappears from usage in the nineteenth century. In **option 2**, I evaluate whether the prescriptions for alternative variants, and the proscriptions for <t>, resulted in the vanishing of the variant in Northern usage. In this context, it is important to consider that a strong decline of <t> is observed already in the eighteenth century, a century before the actual disappearance of the form in usage. This decrease of <t> took place across all genres. While the prescriptions for alternative variants also precede the decline of the form in usage, prescriptive influence is rather unlikely in this case. It would be odd, after all, if the diverging <d> and <dt> prescriptions of elitist grammarians, such as Moonen (1706) and Ten Kate (1723), who had a restricted target audience, were able to influence both formal (pamphlets and administrative texts) and informal (ego-documents) genres in eighteenth-century usage.

From a different perspective, however, the way in which the phonetic <t> is implicitly treated by norm givers is also important to acknowledge. Already before the eighteenth century, codifiers did not devote an explicit prescription to the form. Although <t> was thus still in use in the earlier periods, the variant was considered too obsolete to be explicitly prescribed. By not prescribing <t>, but the newer variants <d> and <dt> instead, norm givers possibly created awareness among language users of not using the phonetic <t> anymore.

The effect of prescriptions for 'newer' variants like <d> and <dt> is perhaps also visible in the nineteenth century. In **option 3**, I determine whether the consistent <dt> prescriptions in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are related to the massive increase of the form in Northern usage. In this context, it is important to stress that <dt> had been applied since the sixteenth century, so prescriptivism could not have initiated this change in usage. Nonetheless, prescriptivism may have succeeded in accelerating the ongoing change to <dt>

in usage. The discussed increase of <dt> in usage is visible in all genres in the nineteenth century. Yet, the form rises the strongest in administrative texts and pamphlets. As the incline of <dt> is most pronounced in the printed and formal genres, an influence of prescriptivism indeed is a plausible scenario. Furthermore, since language norms in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were disseminated across all layers of society (cf. period of national grammar), it is no surprise that ego-documents immediately partitioned in the increase of <dt>. The most influential and widespread prescriptions probably derived from the Hollandic grammarian, Siegenbeek (1804), who formulated a prescription for <dt> in his national orthography of Dutch. As Krogull (2018) also concluded for this spelling feature, with the official spelling regulations, Siegenbeek (1804) probably succeeded in establishing the spelling <dt> in Northern usage.

Turning to the Southern Netherlands now, **option 4** explores whether the consistent prescriptions for <d> caused an increase of the form in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century usage. To determine whether Southern prescriptivism played a role in the incline of <d>, both regional and genre differences are considered. When looking at genre differences in the eighteenth century, the growth of <d> is most pronounced in the pamphlets. In this genre, the increase of <d> emerges simultaneously with the tradition of <d> prescriptions of Southern grammarians. In this case, prescriptions do thus not convincingly precede the incline of <d> in pamphlets, which makes an influence of prescriptivism unlikely.

When the consistent <d> prescriptions continued, however, the variant suddenly pops up in the administrative texts as well. This strong increase of <d> in the administrative texts is entirely situated in the region of Vlaanderen, where <d> is the main variant in the nineteenth century. It is therefore probable that the codified norms that were published in the period of civil grammars, particularly influenced writers from Vlaanderen in the nineteenth century. Since <d> was frequently used in pamphlets a century earlier, the printed genre may have helped in spreading this change to Vlaanderen. While this change can thus be considered an influence ‘from above’, the credit does not accrue only to norm givers but also to the dissemination of printed documents.

In the nineteenth century, the phonetic <t> disappears from Southern usage. **Option 5** evaluates whether the fading of the form is correlated with the prescriptions for alternative variants like <d> and <dt>. Like in Northern usage, the vanishing of <t> from Southern usage is preceded by a strong decrease of the variant in the eighteenth century. This large decline of <t> is not visible in all genres, but only in the pamphlets. Furthermore, this decrease of <t> co-occurs with the tradition of <d> prescriptions that was set up in the South. Within this normative tradition, a few grammarians, like Des Roches (s.d. [1761]), not only prescribed <d>, but also explicitly formulated a proscription on <t>. Given the fact that prescriptions and proscriptions emerge simultaneously with the decline of <t> in pamphlets, an impact of prescriptivism is not very plausible. While the vanishing of the form in the nineteenth century could be reinforced by such normative injunctions, the fact that <t> was considered outdated for several centuries may also have contributed to its demise.

Also in the nineteenth century, the modern-day variant <dt> increases in Southern usage. In **option 6**, I analyse whether this increase of <dt> is related to an influence of prescriptivism, as was the case in the Northern Netherlands (cf. option 3). It is around the advent of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands that Southern grammarians start prescribing <dt>, a form that has been in use since the sixteenth century. The sudden increase of the variant in usage takes place around 1850, thus a few decades after the first <dt> prescriptions appeared in the South. Compared to the North, the growth of the form is less extreme in the South, since variation with <d> still exists (cf. option 4). More specifically, in the region of Vlaanderen, the variant <d> is still the majority spelling variant. In the region of Brabant, conversely, <dt> is the dominant variant in the nineteenth century. Since the increase of <dt> in usage is preceded by prescriptions for the same variant, a restricted impact – similar to the influence of Siegenbeek in the North – with codifiers accelerating an ongoing change is possible.

However, due to the specific context of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands at the time, it is also important to acknowledge that the increase of <dt> in the South may be related to the specific language-political situation in the nineteenth century. In fact, when also investigating the spelling of the verb-final /t/, Vosters et al. (2014) argued that the changed socio-historical context, and consequently the increased contact between the Northern and the Southern Netherlands, also

facilitated and strengthened the implementation of the 'Northern' <dt> in the Southern part of the language area. As such, both the success of the official spelling regulations and the socio-historical context may have caused the increase of <dt> in Southern usage in the nineteenth century.

6 Conclusion

In the last part of this chapter, a conclusion is formulated on the success of prescriptive interventions for the spelling of the verb-final /t/. But first, the patterns of variation and change are linked to the hypotheses set up in section 2 of this chapter.

Let us consider the developments of the phonetic <t> first. In both the Northern and the Southern Netherlands, the pattern of change allows for an impact 'from above'. As was expected in hypothesis 1, the disappearance of <t> in Northern and Southern usage is inevitably related to the implicit stigmatisation of the variant as 'obsolete' and 'outdated'. With norm givers (implicitly) affirming this stigma in their proscriptions, and with codifiers prescribing more modern variants, grammarians may have facilitated the vanishing of the variant in usage in an indirect way.

As for the morphological <d> in hypothesis 2, I formulated different presumptions for the Northern and the Southern Netherlands, which are now partly confirmed. In the North, the premise that <d> would be the majority form in eighteenth-century usage is verified. As opposed to what I expected, the morphological <d> was also prescribed by a number of codifiers in the eighteenth-century North. However, prescriptive influence was unlikely for this variant, which affirms hypothesis 2 for the Northern Netherlands. Contrary to what I expected for the Southern Netherlands, <d> was not the majority form in the entire eighteenth-century South. Here, the chronology of change and the genre discrepancies revealed that forces 'from above' most likely triggered an increase to <d> in Vlaanderen and in the nineteenth-century ego-documents.

Lastly, the presumption for the variant <dt> in hypothesis 3 is confirmed. As expected, <dt> prescriptions of Northern grammarians did not have any effect on usage in the eighteenth century, whereas the increase of the present-day form

in the nineteenth-century North is most likely related to an impact of prescriptivism. Also Southern norms and usage provide evidence for prescriptive interference. Yet, in this context, also the socio-historical context probably strengthened the change to <dt> in Southern norms and usage (cf. Vosters et al., 2014).

In two of the six options in which the chronology of change allowed for an impact of prescriptivism, it is likely that codified norms influenced language use in some way. These instances are both situated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, at the time that the standard language ideology emerged, and the target audience of normative works extended to a broader readership (cf. Rutten, 2019). What is more, exactly in these contexts, the metalinguistic salience of the feature had just taken a sharp rise, with the majority of norm givers formulating explicit prescriptions (and proscriptions) on the spelling of the verb-final /t/. Furthermore, these spelling prescriptions are implemented in periods in which the prescriptions were highly uniform, with all codifiers prescribing <d> in the eighteenth-century South, and with grammarians agreeing on <dt> prescriptions in the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century North.

Although prescriptivism thus achieved some successes for this spelling variable, these are by no means major influences with norm givers actuating new changes in usage, or turning around entire language practices. Codifiers merely reinforced the use of a variant, and expanded its application to a wider range of genres. In that sense, not only prescriptivism but also printed genres like pamphlets, but perhaps also newspapers and other printed texts that enjoyed a broad social reach, aided in disseminating spelling variants to other (handwritten) genres in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although this diffusion of spelling variants is thus a collective achievement ‘from above’, its impact is not necessarily widespread or long-lasting. In fact, in this case study, prescriptive success aligns with major socio-historical changes. The fact that Southern prescriptions were only temporarily successful is probably due to the changing socio-historical context in the nineteenth century, where the official norms from the North took the upper hand. While the official language policy from the Northern Netherlands was thus certainly influential in both parts of the language area, this textbook case also depends on a context of changing language policies and nation-building processes, in which language users are more prone to influences ‘from above’.