


Anm.d.Bearb.:

KORREKTURFAHNE AUTOR/HRSG — 14.03.16

'Gijsbert Rutten

## Teaching the genitive

### Variation of genitival constructions in Dutch 'national' grammar (1800–1830)

ABSTRACT

!! please submit a short (English) text !!

5

-----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----  
 -----

#### 1. Introduction

10 Northern Dutch metalinguistic discourse from the eighteenth century is characterized by the gradual widening of its intended audience and its social reach (Noordegraaf 2004; Rutten 2009). Whereas many of the normative publications from the first half of the century are targeted towards an elite audience of poets and ministers, the second half of the century shows two subsequent steps of 'widening'. First, the idea arises that knowledge of the rules of grammar and spelling as laid down in the normative tradition should become common  
 15 knowledge to all adult inhabitants of the northern Netherlands. Then, this idea is radicalized in the sense that explicit knowledge of the 'mother tongue' becomes a matter of national concern. This led to official regulations for the spelling and grammar of Dutch, to proposals to make grammar and spelling  
 20 obligatory subjects in primary school, and to concrete language-in-education laws aimed at the top-down dissemination of grammatical knowledge in the school system. As of 1804 and 1805, the Dutch government adopted an official spelling and grammar, viz. Siegenbeek (1804) and Weiland (1805a). The

changes in metalinguistic discourse can be summarized as a change from *elitist* (1700–1740) to ‘*civil*’ (1740–1770) to *national* grammar (from 1770 onward). The final reconceptualization of Dutch as a symbol of the Dutch nation is closely tied to concomitant nation-building activities (Rutten 2016; cf. Noordegraaf 1999). It is from the period of national grammar onward that grammar and spelling have been focal points of Dutch educational policy, discursively constructing the alleged rules of written Dutch as ‘the’ rules of ‘the’ language of ‘the’ Dutch nation.

In earlier publications, I have focused on elitist and civil grammar, and on the first decades of national grammar in the late eighteenth century (Rutten 2006, 2009, 2012). In the present paper, I will zoom in on the next episode in the period of national grammar, i.e. the first decades of the nineteenth century. In particular, I will focus on the treatment of genitival constructions in metalinguistic discourse, comparing the prescriptions found therein to usage patterns on the basis of empirical research of genitival constructions. The genitive is a particularly interesting topic in this context. The historical synthetic genitive, expressed by case marking on nominals and adnominals, has been in decline since the Middle Ages, mainly giving way to analytical forms with the preposition *van* ‘of’. At the same time, Dutch metalinguistic discourse from the sixteenth century onward has promoted a fully-fledged case system with four or six cases, among which the genitive. The opposite development of language use and language norms has led to a vivid research tradition focusing on the genitive, with a strong focus on the seventeenth and, to a lesser extent, the eighteenth century (e.g. Geerts 1966; Maljaars 1979; Scott 2013; Weerman et al. 2013; Nobels/Rutten 2014; Simons/Rutten 2014).

In Rutten (2009), I argue that the eighteenth-century change from elitist to national grammar is clearly visible in the way the genitive is treated in the normative tradition. The growing concern with the language use of the people at large leads to the increasing importance of analytical forms at the expense of synthetic forms. In addition, various metalinguistic texts try to handle the variation of synthetic and analytical forms by allocating them to different stylistic levels (van der Wal 2002: 56–59). Adopting the three stylistic levels often distinguished in the rhetorical tradition, viz. the familiar, polite and elevated style, grammarians assign the analytical genitive to the first and/or the second level, and the synthetic genitive to the second and/or the third. When in the period of national grammar language norms become a matter of national concern, and more specifically of national education, the question arises how the genitive is dealt with in this period. On the assumption that synthetic genitives were predominantly used in the written language and in higher registers, one could expect that the increasing attention given to analytical forms is continued or intensified, especially given the educational focus of the period and the aim to reach the whole Dutch population. On the other hand, it is also known that

Weiland (1805a) only mentioned synthetic forms in his paradigms, suggesting that only the higher registers were of real importance for the Dutch population at large, schoolchildren included (Rutten 2012).

In section 2, I will briefly discuss the historical background of the loss of inflection, summarize the results from recent research of language use from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and review eighteenth-century prescriptions with respect to the genitive. In section 3, I focus on the treatment of genitival constructions in a selection of metalinguistic texts from the first three decades of national grammar (1800–1830). I discuss both the explicit prescriptions found in grammar books and the use of the grammarians' themselves. In section 4, I will discuss these results against the background of the eighteenth-century usage patterns and norms summarized in section 2.

## 2. The genitive in the eighteenth century

For Old and Middle Dutch, four inflectional cases are usually distinguished, viz. the nominative, genitive, dative, and accusative (van der Wal / van Bree 2008: 132–135). Already in the Middle Dutch period, however, the case system weakens, with for example analytic genitives occurring even in the earliest sources. The loss of inflection generates variation of historical synthetic forms such as *des vaders* 'of the father' and analytical prepositional phrases such as *van den vader* 'of the father'. While synthetic genitives still occur in written texts of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is often assumed that a fully-fledged case system was not in use in Early and Late Modern spoken Dutch (Geerts 1966: 152; van der Horst 2008: 1074–1075). By the eighteenth century, the genitive was first and foremost a written form.

From the sixteenth century onward, however, grammars and other metalinguistic texts have prescribed the use of four to six cases in Dutch, often including the vocative and the ablative in addition to the four traditional cases (van der Wal / van Bree 2008: 191–193, 241–243). In the eighteenth-century normative tradition in the northern Netherlands, both synthetic genitives (e.g. *des*) and analytical alternatives (e.g. *van den*) occur. Characteristic of grammar books from the around the middle of the century, i.e. from the period of civil grammar, are the plain efforts to rephrase the relatively complex grammatical descriptions of the earlier period of elitist grammar in simpler terms, and thus to make knowledge of the grammar of Dutch accessible to a larger audience (Rutten 2009). With respect to the genitive, this means that grammar books from this period consistently also present the analytical alternatives, whereas earlier publications often only mention the historical inflectional case forms in their paradigms. In the final decades of the eighteenth century, when the debate about a national grammar is open, this leads to grammatical descriptions in which the analytical forms are preferred, and in which sometimes the syn-

thetic forms are not even mentioned anymore in the paradigms (Rutten 2012: 51–52). The shift from synthetic to analytical forms signals an ongoing effort to appropriate the language of ‘the population’ instead of solely the language of ‘the elite’, as a metalinguistic mirror of the socio-political ideology of inclusive citizenship characteristic of the final decades of the eighteenth century (Rutten 2012: 55).

Nevertheless, in Weiland’s grammar (1805a), the official grammar that came into existence after a few decades of debate about the necessity of official language regulations, only the synthetic forms are mentioned in the paradigms (Rutten 2012: 53). Table 1 — based on Table 1a in Rutten (2012: 51), where a larger number of texts is analyzed — summarizes the development from synthetic in the first period (Moonen, Verwer) to the systematic offering of both synthetic and analytical forms in the second period (Elzevier, van der Palm), and to the restriction to analytical forms in the final period (van Bolhuis), while adding the results for Weiland (1805a). Table 1 presents the forms of the definite article given in the appropriate paradigms in these grammatical texts.

	Genitive singular		
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Moonen 1706	<i>des</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>des</i>
Verwer 1707	<i>des</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>des, van den</i>
Elzevier 1761	<i>van de, des</i>	<i>van de, der</i>	<i>van het, den</i>
van der Palm 1769	<i>des, van den</i>	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>des, van het</i>
van Bolhuis <sup>2</sup> 1799	<i>van den</i>	<i>van de</i>	<i>van het</i>
Weiland 1805	<i>des</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>des</i>
	Genitive plural		
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Moonen 1706	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>
Verwer 1707	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>der, van de</i>
Elzevier 1761	<i>van de, der</i>	<i>van de, der</i>	<i>van de, der</i>
van der Palm 1769	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>der, van de</i>
van Bolhuis <sup>2</sup> 1799	<i>van de</i>	<i>van de</i>	<i>van de</i>
Weiland 1805	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>

Table 1: Prescribed forms of the definite article in genitive singular and plural in the paradigms offered in a selection of eighteenth-century metalinguistic texts

Another way of dealing with the variation of synthetic and analytical forms is by assigning the variants to different stylistic levels. In the early eighteenth century, Lambert ten Kate in his *Aenleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* ‘Introduction to the knowledge of the sublime part of the Dutch language’ (1723) interprets the difference between the use of case endings in higher registers such as formal and literary language, and the

lack of case endings in other registers as a matter of style. He distinguishes between the *hoogdravende* ‘elevated’, *deftige* ‘polite’ and *gemeenzaeme* ‘familiar’ style, and distributes the variants over these three stylistic levels, prescribing only analytical forms in the familiar style, and limiting the use of solely synthetic genitives to certain context in the elevated style. Ten Kate’s solution of interpreting grammatical variation in stylistic terms had some influence on eighteenth-century metalinguistic discourse (van der Wal 2002: 56–59; Rutten 2012: 54).

Recent investigations of actual usage data from the eighteenth century confirm earlier assumptions about the relative absence of synthetic genitives in colloquial language. Confronting language norms with usage, Nobels/Rutten (2014) and Simons/Rutten (2014) indicate the almost opposite directions these take in the eighteenth century. Whereas metalinguistic discourse continues to discuss the inflectional case system, usage data taken from sociolinguistic corpora with written language that is relatively close to the spoken language, viz. from private letters, reveal that analytical constructions with *van* are used twice as often as synthetic genitives, and moreover, that the latter are predominantly used in fixed expressions such as religious and epistolary formulae. In the more creative parts of the letters, the synthetic genitive is nearly absent. In addition, its use decreases over time, with one notable exception, however: in private letters written by people from the socio-economically upper ranks of society, a small increase in the use of synthetic genitives can be witnessed, even in the more creative parts, which could be an effect of the prescriptive focus on inflectional case. Apart from these external factors, internal factors are important, as demonstrated a.o. by Scott (2014), who argues that there are clear differences in the likelihood that a particular synthetic genitive is used. In Early and Late Modern Dutch usage data, the plural form *der* occurs much more often than singular forms, and within the singular, the feminine form *der* is more frequent than the masculine and neuter form *des*.

### 3. National grammar and the genitive

In this section, I discuss the treatment of genitival constructions in a selection of metalinguistic texts from the first three decades of the nineteenth century. After having introduced the corpus, I focus on three questions: first, is the variation of synthetic and analytical genitives mentioned? Secondly, if so, are any conditions given under which one or the other is preferred? Thirdly, what does the language of the authors themselves tell us about the distribution of genitival constructions?

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, dozens of grammars and schoolbooks were published. For the purposes of the present study, I selected fifteen books from the period 1800–30. Evidently, the selection should include

Weiland (1805a). I furthermore included two of Weiland's own extracts of his 'big' grammar, the *Beginselen* 'Principles' (1805b) and a version specifically meant for use in schools (Weiland 1820), to be able to determine the consistency of his prescriptions across time and across target audiences. For similar reasons, I included Siegenbeek (1804), the officialized national spelling, and its extract (Siegenbeek 1805). These do not offer prescriptions about the genitive but can be used for research on Siegenbeek's usage. Siegenbeek also wrote two grammar books: a traditional, mainly morphological grammar (1814) and a syntax (1810); both were included. These text were written for the Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen 'Society for the Benefit of the Common Good', a semi-public welfare organization whose main focus area was education, more specifically, the reorganization of education into a national system for the advancement of citizenship in the interest of the Dutch nation (Mijnhardt 1987). Just before Weiland (1805a), 't Nut published a grammar (*Rudimenta* 1802) meant for use in schools, which saw a new edition in two volumes in 1805 (*Rudimenta* 1805-I, 1805-II); these were also included. In the same period, the educationalist Anslijn published his grammar (1814) and an introduction to grammar for schools (1829), in which he introduced the syntactic analysis of sentences, which would replace the traditional focus on the parts of speech; Anslijn's texts were also included. In addition to these 12 'foundational' texts, I included one early commentary on Weiland and Siegenbeek (Schilperoort 1806), and two basic schoolbooks based on the national prescriptions found in Weiland and Siegenbeek (Puikers 1824, Kirchorffer 1825).

### 3.1 The representation of variation

The first issue is whether the variation of synthetic and analytical forms is discussed in the publications in the corpus. In this context, Siegenbeek (1804, 1805) and *Rudimenta* (1805-II) will be excluded as these do not discuss nominal inflection but only orthography. From the twelve remaining texts, only one does not signal the variation of inflectional and analytical genitival constructions at all. Puikers (1824), a very brief summary of Weiland (1805a) of no more than 34 pages, only mentions the synthetic genitive. The other eleven texts give both synthetic and analytical forms. An important distinction needs to be made between the prescriptions offered in the paradigms of the definite article and the noun on the one hand, and the running text on the other hand. The paradigms summarize the prescriptions favored by the author, whereas the running text offers the possibility to discuss alternatives.

Rutten (2012), on which Table 1 in section 2 is based, is founded on the explicit prescriptions found in paradigms, and this approach will therefore be taken here too. Table 2 presents the prescriptions found in the eight texts that comprise paradigms.

	Genitive singular		
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Rudimenta 1802	<i>des, van den</i>	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>des, van het</i>
Weiland 1805a	<i>des</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>des</i>
Weiland 1805b	<i>des</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>des</i>
Rudimenta 1805-I	<i>des, van den</i>	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>des, van het</i>
Siegenbeek 1814	<i>des, van den</i>	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>des, van het</i>
Weiland 1820	<i>des</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>des</i>
Puikers 1824	<i>des</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>des</i>
Kirchdorffer 1825	<i>des, van den</i>	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>des, van het</i>
	Genitive plural		
	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Rudimenta 1802	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>der, van de</i>
Weiland 1805a	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>
Weiland 1805b	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>
Rudimenta 1805-I	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>der, van de</i>
Siegenbeek 1814	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>der, van de</i>
Weiland 1820	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>
Puikers 1824	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>
Kirchdorffer 1825	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>der, van de</i>	<i>der, van de</i>

Table 2: Prescribed forms for the genitive singular and plural in the paradigms offered in a selection of early-nineteenth-century metalinguistic texts

As can be seen in Table 2, Weiland only mentions synthetic forms in his paradigms, not just in the official 1805 grammar, but also in the *Beginnelsen* ‘Principles’ of 1805 and in later years, in the 1820 schoolbook. Puikers (1824) follows Weiland. All other prescriptions are identical, not just with regard to the choice of forms, but also in that they offer both the synthetic and the analytical alternative, and always in this order; the analytical construction is never put first. In terms of the above-mentioned changes in grammar-writing in the eighteenth century (section 2), there is a return to the prescriptions of the period of elitist grammar in the works of Weiland and Puiker, and a return to the prescriptions of the period of civil grammar in the other works. In both cases, there is a move away from the radical choice to focus only on analytical forms in the late eighteenth century. On the contrary, the synthetic genitive is the prime variant in all texts from the period 1800–1830.

Weiland (1805a, 1805b, 1820) does mention the analytical forms in the running text. Such mentions are usually limited to the observation that genitive constructions can also be rendered with the preposition *van* (Weiland 1805a: 76; Siegenbeek 1810: 15; Schilperoort 1806: 33). Only Anslin diverges from the general pattern by reversing the importance of analytical and synthetic forms. In his syntactically oriented work, he hardly talks about nominal inflection, and only makes the following remark:

Soms is het *voorzetsel* VAN met een ander woordje verbonden, zoo als in: DES, DER, EENES, EENER, enz. Deze vereeniging komt in de plaats van: *van den*, of *van het*; *van de*; *van eenen* of *van een*, *van eene*, enz. (Anslijn 1829: 19; cf. Anslijn 1814: 41–42)

5 [Sometimes the preposition VAN is connected to another word, as in: DES, DER, EENES, EENER, etc. This combination replaces: *van den*, or *van het*; *van de*, *van eenen* or *van een*, *van eene*, etc.]

### 3.2 Factors conditioning the variation

10 Most texts signal the variation of synthetic and analytic genitival constructions. Do they identify factors that condition the variation in usage? Particularly from an educational perspective, which is the dominant perspective in the period of national grammar, indications of when to choose which variant are important, all the more so considering the near absence of synthetic genitives in colloquial language. Contrary to this expectation, hardly any conditions are identified, and as a consequence, hardly any concrete advice on the choice of variants is provided.

15 The stylistic condition introduced by ten Kate (1723; see section 2 above) is repeated in *Rudimenta* (1802: 20), though slightly simplified. Instead of three stylistic levels, two *wijzen van spreken* ‘ways of speaking’ are distinguished, viz. the *gemeenzaame* ‘familiar’ and the *deftige* ‘polite’ / *verhevene* ‘elevated’ (van der Wal 2002: 58–59). No information is given about the distribution of the variants over the different styles, but from the remark that the familiar style is used on a daily basis while the polite style should be learnt from well-written books it can be gleaned that the synthetic variant is polite and the analytical variant familiar. A more precise description of the concept of style and of the stylistic levels is lacking. Interestingly, the stylistic levels are not mentioned anymore in *Rudimenta* (1805-I), possibly because these are not central to the principal publication of this period, viz. Weiland (1805a).

25 Weiland (1805a: 76) only mentions stylistic differences with regard to the so-called *s*-genitive, a still other variant, different from the two main variants discussed in the foregoing.<sup>1</sup> Weiland claims that postnominal *s*-genitives such as *de keizerin Ruslands* ‘the empress of Rusland’ can ‘perhaps be tolerated’ in poetry, though not *in den gewonen schrijfstijl* ‘in the common way of writing, in the familiar style’. Also, prenominal *s*-genitives such as *Davids psalmen* ‘David’s psalms’ are used in the elevated style. These observations are heavily criticized by Schilperoort (1806: 34–35), who says that postnominal *s*-genitives contravene normal Dutch syntax, whereas prenominal forms are widely used and not limited to the elevated style.

1) See Scott (2013: 116–158) on the history of the *s*-genitive, which developed from masculine and neuter forms in *-s* (cf. Tables 1 and 2), and which is typically, though not exclusively used with animate possessors (e.g. *David*, *de keizerin*).



Finally, Siegenbeek (1810: 18, 45) mentions adjectives and verbs that rule the genitive case, such as *zijner onschuld bewust* ‘conscious of his innocence’ and *zijner vergeten* ‘forget him’, adding that such forms are obsolete and belong primarily to *den hoogerens schrijfstijl* ‘the higher style of writing’. As his predecessors, Siegenbeek does not explain his concept of style, while he also adopts a different terminology (*hoog* ‘high’ instead of *polite* or *elevated*). As with Weiland, stylistic differences are only called upon with respect to specific and relatively infrequent constructions, and not to describe or explain the difference between the two main variants, viz. synthetic and analytical forms.

Some commentators mention constructional factors that condition the variation. Weiland (1805a: 76)<sup>2</sup> identifies three contexts where the analytical variant with *van* should always be used: first, when a specific origin is determined as in *een mensch van geringe afkomst* ‘a person of low birth’, secondly, when the material of which an object is made is given, e.g. *een ring van goud* ‘a ring of gold’, thirdly, when age, size, weight or value are presented, e.g. *een kind van twee jaren* ‘a child of two years [old]’. These contexts have in common that an article is missing, and since inflectional case in Dutch is primarily expressed on adnominals, typically on the article or a pronoun, they therefore disfavor the synthetic genitive. Weiland does not observe that the missing article is crucial, but Schilperoort (1806: 33–34) and Siegenbeek (1810: 15) do.

Siegenbeek (1810: 15) furthermore claims that there is another context where the prepositional phrase with *van* is *doorgaans* ‘generally’ used, viz. when the noun is preceded by a pronoun as in *de bevelen van mijnen vader* ‘the orders of my father’. Schilperoort (1806: 29–30) offers reflections on the semantic difference between prenominal and postnominal genitives. These observations are unique in the corpus used for the present study.

### 3.3 Usage of the prescriptivists

Most commentators mention the variation (section 3.1), but only a few offer some clues as to how to choose between the variants (section 3.2). However, the metalanguage in the grammar books constitutes still another source of information about the use of genitival constructions. After all, as noted in *Rudimenta* (1802: 20), the polite style should be learnt from well-written books (cf. section 2). Do these metalinguistic texts therefore mainly comprise synthetic genitives? Or, also quite possible, do they show a diachronic increase of synthetic constructions, confirming the renewed focus on synthetic genitives?

<sup>2</sup>) Weiland (1805a: 217–218) says that according to some, the genitivus subjectivus requires the synthetic genitive (*de ondersteuning des mans* ‘the support of the man, i.e. the man is supporting’), whereas the genitivus objectivus requires an analytical construction (*de ondersteuning van den man* ‘the support of the man, i.e. the man is being supported’). He adds that this difference has no basis in language use.

contrary to the eighteenth-century development towards more analyticity (cf. sections 1 and 2). Alternatively, they might show an increase of analytical constructions, in line with the general diachronic tendency towards loss of inflection, despite the renewed predominance of synthetic forms in prescriptive discourse. Another reason to look at the language of the prescriptivists themselves is internal consistency, i.e. between the prescriptions on the one hand and actual usage on the other. This approach has been taken in research on nominal inflection before (Geerts 1966) as well as more recently in studies of orthographical variation (Vosters et al. 2014).

To investigate the language use of the prescriptivists themselves, I selected the first 25 genitival constructions from each of the fifteen works. Examples were only taken from the metalanguage in the grammar books themselves; prefaces and introductions were excluded from the analysis to avoid possible style- or genre-related differences between preliminary matter and the body of the text. Genitival constructions without an adnominal word such as *de eigenamen van mannen* ‘the proper nouns of men’ were also excluded, since genitive case is primarily expressed on adnominals (cf. section 3.2). Such constructions, in other words, fall without the envelope of variation: they cannot occur with the synthetic genitive, only with the *van*-construction. Genitival constructions without an article but with a pronoun were not excluded from the analysis (*pace* Siegenbeek’s (1810: 15) condition in section 3.2), since genitive case can very well be expressed on pronouns, and examples in fact occur in the corpus, including one from Siegenbeek (1810: 11): *den aard onzer taal* ‘the nature of our language’.

The analysis resulted in  $15 \times 25 = 375$  genitival constructions, of which 188 synthetic (51%) and 187 analytic (49%). Figure 1 presents the distribution of synthetic and analytical genitival constructions in each of the fifteen texts.

The results in Figure 1 show quite some variation: from 28% synthetic forms (*Rudimenta* 1802, Weiland 1805a, Siegenbeek 1814) to 76% (*Rudimenta* 1805-I). In addition, there is no diachronic trend towards either more synthetic or more analytical forms. Also, individual writers are quite inconsistent. Siegenbeek (1804, 1805) has about two-thirds synthetic forms; Siegenbeek (1810, 1814) only one-third. A similar observation holds for Weiland. Moreover, educational concerns do not seem to lead to more analytical forms. Weiland (1805b) and Weiland (1820) are more synthetic than the voluminous and learned national grammar of 1805(a). The elementary *Rudimenta* (1802), published by ’t Nut, start off relatively analytical, but are among the most synthetic works in 1805. Siegenbeek’s publications for ’t Nut (1810, 1814) are quite analytical again. Finally, authors that only mention the synthetic variant in their paradigms (Weiland, Puikers) vary between both options in usage, which also applies to the authors that offer both options in their paradigms. In

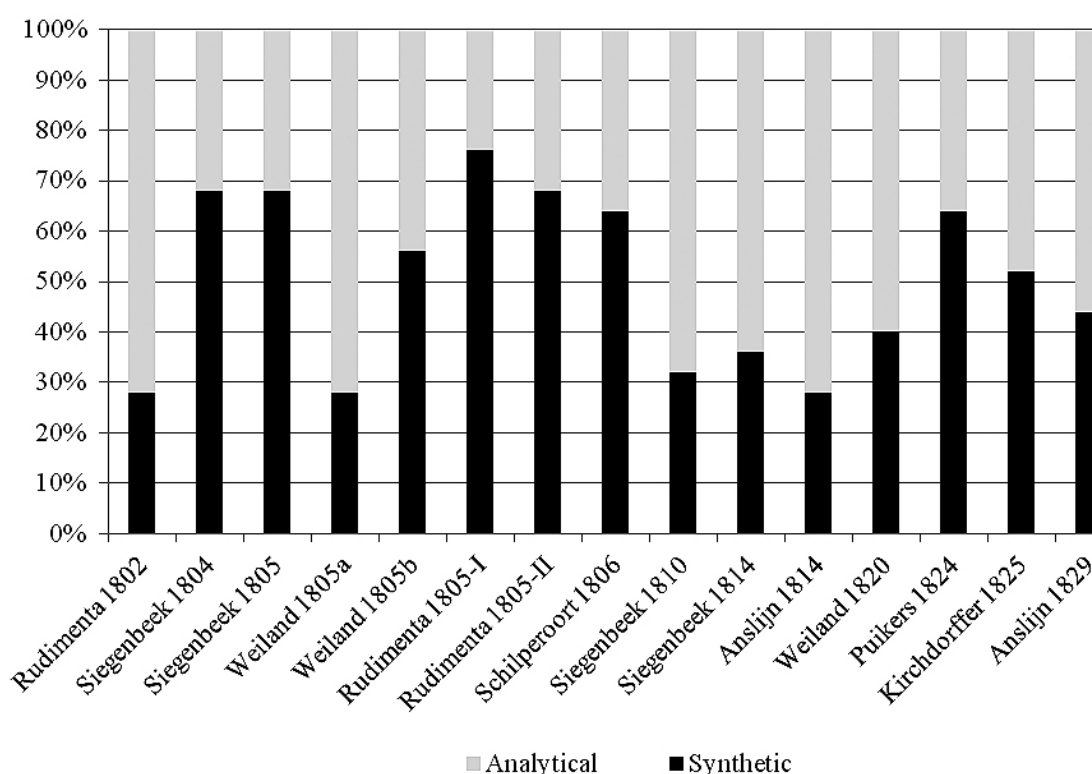


Figure 1: Distribution of synthetic and analytical genitive constructions in fifteen early-nineteenth-century metalinguistic texts

- 5 sum, there is a lot of variation that does not seem to offer any clear-cut conditions of use for the synthetic and analytical variants, at least not against the background of the discussion in the previous sections.

10 This does not mean that usage patterns in general are unpredictable. Preliminary analyses of the usage of the prescriptivists along the lines of Scott (2014, see section 2) shows that *der*-genitives occur much more often than *des*-genitives; see Table 3, which gives the distribution of the 188 occurrences of synthetic genitives across number and gender. Note that the type *der* ‘of the’ encompasses less-frequent tokens such as *dier* ‘of these’ and *hunner* ‘of their’.

		Type	N	%
Singular	M	<i>des</i>	9	5
	F	<i>der</i>	57	30
	N	<i>des</i>	9	5
Plural	M/F/N	<i>der</i>	113	60
Total			188	100

Table 3: Distribution of the synthetic genitive types across number and gender

Similarly, when comparing the probability of analytical and synthetic constructions in singular and plural contexts, the results in Table 4 show that singular genitives are mostly analytical (61%), whereas plural constructions are often synthetic (62%).

	Analytical		Synthetic		Total
	N	%	N	%	
Singular	119	61	75	39	194
Plural	68	38	113	62	181

5 Table 4: Distribution of analytical and synthetic genitives types across number

10 It is clear that research of actual usage data, taken from various sources, would greatly further our knowledge of the use of the genitive in nineteenth-century Dutch. Focusing on the period of ‘national’ grammar with its strong interest in education, it is interesting that important internal linguistic factors such as the choice of lexeme (*der* vs. *des*, Table 3) and grammatical number (Table 4) are not mentioned at all in the fifteen grammatical texts investigated here.

#### 4. Final remarks

15 The variation of genitival constructions in language use, viz. of the historical genitive case and prepositional constructions with *van*, led eighteenth-century grammarians to increasingly lend importance to the analytical alternative, particularly in the final decades of the century, when knowledge of Dutch grammar was conceptualized as a requirement of all members of the Dutch nation. The officialized grammar of Weiland (1805a), however, took a conservative position by only mentioning the synthetic forms in the paradigms. Focusing on 20 fifteen grammatical texts from the period 1800–1830, this paper has shown that the variation is mentioned in most texts. Some texts focus mainly on the synthetic genitive, others mention both options while still placing the synthetic forms first. Overall, the period displays a clear preference for the synthetic genitive. Because of the period’s concern with education, it could be expected 25 that the grammatical texts offered clear indications of the contexts of use of the different genitival constructions. However, hardly any conditioning factors are given. Prescriptivists’ own usage is not very informative either. It mainly shows that both the synthetic and the analytical variant were used, though in varying proportions. A preliminary analysis shows that prescriptivists’ usage 30 corresponds to conditioning factors from the research literature, which were, however, not mentioned by the prescriptivists.

In sum, there was an enormous gap between language use and language norms. Whereas the population at large was apparently supposed to learn the synthetic genitive, which had largely disappeared from colloquial language, metalinguistic discourse mainly provided tools to acquire the historic form itself, but did not indicate in which contexts it was an appropriate form. One of the main questions for future historical-sociolinguistic research will therefore be to what extent the prescriptions found in metalinguistic texts from this period have exerted any influence on actual language use.

5

[Adresse ]Name

!! please complete !!

----- [Adresse ]  
 ----- [Adresse ]  
 ----- [Adresse ]  
 ----- [Adresse ] Ort  
 eMail: -----

### Sources

- 10 Anslijn, Nicolaas  
 1814 *Nederduitsche spraakkunst voor eerstbeginnenden*. Leiden: D. du Mortier en zoon.  
 1829 *Aanleiding tot de Nederduitsche spraakkunst*. 3rd ed. Leiden: D. du Mortier en zoon.
- 15 Kirchorffer, J.S.  
 1825 *Nederduitsche spraakkunst, ten dienste der scholen*. 2nd ed. Amsterdam: Schalekamp, Van de Grampel & Hanssen.
- Puikers, J.  
 1824 *Eerste onderwijs in de gronden der Nederduitsche taal, ten dienste der scholen*. 5th ed. Rotterdam: J. Hendriksen.
- 20 *Rudimenta*  
 1802 *Rudimenta, of gronden der Nederduitsche spraake*. 2nd ed. Leiden: D. du Mortier en zoon, Deventer: J. H. de Lange / Utrecht: G. T. van Paddenburg en zoon.
- 25 1805-I *Rudimenta, of gronden der Nederduitsche taal*. Vol. I (morphology). Leiden: D. du Mortier en zoon, Deventer: J. H. de Lange / Groningen: J. Oomkens en zoon.
- 30 1805-II *Rudimenta, of gronden der Nederduitsche taal*. Vol. II (orthography). Leiden: D. du Mortier en zoon, Deventer: J. H. de Lange / Groningen: J. Oomkens en zoon.

Schilperoort, T. Olivier

1806 *Proeve van nieuwere taalkunde, op de Nederduitsche spraakkunst toegepast.* Groningen: J. Oomkens.

Siegenbeek, Matthijs

5 1804 *Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche spelling.* Amsterdam: Johannes Allart.

1805 *Kort begrip der verhandeling over de Nederduitsche spelling.* Amsterdam: Johannes Allart.

[Siegenbeek, Matthijs]

10 1810 *Syntaxis, of woordvoeging der Nederduitsche taal.* Leiden: D. du Mortier en zoon, Deventer: J. H. de Lange / Groningen: J. Oomkens.

1814 *Grammatica of Nederduitsche spraakkunst.* Leiden: D. du Mortier en zoon, Deventer: J. H. de Lange / Groningen: J. Oomkens.

Weiland, Pieter

1805a *Nederduitsche spraakkunst.* Amsterdam: Johannes Allart.

15 1805b *Beginselen der Nederduitsche spraakkunst.* Amsterdam: Johannes Allart.

1820 *Nederduitsche spraakkunst ten dienste der scholen.* Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam.

## References

20 Geerts, Guido

1966 *Genus en geslacht in de Gouden Eeuw.* Brussel: Belgisch Interuniversitair Centrum voor Neerlandistiek.

Horst, Joop van der

25 2008 *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse syntaxis.* 2 vols. Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven.

Maljaars, A.

1979 *Bijdrage tot de kennis van genus en geslacht in de achttiende eeuw met een uitweiding over de pronominale aanduiding in het moderne Nederlands.* Utrecht: Instituut De Vooy.

30 Mijnhardt, Wijnand

1987 *Tot heil van 't menschdom. Culturele genootschappen in Nederland, 1750–1815.* Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Nobels, Judith / Rutten, Gijsbert

35 2014 “Language norms and language use in seventeenth-century Dutch: Negation and the genitive”. *Rutten/Vosters/Vandenbussche* (2014: 21–48).

Noordegraaf, Jan

1999 “Vaderland en moedertaal. Een constante in het taalkundig denken”. *Vaderland. Een geschiedenis vanaf de vijftiende eeuw tot 1940.* Ed. by N. C. F. van Sas. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 343–363.

- 2004 “A matter of time: Dutch philosophy of language in the eighteenth century”. *Janus at the millennium. Perspectives on time in the culture of the Netherlands*. Ed. by Thomas F. Shannon, Johan P. Snapper. Dallas etc: University Press of America, 211–225.
- 5 Rutten, Gijsbert  
2006 *De Archimedische punten van de taalbeschouwing. David van Hoogstraten (1658–1724) en de vroegmoderne taalcultuur*. Amsterdam: Stichting Neerlandistiek VU / Münster: Nodus Publikationen.
- 10 2009 “Grammar to the people. The Dutch language and the public sphere in the 18th century. With special reference to Kornelis van der Palm”. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*. 19: 55–86.
- 2012 “Lowthian’ linguistics across the North Sea”. *Historiographia Linguistica*. 39: 43–59.
- 15 2016 “The Golden Age Myth. The construction of Dutch as a national language”. *Metalinguistic Perspectives on Germanic Languages in Europe: From Past to Present*. Ed. by Gijsbert Rutten, Kristine Horner. Oxford: Peter Lang.
- Rutten, Gijsbert / Vosters, Rik / Vandenbussche, Wim  
2014 *Norms and usage in language history, 1600–1900. A sociolinguistic and comparative perspective*. Ed. by G. Rutten, R. Vosters, W. Vandenbussche. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins
- 20 Scott, Alan  
2013 *The genitive case in Dutch and German. A study of morphosyntactic change in codified languages*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- 25 2014 “The survival and use of case morphology in Modern Dutch”. *Extending the scope of construction grammar*. Ed. by Ronny Boogaart, Timothy Coleman, Gijsbert Rutten. Berlin: De Gruyter, 107–137.
- Simons, Tanja / Rutten, Gijsbert  
2014 “Language norms and language use in eighteenth-century Dutch: Final *n* and the genitive”. *Rutten/Vosters/Vandenbussche* (2014: 49–72).
- 30 Vosters, Rik / Belsack, Els / Puttaert, Jill / Vandenbussche, Wim  
2014 “Norms and usage in nineteenth-century Southern Dutch”. *Rutten/Vosters/Vandenbussche* (2014: 73–100).
- Wal, Marijke van der  
2002 “Lambert ten Kate and eighteenth-century Dutch linguistics”. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*. 12: 49–63.
- 35 Wal, Marijke van der / Bree, Cor van  
2008 *Geschiedenis van het Nederlands*. Utrecht: Spectrum.
- Weerman, Fred / Olson, Mike / Cloutier, Robert A.  
2013 “Synchronic variation and loss of case. Formal and informal language in a Dutch corpus of 17th-century Amsterdam texts”. *Diachronica*. 30: 353–381.
- 40