Pardon my French?

Dutch–French language contact in the Netherlands (1500–1900)

Gijsbert Rutten, Andreas Krogull, Brenda Assendelft and Jill Puttaert

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Preface

This book emerges from a large-scale research project on the historical Dutch-French contact situation funded by the Dutch Research Council (NWO Vrije Competitie, awarded to Gijsbert Rutten). While the Covid pandemic forced us to change plans multiple times, we are very happy that we can now present the overarching project result: a monograph that brings together a variety of perspectives and results from previous case studies complemented with new analyses and insights gained during the writing of this book.

We thank the NWO and the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL) for making our research possible, and the NWO also for supporting this publication through an open access grant. We thank the many employees of local and regional archives and libraries who welcomed us, even in times of severe restrictions. We thank the editors of the series *Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics*, Terttu Nevalainen and Marijke van der Wal, for the constructive collaboration on this volume, the two anonymous reviewers who were very enthusiastic while also providing numerous useful suggestions, as well as the staff at Benjamins, and Anke de Looper in particular. We also want to thank Marilyn Hedges, who anglicised our text in the final stages of the project, and even found two spelling mistakes in French examples.

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Leiden, November 2025

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Frenchification and the need for research

The phenomenon of international *francophonie* in Early and Late Modern Europe has attracted considerable academic attention (Gretchania, Stroev & Viollet 2012, Rjéoutski, Argent & Offord 2014). Already in historical times, intense contact situations with French often led to criticism: complaints about *francomania* and *frenchification* can be found across Europe, including, for example, in the German, English, Italian and Spanish language areas (von Polenz 1994: 49–50, Nevalainen 1999: 359–360, Burke 2004: 151–158, Beal 2012, see also Chapter 3). Likewise, the historical Dutch-French contact situation has been described, and criticised, as a period of *verfransing* 'frenchification' (Frijhoff 1989). This applies to the use of French in the Dutch-dominant parts of the Low Countries and to the concomitant influence of French on the Dutch language. Complaints about this supposedly malignant influence of French, including French manners, fashion, and other types of behaviour, are paramount in the Early and Late Modern Low Countries. However, the widespread discourse about the influence of French on Dutch is in stark contrast to the availability of empirical research on the contact situation from a linguistic perspective (Frijhoff 1989, Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal 2015).

For the Low Countries, more so than for some other areas in Europe, the idea of frenchification is also connected to political dominance, more specifically to historical periods in which parts of the Low Countries were governed by French-dominant rulers. At the end of the Middle Ages, during the Burgundian reign of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, French-dominant rule extended into the Low Countries. In the seventeenth century, Louis XIV threatened and invaded the Low Countries. The period from 1794 to 1814 is traditionally called the French period, when the Netherlands were again invaded by French troops, subsequently developed into a vassal state of France, and were ultimately incorporated into the French Empire until the fall of Napoleon in 1814. Thus, from the late Middle Ages and into the nineteenth century, political conflict and war influenced the relationship between Dutch-dominant and French-dominant communities. *Verfransing* is therefore not just a linguistic concept or, more broadly speaking, a cultural force. It is also closely tied to the political and military superpower bordering the Low Countries in the south.

Meanwhile, the concept of *verfransing* itself has also been criticised, in both the historical and the linguistic literature (Frijhoff 2015, Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal 2015). Stegeman (2021: 691) cites Salverda de Grave (1934: 289) who, as the author of relatively early studies of French loanwords in Dutch, was critical of the supposed frenchification in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, arguing that the nobility did use French but did not 'renounce their own language' (our translation). We do not think it is useful to analyse the language practices of the nobility in terms of *own* vs. *foreign* as members of the nobility were usually multilingual, but it is clear that criticism of the alleged *verfransing*, though not as historical as the discourse about frenchification, is still quite old.

We have two aims with this book. The first is to delve into the historical Dutch-French contact situation and to find out to what extent the Netherlands were frenchified. Our central focus is the linguistic interpretation of frenchification, while acknowledging and also incorporating the broader cultural and political angles. Frenchification is, of course, a highly ideological concept (Vogl 2015) and not a very helpful term. We break down the concept of frenchification into three lines of research. Taking a historical-sociolinguistic perspective, we first describe various contact settings and language-ideological conflict sites emerging from the historical contact situation (Chapters 2–3). We then analyse language choice and language shift in a variety of social domains (Chapters 4–7). Finally, we study contact-induced changes in written Dutch taken from a variety of social domains (Chapters 8–12). In doing so, we are able to distil a comprehensive picture of this particular contact situation against the background of prevailing historical multilingualism.

Our second aim is to further develop the methodological and theoretical toolkit for the sociolinguistic analysis of historical multilingualism and contact situations. In recent years, the field of historical sociolinguistics has undergone a multilingual turn. Historical contexts, research questions, archival materials and datasets may differ considerably from one contact setting to another, as evidenced in recent collections such as Franceschini, Hüning & Maitz (2023), Pavlenko (2023) and Krogull & Rutten (2025a). While this severely complicates the development of a general approach to historical multilingualism and contact situations, we believe our in-depth analyses of the Dutch-French situation at the levels of ideology, language choice, and contact-induced change offer useful theoretical and methodological clues for the study of historical multilingualism and language contact more generally (see also Chapter 13).

1.2 Analysing historical multilingualism and language contact

In historical sociolinguistics, linguistic histories of languages such as Dutch, English, and German have been criticised for their ideological underpinnings, specifically for their extensive descriptions of dialect variation in the Middle Ages, on the one hand, and their strong orientation towards the emerging standard languages in postmedieval times on the other (Watts & Trudgill 2002, Watts 2011, Rutten 2016). This focus on uniformity and standardisation in overviews of the Early and Late Modern period erases enduring internal variation, such as ongoing regional and social variation in writing. Another implication is that it minimises or discursively erases multilingualism and language contact from the general historical overview. For example, when French is discussed in histories of Dutch, it is often as part of a discourse of endangerment: the development and spread of the Dutch standard are threatened by the use of French and by its influence on Dutch (Vogl 2015, Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal 2015).

The monolingual lens has been adjusted in recent and not so recent publications. Early publications include Trotter (2000) on the languages of medieval Britain, Adams (2003) on multilingualism in the Roman world, Rindler Schjerve (2003) on the Habsburg Empire in the nineteenth century, Braunmüller & Ferraresi (2003) about a variety of European language settings, and Burke (2004), who offers a generalising analysis of the social aspects of language in Early Modern Europe. Schendl & Wright (2011) bring together a set of chapters on code-switching in historical English (see also Schendl 2012), while Glaser, Prinz & Ptashnyk (2021) focus on code-switching with German. The volume by Hüning, Vogl & Moliner (2012) links multilingualism to standardisation, whereas Wright (2020) aims to rewrite the history of standard English from a multilingual perspective. Multilingual practices in the history of English as well as a few other language areas are discussed in the chapters compiled by Pahta, Skaffari & Wright (2018). Medieval and post-medieval multilingualism in a variety of European settings is the topic of recent collections such as Classen (2016), Frijhoff, Kok Escalle & Sanchez-Summerer (2017), Rutten et al. (2017), Rjéoutski & Frijhoff (2018), Rutten & Vosters (2019), Bennett & Cattaneo (2022), Franceschini, Hüning & Maitz (2023), and Pavlenko (2023).

The role of French in European history has been the topic of a number of publications. Edited volumes such as Gretchania, Stroev & Viollet (2012), Rjéoutski, Argent & Offord (2014), and van Strien-Chardonneau & Kok Escalle (2017) comprise case studies on a variety of language settings, from Sweden to Spain and Turkey. Böhm (2010) and Pfäffle & Schiegg (2023) discuss linguistic aspects of the Huguenot migration to German-dominant areas. Offord, Rjéoutski & Argent (2018) analyse the historical role of French in Russia.

The functions of French in the Dutch language area and in the Low Countries more generally have been discussed in a number of works. Publications such as Willemyns (2002) and Vanhecke (2004) discuss language choice and language conflict in the Southern Netherlands with a strong focus on the nineteenth century. Peersman, Rutten & Vosters (2015) bring together chapters on various aspects of the Romance-Germanic contact situation in the Low Countries, including issues of language use and the functional distribution of different varieties as well as metalinguistic reflection on the contact situation. An earlier collection, more broadly focused on the Romance-Germanic language border, is Treffers-Daller & Willemyns (2002). Language choice in elite circles is discussed by Ruberg (2011), van Strien-Chardonneau (2014, 2017, 2018), and Kok Escalle (2017), who focus strongly on the use of French by Dutch-dominant individuals and families in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Joby (2014) zooms in on one such elite individual, Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), the Early Modern poet and secretary to two princes of Orange. The Early Modern period is also the topic of van de Haar (2019), who discusses a number of multilingual societal domains, such as education and literature. Kessels-van der Heijde (2002, 2015) discusses the multilingual history of the city of Maastricht, where French played a significant part in addition to multiple varieties of Dutch.

From an initial focus on code-switching and the interaction between Latin and vernacular languages in medieval and Early Modern documents, the historical-sociolinguistic study of language contact and multilingualism has significantly broadened (Krogull 2025). A first distinction in research topics exists between language use and reflections on language use. Whereas contact phenomena such as borrowing and code-switching have been central to the field from the earliest publications onwards, the metalinguistic perspective has recently become more important. Argent, Rjéoutski & Offord (2014: 27–31) argue that perceptions, attitudes, and status and prestige differences between languages are pivotal in their language-sociological approach to European francophonie. Various chapters in Peersman, Rutten & Vosters (2015) not only question the historical validity of the concept of frenchification but also draw attention to the ideas and attitudes historical language users displayed with respect to different varieties and languages (Vogl 2015, Peersman 2015, Frijhoff 2015, Rutten et al. 2015). Verheyden (2023), who analyses the influence of French on Dutch in the Southern Netherlands, devotes a full chapter to the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century metalinguistic discussions. Historical language ideologies and the views and attitudes of historical language users have thus been the topic of various studies of the language situation in the Low Countries, at least since Frijhoff (1989) questioned the concept of frenchification. Furthermore, nation-building and the rise of Dutch standard language ideology have been shown to be influential in the history of Dutch, both at the dis-

cursive level and in language use (Rutten 2019). We therefore consider reflections on language use, specifically on the use of French and Dutch, as an indispensable part of our sociolinguistic investigation (see Chapter 3).

The topic of language use falls into two broad categories, viz. language-sociological issues of language choice and shift, and contact-induced changes in the Dutch language. Multiple studies of language choice, particularly although not exclusively focused on the private domain, have been carried out over the years (Ruberg 2011, van Strien-Chardonneau 2014, 2017, 2018, Kok Escalle 2017, Joby 2014, van de Haar 2019, Kessels-van der Heijde 2002, 2015). These studies have contributed significantly to our knowledge of the use and function of French in the history of the Low Countries, demonstrating, for example, the normality of the use of French in Dutch-dominant families and areas throughout the centuries. The studies are usually restricted to a limited number of individuals or families within a particular time frame, or to one city, as in the case of Kessels-van der Heijde (2002, 2015). In the present study, we wish to move beyond these relatively local, and often predominantly qualitative studies, and develop a general overview of the use of French in a variety of private and public domains and with considerable geographical and temporal spread (Chapters 4–7). We therefore explore several different datasets, each with its own methodological intricacies, ranging from newspapers and pamphlets to diaries and letters. In addition, we also discuss language shift with sufficient diachronic depth, based on the archive of one migrant family.

The second aspect of language use concerns contact-induced change. Our focus is on the Dutch language, aiming to add to the history of the multilingual Low Countries by analysing the influence of arguably the most important contact language on arguably the most dominant language of the area. This means we do not analyse the grammatical properties of the French involved, which would bring in another set of research questions related to (second) language acquisition. It is well-known from lexicographical and lexicological studies that French exerted a strong influence on the Dutch lexicon and, through this, on the derivational morphology of Dutch. According to van der Sijs (2001: 214), French contributed well over 4,000 words to the Dutch language, which is more than any other language. Salverda de Grave (1906) and van der Sijs (2005) have extensively argued that social and semantic domains determine the borrowing process. There are, however, hardly any corpus-based studies of these contact phenomena, which is one of the aims of the present research (Chapters 8–12). In addition to the so-called established contact phenomena of loanwords and loan suffixes, there are also morphosyntactic phenomena possibly originating from the contact situation with French, some of which will also be investigated in the present volume.

With this volume, we thus wish to contribute to the analysis of historical language ideologies, of language choice across social domains and language shift in

migrant settings, and of established and potential contact phenomena in language use. And, importantly, we also wish to uncover the relationship between ideology, choice/shift, and contact-induced change.

1.3 The time, place, and contact setting: The Netherlands, 1500–1900, and Dutch-French contact

The present study focuses on the role of French in the Netherlands in the Early and Late Modern period, more specifically in the period from 1500 to 1900. We will adopt the term *the Netherlands*, which largely refers to the European territory of the present-day Kingdom of the Netherlands. Historically, the area called the Low Countries or *nether-lands* comprised a larger territory, including the present-day states of Belgium and Luxembourg. This means that the Romance-Germanic language border runs through the historical Low Countries. The southern parts of the historical Low Countries, where the language border is situated and which comprises present-day Belgium and Luxembourg, will be referred to as the Southern Netherlands. Our focus in this book is on the Northern Netherlands, or, in short, the Netherlands. The latter name may be anachronistic, but since the territory, its name and its political structure have changed multiple times in the course of the ages, there is no easy solution. A commonly used expression such as the *Republic*, short for the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, works well for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but not for the sixteenth and the nineteenth. At the same time, the present-day political split into the Netherlands, on the one hand, and the two more southern countries on the other, viz. Belgium and Luxembourg, has its origins in the sixteenth century. From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, a distinction can be made between the Habsburg, later Austrian, and always Southern Netherlands, and the republican Northern Netherlands. Since the nineteenth century, this republic has been a kingdom, and to complicate things even further, there was a short-lived United Kingdom of the Netherlands, covering the southern and the northern parts, between 1815 and 1830. In sum, we decided to use the label *the Netherlands*, by which we roughly mean the present-day Netherlands, i.e., the northern parts of the historical Low Countries, also called Northern Netherlands or Northern Low Countries. For stylistic reasons, or if geographical precision is needed because the Southern Netherlands are also discussed, we sometimes use these fuller alternatives. If we refer to the northern parts of the present-day Netherlands, such as the areas of Friesland and Groningen, we will never call these the northern Netherlands, but will always, more explicitly, talk about the northern parts or regions of the Netherlands.



Figure 1.1 The Low Countries in the sixteenth century and the Romance-Germanic language border (taken from van de Haar 2019: 41)

Our main reason for limiting the investigation to the present-day Netherlands lies in the different status and function of French in the Southern Netherlands, which is essentially a bilingual territory comprising both French-dominant and Dutch-dominant regions. There are no French-dominant regions in the Northern Netherlands. Whereas it would be a fascinating topic to study the differences



Figure 1.2 Map of the present-day Netherlands (including the province of Flevoland, created in the twentieth century; taken from Wikipedia)

in the bilingual repertoires emerging from these different contexts, i.e., to compare the much more widespread bilingualism in the south and its sociolinguistic effects to the more restricted bilingualism in the north, this wide-ranging topic falls outside the scope of the present volume, if only because there is a clear lack of research into the situation in the north and the south separately. We hope the present study will offer a useful view from the north. Focusing on the Southern Netherlands, case studies of language choice, contact phenomena, and discourses of frenchification have been carried out over the years (Willemyns 2002, Vanhecke 2004, Verheyden 2023), so that a fruitful comparison of the Southern and Northern Netherlands may be achieved in the future.

A bit more on terminology: Dutch is the West-Germanic language that is dominantly used in the Netherlands and the northern parts of present-day Belgium. If *Dutch* does not refer to this language, it is the adjective belonging to the present-day Netherlands. This means that *a Dutch text* refers to a text in this West-Germanic language, which may have been produced anywhere, not just in the Netherlands, but also in present-day Belgium or in fact any other place in the world, whereas *a Dutch town* refers to a town located on the territory of the north-

ern parts of the Low Countries, that is, in the Northern Netherlands, or simply: the Netherlands.

Traditionally, the heyday of the frenchification of the Netherlands is located in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, where the eighteenth century is usually the focal area of heightened frenchification (Vogl 2015: 74–77). On an international scale, the phenomenon of European francophonie also had its peak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Chapter 2). We have extended this period at both ends by approximately one century, so that we expect to be able to trace the rise, peak and fall of the influence of French in the centuries between 1500 and 1900. It is well known that French was already used in the Netherlands in the Middle Ages, for example in the literary tradition (see also Section 2.9), but tracing the role of French further back in time poses severe problems for our sociolinguistic approach. Even when restricting our research to the period from 1500 onwards, we found an imbalance between the earlier and the more recent periods with respect to the availability of textual sources. Whereas numerous texts are available in archives around the country for the sixteenth century, it is sometimes difficult to find texts that meet the specific criteria set out for our case studies (see Chapters 5 and 8).

French was, of course, not the only non-Dutch language in a Dutch-dominant language area. By focusing on the Dutch-French contact situation, we give preference to one aspect of the multilingual context that dominated contemporary language practices and metadiscourse, but it also means we carve out this one aspect from a more complex whole. In addition to French, Latin played a significant role throughout the period under investigation here. This applies particularly to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, after which the use of Latin gradually declines. At the same time, German and English became more important, for example in academia and in the school system from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries onwards (Chapter 3), so that by 1900, the role of both Latin and French had changed considerably and had in fact decreased significantly. In this book, we analyse the key contact situation with French, thus establishing a clear baseline for future research into the multilingual situation as a whole.

1.4 Overview of the book

Chapters 2 and 3 present a general history of Dutch-French contact situations in the Early and Late Modern period, and of the discursive effects of these contact situations. Chapter 2 gives an overview of what we might call common contact situations from the history of Dutch, i.e., multilingual contexts in which French played a significant role and about which a lot is known. We situate the use of

French in the Netherlands in the context of European francophonie and describe contact situations resulting from social phenomena such as migration as well as certain institutional effects of this migration, including the foundation of so-called Walloon churches and French schools. Chapter 3 discusses language-ideological conflict sites characteristic of the period, from lexical purism to linguistic nationalism and fierce criticism of so-called frenchification.

Chapters 4–7 deal with language choice and language shift in the public and private domains. Chapter 4 analyses language choice in newspapers and pamphlets as well as in ego-documents such as diaries and travelogues. Chapter 5 delves into language choice in private correspondence, based on an extensive dataset of letters found in family archives from all over the Netherlands. In Chapter 6, we return to some of the families discussed in Chapter 5 but now focusing on their business letters. Chapter 7 zooms in on one family in particular, viz. the Luzac family from the city of Leiden. Their family archive is the empirical base of the chapter, with documents ranging from private and business letters to deeds and diplomas.

Chapters 8–12 discuss contact-induced change, specifically changes in written Dutch occurring under the influence of contact with French, based on a corpus compiled for this purpose. Chapter 8 introduces the Language of Leiden Corpus (LOL Corpus). Chapter 9 analyses loan suffixes, Chapter 10 loanwords, while Chapters 11 and 12 focus on morphosyntactic phenomena, viz. participial phrases, and relative pronouns.

In Chapter 13, we present our main conclusions and evaluate our approach, focusing on the theoretical and methodological lessons learned during our research, and which we believe to be of value for the study of historical multilingualism and language contact more generally.

CHAPTER 2

Sociohistorical context and contact settings

2.1 Introduction

In Sections 2.2 and 2.3, we briefly describe the wider international context of the use and functions of French in Early and Late Modern Europe, including the Netherlands. Sections 2.4 to 2.9 discuss a range of contact settings known from the literature, i.e., multilingual situations in which French played a significant role. The historical background to these Early and Late Modern contact settings is the multilingual situation that precedes it. Dutch texts and fragments go back to the ninth century. A full written tradition emerges from the thirteenth century onwards. Other languages, and in particular Frisian, French and Latin, were also used, but in some domains were already largely replaced by Dutch in the sixteenth century.

At the level of local and regional politics, for example, Latin was replaced by the vernacular languages of the Low Countries, viz. French and Dutch, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (van de Haar 2019: 53–54; Stegeman 2021: 211). The label *Dutch* is an obvious anachronism here and should be seen as a cover term for various writing traditions that can roughly be grouped into Franconian and Saxon varieties. Regions where Franconian varieties dominated include Holland and Utrecht in the north, and Flanders and Brabant in the south, while Saxon varieties predominated in the eastern and northern parts of the Netherlands. In addition to French and Dutch, Frisian was used, particularly for legal and administrative purposes, in a larger area than the present-day province of Friesland. By the sixteenth century, written Frisian had been replaced by Dutch and, to a lesser extent, Low German (Bremmer 2009: 6–15).

The use of Dutch in charters is documented from the thirteenth century onwards, sometimes alongside French and/or Latin (de Meyer 1974: 2–3). It is not impossible that Dutch charters already existed before the thirteenth century but they have simply not survived (Stegeman 2021: 211). The shift to Dutch took a long time and followed a variable trajectory, as in the case of the shift to English on the other side of the North Sea (Stenroos 2020, Alcolado Carcinero 2018). The account books of the city of Deventer, for example, were written in Latin until 1360, and in Dutch from 1361 onwards, but this sudden shift took place against a multilingual background: Dutch administrative texts had been produced in Deventer from 1315 onwards (de Meyer 1974: 8).

When in the fifteenth century the Burgundians rulers claimed an ever-larger territory in the Low Countries, they also incorporated Dutch-dominant regions into their realm. This necessitated a bilingual administration, i.e., they started communicating in Dutch in addition to French (Willemyns 1994). This resulted in the *Groot Privilege* of 1477, in which Mary of Burgundy (1475–1482) declared that regional majority languages were to be used in administrative texts concerning the regions in questions, in other words, Dutch was to be used in Dutch-dominant regions (Stegeman 2021: 249). This also implied that secretaries of the central administration needed to be competent in both French and Dutch (van der Wal 1994: 114).

In the sixteenth century, during the Habsburg rule of the Low Countries, the dominant language in the States-General was French (van der Wal 1994: 112). The States-General brought together representatives of both French and Dutch regions. The year 1579 marks the political split between northern and southern regions in the Low Countries, partially along linguistic lines. Towards the end of the 1570s, occasional resolutions in Dutch occur; in 1580 there is a remarkable increase, and the formal decision to switch to Dutch follows in 1582 (van der Wal 1994: 112). In the following years, however, language practices in the administration were more variable than the official policy: there was still communication in French and occasionally also in Latin (van der Wal 1994: 113–114).

Thus, while Dutch had become widely used in domestic political and legal sources, there was also continuity in the use of French. In addition, the French language gained renewed importance from the sixteenth century onwards, as will be shown in the following sections.

2.2 European francophonie

The role of French in the Low Countries needs to be understood in the wider context of a sociohistorical phenomenon that has been labelled *European francophonie* (Rjéoutski, Argent & Offord 2014) or *francophonie européenne* (Gretchania, Stroev & Viollet 2012, Siouffi 2010; also Brunot 1905–1953/1969–1979). It describes the use of the French language outside historically French-speaking areas, that is, where it was not the official or vernacular language and was thus used by communities with other linguistic backgrounds (Kok Escalle & van Strien-Chardonneau 2017: 8). Importantly, the concept referred to as European or *historical francophonie* must be distinguished from *modern francophonie* (Argent, Rjéoutski & Offord 2014: 4–5; see also Ager 1996). From the second half of the twentieth century onwards, the latter has denoted the practice of the French language beyond Europe as a result of France's colonial power, especially in northern and western

Africa and southeast Asia (Argent, Rjéoutski & Offord 2014: 5). Historical francophonie, in contrast, is essentially a precolonial phenomenon that has its roots already in the Middle Ages, started to expand in the seventeenth century and continued to last well into the nineteenth century, when the value of French started to decline. Francophonie in the historical sense emerged in various parts of Europe, albeit to varying degrees, from England, the Low Countries and Sweden, to Prussia, Russia and Turkey (see the contributions in Rjéoutski, Argent & Offord 2014). Despite the pan-European dimension of this phenomenon, the exact periods of adopting French, as well as the heydays of francophonie vary across different regions and language areas (Argent, Rjéoutski & Offord 2014: 3).

Generally speaking, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, French served as the main European lingua franca of international communication (Wright 2016: 134). Its status at that time has repeatedly been compared to that of Latin during the Middle Ages, and that of English in the modern world (Argent, Rjéoutski & Offord 2014: 1, Burke 2004: 87–88). In fact, the hegemony of Latin in the domains of science, culture and politics was gradually contested by the rise of French in the Early Modern period. Against the background of ongoing vernacularisation since the late Middle Ages, the position of French as an international language became particularly strong during the long reign of Louis XIV (1638–1715). The spread of French as a lingua franca across Europe was facilitated by a number of factors, as discussed by Wright (2016: Chapters 6). First, France occupied a dominant position as a political, military, and economic superpower, having the most extensive territory and the largest population of Early Modern western Europe (Wright 2016: 134–135). Moreover, France and its capital Paris in particular became the major cultural centre of post-Renaissance Europe (Wright 2016: 135–136), being associated with cultural refinement and literary aesthetics, good taste (or *bon goût*) and the art of living well (or *l'art de vivre*) (Offord, Rjéoutski & Argent 2018: 79–80). Therefore, writing in French became a successful instrument to reach an international audience. The French were also famed for their innovations in the political and natural sciences, and were driving forces in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century intellectual and philosophical movements such as the Enlightenment (Wright 2016: 137). Finally, French spread across Europe as a language of religion, transported by French-speaking migrants fleeing from religious persecution in France from the sixteenth century onwards (Wright 2016: 137; see also below, Sections 2.4 and 2.5). As Wright (2016: 138) emphasises, all these factors are extralinguistic and not related to the qualities of the language itself, rejecting the common arguments about the intrinsic qualities of French and its alleged universality (Argent, Rjéoutski & Offord 2014: 10–15). This ideological discourse originally developed in France and became widely accepted in other parts of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe (Offord,

Rjéoutski & Argent 2018: 84). Wright (2016: 138), however, concludes that '[t]he reasons for the spread of French as a lingua franca were not because French speakers set out to promote the language as such', but 'because its speakers had political, economic and cultural clout'.

2.3 International prestige language

The functions of French in European language communities were manifold and spread across various domains of social life. In large parts of Early Modern Europe, French dominated as the lingua franca for trade and diplomatic negotiations, gradually replacing Latin as the most commonly used language. The linguistic history of diplomacy is more complex as other languages such as German and Italian also functioned as common languages in certain times and regions, but the main shift is from Latin to French in the course of the Early Modern period (Holm 2023). In the Low Countries, the use of French as the prime means of communication in domains such as trade and diplomacy dates back to the Middle Ages, and continued to increase as commerce grew and international relations intensified (Frijhoff 2015: 116). French also developed into an international language of culture for the aristocratic, learned and literary circles. For these cultured elites, French was not only more practical than their own vernacular and national languages, or even Latin and Greek, but also regarded as richer and more suitable than all these languages (Frijhoff 2015: 129).

In essence, the different functions of French appear to have served two overarching but possibly overlapping purposes (van Strien-Chardonneau 2014: 162). Firstly, as a language for primarily utilitarian ends such as trade, diplomacy and international relations, and secondly, as a language of social distinction and prestige. In fact, various definitions of European francophonie describe the practice of French as an inherently sociocultural phenomenon (Argent, Rjéoutski & Offord 2014: 15), implying that the language carried substantial social and cultural prestige. It has been suggested that this dimension was 'often as important as strictly utilitarian considerations, if not more so' (van Strien-Chardonneau 2014: 154). A clear-cut differentiation between these two main functions is not always possible, though, as they often complemented and supported one another (Böhm 2014: 176).

It is clear that prestige played a key role in the rise and maintenance of French across Europe. The different functions of French have in common that they are typically associated with the higher strata of European societies. Depending on time and space, these could encompass the nobility, the aristocracy, the patriciate, and, to a lesser extent, the bourgeoisie as the emerging higher stratum (Böhm

2014: 176, van Strien-Chardonneau 2014: 155–158). French was first and foremost the language of the upper layers of society, and a marker of social identity for these elites. Due to the high prestige of French culture and manners, also covering behavioural models like those of the *honnête homme* (roughly 'gentleman'), *civilité* ('politeness and social refinement') or *courtoisie* ('politeness, courtliness') (Frijhoff 2015: 117), the French language was valued as cultural capital. As such, French functioned both as an in-group sign of recognition between members of the elites, and as a sign of disctinction, through which the upper classes were able to differentiate or distance themselves from the other classes (van Strien-Chardonneau 2014: 169–171). In fact, the practice of French hardly spread among the middle and lower ranks on a larger scale (Böhm 2014: 206). However, learning and using French could lead to upward social mobility. In the Low Countries, this applied in particular to the groups which Frijhoff (2015: 129) refers to as the 'sub-top' and the 'sub-elites', aspiring to raise their status. In a similar vein, Böhm (2014: 176) remarks that French may have been a lingua franca for the Prussian aristocracy, whereas for members of the bourgeoisie it was a language of culture required for social and economic advancement.

Related to the function of French as a prestige language among European elites is a certain aristocratic style of life and thought called cosmopolitanism, which flourished in the early eighteenth century (Frijhoff 2015: 131–133, Frijhoff 2018: 41–43). French became the *language of cosmopolitanism* for an internationally minded network of cultured intellectuals who shared 'a spirit of high-born equality' across national borders (Frijhoff 2015: 132). This cosmopolitan culture should not be equated with the Republic of Letters (Frijhoff 2018: 42–43), although in the Republic of Letters, too, French became increasingly important and partially replaced Latin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see also Section 3.3.2). A similar idea of constructing the image of a multilingual cosmopolitan identity through the use of languages like French has also been observed in the context of Russian francophonie (Offord, Rjéoutski & Argent 2018: 354).

In addition to the international and public-oriented dimension of European francophonie, French was an important language in the private lives of the upper ranks. This function is sometimes referred to as *language of intimacy* (e.g. van Strien-Chardonneau & Kok Escalle 2017), which, on closer inspection, has multiple interrelated layers. A broader interpretation considers French as a 'language of culture shared between people who are intimate' (Kok Escalle & van Strien-Chardonneau 2017: 10), expressing intimacy through letter writing in French among close family members and loved ones. The notion of intimacy can also refer to French as a 'language of individual sensibility and introspection' (van Strien-Chardonneau 2014: 173), as used in diaries, travel accounts, memoirs or

biographies (see also Offord 2014: 385–386 for the Russian context). Generally, the use of French in historical ego-documents has been the topic of numerous studies set in different language areas and periods (see the contributions in van Strien-Chardonneau & Kok Escalle 2017). An example from Dutch is Ruberg's (2011) investigation of epistolary practices among the elite in the northern Low Countries. Focusing on family correspondence from the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, she shows that in the period between 1770 and 1780, almost one-third of all elite letters were written in French, before the share of French gradually dropped in subsequent periods (see also Chapters 4 and 5 on language choice in the private domain).

2.4 Migration

We will now zoom in on specific contexts in which speakers of Dutch and French came into contact in the Netherlands from the sixteenth century onwards. A key opportunity for language contact is migration. Migrants can be categorised in different ways. One approach looks at reasons for migrating, where a broad division can be made between ideological and economic migrants, while acknowledging that often individual decisions are combinations of ideological push and economic pull factors. Ideological migrants are political and religious refugees fleeing a dangerous situation, ranging from potential prosecution to pogroms. Well-known ideological migrants to the Netherlands comprise Protestants from the Southern Netherlands and from France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, i.e., Huguenots, Sephardi from Spain and Portugal, mostly in the sixteenth century, and Ashkenazi in the seventeenth century (Lucassen & Penninx 1994: 30–35), bringing languages such as French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Yiddish to the Low Countries. These groups totalled tens of thousands of individuals. Much smaller groups of ideological migrants comprised such diverse groups as Polish Socinians, English puritans, Quakers, and Bohemian and Moravian brethren in the seventeenth century, and Baptists from Bern, Poland and Prussia in the eighteenth century along with Lutherans from Salzburg and Moravian brethren from Germany (Lucassen & Penninx 1994: 35). The booming economy also brought many labour migrants to the Netherlands and more specifically to the cities in the western parts. These labour migrants came from other areas in the Dutch Republic and from Dutch- and French-speaking areas in the Southern Netherlands (present-day Belgium along with Luxembourg) as well as from France, and from German and Scandinavian lands.

Another way of categorising migrants is by the duration of their stay in the Netherlands (Lucassen 2006: 11). An advantage of this approach is that it high-

lights the fact that many migrants remain close to invisible for quantitative historical research, simply because statistics do not exist, or in fact for any kind of research because they left so few traces (Lucassen & Penninx 1994: 48–49). This applies to seasonal workers and to a lesser extent also to labour migrants such as wage workers (soldiers, sailors), who often stayed for a couple of years. Some of these became permanent migrants, which is the group about which most is known. Another advantage of a categorisation according to duration of stay is that it considers the permanent migrants, in particular, as a group comprising many different individuals also with many different reasons for migrating (Lucassen 2006: 12–13). The Huguenots constitute a typical case in point: traditionally seen as ideological, i.e., religious, refugees, it is now acknowledged that mixed motives often drove them to migrate, and that even if they principally fled for religious reasons, the booming economy in the Low Countries also determined the place they wanted to migrate to (van der Linden 2015: 2, 16).

While migration is a permanent phenomenon, its magnitude varies across time. In the Early and Late Modern Netherlands, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show more mobility than more recent periods. Lesger (2006) focuses on the middle of the seventeenth century, comparing migration patterns across fourteen cities from all over the Netherlands based on the geographical origin of new burghers. Very clear patterns are found. It is immediately clear that most new burghers came from surrounding areas: first, present-day Germany, Belgium/Luxembourg and France, and to a lesser extent also Great Britain. Other areas of origin are proportionally marginal, except perhaps Scandinavia in the case of Amsterdam. In the north, in the Frisian cities of Franeker and Sneek, approximately 90% of the new burghers came from within the Netherlands. The only sizeable group of migrants from further away came from Germany. German migrants were also the largest group in the east, where they constituted c. one third of the new burghers. The southernmost city in the east, in Lesger (2006), is Nijmegen, which also displayed a significant number of migrants from present-day Belgium and Luxembourg, viz. 10%. In the west and the south, German migrants also constituted relevant proportions, but were at the same time almost everywhere outnumbered by migrants from the south, i.e., from Belgium/Luxembourg and France. Leiden, for example, had 41.2% new burghers from the Netherlands, 21.6% from Germany, 15.2% from Belgium/Luxembourg and 18.2% from France. Further to the south, in the Zeeland area, cities such as Veere and Goes had less than 3% new burghers from Germany, and more than 30% from Belgium/Luxembourg and France together. In the west and the south, the only city diverging from these patterns is Amsterdam, where c. 50% of the new burghers came from the Netherlands, approximately one-third from Germany, and between 3.5 and 4% from Belgium/Luxembourg and France. This means that there was a clear east-to-west

migration affecting most of the Netherlands, along with a south-to-north migration with the strongest influence in the south and the west. In other words, contact with French because of migration was much more prevalent in the west and the south (Holland, Zeeland, Brabant) than in the eastern and northern parts of the Netherlands.

These general patterns are confirmed by Schroor (2014: 100–101), who shows that the northern city of Groningen attracted most migrants from its immediate surroundings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as well as, to a lesser extent, from Germany. While migration from the far south was proportionally insignificant, it is still worth mentioning that 105 Huguenots acquired citizenship in Groningen between 1681 and 1700.

The area with the largest population was Holland, comprising both the present-day provinces of North Holland and South Holland, which includes major cities such as Amsterdam, Leiden, and Rotterdam. Between 1500 and 1800, the population of the present-day Netherlands grew from c. 900,000 to 2,100,000, while the population of the Holland area increased from c. 275,000 to 783,000 (de Vries & van der Woude 1995: 71, 74). This means that a considerable proportion of the population lived in Holland throughout the centuries, increasing from c. 30% in 1500 to 37% by 1800. Lucassen (2006) discusses migration to the Holland area between 1600 and 1800. Foreign migrants, mostly from surrounding countries, made up between 12% and 18% of the population throughout these two hundred years. Domestic migration, both within Holland and from other areas in the Republic to Holland, was responsible for c. 40% of the population, while the remaining 40% to 50% of the inhabitants were autochthonous. Zooming in on thirteen towns and cities, this picture changes dramatically. Urban areas attracted many more so-called foreign migrants: c. 30% of the population in the seventeenth century, and between 16% and 20% in the eighteenth century. In the first half of the seventeenth century, the largest group of migrants came from the Southern Netherlands and France, the second largest from Germany. German migrants remained important throughout the two centuries. Migration from the South and from France was still relatively high in the second half of the seventeenth century and gradually decreased in the eighteenth century.

Within Holland, there is a clear north-south difference with respect to the relative importance of migrants from the Southern Netherlands and France. In Hoorn, Alkmaar and Enkhuizen, in the northern parts of Holland to the north of Amsterdam, migration from outside the Republic was responsible for c. 15% of the population, mostly Germans from the east, with migrants from the south adding up to c. 1% (Lucassen 2006: 31). In Amsterdam, slightly more to the south, foreign migrants constituted c. 40% of the population in the seventeenth century, and c. 25% in the eighteenth. The largest group came from Germany, with much smaller

numbers from the Southern Netherlands and France (Lucassen 2006: 25). Of course, in a city with more than 200,000 inhabitants, a small proportion of 3% or 4% still represents thousands of individuals. In the southern parts of Holland, in cities such as Rotterdam, The Hague, Delft, Dordrecht, Gouda and Schiedam, foreign migration made up one-fifth to one quarter of the population, with migrants from Germany constituting between 4% and 10%. The largest group, on average, came from the south, with in some places up to 15% from the Southern Netherlands and France in the seventeenth century (Lucassen 2006: 28–30). In the eighteenth century, these numbers decreased, as did all migration numbers.

Two cities in Holland diverging from these general patterns are Leiden and Haarlem. Leiden was the second largest city in Holland, located in the southern part of Holland between Amsterdam and The Hague. Haarlem is slightly smaller and is located to the west of Amsterdam. Both cities have more than 50% foreign migrants in the first half of the seventeenth century, still more than one-third in the second half, which then goes down to a mere 10%. The proportion of migrants from Germany is comparable to other cities in Holland, i.e., mostly below 10%, while the number of migrants from the Southern Netherlands and France constitute large groups, especially in the seventeenth century, viz. between a quarter and half of the population, amounting to tens of thousands of individuals. The reason for these divergent patterns lies in the fact that Leiden and Haarlem were textile industry cities (Kuijpers 2005: 94–95), which typically attracted migrants from the Southern Netherlands and northern France, where there were also historical textile industry regions. Kuijpers (2005: 95) even refers to a migration system between Leiden and the textile regions in the present-day Belgian-French border area, due to the specialised labour force needed in Leiden.

2.5 Huguenots, Walloon churches and the *Waals college*

The Netherlands attracted migrants from many different places, but for the present research the migration from the south is most relevant, that is, from the French-speaking parts in present-day Belgium and Luxembourg, from France and from other French-dominant areas, for example in present-day Switzerland. A very large number of these migrants can be called Huguenots: Protestants seeking refuge outside their Catholic-dominant homelands. Two historic events demarcate the Huguenot migration: the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1572 is associated with the First Refuge, and the 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes — an edict which had granted certain rights to the Protestants — is linked to the Second Refuge. The First Refuge not only brought Calvinist Protestants from France to the Netherlands: in fact, they followed an existing economic south-to-

north movement, which also brought Lutherans, Mennonites and even Catholics to the Netherlands (Frijhoff 2003: 130). Large numbers of Huguenots came to the Netherlands, but sizeable numbers also went to other places such as England, Ireland, Scotland (Chamayou 2001), and Germany (Böhm 2010, Pfäffle & Schiegg 2023). It is estimated that c. 250,000 Huguenots left France (Yardeni 2001: 32).

The First Refuge brought 100,000, perhaps even 150,000 people to the north, where they made up c. 10% of the population, and in the coastal provinces of Holland and Zeeland even more (Frijhoff 2003: 131, 136). As said, they were not just religious refugees. Economic concerns were likewise important. The booming economy in the Netherlands even resulted in policies to attract migrants, for example by granting them a temporary tax relief (Bots 2001: 66–67). The Second Refuge used to be estimated at 50,000 or even 75,000 refugees moving from France to the Netherlands, but this has been adjusted to 35,000 in more recent publications (Bots 2001: 69; Frijhoff 2003: 136; van der Linden 2015: 2). The number of 35,000 still implies that a considerable proportion of the 150,000 Huguenots leaving France after the Revocation went to the Dutch Republic (van der Linden 2015: 2).

According to Frijhoff (2003: 136), the Huguenot presence in the 30 largest towns and cities in the Netherlands towards the end of the seventeenth century, in the wake of the Revocation, amounted to 7% of the population on average. The Hague had the highest rate of Huguenots at that time: approximately 2,750 refugees represented between 7% and 10% of the population of the city. In Amsterdam, c. 5,000 refugees made up 2% to 2.5% of the population of c. 200,000 by 1700. The Amsterdam *poorterboeken* 'citizenship books' of the years from 1681 to 1691 list 2,234 new citizens from France, originating from the entire country with high numbers for Rouen, Paris, Sedan and La Rochelle (Frijhoff 2003: 137–138). Some 800 Huguenots went to the city of Utrecht in the seventeenth century; most of them settling there in the period from 1686 to 1688, coming from all over France, with a majority of 20% from the Champagne region (van der Spek 1999: 45). In Rotterdam, c. 1,400 Huguenots made up around 3% of the population of the city of Rotterdam in 1690, which is estimated at 51,000 (van der Linden 2015: 44). The Second Refuge also saw the combination of religious and economic concerns. One well-known migration route, for example, was from Dieppe in Normandy to Rotterdam in the southern part of Holland. It has been argued that Huguenots following this route carefully planned their journey: they preferred to keep their jobs and stay with their families in France, and only left when religious pressure became unbearable (van der Linden 2015: 33).

The settlement pattern of Huguenot refugees in the Low Countries can be traced through an analysis of the establishment of Walloon churches. Calvinist churches targeting local believers had been founded in the Southern Netherlands

from the 1560s onwards, in places such as Tournai, Valenciennes, Ghent and Antwerp (Bots, Posthumus Meyjes & Wieringa 1985: 41). Soon, Protestants started moving to the north, where churches were established from the 1570s onwards. Initially, most refugees came from the Southern Netherlands, which explains why the buildings and congregations are called *Walloon* churches. The first Walloon church in the northern part of the Low Countries was founded in the city of Middelburg, in the Zeeland region, in 1574. The second church was established in Amsterdam, in the Holland region, in 1578 (Bots, Posthumus Meyjes & Wieringa 1985: 46). Until 1600, a total of 15 Walloon churches were founded in the Netherlands, 13 of which were located in Zeeland and Holland, indicating that the major migration route was from the western parts of the Southern Netherlands into Zeeland, South Holland and North Holland (Bots, Posthumus Meyjes & Wieringa 1985: 51). Outside these regions, churches were established in the city of Utrecht in 1583, and in Kampen, in the Overijssel region, in 1596. In the course of the seventeenth century, before the Second Refuge, another 17 churches were established, predominantly in Zeeland and Holland, along with other places such as Groningen (1619) and Leeuwarden (1659) in the north, and 's-Hertogenbosch (1631) and Nijmegen in the south and east (1644). After the Revocation, this pattern of settlement was repeated (Frijhoff 2003: 132), resulting in a dense network of Walloon churches in the west and southwest, i.e., in Holland and Zeeland, extending into the central areas of Utrecht and to a lesser extent other areas in the east and north (Bots, Posthumus Meyjes & Wieringa 1985: 51).

In principle, refugees fleeing for religious reasons could join the already established Protestant churches in the north, which Dutch-dominant refugees from the Southern Netherlands did (Bots 2001: 63–64). But many refugees were French-dominant. Already at the National Synod of Dordrecht in 1578, where Calvinists from all over the Netherlands gathered, it was decided that it would be practical to have a parallel organisation in French, i.e., a Walloon synod (Knippenberg 1992: 41, Posthumus Meyjes & Bots 2005: IX). The acts of the Walloon synod, kept from 1601 to 1697, are predominantly in French, with Dutch and occasionally Latin being used in communication with Dutch churches and with the secular authorities (Posthumus Meyjes & Bots 2005). The Walloon church in Amsterdam, established in 1578, initially united French-dominant and Dutch-dominant believers, mostly from the Southern Netherlands, but was already split into a French and a Dutch part in September 1579 (*Eglises Wallonnes* 1963: 31). In Rotterdam, where refugees from the south arrived from 1572–1573 onwards, they first aimed to join the existing Dutch churches, but soon asked for services in French (Verheul 1941: 16). The first refugees reached Utrecht at the end of 1582, and in 1583 they requested to have their services in French (Royaards 1847: 298). French pastors were recruited to this end, but occasionally French services were also led by

Dutch-born ministers, who could also represent French churches in situations where knowledge of Dutch was advantageous (Royaards 1847: 302–303).

The need for French ministers led to the so-called *Waals college* 'Walloon college', a training institute for ministers of Walloon churches (Posthumus Meyjes 1975). The newly established Walloon synod had funded a few students to go study in Leiden, Heidelberg, and Geneva in the years from 1575 to 1590 (Posthumus Meyjes 1975: 16–18). Between 1590 and 1606, the majority went to Leiden, which suggests that the migrant communities had become locally anchored, predominantly in the regions of Zeeland and Holland, and it therefore only made sense to establish an educational institute in this area, specifically in Leiden. The initial request to the States of Holland and West-Frisia was made in 1604, and the first students came in 1606 (Posthumus Meyjes 1975: 24–26). The working languages were Latin and French, as opposed to the nearby University of Leiden, where Latin dominated. Soon, however, the college also attracted students who were not primarily interested in preaching in a Walloon church. In the course of the first decades, Walloon students became the minority in the Walloon college; private lessons in French were offered from 1638 onwards (Posthumus Meyjes 1975: 40, 60–61). Eventually, the college no longer fulfilled the function of training institute for Walloon churches, and the Walloon synod stopped the collaboration. The turning point was 1669, when a regent was appointed who did not speak French (Posthumus Meyjes 1975: 125–127). In 1699, the city of Leiden decided to repurpose the building of the Walloon college. The Second Huguenot Refuge did not alter the course of the Walloon college, probably because it brought a very large number of French ministers to the Netherlands.

2.6 French journalists and publishers

Among the Huguenot refugees, ministers constituted a large group, especially after the Second Refuge. The Walloon synod in Rotterdam in 1686 welcomed 200 new ministers, all of them recent refugees. It would turn out to be impossible to find Walloon churches for so many ministers (Bots, Posthumus Meyjes & Wieringa 1985: 50). In 1686, the Dutch and Walloon synods repeatedly pressured the States of Holland and the States-General to provide financial support, which 172 out of 405 refugee ministers eventually received (van der Linden 2015: 65–66). Traditionally, it has been argued that in addition to these ministers, most refugees from the south worked in the textile industry, but this has turned out to be inaccurate (Bots 2001: 70). The Amsterdam citizenship books of 1681–1691 show that, indeed, 25% of the refugees were silk workers, tailors and other professionals from the textile industry, but 42% worked in commerce, trade, and shops, constituting

an urban middle class (Frijhoff 2003: 137). Recall that not all French immigrants were Huguenots in the strict sense of the word, i.e., Calvinist, religious refugees, although these constituted a majority.

The Second Refuge, in particular, has become well known as it brought a relatively high number of writing-oriented people to the Netherlands: ministers, of course, but also schoolteachers, printers, booksellers, writers, journalists (Frijhoff 2003: 142). They gave a powerful impetus to the already existing learned institutions and networks, particularly within the Republic of Letters (Frijhoff 2003: 153–154), which stretched well into the eighteenth century. An important new form of communication was the academic and/or literary journal, spearheaded, in the Netherlands, by Huguenots such as Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), Jean Leclerc (1657–1736; see also Chapter 3) and Henri Basnage de Beauval (1656–1710), following the example of the *Journal des Savants*, published in Paris from 1665 onwards. Bayle published the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* from 1684 onwards. Leclerc was the person behind the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* journal, which began in 1686, its first successor, the *Bibliothèque choisie*, founded in 1703, and the next successor, the *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne*, founded in 1714. Basnage was the main author of the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans*, published from 1687 onwards. These periodicals targeted an audience of learned, francophone readers, both inside and outside the Netherlands. In addition to these three famous journalists and their publications, the so-called *journeaux de Hollande* also included periodicals such as the *Journal d'Amsterdam* by Gabriel d'Artis (c. 1650–c.1730; from 1694 onwards), the *Histoire critique de la République des Lettres, tant Ancienne que Moderne* by Samuel (?-c. 1742) and Jean (1680–1750) Masson (from 1712 onwards), and the anonymously published *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de l'Europe* (from 1728 onwards) (Bots 1997, see also https://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/). Francophone migrants were also active in the newspaper business (see also McLaughlin 2021 on French newspapers). In the eighteenth century, the so-called *Gazette de Leyde*, a newspaper run by the Luzac family, constitutes a well-known example of a French publication aimed at a broad, well-versed, and international readership (Popkin 1989; see also Chapter 4, where newspapers will be discussed, and Chapter 7 about the Luzac family).

In addition to such writers and journalists, many French migrants were active as publishers and booksellers (Frijhoff 2003: 154). For the 1681–1700 period, it has been estimated that there were c. 150 publishing companies in the international book trade hub of Amsterdam. While there were just four Huguenot publishers in the early years, towards 1700 there were eighteen, i.e., more than 10%. The market share went up from 3.3% to 19.7% in the period from 1696 to 1700, when Huguenot publishers provided 318 out of the 1,612 titles published in Ams-

terdam (van der Linden 2015: 55). Huguenot booksellers specialised in specific genres such as French books 'both for Dutch elites and the many refugees who had moved to the Dutch Republic' (van der Linden 2015: 58). Between 1681 and 1700, c. 1,400 books were published per 5-year period in Amsterdam. The number of French titles gradually increased, and went up proportionally from 15.6% in the years from 1681 to 1685 to c. 25% in the later 1680s and in the 1690s. Out of the totality of French books, 18.4% were published by Huguenot companies in 1681–1685, which rose to c. 30% in the late 1680s and early 1690s, and to 60.3% in the late 1690s (van der Linden 2015: 58). In other words, they were monopolising the French book market in Amsterdam. Far fewer books were published in Rotterdam than in Amsterdam: in most five-year periods between 1681 and 1700 c. 185. The proportion of French titles varied between 12.5% and 30% (van der Linden 2015: 59). In Rotterdam, too, French books were printed by Dutch publishers, such as Reinier Leers (1654–1710), whose portfolio sometimes comprised almost 50% French titles, for example by Pierre Bayle (Frijhoff 2003: 154–155).

The example of Henri du Sauzet (1687–1754), born in Toulouse and based initially in The Hague and later in Amsterdam, shows that a French publisher and bookseller in the Netherlands could live from an almost completely French portfolio, and in fact live a largely Francophone life: he did not know Dutch (van Meerkerk 2001: 152). Du Sauzet published more than 70 books in French between 1715 and 1751, and only a handful in Dutch and Latin (van Meerkerk 2001: 401–426). When, after his death in 1754, an inventory of his possessions was made in Dutch, it included hundreds of books, almost all of them in French (van Meerkerk 2001: 435–443).

2.7 French schools

The educational domain in the Netherlands comprised schools that offered French, or that even offered most of the curriculum in French. Such schools predated the southern, Walloon migration of the later sixteenth century, and are usually called French schools. There were various types of French schools, and the field of education changed frequently during the centuries (Dodde 2020).

Urbanisation, combined with economic changes and population growth, was an important driver of the educational changes in the late Middle Ages. The medieval field of education had developed into a system with Dutch schools in addition to Latin schools, when the increasingly international business of trade led to the establishment of French schools (Dodde 2020: 40–48). Initially, these were vocational institutes focusing on subjects essential to future merchants, such as (commercial) arithmetic, bookkeeping and French. Knowledge of Dutch was

presupposed; some French schools offered Dutch in the lower grades (Dodde 2020: 61). Such French trade schools were first established in the urban centres in the Southern Netherlands, such as Ghent and Bruges, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The first archival mention of a French school in the Northern Netherlands is for the city of Bergen op Zoom, in Brabant, in 1482 (Dodde 2020: 59–60). The second is Amsterdam, 1503, then comes 's-Hertogenbosch in 1525, The Hague in 1531, Leiden 1535, Utrecht 1536, Gouda 1537, et cetera. By 1600, there were at least 30 of these schools across the Netherlands: 18 of them were in Holland, Utrecht, Zeeland, and Brabant, where the 10 first were also located. The east, the north and the south soon followed: Groningen in 1564, Nijmegen in 1567, Arnhem 1570, and so on.

Initially, the schools prepared middle-class boys for a career in trade. They did not target the lower ranks: materials, including schoolbooks to learn French were expensive (Dodde 2020: 74). Over time, the French trade schools developed into broader educational institutions, offering, for example, also German, English, geography and history, so that they had become fully-fledged schools for secondary education in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Dodde 2020: 79).

The French trade schools were very different from the schools established by immigrants from the south. In the wake of the migration from the Southern Netherlands and France from the sixteenth century onwards, new schools were founded across the Netherlands targeting the children of these newly arrived migrants. Dodde (2020: 96–101) lists 38 Brabantian and Flemish schools established in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and 57 Walloon schools, which would later be called French schools. These migrant schools offered primary education, and, particularly in the Walloon schools, the language of instruction was usually French, as opposed to the prominent position of Dutch in the French trade schools. Over time, Dutch children started attending Walloon/French schools, which had a good reputation, and the children attending these schools grew up in a bilingual country. In the seventeenth century, every Walloon school offered Dutch in addition to French, resulting in a bilingual form of education, taught at what came to be called Walloon-Dutch or French-Dutch schools (Dodde 2020: 102). Already in the late sixteenth century, similar schools for girls were founded as well as mixed schools (Dodde 2020: 103–105). Like the French trade schools, these primary schools targeted socio-economically middle groups.

The arrival of large numbers of French migrants in the 1680s, and certainly after the Revocation, again led to important changes in the educational system. As mentioned above, the French trade schools developed into a much broader type of secondary education, usually called French schools or French boarding schools, offering a general education in languages, particularly, though not exclusively, French, mathematics, history, geography, and the like (Dodde 2020: 167,

184). These were still relatively expensive schools. They catered primarily for societal middle groups, while the so-called Dutch schools were open to children of all ranks, with the lower ranks often limiting their education to Dutch primary schools. The upper ranks had their own system of governors and the Latin school, although they also sent their children to French schools. The importance of French was acknowledged by some Latin schools that offered courses in French (Dodde 2020: 172). There were also French courses for university students taught by private tutors, for example in Leiden and Franeker (Riemens 1919: 183–189, Frijhoff 2015: 120).

It is usually estimated that around 3% of children in urban areas attended French primary and/or secondary schools in the eighteenth century (Dodde 2020: 170). Likewise, it is often assumed that in around 1800 no more than 5% of the population of the Netherlands, which was c. 2 million, had learnt French at school or from an established teacher (Frijhoff 2015: 129–130). This is a low proportion, but if correct, it still represents c. 100,000 people. In the largest city, Amsterdam (c. 200,000 inhabitants), there were no fewer than 136 French-Dutch schools in 1811, mostly mixed, i.e., for boys and girls. In the Netherlands as a whole, there were 75 French boarding schools for boys, with 2,677 pupils, and 66 boarding schools for girls with 1,529 pupils (Dodde 2020: 247–248).

From the second half of the eighteenth century onwards, educational and pedagogical discussions intensified in semi-public societies and periodicals, often in the context of nation-building (Los 2005). This generated a series of proposals for educational reform, which also included language-in-education policies (Rutten 2016). While the period is generally characterised by dutchification, i.e., the codification of the perceived national language and its promotion in educational and administrative contexts (Rutten 2019), it is interesting that German and English are regularly mentioned in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century discourses about educational and linguistic reform, alongside French (Dodde 2020: 203, 214, 218, 219). In fact, educational programmes of French schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries often included German and English, and sometimes also Italian and Spanish (Dodde 2020: 233–237). Nonetheless, when compared to French, the opportunities to learn English and German, let alone Italian and Spanish, were marginal before the nineteenth century (Hulshof, Kwakernaak & Wilhelm 2015: 42–45). In the second half of the nineteenth century, the general opinion was that secondary education should offer Dutch and so-called modern foreign languages, which was a label covering German, French and English (Dodde 2020: 265–267). In the 1850s and 1860s, another round of drastic educational reforms led to a new system for primary and secondary education, which brought an official end to the French schools, although some institutions would stick to this name well into the twentieth century (Dodde 2020: 268–269).

2.8 Materials and practices for teaching and learning French

Teaching and learning French were certainly not restricted to French schools. There were many ways to learn foreign languages: in interaction, within the family, from private teachers, at school, with or without explicit instruction, with or without written materials, et cetera. Outside the school context, the best-known practice may be the educational journey, sometimes called the *Grand Tour*, which was undertaken by tens of thousands of mostly young men from the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Moss 2023: 24–25). Sons from wealthy families travelled through Europe, often in groups. France and Italy were the most popular destinations, while Switzerland, England, the German lands and still other places were also visited (Moss 2023: 27). Personal, professional and moral growth were the main goals of these journeys, during which the young people were supposed to build up an international network and acquire various skills, such as horse-riding, fencing and dancing, as well as some fluency in foreign languages (Moss 2023: 25). For some, there was also an academic goal, namely to study and possibly obtain a doctorate at a foreign university, often in the Loire region, for example in Orléans, Bourges or Angers (Frijhoff 2015: 126). Ideally, the journey would bring the travellers into contact with 'local', for example Francophone, people, but all too often the main contacts of Dutch travellers abroad were other Dutch travellers so that many had to hire a private teacher (Frank-van Westrienen 1983: 153, 160). Language learning was an important aspect of the educational journey. French and also English were popular, and Italian to a lesser extent, while German usually did not play a role of any significance, partly because the German lands were primarily lands to travel through on the way to Switzerland and Italy, perhaps also because of the dialect continuum permitting communication across a large West-Germanic territory (Frank-van Westrienen 1983: 152, 160–164).

Since there were so many different ways to teach and learn French, printed materials offer a partial and limited perspective on the practice of language learning. Nonetheless, the overwhelmingly available sources for learning French strongly suggest that French was considered much more important than any other modern foreign language (Hulshof, Kwakernaak & Wilhelm 2015: 42). Whereas French and English grammars were already published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the first German grammars date back to the eighteenth century (Hulshof, Kwakernaak & Wilhelm 2015: 43). The close relationship between Dutch and German must have played a role in this. Nonetheless, in the nineteenth century, hundreds of German textbooks appeared (Hulshof, Kwakernaak & Wilhelm 2015: 129). For English, the number of textbooks published before 1800 has been estimated at c. 40, while 221 titles were published between 1800 and 1860

(Hulshof, Kwakernaak & Wilhelm 2015: 130), testifying to the increased importance of English in the nineteenth century.

Materials to learn English significantly outnumbered those for German. The materials for French, in turn, greatly outnumbered those for English, which indicates that French was without doubt the most important other language in the Early and Late Modern period, in addition to Latin (Frijhoff 2015). An early and significant impulse came from the genre of dialogue books and vocabularies, pioneered by the Antwerp language teacher of Walloon descent, Noel de Berlaimont (?–1531, see van der Sijs 2004, Kött & Vogl 2023). His original publication, entitled *Vocabulare* and published in 1511, presumably comprised Dutch and French. Later editions, which also had other titles such as *Colloquia*, comprised more languages: Latin and Spanish were added around the middle of the sixteenth century, Italian, English, German, and Portuguese came in the second half of the sixteenth century, and later also Czech, Polish, and Hungarian. It is estimated that some 150 editions were published between 1527 and 1759, many of which in the northern Netherlands (van der Sijs 2004). Other dialogic manuals and vocabularies were written by authors such as Gabriel Meurier (16th century), who was also an Antwerp schoolteacher of Walloon descent; Gérard de Vivre (16th century), born in Ghent and based in Cologne; Zacharias Heyns (c. 1566–c. 1638), who was born in Antwerp and moved to Amsterdam and Zwolle in the north; the Huguenot Nathanael Duez (1609–after 1669), who ended up in Leiden (Riemens 1919: 242–245). Such relatively small books with model dialogues and restricted vocabularies served a practical function: they were primarily targeted towards merchants and other people who were keen to acquire some communicative competence in another language, particularly for specific situations (Hüning & Vogl 2023).

A slightly different genre is the grammar book. Riemens (1919: 223–235), who offers a comprehensive overview of learning materials for French published in the northern Netherlands before 1800, records no fewer than 69 grammars and books with grammatical exercises, from the first grammar in 1576 to 1800. Among these, there are well-known authors with a Huguenot background, such as the already mentioned Nathanael Duez and Pierre Marin (1667/8–1718). Duez originated from Alsace and settled in Leiden around 1639 (Loonen 1995: 2–3). His works include a variety of languages: there are grammars, schoolbooks and dictionaries of French, German, Italian and Latin, mostly in bilingual or multilingual combinations, along with multilingual editions of Comenius's *Ianua linguarum*; Dutch is occasionally included (Loonen 1995: 9–13). Marin, from the wider Paris region, settled in Amsterdam in 1688 (Loonen 1997: 14). He was the author of several highly successful works, including the *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre les principes et l'usage des langues françoise et hollandaise*, first published in 1694 and with some 25 reprints until 1826; the *Méthode familière* of 1698, which also saw c.

25 reprints until 1874; and the *Dictionaire portatif, hollandois et françois* of 1696, reprinted more than ten times until 1828 (Loonen 1997: 15–16).

The category of treatises about particular grammatical and stylistic topics, closely related to the category of grammar books and books with grammatical exercises, comprises another 23 titles, including domestic editions of Vaugelas's and Bouhours's remarks on the French language published in Amsterdam and The Hague (Riemens 1919: 235). At least 23 dictionaries appeared in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Riemens 1919: 265–271). Extending the category to include manuals for letter-writing (13 titles), reading materials, including drama (68 titles), and schoolbooks for specific topics such as mathematics, bookkeeping, history, geography and religion (60 titles), Riemens (1919: 232–271) counts close to 300 publications used for learning French, testifying to intense French-oriented educational practices in the Early and Late Modern Netherlands.

2.9 Reading culture and translated French

Jagersma (2022: 61) estimates that a few hundred books were printed per decade in the Netherlands in the sixteenth century, which increased to more than 3,000 per decade around 1600, to close to 10,000 per decade around 1700, and c. 15,000 per decade towards the end of the eighteenth century. At first, Latin dominated book production, but from c. 1530 onwards Dutch books always totalled 50% or more of the total book production. Latin, for its part, was initially dominant (around 80%), but remained between between c. 10% and c. 40% after 1530. French books were always under 10%, except in the period from 1670 to 1770, when they accounted for between 10% and 20% of the total book production (Jagersma 2022: 101). These numbers only include the production of books and do not take into account the possibly international readership of non-Dutch books.

Who read French? Keblusek (1997) analyses the book culture in the city of The Hague between 1600 and 1660 based on 100 estate inventories. The sample comprises 22 individuals from the highest ranks such as the aristocracy, 47 from the upper middle ranks, and 31 from the middle ranks (Keblusek 1997: 144). Books are mentioned in 40 inventories, of which 25 comprise no more than 10 books, mostly of a religious nature (Keblusek 1997: 146–147). A small group of senior officials are recorded as possessing dozens of books, mostly in Dutch, French and Latin, sometimes also in English, Spanish, Italian and German; overall, Latin appears to be the dominant language (Keblusek 1997: 149–154). An analysis of the library of the stadtholder shows that it comprised approximately 3,500 titles, of which 42% in Latin, 36% in French, 13% in Dutch, 7% in Spanish and Italian, and 1% in German and English (Keblusek 1997: 166–167). In the upper

echelons of society, Latin and French were clearly dominant. French titles typically included romantic novels and etiquette books, while French drama was also popular: in 1638, a French theatre company performed in the city centre (Keblusek 1997: 178–180). Interestingly, a *Mercure anglois* was published in The Hague around 1650, summarising English news in French for an audience of diplomats and politicians (Keblusek 1997: 281). The dominance of Latin and French in the upper echelons of society extends into the academic domain. Streng (2008) analyses the libraries of scholars from the region of Overijssel between 1650 and 1850 and shows that they mostly had Latin and French books.

One inhabitant of The Hague in the early seventeenth century was David Beck (1594–1634), a schoolmaster, born in Cologne, who moved to the Netherlands, where he ran a French school (Blaak 2009: 43). His diary, in which he also refers to his reading habits, refers to more than 30 French titles, some 25 Dutch titles, and only a handful of Latin titles (Blaak 2009: 355–359). Religion is a dominant topic of the Dutch titles, while poetry is prominent among the French titles (Blaak 2009: 85). As he did not have an academic background, Latin was marginal in Beck's reading habits.

Eighteenth-century The Hague shows a somewhat different picture, based on a study of c. 200 estate inventories more evenly spread over the different social ranks, dating from the beginning, middle and end of the century (de Kruif 1999). Dutch is the dominant language, responsible for more than 70% of all the titles in the second half of the century. Latin is almost always less than 10%, except in the natural sciences. Similarly, French is almost always well under 20%, except in specific genres such as philosophy and law, and around 30% in the case of literature (de Kruif 1999: 237–241). De Kruif (1999: 241) concludes that Latin books, if present, were part of bigger libraries, often owned by doctors, lawyers and ministers, while French books were found to a slightly greater extent, often as literary texts, but she also concludes that there was no increase in the possession of French books, hence no frenchification of the reading culture.

The studies of individual diarists/readers by Blaak (2009) shed a nuanced light on these conclusions. Pieter Teding van Berkhout (1643–1713) was a member of the The Hague aristocracy, who kept a diary in French (Blaak 2009: 113, 125). He refers to some Dutch books (fewer than 20), and a few times to books in other languages including Latin, English and Italian, but the main point is that 81 out of 116 titles mentioned in his diary are French titles (Blaak 2009: 153, 359–365). Both as a writer and as a reader, Teding van Berkhout exemplifies the stereotype of the frenchified elite. The middle-class office clerk Jan de Boer (1694–1764), based in Amsterdam, refers to over 200 Dutch titles, including many newspapers and pamphlets, and hardly any titles in other languages, except, for example, one reference to one specific issue of the *Gazette de la Haye* (Blaak 2009: 191, 366–374).

Likewise, Jacoba van Thiel (1742–1800), daughter of a well-to-do minister, based in Leiden, only refers to Dutch titles in her diary (Blaak 2009: 266–267, 375–380). Her father owned more than 1,000 books, half of them in Greek and Latin, the other half in Dutch (Blaak 2009: 269).

The lack of frenchification in the eighteenth century, proposed by de Kruif (1999: 241) and also suggested by the diaries of de Boer and van Thiel (Blaak 2009), is confirmed by an analysis of bookshops in the city of Zwolle. Brouwers (1995: 197–198) records a few examples of Latin and French titles sold to members of the local elite, but overall, the interest in these languages appears to have been marginal. By the middle of the nineteenth century, this had changed: 34% of the buyers bought French titles such as novels and magazines, far more than English and German books. This was predominantly an elite phenomenon: the local elite spent 23% of their budget for books on French books, and this made up half of all the money spent on French titles in Zwolle around the middle of the nineteenth century (Brouwers 1995: 276–278). Brouwers concludes that frenchification was a nineteenth-century rather than an eighteenth-century phenomenon, aligning with Frijhoff (1991: 22–23), who discusses the idea of 're-frenchification' in the nineteenth century due to increasing school attendance and exposure to French in schools (see also Section 3.3.5). Likewise, in the city of Haarlem, the upper middle ranks read a lot of French novels in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but they also read German and English novels (de Vries 2011: 156–164). A private library such as the *Haarlems Leesmuseum*, which targeted the upper and upper middle ranks, lent many French books, but almost as many German and English titles (de Vries 2011: 178–181). This differed remarkably from library institutions targeting lower and middle groups, where often a similar set of novels was offered, but in a Dutch translation, not in the original language (de Vries 2011: 274–275, 321).

It appears that the genre of the book as well as the social profile of the reader are important predictors of the occurrence of French, and of language choice in general. The link between literature and the French language can be further explored by delving into the topics of literary history and translation. It is well-known that cultural and intellectual life in the entire Low Countries had been multilingual from the earliest days onwards. In fact, the use of Dutch as a literary language predates the thirteenth-century rise of Dutch as an administrative language (Peersman 2012: 644, see also above, Section 2.1). In medieval literature, French and Dutch were both used (Sleiderink 2010). Likewise, religious texts were produced early on, the oldest one going back to the eighth century (Stegeman 2021: 154–156), although Latin would remain the dominant choice in religious writings. Partial translations of the Bible emerged in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the first full translation was printed in 1526 (Stegeman 2021: 230, 462).

The multilingual backdrop of literary and religious culture is also evidenced by the high numbers of translated texts throughout the centuries (Schoenaers et al. 2021). Most of the Dutch works by the medieval author Jacob van Maerlant (c. 1230–c. 1300), one of the most productive authors in thirteenth-century Western Europe, were translations from French and Latin (Schoenaers 2021: 65). Similarly, the Dutch works of a prolific author from the fourteenth century, Jan van Boendale (c. 1280–c. 1351), were largely based on Latin and French sources along with Dutch ones, such as van Maerlant's works (Schoenaers 2021: 94–95). Leemans (2021: 290) shows that the main languages from which translations were made between 1470 and 1800 were French, English, and Latin, with German increasing in the eighteenth century and surpassing all other source languages by 1800. Spanish and Italian are marginal throughout the ages.

The literary use of Latin, French and Dutch persisted in the Early Modern period. It was not unusual for authors to be active in more than one language; a famous — although perhaps also exceptional — example is Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687; Joby 2014). Translations again demonstrate the international, multilingual structure of the literary culture. In the first half of the seventeenth century, c. 70% of the hundreds of novels published in the Northern Netherlands were translations, mostly from French and Spanish originals (Hermans 2021: 243). The most renowned playwright of the seventeenth century, and a literary and linguistic example for many generations into the nineteenth century, was Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679). A quarter of his 33 plays are translations, mostly from Latin and Greek (Hermans 2021: 252). It is estimated that one-third of the plays staged in the Amsterdam theatre in the decades following its foundation in 1638 were translations; the most popular playwright was Lope de Vega (1562–1635; Hermans 2021: 255). Such Spanish plays often reached Amsterdam through French translations.

These numbers clearly indicate the international orientation of the literary field, in which the French literary production was prominent, and where translators fulfilled an important role as multilingual brokers. At the same time, the widespread use of translations also indicates that it was not assumed that target audiences always understood French. In fact, there is a clear and gradual shift towards more Dutch over the centuries, particularly in the northern Low Countries. Whereas the literary culture in the Southern Netherlands in the eighteenth century was still characterised by the use of both French and Dutch (Verschaffel 2017), literary authors in the Northern Netherlands by then overwhelmingly used Dutch (Leemans & Johannes 2013). Nonetheless, more than sixty Neo-Latin poets from the eighteenth century have been identified in the literature (van Miert 2004: 423). Furthermore, it is also estimated that the Dutch texts read and staged in the Northern Netherlands in the nineteenth century, specifically novels and

plays, were predominantly translations from French, German, and English, with original Dutch texts making up between one-fifth and one-third (Koster 2021: 344, 373, 375).

2.10 Discussion

We have focused on well-known contact situations in the period from 1500 to 1900 against the multilingual background of the medieval Low Countries, where Latin, French, Frisian, and Dutch dominated the written production. We situate our analyses of language ideology, language choice and shift, and contact-induced change in the following chapters in the framework of European francophonie. The heydays of this phenomenon were the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when French was an international lingua franca, and thus very often a functional choice. But it could also be a tool for distinction, a symbolic choice. The functional and symbolic uses are partially overlapping and not always clearly distinguishable: writing ego-documents in French may be seen as the adoption of a foreign prestige language, but can equally count as a conventional choice in circles where French was commonly used for private topics and/or where schooling took place in French. The use of French in the Dutch-dominant Early and Late Modern Netherlands thus ranges from the private sphere (e.g., diaries, letters) to the (semi-)public sphere (e.g., in churches, schools, and book production), and included an extensive metalinguistic tradition of phrasebooks, spelling guides, grammar books and dictionaries.

The many cultural connections with the French language, which are also evidenced by the consumption of French texts and by the many translations from French, are accompanied by interpersonal contact resulting from migration. An important generalisation based on the data about migration from the south, including from French-dominant territory, the settlement of Huguenots and other migrants, and the foundation of French schools and Walloon churches, concerns a broad geographical division in the Northern Netherlands: French-dominant migrants and their institutions and practices, for example as journalists and publishers, can be found anywhere in the Netherlands, but more in the west and the south than in the east and the north. This will be a vital observation for our studies of language choice in later chapters, but first we turn to the main language-ideological conflicts characteristic of the Early and Late Modern period.

CHAPTER 3

Language-ideological conflict sites

The multilingual reality in the historical Low Countries, and the important role of French therein, along with the political and cultural dominance of the French-speaking world on a European scale resulted in multiple contact sites: physical places, discourses, and texts in which multiple languages co-occur. We have seen several of such contact sites in Chapter 2. Contact sites are not restricted to societal multilingualism, but also concern individuals, who may have both Dutch and French varieties in their repertoires, along with Latin or other languages, with lexical borrowing and code-switching as the most obvious linguistic results. Situations of language contact often lead to language conflict (Darquennes 2015). Language-ideological debates are the clearest and most common manifestations of these conflicts. It is often assumed that language conflicts are indicative of other broader and more pervasive conflicts, namely social conflicts (Darquennes 2015). After all, language contact settings are grounded in particular social structures and in social change. Similarly, language-ideological debates are frequently seen as discursive conflict sites revealing social conflicts (Blommaert 1999). The various Dutch-French contact situations in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have led to multiple and variable discursive conflict sites. In this chapter, we will discuss a series of highly visible and important language-ideological debates, interpreting these against the background of wider social, cultural, and political contact and conflict sites (Section 3.3). We concentrate on the Dutch-French setting, although sometimes the debate also involved Latin or other languages. We will first contextualise the Dutch fear of frenchification by briefly discussing similar phenomena from other European language areas (3.1). Then, in Section 3.2, we will lay out our approach to the language-ideological conflict sites to be discussed in 3.3.

3.1 European francophobia

The importance of French in many social domains, not only in international communication networks such as diplomacy, science, and trade, but also as a significant language in literary traditions and elite conversation, along with French political and cultural dominance, evoked anti-French commentary across Europe. Indeed, European francophonie (Argent et al. 2014) is a well-known

phenomenon, and many countries and language areas have a long tradition of francophilia and francophobia. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, German purism mainly attacked loanwords from French and Latin (Pfalzgraf 2009). Examples of French borrowings in sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German are indeed easily found (Jones 1976, Brunt 1983). Mixing French words into German was criticised and ridiculed in metalinguistic texts such as *Rettung der Edlen Teutschen Hauptsprache* 'Rescue of the noble German language' (1642) by the literary author Johann Rist (1607–1667), or *Von Nachahmung der Franzosen* 'About the imitation of the French' (1687) by the jurist and philosopher Christian Thomasius (1655–1728). Anti-French views were not restricted to the lexicon or to language per se but also concerned cultural models 'from clothes to cuisine' (Burke 2004: 45). The use of lexical items borrowed from French was seen as a threat to German culture and morals, resulting in a 'hostile reaction' among German authors (Brunt 1983: 48). Thomasius (1687: 3), for example, complained not only about imitating the French linguistically, or lexically, but extended his complaints to French clothes, food, furniture, morals, and sins, concluding that even French diseases were '*durchgehends im Schwange*' ('continuously in vogue'). German purism of the Baroque Era is also discursively connected with contemporary debates about the original language, i.e. the language spoken by Adam and Eve in Paradise, in which debates it is not only significant that German was constructed as the original language, but also that Romance languages such as French were seen as corrupted derivatives of Latin (Pfalzgraf 2009). Similar anti-French ideas can be found among followers of Gothicism in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Sweden, who believed that Scandinavia and the Scandinavian languages were the origins of mankind, claiming that God spoke Swedish and Adam Danish, while the serpent spoke French (Östman 2014: 302–303). A more local and specific type of anti-French sentiments existed in Poland in the seventeenth century, when the use of fashion items such as make-up and wigs was mocked, which may have been a reaction against the alleged Francophilia of the Polish court under French-born Queen Louise-Marie Gonzaga of Nevers (1611–1667; Serwański & Napierala 2014: 314–315).

Complaints about French linguistic influence could also be heard in the English language area (Nevalainen 1999: 359–360), where particularly in the eighteenth century the use of French became discursively associated with women: French was a female language, or a language for girls, while also indexing effeminacy (Beal 2012). The aforementioned association of the French language with cultural models of behaviour thus extended well beyond the seventeenth century, and anti-French ideas and perceptions were often intensified in times of political or ideological conflicts. Emerging German nationalism broke the hegemony of French in Prussia in the course of the eighteenth century (Böhm 2014: 207).

This was strengthened with the rise of Napoleon; from the early nineteenth century onwards, for example, only German and Latin were accepted at the Berlin Academy (Böhm 2014: 199–200). While French loans were also on the rise in eighteenth-century Italian, an anti-French, purist discourse developed during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods, particularly with respect to military jargon and journalistic prose (Minerva 2014: 142–143). Similarly, in Spain, lexical purism targeted the frequent use of French borrowings, especially following the Napoleonic rule (Sanz-Cabrerizo et al. 2014: 247, 268–269).

In other language areas, where the influence of French occurred later than in the German, Dutch and English language areas, which are so close to the French-dominant area, the increasing use of loanwords taken from French also came under attack. This applies, for example, to nineteenth-century Romania and nineteenth- and twentieth-century Turkey (Mihaila 2014: 348–349, Mignon 2014: 433–434). A well-known and extensively researched context is the Russian language area, where French developed into an important language, particularly from the eighteenth century onwards (Offord et al. 2018). With the increasing use of French in various domains and social circles, for example in high society and at court, lexical purism also came into being (Offord et al. 2018: 469–470). In literary sources, Francomania is already criticised in the 1760s in texts with titles such as *Ruskii frantsuz* 'The Russian Frenchman' by Aleksandr Karin, and *Zhan de Mole ili Russkii frantsuz* 'Jean de Molle, or A Russian Frenchman' by Ivan Elagin (1725–1794; Offord et al. 2018: 473). In an at the time unpublished novella entitled *Okh, frantsuzy!* 'Oh, the French!', written in 1806 or 1807, the statesman and general Fyodor Rostopchin (1763–1826) 'challenged the alleged obsession of some of his compatriots with all that was French and their habit of using only French language, practices, servants, and governors' (Offord et al. 2018: 495). The quote reveals that in Russia, too, the use of French, the existence of Russian-French bilingualism, and the spread of French borrowings in Russian were integrated into a more general Francophobic discourse, which also addressed supposedly French-origin dress, fashion, and models of behaviour (Offord et al. 2018: 463–464). Despite the longevity of this discourse, which even intensified during the Napoleonic period, such anti-Napoleonic sentiments did not eradicate the general admiration of French culture, and the French language remained widely in use in Russian high society in the first half of the nineteenth century (Offord et al. 2018: 503–505).

The two main types of language-contact phenomena usually commented upon in anti-French metalinguistic reflection, namely lexical borrowing and language choice (see also Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal 2015), became entangled with broader discourses about culture, politics and morals. A *complaint tradition* (Milroy & Milroy 1985) targeting alleged frenchification emerged across Europe

and often covered several decades, if not centuries. We contend that these metalinguistic reflections reveal significant language-ideological conflict sites.

3.2 Language ideologies

Language ideologies, as conceptualisations of the relationship between language and society, have become central to sociolinguistic analysis, also in cases of multilingualism. Language ideologies are neither ephemeral nor Platonic ideas; instead, they are 'grounded in social experience and often demonstrably tied to political-economic interests' (Kroskrity 2004: 501), and thus, they are constructed in the interest of particular social or cultural groups. This is a recurrent topic in the sociolinguistic literature. Woolard & Schieffelin (1994: 58) already argued that most researchers share the view that language ideologies are 'rooted in or responsive to the experience of a particular social group'. In a similar vein, Blackledge (2000: 27) argues that ideologies 'are always socially situated and tied to questions of identity and power in societies'. By implication, language ideologies are multiple (Kroskrity 2004: 503). Social structure is complex, and even within particular well-defined social groups, there may still be social divisions, for example between genders or generations, that may influence and multiply the conceptualisations of the relationship between language and society. Moreover, new language ideologies may replace previous ideologies, but more often they are added to the ideological spectrum. The resulting layering or hierarchy of multiple ideologies is also captured in the idea that some ideologies are hegemonic vis-à-vis others (Blackledge 2000: 29–31).

When we discuss language-ideological conflict sites below, we will take into account that ideologies are tied to particular social groups and interests. We may call this the *social embedding* of language ideologies (Lismont, Rutten & Vosters 2023). This social embedding unites two axes instrumental in the analysis of the ideologies. One axis concerns the who: who is talking, and whose interests are served? Who produces certain views through discursive practices, and who is the target audience of these discourses? Are they individuals or relatively small networks or communities of practice, or is the target audience a much larger and mostly imagined community such as the population or society as whole? Closely related to this is a second axis, which captures the orientation in quasi-geographical terms: is it a predominantly local discourse, or is it rather national or international?

Above, it became clear that European anti-French discourses were often connected to broader social, cultural, or political issues. Kroskrity (2004: 509) argues that there is usually a close link between language ideologies and *identity*, for

example national or ethnic identity, while also emphasising that these identities can be quite general and may be hiding the actual stratification in the community so that some groups are overlooked, subordinated, or discursively erased from the identity. This is certainly the case in the nationalisation projects in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, when national languages were created that were meant to supersede and make invisible the geographical variation inherent to them; see Rutten (2019) for an extensive discussion of the Dutch case. In our analyses of language-ideological conflict sites, we will also discuss the broader social, cultural and/or political conflicts and identity work that they are related to.

While language ideologies and language conflicts are often indicative of more general social conflicts and perspectives, they are also still about language. In addition to the social, cultural and political types of embedding described above, we therefore also need to distinguish their *linguistic embedding*, or more generally the linguistic elements that are targeted (Lismont, Rutten & Vosters 2023). In cases of supposed frenchification, the main targets are loanwords and other types of borrowing, and language choice, which may eventually result in language death (Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal 2015).

Language ideologies concern the relationship between language and society; that is, they mediate between social structure and ways of talking about it (Kroskrity 2004: 507). According to Kroskrity (2004: 507), the main analytical tools adopted in the study of these ways of talking are the three well-known semiotic processes identified by Irvine & Gal (2000), *iconisation, fractal recursivity*, and *erasure*. Iconisation and erasure, in particular, have been widely adopted in sociolinguistic analysis, and we will also use them in Section 3.3 in our description of the main language-ideological conflicts. Irvine & Gal (2000: 37) refer to these three semiotic processes as 'the means by which people construct ideological representation of linguistic differences'. Iconisation concerns the relationship between linguistic features or varieties and social images, and it particularly refers to cases where a form or a variety is constructed as depicting the essence of a social group (Irvine & Gal 2000: 37). Again, we may refer to the construction of standard languages in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, which were supposed to be direct representations of the nations involved (Rutten 2019). Erasure or *invisibilisation* (Havinga & Langer 2015) is the process whereby some aspects of a sociolinguistic situation are discursively erased because they do not fit the overarching ideological scheme. For example, in the construction of national languages, internal variation inherent to these languages is often disregarded in discourses about the languages (Rutten 2016). Fractal recursivity refers to the projection of a certain relationship that is active at one level to another level, for example, when the dynamics between standard and non-standard in the public domain are transposed to the private domain.

Kroskrity (2004: 505) also claims that there are varying degrees of awareness of language ideologies. Some research (e.g., Silverstein 1979) may suggest that metalinguistic awareness identifies or reveals language ideologies, but some ideologies may also remain underdiscussed or beneath the discursive surface because they are naturalised in the community. When language ideologies are commonsensical, they may escape awareness for many or most language users. In fact, the standard language ideology in some language areas, such as the Dutch language area, purposefully aimed to construct the standard variety as a neutral variety (Rutten 2016). In the Netherlands, the supposed neutrality of the standard variety has developed into a defining characteristic (Smakman 2012). The ideological backbone of this neutrality is the nationalist assumption that the standard variety iconically represents the Dutch nation, and by extension, that it is only natural to use it. Investigating tacit language ideologies is however difficult for historical linguists, who rely on textual sources. We also concur with Darquennes' (2015) discussion of the importance of visibility in the study of language conflict, and that increased visibility is in fact a sign of intensified conflict. We therefore focus on discursively visible language conflicts or explicit metalinguistic work, that is, on contact settings that develop into manifest conflict sites invoking extensive metalinguistic commentary.

3.3 Language-ideological conflict sites

In this section, we zoom in on five historical Dutch-French contact settings that developed into sites of language-ideological debates. In Chapter 2, we outlined various contexts in which users of French and Dutch came into contact in the Early and Late Modern Netherlands. These contexts constitute the background against which the language-ideological debates discussed here take place.

The five selected contact sites cover the entire period discussed in this book from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Some of these debates have attracted considerable attention in the history of the Dutch language area (see the references in the relevant sections). The choice of debates is also inspired by the general diachronic outline of the Dutch-French contact setting developed by Frijhoff (1989, see also Chapter 2). He argues that the use of French in the Low Countries accelerated from the fifteenth century onwards. At first, there were clear functional motivations for this: the Burgundian regime was partly Francophone, trade with France intensified, and students travelled to universities in cities such as Paris and Orléans (Frijhoff 1989: 603). This means that civil servants, merchants and students learned French. But in the course of the sixteenth century, French gradually developed into a cultural tool for distinction, still closely

tied to particular social layers such as the court and the nobility. In addition, many Huguenot refugees came to the Netherlands, creating multiple Francophone religious communities, and the traditional study trip to French universities changed into a more general Grand Tour for the socially privileged (Frank-van Westrienen 1983: 160–164, Moss 2023: 24–27, 68). This is also when the first extensive language-ideological debate emerges, which focuses primarily on lexical purism (Section 3.3.1). In the second half of the seventeenth century, the purist era is accompanied by a second language-ideological debate, focused on the role of the Dutch contribution to the Republic of Letters, and which runs into the eighteenth century. At this point, the use of French became increasingly connected with more general modes of behaviour (Section 3.3.2; see also Frijhoff 1989: 604). The third debate takes place in the middle of the eighteenth century, and is an extension of the previous one, except that it takes the new perspective of the Dutch *burger* 'citizen' (Section 3.3.3). The so-called French period (1794–1814), when the Low Countries were under French rule and eventually even integrated into the Empire, constitutes a fourth language-ideological conflict site, as this is also the period when the recently emerged standard language ideology was implemented in the Dutch context (Section 3.3.4; Frijhoff 1989: 307). Finally, the role of French as a school subject in the nineteenth-century school system again changed the use of French and the attitudes surrounding it (Section 3.3.5; Frijhoff 1989: 307).

3.3.1 Purism

The sixteenth century, and in particular the second half of it, is often associated with the emergence of purism, which mainly attacked loanwords from French and Latin (Van den Branden 1967, van der Wal & van Bree 2008: 195–198). The striving for lexical purity is often interpreted as an aspect of functional elaboration of the vernacular in the sense of Haugen (1966; see for example van der Wal 1995). In the spirit of Renaissance Humanism, this functional elaboration also entailed making available in the vernacular contents that were traditionally rendered in languages such as Latin and French, such as academic and religious topics as well as music (Stegeman 2021: 452–480). Functional elaboration and purism thus both operate at the level of specific forms (often loanwords) as well as at the level of language choice for a particular text. The most well-known example from the Dutch context may be the mathematician and scientist Simon Stevin (1548–1620), who published mostly, though not exclusively, in Dutch, and who famously promoted Dutch mathematical terminology partly still in use today (van der Wal 1995, Stegeman 2021: 447–448, 455–456). A similar approach is found with the biologist Rembert Dodoens (1517–1585), the medical doctor Johan van Bever-

wijck (1594–1647), the mathematician Jacob Verroten (1599-after 1638) and many others (van der Wal 1995; Stegeman 2021: 439–480).

Among the oldest texts often mentioned (Van den Branden 1967: 18–19, Stegeman 2021: 459) are the Dutch songbooks published in Antwerp in 1551 by the composer and publisher Tielman Susato (c. 1510-c. 1570). In the introduction, Susato explains that it is quite common to sing in Latin, French and Italian, to which Dutch should also be added (Van den Branden 1967: 19). Stegeman (2021: 459) notes that singing in Dutch was not uncommon at the time, and that Dutch songbooks had been published before, but Susato explicitly argued for the use of Dutch. In the Dutch research literature, Susato has thus mainly been studied as one of the first to publish Dutch songs, and to argue that the art of music can be performed in Dutch. Internationally, Susato is a well-known Renaissance composer and music publisher. He is most well-known for his publication of 22 chanson books, with which he made an important contribution to the so-called 'Franco-Flemish repertory' (Forney 2005: 11). Susato, indeed, represents the musical culture of sixteenth-century Antwerp, and of the Southern Low Countries in general, where Latin and French were the main languages of music, accompanied by Italian from c. 1550 onwards (Grijp 2011). This musical culture was highly multilingual, and Susato participated in it not by replacing Latin, French and Italian with Dutch, but by adding Dutch to the existing repertoire; meanwhile, he kept on publishing materials in Latin and French (van de Haar 2019: 72–76). Grijp (2011: 270–271) adds that it seems significant that many of the Dutch songs are so-called *zotte liedekens* 'foolish songs', situated in brothels and representing prostitutes 'or other frivolous women and their male partners'. This means that these songs were probably moral mirrors for other, supposedly more civilised groups (i.e. the middle ranks), but also that their moral and humorous message was best conveyed in the vernacular.

Another early publication is *Tresoor der Duytsscher talen* 'Treasure of the Dutch language' (1553) by the nobleman Jan van den Werve (1522–1576), who was also an alderman in the city of Antwerp (Van den Branden 1967: 20–25, van der Wal 1995: 28). The *Tresoor* is a wordlist offering Dutch alternatives to mostly, though not exclusively, legal words. A second edition came out in 1559 with the title dutchified[1] into *Schat der Duytsscher taalen* 'Treasure of the Dutch language'. Van den Werve explains in the introduction (1553: 3–4) that he wants legal discourse to be understandable also to those who do not have a command of Latin or other foreign languages, while acknowledging that some borrowings have already been fully integrated into Dutch such as *testament, sacrament*, and *instrument*.

1. The noun *schat* 'treasure' is a Germanic alternative to *tresoor*/*trezoor*, which is a borrowing from Old French *tresor*.

A similar practical line of reasoning is adopted by the publisher, Hans De Laet, in his more extensive introduction (1553: 5–8): the list of words is mainly for the legal domain and meant to help people who are confronted with Romance vocabulary whenever they get caught up in a legal affair. While arguing against Italian, Spanish, French and Latin, De Laet puts these languages in opposition not just to Dutch (or even more specific, Brabantic), but more generally to Germanic, acknowledging both the differences between Dutch and German as well as their common *nature* and *origin*.[2]

Conceptualising the place of Dutch in the European linguistic area was in fact commonly done along two hierarchies (Rutten 2016, Rutten 2019: 112). The first relates to the opposition of Romance and Germanic, where usually the latter is placed above the former, for example because the Romance languages are only weak derivatives of Latin, or because Germanic languages have many more monosyllabic words, indicative of their old age and origin. The second hierarchy concerns the relationship between Low and High German, or even more specifically between varieties of Low German in the sense of Dutch. It is well-known that the battle against Romance borrowings was often accompanied by a high tolerance towards loans from German (van der Wal 1995: 29). In Bible translations from the second half of the sixteenth century, a *patchwork* approach to linguistic diversity was adopted, incorporating forms from both Dutch and German varieties (Rutten 2019: 111).

This conceptualisation of Dutch and Germanic is also found in the first fully-fledged grammar of Dutch, the anonymous *Twe-spraack van de Neder-duitsche letterkunst* 'Dialogue about Dutch grammar' (1584), where it is claimed that the relevant language area stretches from Bruges to Riga and Tallin (Rutten 2019: 111–112). Purity is an important theme in the *Twe-spraack* (see *Twe-spraack* 1985: 511–516). The well-known scholar Dirck Volkertsz. Coornhert (1522–1590) had already lamented the widespread use of Latin and French vocabulary in the 1560s, which he repeated in his introduction to the *Twe-spraack* (1985: 512). He linked the increased usage of Latin and French words in Dutch to the political situation: by the second half of the sixteenth century, the Low Countries had been ruled by Francophone sovereigns for decades. The *Twe-spraack* adopted various strategies for reducing the number of Romance borrowings. For example, they can be replaced by Dutch alternatives. What is more, borrowing from more closely related languages such as Danish, Frisian and English is advisable. Another strategy for coping with supposedly Romance-origin words entails a deep inves-

2. The book uses *Duytsch* for Dutch, or rather for the specific variety of Dutch at hand, viz. Brabantic-flavoured southern Dutch. For German, De Laet uses *Overlantsch duytsch* 'Highland German' (Van de Werve 1553: 5).

tigation of the true origins of these words. In many cases, it will turn out that they are actually Dutch, which is not surprising since Dutch is one of the oldest languages of the world — older than Latin and any other Romance language, and probably as old as Hebrew. Here, the authors of the *Twe-spraack* closely followed Johannes Goropius Becanus (1519–1572) from Antwerp (*Twe-spraack* 1985: 510–511).

As a didactic, dialogic text about grammar, the *Twe-spraack* was part of a so-called *trivium*. The authors of the *Twe-spraack* were the members of the Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric, the *Eglentier* 'Eglantine rose'. The same chamber published introductions to logic (1585) and to rhetoric (1587), thus completing their tripartite overview of the *artes sermonicales* (*Twe-spraack* 1985: 28–29). With this trivium, for which the prominent member Hendrick Laurensz. Spiegel (1549–1612) was mainly responsible, the chamber sought to advance the vernacular to the status of Latin: they published with Plantin in Leiden, and explicitly requested the board of the University of Leiden to adopt Dutch as a language of instruction alongside Latin (*Twe-spraack* 1985: 10–11). But chambers of rhetoric were also local organisations, embedded in the social structure of the towns and cities where they were based (van Dixhoorn 2004: 129–159, Porteman & Smits-Veldt 2016: 137–138). The *Eglentier* was a cultural club engaged in adult education, led by and targeting men from the middle and upper ranks of society. Many chambers of rhetoric between the late fifteenth and the early seventeenth century aimed to offer a practical and vernacular alternative to the Latin schools and universities (van Dixhoorn 2004: 159).

The end of the Dutch so-called trivium period is usually located in the middle of the seventeenth century (Klifman 1983). The Dutch grammar by A.L. (Allardus) Kók (1616–1653), published in 1649, counts as one of the last texts of this tradition, which Kók embraced by publishing translations into Dutch of several works about logic by the Leiden professor Franco Burgersdijk (1590–1635) and of a Latin book on rhetoric by Gerardus Vossius (1577–1649).[3] Kók was also an active purist, who participated in the contemporary endeavour for the dutchification of culture and science through numerous translations of Latin works, also from other fields such as philosophy and theology (Dibbets in Kók 1981: XXIII). His half-brother was Lodewijk Meijer (1629–1681), a well-known literary author, a regent of the Amsterdam theatre, one of the founders of the literary society Nil Volentibus Arduum, and also a purist lexicographer. Meijer admired his older half-brother, particularly for his Dutch translations of technical vocabulary (van Hardeveld 2000: 17). In 1654, Meijer prepared a new edition of a purist dictio-

3. See the extensive introduction to the life and works of Kók by Dibbets (pp.XIII–LXII) in his edition of Kók's Dutch grammar (Kók 1981).

nary published anonymously in 1650, the *Nederlandtsche woorden-schat* 'Dutch lexicon', whose author Meijer revealed to have been a certain Johan Hofman (van Hardeveld 2000: 103). Meijer was responsible for several editions, up to and including the fifth edition of 1669. The *Woorden-schat* was reprinted and edited repeatedly. There was a high demand and editions usually sold out. The twelfth and final edition was published in 1805. The book was widely used for at least a century and a half, and was only gradually replaced by new dictionaries in the nineteenth century (van Hardeveld 2000: 312, 385).

The first edition was relatively short, with fewer than 4,000 entries on 152 pages; almost all entries were loans from French and Latin (van Hardeveld 2000: 110–111). Meijer's second edition comprised almost 6,000 entries on 248 pages, and in later editions prepared by Meijer the number of entries increased until c. 17,000 on almost 1,000 pages in the fifth edition of 1669 (van Hardeveld 2000: 158). Of these, c. 14,000 were loanwords, while the remaining c. 3,000 were obsolete and/or infrequent Dutch words — a category that Meijer only added in the 1669 edition (van Hardeveld 2000: 205–211). New entries of loanwords added by Meijer in his various editions were largely based on Latin and French, to a lesser extent Greek, Italian or still other languages. The domains providing large numbers of loanwords include philosophy, geography, mathematics, theology, medicine, military history, law and biology (van Hardeveld 2000: 162–167, 174–180, 184–189, 194–196, 200–202). After Meijer's death, the book no longer expanded as much. The twelfth edition of 1805 comprised approximately 17,000 loanwords and c. 4,000 obsolete and/or infrequent Dutch words (van Hardeveld 2000: 339).

Meijer sought to serve different types of audience (van Hardeveld 2000: 413–414). First, people who had not had higher education and who needed Dutch explanations and alternatives to the many French and Latin loans they encountered. In view of the size of the book and the learned character of many words, it seems safe to assume that the dictionary focused primarily on written language. This is even more strongly the case for the second type of audience, which comprised translators of academic texts. They were in need of Dutch alternatives to the many Latin and Greek as well as French terms used in learned writings. The third type of audience concerned the smaller number of obsolete and/or infrequent Dutch words. Many of these words were taken from the Dutch literary tradition, and the main target audience therefore comprised people who read Dutch literary works and who needed semantic explanations of unusual words found in these works.

Whereas the loanwords were mostly of Romance origin and to a lesser extent Greek, the obsolete and/or infrequent words often had a regional, localisable base in the Germanic language area (van Hardeveld 2000: 210). For example, words

originating from eastern dialects which were uncommon in the western part of the Netherlands, where Meijer resided, were accepted and explained. Unlike the loanwords, these words were not listed in order to expel them from usage. Among these, there were also words of High-German origin. While it may seem surprising from a modern perspective that Meijer combatted French and Latin words, while accepting High-German words, it was in line with the aforementioned language-ideological hierarchy of Romance v. Germanic that was still active in the second half of the seventeenth century. Van Hardeveld (2000: 210), in her discussion of Meijer's lexicography, recalls that the purist tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was often favourable with respect to German loans.

The purist tradition certainly did not vanish after its heydays in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. New language-ideological conflicts arose, which superseded and/or incorporated the older tradition of purism. The older tradition was closely tied to the Humanistic ideal of translating classical scholarship into the vernacular, including a Dutch trivium. Language choice and lexical purism were its main concerns, with purism being primarily related to technical, domain-specific vocabulary. At the same time, the issue of lexical purism extended beyond the classical languages and also concerned French. This combination of domain-specific lexical items, tied to particular social practices, and the prominent role of French alongside Latin fits the broader social context in which French was a functional choice in specific contexts, for relatively small groups of writers and readers. While some authors, such as Coornhert, added a political dimension to the social and cultural aims of dutchification, a strong functional motivation dominated the purist tradition: translating texts from Latin and other languages, writing scholarly texts in Dutch, and seeking Dutch or Germanic alternatives for loanwords served the purpose of the wider availability of knowledge. In the case of language choice, dutchification did not usually imply the removal of other languages, since Dutch texts would only be added to the already available texts in Latin, French, Greek and so on. This was different for lexical purism, which not only offered Dutch alternatives, but which for some authors should also result in the eradication of loanwords. Meijer is an example of the latter as well as an exception to the former: he argued that translating scholarly texts into Dutch would save time and energy now spent on learning Latin (van Hardeveld 2000: 410). It may be tempting to conceptualise Early Modern purism in terms of erasure, but apart from individuals such as Meijer, this would amount to an exaggeration of the social embedding and the cultural identity work involved. For most authors, Latin and French were domain-specific languages, and their functionally motivated purist efforts targeted the communities of language users active in those domains.

In the course of the seventeenth century, the aforementioned strictly local/regional as well as the broad Germanic perspective became less prominent, and

by the eighteenth century they had largely disappeared; the dominant perspective became national (Rutten 2019: 117–118). References to both the local and the wider Germanic perspective were absent from Kók's grammar, for example, while the Germanic context lingered on in Meijer's *Woorden-schat*. The emergent shift to the national perspective did not mean that comparisons with other language areas and linguistic cultures also disappeared. Quite the contrary, Meijer, as a founding member of Nil Volentibus Arduum, engaged in international cultural competition within the Republic of Letters, and advocated French literary models.

3.3.2 French Classicism and the War of the Poets

The second language-ideological conflict site is embedded in the *Republic of letters* (*Respublica litteraria* or *literarum, République des lettres, Gelehrtenrepublik, Republiek der letteren*, and so on), the scholarly, literary and scientific community in Early and Late Modern Europe, characterised by its network structure of correspondence, journeys (*Grand Tours*) and journals (van Miert 2016; Bots 2018). While letters and to a lesser extent books had been the normal means of communication and organisation from the earliest days onwards, the seventeenth century saw the rise of learned journals and academies (van Miert 2016: 275). The social profile of the Republic of Letters was predominantly urban and male (Rutten 2006: 349; Bots 2018: 28). The language used was initially Latin, with French increasing and eventually largely replacing Latin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Bots 2018: 134). The language-ideological conflict discussed here concerned the position of Dutch vis-à-vis Latin and French.

The Republic of Letters was constructed along an ideological line of friendly communication, tolerance, and openness across political and religious borders (Bots & Waquet 1997: 64–65, van Miert 2016: 270, Bots 2018: 28). Nevertheless, polemical letters and publications were quite common, to which the so-called *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes* and the *Battle of the Books* are illustrious testimonies (Rigault 1856, Gillot 1914, Levine 1991, Fumaroli 2001). Furious debates were held about the relative quality of the classical and modern arts and sciences. Scientific progress was increasingly difficult to ignore, and the debate thus concentrated on comparisons of classical and modern arts and culture (Rutten 2006: 355–356). Another dimension was added to the Querelle/Battle when it underwent a special kind of vernacularisation: older literary texts in, for example, French and English came under scrutiny, were judged on their artistic merits, and edited — and in the editing process, emendations were made (Rutten 2006: 356–357). In France, Pierre Corneille (1606–1684) criticised and corrected his own texts, symbolising the emergence of literary criticism in the seventeenth century, in which also Jean de la Fontaine (1621–1695), Molière (1622–1673) and

Jean Baptiste Racine (1639–1699) engaged. Similarly, in England, the Battle of the Books shifted to the vernacular tradition through eighteenth-century editions of the works of Shakespeare and Milton, in which hundreds of changes were made to the original texts (Levine 1991). When Alexander Pope (1688–1744) edited the *Works of Shakespeare* (1725), for example, he removed approximately 1560 verses (Levine 1991: 226–232).

The Dutch literary society Nil Volentibus Arduum was founded in 1669 by a group of authors including Meijer. Nil Volentibus Arduum promoted the so-called *doctrine classique* or — as it is usually called in Dutch literary history — French Classicism. The proponents of French Classicism advocated a poetical theory of theatre based on a fixed set or strict rules with a focus on *utile dulci*, the unities of action, time and place, and *vraisemblance* 'likelihood, believability' (Porteman & Smits-Veldt 2016: 692–694). They took their inspiration from the classical tradition as well as from the French seventeenth-century tradition, in particular from Corneille's *Trois discours sur le poème dramatique* 'Three discourses on the dramatic poem' (1660). Another strong, albeit negative inspiration for the Dutch French Classicists was the playwright Jan Vos (c. 1610–1667), a regent of the theatre in Amsterdam, and fond of staged atrocities and bloodshed. The members of Nil Volentibus Arduum were themselves theorists: their leader, Meijer, criticised his own works in the introduction to his play *Verloofde koninksbruidt* 'Engaged bride to the king' (1668) based on classical principles that he had come to adopt (Porteman & Smits-Veldt 2016: 695). They also held lectures, which were however only published in 1765 under the title *Onderwys in de tooneel-poëzy* 'Education in the poetry of theatre' (Harmsen 1989). Another founding member was the lawyer Andries Pels (1631–1681), who published a Dutch adaptation of Horatio in 1677 (*Q. Horatius Flaccus dichtkunst, op onze tyden, én zeden gepast* 'Q. Horatius Flaccus poetics, adapted to our times and morals', and who authored another didactic poem in 1681 (*Gebruik én misbruik des tooneels* 'Use and misuse of theatre'). While the members of Nil Volentibus Arduum published several plays in the 1670s and 1680s, it is notable that most of these were translations and adaptations, including Dutch versions of tragedies by Corneille and Racine. Meijer, for example, translated Racine's *Andromaque* as *Andromache* (1678, see Porteman & Smits-Veldt 2016: 712–713).

As active critics of current theatrical practices, the members of Nil Volentibuus Arduum also scrutinised the works of well-known authors such as Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679), whose canonisation began in the second half of the seventeenth century (Porteman & Smits-Veldt 2016: 510, 699–701, 706–710). Vondel was also the main point of reference in the metalinguistic tradition of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which has therefore been termed *vondelianism* (Rutten 2006). The members of Nil Volentibuus Arduum and the *von-*

delianists differed in their appreciation of Vondel: for the latter, he represented the endpoint of a historical development and embodied the absolute peak of Dutch literary culture. For the members of Nil Volentibuus Arduum, he was a revered poet, but also a representative of an intermediate stage on the way to an endpoint in line with the doctrine of French Classicism. There were many personal ties between the members of Nil Volentibus Arduum and the *vondelianist* circles, and they strongly agreed that the popular approach taken by Jan Vos and others was one of the major problems in contemporary culture (Rutten 2006: 380–385). One of the most fervent defenders of the Dutch literary tradition and a leader of *vondelianism*, David van Hoogstraten (1658–1724), took a moderate position vis-à-vis Nil Volentibus Arduum, questioning their critique of Vondel, but also praising their efforts to develop a rule-based poetical programme. It is also significant that one of the main proponents of the *vondelianist* approach, Balthazar Huydecoper (1695–1778), was also a strong advocate of French Classicist theatre, and a translator of Corneille's *Œdipe* with his *Edipus* (1720; see Leemans & Johannes 2013: 327–336).

In this context of the Republic of Letters and French Classicism, various debates emerged in which Dutch language and culture played a role. These debates are subsumed under the label *Poëtenoorlog* 'War of the Poets', which comprised a collection of thematically loosely connected polemical publications. Some of these debates continued the discussion about the status of Vondel (Altena 1986). Two central figures in the debates were Jean le Clerc and David van Hoogstraten. Jean le Clerc (1657–1736) was a theologian of Genevan descent, who settled in Amsterdam, where he published several well-known learned periodicals: the *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* 'Universal and historical library' (1686–1693), the *Bibliothèque choisie* 'Selected library' (1703–1713) and the *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne* 'Ancient and modern library' (1714–1727). David van Hoogstraten was a Neo-Latin poet and a grammarian of Dutch, who was strongly committed to the construction of a Dutch literary canon (Rutten 2006).

One polemical thread in the *Poëtenoorlog* focused not on Dutch or French, but on Latin (Wijngaards 1986: 83–102). Le Clerc, who sided with the moderns, criticised Neo-Latin philologists of the early eighteenth century, such as Jacob Perizonius (1651–1715) and Petrus Burman (1668–1741), and instead promoted poetry in the vernacular — in his case, French. The multilingual debate that developed first comprised French contributions by Le Clerc and Latin contributions by Burman and others, while Burman shifted to French in 1710 in order to make sure that readers of Le Clerc's publications would have access to his fierce attack on Le Clerc (Wijngaards 1986: 94). Van Hoogstraten, who represented the ancients alongside his friends Burman and Perizonius, wrote in Dutch. While the debate centred on the quality of classical authors such as Petronius (27–66 CE) and of

Neo-Latin philology and poetry, it acquired an ethnolinguistic dimension when van Hoogstraten referred to Le Clerc as *Franschen dwerg* 'French dwarf', *Franschen kabouter* 'French goblin', *rottigen Fransman* 'rotten Frenchman', and accused him of ungratefully criticising the great minds of the community that had welcomed him as a poor refugee (Rutten 2006: 386). The French-Dutch conflict was subsequently extended by van Hoogstraten to include the act of criticism itself. In the introduction to his 1714 edition of the poetry of Joannes Antonides van der Goes (1647–1684) — a former member of Nil Volentibus Arduum who had left the society in 1671 because he could not approve of their criticism of Vondel (Altena 1986: 269) — he berated in particular the *French twaddlers*, who have come to *our country* to reform the *stupid Hollanders*, following the *Genevan fool* (Rutten 2006: 387).

With this extension to the act of criticism in general, which was also a characteristic of French Classicism, van Hoogstraten merged various ongoing discussions into a single defence of the Dutch language and its literary tradition (Rutten 2006: 387–390). This thread within the *Poëtenoorlog* was initiated by the *Journal litéraire* (1713–1737), a French periodical published in The Hague, of which Justus van Effen (1684–1735) was a leading author in the early years (Altena 1986, Leemans & Johannes 2013: 33–335). Van Effen was a journalist of Dutch origin, who participated in francophone circles in the Netherlands (Buijnsters 1992; see also below, Section 3.3.3). His collaborators in the *Journal litéraire* included the Newtonian philosopher Willem Jacob van 's Gravensande (1688–1742) and a number of French immigrants and religious refugees: Albert-Henri de Sallengre Jr. (1693–1723), Thémiseul de Saint-Hyacinthe (1684–1746), Henri Alexandre (?-ca. 1720/22), and Prosper Marchand (1678–1756). They spoke French and addressed each other with *frère* (Buijnsters 1992: 75–85).

In one of the first issues, in 1713, the *Journal litéraire* criticised Vondel, mistakenly considered to be 'le Virgil des Hollandois, & le Prince de leurs Poëtes' ('the Virgil of the Dutch, and the prince of their poets'), adding that in their view, 'on peut appliquer à M. *Vondel* ce qu'*Ovide* dit *d'Ennius. Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis*' ('one can apply to Mr Vondel that which Ovid says about Ennius: Ennius has a lot of talent, but his art is rudimentary'; cited in Rutten 2006: 358). This remark evoked a furious reaction from the *vondelianists* and resulted in a series of polemical publications from both sides (Altena 1986, Rutten 2006: 358–368). While the heart of the matter was the status of Vondel, language emerged as one of the conflict sites. As francophones, the authors of the *Journal litéraire* were characterised as 'strangers in our Dutch, who interfere with things they don't understand' (in Rutten 2006: 360). This was obviously easily refuted by van Effen. Various *vondelianists*, including van Hoogstraten, kept attacking the francophone authors of the *Journal litéraire*, repeatedly making references to

their French origin. The social embedding of these ongoing debates is clearly constituted by the international Republic of Letters, that is, by a small and largely male elite of multilingual individuals who are capable of reading, interpreting, and comparing the Latin, Greek, French and Dutch literary traditions, with occasional references to English and German publications. Van Hoogstraten even indicated that he would appreciate a French translation of the works of Antonides van der Goes, although he admitted that he was not a francophile (Rutten 2006: 366–367). In the Dutch department of the Republic of Letters, French and Frenchness were sufficiently marked to be used as identity traits and emerged as labels to negatively characterise opponents.

The multilingual competition in an international context, focused on literary traditions, was accompanied by an allegedly concerted action to establish a new Dutch metalinguistic tradition, based on the works of the best literary authors, and especially on Vondel's works (Dibbets 1992, Rutten 2006). Van Hoogstraten focused on the important topic of grammatical gender — important because there were major changes going on from a three-way system to a binary system. Other *vondelianists* wrote about spelling and style, and Arnold Moonen (1644–1711) wrote a new full grammar of Dutch. This group of authors, working together and promoting the seventeenth-century literary tradition as the main point of reference, can be seen as a Dutch response to the various academies established in Europe, such as the *Académie française*.

The cluster of debates known as the *Poëtenoorlog* had as one of its focal areas the position and reputation of the Dutch literary tradition within the European Republic of letters. Socially, this implies a relatively small community of well-educated individuals. While purism targeted a number of domains, the poetical conflicts of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century narrowed the target domain down to literature, and in some cases even further to one type of literary text, namely theatre plays. At times of heightened discussions, a Dutch-French opposition was sometimes created, but the broader context in which these discussions took place is constituted by the multilingual Republic of Letters. While defending the status of the Dutch literary tradition, authors such as van Hoogstraten did not aim to eradicate French or other languages from the Dutch cultural sphere, either practically or discursively. Instead, they sought to establish and maintain Dutch in the international cultural sphere.

3.3.3 Periodicals and citizenship

One of the best-known purists, Lodewijk Meijer, was also an admirer of the French literary culture and especially of the *doctrine classique*. Similarly, one of the Francophone moderns criticising Vondel and other Dutch literary authors in

the *Poëtenoorlog*, viz. Justus van Effen, would develop into a strong advocate of a Dutch middle-class culture, who moreover argued against the frenchification of Dutch culture. Van Effen, born in Utrecht in 1684, became the governor of the noble family van Wassenaer at a young age in 1709. When the family travelled to England a couple of years later, his employer provided him with detailed instructions about the activities and expected behaviour of his son while travelling, written in French (*Ordre et règle pour les occupations et conduite de mon fils pendant qu'il sera en Angleterre*), which shows the importance of the French language in this milieu (Buijnsters 1992: 48–53). He was an early follower of Joseph Addison (1672–1719) and Richard Steele (1672–1729), and he established the first *Spectator*-like periodical on the continent, viz. *Le Misantrope* (1711–1712). Already in *Le Misantrope*, it is clear that the francophile nature which the *vondelianists* thought they recognised in van Effen's contributions to the *Journal litéraire* some years later, was, instead, an international form of eclecticism with a serious interest in Dutch culture (Buijnsters 1992: 71). *Le Misantrope* acknowledged the superiority of contemporary French civilisation, and it adopted the concomitant language, but it also saw the recent French culture of *politesse* as a threat to the old Batavian civilisation of the Low Countries and thus proposed the English tradition as an alternative (Buijnsters 1992: 71). Van Effen was indeed well connected, including in England; he became a member of the Royal Society in 1715. One of the outgrowths of the French *politesse* was the figure of the *petit-maître*: the superficial, effeminate, luxury-oriented and frenchified young man, similar to the English *beau* or *fop*, who frequented coffee houses to converse about things he did not quite understand, such as politics and philosophy (Sturkenboom 1998: 148–151). In 1719, van Effen published a comedy in French called *Les Petits Maitres*, in which he criticised them (Buijnsters 1992: 139–143). After *Le Misantrope*, van Effen contributed to various *Spectator*-like periodicals as well as learned journals, such as the aforementioned *Journal Litéraire, La Bagatelle* (1718–1719), *L'Europe savante* (1718–1720) and *Le Nouveau Spectateur* (1724). The curious position of the younger van Effen can be summarised as someone who admired French culture and who wrote in French for an international, francophone audience, but who was also concerned with Dutch culture, criticised outgrowths of French culture, and directed his audience to English culture as an alternative (Leemans & Johannes 2013: 185).

In later years, van Effen switched to Dutch, and became well-known through his 360 weekly instalments of the *Hollandsche spectator* 'Dutch spectator', published between 1731 and 1735. There had been a few Dutch spectatorial journals since Addison's and Steele's original *Spectator* (1711), but most of these had lasted for a year or even shorter (Leemans & Johannes 2013: 186). The *Hollandsche spectator* is the textbook example of a Dutch eighteenth-century periodical, which laid

the foundation of the genre for the coming decades. Many variants and imitators would follow: between 1730 and 1760, c. 20 Dutch spectatorial periodicals were published, leading up to the heyday of the genre in the 1770s, when another 26 were published (Kloek & Mijnhardt 2001:77). Most of these spread a similar moral and political philosophy: the place of the individual is in the community, sociability is crucial, and happiness and civilisation can only be reached through a virtuous life. Drawing on the French culture of *politesse*, which offered refined and modern models of behaviour, as well English ideas such as John Locke's (1632–1704) views of education, Dutch periodicals, and the *Hollandsche spectator* in the first place, created an eclectic yet coherent perspective of Dutch culture. Politically, the French idea of *politesse* had to be stripped from its aristocratic and absolutist connotations: Dutch society was instead in need of a republican ideal of civilisation (Kloek & Mijnhardt 2001:75).

Thus, the central question in the *Hollandsche spectator* was the nature or character of the Dutch people, and the answer was that it lay in the middle (Buijnsters 1992:259). Dutch culture was thoroughly medial, always avoiding extremes. Leemans & Johannes (2013:188) present a list of typical positions taken in the *Hollandsche spectator*: van Effen was against the uncivilised lower ranks, the mob, but also against frenchified elites and good-for-nothing rich people; he championed the middle ranks. He was against freethinkers and atheists, but also against orthodoxy. Jews and Catholics were wrong — the Dutch Enlightenment was strongly inspired by Protestantism — but they deserved respect and tolerance. Regarding housewives: disorder is wrong, but exorbitant cleaning equally so. Parents should not be indulgent towards their children, but prohibiting and punishing should not predominate. In poetry, imagination is of the utmost importance, but it should be restrained by learning and judgment. Van Effen's permanent search for a moderate middle position also affected his views on language: he was against frenchification, but also against fanatical purism

In the 1760s and 1770s, the spectatorial discourse became more and more critical, or even negative (Kloek & Mijnhardt 2001:78). French culture was increasingly portrayed as a threat to the old Dutch tradition of Republicanism and sociability, which had its heyday in the Golden Age of the seventeenth century. A discourse of decline emerged, in which the eighteenth century symbolised the downfall of the once great Dutch culture under the influence of the French. The spectatorial press exercised a form of cultural criticism, in which several themes were addressed as well as connected to each other (Sturkenboom 1998:209–214). The first focal point was *aristocratisation*, which included the despised orientation on luxury, wealth, social fun, living on private means and leading a life of leisure — in sum, supposedly traditional aristocratic practices. The second focal point was *feminisation*, which constituted the gender dimension of aristocratisation, and

which was characterised by effeminacy and unmanliness. The third focal point, closely intertwined with the other two, was frenchification, which was reinforced by migrants such as Huguenots, by the practice of the Grand Tour, the establishment of French schools, et cetera. At the centre of the criticism expressed in the periodic press was the gallant, mundane, luxurious, and superficial lifestyle of the elites, who thus renounced the old Dutch moral of simplicity, virtue and manliness (Sturkenboom 1998: 212–213).

An inherent aspect of these disapproved models of behaviour was the focus on the French language, but the discourse against French was always interconnected with broader social and political issues. For example, when criticising French schools, this also included the idea that these schools promoted the passions through dance and music instead of offering useful subjects (Sturkenboom 1998: 232–234). Prominent stereotypes of morally incorrect behaviour were the *coquette* and the aforementioned *petit-maître*, along with the prostitute and the homosexual (Kloek & Mijnhardt 2001: 171). Significantly, French lexemes were in use for the first two. The *coquette* was characterised by vainglory, coquetry, luxurious clothes and accessories, self-love, superficiality, fickleness, and insincerity, and last but not least also frenchified language use (Sturkenboom 1998: 139, 140, 145). The *petit-maître* is the male counterpart to the *coquette*: a superficial, idle, effeminate, France-loving and frenchified young man (Sturkenboom 1998: 148–151).

The eighteenth-century language-ideological conflict was always part of broader social, political and moral tensions. The despised use of French words and phrases, and the entire shift to French as the language of conversation and of particular forms of writing (literature, diaries, private letters) were seen as symptoms of a wider cultural model according to which French modes of behaviour were replacing Dutch traditions. The two axes of the social embedding are more ambiguous than the wider cultural and linguistic embedding. In the strict sense, the periodical press concentrated on the middle ranks, offering them ways of behaviour to distinguish themselves from the mob as well as the frenchified elite. The true Dutch *burger* 'citizen' occupied the nuanced middle ground between these extremes. At the same time, the middle ranks, and the middle in general were conceptualised as the essence of the Dutch culture. This metaphorical move implied that the Dutch nation, as the entirety of the people living the Netherlands, as well as the Dutch national identity were always in the background — and in the second half of the century increasingly in the foreground. With its explicit criticism of the use of French, the debate did not engage in discursive erasure. The use of French had to be reduced, but more important was the flipside of this: the Dutch language, stripped of the influence from French, became discursively entwined with the middle ranks as the essence of the Dutch culture and nation.

The other side of aristocratisation, feminisation and frenchification is Republicanism, masculinity and dutchification.

Another complicating factor is that the social profile of most contributors to this visible form of public opinion-making was fairly limited: they were mostly men, residing in the Holland area, well-educated and relatively wealthy, and thus representing a few percent of the population at most (Kloek & Mijnhardt 2001: 132–137). These men developed new ideals of civilised behaviour, morals and citizenship, in which the middle ranks played a crucial role, but they themselves hardly originated from these middle groups (Kloek & Mijnhardt 2001: 169). The top-down move towards nationalisation and dutchification, discursively prepared from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, reached its peak in the decades around 1800.

3.3.4 The standard language ideology and the nation-state

The discussions about French and frenchification in the eighteenth-century periodical press discussed in Section 3.3.3 were part of a broader metalinguistic phenomenon, viz. the rise of the standard language ideology (Rutten 2019: 13–31). Discussions about the Dutch language, the Dutch nation and the educational system intensified from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, signalling the emergence of a form of cultural nationalism. It is characteristic of the Dutch situation that these cultural debates were politicised and partially implemented within a few decades. One impetus for this rapid change from ideas to policy to implementation came from the changing political landscape. French troops invaded the Low Countries in 1794–1795, after which the so-called Austrian Netherlands, i.e. the historical Southern Low Countries, roughly corresponding to present-day Belgium and Luxembourg, were integrated into the French state. The northern Low Countries, i.e. the present-day Netherlands, remained independent, though strongly under French influence, and in fact a vassal state of the French state. In 1807, Napoleon (1769–1821) installed his brother Louis (1778–1846) as King of the Netherlands, and in 1810 the northern parts were also annexed and integrated into the French Empire, until the fall of Napoleon in 1814.

The 1790s and 1810s were in many ways foundational for the later Dutch nation-state. The 1798 constitution, the introduction of a moderate form of suffrage, the nationalisation of the tax system and the establishment of national policies in various other domains, including cultural domains, laid the groundwork for the nation-state of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Efforts at nationalisation thus also affected language and education (Rutten 2019: 19–30). Eighteenth-century debates about education had culminated in a view in which education was a powerful tool for the homogenisation of the people. An ideal of inclusive

citizenship underpinned this view, where inclusivity still refers to the duty of privileged groups to do their best to integrate less privileged groups into a culturally homogeneous nation. As such, the social embedding of this thoroughly nationalist period is characterised by age-old top-down power structures.

Constructing a homogeneous nation thus involved language and education, which constituted two policy domains under the jurisdiction of the newly established Ministry of National Education. Concrete policy measures were the educational laws of 1801, 1803 and 1806, which, among other things, nationalised primary education and established a nation-wide system of school inspection. In addition, the Dutch language came to be seen as a unifying symbol of the Dutch people as well as the preferred tool for nation-wide communication. Against the background of a long tradition of metalinguistic reflections on written Dutch as well as more recent attacks on the use of French, the Dutch situation in around 1800 developed into a textbook case of iconisation and erasure (Rutten 2019: 23–24): the Dutch language, and more specifically the supralocal form of written Dutch that dominated public discourse in the late eighteenth century, became a political object useful for the construction of the nation-state, and it therefore had to be taught in the national school system. In these debates, French and other languages are conspicuously absent. While the French and Latin schools did not disappear, the public and political discourse focused entirely on primary schools and the need to disseminate Dutch.

Linguistic policies related to these educational policies advocated the official codification of the Dutch language. In 1804, spelling regulations were published by Matthijs Siegenbeek (1774–1854), and in 1805, a grammar was published by Pieter Weiland (1754–1841). Both the spelling book (Siegenbeek 1804) and the grammar (Weiland 1805) were subsidised by the national government, which resolved to adopt the newly codified language in all governmental publications, to encourage the administration to also adopt it in other publications, and, importantly, to also prescribe the use of the spelling and grammar for schoolbooks, and to encourage school inspectors to promote the implementation of the officialised standard language in schools across the country (Rutten 2019: 30). The implementation in the school system was successful (Schoemaker 2018), and the officially codified rules greatly influenced language use, as early as in the first half of the nineteenth century (Krogull 2018).

The language policy of the early nineteenth century was fully embedded in — and a logical endpoint to — the metalinguistic debates of the eighteenth century: metalinguistic discourse had gradually lost its elitist orientation and had moved to include the entire population as its intended audience. Many of the eighteenth-century debates were about the Dutch language, its history and its literary tradition, in line with the ongoing semiotic processes of iconisation and era-

sure. Nonetheless, contact phenomena and in particular French loans and loan translations were criticised, and the apparent decay of the Dutch language was supposedly due to contact with Romance languages (Rutten 2019: 173). Siegenbeek, the author of the national spelling rules of 1804, was also a prolific essay writer in the first half of the nineteenth century, who criticised eighteenth-century frenchification and the choice of elites to use French instead of Dutch (Rutten 2019: 184–186). He argued that Dutch had grammatical properties which made it superior to French and German. In a late publication of 1847, dealing with the lexicon, he focused more strongly on the expulsion of alleged German loans and loan translation, which probably reflected the increasing importance of German, particularly in the scientific domain.

While spelling and grammar were at the heart of the national language policy, no official, government-led regulations were adopted for the lexicon. This may come as a surprise since loans from French and Latin had attracted so much metalinguistic attention following the emergence of the purist tradition in the sixteenth century (see 3.3.1). However, various lexicographical plans were developed from the 1760s onwards, aiming to nationalise the lexicon by constructing a historical dictionary, reminiscent of the way the official codification of 1804 and 1805 would nationalise parts of the written language (Rutten 2019: 131–164). The enormity of the task delayed the process time and again. It would take until the middle of the nineteenth century before a final plan was developed by Matthias de Vries (1808–1892), which became widely accepted by the scholarly community, after which work began, resulting in the first issue in 1864.

The ongoing debates about a general, national dictionary centred on five variational dimensions: region, time, domain, mode and origin (Rutten 2019: 131, 163). Regional words, old and/or obsolete words, technical vocabulary and forms characteristic of the spoken language were initially often accepted, but their acceptability remained under discussion, and the final proposal introduced several restrictions with respect to region, time and domain. In the case of mode, the final proposal had reduced the plan to include only the polite language of the polite people, denying spoken forms, non-polite (not necessarily impolite) forms and forms supposedly characteristic of non-polite people a place in the national lexicon. Throughout the period, loans and loan translations were heavily criticised. Origin constituted the only variational dimension with almost general agreement among commentators. In the final plan, de Vries exerted his well-known fierce purism. While accepting fully integrated loans, he attacked the large number of Latinisms, Gallicisms, Anglicisms and Germanisms that needed to be combatted (Rutten 2019: 161).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, metalinguistic discussions thus became closely entangled with public and political debate, resulting in clear-

cut nationalist language policies around 1800. Even if the French language and frenchification, and in fact borrowing in general, were thematically more prominent in the lexicographical discussions than in the orthographical, grammatical and educational debates, they still loomed in the background of the strongly Dutch-oriented commentaries that tried to erase French from the sociolinguistic landscape. The broader societal and political context of this particular language-ideological conflict site is thus constituted by the contemporary construction of the Dutch nation-state, which also comprised cultural policies. The social embedding of this conflict site is formed by the entire population of the Dutch people, although it is still largely a top-down movement that looked down on the supposedly uncultivated speech of the non-polite masses. Linguistically, this conflict site addresses several aspects of the contact situation: loans and loan translations were under attack, and commentators such as Siegenbeek moreover criticised the supposedly wrong language choice made by some members of the elite. On a more ideological level, however, the process of iconisation implies that the linguistic embedding is constituted by the language as such: the goal of the nationalist enterprise is to render the Dutch language in its entirety — and solely the Dutch language — one of the defining characteristics of the people.

3.3.5 The refunctionalisation of French

One consequence of the promotion of Dutch to the centre of attention was that other languages were relegated to the status of foreign languages. European elites had constituted an international and multilingual network, but this form of social and cultural identification changed into national identification in the course of the nineteenth century (Burke 2004: 49), following the emergence of cultural nationalism in the second half of the eighteenth century (see Section 3.3.4). The rise of national forms of identification was particularly important for the status of French in the Netherlands. French had been widely used over the centuries in a variety of social domains, and it had gradually acquired a privileged position as the second language among Dutch elites, who had begun to use French even in their private letters and diaries, but now it was demoted again to the status of a foreign language among several important foreign languages, namely French, German and English (Frijhoff 1991: 22, van Strien-Chardonneau 2014: 173). Again, French culture in general also came under attack. French novels, for example, were criticised for their realism, materialism, pessimism and/or libertinism, and some publishers even stopped publishing French novels and translations from French. There was also an economic reason for this: the dissemination of books took place largely through reading clubs and private libraries, which led publishers to adopt a relatively conservative policy (Voogel 2018: 70–72). At the same time, knowledge of

French and of French culture remained indispensable for successful participation in elite cultural practices (Brems, Sanders & Vandenbussche 2013).

The changing status of French in the nineteenth century is symbolically marked by educational discussions and reforms taking place in the first half and around the middle of the century, and in particular by the educational reform of 1863 concerning secondary education. After the regulations for primary education in the first years of the new century (see 3.3.4 and Schoemaker 2018), it was time to develop plans for new forms of secondary education. To this end, several committees were established in the first half of the century. In 1809, a governmental committee advised the addition of French, German, and English to the curricula of Latin schools, along with mathematics, physics, history, geography, and drawing, indicating that mere knowledge of Latin and Greek was no longer sufficient for a successful societal position (Dodde 2020: 214). If a more general form of secondary education needed to be established, the committee advised offering Dutch and French first, and other languages only at a later stage (Dodde 2020: 215). At this point, French was still seen as the most important foreign language.

The various French schools — some targeting the commercial domain, or the military domain, or seafaring, some targeting girls, others offering a more general programme — in the first half of the century all offered French, but increasingly also other foreign languages such as German and English (Dodde 2020: 232–238). The increasing importance of English and German is also evidenced by the growing number of grammars and textbooks published in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century (Hulshof, Kwakernaak & Wilhelm 2015: 129–130). In 1811, the city of Rotterdam had three English schools, which may be negligible when compared to the hundreds of French schools across the country, but which still indicates the diversity in linguistic repertoires and curricula (Dodde 2020: 248–250). An institute such as the polytechnical school in Delft, where colonial engineers and civil servants were trained, offered Javanese and Malay in addition to French, German and English in 1847 (Hulshof, Kwakernaak & Wilhelm 2015: 133).

In the 1810s and 1820s, several governmental committees proposed reforms for the system of secondary education, in which French remained the most important foreign language (Dodde 2020: 258–261). This changed around the middle of the century: French was increasingly seen as one of the three foreign languages represented in the Dutch school system (Dodde 2020: 264–267). The educational reform of 1863 introduced a new, nation-wide structure for secondary education, which also formally brought the existence of French schools to an end (Boekholt & de Booy 1987: 179–183). The liberal Prime Minister Johan Rudolph Thorbecke (1798–1872) was responsible for this educational reform. Thorbecke advocated a clear split between secondary education and Latin schools. The new law proposed several new forms of secondary education, but did not concern the

Latin school, which Thorbecke considered to be a form of higher education. This meant that the difference between secondary and higher education was not determined by the age of the pupils. Instead, Thorbecke defended two main types of education. The first type was focused on the majority of citizens in order to prepare them for a useful and successful life in the material world. This was called secondary education and fell under the law of 1863. The second type was focused on a small and privileged group of intellectuals. It was a form of higher education because of its content and because it prepared children for university, despite the fact that it immediately followed primary school.

This difference between a praxis-oriented school for the majority and a theory-oriented school for the privileged was one of the most contested elements of Thorbecke's reform and led to extensive parliamentary debates (Boekholt & de Booy 1987: 179–183). It was a system designed to reproduce existing differences between social strata and their access to education. This did not mean that the new secondary schools would only offer practical or technical education. Quite the contrary, as Thorbecke explained in parliament: these schools aimed at the *algemeene beschaving der gansche burgerij* 'general education [lit. cultivation] of the entire citizenry', particularly for those who are not interested in *geleerde vorming* 'learned education' (Steyn Parvé 1863: 95). Socially, he continued, the Latin schools were very different since these were not attended by members of the *groote burgerij* 'broad bourgeoisie' (Steyn Parvé 1863: 95). With the latter term, Thorbecke referred to the population in general — to those who had often been subsumed under labels such as *het volk* 'the people' (Boekholt & de Booy 1987: 183).

While the new secondary schools would offer a combination of practical and theoretical subjects to the *groote burgerij*, the choice of subjects did depend on the underlying praxis-oriented ideology. With respect to language, Thorbecke's principled distinction between modern and classical education, between secondary and Latin schools, had fundamental consequences. In his view, Latin schools should restrict their curricula to include Latin and Greek, but not modern languages such as French, German, and English (Boekholt & de Booy 1987: 181). In reality, Latin schools did offer modern foreign languages, as they had been doing for decades (Hulshof, Kwakernaak & Wilhelm 2015: 196). The various new secondary schools were allowed or even obliged to offer modern foreign languages. The lowest level of *burgerscholen* 'citizen schools' was oriented to future artisans and farmers (Steyn Parvé 1863: 217–218). The curriculum comprised subjects such as mathematics, the basics of physics, applied mechanics and chemistry, geography, history, Dutch, economics, gymnastics, but no foreign languages. These could, however, be added to the curriculum if the local administration deemed them useful, for example in border regions (Steyn Parvé 1863: 220).

The main contribution of Thorbecke's reform was the introduction of the *hogere burgerschool* 'higher citizen school' or HBS, aimed at future workers in trade, industry, and the civil service (Boekholt & de Booy 1987: 183). The law stated that the HBS should offer a three-year programme and a five-year programme (Steyn Parvé 1863: 223–228). The three-year programme comprising mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, economics, geography, history, calligraphy, drawing and gymnastics, as well as Dutch, French, English, and German. Additions to the five-year programme included subjects such as mineral and soil science, astronomy and literature of all the languages offered. This means that the three-year programme was probably restricted to language acquisition. The HBS thus offered a broad curriculum with both sciences and languages. There was no privileged position for Latin and/or French, but a general orientation to modern languages (Blokker 2021: 266). Knowledge of these languages was functional, not in the sense of restricted to concrete applications in specific contexts, but in the sense of useful for a reasonably educated citizen and member of the nation.

While the 1863 reform was ideologically largely focused on social reproduction, girls were in principle allowed to attend the HBS. Gradually, they began to enrol, although the proportion of girls remained lower than 10% in the nineteenth century (Boekholt & de Booy 1987: 186). One reason is that French schools for girls disappeared in the second half of the century (Dodde 2020: 277). The 1863 reform also established a new form of education specifically for girls, the *middelbare school voor meisjes* 'secondary school for girls' or MMS. The MMS attracted more girls than the HBS. The curriculum comprised English and German in addition to French (Hulshof, Kwakernaak & Wilhelm 2015: 196).

The various educational debates and reforms in the nineteenth century show a change resulting in a new status of French in the second half of the century, namely as one of the relevant foreign languages to be taught to parts of the population. According to Thorbecke, this did not apply to the socio-economically lowest ranks such as farmers, nor to the learned elite, which needed to train its intellectual abilities through the study of Latin and Greek. An analysis of the teaching hours devoted to the various languages, i.e. to Dutch, French, English, and German, shows that Dutch and French were given slightly more hours than German and English at the HBS, the MMS and in Latin schools (Hulshof, Kwakernaak & Wilhelm 2015: 194–196). While this shows the persistence of the historical importance of French, the major change in the nineteenth century points in a different direction: French had become one important foreign language among several. By the end of the century, some commentators criticised the historical prominence of French in the school system and argued that German and English had become much more important, especially in the scientific domain (German) and in trade and industry (English) (Hulshof, Kwakernaak & Wilhelm 2015: 185). After the

reduction to functionality around the middle of the century, these voices argued for an even further refunctionalisation of French, which would entail its erasure from education.

The iconisation of Dutch as the national language resulted in reflections on the usefulness and functionality of French in the nineteenth century, particularly in educational debates and reforms. In the course of the century, French was reconceptualised as a functional choice for some, but not for others. As such, it acquired the same status as German and English. The hierarchy of Dutch and French was thus modelled on the relationship between Dutch and the other two main foreign languages — an instance of what Irvine & Gal (2000) call fractal recursivity. The 1863 educational law, which also formally ended the age-old tradition of French schools, marks this reallocation of the French language in the Dutch sociolinguistic space.

3.4 Discussion

In this chapter, we have looked at various language-ideological debates in which Dutch and French played a prominent role, from sixteenth-century purism to nineteenth-century educational reforms. These key debates or conflict sites indicate the various occasions where the Dutch and French traditions came into contact and are connected to the different phases in the cultural contact situation identified by historians such as Frijhoff (1989). They are very different debates, sometimes subsumed under general labels such as *(fear of) frenchification* and *anti-French discourse*, but in this chapter, we have aimed to characterise them in accordance with the language-ideological approach laid out in Section 3.2.

The social embedding of these conflict sites was quite specific in the early days of purism, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when commentators often focused on specific genres and registers, or on certain social groups of communities. This fairly limited social orientation changed dramatically around 1700, when the international cultural scene became the main point of reference. In terms of communities, the orientation remained extremely limited, but in terms of geography, there is a major change from local and supralocal communities to the international Republic of Letters. This international orientation persisted in the first half of the eighteenth century but was then superseded again by a refocusing on the national level. The national orientation remained dominant in the nineteenth century. The community implied or targeted in the later eighteenth century and particularly in the nineteenth century was the entire Dutch population, i.e., the imagined collective of inhabitants of the Netherlands.

The broader cultural context of these debates, and the identity work involved, equally change throughout the centuries. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, multilingual genres and communities in academic and literary practices are at the heart of the conflict site. Functional reasons often motivate the choice for French loans and/or the French language. By the time of the international cultural interaction taking place in the Republic of Letters, the status of the Dutch literary tradition is under scrutiny. This is taken up again in the eighteenth-century periodical discussions, which also mark the rise of cultural nationalism. Towards the end of the century, a fully-fledged nationalist discourse had developed.

The linguistic embedding of the conflict sites discussed above displays a similar development from fairly limited to all-encompassing. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, language choice in specific domains and at the level of individual borrowings were the foci of debates about the role of French. In the eighteenth century, in particular, new indexical meanings were attached to the use of French, when frenchification was discursively connected to phenomena such as aristocratisation and feminisation. While lexical purism and criticism of the 'wrong' language choice among elites persist in the more recent periods, ideological debates about French in the later eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century are often less concerned with lexical items and language choice, and shift the balance to language as such, that is, to Dutch as well as to French. The intervening identity work, which reconceptualised Dutch as a marker of Dutch national identity, takes the discussion to an abstract level: what should be the role of a foreign language such as French in a country that is Dutch? For whom is it functional to know some French? Who should be enabled to acquire French through the national school system?

Semiotically, we conclude that iconisation is active from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, when it overshadows the earlier discussions about the international status of the Dutch cultural tradition. Iconisation is at first clearly tied to culture, but soon thereafter political nationalism emerges from these earlier forms of cultural nationalism. Despite the strong focus on lexical purism, erasure is not a prominent discursive strategy at first. There are many pleas for the practical eradication of borrowings but not necessarily for the discursive erasure of the French language. Around 1700, multilingual elites participating in the international cultural focus on Dutch, but also on other languages, argue for the addition of Dutch to the international cultural repertoire rather than for an erasure of other languages from the Dutch repertoire. Again, the main changes start occurring from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards. By 1800, the standard language ideology has promoted Dutch to the iconic language of the Dutch nation. As a result, French becomes refunctionalised and eventually confined to the status of foreign school language, along with German and English.

CHAPTER 4

Language choice in the public domain and in ego-documents

4.1 Introduction

In Chapters 4–7, we analyse language choice and language shift in a number of domains and genres. In the present chapter, we work with existing datasets, predominantly compiled by historians, that have already been annotated for language choice. Chapters 5–7 discuss choice and shift based on new datasets compiled for the present research. An important reason for considering these existing datasets is that they cover large parts of the Netherlands as well as a long diachrony. This is vital for our aim to move beyond localised and temporally restricted case studies and develop a broad overview of language choice across time and space, which can then be used to give more interpretative depth to qualitative analyses. The existing datasets used in this chapter comprise newspapers (Section 4.2.1), pamphlets (4.2.2), and ego-documents, specifically diaries and travelogues (4.3).

Throughout our empirical analyses, both of language choice and shift (Chapters 4–7) and of contact-induced change (Chapters 8–12), a guiding concept is *social domain*. While the Language of Leiden Corpus underpinning Chapters 8–12 comprises several domains relevant for one place, namely Leiden, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, our analyses of language choice and shift in this chapter and the following ones focus on selected domains across time and space. In this way, we aim to arrive at a representative overview of the influence of French on Dutch in various domains.

The concept of social domains has long been central to the study of multilingual situations, both in analyses of present-day situations and of historical contexts (Fishman 1964, 1965, 1972, Ehala 2019, Kessels-van der Heijde 2002). For our analyses of choice and shift, we make a broad distinction between the private and the public domain. The public domain, discussed in Section 4.2, is represented by two genres, viz. newspapers and pamphlets, which both concern public opinion and the flow of information. Newspapers are also part of the Language of Leiden Corpus (see Chapter 8). Following our historical-sociolinguistic approach, we are also strongly interested in the private domain, which is represented by various types of ego-documents such as diaries, travel journals and letters. Letters will be

at the heart of Chapters 5 and 6 and are moreover part of the Language of Leiden Corpus. Diaries and travel journals are discussed below in Section 4.3.

4.2 The public domain

The public domain is a broad concept covering a lot of different genres and contexts. The two genres analysed here are characteristic of the Early and Late Modern periods. The genre of the newspaper emerged in the seventeenth century. The history of pamphlets goes back a little further, although the seventeenth century constitutes the heyday of the genre with a long tail into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These are by no means the only new, frequent, and multilingual genres in postmedieval Europe. Another well-known case is the periodical press, closely related to both newspapers and pamphlets, but newspapers and pamphlets from the Netherlands have been inventoried and categorised in a way that permits analyses of language choice.

4.2.1 Newspapers

Printed newspapers emerged in The Low Countries, as in Germany, France, England, and Italy, in the first half of the seventeenth century out of earlier practices such as handwritten newspapers and oral forms of communication (Lankhorst 2001, Schröder 2001, Der Weduwen 2017: 6). Manuscript newspapers remained in use for some time, particularly in the higher social circles (van Groesen 2016: 337). The first newspaper makers in the northern Low Countries were Casper van Hilten (?–1623) and Broer Jansz. (1579–1652). Van Hilten's *Courante uyt Italien, Duytslandt, &c.* 'Newspaper from Italy, Germany etc.' was published from 1618 onwards, and Jansz. *Tijdinghen uyt verscheyde Quartieren* 'News from various quarters' [i.e. places] from 1619. Early newspapers usually came out weekly. These first two Dutch newspapers were published in Amsterdam and merged into the *Amsterdamsche Courant* in 1670–1671 (Der Weduwen 2017: 89). Newspapers soon spread across the Low Countries: from the 1620s and 1630s onwards, newspapers came out in other cities such as Arnhem, Delft, The Hague, Leiden, Rotterdam, and Haarlem (van Groesen 2015: 337).

Van Hilten and Jansz. also published French versions of their newspapers, and van Hilten also an English version (van Groesen 2016: 337). The online database *Delpher* (www.delpher.nl) has searchable versions of millions of historical Dutch newspapers but is unfortunately restricted to newspapers in Dutch (van Groesen 2015: 14) and is therefore not useful for our purposes. Der Weduwen (2017: 14) comments that newspapers were ultimately a vernacular phenomenon. While this

may be true, it certainly does not exclude reading competence in more than one language nor, in fact, fully bilingual and multilingual repertoires among language users.

The survival rate of newspapers is notoriously low (Der Weduwen 2015, 2017). For example, Der Weduwen (2015: 23) calculates 39 surviving newspaper issues for the years 1681–1682, while estimating 840 issues published in those years. Vos (2003: 124–125) estimates that at most 20% of the newspapers from the 1675–1800 period have survived. Nonetheless, extensive research has led to reliable inventories and bibliographical descriptions of the historical newspaper production from the Low Countries, culminating in Der Weduwen (2017), who offers a detailed bibliography of Dutch newspapers from the seventeenth century. Similar descriptions are lacking for other periods and for non-Dutch newspapers. Based on Der Weduwen (2017) and two inventories developed by press historian René Vos and kindly shared with us by Michiel van Groesen (Leiden University), we constructed a dataset of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century newspapers.

For the seventeenth century, our dataset has 73 newspapers, and another 109 for the eighteenth century. The list of eighteenth-century newspapers does not include 10 newspapers that had started in the seventeenth century, such as the Spanish *Gazeta de Amsterdam*, which ran from 1672 to 1702, and the French *Gazette de Rotterdam*, which ran from 1689 to 1717. Some newspapers existed for a few years, or even just one year, for example the English *Corante, or Newes from Italy, Germany, Hungaria, Polonia France and Dutchland* (The Hague, 1621), the French *Nouvelle raisonées* (Amsterdam, 1682–1689) or the Dutch *Brabandsche Gazette* (Den Bosch, 1782–1794). Other newspapers were published for decades or even centuries, such as the well-known examples of the Dutch *Amsterdamsche Courant* 'Amsterdam newspaper' (1670–1903) and the French *Gazette de Leyde* (1677–1798).

Tables 4.1 and 4.2 present the language choice of the newspapers in our dataset for each century, and according to the place of publication. We are not aware of bilingual or multilingual newspapers, although we have obviously not inspected all issues of all newspapers — to the extent that they still exist. On the contrary, we base our overview on the descriptions offered by Der Weduwen and Vos, and on the assumption that newspapers usually had one dominant language.

About half (36 out of 73) of the newspapers were printed in Amsterdam, another 16 in The Hague. Except for the *Arnhemse Courant* 'Arnhem newspaper' (1619–1636), published in the city of Arnhem in the central-eastern area of Guelders, all newspapers were printed in the western regions of North Holland and South Holland and the central region of Utrecht. Newspapers were thus largely restricted to the present-day area of the Randstad. About half of the newspapers are in Dutch (35 out of 73), with French following closely behind (31 news-

Table 4.1 Language choice in seventeenth-century newspapers, across place of publication

	Dutch	French	English	Italian	Spanish	Yiddish
Amsterdam	12	19	2	1	1	1
Arnhem	1					
Delft	1					
Gouda	1					
Haarlem	1					
Leiden	1	1				
Rotterdam	1	4				
The Hague	9	6	1			
Utrecht	4					
Weesp	2					
?	2	1	1			
Total	**35**	**31**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**

apers). French newspapers were mostly printed in the metropolis of Amsterdam and in the political and diplomatic heart of The Hague. Other languages are marginal. If other languages are used, it is mostly in Amsterdam, where the Spanish, Italian and Yiddish newspapers catered for the Sephardic and Ashkenazi communities. The journalist behind these newspapers was David de Castro Tartaas (1630–1697/1698).

While North Holland, South Holland and Utrecht still dominate the newspaper in the eighteenth century, a considerable geographical expansion has also occurred, with more newspapers published in Guelders (Zaltbommel, Zutphen), along with newspapers from the northern and north-eastern regions of Friesland, Groningen and Overijssel (Franeker, Leeuwarden, Groningen, Zwolle) as well as from the southern regions of Zeeland, North Brabant and Limburg (Goes, Middelburg, Breda, Den Bosch, Maastricht). This geographical spread did not involve a linguistic spread; the newspapers concerned are in Dutch, except for one French newspaper from the city of Maastricht, the *Courier de la Meuse* from the 1780s. In fact, the linguistic landscape has changed considerably: fewer languages occur, although German has been added, and Dutch has emerged as the preferred language in 90 out of 109 newspapers. Adding the 10 newspapers that had already begun in the seventeenth century does not alter the picture dramatically: 4 are Dutch, 5 French and one Spanish. Even though the use of French may have decreased proportionally, it is still the majority choice in 17 newspapers first published in the eighteenth century, and another 5 that had already started before 1700.

Table 4.2 Language choice in eighteenth-century newspapers, across place of publication

	Dutch	French	German
Amsterdam	22	5	2
Alkmaar	2		
Alphen a/d Rijn	1		
Breda	1		
Buiksloot	1		
Delft	4	1	
Den Bosch	5		
Den Briel	1		
Dordrecht	4		
Franeker	1		
Goes	1		
Gouda	1		
Groningen	3		
Haarlem	1		
Leeuwarden	3		
Leiden	3	2	
Maastricht	2	1	
Middelburg	3		
Nieuwer-Amstel	1		
Rotterdam	6	1	
The Hague	14	4	
Utrecht	5	3	
Woerden	1		
Zaltbommel	1		
Zutphen	1		
Zwolle	2		
Total	**90**	**17**	**2**

This raises the question of who read all these French newspapers. It is usually assumed that most of the French newspapers published in the Netherlands were aimed at the French market, for which the background is the strict censorship in France, and the relative lack of it in the Netherlands due to the absence of a strong central government (Bots 1988, Rétat 2001: 4–5, Depezay 2010, Popkin 1989: 26). The censorship system in France resulted in many French newspapers being published outside France. Before 1800, at least 78 French newspapers were

published outside France, half of which originated from the Low Countries (Vos 2003: 132). These were often produced by Huguenot refugees and their descendants, and the Huguenot diaspora thus constitutes a second audience interested in French newspapers (Vos 2003: 132, Depezay 2010). A third group identified in the literature comprises a well-educated elite audience across Europe, consisting of politicians, diplomats, officials in bureaucracies, military officers, and rentiers and merchants involved in international affairs (Vos 2003: 127, Depezay 2010, Popkin 1989: 124–130). Rétat (2001: 126–129) analyses the geographical spread of French newspapers from the eighteenth century based on the present-day holdings in libraries and archives and demonstrates their presence in collections from Latvia and Lithuania to Spain, and from Ireland to Russia and Hungary. Among these French newspapers found across Europe, those produced in the Netherlands are overrepresented. The only competitor in terms of geographically spread survival rates is the *Gazette de Cologne* (1734–1810).

The two most widely disseminated newspapers are the *Gazette de Leyde* (1677–1798) and the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* (1691–1796) (Rétat 2001: 129). Copies of these two have been found all over Europe with the largest proportions in libraries and archives in France, Italy and Germany, testifying to their international readership. However, Dutch libraries and archives also hold significant numbers of issues. In the case of the *Gazette de Rotterdam* (1689–1717), the *Gazette d'Utrecht* (1721–1785), and the *Gazette de la Haye* (1744–1789), the numbers of surviving issues are similar for France, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands (Rétat 2001: 129). More generally, Lankhorst (1992: 57) argues that low survival rates in Dutch libraries and archives cannot be taken to indicate the lack of an audience for French newspapers, as survival rates of Dutch newspapers are also very low: like today, they were typically thrown away. He argues that there must have been a wider readership for French newspapers in the Netherlands beyond the commercial centre of Amsterdam and the diplomatic and political centre of The Hague; the *Gazette de la Haye*, for example, was also sold in the city of Middelburg in Zeeland (Lankhorst 1992: 62).

Another way of looking at possible audiences is by analysing advertisements and announcements. Lankhorst (1992: 63–64) discusses three advertisements from the *Gazette de la Haye*, one aimed at people from Schleswig, one at the Netherlands, and one at France, again demonstrating both the international profile of the newspapers as well as its orientation to the Dutch market. Rétat (2001: 92–93) analyses the geographical origin of advertisements and announcements in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, exploring issues at eight points in time from 1715 to 1769. Except for the earlier years, most advertisements and announcements, up to 50–60%, were on behalf of people in France, and presumably also targeted a France-based audience. The majority of commercial advertisements

were from booksellers and doctors, including charlatans, and most of these were based in Paris (Rétat 2001: 94–98). For Rétat (2001: 92–93), interested in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* as one of the most important *gazettes périphériques*, this is evidence of this newspaper's orientation to France, or more specifically to Paris. But this argument can of course be turned upside down: throughout the eighteenth century, a substantial number of the advertisements and announcements in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam* targeted a readership in the Netherlands, particularly in Amsterdam and The Hague, where most advertisers were based. The booksellers advertising in this *gazette* comprised Huguenot refugees and their descendants as well as Dutch-origin publishers (Rétat 2001: 97).

A comparison can be made with advertisements in Dutch newspapers. Publishers and booksellers dominated advertising in newspapers from the start (Der Weduwen & Pettegree 2020: 12). Der Weduwen & Pettegree (2020: 64) analyse books advertised in Dutch newspapers from the period from 1620 to 1675. Based on the language of the books advertised, they calculate that 2,782 out of 3,424 or 81% were Dutch. In addition to a small number of bilingual and multilingual books (81 books) and an even smaller number of books in languages such as Danish, English, German, Italian and Spanish (28 books), the two largest groups after Dutch are Latin 'and other scholarly languages' (439 books) and French (94). They argue that the score for Latin is probably too low compared to its importance in Dutch society at the time, which may be explained by different communication channels employed in learned circles, viz. correspondence as well as word of mouth (Der Weduwen & Pettegree 2020: 60–64). They do not comment on the other languages, but their numbers imply that 19% of the books advertised in Dutch newspapers from the seventeenth century were in languages other than Dutch.

Still another way of considering possible audiences is by looking at the actual news covered in the newspaper. Rétat (2001: 175–182) analyses the geographical origin of the news in the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*. Between 1692 and 1761, approximately half of all the news is about France and England. While there is a lot of variation due to the political circumstances, it is also clear that political, diplomatic and military news from these two western European superpowers dominated. About one-third of the news was devoted to international affairs, involving multiple powers, and the remaining 10–20% covered a range of other countries, including the Netherlands. This should not be taken as evidence that there was no Dutch readership for the *Gazette d'Amsterdam*, as readers had access to a wide variety of Dutch newspapers, but it is evidence of the international profile of this newspaper.

The *Gazette d'Amsterdam* was one of the most important French newspapers internationally, but by the second half of the eighteenth century its position was taken over by the *Gazette de Leyde* (Rétat 2001: 49–50). At that time, the news-

paper — officially titled *Nouvelles extraordinaires de Divers Endroits* — was run by Etienne Luzac (1702–1787), and from 1772 onwards by his nephew Jean Luzac (1746–1807). Its reputation as the best newspaper in Europe dates back to the ownership by Etienne and especially Jean (Popkin 1989: 9). They descended from another Jean Luzac (1646–1729), who migrated from Bergerac in the Dordogne area to the Low Countries, probably in the 1680s (Popkin 1989: 12). While the older Jean may have raised his children, including Etienne, in French or bilingually, his grandson Jean was a third generation Huguenot refugee, whose first language was Dutch and who learnt Latin and French as a child (Popkin 1989: 16). See also Chapter 7 for an in-depth case study of the Luzac family.

While copies of the *Gazette de Leyde* have been found all over Europe and in fact also in Philadelphia, Aleppo and India, the biggest market was France (Popkin 1989: 120–123). Here, too, an interpretation of its readership can be estimated based on the news covered and the advertisements. Popkin (1989: 78–91) argues that the most important themes were wars, diplomatic negotiations, domestic politics of the larger European states, constitutional crises, and major outbreaks of social violence. In the final three decades of the eighteenth century, half of the *gazette* was on average devoted to French and British news. Overall, the proportion of news devoted to the Netherlands varies between 1.5% and 12.3%. As before, this is not evidence of a lack of Dutch readers since these had access to multiple Dutch newspapers. Advertisers included booksellers but of a specific kind: political books were announced as well as auctions of rare book collections (Popkin 1989: 131). The largest proportion of commercial advertisements, however, concerned investment opportunities and other financial announcements. Based on such analyses, Popkin (1989: 124–312) describes the readership of the *Gazette de Leyde* as a well-educated international elite, such as politicians, diplomats, entrepreneurs, and rentiers, with a direct and often professional interest in international political news. The latter group was an international phenomenon, but investors and rentiers constituted a prominent social group in the Netherlands, which had an important capital market on the European scale (Popkin 1989: 130).

In sum, newspaper production in the Netherlands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was highly multilingual, with a variety of languages being used in addition to Dutch. The prominence of Dutch is higher in the eighteenth century than in the seventeenth, while French is the only other language that maintains its significance in the eighteenth century. The readership of French newspapers was undoubtedly partly or even predominantly international, but there is also evidence of a small but significant and probably multilingual social layer within the Netherlands who read French newspapers. At the same time, Dutch newspapers also advertised books in other languages, likewise testifying to the existence of a multilingual readership.

4.2.2 Pamphlets

Pamphlets constitute another well-known type of textual source produced in the Early and Late Modern period, in the Low Countries and in fact across Europe. Deen, Onnekink & Reinders (2011: 10–12) explain how difficult it is to define what a pamphlet is: they were usually short, cheap printed matter, but there is no consensus on the maximum length or price, and manuscript pamphlets also existed. While it is sometimes assumed they were in the vernacular, targeting the population at large, considerable numbers of non-Dutch pamphlets were published in the Dutch Republic — which is the *raison d'être* of this section. One clear common characteristic is the political orientation of pamphlets: most of them aimed to convince their readership of a particular political position. It is often stated that print culture and more specifically the widespread activity of pamphleteering changed the political culture of Early Modern Europe (Deen, Onnekink & Reinders 2011: 3, 12). Behind this general characteristic, however, lies a wide variety of genres, including political tracts, edicts, resolutions, correspondence, poems, sermons, songs, plays, dialogues, petitions, eyewitness reports, news stories and commentaries (Deen, Onnekink & Reinders 2011: 3). In fact, the pamphlet collections used for the present analysis are even broader, and also include poems and orations written on the occasion of marriages among the nobility and academic ceremonies. Finally, it is important to indicate that the term *pampflet* was not commonly used in the Early and Late Modern period, when instead words such as *libellen* 'libels', *maren* 'tidings', *paskwillen* 'pasquils', *blauwboexkens* 'little blue books' and *briefjes* 'letters' were used (Deen, Onnekink & Reinders 2011: 10).

The social context of pamphleteering may have been predominantly urban and middle-class (Deen, Onnekink & Reinders 2011: 11). The authors of pamphlets are often unknown: the majority of pamphlets were published anonymously or under a pseudonym. From cases in which the author is known, it appears that all political, economic and religious positions were represented in Dutch pamphleteering, but also that almost all pamphlets were written by men (Deen, Onnekink & Reinders 2011: 22).

The dataset that we use for this study of language choice in the public domain is the online available source *Dutch Pamphlets Online*.[4] This source comprises two sizeable and important collections of pamphlets published between 1486 and 1853. The first is the so-called Knuttel collection, named after W.P.C. Knuttel (1854–1921), who initiated an inventory of all pamphlets kept at the Royal Library in The Hague, ranging from 1486 to 1853 (Knuttel 1978). The second collection

4. See http://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/dutch-pamphlets-online.

comprises all pamphlets kept at the University of Groningen, covering the period from 1542 to 1853 (van Alphen 1944). There is no overlap between the two collections. Together, these two collections comprise 36,737 pamphlets. While the Knuttel collection, in particular, has been used and studied often as it constitutes the largest individual collection of pamphlets, it is by no means complete. Deen, Onnekink & Reinders (2011: 13) show that in the year 1672 — the so-called Year of Disaster, known for its multiple political crises as well as for the highest production of pamphlets in the Dutch Republic — up to 1604 pamphlets were published, of which 828 are part of the Knuttel collection.

Table 4.3 gives the distribution of the pamphlets in *Dutch Pamphlets Online* across the centuries. There are only 3 texts from the fifteenth century, which are included in the numbers for the sixteenth century. A small number of texts are not dated or misdated ('Other'). Table 4.3 shows that the seventeenth century constituted the heyday of pamphleteering, although the numbers remain relatively high in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Table 4.3 Number of pamphlets across time, based on *Dutch Pamphlets Online*

	N pamphlets	%
1486–1599	1,418	4
1600–1699	16,098	44
1700–1799	11,555	32
1800–1853	7,649	21
Other (s.d. or misdated)	17	< 0.1
Total	**36,737**	**100**

The *Dutch Pamphlets Online* dataset is enriched with various searchable metadata, including the title and subtitle, the year of publication, the place of publication, and the publisher, as well as the language used in the pamphlet. This linguistic categorisation is strictly monolingual; we have not found pamphlets annotated as bilingual or with more than one language label. Searching for the two languages Dutch and French, for example, results in all pamphlets labelled as Dutch as well as all pamphlets labelled as French, but not to pamphlets labelled Dutch/French. Such bilingual or multilingual search terms are not available in the online dataset. The high number of pamphlets, which we have not entirely checked manually, purposefully relying on the available metadata, does not exclude the possibility of multilingual pamphlets, although extensive browsing through the dataset did not reveal any multilingual texts. Table 4.4 gives the

distribution of the 36,737 pamphlets across the language labels used in *Dutch Pamphlets Online*.

Table 4.4 Number of pamphlets according to language, based on *Dutch Pamphlets Online*

	N pamphlets	%
Dutch	30,175	82
French	3,505	10
Latin	1,642	4
German	552	2
English	548	1
Italian	35	0.1
Spanish	13	< 0.1
Portuguese	7	< 0.1
Frisian	4	< 0.1
Danish	3	< 0.1
Swedish	3	< 0.1
Not annotated	250	< 0.1
Total	**36,737**	**100**

As can be seen in Table 4.4, the Dutch language dominates the Early and Late Modern pamphlet production with 30,175 texts or 82%. Still, this also means that 18% of the pamphlets, corresponding to thousands of texts, were in another language. The variety of other languages is impressive with many of the western European languages and Latin being included, but there are very strong patterns: most of the other languages are marginal, except French, Latin and, to a lesser extent, German and English. With 3,505 pamphlets, the French language is far from absent in the domain of Public Opinion.

The metadata of *Dutch Pamphlets Online* also comprise the year of publication and the place of publication to the extent that this information is available in the original sources; more than one-third of all pamphlets are not localised in *Dutch Pamphlets Online*. Since we are interested in this dataset for its opportunity to offer broad diachronic and regional overviews, we decided to categorise the pamphlets according to century, as we also did in Table 4.3. We are moreover interested in the northern Low Countries, i.e., the present-day Netherlands. The dataset comprises many places of publication outside the northern Low Countries. For example, 1,110 pamphlets were printed in present-day Belgium, of which

799 in Antwerp and Brussels, but also 1 in Spa, 1 in Hasselt, 1 in Bouillon, and so on. Another 835 came from present-day France, of which 664 from Paris, with more than 30 other localities also occurring in the dataset. Germany is responsible for 601 pamphlets allocated to more than 70 place names. Cologne (208 pamphlets) scores highest. Other place names range from Athens to Madrid and from Wroclaw to Edinburgh. London produced 773 pamphlets. Outside Europe, Batavia (now Jakarta) has 35 pamphlets. Then there are combinations such as London/Amsterdam (2 pamphlets) and fictitious names such as Waarstadt 'True city', i.e., city of the truth (1 pamphlet). Of course, names of existing places may also be false if writers preferred to be remain untraceable for political reasons. The large number of pamphlets not localised, i.e., lacking a place of publication, must also be related to such concerns.

Restricting the entire *Dutch Pamphlets Online* dataset to pamphlets printed in the present-day Netherlands and annotated with a language choice resulted in a dataset of 20,360 pamphlets. Figure 4.1 gives the languages used in these pamphlets across the centuries. We adopt a four-way categorisation from now on: Dutch, French, Latin and Other, based on the distribution established in Table 4.4.

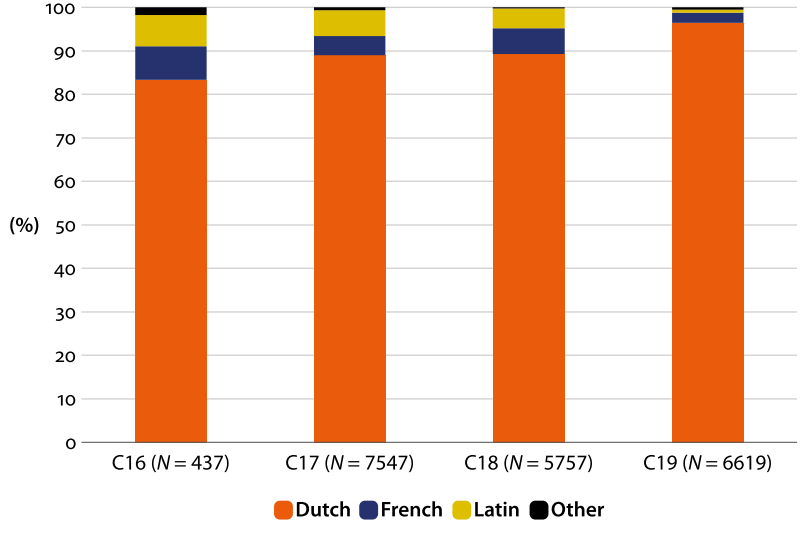


Figure 4.1 Language choice in pamphlets from the northern Low Countries across time, based on *Dutch Pamphlets Online*

Figure 4.1 demonstrates that Dutch was the dominant language choice in each century. Already in the sixteenth century, more than 80% of the pamphlets, amounting to 364 publications, were in Dutch, and the diachronic trend is clearly

towards even more Dutch. In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, French and Latin were significant minority choices: they are responsible for 4–8% of the data. This means, for example, that there were 335 French and 451 Latin pamphlets in the seventeenth century, and 341 French and 269 Latin in the eighteenth. In the nineteenth century, there were 161 pamphlets in French (2.4%) and 44 in Latin (0.7%). Proportionally, languages other than Dutch are not very prominent in this dataset. We wish to emphasise that the absolute numbers still indicate that hundreds of French and Latin pamphlets were published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All languages other than Dutch together comprise 1,769 pamphlets or 8.7% of the data. This is less than in Table 4.4. The main reason is that pamphlets published outside the Low Countries are relatively more often in other languages, although Dutch also occurs. The 208 pamphlets from Cologne, for example, include 72 texts in Dutch, but also 33 in German. The 664 pamphlets from Paris comprise 72 texts in Dutch in addition to 555 French sources.

In Table 4.5, we present the 20,360 pamphlets of our restricted dataset according to language choice and region. We manually allocated all individual place names to larger regions, viz. provinces of the present-day northern Netherlands. This is not just a pragmatic decision. These are by and large also the main regions distinguished historically. An important difference is that the historical region of Holland is split into two provinces: North Holland and South Holland. The 11 regions in Table 4.5 cover almost 150 localities. The label Limburg, for example, represents the town and cities of Maastricht, Roermond and Venlo, while Drenthe comprises Assen, Coevorden, Diependal, Meppel and Nieuwediep. The categories of North and South Holland represent more than 20 towns and cities each, from Alkmaar, Amsterdam, Haarlem, Naarden and Zandvoort in the north to Bodegraven, Delft, Leiden, Rotterdam and Zwammerdam in the south, among many others.

Table 4.5 shows that Dutch was dominant in all regions, reaching 82% or more everywhere except in Limburg. Other languages are generally marginal, but there are a few remarkable patterns. The northern and north-eastern regions of Friesland, Groningen, Drenthe and Overijssel have very low scores for French, both in absolute and relative numbers. In Friesland and Groningen, Latin is surprisingly high, especially when compared to French and other languages. While the absolute numbers are lower in Overijssel, it is still noteworthy that Latin outnumbers French (18 as opposed to 3 pamphlets). This is not so different from the central-east region of Guelders (17 Latin, 8 French). Numbers are much higher in the central region of Utrecht, where 37 French pamphlets are published. Proportionally, this is still marginal, but also a marked difference in absolute terms from the regions to the east and north of Utrecht. Yet, Latin scores even higher with

Table 4.5 Language choice in pamphlets from the northern Low Countries across region, based on *Dutch Pamphlets Online*

	Dutch		French		Latin		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Friesland	584	82	3	< 1	107	8	3	< 1
Groningen	1,223	91	5	< 1	120	17	8	< 1
Drenthe	40	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
Overijssel	361	93	3	< 1	18	5	6	2
Guelders	564	95	8	1	17	3	6	1
Utrecht	1,230	91	37	3	68	5	11	1
North Holland	6,424	96	163	2	83	1	29	< 1
South Holland	7,146	88	621	8	343	4	38	1
Zeeland	729	96	12	2	15	2	2	< 1
North Brabant	263	89	9	3	24	8	0	0
Limburg	27	73	10	27	0	0	0	0

68 texts. The two Holland regions show a different pattern, not only because they are responsible for many more and in fact the majority of all pamphlets in the dataset, but also because the relationship between French and Latin is reversed: the scores for French now double those for Latin. Here, there are also higher absolute numbers in the category Other (i.e., German and English). In Zeeland, French and Latin are balanced, while North Brabant resembles the eastern and northern areas with its higher number of Latin pamphlets. Limburg has the lowest number of pamphlets and proportionally the highest number of French sources. Most of these are from the city of Maastricht, which is located closer to the language border than any other town or city in this dataset, and which is historically known for its frenchified elite (see Kessels-van der Heijde 2002 and Chapter 5).

The relative importance of Latin in the eastern and northern regions, when compared to French and other languages, can be explained by the activities of learned circles in the relevant cities, which housed several institutions for higher education. For example, the region of Friesland produced 50 Latin pamphlets in the eighteenth century, 35 of which were printed in Franeker, which at that time had a university. Most of these pamphlets are of an academic nature and were written by professors such as Johannes Schrader, Nicolaus Ypei, Petrus Wesseling, Albert Schultens and Tiberius Hemsterhuis. There are also Latin pamphlets authored by ministers such as Petrus Nota. A Latin pamphlet published in the small town of Harlingen was also written by a scholar from Franeker, namely Her-

man Venema. Other Latin texts published in eighteenth-century Friesland include occasional poems written by ministers and other persons with a classical education, such as the politician P.F. Vegelin van Claerbergen. Likewise, the region of Groningen produced 57 Latin pamphlets in the eighteenth century, and most of these can be connected to the academic circles in the university city of Groningen. The texts include orations and occasional poetry by professors such as Jacobus de Rhoer and Paulus Hulsius. There are 3 texts by Philippus van Medembach Wakker, a rector at various Latin schools in the north. He was moreover responsible for some of the Latin texts from Overijssel, where he also worked. One text, for example, is his farewell lecture from the Latin school in Kampen, Overijssel, which he left to take up a position in Groningen. He also authored a pamphlet from the city of Zwolle, written when he was the rector of the Latin school there. Another 9 pamphlets from Overijssel are connected to the town of Deventer, home to a so-called *athenaeum*, which is a university-like institution for higher education. Authors include the aforementioned Jacobus de Rhoer, Herman Bossche and Joannes Ruardi, as well as Jacob Terpstra, the rector of the local Latin school.

The city of Utrecht, also home to a university, had similar learned circles of professors, rectors, and ministers producing Latin pamphlets, including, for example, texts by Petrus Burman and Petrus Wesseling. The difference with Friesland, Groningen and Overijssel is an extra multilingual layer on top of the existing Dutch-Latin layer. In Utrecht, French becomes an additional factor, moving from a handful of texts in the north and northeast to 37 in Utrecht. The majority of the French pamphlets found in Utrecht are about political issues such as the peace negotiations in relationship to the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). The addition of French is particularly significant in the regions of North and South Holland, effectively changing the pamphlet production from a bilingual Dutch-Latin into a multilingual landscape. In South Holland, for example, 504 out of 621 pamphlets are from the political and diplomatic centre of The Hague.

In Table 4.6, we zoom in on the four regions with more than 1,000 pamphlets in order to explore diachronic patterns in language choice within these regions. Table 4.6 adds more detail to our interpretation so far. The picture from Groningen again shows the near absence of French as well as the relative importance of Latin. In the nineteenth century, Latin decreases importantly, with Dutch reaching 98%. Utrecht resembles Groningen in the seventeenth century in that Latin is much more prevalent than French, but French becomes more important in the eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century, Dutch is dominant, at 97%.

In North Holland as well as in South Holland, French and Latin have similar numbers in the seventeenth century, while French surpasses Latin in the eighteenth. This change is clearest in South Holland, which has the largest number of French pamphlets in the eighteenth century. Almost all of these (225 out of 244)

Table 4.6 Language choice in pamphlets from four regions, across the centuries, based on *Dutch Pamphlets Online*

	Dutch		French		Latin		Other	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Groningen								
C16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
C17	148	75	1	1	45	23	4	2
C18	460	89	2	<1	57	11	1	<1
C19	615	98	2	<1	5	1	3	1
Utrecht								
C16	36	86	2	5	4	10	0	0
C17	357	91	5	1	28	7	3	1
C18	376	87	23	5	34	8	1	<1
C19	461	97	7	2	2	<1	7	2
North Holland								
C16	75	99	1	1	0	0	0	0
C17	2,309	95	50	2	49	2	14	1
C18	1,776	95	63	3	25	1	3	<1
C19	2,264	97	49	2	9	<1	12	1
South Holland								
C16	199	80	28	11	20	8	3	1
C17	3,088	86	270	8	227	6	22	1
C18	1,867	85	244	11	79	4	5	<1
C19	1,992	95	79	4	17	1	8	<1

were published in The Hague. The large majority of these pamphlets deal with politics, also international politics, including events occurring in countries and cities such as England, Scotland, Geneva, Lille, Catalunya, Brandenburg, America, Dunkirk, and Belgrade, as well as the Republic of the Seven United Provinces — to name but a few. There are also texts about theological issues, for example a few written by Pierre de Joncourt, a French minister who had migrated to the Low Countries in 1678, as well as occasional poems about event such as the marriage between Louise of Orange-Nassau and Charles George Augustus, Prince of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel in 1790. In the Holland regions, French is still a relevant

minority choice in the nineteenth century, especially if counted by the absolute numbers, although Dutch is clearly the main choice, also in South Holland.

Thus, Table 4.6 again shows the predominantly bilingual Dutch-Latin landscape in the north, to which the Holland regions and to a lesser extent Utrecht add a French layer in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While French already occurs in the sixteenth century, a considerable change can be seen from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, when French becomes much more important compared to Latin.

4.3 Ego-documents

Ego-documents have long been used in historical sociolinguistics (van der Wal & Rutten 2013, Rutten & Krogull 2022). This certainly does not mean, however, that they are easier to define than pamphlets. Like *pamphlet, ego-document* is a cover term for a heterogenous set of genres. The common denominator is that — in principle — the author of the text is present in the text as an 'I' who writes about their own experiences, affairs, thoughts and feelings (Dekker 2000). Genres typically studied and subsumed under this label are letters, diaries, travelogues, autobiographies and memoirs. Importantly, the collections of ego-documents discussed here do not include letters, which will be analysed more extensively in Chapters 5 and 6.

For this exploration into language choice in ego-documents, we make use of three large-scale chronological inventories of ego-documents from the northern Low Countries. The three online available inventories are:

1. *Egodocumenten van Noord-Nederlanders van de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw* 'Ego-documents by northern Netherlanders from the sixteenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth', which runs until 1814 (based on Lindeman, Scherf & Dekker 1993)
2. *Reisverslagen van Noord-Nederlanders van de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw* 'Travelogues by northern Netherlanders from the sixteenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth', which also runs until 1814 (based on Lindeman, Scherf & Dekker 1993)
3. *Repertorium van in handschrift overgeleverde egodocumenten van Nederlanders uit de negentiende eeuw* 'Compendium of manuscript ego-documents by Netherlanders from the nineteenth century', which covers the period from 1814 to 1914, compiled by Arianne Baggerman, Rudolf Dekker, Ellen Grabowsky and Gerard Schulte Nordholt.

These three inventories are available on the *Egodocument.net* website. The compilers, who were primarily interested in manuscript sources, visited all larger archives and libraries in the Netherlands. They excluded sources such as ships' logs and account books as well as family books restricted to genealogical notes. The major genres are diaries, travelogues and memoirs and other autobiographical texts. Together, these three inventories comprise 1,881 sources. Table 4.7 gives their distribution across the centuries.

Table 4.7 Number of ego-documents across time, based on *Egodocument.net*

	N ego-documents	%
1450–1599	46	2
1600–1699	205	11
1700–1799	652	35
1800–1899	785	42
1900–1949	175	9
Other (s.d.)	18	1
Total	**1,881**	**100**

The majority of these texts fall within our scope from 1500 to 1899. Different from pamphlets, which were most popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the heydays of ego-document writing are located in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The ego-documents have extensive metadata, including the name of the author, life dates, birthplace, place of death, location of the archive, genre, and so on. We collected all metadata from the online inventories into one database. One metadata label concerns language. This label was only used by the compilers in the case of ego-documents not written or not entirely written in Dutch. We therefore categorised all ego-documents without a language label as Dutch sources in our database. The language labels used in the inventories vary considerably. In addition to monolingual labels such as *French, Latin, German, English, Portuguese, Frisian* and *Yiddish*, many combinations of languages occur, for example *Dutch/French, Dutch/French/Latin, Dutch/Frisian, Dutch/Latin/Italian, German/French*, and so on. As with the pamphlets, we did not check these labels against the original sources. After exploring the relative importance of these categories in terms of their frequencies, we regrouped them into the following major categories. In addition to frequency, our focus on the historical position of French determined this regrouping:

- monolingual Dutch, monolingual French, and monolingual Latin
- bilingual combinations of these major options: Dutch/French and Dutch/Latin
- multilingual Dutch/French/Other, where *other* can include German, English and so on, as well as Latin
- Other; this category comprises the handful of texts in minority languages such as Frisian and Yiddish as well as bilingual/multilingual texts that do not include Dutch.

We manually added gender labels to our database, operationalised as the binary interpretation of the names of the authors. Socially, the writers of the ego-documents have very different backgrounds, from military officers to the nobility and carpenters. In general, writing ego-documents was more common among the socio-economic middle and upper ranks of society, although a small increase of texts from the lower ranks can be discerned, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Dekker 2000, Vermeer 2020: 65). We also grouped the extensive system of genre labels in the original inventories into a limited number of overarching categories. For example, the inventories comprise labels such as *autobiography/diary, autobiography/memoirs, autobiography/family history, autobiography/travelogue, autobiography/poems, autobiography/memoirs, autobiography/childhood memoirs*, and many more. We will, however, not discuss genre here (see also Krogull, Puttaert & Rutten 2023a).

A final category added to the database is the area or province. This is based on the location of the source; for example, a manuscript kept in a library or archive in Leiden or Rotterdam is categorised as South Holland in our database. We did not investigate the personal histories and the mobility of all individuals in the database. For smaller, more locally oriented archives and libraries, this does not pose a problem, as these are primarily focused on keeping materials from locally relevant individuals. Indeed, ego-documents allocated to regions such as Drenthe and Limburg are mainly connected to people from these regions. This may be different in the case of relatively urbanised, central areas such as North Holland and South Holland, which attracted migrants whose ego-documents may end up in Holland-based archives. Furthermore, institutes such as the *Nationaal Archief* 'National Archive' and the *CBG Centrum voor Familiegeschiedenis* 'CBG Centre for Family History', both located in The Hague in South Holland, also collect archival materials connected to individuals of historical and/or national importance, though not necessarily originating from South Holland.

The total number of 1,881 ego-documents stretches beyond the boundaries of the period we are interested in. Zooming in on the period from 1500 to 1899, our database selects 1,687 sources. Table 4.8 presents this set of ego-documents, which

Table 4.8 Number of ego-documents according to language (1500–1899), based on *Egodocument.net*

	N ego-documents	%
Dutch	1,348	80
French	151	9
Dutch/French	45	3
Dutch/French/Other	38	2
Latin	30	2
Dutch/Latin	20	1
Other	55	3
Total	**1,687**	**100**

will be the basis of all further analyses, across the language labels introduced above. It is immediately clear that Dutch is the majority choice in this dataset. French is the most important minority choice, both as a monolingual option and in combination with Dutch or with Dutch and other languages.

We will now explore this dataset further, starting with language choice across time. This means that we categorise the ego-documents according to centuries. Figure 4.2 presents the results.

Figure 4.2 confirms the dominant position of Dutch, while also offering valuable insights into the diachrony of language choice. The proportion of Dutch is lowest (c. 55%) in the sixteenth century, after which it rises to two-thirds in the seventeenth century, and to approximately 80% or even more in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Latin and bilingual Dutch/Latin texts are frequent in the earlier periods but decrease and almost disappear after the seventeenth century. French sources and combinations with French and Dutch occur from the sixteenth century onwards. There is a small increase in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The proportion of monolingual French texts is highest in the eighteenth century.

The category of Other is stable and small (see also Table 4.8), although its contents differ considerably across the centuries: we group together quite different language choices here, which is motivated by the relatively low frequency of these choices when compared to the other options. In the sixteenth century, Other comprises French/Latin and Dutch/Latin/Greek ego-documents. In the seventeenth century, there is monolingual Portuguese and monolingual German as well as Dutch/Latin/Italian, French/Latin and Dutch/English. The eighteenth

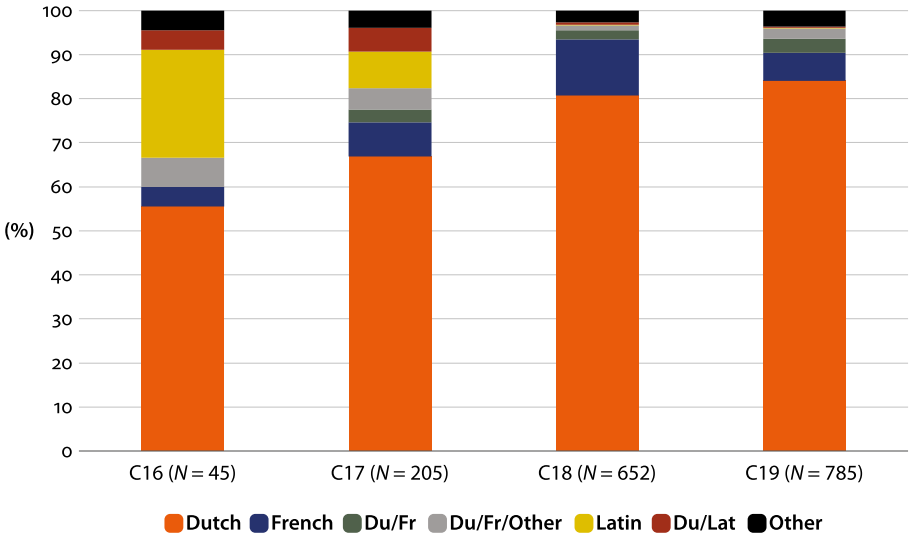


Figure 4.2 Language choice in ego-documents from the northern Low Countries across time, based on *Egodocument.net*

century maintains small numbers of German and English, sometimes in combination with Dutch or other languages, and adds Frisian and Yiddish to the languages in use. The picture is similar in the nineteenth century. Overall, languages such as German, English and Frisian are more likely to be used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, while Latin and Greek more often occur in the first two centuries. English, for example, occurs 29 times in the dataset, sometimes alone but more often in combination with one or more other languages. Twenty of these sources are from the nineteenth century, and 7 from the eighteenth. Likewise, out of 31 ego-documents with German, be it monolingual or in a combination, 25 are from the nineteenth century and another 4 from the eighteenth. The 8 texts with Frisian are all from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Overall, the ego-documents are much more strongly multilingual than the pamphlets in various respects. The number of non-monolingual Dutch texts is higher (see also Figure 4.1). While the pamphlets already displayed more than 80% Dutch from the start, rising to c. 90% and close to 100% in the final period, the ego-documents comprise considerably more non-monolingual Dutch texts. The ego-documents are also more multilingual in that there are many more texts with more than one language. Finally, the number of languages involved is much higher, ranging from Latin, Greek and Hebrew to French, German, English, Frisian, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Yiddish.

Region is an important variable in the database. As said, we allocated the ego-documents to the present-day provinces based on the location of the original sources, i.e., not on biographical information about the writers. In some cases, manuscripts of one text are located in archives in multiple provinces; in other cases, only editions have survived and the location of the original is unknown. In total, 1,568 could be regionally categorised. The results are in Table 4.9, which gives the absolute numbers of linguistic choices across region. We provide this full overview here, as in many regions, numbers are quite low for less frequent languages or combinations of languages. This applies to Friesland, Groningen, Drenthe, Overijssel, Zeeland, North Brabant and Limburg.

Table 4.9 Language choice in ego-documents, across region, based on *Egodocument.net*

	Dutch	French	Du/ Fr	Du/Fr/ Other	Latin	Du/ Lat	Other	Total
Friesland	104	1	1	1	0	2	10	119
Groningen	31	0	0	3	2	0	1	37
Drenthe	11	5	1	0	0	0	0	17
Overijssel	26	3	1	1	2	0	5	38
Guelders	51	17	2	4	0	1	0	75
Utrecht	95	2	3	2	11	2	4	119
North Holland	348	15	11	5	2	6	10	397
South Holland	475	92	21	19	4	3	22	636
Zeeland	75	1	1	0	0	1	0	78
North Brabant	25	1	3	0	2	2	0	33
Limburg	6	8	2	0	2	1	0	19
Total	**1,247**	**145**	**46**	**35**	**25**	**18**	**52**	**1,568**

North Holland (397 texts) and South Holland (636 texts) together represent 66% of the ego-documents. Non-monolingual Dutch texts are mostly found in these two Holland regions. In many other regions, non-monolingual Dutch texts occur only once or twice or not at all. In Friesland, the category of Other comprises 10 texts, 7 of which comprise Frisian. In Drenthe and Guelders, the proportion of monolingual French seems somewhat higher — 5 out of 17 in Drenthe (29%), 17 out of 75 in Guelders (23%). 4 of the 5 French ego-documents from Drenthe stem from the local nobleman Sigismund Pierre Alexander van Heiden Reidenstein (1740–1806). In Guelders, 4 out of 17 monolingual French documents are from the local nobleman Johan Frederik Willem van Spaen van Biljoen (1746–1827). Limburg is the only region where monolingual French outnumbers

Dutch. We have to be cautious in view of the relatively low numbers, but at the same time this stronger orientation towards French is well-known, in particular concerning the Maastricht area, where most texts stem from (see also Table 4.4 above and Kessels-van der Heijde 2002).

We will now focus on regional language choice across time, restricting the analysis to the four regions producing more than 100 ego-documents in total, i.e., Friesland, Utrecht, North Holland and South Holland. Table 4.10 presents language choice in these four regions across the four centuries.

Table 4.10 Language choice in ego-documents from four regions, across time, based on *Egodocument.net*

	Dutch	French	Du/Fr	Du/Fr/Other	Latin	Du/Lat	Other
Friesland							
C16	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
C17	7	0	1	1	0	1	1
C18	50	1	0	0	0	0	4
C19	46	0	0	0	0	0	5
Utrecht							
C16	1	0	0	0	7	0	0
C17	14	0	0	0	4	2	0
C18	43	2	1	1	0	0	1
C19	37	5	2	1	0	0	3
North Holland							
C16	6	0	0	0	1	1	0
C17	37	1	1	0	1	2	1
C18	107	5	2	1	0	2	3
C19	198	9	8	4	0	1	6
South Holland							
C16	11	1	0	0	0	0	2
C17	46	13	2	8	3	2	3
C18	185	50	8	4	1	0	8
C19	233	28	11	7	0	1	9

Table 4.10 demonstrates that while the production of ego-documents strongly increases in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this does not imply more multilingualism. In Friesland, languages other than Dutch are marginal through-

out the centuries. The 9 sources labelled Other in the two later centuries comprise 7 texts in or with Frisian. The results for Utrecht show that this university town produced a fair number of sources in or with Latin in the earlier two periods. In the two more recent centuries, French replaces Latin as the main language choice other than monolingual Dutch. The results for North Holland again demonstrate the rise of French in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The texts labelled Other from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries comprise various monolingual and bilingual ego-documents in or with German and English as well as one in Yiddish, written by Abraham Chaim Braatbard (1699–1786). The results for the region of South Holland confirm that the practice of writing ego-documents increased considerably in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, with the number of sources in French also increasing, but not the number of texts in or with Latin. The text categorised Other mainly include the use of German and English.

In view of the higher absolute numbers in the South Holland area, we also explore the results proportionally in Figure 4.3.

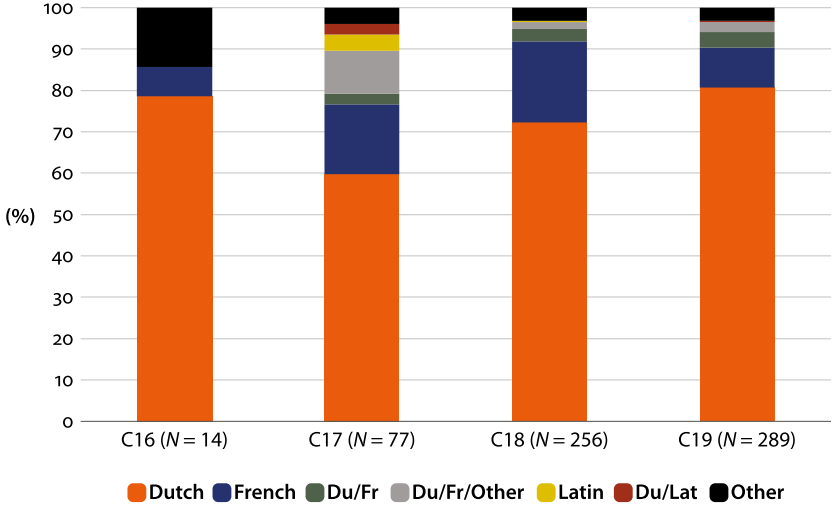


Figure 4.3 Language choice in ego-documents from South Holland, across time, based on *Egodocument.net*

While the sixteenth-century results are still based on low numbers, this is different for the other three centuries. Figure 4.3 clearly demonstrates that the seventeenth century is marked by a more widespread type of multilingualism, involving relatively many texts not written in monolingual Dutch as well as a wide repertoire of linguistic options. While monolingual Dutch increases in the eighteenth century, this also applies to monolingual French. In the nineteenth century,

monolingual Dutch increases even further, although almost 20% of the sources display other language choices.

The last variable to be explored in the dataset of ego-documents is gender, based on a binary interpretation of the writers' names. We were able to categorise 1,575 ego-documents as written by a man or a woman; the remaining 112 are either anonymous or written by multiple authors from different genders. Figure 4.4. gives the overall distribution across male and female authors.

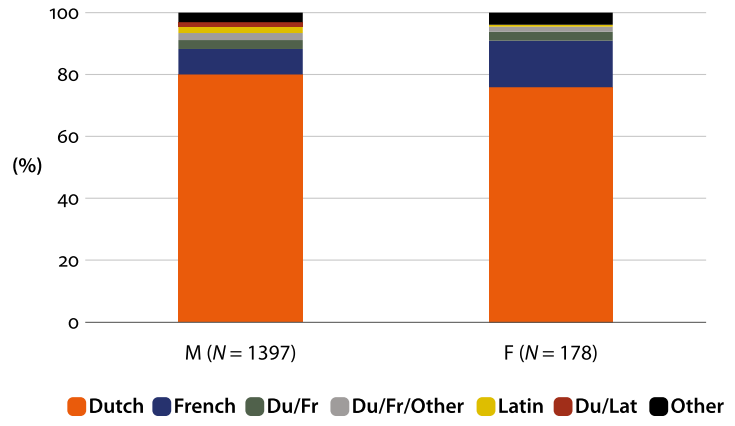


Figure 4.4 Language choice in ego-documents from the northern Low Countries, across gender, based on *Egodocument.net*

Figure 4.4 shows that monolingual Dutch is more frequent with male authors than with female authors, whereas monolingual French occurs more often in ego-documents written by women. It is not surprising that Latin and combinations with Latin are more frequent in texts by men. In Figures 4.5 and 4.6, we explore the gender patterns across time. Note that there are no texts for female writers from the sixteenth century.

Figure 4.5, which resembles Figure 4.2 because of the predominance of male authors, shows the diachronically decreasing multilingualism of Dutch ego-documents: the proportion of texts in monolingual Dutch steadily increases, while Latin and combinations with Latin disappear. Monolingual French is highest in the eighteenth century.

Figure 4.6 confirms the more strongly present multilingualism in ego-documents by women, if measured in terms of the proportion of monolingual Dutch texts. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this proportion is well under 80%, whereas it moves beyond 80% with male authors in this period. This difference is largely explained by the importance of texts in or with French as this is the most important choice beside Dutch in the texts by women.

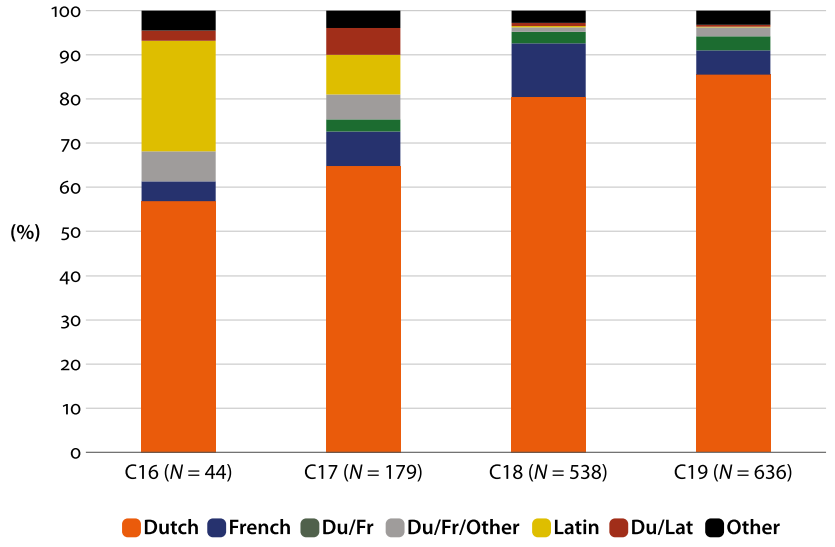


Figure 4.5 Language choice in ego-documents written by men from the northern Low Countries, based on *Egodocument.net*

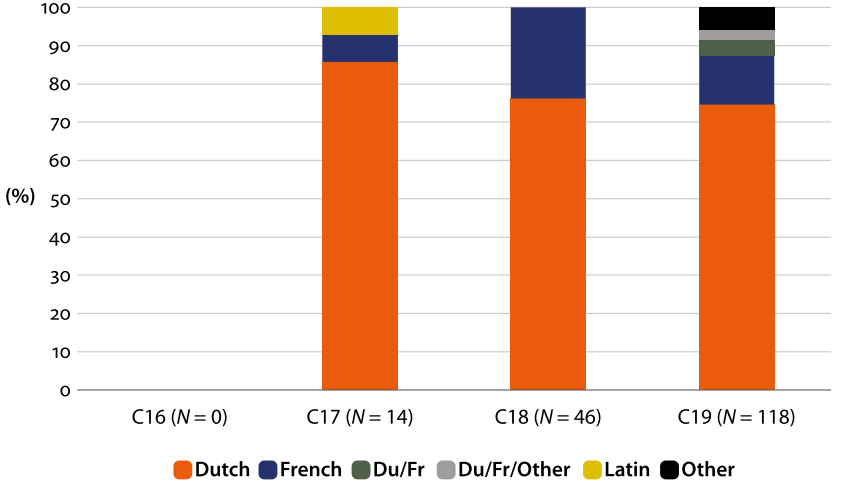


Figure 4.6 Language choice in ego-documents written by women from the northern Low Countries, based on *Egodocument.net*

4.4 Discussion

In this chapter, we have established a first overview of the multilingual landscape of the Early and Late Modern Netherlands, and in particular of the relationship between Dutch and French. This overview, largely based on existing datasets that we further developed for our specific purposes, serves as a general background for the empirical analyses in Chapter 5–7.

Diachronically, it is clear that monolingual Dutch spreads at the expense of other languages, although a considerable proportion of multilingualism remains, even in the nineteenth century. This strongly depends on genre, however: nineteenth-century pamphlets are much more strongly monolingual Dutch than ego-documents from the same period.

Regionally, the domain of Public Opinion shows a historical bilingual Dutch-Latin landscape, to which a French layer is added from the seventeenth century onwards, which is, however, largely restricted to the Holland/Utrecht area and the city of Maastricht in the south. French newspapers are important throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but more so in Amsterdam and The Hague than anywhere else, except perhaps Maastricht. The picture is not so different in the case of ego-documents, where Latin is also replaced by French, with the use of French being most prominent in the Holland area — from where, in general, most ego-documents originate. Relatively high numbers of French ego-documents are also found with a few noble individuals from the east and in the Limburg region, for example in the city of Maastricht.

The ego-documents display more languages in addition to Dutch than the newspapers and pamphlets. Of course, many languages and varieties hardly ever made it into the written heritage and are thus invisibilised by history; this applies to regional varieties but also to languages such as Frisian and Yiddish, which are largely absent from our dataset. At the same time, the variety of languages used, particularly in the ego-documents but also in the public domain, testifies to a considerable degree of multilingualism. This multilingualism appears to have been more prevalent among women than among men in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, based on the analysis of ego-documents.

The latter conclusion depends on the method of counting: the proportion of texts not written in monolingual Dutch remains significant, certainly among women in the nineteenth century. If counted by the number of languages involved, there are important changes over time. While Latin, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian and Yiddish gradually disappear — and most of these were marginal in the first place, based on the written history — French is on the rise and to a lesser extent also Frisian, German and English. Taking into account combinations of languages, it appears that the public domain was strongly biased towards monolingual production, whereas multilingual sources are more common in the private domain.

CHAPTER 5

Language choice in private family correspondence

5.1 Introduction

In Chapter 4, we have shown that language choice in the private domain can successfully be examined across a relatively long time span, making use of a previously compiled — though naturally unbalanced — inventory of ego-documents kept in Dutch archival institutions. Importantly, this inventory does not include letters, which are, however, considered primary data sources in historical-sociolinguistic research (e.g. Elspaß 2012, Rutten & van der Wal 2014, Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2017). In this chapter, we therefore expand on the topic of language choice in the private domain by focusing on family letters. This will allow us to delve deeper into the social and sociolinguistic factors behind this complex phenomenon.

We draw on a newly compiled dataset of private letters, taken from numerous Dutch family archives, in order to examine sociolinguistic patterns behind language choice. While Chapter 4 has mapped the broader historical multilingualism of the northern Low Countries, this chapter focuses more directly on the use of Dutch, French, and Dutch alongside French (or vice versa), investigated within a specific genre, viz. private family correspondence. The private sphere, and particularly the family, has proven to be a very crucial domain in modern sociolinguistic studies of multilingual behaviour (Fishman 1965: 76). In this chapter, we therefore concentrate on the social domain of family life, making use of the wealth of personal correspondence preserved in family archives in the Netherlands.

Previous studies on language choice in Dutch contexts, including the private domain, have primarily taken a qualitative approach, usually based on smaller-scale datasets with a strong focus on well-known individuals or families (e.g. Joby 2014; van Strien-Chardonneau 2018), or specific cities (e.g. Kessels-van der Heijde 2015). This has even been suggested as the preferred method to address choice-related questions in most historical studies (Ruberg 2011: 70) and can be found in various studies on language choice beyond the Dutch realm (see also Puttaert, Krogull & Rutten 2022: 255–257). Offord, Rjéoutski & Argent (2018: Chapter 6), to highlight just one example, investigate the role of French among the Russian elite in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Providing a detailed qualitative

discussion of language use and language choice in ego-documents (comprising personal correspondence, diaries, memoirs etc.), they hint at a number of social patterns that, however, lack a quantitative basis (that being said, see Head 1995, Thomas 2017, among others, for a fruitful combination of qualitative and quantitative methods).

We argue that historical-sociolinguistic studies on multilingualism and language contact need a more quantitative approach to gain a fuller understanding of the potential social and sociolinguistic parameters conditioning language choice. In the context of the northern Low Countries specifically, we need to test claims about the alleged frenchification, interpreted here in terms of language choice. What is largely still lacking to date is solid baseline evidence based on a larger dataset that allows for fine-grained analyses. In fact, except for the valuable but first and foremost qualitative observations from previous case studies, the complex dynamics behind language choice, made by multilingual individuals in their everyday lives, remain obscure.

In order to complement the qualitative observations from previous case studies, we seek to examine language choice in a more quantitative way, for which we had to develop a methodological framework. The central aim of this chapter is to assess what Offord (2020: 14) refers to as 'the dynamics which determine language choice in circumstances where knowledge of more than one language makes choice possible'. Recalling Fishman's (1965: 428) famous question 'Who speaks what language to whom and when', Schendl (2012: 522) remarks that '[a]ll the relevant factors we need to answer this question are […] social or sociolinguistic, irrespective of whether we are investigating modern multilingual speech communities or earlier ones'. This, however, needs to be done with a corpus or dataset of written texts that is of a sufficient size (Schendl 2012: 522).

In Section 2, we introduce our methodological framework, and the dataset compiled for this study. Section 3 then presents the results of the quantitative analysis across a number of relevant external variables. Section 4 contains the discussion.

5.2 Data and methodology

In what follows, we discuss the different stages of our methodological approach: the collection of archival data (5.2.1), the compilation of databases (5.2.2), the categorisation of language choice (5.2.3), the selection of letter data (5.2.4), and the representation of language choice (5.2.5).

5.2.1 Collecting archival data

For this study of Dutch-French language choice in the private domain, we collected original manuscripts, i.e., unedited letter data kept in Dutch family archives across the Netherlands. All letters were digitised, either as photographs taken by project members during archival visits, or scans provided by archival staff. For the purpose of this study, these were not transcribed in the sense of a computer-searchable corpus.

Seeking to examine language choice across the Early and Late Modern period, we incorporated a diachronic dimension into our research design, collecting private family letters from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For this chapter, we had to exclude the sixteenth century, since no satisfyingly representative amount of suitable data was found for this earliest period.

We also aimed for a wide geographical coverage of the language area, selecting twelve cities from ten different provinces. These cities can be seen as urban centres, also historically, in their respective provinces (see the population data in Lourens & Lucassen 1997). We list them in alphabetical order with their present-day provinces in brackets: Amsterdam (North Holland), Arnhem (Guelders), Den Bosch (North Brabant), Groningen (Groningen), Haarlem (North Holland), Leeuwarden (Friesland), Leiden (South Holland), Maastricht (Limburg), Middelburg (Zealand), The Hague (South Holland), Utrecht (Utrecht), and Zwolle (Overijssel).

As regards the socioeconomic and demographic profile of families, we concentrate on the contemporary urban elite, i.e., well-to-do families belonging to the nobility, aristocracy, patriciate, or bourgeoisie, living in Dutch cities (see also van Strien-Chardonneau 2014: 155–158 on the Dutch elite). Typical examples include families of regents, politicians, mayors, bankers, merchants, and other upper-middle and upper layers of society. Members of these higher and educated strata are most strongly associated with francophonie in the Low Countries (see Chapter 2, van Strien-Chardonneau 2014: 171), which means that these people could potentially choose between Dutch and French in their private correspondence and could also use both languages alongside each other. We prioritised families with distinct links to a certain city, or at least region, although we have to keep in mind that the urban elite were also mobile. This means that individual family members or even entire generations could move to other parts of the country or to places abroad across their lifespan, for personal or professional reasons.

Although this study focuses on language choice between Dutch and French, or both languages alongside each other, we should emphasise that families were not selected on the basis of their linguistic profile. For example, Dutch family archives with a remarkably high proportion of documents in French were not

favoured over family archives with mostly Dutch-language documents. We selected those families that fit the socioeconomic and demographic profile of the Dutch urban elite, as described above. In practical terms, the selection was also determined by the availability and scope of family archives, some of which have preserved considerably more private letters than others. Within these letter collections, especially when family correspondence was abundant, we prioritised the closest relations of the immediate family, that is, parents and children, siblings and spouses. More distant relations of the extended family, like grandparents and grandchildren, aunts and uncles, nieces and nephews, and cousins, as well as in-laws, were only selected when letters from the immediate family were limited.

5.2.2 Compiling databases

We compiled detailed searchable inventories of the digitised (though untranscribed) letter data collected from all family archives. Each of these inventories, or databases, consists of the same set of metadata. They contain basic information on the archives where the letters are kept, including their accession and inventory numbers, as well as the name of the family and their associated city. All databases also contain information related to the letters themselves, that is, the date and place of writing, and the place of address (if available). These metadata were then turned into standardised parameters, both temporal (e.g. centuries, and fifty-year periods like '1750–1799', '1800–1849') and spatial (e.g. Dutch provinces, but also options like France, Belgium or 'abroad'). Most importantly, the metadata also contain information on the language choice, which we discuss in more detail below.

At the level of letter writers, we added basic biographical information such as the writers' names, their gender, and the date and place of both birth and death. In respect to the specific communicative setting of epistolary writing, we also took into account the relationship between senders and addressees. These metadata were operationalised into sociolinguistic variables: familial relationships (i.e. child–parent, parent–child, siblings, spouses, and more distant relationships), gender constellations (i.e. male–male, male–female, female–male, female–female, and constellations with 'mixed' genders),[5] and the number of senders and addressees (i.e. single–single, single–multiple, multiple–single, multiple–multiple). Finally, we also added the names of the addressees, and miscellaneous notes (e.g. examples of code-switching, metalinguistic comments).

5. Constellations with 'mixed' genders refer to multiple senders or addressees of different genders. Typical examples in family correspondence may be letters written or received by both parents (i.e. father and mother), a son/daughter with his/her spouse (of another gender), or at least two siblings of different genders (e.g. brother and sister).

5.2.3 Categorising language choice

The fundamental parameter in our database design is *language choice*. In fact, a language choice was manually assigned to each text. We opted for five linguistic categories:

i. Dutch,
ii. Dutch/French,
iii. 50/50,
iv. French/Dutch, and
v. French.

Although various ways of ordering these five categories are possible, we present them here as a continuum of code choices, with (i) Dutch and (v) French as the two idealised monolingual poles, and three different mixed-language categories, (ii) Dutch/French, (iii) 50/50, (iv) French/Dutch, in between.

The two language choices (i) Dutch and (v) French are the most monolingual categories. It is important to emphasise, though, that these categories are not entirely monolingual. They may contain other-language elements like borrowings/loanwords (see Chapters 8 and 9), or single-word and (short) multi-word switches, such as conventionalised expressions and lexical units, as illustrated in Examples (1)–(3). These two predominantly monolingual categories may also contain titles of books and theatre plays (4)–(5), as well as proper nouns and dates in the other language (6). Examples (3)–(5) also illustrate that other-language elements are sometimes visually flagged by the writers, often by underlining. In the examples, the other-language elements are in boldface.

(1) *En het is uyt die hoofde, dat ik tegenwoordig zeer **en peine** ben, (begrypende dat myne **affaires** zeer **incertain** zyn).*
'And it is for that reason that I am much **in pain** these days (understanding that my **affairs** are very **uncertain**).'

(2) *Mijne huidige Standplaats is zeer lekker niet te warm en niet te Koud, **Juste milieu**.*
'My current location is very nice, not too warm and not too cold, **happy medium**.'

(3) *Pierre commencoit a avoir un commencement d'**engelsche ziekte** je lui ai aussi tot fait mediciner et il est bien mieux*
'Pierre was starting to have a beginning **English disease** [rickets], so I had him medicated immediately and he is much better.'

(4) *Ik ben aan een lecture over het van Kant maken bezig. maar die manier is veel zachter en doet geen pyn. t' is in t' fransch geschreven en heet* ***"Histoire de la Dentelle"***
'I am currently reading about lace-making. But this manner is much softer and does not hurt. It is written in France and is called **"History of Lace"**'

(5) *Er zal komedie gespeeld worden* ***le Medecin malgré lui*** *van Molière, en natuurlijk gedanst worden.*
'A comedy will be played **The Doctor in Spite of Himself** by Molière, and of course dancing.'

(6) ***Bruxelles, Hôtel de l'Univers***
8 Mars 1856
Samedi soir, 11 ½ uur
Beste Ouders,
Ik profiteer van een rustig half uurtje, dat wij na onzen komediegang van heden avond hebben, om U te vertellen hoe goed & hoe aangenaam wij het tot nog toe gehad hebben.
'**Brussels, Hôtel de l'Univers**
8 March 1856
Saturday evening, 11 ½ o'clock
Dear parents, I am taking advantage of the quiet half hour that we have after our visit to the comedy tonight, to tell you how good and how pleasant we have had it so far.'

In addition to a relatively binary distinction of two fairly monolingual poles, we advocate a fine-grained differentiation of various mixed-language or multilingual categories. In the language choice referred to as (ii) Dutch/French, Dutch is the main language of writing, but the letters in this category contain more substantial switches into French, either inter- or intra-sentential, of at least three lines of text, either consecutively or spread across the text (7)–(8). Accordingly, a letter was assigned to category (iv) French/Dutch, when it is written primarily in French, but does contain various instances of multi-word switches into Dutch (9)–(10). Unlike categories (i) and (v), code-switching characterises the language or rather code choice in categories (ii) and (iv). Note that these multi-word switches do not necessarily have to be creative text production in order to qualify for categories (ii) and (iv), but may also contain proverbs, reported speech or copied quotes/passages (e.g. from a newspaper), as shown in (11)–(13).

Again, such switches are sometimes marked by the writers as other-language parts, as in (10) and (12).

(7) *Zy is niet geestig, maar heeft gezond verstand, doch niet ontwikkeld.* ***C'est une education morale à faire et votre mere ne vous a pas — je le crains —, fait un cadeau****; maar dat is myne schuld niet.*
'She is not witty, but has common sense, but not developed. **It's a moral education and your mother has not — I'm afraid — given you a gift**; but that is not my fault.'

(8) *maar hebt gij de zwarte oude Pantalon van Charles […] bij abuis ook mede genomen? Ze is hier in huis nergens meer te vinden. Alom* ***me je méfie ma servante, Je vous prie de me repondre à ce sujet par le retour du courier***
'but did you by mistake take Charles' old, black trousers […]? They are nowhere to be found in the house any more. I suspect my maid, so please reply to me on this matter by return'

(9) *la mélancholie est grand,* ***het heimwee nog erger****, enunmot ce bon couple ne jouit pas, ils voyagent pitoyeusement, et comme toujours,* ***de thuis blyvende lagchen hun uit****.*
'The melancholy is great, **the homesickness even worse**, in short, this good couple is not enjoying it, they travel pitifully, and as always, **those staying at home laugh at them**.'

(10) *je crois que vous aurez souvent la petitte sur le bras et je suis sur que Henriette* ***er zig niet scheef aan draagen zal*** *car elle me ressemble elle n'aime pas* ***van die kleine gevilde konyntjes****.*
'I believe you will often have the little one on your arm, and I am sure Henriette **will not carry her that much** because it seems to me that she does not like **those little skinned rabbits**.'

(11) *Ik zal maar zeggen zoo als Martine de meid in* ***les femmes savantes "quand on se fait entendre, on parle toujours bien, Et tous les biaux dictons ne servent pas de rien."***
'I will just say like Martine the maid in **The Learned Ladies "when we are understood, we always speak well, and then all your fine diction serves no purpose."'**

(12) *il nous a loue, mais avec menagemend en disant* ***dat is allegaar goed en wel als 't maar niet is dat nieuwe beezems goed veegen****, j'espere que non.*
'He praised us, but with circumspection, saying **that all is well and good as long as it's not that new brooms sweep well**, I hope not.'

(13) *zie hier alles wat ik weet over de doorbraak van het Cannaal te Neeroeteren gecopieerd uit de Maastrichter Courant —* ***Nous apprenons qu'avant hier 16 la digue droite du Zuid Willems Vaart à été Rompue a Neeroeteren Canton de Maeseyck à environ 50 pas au nord du pont*** […]

'See here all that I know about the breakthrough of the Canal at Neeroeteren copied from the Maastricht Courant — **We learn that the day before yesterday the 16th the right dyke of Zuid-Willemsvaart was breached in Neeroeteren, canton of Maaseik, at about 50 paces north of the bridge** […]'

Informed by the actual letter data, the addition of category (iii) referred to as 50/50 proved necessary. It accounts for those cases in which neither of the two languages can be assigned as the sole primary language choice. In practice, such letters may consist of constant alternations between Dutch and French, or longer but more clearly separate parts written in the two languages. Irrespective of its form, these fifty-fifty cases render the identification of only one dominant language impossible, which is why we treat them as a category in its own right (Krogull & Rutten 2025b). Example (14) illustrates a highly hybrid case of the 50/50 category, with numerous switches between Dutch and French, both inter- and intrasentential.

(14) *Je suis donc ici depuis mercredi passé le 17 du courant quand a eu loué mon installation* ***zooals gij begrypt met zeer veel deftigheid en staatsie****. Pour le moment je suis encore logé à Bingerden mais la semaine prochaine je vais prendre mon* ***intrek*** *à l'hôtel "****Het wapen van Bingerden****" où j'ai loué une chambre qui fonctionnera comme salon, salle à diner, chambre à coucher, etc etc.* ***Ik heb my daar besteed voor 25 stuivers per dag behalve vuur en licht. Gij begrypt dus dat daarbij niet veel vet in de pot kan komen en ik wel mager zal worden. In het voorjaar denk ik een kasteel te bouwen echter niet om er mijn intrek te nemen met vrouw en kinders****. Mon depart du Zijp m'a coûté bien de la peine car vous me connaissez le grand faible que j'avais pour cette cherie terre natale mais je comprenais qu'on m'en chasserait pourtant tôt ou tard et mieux vaut partir libre que d'être chassé.* ***Ik zal dus nu maar moeten zien*** *tant bien que mal* ***myn eigen huishouden op te rigten****. Au Zyp pour le reste* ***blijft alles bij het oude****:* […]
'I have been here since last Wednesday the 17th, when I rented my residence, **as you understand with very much pomp and splendour**. For the moment I am still staying in Bingerden but next week I will take my **residence** in hotel **"The Arms of Bingerden"** where I have rented a room that will function as living room, dining room, bedroom, etc. etc. **I have taken up residence there for 25 stuivers, excluding fire and light. You understand that I will not save a lot of money and I will become skinny. In spring I think I will build a castle, but not to live there with my wife and children.** My departure from Zijp cost me a lot of pain because you know the great weakness I had for this dear home land, but I understand that I would be chased away from it sooner or later and it is better to leave freely than to be chased away. **I will thus have to see now that I set up my own household** as best I can. At Zijp, for the rest, **everything stays the same**: […]'

We emphasise that this chapter specifically examines Dutch-French language choice in private correspondence, which is why our five categories are limited to Dutch and French in different constellations and proportions. We do not at all deny the presence of other languages in ego-documents and the families' linguistic repertoires, such as Latin, German, or English (see Chapter 4). However, these languages cannot be assumed to be linguistic resources available to the urban elite at large, including both men and women from different regions in the northern Low Countries — unlike Dutch and French, which were widely available resources among the sociodemographic group under investigation. In this chapter, we therefore concentrate on the relationship between Dutch and/or French in order to assess the factors determining language choice when 'knowledge of more than one language makes choice possible' (Offord 2020: 14).

5.2.4 Selecting letter data

For a representative selection of private family letters, a well-defined set of criteria was needed at three levels: families, writers, and sender–addressee relationships. As archival data at all these levels tends to be distributed unevenly, the main task was to establish a solid balance in our dataset, both within and across family archives.

First of all, at the level of families, Dutch family archives from the Early and Late Modern period can vary greatly in scope, ranging from copious amounts of letters to more fragmentarily preserved collections. We therefore defined a maximum of forty letters per family, for which we drew on the entirety of collected and inventoried letters from each family database. Secondly, at the level of individual writers, it is very often the case that a few central figures, typically male family members, are overrepresented in the preserved correspondence (also due to biased preservation policies of archives, see Ruberg 2011: 70). Letters produced by family members of lesser historical importance can be comparatively scarce, though. Whenever possible, we included at least five different writers from a family, ideally balanced across genders and generations. Thirdly, at the level of sender–addressee relationships, one often notices great differences in scope between very prolific, letter-heavy relationships and more occasional correspondence. We therefore defined a maximum of four different addressees per sender, as well as a maximum of three letters per sender to the same addressee. This means that the final dataset contains no more than twelve texts by the same writer.

5.2.5 Representing language choice

We seek to represent language choice(s) of individual language writers, or senders, in their unique relationship with one or more family members, i.e., not at the level of the individual writer *per se* with someone's outgoing family letters in their entirety. This empirical assessment of language choice in private correspondence recalls Fishman's (1965:76) emphasis on role-relations within families, who noted that 'interacting members of a family [...] are *hearers* as well as *speakers* (i.e., that there may be a distinction between multilingual *comprehension* and multilingual *production*)', and that 'their language behaviour may be more than merely a matter of individual preference or facility but also a matter of *role-relations*'. In our framework, we refer to these role-relations in letter writing as sender–addressee relationships. In the following we give simplified examples to illustrate our selection procedure, distinguishing three types of language choice constellations (of the five categories presented above) within these sender-addressee units.

If the same linguistic category occurs in all (inventoried) letters within the same sender–addressee relationship, e.g. all are written in Dutch, then three letters of that category are selected to represent the language choice in the sender–addressee relationship. For instance, in the archives of the Frisian elite family Beucker Andreae from Leeuwarden, we found eight letters by the (young) Johan Henrik written to his sister Henriëtte Taetske Margeretha, all of which are in Dutch, i.e., category (i). We thus selected three of these Dutch letters to represent the language choice in the relationship between brother (sender) and sister (addressee).

If two different linguistic categories occur in the (inventoried) letters, but with different proportions, then two letters from the dominant category and one letter from the second category are selected to represent language choice in this sender–addressee relationship. For example, in the archives of the Van Haersolte family from Zwolle, we found seven letters written by Sophia Cornelia to her father Johan Christiaan in the mid-1800s: five in Dutch and two in French. Accordingly, we selected two texts from the dominant category and one more from the second category.

In cases with three different linguistic categories in the correspondence within a sender–addressee relationship, we selected one letter for each of these categories, irrespective of their exact proportions. Taking an example from the archives of the Schorer family from Middelburg, we inventoried twelve letters by Jacoba Elisabeth Schorer addressed to her brother Johan Cornelis. Seven texts are in Dutch, four in French, and one is a 50/50 case. We thus selected one text for each linguistic category.

There are two exceptions to our three types of selection. If an equal number of texts from different linguistic categories is encountered, then only two (instead of three) letters, one for each category, are selected to represent language choice in this sender–addressee relationship. The archives of the Haarlem Kops family provide such an example. Six letters by Elisabeth Jacoba de Bruyn Kops to her brother Cornelius Joannes are kept in the archives, three of which are in Dutch and another three are in French. Thus, one letter was selected from each category.

If more than three different linguistic categories are found within the same sender–addressee relationship (i.e., four or five), then each category is represented by one letter, irrespective of its exact proportion. However, the maximum number of letters per individual writer always remains at twelve. An example comes from the banking family Van Lanschot from Den Bosch. We inventoried 18 letters written by Jacoba Catharina Maria van Rijckevorsel to her daughter Theodora Maria van Lanschot in the 1810s/1820s, comprising four different categories: eight in Dutch, seven in French, two in Dutch/French and one in French/Dutch. From each category we selected one letter to represent language in the relationship between mother (sender) and daughter (addressee). At this stage, the selection of letters from the same linguistic category and within the same sender–addressee relationship was relatively random. However, texts with more metadata, such as the date and place of writing, were usually preferred. The legibility of handwriting and material condition of documents were also considered.

5.2.6 Final dataset

In Table 1 we provide an overview of our final dataset used for the quantitative analyses in this chapter, that is, the private family letters that were selected based on the criteria described above. The entire dataset, spanning the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, comprises family correspondence drawn from 56 families, or rather family archives. We should note that in some cases the same family provides data for more than one century, although we count them here as separate families for the respective periods. The turn of a century functions as a clear demarcation in our methodology. To give an example, we included the Arnhem-based Van Eck family both as an eighteenth-century family (with letters from the period 1700–1799), and as a nineteenth-century family (with letters from 1800–1899).

Our dataset contains texts from 566 individual writers, and they represent 819 unique sender–addressee relationships. In total, we selected 1,827 letters. In our analysis, a *letter* needs to be understood as a written message within one single sender–addressee relationship, even though the same letter (as in archival docu-

ment) may contain messages from and/or to various family members, written in different hands, which we inventoried and count as different letters.

Table 5.1 Final dataset of private family correspondence

	N families (%)	N individual writers (%)	N sender–addressee (%)	N selected letters (%)
1600–1699	7 (12.5)	50 (8.8)	72 (8.8)	140 (7.7)
1700–1799	13 (23.2)	145 (25.6)	184 (22.5)	358 (19.6)
1800–1899	36 (64.3)	371 (65.5)	563 (68.7)	1,329 (72.7)
Total	**56 (100%)**	**566 (100%)**	**819 (100%)**	**1,827 (100%)**

Diachronically, this dataset displays a certain level of imbalance. As shown in Table 5.1, it contains considerably more families, writers, sender–addressee relationships and letters from the nineteenth century than from the eighteenth and particularly the seventeenth centuries. Roughly speaking, nineteenth-century texts represent two-thirds of the data, which has to be taken into account when interpreting quantitative results based on the entire dataset. This imbalance naturally reflects the archival situation, in which data from the private domain tends to get scarcer and patchier the further we go back in time. This certainly holds true when looking for relatively coherent family archives containing letters written by and addressed to various relatives, rather than more or less decontextualised letters from individual writers. It is for this reason that we decided against the inclusion of the sixteenth century here, since we could not guarantee a satisfactory representation of sixteenth-century families, let alone regions and genders. However, for the nineteenth century, and to a somewhat lesser extent the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries, we made every effort to arrive at a balanced dataset in terms of regions, genders, and generations.

5.3 Quantitative analysis and results

We now present the results of our quantitative analysis of language choice across a number of external variables. Rather than mentioning the exact percentages of all five linguistic categories individually (which are given in tables and/or figures), we apply two basic ways of bundling categories. When focusing on the distribution of Dutch versus French (as the primary language choice for letter writing), we opt to bundle categories (i) and (ii) in order to refer to Dutch as the main language, and categories (iv) and (v) for French as the main language (unless explicitly mentioned otherwise). To a lesser extent, when concentrating on mono-

versus multilingual choices, we may distinguish between the two monolingual categories (i) and (v) on the one hand, and on the other the three combined multilingual categories (ii), (iii) and (iv), which share more extensive stretches of other-language items compared to categories (i) and (ii).

5.3.1 Language choice across time

Table 5.2 displays the distribution of language choice categories in the entire dataset and per century. Overall, we can witness a clear prevalence of Dutch as the main language choice in private correspondence across all three centuries. In 71% of all cases, family letters are written in predominantly monolingual Dutch, as opposed to 22% in monolingual French. Categories (i) Dutch and (ii) Dutch/French together, i.e., with Dutch as the main language, make up 73%, while categories (iv) French/Dutch and (v) French together, i.e., French as the main language, are 25%. The three mixed-language categories (ii), (iii) and (iv) combined constitute 8% of the dataset. Although this might be a relatively minor part, it still comprises, in absolute terms, 138 multilingual texts with Dutch alongside French (or vice versa) in our selection alone.

Table 5.2 Language choice in private correspondence across time (centuries)

	Dutch		Du/Fr		50/50		Fr/Du		French		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
1600–1699	104	74.3	2	1.4	2	1.4	5	3.6	27	19.3	140
1700–1799	228	63.7	5	1.4	0	0.0	13	3.6	112	31.3	358
1800–1899	957	72.0	45	3.4	22	1.7	44	3.3	261	19.6	1,329
Total	**1,289**	**70.6**	**52**	**2.8**	**24**	**1.3**	**62**	**3.4**	**400**	**21.9**	**1,827**

From a diachronic perspective, some interesting developments can be observed with respect to the choice of languages in family correspondence. For a more fine-grained view, we also take into account periods of fifty years, as shown in Figure 5.1. We should note here that the absolute numbers of these 50-year periods sometimes diverge from those of the entire centuries, as undated letters could not always be assigned to specific years or decades, but still to the century in question, for instance based on biographical data or contextual evidence.

In the seventeenth century, admittedly based on a smaller dataset with some limitations (e.g., regional imbalance), Dutch as the main language dominates at 76%, against 23% of the letters with French as the main language. In the first half of the seventeenth century, monolingual French is (perhaps surprisingly) a more

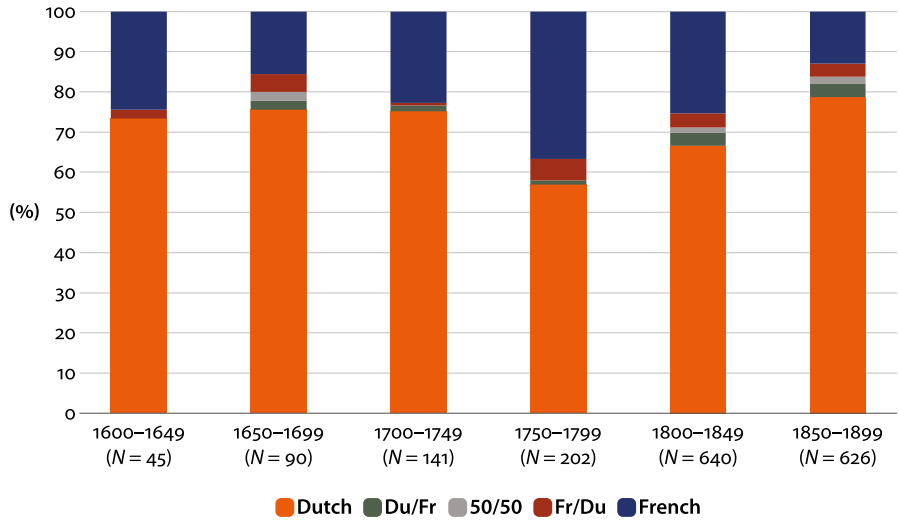


Figure 5.1 Language choice in private correspondence across time (50-year periods)

prominent language choice than in the second half (16%), which might be an effect of the patchy dataset for the earliest fifty years. It could also be interpreted by a higher proportion of multilingual letters (which still include French to varying degrees), since the share of monolingual Dutch is generally very stable from 1600 through to 1750.

Very much in line with traditional claims about the heyday of French influence in the northern Low Countries, the eighteenth century then witnesses the rise of French as a more prevalent language choice in private correspondence, increasing from 23% in the previous century to 35%. The 1750–1799 period marks an important turning point. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the share of French as the main language increases from 23% to 42%. The share of Dutch as the main language, in turn, decreases from 77% (1700–1749) to 58% (1750–1799). This confirms the results from our investigation of ego-documents (excluding letters) in Chapter 4.

In the nineteenth century, the relative peak of French as a widespread language choice in private correspondence is over. Its share as the main language drops to 29% in the first half of the century, and then even further to 16% in the second half. At the same time, Dutch gradually gains ground again to 70% (1800–1849) and 82% (1850–1899), suggesting a broader shift from frenchification to dutchification around 1800 associated with the rise of nationalist language planning in the northern Low Countries (Rutten 2019).

It is possible to take another, slightly different angle on the distribution of linguistic categories, concentrating on monolingual versus multilingual choices, i.e.,

categories (i) and (v) combined versus categories (ii), (iii) and (iv) combined. The overall results show that the distribution across all centuries and 50-year periods is always approximately 90% monolingual versus 10% multilingual, albeit with some fluctuations (see also Krogull & Rutten 2025b). Despite diachronic changes in the distribution of monolingual Dutch and monolingual French, the variable time does not seem to affect the use of multilingual letters, which are constantly below 10%.

5.3.2 Language choice across space

Space is a relevant factor in language histories, even in a relatively compact language area like the northern Low Countries (e.g. Van de Voorde et al. 2023). As suggested by the quantitative findings from historical pamphlets and ego-documents in Chapter 4, this seems to hold true when studying Dutch and/or French language choice in the Early and Late Modern period.

We first discuss the main results for all twelve Dutch cities under investigation (in alphabetical order): Amsterdam, Arnhem, Den Bosch, Groningen, Haarlem, Leeuwarden, Leiden, Maastricht, Middelburg, The Hague, Utrecht, and Zwolle. For this analysis, we consider the entire period of three centuries. There is some imbalance in the size of our dataset, especially with regard to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century family archives, and a certain overrepresentation of the nineteenth century. However, for each city a minimum of 100 letters was reached, and none of the cities exceeds a maximum of 200, which comes down to an average of around 150 letters per city.

Table 5.3 shows large differences among the twelve cities. However, based on language choice, we can identify three clusters of cities. A first cluster comprises those cities in which Dutch clearly dominates as the prime language choice, occurring in at least 80 and up to 90%. The respective cities are Groningen, Leeuwarden (both in the north), Leiden, Middelburg, and Utrecht. A second cluster groups the cities of Arnhem, Haarlem, Maastricht, and The Hague, where both Dutch and French can be considered important language choices, at roughly 50–60% Dutch against 40–50% French. In Haarlem, both languages are almost equally present in the selected family archives. The remaining cities, comprising Amsterdam, Den Bosch, and Zwolle, form a third cluster, in which Dutch prevails at over 70%, although French is a second language choice with a share of around 25%. With the exception of the two northernmost cities of Groningen and Leeuwarden, the distribution of language choice across cities does not disclose any crystal-clear regional patterns, though. At this point, we should note that the linguistic preferences of individual families might have an effect on the results at the city level.

Table 5.3 Language choice in private correspondence across space (cities)

	Dutch (%)	Du/Fr (%)	50/50 (%)	Fr/Du (%)	French (%)
Amsterdam (*N* = 174)	71.3	2.9	1.1	6.3	18.4
Arnhem (*N* = 162)	58.0	3.1	1.9	6.2	30.9
Den Bosch (*N* = 142)	70.4	2.8	1.4	2.8	22.5
Groningen (*N* = 120)	89.2	0.8	–	–	10.0
Haarlem (*N* = 112)	44.6	3.6	–	4.5	47.3
Leeuwarden (*N* = 128)	81.3	3.1	3.9	1.6	10.2
Leiden (*N* = 193)	80.3	3.6	0.5	4.1	11.4
Maastricht (*N* = 109)	57.8	1.8	–	0.9	39.4
Middelburg (*N* = 148)	87.8	2.0	1.4	2.7	6.1
The Hague (*N* = 173)	49.7	5.8	2.9	4.0	37.6
Utrecht (*N* = 169)	81.1	2.4	0.6	1.8	14.2
Zwolle (*N* = 197)	70.6	1.5	1.5	3.6	22.8

For the spatial analysis of language choice, we then regrouped the twelve cities under investigation into four larger regions: 'North', 'West', 'Central/East', and 'South'. 'North' comprises the two northernmost urban centres of the northern Low Countries, i.e., the cities of Leeuwarden and Groningen. 'West' represents the urbanised Holland area, i.e., the cities of Amsterdam and Haarlem in the northern part of Holland, as well as Leiden and The Hague in the southern part. 'Central/East' covers the geographically central city of Utrecht and the (central-)eastern cities of Arnhem and Zwolle. 'South' refers the capitals of the three southernmost provinces, i.e. the cities of Middelburg, Den Bosch and Maastricht.

When regrouping individual cities into four larger regional categories, the variable of space reveals clearer patterns, as shown in Figure 5.2. The North displays by far the highest share of Dutch at more than 85%, leaving French in a comparatively marginal position of around 10%. This confirms our findings presented in Chapter 4. The Holland area in the West, in contrast, has the lowest percentage of Dutch as the main language, whereas the two dominantly French categories combined represent more than 30%. Table 5.3, however, reveals that there are clear differences within Holland, i.e., between the four western cities. While French is a fairly prominent language choice in Haarlem and also in The Hague, it occurs much less in family letters from Leiden (see also Ruberg 2011: 70).

The Central/East and the South both take a middle position between the strongly Dutch North and the most multilingual West with a firm position of

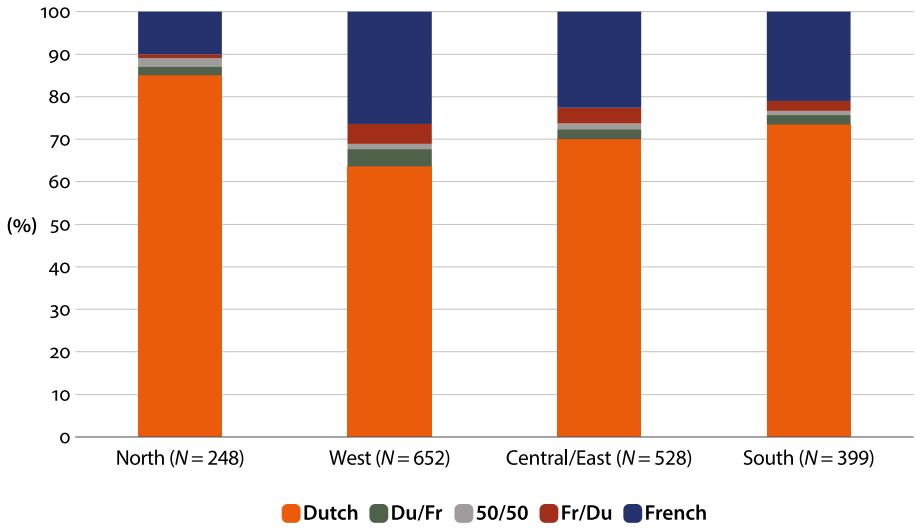


Figure 5.2 Language choice in private correspondence across space (regions)

French alongside Dutch. For the South, a share of French of around 20% may be considered surprisingly low, given its relative proximity to the Germanic-Romance language border and thus to the French language area. However, this result can be explained by the considerable variation across the three southern cities, as shown in Table 5.3. Although French is indeed a relatively common language choice among (some) elite families from Maastricht (see also Kessels-van der Heijde 2002), it is not so common in Den Bosch, and even less so in Middelburg in the coastal Southwest.

When it comes to language choices other than monolingual Dutch or French, our results suggest that these are spread across all four regions. In other words, code-switching and multilingual practices appear to be supraregional, or even national (in the nineteenth-century context of the nation-state), rather than a region-specific phenomenon (Krogull & Rutten 2025b). However, non-monolingual choices are most common in family letters from the western Holland area, where they represent 10% in total.

5.3.3 Language choice across gender

We now turn to the sociolinguistic variable of gender, by which we mean the gender of the writer. To begin with, our results displayed in Table 5.4 do not signal any major differences between male and female informants. In the entire dataset, men opt for Dutch as the main language (i.e., including Dutch with switches to French) in 75% of cases, as opposed to French as the main language (i.e., including

French with switches to Dutch) in 24%. For women, Dutch is the primary choice in 71%, French in 28%, i.e., only slightly more than in men's letters. These findings do not strongly confirm traditional assumptions about French being a language used more often by women (Ruberg 2011: 70; van Strien-Chardonneau 2018: 76).

Table 5.4 Language choice in private correspondence across gender and time

	Dutch (%)	Du/Fr (%)	50/50 (%)	Fr/Du (%)	French (%)
Male (*N*=1,122)	71.4	3.6	1.4	3.9	20.6
C17	72.1	1.9	1.0	2.9	22.1
C18	65.1	1.7	–	4.3	28.9
C19	73.2	4.3	1.9	2.7	17.9
Female (*N*=695)	69.1	1.7	1.2	4.0	24.0
C17	80.6	–	2.8	5.6	11.1
C18	60.0	0.8	–	2.5	36.7
C19	70.3	2.0	1.3	4.3	22.1

Nonetheless, these tentative gender differences become more pronounced when taking a diachronic view, and particularly with respect to French as a language choice for women. In the seventeenth century, French was still a marginal choice for women (only 11% and combined with 'Fr/Du' adding up to 17%). However, this changed quite drastically in the eighteenth century, when the share of French as the main language more than doubles to almost 40%.

Men's linguistic choices in family correspondence are generally more stable over time, although a peak of French can be witnessed in the eighteenth century, too (with one-third of men's letters having French as the main language). In line with the overall results, French gradually loses ground in the nineteenth century among both genders. In other words, the diachronic developments in Dutch-French language choice hold true for both men and women. There is a higher degree of stability among male writers, though, and a more marked peak of French among their female contemporaries. This echoes the gender pattern found in the Dutch inventory of ego-documents (see Chapter 4).

The interactive nature of private family correspondence, representing written communication between a sender (or multiple senders) and an addressee (or multiple addressees), allows us to delve deeper into gender-related patterns. This important aspect could not be examined based on the previously compiled Dutch inventory of ego-documents, which excluded letters (see Chapter 4). With our dataset of private family correspondence, we are able to shed new light on gender constellations. Figure 5.3 displays the distribution of language choice

across gender constellations in the entire dataset, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

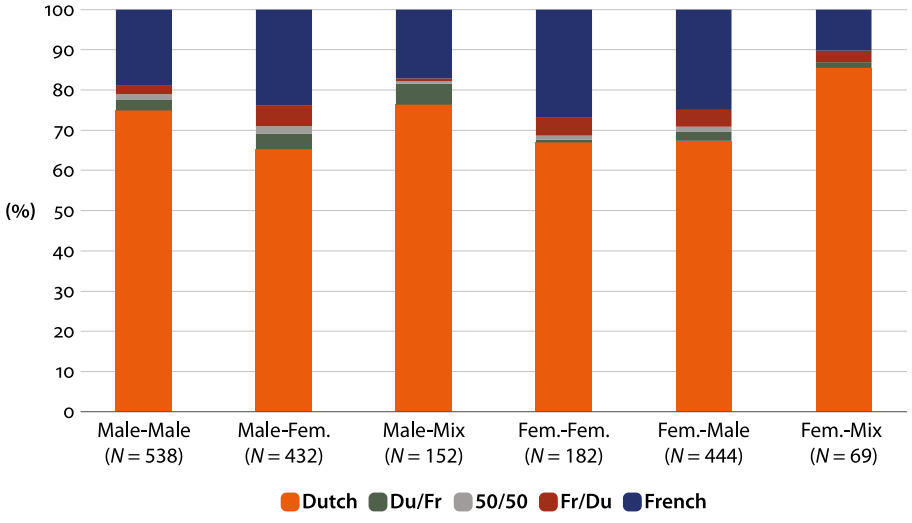


Figure 5.3 Language choice in private correspondence across gender constellations

The distribution of linguistic choices clearly differs between male-to-male correspondence and the gender constellations involving women, either as senders or as addressees. In private correspondence among male informants, Dutch as the main language prevails at 78%, against 21% French as the main language. In contrast, the share of French is considerably higher in letters written by female senders and sent to female addressees (31%), by female senders to male addressees, and also by male senders to female addressees (both 29%). This suggests that the gender of both senders and addressees has an effect on the language choice in favour of Dutch or French. More specifically, we can conclude that French is more frequently chosen when a woman is part of the communicative setting of private letter writing, either as the sender or as the addressee. In other words, rather than pronounced gender differences *per se*, which our results do not indicate, we observe that language choices diverge at the level of gender constellations (see also Ruberg 2011: 70). This is an important nuance made possible by a solid empirical basis.

Letters to 'mixed' addressees, for instance to both parents or to a sibling and their spouse, deserve special attention. For senders of both genders, but particularly for female writers, we find a much higher share of Dutch as the main language (87%) when writing to mixed-gender addressees than when addressing only women or only men (both below 70%). For male writers, Dutch is also by far the

preferred choice for mixed-gender addressees (82%), which is even higher than in male-to-male letters. When zooming in on the crucial eighteenth century, only one out of 45 letters sent to mixed genders (both by men and women) is *not* written in Dutch. This seems remarkable given that French as a language choice for family correspondence was as its relative peak in the eighteenth century. Possibly, letter writers took into consideration the different linguistic repertoires, or varying levels of proficiency, of their addressees. A more general explanation might be that in these cases, Dutch was perceived as the most neutral (and most widespread) option when addressing multiple family members of mixed genders, even during the heyday of French influence among the eighteenth-century social elite.

5.3.4 Language choice across familial relationships

Another social factor that seems relevant for language choice in the private domain is that of familial relationships. Like gender constellations, this variable draws on the sender–addressee units incorporated into our methodological framework. Figure 5.4 displays the distribution of language choice in four primary role relationships within the close family: between children and parents (and vice versa), between siblings, and between spouses.

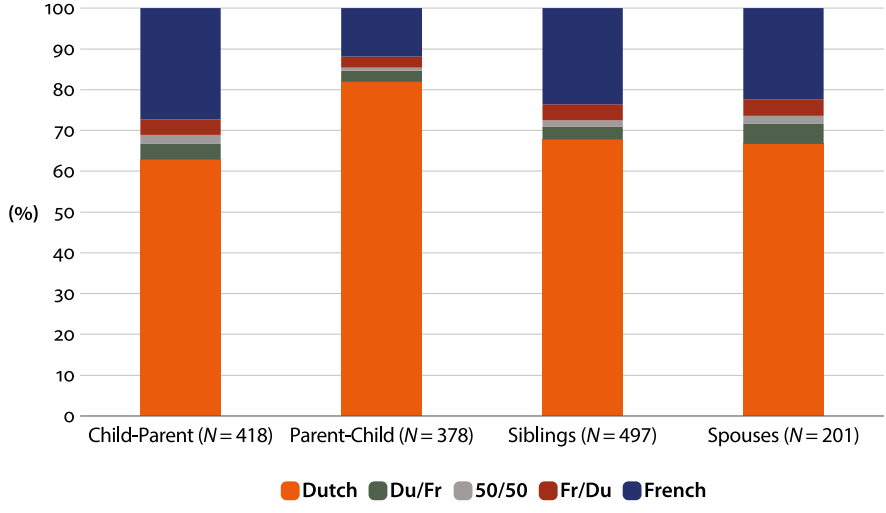


Figure 5.4 Language choice in private correspondence across familial relationships

Three of these role-relations (viz. children to parents, siblings, and spouses) show a fairly similar pattern, with roughly two-thirds having Dutch as the main language and one-third having French as the main language. The familial relationship that deviates considerably from the rest is that represented in letters writ-

ten by parents to their children. In parent-to-child correspondence, the share of Dutch as the main language predominates at over 85%, which is considerably higher than in the other three role relationships. It also implies that language choice preferences by parents differ greatly from choice preferences by their children. For them, Dutch is the main language in 67% of cases.

It should be mentioned at this point that we did not take into account the additional sociolinguistic factor of age in our analysis of role-relations within the family. This means that a letter writer in the role of child may be a 10-year old writing to their mother, father, or both, but could equally be someone in their thirties or forties (still in the role of child) writing to their parents at a more advanced age. These intergenerational differences therefore cannot (exclusively) be explained by children's French letter-writing as an educational practice (Ruberg 2011: 71–72, 120). Possibly they might be explained by the hierarchical role relations among the two, irrespective of age: children writing 'upwards' to their parents, which might have triggered the choice in favour of French as a marker of social prestige. However, as noted above, the real deviation from the general pattern is observed in letters from parents to their children, and not so much from children to their parents.

Diachronically, it appears that the respective language choices between parents and children are fairly similar in the eighteenth century (Dutch 61% vs 67%, and French 39% vs 33%, respectively). In the nineteenth century, then, the share of Dutch as the main language increases to 85% in parent-to-child letters, with French dropping to 14%, whereas the distribution stays relatively stable in child-to-parent letters. One possible explanation might be that intergenerational differences indeed have to do with educational practices, although no longer related to French. In the nineteenth-century spirit of Dutch linguistic nationalism (Rutten 2019), it could have been an educational practice to stimulate and advance the younger generation's writing skills in the national language, i.e., Dutch.

In Table 5.5, we combine familial relationships between children and parents with gender constellations. The results largely confirm the generational and/or hierarchical differences for each of these role relations, in that Dutch (as the main language) is a far more prominent choice by fathers writing to their son or daughter, and mothers writing to their son or daughter, than sons writing to their father or mother, or daughters writing to their father or mother. These differences are slightly more pronounced among male writers, but they can be observed across the board.

The familial role patterns related to gender constellations are further supported when zooming in on private correspondence between siblings, as shown in Table 5.6. In the entire dataset, 83% of all brother-to-brother letters have Dutch as their main language. For brothers writing to their sisters this is only 63%. When a female sibling is part of the communicative setting, the share of French is con-

Table 5.5 Language choice in private correspondence among parents and children

	Dutch (%)	Du/Fr (%)	50/50 (%)	Fr/Du (%)	French (%)
Child–parent:					
Son–father	64.0	3.2	2.4	1.6	28.8
Son–mother	59.3	4.4	3.5	8.8	23.9
Son–both	63.3	6.0	1.2	1.2	27.7
Daughter–father	65.9	2.3	–	–	31.8
Daughter–mother	61.1	–	2.8	5.6	30.6
Daughter–both	73.3	6.7	–	6.7	13.3
Parent–child:					
Father–son	83.9	2.1	1.4	2.1	10.5
Father–daughter	89.5	2.6	–	–	7.9
Father–both	87.0	8.7	–	–	4.3
Mother–son	76.9	2.6	0.9	4.3	15.4
Mother–daughter	78.0	2.4	–	4.9	14.6
Mother–both	87.5	–	–	–	12.5

Table 5.6 Language choice in private correspondence among siblings and spouses

	Dutch (%)	Du/Fr (%)	50/50 (%)	Fr/Du (%)	French (%)
Siblings:					
Brother–brother	78.3	4.4	1.1	1.7	14.4
Brother–sister	61.1	1.9	1.9	3.7	31.5
Brother–both	92.9	7.1	–	–	–
Sister–brother	57.4	2.8	2.1	7.1	30.5
Sister–sister	59.0	–	2.6	7.7	30.8
Sister–both	92.3	–	–	–	7.7
Spouses:					
Husband–wife	63.2	6.8	1.7	5.1	23.1
Wife–husband	71.4	2.4	2.4	2.4	21.4

siderably higher. Of the private correspondence between sisters, 39% is written in French or primarily in French; for letters from sisters to their brothers the percentage is nearly as high.

As observed earlier, Dutch is by far the dominant language choice when addressing multiple family members of mixed genders. This is particularly noticeable in letters written to both brothers and sisters, at more than 90% for both male and female writers, whereas French plays hardly any role. In most cases mixed-gender siblings as addressees refer to someone's brother and sister-in-law, or someone's sister and brother-in-law. These addressees are thus partly family, and partly family by marriage, involving also addressees from outside the most intimate family circle. This seems to discourage letter writers to opt for French as a language choice.

Language choice in correspondence between spouses, interestingly, does not show major gender effects, which can also be seen in Table 5.6. Overall, women, in the role of wife, are even slightly more likely to use Dutch as the main language (74%) rather than French when writing to their husband, compared to male letter writers, in the role of husband, writing a letter to their wife (70%).

5.4 Discussion

In this chapter, we have focused on language choice in the private domain, and more specifically on Dutch and/or French in family correspondence in the Early and Late Modern period. Inspired and informed by Fishman's seminal work on language choice, centred around his famous question 'Who speaks what language to whom and when?', we aimed to gain new insights into the social and sociolinguistic dynamics behind Dutch-French language choice. In other words, we wanted to examine which groups of letter writers used Dutch, French, or both, to which family members, and when, under what circumstances.

For this purpose, we compiled a substantial dataset of private family letters, comprising handwritten texts from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries and from cities across the northern Low Countries. In order to avoid a simplified binary distinction between (monolingual) Dutch and (monolingual) French, our methodological framework incorporated a more fine-grained distinction of five linguistic categories, also accounting for three multilingual categories, which we presented as a continuum of choices.

In general terms, Dutch is the prevalent language choice in letter writing throughout the period under investigation, echoing our findings presented in Chapter 4, which were based on large inventories of texts from both the public and private domains. Depending on the interpretative angle, the use of French as the main language choice, occurring in a quarter of all letters, is not overly dominant, but is certainly not a marginal phenomenon either. The three multilingual categories together constitute less than 10%, which, however, does not mean that

they should be dismissed as irrelevant in the wider context of historical multilingualism.

The *when* in Fishman's question refers to the domain, or communicative setting in which a certain language is chosen, here the private domain, and more specifically the family domain, represented by private letters written among family members. This factor is stable across the dataset (see, however, Chapter 6 for an analysis of business correspondence in family archives). However, *when* could also be interpreted as the diachronic dimension, incorporated into our dataset in the form of three consecutive centuries and six 50-year periods, respectively. Diachronically, a relative peak of French could be observed in the eighteenth century, most notably in the second half, confirming traditional claims about the heyday of frenchification in the 1700s, before losing ground to the national language Dutch from the early 1800s onwards.

Who and *to whom*, then, deal with the sociolinguistic parameters of letters writers, or groups of letter writers, also in relation to those of their addressees. One social layer of *who* was kept stable in this study, namely the sociodemographic profile of informants. The families included in our dataset belonged to the contemporary urban elites, representing the layers of Early and Late Modern Dutch society most widely associated with the use of French (alongside Dutch). However, *who* in our study also refers to the gender of letters writers. The results across gender, at first glance, did not reveal any major differences in terms of language choice, despite traditional assumptions about French being a women's language. From a diachronic perspective, though, this might have been the case, at least to some extent, as eighteenth-century female writers did indeed choose French more often than their male contemporaries.

In the genre under investigation, the question *to whom* appeared highly relevant, too, as private letters involve both senders and addressees, allowing us to gain insight into language choice across different gender constellations and familial relationships. As for gender constellations, it turned out that French was more frequently chosen when a woman was part of the communicative setting, either as sender or addressee, which adds an important nuance to the gender dimension associated with the use of French. Another striking finding at the level of *to whom* relates to family letters sent to multiple addressees of mixed genders, in which case Dutch was by far the most prevalent language, suggesting that Dutch might have been perceived and deployed as the more neutral choice. As for familial relationships, the distribution of language choice was fairly similar in three of the four role-relations under scrutiny. The 'odd one out' appeared to be correspondence by parents written to their children, which deviated from the rest, including correspondence by children to their parents, in the sense that Dutch

appeared to be relatively dominant in parent-to-child letters, considerably more so than in child-to-parent letters.

We also incorporated a spatial dimension, which means that a *where* could be added to Fishman's original question. In the northern parts of the Netherlands, comprising the cities of Groningen and Leeuwarden, a strong dominance of Dutch was witnessed. French, in contrast, was a relatively prevalent choice, alongside Dutch, in the urbanised Holland area, most notably in the cities of Haarlem and The Hague. Historically, French also held an important role in the southeastern city of Maastricht, which was confirmed by our results. We could not generalise this tendency to the entire South, though, as the three southern provinces displayed considerable differences in terms of language choice. Families from Middelburg were mostly Dutch-oriented, as opposed to relatively more French-oriented Maastricht. Overall, clear differences across individual families were observed, even in the same period and city, and even in a city like Maastricht, which had an effect on the spatial variables of cities and regions. This also emphasises the need of a sizeable dataset, with texts representing many different families, in order to both account for and counterbalance inter-familial preferences.

While a large-scale dataset enabled us to observe patterns and trends, and sketch tentative profiles of which letter writers used what language(s) to whom, when, and where, we could not answer all sociolinguistic questions related to Dutch-French language choice. The variable of age, first and foremost, was not systematically incorporated into our dataset design, particularly when selecting letters. It is nonetheless likely that age-related factors can at least partly explain the noticeable language choice differences between parent-to-child and child-to-parent correspondence, and therefore deserve more attention in follow-up studies. Aspects of mobility and migration, especially during the lifespan of individual letters writers, also proved more challenging to operationalise as external variables for the entire dataset. The same holds true for individual stances, personal states of mind, and political preferences, all of which might as well impact on language choice (e.g. Ruberg 2011: 69–70, van Strien-Chardonneau 2018: 77–81, Krogull, Puttaert & Rutten 2023b: 328–331). Finally, more functional constraints, such as different levels of linguistic proficiency and access to multilingual resources, were not considered in our quantitative-oriented framework. However, to a certain extent, these points will be addressed in Chapters 6 and 7, when allowing for a more qualitative, microscopic angle on language choice, in addition to the macro-level analyses presented in Chapters 4 and 5.

CHAPTER 6

Language choice in business correspondence

6.1 Introduction

This chapter builds upon the analysis of language choice across social domains (Chapter 4), and more specifically in letter writing (Chapter 5), but moves away from the private domain and into the business domain. The general aim is to assess language choice in business correspondence in the northern Low Countries, concentrating particularly on the choice between Dutch and/or French, but also other languages. The present chapter should therefore be seen as a continuation of Chapters 4 and particularly 5, not only due to similar research objectives with regard to language choice, but also in terms of data and methodology. We once again draw on the wealth of archival sources kept in Dutch family archives. For this chapter, we revisited a selection of family archives that have also been included in our comprehensive dataset of private correspondence examined in Chapter 5, turning our attention to the business letters preserved in their archives. This enables us to compare the distribution of language choice in letter writing across two social domains, viz. private and business.

Text sources from the business domain, including business correspondence, have been utilised for historical-sociolinguistic research on various occasions. Although letter data from the private domain, written among family and friends, are typically preferred over business letters, the latter have been used to study patterns of language variation and change (e.g. van der Wal & Rutten 2024), but also aspects of language contact and multilingualism (e.g. Conde-Silvestre 2021, Rutten & Vosters 2023, Thomas 2024). Several publications focus on linguistic practices and choices in mercantile and trade networks, such as the case studies presented in Wagner, Beinhoff & Outhwaite (2017), Auer & Brown (2024), and Meluzzi (2023).

Defining *business correspondence* or *business letters* in terms of a genre in historical sociolinguistics is challenging, and it partly overlaps with related terms such as *commercial correspondence* or *official correspondence*. Official correspondence is sometimes regarded as a wider category than business correspondence (Dossena & Fitzmaurice 2006). According to Dossena (2010: 295), official letters may refer to 'letters addressed to government officials, ambassadors or other sub-

jects with a role at Court'. Business correspondence as a genre in its own right is far from homogeneous, though. These letters can have different communicative purposes, 'from introducing a product to a prospective buyer, conducting a financial transaction, or providing an official report of events', and they differ depending on the identity and status of both senders and addressees (Dossena & Fitzmaurice 2006: 6). Thomas (2024: 178–179) highlights the 'focus on their professional roles and goals of the interlocutors' in official and business correspondence, as well as 'more defined power imbalances between author and recipient'.

In this chapter, we are first and foremost interested in the phenomenon of language choice in the business domain, but also in a comparison with language choice in private correspondence (Chapter 5). Business correspondence, or more broadly categorised as official correspondence, has often been characterised as 'public, formal, conventional, and transactional in nature' (Dossena & Fitzmaurice 2006: 8), and a 'rigid genre, full of formulaic discourse dictated by the topic and the power relationship between interlocutors' (Thomas 2024: 178). At least some of these characteristics set business letters apart from the personal family letters, which are more private than public, and tend to be more informal than highly formal. It should be added that in business and official correspondence, personal commentary may still be included, although 'it does not constitute the primary reason for writing the letter' (Dossena 2010: 295), unlike in most private family letters. Nonetheless, a clear-cut distinction between business and private letters is generally difficult to establish, as private letters may also contain passages with business-related information (van der Wal & Rutten 2024: 256).

The notion of *public* in the context of business and official correspondence needs some further clarification, too. Many of those documents may not only have been read by their explicit addressees, but also by secretaries, business partners, or other people in the same company, unless these letters were 'obviously confidential' (Dossena 2010: 296). This entails a general 'awareness that a plurality of subjects could be involved at both ends', i.e., both at the sending and the receiving end, which is 'necessarily reflected in a style that can be defined as "public"' (Dossena 2010: 296), or perhaps semi-public.

All these conceptual and terminological complexities aside, we seek to juxtapose language choice in business letters and in private letters at the level of domains (see however Kessels-van der Heijde 2015, who combines business and private letters at the level of the family domain). We apply a relatively broad definition of what we refer to as business correspondence in this chapter, covering various types of primarily (semi-)public rather than private correspondence, exchanged in professional rather than familial contexts. The communicative purposes and situational contexts, however, may range from correspondence among

commercial and business partners, to diplomatic and political circles, situated in more local, national, or international networks.

In Section 6.2, we present the compiled dataset and some methodological considerations. Section 6.3 briefly introduces the families under investigation. The results of our analysis, both in the entire dataset and across individual families, are presented in Section 6.4. Section 6.5 contains the discussion.

6.2 Data and methodology

We concentrate on business correspondence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which is a narrower timespan than in Chapters 4 and 5, but still covers a considerable period in Early and Late Modern Dutch history, in which the use of both Dutch and French has been attested for certain domains. From a practical point of view, it is also the period for which we can draw on a substantial amount of archival data, unlike the seventeenth century, which already proved considerably more challenging when collecting private family letters (see Chapter 5). As regards regional coverage, we aimed to collect letter data from Dutch family archives associated with different cities in the northern Low Countries: Leiden, Amsterdam, Utrecht, Den Bosch. This, again, is a more focused coverage than in the previous two chapters, partly for reasons of feasibility, but also due to the limited availability of suitable family archives with demonstrable links to the business domain. In fact, we had to identify archives that comprise both private family letters and business correspondence. The latter had to be described as such as explicitly as possible in the archival inventories in order to distinguish them from the families' private correspondence. By adopting such a clear distinction between private and business, and by applying a similar methodological approach as in Chapter 5, we can fruitfully compare language choice in letter writing across two different social domains, but within the same families.

After identifying and selecting four families which meet the criteria presented above, members of the project team visited the archives in question to take digital pictures of the business letters. As in our methodological framework presented in Chapter 5, a database was then compiled to inventory the collected business letters and add a set of metadata. However, for the case study in this chapter, we omitted the additional step of making a representative selection of the collected letter data, as was applied to the dataset of private correspondence in Chapter 5. By manually viewing all the available business letters in the four family archives, we ensured a comprehensive or near-comprehensive representation of language choices in our dataset. If, for instance, many letters from the same sender to the

same addressee appeared to be written in the same language, a broad selection of these texts, often kept within the same inventory number, was considered.

Before we discuss the incorporated metadata including the categorisation of language choices, there are a few caveats related to the make-up of the dataset that need to be addressed. First, the letter-writing family members represented in private correspondence may differ from the letter-writing members of the same family used for our analysis of business correspondence. When comparing private and business correspondence from the same family archives, this does not necessarily mean that we are comparing private and business letters from the same individuals. Secondly, there is no balanced representation of gender in business correspondence, which is overly dominated by men, and hardly includes any women. While this is clearly representative of the historical gender imbalance of the business domain, it does affect the comparability between private and business letters. Thirdly, there is a considerable imbalance regarding incoming and outgoing business correspondence, within but also across family archives. However, we would argue that the language choice of incoming letters (i.e., from outside the family) can still give us valuable insights into the (possibly receptive) linguistic repertoires of family members, too.

In a similar vein as in Chapter 5, we compiled a searchable inventory of the digitised but untranscribed business letters collected from the selected family archives. This database contains information on the archives as well as on the individual documents, such as the date and place of writing, and the place of address (if known). The dates were operationalised into temporal parameters, i.e., centuries and fifty-year periods such as 1750–1799 etc. The document-related metadata also contain the assigned language choice, to which we return below. At the level of letter writers and their addressees, we added the names of both senders and addressees, their respective genders, and their associated regions. The incorporated gender variable allows us to examine gender constellations (i.e., male–male, male–female, female–male etc.). The associated regions were turned into a standardised spatial variable, with options such as the *Netherlands* (i.e., northern Low Countries), *France*, and *abroad* (i.e., other than France). However, as the names and identities of professional contacts are typically not found in family trees, and thus considerably more difficult to trace than the identities of relatives, we exclusively relied on the archival descriptions provided to assign those regional categories, without additional inquiries.

With regard to the categorisation of language choice, we largely apply the categories of language choice in private family correspondence to the analysis of business correspondence (see Chapter 5). Again, we considered two predominantly monolingual categories, viz. *Dutch* and *French*. Although these may contain, for instance, loanwords or minor switches into the other language, the letters of these

categories can generally be assigned to one main language and a largely monolingual code choice. Furthermore, we opted for two multilingual categories involving both Dutch and French, each with a different main language, though containing more substantial instances of code-switching into the other language. These categories are, again, referred to as *Dutch/French* (with Dutch as the main language), and *French/Dutch* (with French as the main language).

Two modifications of our categorisation as applied in Chapter 5 were needed to account for the nature of business letters. First of all, it appeared that the 50/50 category is not applicable in our dataset of business correspondence, as the inclusion of two multilingual categories (viz. Dutch/French and French/Dutch) proved sufficiently fine-grained. However, we decided to include the category *Other*, similar to our analyses in Chapter 4, but unlike Chapter 5, where we intentionally concentrated on the relation between Dutch and French. Our main argument for the inclusion of other languages is that business correspondence involves written communication with both national and international relations and networks and is therefore not restricted to the northern Low Countries. We should therefore take into account possible language choices other than Dutch and/or French. For each business letter in our dataset, we manually assigned one language choice from the five categories described above.

Table 6.1 shows the dataset of business correspondence used for this chapter, displaying the distribution of letter data across the four families and 50-year periods.

Table 6.1 Dataset of business correspondence (number of letters)

	De la Court	Calkoen	Van de Mortel	De Beaufort	Total
1700–1749	308	495	–	1	804
1750–1799	270	213	–	140	623
1800–1849	–	–	119	327	446
1850–1899	–	–	5	53	58
Undated	2	–	–	3	5
Total	**580**	**708**	**124**	**524**	**1,936**

The entire dataset comprises a total of 1,936 business letters. As mentioned before, these texts are drawn from four Dutch families, or rather family archives (see Section 6.3 below). The texts in the dataset date from the early eighteenth century to the second half of the nineteenth century, although it is important to note that none of the families under investigation actually span the entire period. The business correspondence from the De la Court and Calkoen families dates

from the eighteenth century, covering both the first and the second half. Business letters taken from the Van de Mortel family archive largely date from the first half of the nineteenth century. The De Beaufort family covers the longest timespan: from the late 1700s to the first half of the nineteenth century, with some additional data from the 1850s to the 1870s.

6.3 Selected families

This section gives a brief introduction to the four families. We concentrate on their social profiles and regional backgrounds, their possible trajectories of migration and mobility, and the type of professional network they are part of, which may range from trade to diplomacy and politics, either more locally or nationally oriented, or more European and international. These family descriptions typically centre around a few prominent family members and their professions, roles or positions. The families under investigation are;

i. the De la Court family from Leiden (eighteenth century),
ii. the Calkoen family from Amsterdam (eighteenth century),
iii. the Van de Mortel and De la Court families from Den Bosch (nineteenth century), and
iv. the De Beaufort family from Utrecht (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries).

The De la Court family[6] was a wealthy merchant family in the thriving textile industry of Leiden. Members of the family migrated to the Dutch Republic in the late sixteenth century, fleeing from religious persecution in the Southern Netherlands. In 1613, Pieter de la Court (the Elder) settled in Leiden, where he set up factories and a flourishing trading business in cloth, grains, et cetera. His son Pieter de la Court (the Younger) was born in Leiden in 1618 and was a textile merchant himself. He became one of the most successful entrepreneurs of his time as well as an influential political theorist. The business correspondence in the De la Court family archive mainly dates from subsequent generations, spanning the early 1700s until around 1770. One of the central figures is Pieter de la Court van der Voort (1664–1739), the son of Pieter the Younger and also a cloth merchant, as well as an art patron and gardener. Two other prolific figures in the business are his son Allard de la Court van der Voort (1688–1755), yet another merchant and art collector, as well as his wife Catharina Backer (1690–1766), an amateur artist originally from Amsterdam.

6. The De la Court family archive is kept at *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken* (Leiden), accession no. 0023.

The Calkoen family[7] settled in Amsterdam in the period around 1600, although the family roots lie in the eastern parts of the Low Countries, possibly around Deventer. By the eighteenth century, however, the Calkoen family had become one of the leading regent families of Amsterdam, holding important administrative roles in the city government for generations. For instance, Jan Calkoen (1694–1768) was a mayor of Amsterdam in the 1750s and 1760s. At the same time, members of the family had also established a firm position as merchants in cloth, silk and other fabrics. They were active in the Dutch East India Company and the Levantine trade until around 1765. The business correspondence in the family archive, however, is first and foremost related to the diplomatic network of Cornelis Calkoen (1696–1764), the brother of the aforementioned Jan, mayor of Amsterdam. Cornelis was an envoy and later ambassador of the Dutch Republic in Constantinople (now Istanbul), the capital of the Ottoman Empire, from 1727 to 1744. He then moved to Dresden, becoming an ambassador at the court of the King of Poland, at that time elector of Saxony.

The Van de Mortel and De la Court families[8] are associated with the southern city of Den Bosch, where several members held judicial and administrative positions. The roots of both families lie in what is today the Belgian province of Limburg. In the mid-eighteenth century, members of the De la Court family settled in North Brabant. Members of the Van de Mortel family first settled in Amsterdam around 1700, before one of their descendants married a woman from Den Bosch some fifty years later. Another marriage in the late 1800s led to the fusion of the two families, whose documents are now kept in a joint family archive. To avoid confusion with the De la Court family from Leiden, this Brabant family will be referred to as Van de Mortel only. The business correspondence in the family archive mainly dates from the first half of the nineteenth century, with Paulus Emanuel Antonius de la Court (1760–1848) at its centre. Paulus settled in Den Bosch in 1787 to start working as a lawyer, before embarking on a political career, becoming a *landdrost* of Brabant, a provincial commissioner, during the Batavian and French period around 1800.

The De Beaufort family[9] from Utrecht originally migrated from France to the northern Low Countries in the early seventeenth century. However, it was only during the eighteenth century that their descendants settled in the province of Utrecht, where various members of the family held administrative and political

7. The Calkoen family archive is kept at the Dutch National Archives (*Nationaal Archief*, The Hague), accession no. 1.10.16.01.

8. The Van de Mortel – De la Court family archive is kept at *Brabants Historisch Informatie Centrum* (Den Bosch), accession no. 305.

9. The De Beaufort family archive is kept at *Het Utrechts Archief* (Utrecht), accession no. 53.

positions. The De Beaufort family is also known for their estate and country house Den Treek in the town of Leusden, which had been in the family's possession since the early nineteenth century. The business correspondence in their archives spans the period from the late eighteenth century to the 1860s. Three family members emerge as the central figures: Willem Hendrik de Beaufort (1775–1829), the son and heir of the Utrecht-based family, who studied law and had been a member of the Provincial Council of Utrecht since 1814, as well as two of his sons, Joachim Ferdinand (1797–1863), who also studied law, and Arnoud Jan de Beaufort (1799–1866), a landowner and, briefly, politician.

This concise overview highlights both similarities and differences across the four families under investigation. While all represent well-known and well-off families in their respective cities and provinces during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they do differ in terms of their professional profiles, relations and networks. They also represent different shades of our relatively broad interpretation of business correspondence, ranging from networks of merchants and traders (especially De la Court) to relatively local political and administrative networks (Van de Mortel, De Beaufort), and even to more international diplomatic networks (especially Calkoen).

6.4 Results

The results in this section will be presented and discussed at two different levels. First, the distribution of language choice is analysed on the basis of the entire dataset, including all four families, which enables us to consider the potential effect of a number of external variables on the distribution of linguistic categories (6.4.1). We then look at the results of each family individually, taking into account their different professional profiles, and also allowing for comparisons with their private family correspondence (6.4.2). The overall aim, though, is to gain insights into language choice in the business domain in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century northern Low Countries.

6.4.1 Language choice across families

Table 6.2 displays the distribution of language choice in our dataset of 1,936 business letters. With a share of 71%, letters written in Dutch form a clear majority, while French constitutes a fairly strong second linguistic player with 27%. This quantitative result is surprisingly similar to the overall distribution of language choice in private family correspondence, although we have to emphasise that the dataset used for this case study is less well-balanced than the dataset used in Chapter 5.

In fact, the findings in Table 2 reveal considerable differences across the four families. Broadly speaking, we can observe two major clusters. The first cluster of families, comprising De la Court and De Beaufort, have a clear preference for Dutch. In one particular case, Dutch is even the exclusive language choice, with no French at all (De Beaufort), and in another case French occurs as a minor language choice alongside Dutch (De la Court). In the second cluster of families, comprising Calkoen and Van de Mortel, both Dutch and French are used as two more or less equally frequent language choices, albeit with a slight majority of French. We return to the individual families and their language choices in Section 6.4.2.

Table 6.2 Distribution of language choice across families

	Dutch (%)	**Du/Fr (%)**	**Fr/Du (%)**	**French (%)**	**Other (%)**
De la Court (*N*=580)	470 (81.0%)	1 (0.2%)	–	86 (14.8%)	23 (4.0%)
Calkoen (*N*=708)	322 (45.5%)	7 (1.0%)	1 (0.1%)	365 (51.6%)	13 (1.8%)
Van de Mortel (*N*=124)	53 (42.7%)	1 (0.8%)	1 (0.8%)	69 (55.6%)	–
De Beaufort (*N*=524)	520 (99.2%)	–	–	–	4 (0.8%)
Total (*N*=1,936)	**1,365 (70.5%)**	**9 (0.5%)**	**2 (0.1%)**	**520 (26.9%)**	**40 (2.1%)**

Table 6.2 also shows that business letters written in languages other than Dutch and French are present in the dataset, too, mainly Italian (23 texts) and, to a lesser degree, German (7 texts) and English (1 text). Purely quantitatively, all of these should be viewed as marginal options. While our selection of only four families may not be representative of the entire business domain in the northern Netherlands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the results strongly indicate that Dutch and French were the two primary language choices in correspondence between members of Dutch families and their professional relations and networks.

Furthermore, it is striking that the two multilingual categories (Du/Fr, Fr/Du) are extremely rare overall, with a share of less than 1% in the entire dataset, which is considerably less frequent than in private family letters. This immediately suggests that code-switching or other forms of multilingual practices, i.e., making use of both Dutch and French within the same text, were uncommon in business correspondence, and perhaps even undesirable or inappropriate in this social domain.[10]

10. Interestingly, Wagner & Beinhoff (2017: 4) earlier observed a 'clear cross-linguistic tendency that merchant writings show a greater degree of language mixing and code-switching […] than are usually found in other text types'. It should be highlighted that we are not concentrating here on mercantile linguistic communities from the medieval and Early Modern periods.

Against the broad overview across the four families presented above, we move on to the analysis of language choice across a number of external variables, all of which were integrated as metadata into our database of business letters. These variables are gender and gender constellations, the direction of correspondence (i.e., outgoing versus incoming), and the regions of senders and addressees.

To begin with, gender is a notoriously difficult sociolinguistic variable to assess in business correspondence, as the vast majority of letter writers are typically male. Unsurprisingly, the distribution of language choice in business correspondence by men, as shown in Table 6.3, is very much in line with the overall results: 73% of their letters are in Dutch, and 24% are in French. The remaining share comprises letters in other languages (2%), and a few multilingual letters in both Dutch and French (<1%). Out of almost 2,000 letters in our dataset, only 114 are written by women (deriving from three families). This subset, albeit small in size, still allows us to gain some tentative insights into gender variation. Table 6.3 shows that the preferred language choice among female writers was French, occurring in 75%, with the remaining 25% being Dutch. This is, in fact, the complete reverse of the distribution found in men's business letters. However, languages other than Dutch and French, as well as the multilingual categories, which were occasionally used by men, are entirely absent in women's business letters.

Table 6.3 Distribution of language choice across gender and gender constellations

	Dutch (%)	Du/Fr %	Fr/Du (%)	French (%)	Other (%)
Gender and gender constellations					
Male writers (*N*=1,798)	1,316 (73.2%)	9 (0.5%)	2 (0.1%)	435 (24.2%)	36 (2.0%)
Male-to-male (*N*=1,578)	1,164 (73.8%)	9 (0.6%)	2 (0.1%)	369 (23.4%)	34 (2.2%)
Male-to-female (*N*=193)	129 (66.8%)	–	–	62 (32.1%)	2 (1.0%)
Female writers (*N*=114)	29 (25.4%)	–	–	85 (74.6%)	–
Female-to-male (*N*=112)	27 (24.1%)	–	–	85 (75.9%)	–
Female-to-female (*N*=2)	2 (100%)	–	–	–	–

If we zoom in on gender constellations, considering the gender of both senders and addressees, a few more nuances can be added. The highest proportion of Dutch in business correspondence is found in letters written by men and addressed to men (74%). The prevalence of Dutch somewhat decreases in letters written by men but addressed to women (67%), in favour of French (32%), which is a similar sociolinguistic pattern observed in private family correspondence (see Chapter 5). Within the limited body of business letters by female writers, nearly all are addressed to men. The majority of their texts, as mentioned before, are writ-

ten in French (76%). The dataset only comprises two letters by women sent to women, both of which are in Dutch.

The second variable to be discussed, distinguishing between outgoing and incoming business letters, is not unproblematic either and provides some analytical challenges. In contrast to private correspondence in family archives, which often though not always contain both incoming and outgoing letters, business correspondence is typically not preserved from both sides, at least not as part of the same archive.[11] Naturally, there is a strong imbalance, with more incoming than outgoing correspondence, the latter of which may be kept as draft letters or copies. We would argue here, though, that it is not unlikely that the language choices found in drafts or copies were identical to those in the actual letters as sent. In fact, only two of the family archives under scrutiny contain a considerable number of outgoing business letters (viz. the Calkoen and Van de Mortel families), while the other two consist almost exclusively of incoming business letters. The results in Table 6.4 should therefore be interpreted with some caution.

Table 6.4 Distribution of language choice across outgoing and incoming correspondence

	Dutch (%)	Du/Fr (%)	Fr/Du (%)	French (%)	Other (%)
Direction of correspondence					
Outgoing (N=377)	200 (53.1%)	6 (1.6%)	1 (0.3%)	159 (42.2%)	11 (2.9%)
Incoming (N=1,554)	1,160 (74.6%)	3 (0.2%)	1 (0.1%)	361 (23.2%)	29 (1.9%)

In outgoing letters, the distribution of Dutch (53%) and French (42%) is relatively balanced. In incoming letters, addressed to individuals and families associated with the northern Low Countries, Dutch is the dominant language choice at 75%, although French is used in 23%.

Whereas the findings related to the direction of correspondence are somewhat skewed due to the overall composition of the dataset, we hope to gain more meaningful insights into the distribution of language choice by adding a more explicit spatial dimension. In Table 6.5, we therefore focus on the regions associated with the senders of business letters, as well as the regions associated with the addressees of business letters: the Netherlands (by which we mean places in the northern Low Countries), France, and other places abroad.

11. However, letter books, into which outgoing correspondence was copied, were a common practice for some families and businesses, although we prioritised individual business letters over letter copy books for this analysis.

Table 6.5 Distribution of language choice across regions of senders and addressees

	Dutch (%)	Du/Fr (%)	Fr/Du (%)	French (%)	Other (%)
Region of senders					
Netherlands (N=1,287)	1,101 (85.5%)	7 (0.5%)	1 (0.1%)	167 (13.0%)	11 (0.9%)
France (N=110)	–	–	–	110 (100%)	–
Other (N=31)	–	–	–	9 (29.0%)	22 (71.0%)
Region of addressees					
Netherlands (N=1,553)	1,170 (75.3%)	4 (0.3%)	1 (0.1%)	357 (23.0%)	21 (1.4%)
France (N=38)	–	–	1 (2.6%)	37 (97.4%)	–
Other (N=60)	–	–	–	52 (86.7%)	8 (13.3%)

The regions of senders and addressees appear to have a very strong impact on the choice of languages. The most straightforward pattern emerges with regard to France as the region of both senders and addressees. Business letters sent *by* individuals associated with France are exclusively written in French. The same holds true for letters addressed *to* individuals associated with France.[12] For business letters written by or addressed to individuals associated with the northern Low Countries, French is less frequently used, although it is the second most frequent option. However, Dutch is clearly the prevalent option in 86% of letters (sending) and 75% (receiving), respectively.

The choice in favour of Dutch is even more pronounced in business correspondence *within* the northern Low Countries (N=935), with a share of 99%. Only nine letters are in French (1%), and two are in Dutch with some French (0.2%). It thus appears that French was not at all a common choice for business letters sent from and to places in the northern Low Countries. Business correspondence from or to other places abroad does not contain any Dutch letters: the only two options here are French (particularly when writing to non-Dutch addressees), and other languages, mainly Italian or German.

6.4.2 Language choice within families

In this section, we present the analysis of language choice in business correspondence at the level of the four families individually. We also compare the distribution in business letters with that in private letters kept in the same family archives.

12. The only minor exception to this very clear pattern is one draft letter written in French with a note in Dutch that can probably be seen as a note to the writer himself, rather than the addressee.

As already shown in Table 6.2, the share of multilingual Dutch-French letters is negligible in the business domain, and it is fairly marginal in the private domain, too (see Chapter 5). For this reason, the results for non-monolingual texts will be presented here as one combined category referred to as *Multilingual*, comprising the categories Dutch/French and French/Dutch in the case of business letters, and Dutch/French, 50/50, and French/Dutch in the case of private letters. Also, the category *Other* (i.e. choices involving languages other than Dutch and/or French) was not included in our analysis of private family letters. This needs to be considered when comparing percentages across the two domains.

Another methodological difference between the datasets needs to be emphasised. As mentioned before, for the analysis of business correspondence we draw on all business letters collected from the family archives under scrutiny, whereas we use our representative selection for private letters, with a maximum of 40 texts per family (see Section 5.2 in Chapter 5 for the procedure).

De la Court family

The eighteenth-century business letters preserved in the De la Court family archive, as shown in Table 6.6, are for the most part written in Dutch (81%). French is the second option, but to a considerably lesser degree (15%). Only two out of 580 letters are actually written by members of the family, Allard de la Court and Pieter de la Court van der Voort. Both texts are in Dutch, including a draft letter by Pieter de la Court to William IV, Prince of Orange. Our knowledge about language choice in their business correspondence is thus almost exclusively based on incoming letters. The letters in Dutch were mostly addressed to Allard de la Court and his widow Catharina Backer in Leiden but sent from cities across Europe. The variety of places, which include Amsterdam, London, Venice, and Nantes, reflects the family's mercantile network. Among the prolific letter writers are, for instance, Theodore Jacobsen, a London-based merchant and architect with German roots, various members of the Muilman family, who were originally merchants from Amsterdam but later operated from London, Cornelio and Gio van Teylingen, Dutch merchants in Venice, but also various 'local' contacts such as Pieter van Gulik, a notary from Amsterdam. The French letters, for the major part, were sent from Paris, particularly by a certain Barth(élémy) Le Couteulx to Catharina Backer (or her executor J.B. van der Steen) in Leiden. As regards other languages, 22 business letters are in Italian, all sent to Leiden from either Venice or Pesaro, where Tomasso Federici & Co. was based.[13]

13. One additional letter, written by Solomon da Costa, an Amsterdam-born merchant who settled in London, is in English and also addressed to Leiden.

Table 6.6 Distribution of language choice in the De la Court family archive

	Dutch (%)	Multilingual (%)	French (%)	Other (%)
Business (N = 580)	470 (81.0%)	1 (0.2%)	86 (14.8%)	23 (4.0%)
Private (N = 40)	32 (80.0%)	1 (2.5%)	7 (17.5%)	N/A

In the De la Court family's private correspondence too, Dutch is by far the prevalent language choice (80%). This is particularly the case among the generations born in the second half of the seventeenth century, such as Pieter de la Court van der Voort, Pieter de la Court, Allard de la Court and his wife Catharina Backer. Occasionally, family letters were also written in French. Pieter Allardsz. de la Court, for instance, mostly opted for French when writing to his parents, i.e., Allard de la Court and Catharina Backer. The distribution of language choice in business and private letters, generally, is remarkably similar, even if we include the category Other, which was not accounted for in the private dataset. The family's strong linguistic preference in favour of Dutch, attested in the family's private correspondence, is thus also confirmed by their professional network, even if we have to rely on the language choices in their incoming business letters from across Europe.

Calkoen family

The business correspondence in the eighteenth-century Calkoen family archive is relatively evenly distributed across outgoing and incoming letters. All outgoing texts are from diplomat and ambassador Cornelis Calkoen, which means that the Calkoen family's language choices in the business domain basically represent one individual's language behaviour. In Cornelis Calkoen's outgoing business letters, sent from Istanbul, Dresden, but also The Hague, Dutch is the prevalent language choice (55%). It is mostly used in correspondence with other Dutch ambassadors, envoys, and consuls in places like Smyrna, Aleppo, and Tripoli, or residents of the Russian Empire. French is another frequently chosen option (40%), for instance in letters to other ambassadors and envoys, such as Everard Fawkener, an English ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, or W. Hamel Bruynincx, a Dutch ambassador to Austria based in Vienna. Cornelis Calkoen also used French in letters to various members of European courts, such as the Prince of Hessen-Kassel, the King of Poland, and the Electoral Princess of Saxony. In letters to his secretary Jacob Hoffmann, Cornelis Calkoen sometimes opted for Dutch, sometimes for French, and occasionally even for German. In the incoming business letters, almost all of which were addressed to the ambassador himself, French is more prevalent (61%) than Dutch (38%). However, no distinct social or regional patterns can be discerned in terms of senders, as these incoming documents are let-

ters, either in French or Dutch, sent from Dutch cities such as Amsterdam and The Hague, and several French places such as Paris and Marseille. We can therefore conclude that both Dutch and French are common language choices, and to a lesser extent Italian, in the correspondence of Cornelis Calkoen's international diplomatic network.

Table 6.7 Distribution of language choice in the Calkoen family archive

	Dutch (%)	Multilingual (%)	French (%)	Other (%)
Business (*N*=708)	322 (45.5%)	8 (1.1%)	365 (51.6%)	13 (1.8%)
Private (*N*=40)	21 (52.5%)	5 (12.5%)	14 (35.0%)	N/A

The distribution of language choice found in the family's private correspondence echoes Cornelis Calkoen's use of both Dutch and French in the business domain. Overall, Dutch is somewhat more prevalent, though, certainly among the generation of Cornelis Calkoen, his brothers Jan, Nicolaas, and Pieter, and his sisters Anna and Margaretha, who were all born in the 1690s and early 1700s. However, French is used, too, also in letters addressed to Cornelis, for instance by his nephews and nieces, as well as by his sisters-in-law. Furthermore, the multilingual letters in the Calkoen archive all have French as their main language, but they do contain multiple switches into Dutch. This supports the impression that both Dutch and French must have been common family languages in the private sphere, but also in the professional correspondence of the family's central figure, i.e., Cornelis Calkoen.

Van de Mortel family

The business correspondence kept in the Van de Mortel family archive may be comparatively moderate in size, but both outgoing and incoming letters have been preserved. In terms of language choice, both Dutch and French occur, the latter being slightly more frequent (56%) than the former (43%). Other languages do not occur. The vast majority of outgoing letters come from Paulus Emmanuel Antonius de la Court during the Batavian and French period, in his role as *landdrost* of Brabant, a provincial commissioner. A very clear division of language choice can be observed with regard to the place where the letters are received. Letters sent from Den Bosch to other contacts in political and administrative positions in the Netherlands, for instance at the Ministry of the Interior, are written in Dutch. Letters sent to France, including a series of letters from 1807 to 1810, addressed to King Lodewijk Napoleon, but also to Napoleon's Marshal of the Empire, Nicolas Charles Oudinot, are in French. The incoming correspondence in the Van de Mortel archive reflects this type of professional network, and the same regional

pattern of language choice emerges. Letters from contacts associated with France, even when sent from a place in the Netherlands, are, unsurprisingly, in French. This includes, most notably, the incoming letters from King Lodewijk Napoleon, but also various French generals (e.g., Étienne Hastrel de Rivdeoux) and politicians (e.g., Nicolas Frémin de Beaumont). Letters from political and administrative contacts associated with the Netherlands, such as the Minister of the Interior, G.A.G.P. van der Capellen, are in Dutch.

Table 6.8 Distribution of language choice in the Van de Mortel family archive

	Dutch (%)	**Multilingual (%)**	**French (%)**	**Other (%)**
Business (*N* = 124)	53 (42.7%)	2 (1.6%)	69 (55.6%)	–
Private (*N* = 40)	22 (55.0%)	4 (10.0%)	14 (35.0%)	N/A

Comparing business and private letters in the Van de Mortel family archive, we find a similar distribution of language choices, again with Dutch and French as commonly chosen options, but here with a slight majority of Dutch texts. In Paulus de la Court's preserved family letters, Dutch is the prevalent language choice, which he used exclusively when writing to his son Leopoldus. Paulus himself also received letters in Dutch written by his sons, including Leopoldus, but letters in French by his daughters, like Johanna or 'Jeannette', possibly signalling gender variation also attested in Chapter 5. Well into the mid-nineteenth century, i.e., the generation of Paulus's grandchildren born in the 1830s and 1840s, Dutch, French and multilingual practices can be found in the family's private letters. Josephus de la Court, in particular, wrote numerous letters to his parents (i.e., Leopoldus and his wife Julia Halfwassenaer) either in Dutch or French, but he also used the two languages alongside each other.

De Beaufort family

Turning to the De Beaufort family from Utrecht, we can observe a remarkably strong dominance of Dutch in virtually all business letters, with French being completely absent as a language choice in practice. As in the case of the De la Court family, the vast majority of the preserved De Beaufort business correspondence is formed by incoming letters, with the exception of seven letters written by Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort in Dutch. These were primarily sent to the offices of Wouter Jochems en Zoon, bankers from The Hague. The incoming letters, almost all of which are also in Dutch, were primarily addressed to Willem Hendrik de Beaufort or his sons Joachim Ferdinand and Arnoud Jan. These texts were written by bankers, merchants and other business partners of the De Beaufort family, mostly based in the Netherlands. Prolific senders include Dirk Overk-

lift from The Hague, who was Joachim De Beaufort's business representative and also Willem Hendrik's banker, the successful merchant and banker Willem Borski from Amsterdam, or the London-based trading firms Kops Coussmaker & Forbes and Van Voorst & Pfeil. The only non-Dutch letters are four texts in German, written by the Prussian King Frederik Willem to François Fredric Erdman de Beaufort in his military role as major.

Table 6.9 Distribution of language choice in the De Beaufort family archive

	Dutch (%)	Multilingual (%)	French (%)	Other (%)
Business ($N=524$)	520 (99.2%)	–	–	4 (0.8%)
Private ($N=40$)	26 (65.0%)	5 (12.5%)	9 (22.5%)	N/A

Looking at the private sphere, it appears that language choice in the family's correspondence is considerably more varied and, in fact, more multilingual. Although Dutch is still the prevalent language choice in the private domain, occurring in two-thirds of the correspondence, the remaining letters are either written in French or in a multilingual code, with Dutch and French being used alongside each other. Joachim Ferdinand de Beaufort, for example, typically wrote Dutch letters to his siblings, like his brother Arnoud Jan, albeit with occasional switches into French. However, he also sent Dutch, French and mixed-language letters to his mother Cornelia Anna van Westreenen, while receiving multiple French letters from his sister Antoinette Charlotte, too. Clearly, the private sphere was much more multilingual, partly due to the female members' language choices, which are absent from the male-dominated, monolingually Dutch business correspondence. For the men in the business, however, language choices across the two domains are not necessarily congruent.

To sum up, our analysis at the level of individual family archives has highlighted strong inter-familial differences, across the examined datasets, but in some cases also when comparing language choice in letters from the business and the private domains.

6.5 Discussion

In this chapter, we have sought to assess language choice in the business domain through an analysis of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century business correspondence drawn from Dutch family archives. Building upon our previous analysis of language choice in private correspondence in Chapter 5, we have identified and selected four families already included in the private correspondence dataset,

which were also active in the business domain in the broadest sense. This has allowed us to compare language choice in letter writing across two different social domains, i.e., business and private, despite a series of methodological modifications in this chapter. These seemed necessary in order to fit the collected archival data, as well as the specific genre and domain.

Based on 1,936 business letters from four family archives, exchanged among bankers, merchants, diplomats, and so on, our quantitative findings indicate that Dutch was overall the most frequently chosen language for this business correspondence in the multilingual context of the northern Low Countries. French occupied the second position, yet was far from being marginal, similar to our findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5. Other languages, primarily Italian, are minor options, as are multilingual practices, the latter of which may have been viewed as inappropriate in the more formal context of business correspondence and its genre conventions.

We then examined a number of external variables incorporated into our dataset design. The sociolinguistic variable of gender appeared to be a challenging one in the business domain, as there is a strong bias towards male writers and addressees during the Early and Late Modern era. Nonetheless, our findings still suggest some interesting gender differences. While Dutch is the prevalent language choice in business letters by men, with French ranking second (and thus largely reflecting the distribution in the entire dataset), we found almost the reverse distribution in business letters by women: predominantly French, and comparatively little Dutch. Other languages and multilingual practices, occasionally used among men, were not attested among female writers.

Another variable examined in our analysis was the directionality of correspondence, i.e., outgoing versus incoming business letters, which displayed a bias towards incoming correspondence. Although the language choices made by senders from outside the family may not directly indicate the language choices of the family members themselves, we can probably assume at least passive knowledge of those languages. Whereas Dutch and French were fairly equally distributed in outgoing letters, incoming letters, i.e., those addressed to the (Dutch) families under investigation, were considerably more often in Dutch than in French.

The spatial dimension of language choice was covered in terms of a variable related to the regional association of senders and addressees. Here, a more distinct pattern was observed. Probably unsurprisingly, French was the only language choice for both senders and addressees associated with France. Dutch, in turn, emerged as the primary language choice for both senders and addressees associated with the Netherlands, with a relatively marginal role for French. Senders from other European regions, as well as letters to non-Dutch addressees, opted for

French or other languages like Italian or German, also depending on the places, but not for Dutch.

Zooming in on the distribution of language choice at the level of individual families, we witnessed a high level of inter-familial variation across the four archives. In the De Beaufort family archive from Utrecht, with data spanning the mid-1700s to the mid-1800s, Dutch proved to be the only language choice in business letters. This might be explained by the (geographical) scope of their network, which largely concentrated on the northern Low Countries. Among their more regional professional circles, French apparently played no role. For the De la Court family of merchants from Leiden too, Dutch was the dominant language choice. Reflecting their involvement in European mercantile networks, a minor share of letters was also written in French (mainly received from Paris) and Italian (from places in Italy).

The other two families, Calkoen from Amsterdam, and Van de Mortel from Den Bosch, showed very similar results with respect to the distribution of language choices. In both families, Dutch and French are co-occurring options, with a slight majority of French. The Calkoen business correspondence around ambassador Cornelis Calkoen was first and foremost characterised by his international diplomatic network, clearly reflected in his multilingual business correspondence, outgoing and incoming alike. The Van de Mortel's business letters displayed a distinct regional division of languages of the family's professional network, viz. French as the language used by and for French contacts, and Dutch used by and for Dutch contacts.

Finally, we also aimed to compare language choices in business and private letters. In doing so, we had to take into consideration some methodological differences, also with respect to the structure and representativeness of our datasets. However, when comparing these two datasets and domains, the overall distribution of language choice appeared to be remarkably similar, with roughly 70% Dutch and more than 20% French. The distribution at the level of individual families was more variable, but in at least three cases, either the prevalence of Dutch (De la Court), or the co-occurrence of Dutch and French (Calkoen, Van de Mortel) was largely confirmed. Only in the De Beaufort archive did we encounter a noticeable difference across domains. Whereas the business correspondence was firmly Dutch, a considerable number of private family letters were predominantly written in French. This could partly be attributed to the strong presence of women in the private dataset, echoing the gender-related findings presented and discussed in Chapter 5. In Chapter 4, where we compared language choice in private and public domains, we also observed that ego-documents were more multilingual than pamphlets and newspapers, and that this multilingualism was more

prevalent among female writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than among their male contemporaries.

In this chapter, similar to Chapters 4 and 5, we have again applied a primarily quantitative perspective on language choice based on substantial empirical evidence, in this case business correspondence, while also zooming in on a selection of individual families. This promising methodological combination of more macro-level analyses and more microscopic insights is deepened even further in Chapter 7. There we concentrate on language choice and language shift in the archive of the Luzac family, a Huguenot family active in various social domains in the city of Leiden.

CHAPTER 7

Language choice and language shift in Leiden

The Luzac family

7.1 Introduction

This chapter continues our empirical investigation of language choice in the historical Dutch-French contact setting across a variety of genres and social domains, and across groups of language users in wider parts of the northern Low Countries (see Chapters 4–6). Here, however, we want to focus on one specific family in one specific city, viz. the Luzac family, originally Huguenots from France, who ultimately settled in Leiden. In addition to language choice per se, this case study thus also addresses the related phenomenon of language shift among French-dominant migrant communities in a Dutch-dominant environment, examined across multiple generations from the late seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century.

From a methodological point of view, the present chapter partly builds upon the macro-oriented approach of the preceding chapters, as we also want to assess language choice in a substantial dataset across time and domains. At the same time, we seek to take a complementary, more qualitative look at language choice, zooming in on the Luzac family archive as a microcosm of historical multilingualism in the period and city under investigation. The combination of different analytical levels will allow for a highly contextualised exploration of the family's language choices in various social domains (including the private sphere, the press, and academic life), against the sociohistorical backdrop of Early and Late Modern Leiden, as well as their own family history as francophone migrants (see also Krogull & Puttaert 2024).

We first sketch the historical background in Section 7.2, concentrating on Leiden and the Luzac family. Section 7.3 introduces our data and methodology. A macro-level analysis of language choice based on the entire dataset is presented in Section 7.4, addressing diachronic developments and domain-specific differences. In Section 7.5, we take a more micro-level approach to language choice in private family correspondence. Section 7.6 contains a discussion of the findings.

7.2 Historical background

7.2.1 The city of Leiden

The case study presented in this chapter is first and foremost set in Leiden, the second largest city in the southern parts of Holland, located between Amsterdam and The Hague. During the Early Modern period, the city witnessed a striking population growth, from c. 10,000 inhabitants in 1575, to 47,000 in 1625, and up to 55,000 in 1675 (Noordam 2003: 45). According to the estimates provided by Lourens & Lucassen (1997), Leiden even had 67,000 inhabitants around 1670. The explosive population growth during this period can only be explained by immigration. Historical studies based on marriage registers have shown that particularly in the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century, substantial numbers of brides and grooms marrying in Leiden originally came from the southern Low Countries, including francophone areas (Lucassen & de Vries 2001: 29, 40).

These migrants typically left their homelands for economic and/or ideological (i.e., political or religious) reasons (see also Chapter 2). Known for its flourishing textile industry (Kuijpers 2005: 94–95), Leiden attracted many labour migrants from the southern Low Countries and northern France, which were historically also textile regions. These newcomers formed a relatively homogeneous group in Leiden, especially when compared to the more heterogeneous group of migrants in Amsterdam, which mainly attracted Germans and Scandinavians (Hendriks et al. 2018: 148, Lucassen & de Vries 2001: 37).

The religious freedom and other privileges offered by the city also made Leiden an attractive destination for refugees like the Huguenots, who fled their Catholic-dominant homelands because of religious persecution. In the wake of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, issued in 1685 by Louis XIV, which banned Protestant worship altogether, the coastal provinces of the northern Low Countries witnessed a massive influx of Protestant, French-speaking migrants. In a city like Leiden, French was thus not only a (learned) cultural language choice for the social elites, or a functional choice for diplomats and merchants, but also a vernacular language used among significant groups of migrants coming from French-dominant regions in the south.

The influx of the Second Refuge after 1685, in particular, combined religious concerns and economic opportunities. In addition to supplementing the labour force in the textile industry, Huguenot migration brought substantial numbers of 'people of the book' to cities like Leiden, including ministers, schoolteachers, printers, booksellers, writers, journalists (Frijhoff 2003: 142). These writing-oriented groups also contributed to the already existing learned institutions and

networks, especially within the Republic of Letters (Frijhoff 2003: 153–154). Moreover, the French-language *Gazette de Leyde* (Popkin 1989), the first newspaper to be published and printed in Leiden, was established by Huguenots.

Intellectual and academic life in and around Leiden was also advanced by the establishment of the oldest university in the northern Low Countries, founded in 1575. Not only did Leiden become the most important place for higher education in the wider area, with a considerable number of professors and students coming from abroad, the presence of the university also attracted printing and publishing houses, as well as bookstores and libraries, which were also accessible to burghers who were not part of the university. The University of Leiden therefore also had a considerable influence on social life in the city.

The specific sociodemographic profile and migration history of Leiden, characterised by a strong presence of both economic and ideological migrants from French-speaking areas, makes it a particularly suitable city to investigate further aspects of multilingualism and language contact in the historical Dutch-French context, such as language choice and language shift among migrant communities. Language use in the city of Leiden will also take centre stage in Chapters 8–12, where we focus on contact-induced language change.

7.2.2 The Luzac family

We focus on the Luzac family, a fairly well-known family of Huguenots who originally came from Bergerac in the Dordogne region of France. Like tens of thousands of other Protestant refugees, they fled to the northern Low Countries in the late seventeenth century due to religious persecution (Bots, Posthumus Meyjes & Wieringa 1985: 76). The Luzac family settled primarily in the city of Leiden, where several members gained notable positions in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch society. In what follows, we present a concise family biography across five generations in chronological order, which lays the foundation for the analyses in 7.4 and 7.5.

In 1686, one year after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Jean Luzac (1646–1729) left Bergerac, fleeing his homeland to escape the persecution of French Protestants. His wife Marguerite Grillier and their three children only followed six years later. Jean Luzac initially settled in Amsterdam as a merchant and bookkeeper, but after his wife's death in 1699, he moved to the Frisian town of Franeker, where he set up his own printing business. In 1701, he married the Parisian Marie Judith de la Lande, who, like him, came from a family of French refugees.

Elie Luzac (1684–1759), the son of Jean Luzac and his first wife Marguerite Grillier, born in Bergerac, settled in Noordwijk (near Leiden), where he owned a boarding school. Jean Luzac (1702–1783), the first-born son of Jean Luzac and his second

wife Marie Judith de la Lande, became a bookseller and printer in Leiden. His younger brother Etienne Luzac (1706–1787) studied theology in Franeker, but he later laid the foundation for the Luzac family's newspaper business. From 1738 onwards, Etienne had been the owner and publisher of the *Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits*, also known as the *Gazette de Leyde* (Popkin 1989: 8–23, see also van Dijk 2018). His brother Jean was also involved in the business as a printer.

Elie Luzac (1721–1796), the son of the boarding school owner, became a printer and publisher in Leiden, too. However, it was Jean (or Johan) (1746–1807) and his brother Etienne Luzac (1754–1827), the two sons of Jean Luzac and Anna Hillegonda Valckenaer, who turned the *Gazette de Leyde*, already a family business at that time, into a famous newspaper. Jean Luzac, who studied law in Leiden and started working as a lawyer, eventually took over the newspaper from his uncle Etienne in 1775. Under Jean's editorship, and under the direction of his younger brother Etienne, their French-language newspaper became an internationally renowned success. According to Popkin (1989: 9), the *Gazette de Leyde* under Jean Luzac's editorial direction, i.e., between 1772 and 1798, was 'the culmination of a long history of French-language news reporting in the Netherlands'. In 1785, Jean also accepted an appointment as professor of Greek and Dutch history at the University of Leiden. These members of the third generation were already deeply rooted in Dutch society, socially engaged, and with great aspirations. This, in fact, distinguished them from the generation of their father Jean and their uncle Etienne, who, like many Huguenots, devoted themselves to the publishing of a French-language newspaper, but had not yet fully benefited from the opportunities offered by assimilation (Popkin 1989: 18).

Various members of the fourth and fifth generations continued to occupy prominent positions in Leiden and beyond, even after the *Gazette de Leyde* had come to an end. Corneille Jean Luzac (1796–1861), the youngest son of newspaper publisher Jean Luzac and Maria Adriana Geertruy van Persijn, obtained a doctoral degree in law from the University of Leiden and was active as a lawyer, just like his son Jan Luzac (1833–1868). Lodewijk Caspar Luzac (1785–1861), the son of Etienne Luzac and Johanna Suzanna Valckener, also obtained his doctorate from Leiden and became a lawyer. Afterwards, he was also politically active as a member of parliament and, for a short period, as Minister of the Interior.

It is obvious even from this very short history that, within a few generations, the Luzac family, originally hailing from France, succeeded in establishing a firm position in Dutch society, primarily in the world of newspaper publishing, in the academic domain, as lawyers, and in Dutch politics. The combination of their French roots as Huguenots on the one hand, and their important role in Dutch society on the other, makes the Luzac family an intriguing case study for the study of historical multilingualism, language choice, and language shift.

7.3 Data and methodology

For this case study, we make use of two comprehensive archival collections related to the Luzac family, which we examine as a microcosm of historical multilingualism in the northern Low Countries, and more specifically in the city of Leiden. This approach involves an already existing and demarcated collection of sources, i.e., the family archive, which we utilise in its entirety in order to examine language choice and language shift. The archive offers a unique, comprehensive yet manageable entry into the multilingual world of the Luzac family. Our approach thus differs from studies based on corpora, which are typically compiled based on certain selection criteria (see e.g., van der Wal 2022), but also from the approach taken in Chapters 5 and 6, where we also applied a series of selection criteria in order to compile representative datasets.

We focus on language choice and language shift from two different angles, combining a macro-level, more quantitatively oriented perspective with a micro-level, more qualitative perspective. Thus, unlike previous chapters, and Chapter 5 in particular, the emphasis here is not on a systematic analysis of geographic and sociolinguistic patterns (e.g., cities/regions, gender, role-relations), but on the distribution of language choice across time and domains.

The first collection associated with the Luzac family is kept at the former city archives of Leiden, now *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken* (henceforth ELO).[14] The Luzac family archive is part of a more extensive archive of the related Siegenbeek and Van Heukelom families (see Lulofs 1997). It contains the majority of the preserved sources related to the family, as well as the archive of the *Gazette de Leyde*. For this chapter, we use the entire ELO material, encompassing 250 inventory numbers from the period between 1691 and 1861, spanning five generations. These comprise many letters, both private and business, as well as journals, notes, cashbooks, deeds, contracts, and other types of sources.

A second collection is kept in the special collections of the Leiden University Libraries (henceforth UBL).[15] The *Collectie Luzac* (see Bouwman 2006) centres around Jean Luzac (1746–1807) and his academic work as professor and rector at the University of Leiden, thus focusing quite specifically on the private and professional life of one central family member. It is nevertheless a crucial addition to the ELO collection, as it allows us to gain more insights into the academic domain, too, which played an important role in the family history. The UBL col-

14. *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken*, accession number 0546, inventory numbers 331–581.

15. Leiden University Libraries, Special Collections, *Collectie Luzac* (ubl032).

lection comprises 39 so-called shelf marks from the period between around 1760 and 1866, of which we have selected 26 relevant ones.[16]

The two collections together form the empirical basis for our case study. The data under investigation cover a period of some 175 years, from the late seventeenth to the second half of the nineteenth century, and the five generations described in Section 7.2.2. In this chapter, we will first make use of the two Luzac collections as a whole, in order to assess language choice and, potentially, language shift from a more quantitative perspective (Section 7.4). We will then change perspective from a macro-level to a microscopic analysis, zooming in on language choice in private correspondence among various family members (Section 7.5). Each perspective requires a different methodological approach, which will be discussed in Sections 7.4 and 7.5, respectively.

7.4 Macro-level analysis

7.4.1 Method

For our macro-level analysis, we follow the classification into inventory numbers, as applied by the archival institutions in question. The amount of material per inventory number varies considerably, ranging from only one item (e.g., a contract, a notarial deed, or a single letter), to dozens of documents (e.g., a series of letters from or to a particular family member). Irrespective of their scope, however, most inventory numbers appear to be coherent in terms of their domain, text type and period. To give an example, the individual documents within inventory number 548 (ELO), described as *Kasboekjes, bijgehouden door Lodewijk Caspar Luzac tijdens zijn reizen naar Baden Baden en naar Zwitserland en Milaan, 1833–1835*, i.e., cash account books kept by Lodewijk Caspar Luzac during his travels to Baden Baden and to Switzerland and Milan, 1833–1835, form a coherent unit with respect to the period (1833–1835), domain (private) and genre (cash account book). Another example is inventory number 440 (ELO), described as *Brieven, ingekomen bij Etienne Luzac van zijn broer Johan Luzac, betreffende diverse financiële transacties, 1789–1803*, i.e., letters received by Etienne Luzac from his brother Johan Luzac, about various financial transactions, 1789–1803, which are coherent in terms of genre (letter), writer/sender (Johan Luzac), addressee (Etienne Luzac), and subject matter (finances). Given the apparent coherence of these

16. The selected data could be linked directly to Jean Luzac, his family, or his academic roles at the University of Leiden. We have mainly excluded a number of printed books in the collection.

inventory numbers, we adopt the pre-existing classification of individual documents into inventory numbers as the main unit for our analyses.

The classification of the UBL collection into (library) shelf marks (rather than inventory numbers), however, required some methodological adjustments. In many cases, UBL shelf marks turned out to be much broader units than ELO inventory numbers, which would make a difference when assessing language choice, particularly in letters. For example, shelf mark LUZ 33, described as *Brieven gewisseld tussen leden der familie Luzac*, i.e., letters exchanged between members of the Luzac family, contains a number of envelopes for individual senders and addressees, such as *C.J. Luzac aan J. Luzac (1848–1859, 10. br.)*, i.e., C.J. Luzac to J. Luzac (1848–1859, 10 letters). This latter subdivision is, in fact, very similar to the classification into inventory numbers. We therefore decided to split the UBL letters' shelf marks into sender-addressee units, as in our example. In the following, we will refer to both ELO inventory numbers and (split) UBL shelf marks as *inventory numbers*.

For the macro-level analysis of language choice in the Luzac archive, we have thus opted for a broad assessment of language choices per inventory number. Similar to our approach in Chapters 5 and 6, we use a fine-grained categorisation of linguistic options, viz.

i. Dutch
ii. Dutch/French
iii. 50/50
iv. French/Dutch
v. French, as well as
vi. Other.

Category (vi) includes, for example, documents in Latin, German, and English, either exclusively or in combination with Dutch and/or French. Since we are examining language at the level of inventory numbers, we should mention that the multilingual categories (ii), (iii) and (iv) do not refer to the language choice found in individual documents (unlike our approach in Chapters 5 and 6). For instance, in the case of Dutch/French, most documents within an inventory number are (primarily) written in Dutch, but a few documents within the same inventory number are (primarily) written in French. Given our focus on a broader diachronic overview of language choice across several generations of the family, we do not take into account contact phenomena here, such as loanwords or code-switching. In other words, individual documents within an inventory number in, say, (i) Dutch may not necessarily be monolingually Dutch, but may potentially contain French loanwords or shorter switches into French. Dutch is nevertheless the main language choice of all documents within the given inventory number.

7.4.2 Language choice across time

Table 7.1 shows that, overall, Dutch is the main language choice in the Luzac family archive. Inventory numbers comprising documents written entirely in Dutch dominate with a share of 58.3%, while only 12.4% of inventory numbers are entirely in French. Predominantly Dutch-language inventory numbers, comprising categories (i) and (ii), make up exactly two-thirds of the entire dataset. Predominantly French-language inventory numbers, i.e., categories (iv) and (v) combined, make up c. 15%, which is roughly the same proportion of the category Other.

Table 7.1 Distribution of language choice in the Luzac family archive

	Dutch (%)	Du/Fr (%)	50/50 (%)	Fr/Du (%)	French (%)	Other (%)
ELO (N=240)	65.4	8.3	5.0	3.8	13.8	3.8
UBL (N=98)	40.8	8.2	–	–	9.2	41.8
Total (N=338)	58.3	8.3	3.6	2.7	12.4	14.8

However, clear differences with regard to the distribution of language choice can be observed between the two sub-collections of the Leiden city archives (ELO) and the Leiden University Libraries (UBL). The share of inventory numbers with documents in Dutch only is considerably higher in the ELO collection (65.4%) than in the UBL collection (40.8%). In contrast, the share of other-language documents is remarkably strong in the UBL collection at 41.8%, whereas it is a marginal option in the ELO collection (3.8%). Most inventory numbers in the category Other appear to be in Latin, occurring in three quarters, either as the exclusive language choice or alongside other languages. The share of Latin thus amounts to nearly one-third of all inventory numbers. The UBL collection also contains documents in other languages, such as Greek, English, German and Italian, sometimes alongside Dutch and/or French. This difference between the two collections can easily be explained by the UBL collection's focus on Jean Luzac and his professional roles at Leiden University. In fact, Latin still played an important role in the academic domain in the eighteenth century, to which we will return below.

In order to examine the diachronic development of language choice, and thus also a language shift in the Luzac family archive, Figure 7.1 shows the distribution across five periods of 50 years each.

To begin with, we notice that the earliest period only has French documents, but it should be added that this observation is based on only one inventory number comprising a handful of documents from the period between 1691 and 1699.

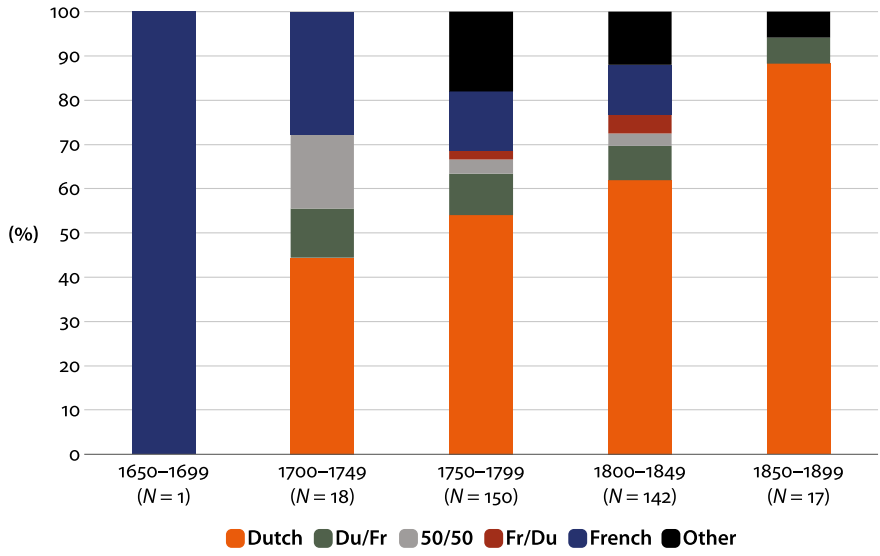


Figure 7.1 Language choice in the Luzac family archive across time

Nevertheless, it seems quite plausible that French was still the dominant language choice of this first generation of migrants. The oldest text in the collection is a letter by Jean Luzac dated 1691, written in French, from Amsterdam to a certain Noë Piecourt in Dunkirk, 'requesting advice regarding a planned trip to France of two unnamed boys', according to the description of this inventory number. Furthermore, the archive contains several letters addressed to Jean Luzac in Amsterdam, written between 1692 and 1700, by relatives in Bergerac, which are also in French.

A cash account book kept by Jean Luzac between 1699 and 1701, however, suggests that multilingualism already played a role in his everyday life at that time. The handwritten book begins with several pages full of notes on expenses in Dutch, but halfway through, the choice of language changes to French. On the final pages, written in 1701, Jean Luzac switches between the two languages. This account book gives us a glimpse into a first-generation migrant's use of two languages alongside each other some fifteen years after settling in the northern Low Countries.

As shown in Figure 7.1, the role of Dutch gradually increases from 1700 onwards: from 44% in the period from 1700 to 1749, to 54% in 1750–1799, and to 62% in 1800–1849. The share of 88% in the final period, i.e., 1850–1899, is twice as high as in the early eighteenth century. At the same time, the share of inventory numbers with documents primarily written in French steadily decreases: from 28% in 1700–1749, to 13% in 1750–1799, and to only 11% in 1800–1849, before this category disappears in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The transition from predominantly French in the late seventeenth century to increasingly Dutch in the first half of the eighteenth century is also highlighted by the relatively prominent presence of multilingual inventory numbers from the 50/50 category (17%). The category Other first appears in the second half of the eighteenth century, which can partly be explained by the fairly domain-specific material in the UBL collection, which is mainly from this period. The other-language category is even the second most frequent option between 1750–1799 with 18%, but then gradually drops to 12% in 1800–1849 and only 6% in 1850–1899.

Broadly speaking, Figure 7.1 thus indicates a phased but clearly visible language shift in the Luzac family archive, from French as the dominant language choice in the late seventeenth century to Dutch as the dominant language choice in the late nineteenth century. The period between 1700 to 1850, in particular, represents a fairly long transition period of multilingualism, in which the family, or at least individual family members, came into contact, either productively (as writers) or receptively (as readers or addressees), with Dutch, French, and others languages such as Latin.

7.4.3 Language choice across domains

In order to gain more detailed insights into the Luzac family's language choices across different spheres of life, we assigned all inventory numbers to two very broad domain categories referred to here as *Private* and *Public*. Private, for the most part, comprises private letters such as correspondence between family members, but also diaries, travel journals and personal account books. The umbrella category referred to here as Public includes all documents from domains other than the private sphere, for instance documents related to the professional careers of family members, business letters, deeds, diplomas, or the *Gazette de Leyde* newspaper archive.

Figure 7.2 shows that French and Dutch initially still co-occurred in the private domain. From 1750 onwards, however, French only plays a marginal role, with shares of less than 8% (i.e., the two French-dominant categories (iv) and (v) combined). By contrast, the two predominantly Dutch categories constitute 93% and 89% in the 1750–1799 and 1800–1849 periods respectively. In the final period under investigation, i.e., 1850–1899, the inventory numbers from the private domain are even entirely in Dutch. We will zoom in further on language choice in the private domain in our micro-level analysis of family letters in Section 7.5.

Compared to the prevalence of private documents in Dutch, at least from 1750 onwards, documents associated with the other, more public domains are more diverse and more multilingual. The two primarily Dutch categories combined

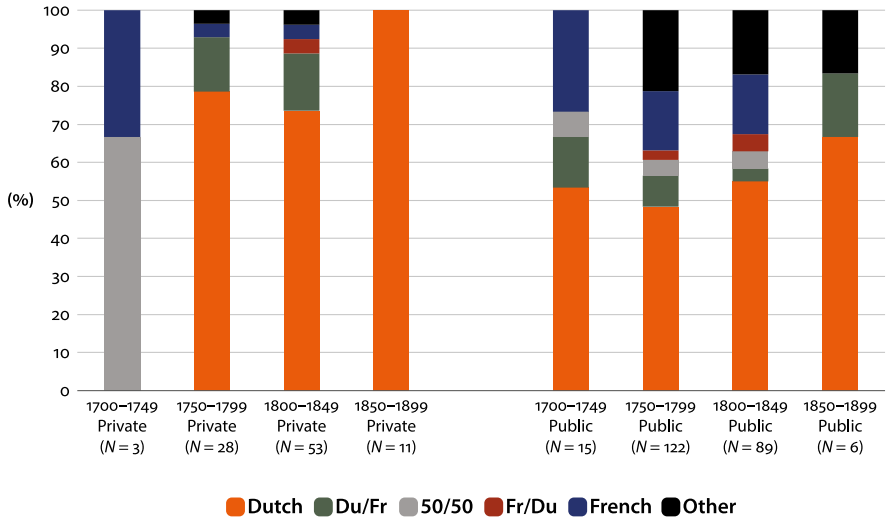


Figure 7.2 Language choice in the private and public domains across time

form the majority with shares between 57% and 83%. However, the two primarily French categories are present until 1850, albeit to a much lesser extent than Dutch, but with relatively consistent shares between 20% and 27%. Other-language documents, which are practically absent from the private domain, still occur in 17 to 21% of all inventory numbers associated with non-private domains between 1750 and the late 1800s.

The Public category in Figure 7.2 comprises two societal domains that were central to the Luzac family history: the press domain (i.e., the *Gazette de Leyde*) and the academic domain (i.e., the University of Leiden). Although the variety of texts and genres associated with these domains makes a systematic analysis challenging, a more qualitative look at these documents can provide us with valuable insights.

The inventory numbers that can be directly related to the press domain of the *Gazette de Leyde* newspaper appear to be quite varied in terms of language choice. Around 40% are written entirely in Dutch, but in a similar number of inventory numbers, French occurs in at least half of the documents (i.e., covering categories (iii), (iv), (v)). The relative prominence of incoming complaints about articles published in the *Gazette de Leyde*, and the responses to these complaints, allow us to examine this domain through a qualitative lens. Here, the documentation with respect to a number of complaints from the Prussian ambassador Baron Friedrich Wilhelm von Thulemeier, sent from The Hague, makes a particularly illustrative case. Von Thulemeier's complaint letter about an article published in the newspaper in 1776, preserved in the form of two copies, is written in French. However,

Dutch was chosen subsequently for the internal handling of these complaints, as the detailed *Poincten van consideratie op de klagten* 'Points of consideration on the complaints' and Etienne Luzac's handwritten notes reveal. In these internal documents, the use of French is limited to a few quoted passages from Von Thulemeier's original French letters. Etienne Luzac's notes on another complaint from 1778 are also in Dutch. In a similar vein, the documentation surrounding two later complaints by Von Thulemeier, dated 1783 and 1784, gives the impression of a bilingually Dutch-French domain.

In addition to the correspondence between Von Thulemeier and Jean Luzac, the *Gazette* archive contains an outgoing message to the mayors and rulers of Leiden concerning Von Thulemeier's complaints, written by Jean and Etienne Luzac in Dutch. Jean Luzac himself made his dispute with the Prussian ambassador public in three consecutive issues of the patriotic weekly paper *De Politieke Kruyer* 'The Political Porter', which are also kept in the *Gazette* archive (Popkin 1989: 171–172). These issues include the correspondence with Von Thulemeier in French, but with a Dutch translation added in the footnote. Although the range of different types of documents can only give us a partial impression of language choice in the press domain, it appears that the day-to-day business of the *Gazette*'s editorial staff was not exclusively French, but both Dutch and French.

The second public domain that emerges from the documents kept in the Luzac archive is that of the academic world. This domain is first and foremost linked to Jean Luzac and his professional roles at the University of Leiden. In spite of the limitations of this relatively diverse and patchy collection of texts, which makes it difficult to map the exact distribution of language choice, it becomes clear that Latin, in particular, was widely used. The majority of these academic-specific documents concerns correspondence between Jean Luzac and his international network of fellow scholars, some of whom also held political or diplomatic posts. This professional correspondence is remarkably multilingual, although the most prevalent languages are Latin (by far), Dutch, and also French. To a lesser degree, English is used, for instance in letters to and from William Vans Murray, an American lawyer, politician, and ambassador to the Netherlands. Greek occurs in some letters, too, for example in the form of code-switching to Greek in predominantly Latin letters by Erik Huibert van Eldik, a Dutch classical philologist, addressed to Jean Luzac. Italian can be found sporadically, for instance in incoming letters from Filippo Mazzei, a Tuscan-born physician, diplomat, and author.

In addition to Jean Luzac's professional correspondence, some of his academic speeches have been preserved, for example on the occasions of the opening of his rectoral year in 1794, the death of fellow professor Pieter Nieuwland, and the handover of his rectorate in 1795. Those official speeches are all in Latin, as

are various manuscript versions of his farewell speech *De Socrates Cive*, which he gave on the occasion of the resignation of his rectorship in 1795.[17] However, Latin is not the exclusive language choice in Jean Luzac's academic speeches, since we also find evidence of several speeches, given to the university's curators, which are in Dutch. Jean Luzac also alternated between Dutch and Latin in his university-internal correspondence. Although he opted for Latin when addressing the university's rector and the senate (in 1788 and 1792, respectively), he chose Dutch in 1786 when reporting to the senate about his dispute with colleague Adriaan Kluit[18] (who also wrote his account in Dutch).

In sum, the academic documents in the Luzac archive turn out to be multilingual, with Latin being the dominant language choice, alongside Dutch and, to a lesser degree, French. This type of elite multilingualism may not be considered representative of the Luzac family as a whole, but it certainly was characteristic of the academic domain, in which Jean Luzac was active in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

7.4.4 Preliminary conclusion

Our macro-level analysis of the entire dataset shows that the Luzac family archive indeed constitutes a promising microcosm of historical multilingualism. Within a period of approximately 175 years, a language shift from primarily French to primarily Dutch had taken place. With respect to domain-specific developments, we can observe that the language shift took place fairly quickly in the private sphere. Already from 1750 onwards, which more or less corresponds to the second- and third-generation migrants, archival documents in Dutch formed by far the majority in our dataset. These findings suggest that 50 years after settling in the northern Low Countries (i.e., roughly two generations), the competence in Dutch must have been at a level which no longer made it necessary to use French as the main language within the family, i.e., for communication with people of the same group. One might even speculate that their competence in French was no longer sufficient in order to serve as a fully-fledged family language. We will return to the position of French within the private sphere in Section 7.5.

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17. One year later, this farewell speech was published (in Latin), and it was also translated into Dutch.

18. As remarked by Popkin (1989: 22), Jean Luzac 'conducted a long-running feud with his colleague Adriaan Kluit about the boundary lines of their respective disciplines, a dispute embittered by the two men's political differences — Kluit was an Orangist, Luzac a Patriot — and their disagreement about academic procedures' (see also Vrij 1971).

In the other domains represented in the family archive, which we referred to as public (i.e., non-private) domains, the shift appeared to be more gradual. It is marked by a relatively long and multilingual transition period of co-occurring language choices, with French only slowly losing ground for the benefit of Dutch. In contrast to the private domain, which first and foremost reflects the level of individual or at least (intra-)familial multilingualism, the more public domains represent the level of societal multilingualism in the language community of Leiden. Our exploratory analysis of two relevant domains, viz. the press and academia, displays two different forms of multilingualism. For the *Gazette de Leyde*'s internal and external communication, as well as for administrative purposes, both Dutch and French were used. The documents linked to Jean Luzac at the University of Leiden reveal more diversity. Here, Latin appears as the dominant language choice, although Dutch and French (alongside other languages) were also commonly used.

7.5 Micro-level analysis: Private correspondence

7.5.1 Method

For our micro-level analysis of language choice in the Luzac family archive, we focus on private letters exchanged between family members. In total, a few hundred personal letters have been kept in the two collections under investigation, all of which are thus also part of our macro-analysis of the Luzac archive in its entirety. A fundamental methodological difference, however, concerns the analytical unit that we take as our point of departure for assessing language choice. Whereas the macro-level analysis in Section 7.4 concentrated on language choice per inventory number, often comprising many individual documents, we now assess language choice at the level of individual documents, i.e., letters. By doing so, we take into account a range of external factors, such as different generations, sender–addressee relationships, including familial relationships (e.g., parent–child, brother–sister, etc.), and gender constellations.

The categorisation of language choice essentially remains the same, viz. (i) Dutch, (ii) Dutch/French, (iii) 50/50, (iv) French/Dutch, and (v) French. Note that we left out the category Other here, as there are almost no private family letters written in languages other than Dutch and/or French. Unlike the macro-oriented assessment discussed in 7.4, the micro-oriented focus on language choice per document allows us to also account for contact phenomena such as code-switching within the same document. For instance, letters assigned to category (ii) are primarily written in Dutch, but they also contain code-switching into French.

Category (iv), in turn, represents letters primarily written in French, but with instances of code-switching into Dutch. The 50/50 letters in category (iii) contain Dutch and French to more or less the same degree. This makes these three code choices multilingual rather than monolingual (see Chapter 5 for a comprehensive discussion of these linguistic categories). Adding this qualitative angle to the broader picture of language choice and language shift can help us understand the dynamics of language choice and multilingual practices among the family.

In the following analysis, we focus on two networks of Luzac family members, from the third, fourth and fifth generations. We first examine language choice in private letters in Jean Luzac's family network (Section 7.5.2.), and then in private letters in Lodewijk Caspar Luzac's family network (7.5.3).

7.5.2 Jean Luzac (1746–1807)

Most of the preserved private family letters from the third generation are written by Marguerite Emilie Luzac (1748–1788) and addressed to her brother Jean. These texts date from 1787 and 1788, when Emilie and her husband Wybo Fijnje, a leading figure in the patriotic movement of the city of Delft, were living in exile due to political revolutions in the late eighteenth-century Dutch Republic (Baartmans 2003). During this exile period, Emilie kept in touch with her brother in Leiden, mostly from Antwerp, Brussels, and the countryside in northern France. More than 20 letters sent to her brother Jean are written in Dutch, but there are also five consecutive letters in French. These date from the period between August and October 1787, when Emilie was still in Delft or in her hiding place in Amsterdam.[19] Out of all Dutch letters written in exile, six start with the French salutation *Cher Frère* 'Dear brother'. We can thus conclude that both Dutch and French played a role in the correspondence between sister and brother. From November 1787 onwards, Emilie also wrote letters to her brother Jean and his wife, Maria Adriana Geertruy van Persijn. These are invariably in Dutch, which also holds true for Emilie's letters addressed to her sister-in-law alone. Emilie's husband Wybo Fijnje (1750–1809), who was the publisher of the *Hollandsche Historische Courant*, a regional newspaper in Dutch, and a radical patriot, wrote a number of letters

19. At that time, her husband Wybo Fijnje, had already fled the Northern Netherlands (see Baartmans 2003 for more historical context). It has been suggested that Emilie's language choice in favour of French in her first letters was partly for security reasons (Baartmans 2003: 36). However, in the light of the widespread use of the French language among the Dutch upper classes, it seems questionable whether Emilie's language choice in favour of French can actually be interpreted in such a way.

to his brother-in-law Jean Luzac between 1783 and 1789, thus partly in exile, all of which are in Dutch.

Jean Luzac himself must have written a considerable number of private letters, too, but only a few have been preserved in the family archive. Dating from the early nineteenth century, these texts were written to his sons Nicolas and Adrien, when the boys were still teenagers. Two of Jean Luzac's letters to his oldest son Nicolas are in French, alongside one letter in English from the same year.[20] Three letters to his son Adrien are in Dutch, a fourth one is in French, less than two weeks after his previous letter in Dutch. Moreover, the archive contains letters written by Jean Luzac's wife Maria van Persijn (1758–1806) to their sons Nicolas and Adrien, also from the period between 1802 and 1806. In contrast to her husband's letters, Maria's language choice in letters to her children is exclusively Dutch. Intriguingly, we can find two metalinguistic comments in her letters, both of which suggest that Maria may not have felt entirely comfortable in using French. For example, in 1806 she wrote to her son Nicolas: *schrijft gy maar in 't fransch, maar excuseert my om in die taal te antwoorden want ik zoude mogelijk in t fransch nog korter zyn als gy in t Hollandsch* 'You can write in French, but please excuse me from answering in that language, because I would possibly be even shorter in French than you in Dutch'. In a letter to her son Adrien from 1804 she also mentions her linguistic discomfort at the dinner table: *het discours was geheel in t' fransch, ik dagt goede hulp te hebben van die twee dames, dan die lieten my in de peekel, zo dat ik al myn fransche gaven ten toon heb moeten spreien* 'The conversation was entirely in French, I thought I would have good help from those two ladies, but they left me in the lurch, so I had to demonstrate all my French skills'. Apparently, Maria's insecurity with regard to the use of French relates to both her written and spoken competence. This might also explain why Emilie Luzac's letters partly or exclusively addressed to Maria are always written in Dutch.

Based on father Jean's partly French letters and mother Maria's exclusively Dutch letters, we can assume that their children, representing the fourth Luzac generation in the Netherlands, were probably raised in a multilingual household. This is further supported by the preserved letters written among the siblings themselves. In fact, the three brothers Nicolas Florent (1787–1845), Adrien (1790–1815), and Corneille Jean (1796–1861) chose both French and Dutch in their private letters to each other. Adrien's letters to Corneille, written between 1810 and 1811, are all in French. Four letters from 1805 and 1806 sent to Adrien by Corneille, who was quite young then and whose handwriting was still child-like, are in Dutch, while two only slightly later letters from 1807 and 1808 are in French.

20. In the postscript of that letter, Jean Luzac apologises for his use of English: '*I am not so good an English scholar as you. Be a kind censor to my incorrectness, Belgicisms, and faults.*'

Only one letter by the oldest brother Nicolas, aged 12 at the time of writing, has been kept in the archive. It is addressed to Adrien and written in Dutch. Although the letter data from the brothers is admittedly sparse, we may deduce that they still used Dutch when they were younger, or addressed someone younger, but from a certain age, presumably during their teenage years, they also opted for French in their correspondence.

7.5.3 Lodewijk Caspar Luzac (1785–1861)

The majority of private letters from the fourth generation of the Luzac family are written by Lodewijk Caspar Luzac. Most, though not all, of these letters were sent to relatives in Holland during his travels through the southern provinces of the present-day Netherlands, and present-day Belgium, as well as Paris. For instance, the family archive contains 61 letters addressed to both his parents, Etienne Luzac and Johanna Suzanna Valckenaer, as well as his sister Anna Hillegonda Luzac and her husband Jan van Heukelom. The texts all date from 1816 and 1817. 24 letters were sent from Paris, where he and his wife Sara Cornelia Petronella du Rieu were staying in 1817. Moreover, 21 letters were sent during his travels to Antwerp, Brussels, Den Bosch, and Maastricht in 1816. Finally, 12 letters were sent from other Dutch provinces, such as Holland, Gelderland, and Groningen. Looking at language choice in Lodewijk's letters, we notice that he predominantly opted for Dutch in his letters to his parents, sister and brother-in-law, although 15 of these contain instances of code-switching into French (i.e., category (ii) Dutch/French). Strikingly, almost all letters in which Lodewijk used Dutch alongside French were sent from southern areas. It seems possible that his stay in Paris, but also in other southern cities where French played a crucial role, such as Antwerp, Brussels, Lille, and Maastricht, supported his language choice in favour of French.

The family archive also comprises letters written by Lodewijk's father Etienne Luzac (1754–1827) to his son (37 texts). Both Dutch and French are used, sometimes alongside each other within the same letter. Although Etienne used French slightly more often than Lodewijk, Dutch is overall the preferred language choice: almost two-thirds of these father-to-son letters are in Dutch. It is remarkable, again, that all letters in which French is used, exclusively or alongside Dutch, date from the years 1810 and 1811, i.e., the years Lodewijk spent in Paris for business purposes. He worked as an estate secretary (*secretaris van legatie*) for his uncle, who was a diplomat. In addition to the possible influence of mobility and a French-speaking environment, other personal and situational factors might also have encouraged the choice or use of French. While father and son used both languages in their private correspondence, we notice that the letters written by mother Johanna Suzanna Valckenaer to her son Lodewijk are invariably in Dutch.

Interestingly, though, French was still a possible language choice in correspondence with Johanna Suzanna, at least as an addressee, as her brother Johan occasionally wrote to her in French. In Johanna's own letters to her son, however, she seemed to have a clear preference for Dutch.

When examining the family's private correspondence, we can notice clear individual preferences for a certain language depending on the addressee(s). This supports the crucial role of sender-addressee relationships in our methodological framework for assessing language choice (see Chapter 5). For instance, father Etienne Luzac never opted for French when writing to both his son Lodewijk and his daughter-in-law Sara du Rieu. The same tendency can be observed in letters by Jan van Heukelom (1784–1847) to his brother-in-law Lodewijk and wife Sara. Although both Dutch and French occur as language choices in the private correspondence between Jan and Lodewijk, Jan used only Dutch when Sara was also included as an addressee (alongside Lodewijk). Given the fact that the family archive does contain letters in French to both Lodewijk and Sara, mainly from their nieces Stephanie Louise and Elisabeth van Heukelom (i.e., the fifth generation), it seems unlikely that Etienne Luzac's and Jan van Heukelom's clear preferences in favour of Dutch when communicating with both Lodewijk and Sara are solely related to Sara's competence in French. Instead, it might indicate an overall preference for Dutch in letters sent to multiple addressees. Observed at a microscopic level, this seemingly idiosyncratic preference, in fact, nicely echoes the pattern observed in Chapter 5: when addressing more than one addressee of mixed gender (e.g., both parents, or siblings plus partners), French is hardly ever used.

Generally, language choice in Lodewijk Caspar Luzac's private family network is not explicitly negotiated. Although some letters reveal a certain degree of linguistic and multilingual awareness in the form of metalinguistic comments, language choice is never explicitly mentioned or discussed (in contrast to Maria van Persijn and her son, see Jean Luzac's network above). It appears that language choice even within the same sender-addressee relationship can change from one day to another. To give an example: on 21 August 1797, Johan Valckenaer wrote a letter in Dutch to his sister Johanna Suzanna Valckenaer, the mother of Lodewijk Caspar. Since he had forgotten to mention something, he wrote a follow-up letter the day after, in which he used both Dutch and French. In the French parts, he even referred to his previous (Dutch) letter: *Dans ma lettre d'hier, j'ai oublié un attache essentiel* 'In yesterday's letter, I forgot an essential element'. Apparently, the level of Dutch-French multilingualism was still entrenched among this generation, so that language choice may sometimes appear arbitrary and unmotivated (see also Offord, Rjéoutski & Argent 2018: 340).

We now briefly turn to the members of the fifth generation, of which some texts have been preserved. Even here, both French and Dutch occur as options

for letter writing. For instance, Lodewijk Caspar's niece Stephanie Louise van Heukelom (1810–1883) used both languages in her letters to her uncle and aunt, although French is slightly more prevalent. Stephanie also switched to Dutch in some of her French letters. Compare this example, in which the Dutch parts are in boldface: *la mélancolie est grande,* ***het heimwee nog erger*** *enunmot ce bon couple ne joint pas, ils voyagent pitoyennement, et comme toujours,* ***de thuisblijvenden lagchen hun uit*** 'The melancholy is great, the homesickness even worse, in short, this good couple is not enjoying it, they travel pitifully, and as always, those staying at home laugh at them'. Similar instances of code-switching from French to Dutch, or vice versa, can be found in letters by other family members. Lodewijk Caspar, for example, recounted a visit to a coal mine when writing to his parents: ***Dit gat is meer dan 600 voeten diep****, et noir comme l'enfer* 'This hole is more than 600 feet deep, and black as hell'. Etienne Luzac also switched between Dutch and French in the same letter to his son: ***Minder kan ik met u instemmen*** *que nous avons bien l'air d'être les petits fils de nos ancêtres* 'I can agree less with you that we look like the grandsons of our ancestors'. These multilingual practices, observed at the micro-level of individual letters, give evidence of the continued use of French, alongside Dutch, well into the fourth and fifth generations and well into the nineteenth century.

7.5.4 Preliminary conclusion

The micro-level analysis of private correspondence in the Luzac family archive reveals a number of additional factors that seem to influence or support the choice in favour of one language over the other, for instance the linguistic competence of individual writers, or a stay in a French-speaking environment. However, there is not always an obvious reason for a certain language choice. In many cases, Dutch and French co-exist as potential language choices and they might serve very similar or even the same functions within the private correspondence under investigation. In fact, those underlying motives or factors are not easily identifiable, and they also tend to be intertwined.

Our analysis still allows us to outline a few relevant and potentially interrelated factors. Some factors are more superficial, or easier to identify on the basis of actual letters, whereas other factors are more implicit and more difficult to identify directly. One factor that probably affects individual language choices in the least direct way, but which is certainly present in the social context of the Dutch urban elite, is the role of French as a prestige language, partly also influenced by the changing political climate. A second factor, slightly closer to the surface, has to do with the Luzac family itself, for instance its French family history, the Huguenot roots, or the publishing of the French-language *Gazette de*

Leyde. These factors may have an impact on language choice, although they are not clearly recognisable on the basis of concrete language choices in letter writing.

At a somewhat more direct level, we find personal factors linked to individual writers and addressees, such as their linguistic competences (like Maria van Persijn and her explicit reluctance towards the use of French), as well as the level of education, and the profession or gender of the corresponding family members. In addition, situational factors can sometimes be linked directly to language choices found in individual letters (e.g., the place of writing, the topic of the letter, the sender-addressee relationship). It is not always possible to draw a clear-cut dividing line between personal and situational factors.

All these factors may affect or support one other. It is practically impossible to explain or interpret *any* language choice in *any* letter. However, by examining a solid dataset of family letters through a more qualitative lens, as we have done in this section, a number of patterns emerge that help us understand the complex dynamics behind language choice in the private domain.

7.6 Discussion

It has been the aim of this chapter to delve into the diachronic, multilingual archive of one family in order to gain more insight into the phenomena of language choice and language shift, quantitatively and qualitatively. Against the background of widespread migration to the northern Low Countries in the Early Modern period, the Luzac family, originally French Huguenots who fled their homelands and eventually settled in Leiden, has proven to be a fruitful case study. The archival data under investigation spanned the late seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century, and thus multiple generations of the family, which allowed for contextualised analyses from complementary angles, zooming in and out on the family's linguistic practices.

Departing from an existing archival microcosm presented us with some methodological challenges. Although the dataset is neither purpose-built nor balanced (e.g., in terms of periods, genres, or domains), a systematic macro-level analysis of the collection of documents in its entirety still proved feasible. By operationalising metadata into external variables such as time (50-year periods) and domains (a broad distinction between private and public), we have been able to trace the distribution of language choice across time and could indeed observe a language shift across subsequent generations. We have also added more qualitative insights into language choice in two public domains that were closely connected to the Luzac family history, viz. the press and academia. While the macro-level analysis of these domains already suggested that they were charac-

terised by multilingualism, our qualitative observations revealed some important differences. Domain-specific sources related to the *Gazette de Leyde* were in French or Dutch, whereas the sources related to the academic domain were linguistically more diverse, with Latin taking the lead (alongside other languages). As part of our micro-analysis of the private domain, we took a qualitative look at language choice in the family's personal correspondence from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, highlighting various layers of social or situational factors that might affect the choice of languages in letter writing.

With regard to language shift theory more generally, our case study allows us to draw some tentative conclusions about language shift in Huguenot migrant communities. According to traditional models (see e.g. Böhm 2010: 32–34 and the references there), language shifts commonly take place within three generations: from a monolingual stage in language *A* (here: French), to a bi- or multilingual stage (here: French alongside Dutch), to a monolingual stage in language *B* (here: Dutch). However, this model may be criticised as oversimplified, as it possibly disregards the multilingual repertoires and practices of language users in the initial and final stages of the process. In fact, our diachronic study based on the Luzac archive also signals a longer, multilingual transition stage, which supports Böhm's (2010: 9–10) claim that language shift in Huguenot communities is best regarded as a complex *longue durée* phenomenon (see also Pfäffle & Schiegg 2023). This *longue durée* was undoubtedly supported by the wider use of French in European societies at the time.

Based on the archival sources under investigation, language shift in the private domain occurred faster than in the other, more public domains. From the first half of the eighteenth century (i.e., roughly corresponding to the second generation) to the second half of the eighteenth century (i.e., roughly corresponding to the third generation), we could observe a turning point in the distribution of language choice. It cannot be ruled out, though, that this is partly due to the fragmentary nature of private documents from the first two generations (as opposed to considerably more documents from the third generation onwards). However, our investigation of private family correspondence indicates that French was still in use even among members of the fifth generation, alongside Dutch, i.e., well into the nineteenth century,

In the case of this Leiden-based Huguenot family, a number of factors probably contributed to their relatively long maintenance of French (alongside Dutch). One factor is the urban setting of a city like Leiden, with its francophone infrastructure of French-language churches, schools, press, and so on. Another factor is the prestige of the French language, conferring social and cultural capital in the northern Low Countries, and certainly in cities in the Holland area. Böhm (2016: 322), too, concludes that in the German realm, 'language shift began sig-

nificantly later in those communities where French had value for the majority community'. For the Luzac family specifically, their newspaper business, publishing the francophone *Gazette de Leyde*, must certainly be regarded as a factor that helped maintain the French language, despite their parallel and increasing assimilation into Dutch society, particularly from the third generation (i.e., Jean Luzac's generation) onwards.

The profile of the Luzac family, and their place in Leiden's society, has made their family archive a particularly interesting source for the investigation of language choice and language shift at different levels. It appears, however, that family archives, when approached as microcosms, are not hermetically sealed entities, especially when various members of the family play active roles in different social domains, as in the case of the Luzac family. In that respect, it is only plausible that certain political and socio-economic developments beyond this microcosm, as well as the linguistic situation in the society at large, had an impact on the language choices and practices within the family. This case study has revealed the dynamics and, above all, the complexity of individual and societal multilingualism, and of language choice and language shift as historical-sociolinguistic phenomena.

CHAPTER 8

The Language of Leiden Corpus

8.1 Introduction

In Chapters 9–12, we investigate contact-induced changes in written Dutch of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Chapter 9 deals with loan suffixes from French. It will become clear that one problem is the demarcation of French-origin from Latin-origin suffixes. Chapter 10 discusses loanwords from French, which are also not always neatly distinguishable from Latin borrowings. In Chapters 11 and 12, we discuss whether particular morphosyntactic phenomena can be attributed to French, or more broadly to Romance influence, by comparing the variational patterns found for relative pronouns and participial constructions to the patterns established for the borrowings discussed in Chapters 9 and 10. The analyses in Chapters 9–12 are based on a corpus specifically compiled for the purpose of tracing French influence in written Dutch of the Early and Late Modern period: the *Language of Leiden Corpus* or LOL Corpus. In this chapter, we explain the rationale behind the LOL Corpus (Section 8.2) and its compilation (Section 8.3).

8.2 The choice for Leiden

A small town with some 1,250 inhabitants in the thirteenth century, by around 1500 Leiden had become the largest city in Holland with a population of 12,000–14,000 people (Assendelft 2023: 27). The flourishing cloth industry gave a strong impetus to population growth and attracted migrants from Leiden's surroundings and from further away. In the late sixteenth century and during most of the seventeenth century, Leiden again grew significantly from c. 10,000 inhabitants in 1575 to c. 55,000 in 1675 (Assendelft 2023: 30). As discussed in Section 2.4, the city of Leiden was characterised by relatively large groups of migrants from the Southern Netherlands and France, when compared to other cities in Holland and in fact in the Northern Netherlands generally. Leiden saw the establishment of a training institute for francophone ministers (the *Waals college*, see Section 2.5). The internationally renowned newspaper *Gazette de Leyde* was run by the Huguenot Luzac family (Chapter 7).

We do not aim to trace individual migrants and their linguistic experiences in the following chapters (see Chapter 7 for a case study of one Huguenot family).

Instead, our aim is to develop an empirically sound view of the influence of French on Dutch in general. Adopting *social domain* as a highly relevant category in research on contact and multilingualism, we wanted to compile a corpus with textual materials from social domains that together constitute a reliable representation of the Dutch historical society so as to be able to make well-founded generalisations about the influence of French on Dutch.

The main reason for focusing on Leiden is that we wish to neutralise the regional factor on the one hand, while striving for a certain degree of comprehensiveness on the other. As demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5, the role of French differed across regions, with the Holland/Utrecht area and southern regions, particularly the city of Maastricht, displaying considerably more influence from French than northern regions (Friesland, Groningen). In view of these regional differences, textual materials from different social domains should not be compared if they stem from different regions. This means that our corpus would have to include materials from social domains across the Netherlands, thus balancing the regional factor. While this is a theoretically relevant approach, it is not feasible to build such an enormous corpus within a single research project (see Van de Voorde et al. 2023 for the first steps towards such a corpus). We thus opted for a study of one multilingual space: one city, where French played an important role during a significant timespan. While Leiden is not the only possible option, it is a good choice, especially in view of its significant archival materials. At the same time, we wanted to reach comprehensiveness through an analysis of as many social domains as possible. Here, too, the available archival materials for Leiden were an important consideration.

8.3 Compiling the LOL Corpus

The Language of Leiden Corpus is constructed along two dimensions that define the two main independent variables in our research: time and social domain. We first delve a bit deeper into these two dimensions (8.3.1 and 8.3.2), after which we describe the selection of textual materials (8.3.3). This selection has led to an additional dimension, i.e., administrative v. non-administrative texts (8.3.4). We then discuss the transcription procedure (8.3.5), and the structure of the corpus (8.3.6).

8.3.1 Time

The word frenchification signals a diachronic process, i.e., a gradual increase in the influence of French over time. The peak of French influence is traditionally located in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Chapter 1); it has also been

argued that the so-called French period at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century (see Section 1.1) led to a marked increase of lexical borrowings from French in the nineteenth century (van der Sijs 2001: 234). In metalinguistic discourse, complaints about the influence of French date back to the sixteenth century, are repeated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and are still found in the nineteenth century (Chapter 3). In order to trace a possible gradual increase of French-origin elements during the Early and Late Modern period, we decided to focus on textual materials from the period from 1500 to 1900. The year 1500 should be early enough to establish diachronic trends resulting in frequency peaks in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. In the course of the nineteenth century, German and English, which had already been known and used for a long time in the Netherlands, emerged as foreign languages at least as important as French and in the twentieth century, English surpassed both French and German as the most important international language (see also Section 3.3.5). Therefore, the end of the nineteenth century seems to be a suitable cut-off point for our corpus.

When we build a corpus with data from 1500 onwards, we do not mean to imply that contact with French is restricted to the period after 1500. On the contrary, as we explained in Chapter 2, contact between the Dutch and French language areas and between speakers of the languages involved goes back much further in time. A sociolinguistic study of the influence of French on Dutch before 1500 is certainly something to look forward to, especially since fascinating studies on medieval English have been carried out over recent years, which call for comparative analyses on other Germanic languages (e.g., Wright 2011; Schipor 2018; Stenroos & Thengs 2020). The social dimension aimed for in the present research (see 8.3.2), along with the traditional focus on the eighteenth century, has however convinced us that a necessary first step should be a sociolinguistic analysis of the Early and Late Modern period. An additional and important aspect in this respect is the availability of archival materials, or rather the lack of available materials. A considerable diversity of textual materials is required for a sociolinguistic corpus-based analysis. Stenroos & Thengs (2020), for example, focus on so-called documentary texts, the advantage of which is the wide availability across medieval England and the fact that these texts are generally localisable. In their case, the corpus served various purposes, and investigating multilingualism and language contact phenomena were just two of the research topics. In the Low Countries, just as in England, medieval materials come in two main types: literary texts and documentary texts. Since we decided to neutralise the influence of regionality by focusing on Leiden (Section 8.2), and in the interest of an analysis that is fully engrained in the social structure of the historical community, we need a corpus that covers a variety of social domains. Such a corpus can be constructed for the

Early and Late Modern period, but it is highly debatable to what extent this can be achieved for the Middle Ages. As will become clear in Section 8.3.3, finding textual materials for the sixteenth century already proved quite difficult in some cases. It should furthermore be kept in mind that the migration history of Leiden also shows that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were most important in relationship to incoming French-dominant speakers (Section 2.4).

The continuous time of the four centuries from the sixteenth to the nineteenth was divided into 8 periods of 50 years, viz. 1500–1549, 1550–1599, 1600–1649, 1650–1699, 1700–1749, 1750–1799, 1800–1849 and 1850–1899. With this division, we follow multi-genre corpora such as ARCHER and GerManC. ARCHER or *A Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers* covers the period from 1600 to 1999 and is divided into 50-year periods.[21] Similarly, GerManC with various genres from the German language area covers three successive 50-year periods from 1650 to 1800 (Durrell et al. 2012). We decided to adopt a similar structure, also because we suspected beforehand — based on earlier corpus compilation work for the *Going Dutch Corpus* (Krogull 2018) and for the *Historical Corpus of Dutch* (Van de Voorde 2022; Van de Voorde et al. 2023) — that a more fine-grained division, for example into 20-year periods, would be very difficult due to a lack of sufficient archival materials.

Additional requirements had to be formulated to avoid undesired temporal adjacency of textual materials from different periods. For example, selecting data from the 1740s to represent the first half of the eighteenth century and from the 1750s to represent the second half does not make for a balanced corpus. We therefore decided to select materials from the middle of the period so that materials from c. 1725 represent the first half of the century and materials from c. 1775 the second half. If this turned out to be difficult, again, for lack of archival data, we aimed for an evenly spread, to the extent possible, of all materials representing one 50-year period over the decades constituting this period. For example, should there be insufficient texts from c. 1725, a selection of texts from the 1710s, 1720s and 1730s would be chosen to represent the first half of the eighteenth century. In general, the first and last decade of a 50-year period were avoided.

8.3.2 Social domain

The LOL Corpus comprises data from seven social domains relevant in the social history of the city of Leiden in the Early and Late Modern periods. These domains are in alphabetical order Academy, Charity, Economy, Literature, Private Life,

21. Information about ARCHER can be found at https://www.projects.alc.manchester.ac.uk/archer/.

Public Opinion and Religion, which correspond to the social domains discussed in historical studies of the city of Leiden (Tjalsma 1978, van Maanen & Groenveld 2003). The corpus does not comprise public administration or local government as a separate domain, but the texts allocated to the Economic domain largely consist of communication between the representatives of the local economy and of the local government, such as requests and ordinances. Furthermore, the texts representing Academy, Charity, Economy and Religion can be characterised as administrative texts as a result of which the corpus already comprises a large number of administrative texts.

In Section 8.3.1, we compared the structure of the LOL Corpus to existing multi-genre corpora for Dutch, English and German. These corpora not only cover several decades and centuries, but also multiple regions. *Genre* and *register* therefore emerge as suitable dimensions for the selection of textual materials, while we neutralised the factor of regionality (Section 8.2). In addition, we are specifically interested in the historical contexts triggering the adoption of French-origin items and other contact-induced changes, embedded in the social history of Leiden. This has led us to adopt *social domain* as a guiding principle instead of genre or register. Contrary to genre and register, the concept of social domain is closely tied to the social structure of the historical place we are interested in. With this approach, we also follow research on language choice, in which social domain is traditionally important (Haberland 2019). Our approach also implies that different domains can be represented by the same genre, which is in fact the case for some of the domains (see 8.3.3). Conversely, domains can be represented by multiple genres, and this is also the case in our corpus (8.3.3.).

We will now briefly introduce the seven social domains represented in the LOL Corpus (Assendelft 2023: 35–58). The domain *Academy* relates to the University of Leiden, which was founded in 1575 as the first university in the northern Low Countries. The university attracted a multilingual population to the city of Leiden: in the first two centuries of its existence, between a quarter and almost half of the professors came from other parts of Europe, and in the first century of its existence, about half of the students came from abroad, mostly from the German area. The university brought with it a range of social functions specific to the academic environment, which were often also open to the public: publishers, bookshops, a library, a *hortus botanicus*, and an anatomical theatre (Otterspeer 2008).

As was the case in so many Early Modern cities in Europe, a large proportion of the population of Leiden was poor, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries even up to half of the population (Sluijter & Schmidt 2003: 116–117). *Charity* therefore constitutes a prominent social domain in the history of Leiden. Poor relief was both a public and a private affair. While the local government took measures to centralise the poor relief system from the late sixteenth century onwards,

private initiatives remained indispensable throughout the Early and Late Modern period. These private initiatives included giving alms, donating or bequeathing funds to poor relief institutes or churches, and establishing institutes such as *hofjes* 'almshouses'.

The third domain is *Economy*. The economy of Leiden in the Early and Late Modern period was heavily dominated by the textile industry. It has been estimated, for example, that 74% of the bridegrooms marrying in Leiden in the 1641–1650 period worked there (de Vries et al. 2003: 96). Leiden was an important city for cloth production internationally, and many migrants came to Leiden to work in the textile industry (Section 2.4). There was an economic dip around the middle of the sixteenth century, followed by a renewed period of success, but at the beginning of the nineteenth century the heydays of the textile industry were over. It remained relatively important, however, for the city of Leiden: by the end of the nineteenth century, approximately a quarter of the labourers still worked in the production of all kinds of fabrics.

Literature was an important aspect of cultural life in the historical city of Leiden. Literature was produced by individuals but also in social clubs such as the late-Medieval chambers of rhetoric, which persisted well into the nineteenth century, and in the cultural and literary societies established from the eighteenth century onwards. Literary production was multilingual and included, for example, Latin and Greek texts by local academics. Theatrical texts were important in the rhetorical tradition as well as in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literary production. The first *schouwburg* 'theatre' was founded in 1705.

The domain of *Private Life* was first and foremost the domain of the family. Families in Early Modern Leiden numbered on average between 3.5 and 4 members (Assendelft 2023: 51). This was similar to most urban environments in the Holland area, but relatively small when compared to other regions in the Low Countries and in fact to many places in Europe. Communication in the private domain was of course often oral, but significant collections of private letters and diaries survive as the textual remnants of a partially intimate and inaccessible domain.

The social domain of *Public Opinion* was multilingual, and, like private life, much of public life and public opinion is principally inaccessible since it was oral. Texts related to public opinion included pamphlets and the periodical press. Periodicals comprised newspapers and magazines. In 1686, the *Ordinaire Leydse Courant* 'Common Leiden Newspaper' became the first newspaper published in Leiden. The publisher, Daniël van Gaesbeeck, sold the rights the year after, and from 1687, the newspaper was entitled the *Opregte Leydse Courant* 'Sincere Leiden Newspaper'. Leiden was also the basis of the well-known international French-language newspaper *Gazette de Leyde* (see Section 2.6).

The domain of *Religion* was dominated by the Catholic church well into the sixteenth century. After the Reformation, the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* 'Dutch Reformed Church' became dominant, although estimations of its relative importance vary a lot. According to Assendelft (2023: 56), approximately two-thirds of the population of Leiden around 1650 were members of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Catholic community remained a large minority throughout the centuries. In addition, there were significant communities of Walloon protestants, anabaptists, Lutherans, Jews, Pilgrims and other denominations and affiliations. The religious domain was multilingual, catering for a variety of migrant groups in addition to the traditional use of Latin.

8.3.3 Selecting textual materials

For each of the seven social domains, textual materials had to be identified that fulfilled a number of criteria: they had to: (a) be written in Dutch, (b) be linked to the history of the city of Leiden, (c) represent one of the social domains introduced in Section 8.3.2, and (d) be temporally spread as explained in Section 8.3.1. We aimed for 5,000 words per domain per 50-year period, distributed over at least four documents written by different hands. In other words, the maximum number of words for one text was limited to 1,250 to avoid the overrepresentation of specific hands and/or authors. In the case of Academy, Charity, Economy and Religion, the manuscript texts were anonymous so that we looked for different hands. For the domain of Public opinion, which comprises fragments from published newspapers, at least four different issues were used. The names of authors are known for the two other domains, Private Life and Literature. We explain below how we determined these authors' links to Leiden. To ensure comparability across periods, we chose to restrict our selection to one or two genres per social domain. This in turn limits the availability of textual materials. For example, an interesting collection of letters is available for the domain of Charity (van Wieren-Maan 2018) but almost exclusively for the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which makes this collection unsuitable for research into a longer diachrony.

The Academy was multilingual, while the textual heritage of the University of Leiden is strongly biased towards Latin. Dutch materials covering the entire period are found in the minutes of the *college van curatoren* 'Board of Curators' kept in the Leiden University Library. The clerks and secretaries to this board most likely originated from Leiden (Roberts & Otterspeer 2003: 203–204). The board comprised the burgomasters of Leiden, usually four, and formally also representatives of the States of Holland. In the course of the nineteenth century, the influence of the board was reduced as the university came under the more strict control of the national government. The mayor of Leiden, by then there was only

one, remained a member of the board in addition to local notables. Since the University of Leiden was founded in 1575, only materials from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards are available and incorporated into the LOL Corpus.

We decided to use wills for the domain of Charity. Throughout the centuries, individuals bequeathed possessions to local institutions engaged in poor relief such as alms houses and the orphanage. These wills are kept in the local archive (*Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken*). For this genre, we adopted additional requirements, viz. the notary and the testator had to be based in Leiden, and the inheritance had to be bestowed on a local charitable institution. Sufficient textual materials could be found for all 50-year periods of the LOL Corpus.

The textile industry characterises the domain of Economy in the history of Leiden. Posthumus (1910–1922) published most archival materials related to the textile industry from 1333 to 1795. An important part of this collection comprises requests on behalf of the factories and guilds directed to local officials such as the burgomasters and the members of the courthouse, and ordinances and resolutions issued by the municipal government. Suitable texts were identified by using Posthumus (1910–1922) but were also traced in the local archive (*Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken*) through a cumbersome procedure as Posthumus did not refer to unique signatures in the inventory. His transcriptions of identified documents were compared to photographs of the original documents and where necessary corrected. For the nineteenth century, when the textile industry was in decline, documents related to other industries were adopted, but the two genres represented in the LOL Corpus are still requests and resolutions. Sufficient textual materials could be found for all 50-year periods of the LOL Corpus.

The domain of Literature is represented by plays, which constitute a popular genre both in the days of the chambers of rhetoric and in more recent periods. Finding plays written by Leiden-based authors was aided by online resources such as *Ceneton*, an inventory of 13,000 historical Dutch plays, and the *DBNL*, the online library for Dutch language and literature.[22] Most plays are published and either kept in the Leiden University Library or traced on Google Books. Two plays from the second half of the sixteenth century are only available in manuscript form and kept in *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken* and in the Royal Library in The Hague, respectively. Unfortunately, no plays could be found for the first half of the sixteenth century. For the periods 1550–1599, 1650–1699 and 1850–1899, only three plays could be linked to Leiden-based authors. Instead of limiting the

22. The database *Ceneton* (*Census Nederlands Toneel* 'Census Dutch Plays'), can be found at https://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/index.html. The *DBNL* (*Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren* 'Digital Library for Dutch Literature') is available at https://www.dbnl.org.

sources to three times 1,250, i.e., to 3,750 words, we decided to keep to the goal of 5,000 words per 50-year period and thus raised the maximum number of words for these three periods only to 1,700 words per text.

Texts were considered to relate to Leiden based on a variety of arguments. We had to adopt a flexible set of criteria, since, in Early and Late Modern times, many people were mobile. We found seven authors of plays who were born in Leiden and died in Leiden, but these criteria proved to be too strict to find more authors. An important consideration was that the plays should represent the domain of Literature at a particular moment in the history of Leiden. In other words, authors born in Leiden who wrote plays when living elsewhere were not considered. It may be the case that their language has certain characteristics mostly found in Leiden, but we are not interested in localisable, i.e. dialectal, aspects of language, but in texts representing social domains in history. This also implies that we included texts written by authors born elsewhere, who moved to Leiden and who wrote plays during their stay in Leiden. With this approach, we were able to identify sufficient materials from the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, albeit restricted to three different texts for some of the 50-year periods.

The domain of Private Life is notoriously difficult to access, but the research traditions of historical sociolinguistics and language history 'from below' have extensively argued that ego-documents such as private letters and diaries give access to a language relatively close to everyday interaction (Elspaß et al. 2007; van der Wal & Rutten 2013). Letters go back further in history than diaries and related genres such as journals, which significantly increase somewhat later, particularly from the eighteenth century onwards. Letters written by Leiden-based authors were found in the University Library, *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken*, the city archive of Amsterdam (*Stadsarchief Amsterdam*) and the *Nationaal Archief* in The Hague. In general, letters were linked to the middle and upper ranks of society so that biographical information could fairly easily be found. A preference was given to people who were born and died in Leiden, although exceptions were allowed. In some cases, no life dates could be determined, but the writer was member of a Leiden-based family. In other cases, members of Leiden families had moved to other places after having spent their childhood or even longer in Leiden. The sixteenth century proved difficult, even for private letters. There are no data for the first half of the century. For the second half of the century, only data from the van der Meulen family are available. These were migrants from Antwerp who moved to the German lands first, before settling in Leiden in 1591. Only letters from after 1591 were used. The goal of 5,000 words was not reached for the second half of the sixteenth century.

Newspapers were chosen as the genre representing Public Opinion. The first Leiden-based in Dutch was established in 1686, viz. the *Ordinaire Leydse Courant*

'Common Leiden Newspaper'. It changed its name a couple of times and is generally referred to as the *Leidse courant* 'Leiden newspaper'. It was published from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards and is accessible online through *Delpher*[23] as well as in the archives (e.g., in *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken*). The selection was limited to news items, which means that announcements and advertisements were excluded.

Finally, the domain of Religion is represented by minutes from consistories, which is the genre with the longest and most consistent history throughout the centuries. The best available materials are related to three protestant denominations, i.e., Dutch-reformed, Baptist, and Lutheran, all kept in *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken*. By restricting the selection to Protestant denominations, materials from the first half of the century are not available, but it turned out that there were no Catholic minutes or similar genres available anyway for the early sixteenth century. From the second half of the sixteenth century onwards, sufficient textual materials could be found for all 50-year periods of the LOL Corpus.

8.3.4 Administrative v. non-administrative texts

Our selection of minutes in the case of Academy and Religion, wills in the case of Charity and ordinances and requests for Economy implies that these four social domains are represented by genres that can be considered to be administrative or *documentary*. This introduces another dimension to the LOL Corpus, according to which we distinguish administrative texts from non-administrative texts. This dimension was not built into the original corpus design, but resulted from the selection process and is therefore also determined by the availability, i.e., the survival of historical textual materials. Stenroos & Thengs (2020: 11–12) define *documentary texts* as texts that have a pragmatic function and that belong to a specific historical context. This means, for example, that literary texts with an aesthetic and/or didactic function, and not written to fulfil a certain function at a specific point in history, fall outside the definition. Since pragmatic function is described as 'a concern with the specific, individual case or matter' (Stenroos & Thengs 2020: 11), newspaper articles are also not to be seen as documentary texts. While it may be debated to what extent private letters are documentary texts (cf. Stenroos & Thengs 2020: 12) — a categorisation which may also differ across time; note that Stenroos & Thengs are concerned with Middle English documents — the main concern here is that the materials selected for the Academy, Charity, Economy and Religion domains can be grouped together as documentary, or, as we prefer,

23. See the website https://www.delpher.nl.

administrative texts, and are as such opposed to the non-administrative genres representing Literature, Private Life and Public Opinion.

Stenroos & Thengs (2020: 13) also observe that most documentary texts in medieval England were doubtlessly produced by men, and this is not different in our case, and in fact also applies to the other social domains. The only exceptions are Private Life and Literature, where the LOL Corpus also comprises texts written by female authors. Despite the importance of gender in the explanation of historical variation in Dutch (Rutten & van der Wal 2014), gender could not be consistently applied as a variable in the present research in view of the predominance of anonymous texts, which in practice are most likely written by men. Similarly, other kinds of social stratification such as age and social rank (Rutten & van der Wal 2014) could not be incorporated. By distinguishing between administrative and non-administrative texts, however, we introduce a relevant and as yet underexplored variable into the analysis of historical Dutch (see also Van de Voorde 2022 for administrative texts in the *Historical Corpus of Dutch*).

8.3.5 Transcription principles

The selected materials, both handwritten and printed, were transcribed diplomatically, and thus maintain the original spelling and lay-out. All transcriptions were checked by at least one other person. The transcriptions, stored as txt-files, include a header and a limited number of tags, for example to indicate ambiguous or illegible fragments. Abbreviations, some of which can still be found, mostly in the sixteenth-century materials, were resolved and signalled with a tag. Occasionally, parts of selected texts were removed and replaced by other parts from the same document in order to maintain the number of words. This applies, for example, to lists of expenses in the wills and to newspaper articles with a huge number of names (for countries, cities, rivers, seas, rulers, diplomats and so on). Likewise, lists of attendees and of nominations for positions in the minutes of the university and the churches were passed over in favour of other fragments. A high proportion of numbers of names was deemed irrelevant for the present analysis yet would count towards the goal of 5,000 words per domain per period. Assendelft (2023: 64–94) gives an extensive description of the transcription guidelines as well as examples of photographs of historical documents along with the transcriptions.

8.3.6 Structure of the LOL Corpus

Table 8.1 presents the structure of the LOL Corpus. The corpus comprises 251,417 words in total, distributed over the various dimensions discussed in the previous sections. For some of the cells, no data were found in the archives consulted, which is indicated with a dash. In other cases, data are principally not available because the domain did not yet exist — as with Academy in the early sixteenth century — or because the chosen genre did not exist, which applies to newspapers in the first three 50-year periods. In all other cases, the minimum of 5,000 words per cell was reached except for private letters in the period 1550–1599. In many cases, just over 5,000 words were used due to our decision to incorporate full clauses into the corpus, and thus not break the chosen excerpts off in the middle of a clause.

Table 8.1 Overview of the language of Leiden Corpus (*n.a.*= not applicable)

Domain	Academy	Charity	Economy	Religion	Literature	Private Life	Public Opinion	
Genre	Administrative				Non-administrative			
	Minutes	Wills	Ordinances / requests	Minutes	Plays	Letters	Newspaper articles	
Period								**Subtotal period**
1500–1549	*n.a.*	5,027	5,072	–	–	–	*n.a.*	10,099
1550–1599	5,046	5,229	5,118	5,305	5,116	4,449	*n.a.*	30,263
1600–1649	5,124	5,131	5,276	5,259	5,138	5,114	*n.a.*	31,042
1650–1699	5,177	5,111	5,314	5,128	5,143	5,032	5,053	35,958
1700–1749	5,025	5,082	5,189	5,153	5,183	5,421	5,111	36,164
1750–1799	5,067	5,290	5,212	5,128	5,112	5,116	5,095	36,020
1800–1849	5,160	5,114	5,100	5,258	5,173	5,145	5,084	36,034
1850–1899	5,157	5,037	5,052	5,271	5,194	5,038	5,088	35,837
Subtotal domains	35,756	41,021	41,333	36,502	36,059	35,315	25,431	**251,417**

CHAPTER 9

Loan suffixes

9.1 Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1, the strong discourse of frenchification has not led to a plethora of empirical research into the Dutch-French language contact situation. There are extensive investigations of French loanwords in Dutch, most notably by Salverda de Grave (1906) and van der Sijs (2001, 2005), but these are based on historical dictionaries and a limited selection of other sources, such as literary texts. The first quantitative, corpus-based analysis of the prominence of French-origin items in historical Dutch sources is Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal (2015). Their study focused on loan morphology, more specifically on loan suffixes. In this chapter, we will follow their lead and analyse the distribution of French-origin suffixes in the Language of Leiden Corpus. We first discuss our approach and previous research on loan suffixes in Dutch (Section 9.2). In 9.3, we explain our method, where an important issue will be the distinction between French and Latin suffixes. Sections 9.4 to 9.6 present the results, which will be discussed in 9.7.

9.2 Loan morphology in Dutch

Words from French were borrowed into Dutch already in the Middle Ages and with these loanwords came loan morphology. In the oldest Middle Dutch sources, several lexical items borrowed from Old and Middle French can be found, such as *proeven* 'prove' from French *pro(u)ver*, and *sinte* or *sente* 'holy, saint' from French *sain(c)t*, both dated around 1200 (van der Sijs 2001: 601). Van der Wal & van Bree (2008: 173–174) argue that the contact situation with French must have already been intense in the Middle Ages, not only because loanwords from French frequently occur in the Middle Dutch writing tradition from the thirteenth century onwards, when the number of manuscripts increases significantly, but also because various originally French loan suffixes are already attested with Germanic roots in Middle Dutch sources from the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Examples include *herbergier* 'innkeeper', *timmerage* 'building' and *heerschappie* 'rule, reign', in which Germanic stems and words are combined with the French nominalising suffixes *-ier*, *-age* and *-ie*, respectively (van der Wal & van Bree 2008: 174). In total, Dutch has borrowed between 30 and 40 suffixes from

French, which is more than from any other language, including Latin. Approximately 15 Dutch suffixes are borrowings from Latin (van der Sijs 2005: 140–143), but it should be noted that there is considerable overlap in the French and Latin-origin items (see below, Section 9.3). A small number of Dutch prefixes, such as *non-*, are borrowed from French, as well as a number of prefixoids (Booij 2019: 153), for example *routine-* in *routineklus* 'routine job', *routineonderzoek* 'routine examination' (van der Sijs 2005: 195). A larger number of Dutch prefixes are borrowed from Latin, including *contra-*, *extra-*, *inter-*, *interim-*, *multi-*, *quasi-*, *semi-*, *socio-*, *ultra-* and many more (van der Sijs 2005: 143–144).

The contact-linguistic process involved in the transfer of morphological material from one language to another is borrowing: first the borrowing of words, and via such lexical items also the borrowing of morphological material such as affixes. More specifically, in the terminology of Matras & Sakel (2007), the process concerns the borrowing of concrete phonological matter, i.e., it is a case of MAT borrowing. Winford (2003: 56–57) discusses the possible impact of lexical borrowing on the morphology of the recipient language, indicating that lexical borrowing which includes complex words with affixes may lead to the introduction of new derivational processes in the recipient language based on those affixes. For example, a range of Romance suffixes was introduced into Middle English through French loanwords (Dalton-Puffer 1996). These include, among others, *-age* (*mariage*), *-ment* (*instrument*), *-able* (*charitable*), *-ant* (*servant*), *-ard* (*Spaignard*) and *-ate* (*translate*). Some of these became productive in English and came to be combined with native stems, for example *-able* resulted in words such as *speakable* and *knowable*. This situation is very similar to the Dutch situation analysed in the present chapter.

Borrowing is a process that is performed by language users. It may result in loanwords and loan morphology, i.e., lexical and morphological material that originates from a donor language and that has become part of the recipient language. In general, it is assumed that morphological borrowing involving derivational affixes is easier or more likely to occur than the borrowing of inflectional morphology (Winford 2003: 91; Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015: 7; Meakins 2019: 63). The most easily borrowed derivational affixes are probably adjectivisers, diminutives and nominalisers, i.e., categories with concrete meanings rather than abstract meanings or grammatical functions (Gardani, Arkadiev & Amiridze 2015: 9). Most of the loan suffixes in our research are nominal and adjectival (see 9.3).

We consider the borrowing of suffixes analysed in this chapter as a case of indirect borrowing. Seifart (2015) argues that direct affix borrowing is also possible, in which case language users directly take affixes from complex words in the donor language, based on their knowledge of the donor language. In the case of indirect borrowing, affixes are disconnected from complex words in the recipi-

ent language, which are in their turn taken from the donor language. While direct borrowing is certainly possible in our case in view of the extensive knowledge of French in the Low Countries, we assume that the French suffixes studied in this chapter are predominantly, if not exclusively the result of indirect borrowing. The main reason is that Assendelft (2023: 133–143), on whose data this chapter is based, shows that the large majority of the French suffixes in the LOL Corpus are either part of loanwords or, in some cases, productively formed in Dutch but still combined with a French (or Latin) stem. For example, the highly frequent verbal suffix *-eren*, which is responsible for 455 of all 1,012 lexical types (see below, Section 9.4) has only one example in which it is combined with a Germanic stem, viz. the verb *waarderen* 'value', based on the noun *waarde* 'value'. Note that the suffix *-eren* combines the original French infinitival ending *-er* plus the Dutch infinitive suffix *-en*. Seifart (2015: 526–527) discusses the parallel borrowing of French suffixes into Middle English, in particular the suffix *-age* in words such as *linage* and *menage* and concludes that indirect borrowing is the main process involved.

We are primarily interested in the distribution of loan morphology in the historical language community as represented by the LOL Corpus. A different perspective on the contact situation would entail an investigation of the point in time of borrowing, for example, in order to better understand the process of borrowing theoretically or to be able to date the time of borrowing more precisely. We contend that a sociolinguistic investigation of a contact situation should focus less on the phenomenon of borrowing and should instead be concerned with the place of loan morphology in the language community. We will return to this issue in Chapter 10 (Section 10.8) as a similar line of reasoning applies to loanwords. Suffice it here to describe the difference between the time of borrowing on the one hand and the presence of loan morphology in the community on the other with the following example. The verb *accorderen* 'agree, allow' from French *(s')accorder* (plus the Dutch infinitive suffix *-en*) is first attested in 1281, and examples from the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries can be found in the historical dictionaries of Dutch.[24] Forms of this verb appear in the LOL Corpus in total 47 times. In the first period, 1500–1549, there is 1 token, and this number is the same in the second period. In the 1600–1649 period, there are 2 tokens. Then, in 1650–1699, there are 8, in 1700–1749 there are 9, in 1750–1799 there are 16, in 1800–1849 there are 10. In the final period, 1850–1899, there are no longer any instances of *accorderen*, although the verb is still used in Dutch. This example shows two things. First, throughout most of the written history of Dutch, the verb *accorderen* can be found in the sources. Second, from the late seventeenth to the first half of the nineteenth century, it was used much more often than before

24. See the historical dictionaries at https://gtb.ivdnt.org/search/?owner=wnt, s.v. *accorderen*.

and after. Analysing language contact as a social phenomenon, we argue that the diachronic distribution is more relevant than the question when and how exactly the verb was first borrowed. Note furthermore that borrowing can also occur repeatedly so that the first instance of lexical borrowing is not necessarily the only instance. A single case of borrowing does not imply the existence of a *bona fide* loanword (Poplack 2017: 6).

Previous research into French loan morphology in Dutch includes the initial paper by Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal (2015). They investigated the distribution of French-origin suffixes in two corpora of letters from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They were able to show, first, that there were differences between the southern and the northern parts of the language area: letters from the Flanders, close to the Dutch-French language border, appeared to comprise more loan suffixes than letters from more northern regions such as Zeeland and Holland. Second, with the Northern Netherlands, the city of Amsterdam appeared to diverge from the general pattern in displaying more loan suffixes than the other cities and towns in the north from which letters originated. The regional difference between north and south was one of the reasons to exclude the factor of region in the present research. The divergent result for Amsterdam indicates social differences, for example a difference between the cosmopolitan metropolis on the one hand, and other towns and cities in the relatively urbanised area of Holland on the other. Differences between social ranks were also found. While French-origin items occurred across the social layers investigated by Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal (2015), they also found a clear social pattern with more frequent use of French loan suffixes in letters produced by individuals allocated to higher-middle ranks, when compared to lower-middle and lower ranks.

The regional differences between the Southern and the Northern Netherlands are partially confirmed in the study of Verheyden (2023), based on the Historical Corpus of Dutch (Van de Voorde et al. 2023). Comparing two regions from the north (Holland and Zeeland) to two from the south (Brabant and Flanders), Verheyden (2023: 97) establishes differences, but these are mostly due to Flanders and, moreover, largely due to the genre of pamphlets. A related genre difference is that pamphlets and administrative texts display more loan suffixes than ego-documents (Verheyden 2023: 89). Diachronically, there is a gradual increase in French-origin suffixes with a peak in the eighteenth century and a subsequent decrease in the nineteenth, particularly in the case of administrative texts and ego-documents (Verheyden 2023: 97).

In a follow-up study to Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal (2015), Rutten & Vosters (2023) compared private and business letters from the second half of the seventeenth and the second half of the eighteenth century. They used the Letters as Loot Corpus, in which letters are also metadated for gender, rank and region. The

study shows that the distribution of French loan suffixes is diachronically stable with a few important exceptions: an increase can be witnessed in business letters, as opposed to private letters, particularly if they are written by upper-middle ranked men from Amsterdam. The follow-up study thus reproduced the social differences found in the earlier study but also confirmed the important role of the city of Amsterdam in the further spread of loan suffixes. In addition, an important register difference was established through comparison of private and business letters. The latter aspect was taken up by van der Wal & Rutten (2024), who explore register differences between private and business letters in a set of merchant letters from the second half of the seventeenth century. The business letters comprised many more instances of the verbal suffix *-eren*, which derives from French, and which is in fact the most frequent loan suffix in all studies mentioned here. Finally, the small-scale study by Stevens (2019), based on private letters from one family, dated to the first decades of the nineteenth century, demonstrated the important difference between French loanwords and words with French-origin suffixes, in that the number of loanwords extends well beyond words with French loan suffixes (see also Chapter 10).

An important result of the research literature so far is that there is, on the one hand, an extensive group of French-origin suffixes, namely between 30 and 40 different suffixes. Many of these suffixes occur only a handful of times in historical corpora when normalised per 1,000 words. The main exception to this is the verbal suffix *-eren*, which is highly frequent and makes up a considerable proportion of the results. In Rutten & Vosters (2023), for example, the suffix *-eren* is responsible for 45% of the tokens (1,630 of 3,659 tokens in total).

Based on these studies, it is unclear what to expect for the Language of Leiden Corpus. The corpus was built to detect frenchification in Early and Late Modern times, but Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal (2015) demonstrate hardly any changes from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries, except in Amsterdam, which is not where our data come from. Verheyden (2023: 99) establishes diachronic differences, with a peak in the supposedly frenchified eighteenth century, but this peak is strongest at the level of the corpus as a whole and less visible when zooming in on specific regions and genres. The register differences between private and business letters, established both in diachronic (Rutten & Vosters 2023) and synchronic (van der Wal & Rutten 2024) research, suggest that we may expect differences between the administrative and the non-administrative domains, on the assumption that the administrative domains are closest to the register of business letters. Verheyden (2023) also argues that administrative texts and pamphlets comprise more French-origin suffixes than ego-documents. Van der Wal & Rutten (2024) argue that many of the verbs in *-eren* in business letters originate from administrative and/or commercial discourse.

9.3 Method

Table 9.1 shows the c. 35 suffixes investigated for the present study. This list is based on van der Sijs (2005: 189–195). The suffix count depends on the interpretation of variants. For example, the list comprises *-aard* and *-erd* (with schwa), which are usually taken together, as the form with schwa is analysed as a phonetically reduced variant of the former (WNT s.v. *-aard*). The list also combines gender variants such as *-teur* and *-trice*, which are however morphological variants rather than phonetic variants, so that they can also be analysed as separate suffixes. Table 9.1 gives both a present-day example, based on van der Sijs (2005: 189–195), and an example from the LOL Corpus (in normalised spelling). All suffixes were extracted from the corpus taking into account spelling variation such as *-teit*/*-teyt*, *-ees*/*-eesch*, *-ij*/*-y*, *-atie*/*-acie*, and so on. In four cases, the LOL Corpus did not return any examples: *-ette*, *-cide*, *-isme* and *-tiek*.

A large number of French-origin suffixes are nominalising agentive suffixes (examples 1–15 in Table 9.1). The suffix *-aard* and its reduced variant *-erd* derive from French *-ard* (itself based on Germanic *-hard*) and are mostly used for male persons (van der Sijs 2005: 189; WNT s.v. *-aard*). The suffix *-ein*/*-een* is based on French *-ain* (e.g. *Romain*), while *-ees* goes back to French *-ais*/*-ois* (e.g. *Chinois*, WNT s.v. *-ees*), *-iaan* to French *-ien* (e.g. *Indien*), *-iet* to French *-ite* (e.g. *hussite*) and *-ijn* to French *-in* (e.g. *augustin*). The other suffixes (2–7, 10–12) are orthographically identical to their French counterparts, although the pronunciation may differ. The suffix *-ier* has an extended variant *-enier*, perhaps analogically formed after words in which *-ier* followed *-n* (WNT s.v. *-ier*). The suffix *-e*, if subjected to a corpus search, generates an extreme number of results, most of which are false positives. Following Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal (2015) and Rutten & Vosters (2023), we restricted the search strings to *-nte* (as in *comparante*, de facto the female variant of example 7) and *-inge* (which led to no results).

The following nominalising suffixes (Examples 16–27 in Table 9.1) are used for objects and abstract nouns. In some cases, the spelling is adjusted to Dutch conventions: French *-(i)té* > Dutch *-(i)teit*, French *-tique* > Dutch *-tiek*, French *-ation* > Dutch *-atie*. The suffix *-ij* (example 20) derives from French *-ie* (as in *pédanterie*). The French pronunciation is sometimes maintained, but the diphthongised pronunciation (e.g. [ɛi]) is more common. Extended variants of the suffix include forms such as *-erij* and *-erie* (see also WNT s.v. *-ij*).

The suffix *-(er)ie*/*-(er)ij* may actually originate from Latin instead of French: a word such as *academie* 'academy' with the stress on the penultimate syllable seems to be derived from Latin, as opposed to words such as *poëzie* 'poetry' and *melodie* 'melody' with stress on the final syllable (van der Sijs 2005: 192). According to van der Sijs (2005: 142–143), the suffixes *-atie*, *-ment* and *-(a)tuur* may also

Table 9.1 Dutch suffixes originating from French (partially based on van der Sijs 2005: 189–195)

	Suffix	Modern Dutch example	Example from the LOL Corpus
	Nominal		
1	*-aard, -erd*	*lafaard* 'coward', *goeierd* 'good person'	*Spanjaard* 'Spaniard'
2	*-es, -esse*	*prinses* 'princess', *secretaresse* 'female secretary'	*dienares* 'servant'
3	*-e*	*studente* 'female student'	*comparante* 'woman appearing before a notary'
4	*-ette*	*misdienette* 'altar girl'	–
5	*-(en)ier*	*aalmoezenier* 'chaplain'	*officier* 'officer'
6	*-ist*	*communist* 'communist'	*bloemist* 'florist'
7	*-ant*	*predikant* 'preacher'	*theologant* 'theologian'
8	*-ein, -een*	*Hondureen* 'inhabitant of Honduras'	*Romein* 'Roman'
9	*-ees*	*Balinees* 'inhabitant of Bali'	*Madoerees* 'Madurese'
10	*-ent*	*producent* 'producer'	*regent* 'governor'
11	*-eur/euse*	*chauffeur* 'driver', *chauffeuse* 'female driver'	*fabrikeur* 'manufacturer'
12	*-teur/trice*	*directeur* 'director', *directrice* 'female director'	*testateur* 'testator', *testatrice* 'testatrix'
13	*-iaan*	*indiaan* 'native American'	*Italiaan* 'Italian'
14	*-iet*	*Hussiet* 'Hussite'	*Israëliet* 'Israeli'
15	*-ijn*	*augustijn* 'Augustinian'	*begijn* 'beguine'
16	*-ade*	*blokkade* 'blockade'	*serenade* 'serenade'
17	*-age*	*lekkage* 'leakage'	*courage* 'courage'
18	*-cide*	*genocide* 'genocide'	–
19	*-oïde/ide*	*paranoïde* 'paranoid', *hominide* 'hominid'	*piramide* 'pyramid'
20	*-(er)ij/(er)ie*	*boerderij* 'farm', *pedanterie* 'pedantry'	*kopij, kopie* 'copy'
21	*-ine*	*vitamine* 'vitamin'	*medicine* 'medicine'
22	*-isme*	*calvinisme* 'calvinism'	–
23	*-(i)teit*	*majesteit* 'majesty'	*universiteit* 'university'
24	*-tiek*	*boetiek* 'boutique'	–
25	*-atie*	*situatie* 'situation'	*approbatie* 'approval'

Table 9.1 *(continued)*

	Suffix	Modern Dutch example	Example from the LOL Corpus
26	*-ment*	*regiment* 'regiment'	*traktement* 'salary'
27	*-((a)t)uur*	*signatuur* 'signature'	*literatuur* 'literature'
	Adjectival		
28	*-aal*	*amicaal* 'friendly'	*inaugural* 'inaugural'
29	*-air*	*elitair* 'elitist'	*militair* 'military'
30	*-(i)eel*	*financieel* 'financial'	*formeel* 'formal'
31	*-esk*	*soldatesk* 'soldierly'	*grotesk* 'grotesque'
32	*-(i)eus*	*complimenteus* 'complimentary'	*serieus* 'serious'
33	*-iek*	*politiek* 'political'	*publiek* 'public'
34	*-lei*	*allerlei* 'all kinds of'	*generlei* 'not of any kind, not at all'
	Verbal		
35	*-eren*	*waarderen* 'to appreciate'	*restitueren* 'reimburse'

derive from Latin. In all these cases, words with the suffixes in question have entered Dutch from both languages. Sometimes, the etymology can be reconstructed, but particularly for *-(a)tuur*, van der Sijs (2005: 143) argues that the origin of the lexical items involved can often no longer be traced. The stress difference between supposedly Latin and French borrowings is not entirely reliable: a word such as *situatie* 'situation' is often said to derive from French *situation*, although the stress falls on the penultimate syllable (*Etymologiebank* s.v. *situatie*). For these reasons, Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal (2015) and Rutten & Vosters (2023) have excluded suffixes 20 and 25–27 from the analysis. However, Latin and French are also not always clearly distinguishable in the case of other suffixes: the French suffix *-aard*/*-erd* became associated with the Latin-orgin suffix *-aar*, which is also an agentive nominalising suffix, mostly for male persons, resulting in various doublets (van der Sijs 2005: 189). We decided to accept the potential indistinguishability of Romance suffixes and treat them as one category, if there is evidence of French-origin items contributing to the presence of the suffix in the Dutch language. The explanation for indistinguishability, after all, lies in historical language users treating them similarly. In addition, Assendelft (2023: 105–106) shows that in the ambiguous cases (20, 25–27), between half and three-quarters of the lexical items in the LOL Corpus are actually borrowed from French.

The adjectival suffixes (28–34) largely follow their French counterparts, with some differences. Dutch *-(i)eel* derives from French *-(i)el* (as in *formel*), *-esk* from *-esque* (as in *burlesque*) and *-iek* from *-tique* (e.g. *politique*). The suffix *-lei* is sometimes considered a nominalising suffix (van der Sijs 2005: 193), based

on Medieval French *loy/loi/ley/lei* 'law, rule, manner', but it mostly functions as an adjectival suffix in phrases such as *in geenderley manieren* 'in no way at all', *veelderley Soorten* 'many different types' (see also WNT s.v. *-lei*).

The verbal suffix *-eren* originates from French. It is the Dutch representation of a variety of French verbs, including verbs in *-er* (*dateren* 'date' < French *dater*), *-ir* (*conveniëren* 'be convenient' < French *convenir*), *-dre* (*pretenderen* 'pretend' < French *prétendre*), *-ier* (*personifiëren* 'personify' < French *personnifier*), *-quer* (*expliceren* 'explicate' < French *expliquer*), which have all resulted in Dutch verbs in *-eren* (van der Sijs 2005: 194–195; WNT s.v. *-eeren*). In some cases, the loanwords display phonetic changes, for example the [k] pronunciation (spelt <q>) in French *expliquer* is modified into [s] in Dutch *expliceren* (spelt <s>). In all cases, the Dutch infinitive suffix *-(e)n* is added to the French verb, resulting in the Dutch verbal suffix *-eren*, composed of *er* + *en*. This productive suffix, whose origin entirely depends on French borrowings, thus demonstrates considerable integration into the grammar of Dutch.

Sometimes, a French counterpart is lacking, while there is a Latin counterpart in *-are*, for example *negeren* 'ignore' and Latin *negare*. Such cases may indicate Latin borrowings, but they may also be productively formed in Dutch, based on the noun *negatie* 'negation' and the suffix *-eren* (van der Sijs 2005: 194). The suffix *-eren* has been frequent and productive throughout the history of Dutch and the consensus is that it is borrowed from French, although some Latin influence may be assumed (WNT s.v. *-eeren*, van der Sijs 2005: 194). We have incorporated all inflected forms of verbs in *-eren*, which includes, for example, participles (*gecontinueerd* 'continued') and present tense forms (*assisteert* 'assists'). Such forms, with flectional endings added to the verbal suffix, again demonstrate considerable integration into Dutch.

Since adjectives and verbs can be nominalised, the adjectival suffixes and *-eren* occur not only in adjectives and verbs, but occasionally also in nouns. Verbal participles can occur as adjectives (or even as nominalised adjectives) and especially agentive nouns can be changed into adjectives. We did not systematically look into these cases of conversion and/or derivation but did include all forms in the analysis.

9.4 Loan suffixes across time

We first look into the distribution of French-origin suffixes diachronically, dividing the results in accordance with the 50-year periods of the LOL Corpus. We give both the token count and the type count. We conceptualise *type* here as the lexical type, i.e. the dictionary form of a lexical item with one of the suffixes men-

tioned in Section 9.3. This means, for example, that *accorderen* 'agree, allow' and *accepteren* 'accept' are two different types covering a diversity of tokens such as, in the first example, *accordeert* 'agrees', *accorderende* 'agreeing' and *geaccordeerd* 'agreed (past participle)'. Thus, *type* here does not refer to the individual suffixes. The total number of suffix tokens found in the corpus is 6,885. The number of types is 1,012. This means that 2.7% of the total of 251,417 words in the corpus carry one of the French-origin suffixes investigated here.

If we consider the individual suffixes, our results are similar to those of Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal (2015) and Stevens (2019). The verbal suffix *-eren* is very frequent with 2,682 tokens in total, representing 39% of the data. There are many more relatively frequent suffixes. Those with more than 100 tokens include, in addition to *-eren*: *-atie* (603 tokens), *-ant* (486), *-ment* (480), *-(i)teit* (440), *-ij/ie* (425), *-teur* (345), *-ent* (275), *-aal* (241), *-ier* (147), *-eur* (108) and *-iek* (104). At the same time, some have fewer than 10 tokens or even none: for example, *-cide* and *-tiek* do not occur in the corpus at all. As in the studies mentioned, the suffix tokens are spread over a large number of different French-origin suffixes with *-eren* as an extraordinarily frequent case on the one hand, and a handful of hardly occurring suffixes on the other.

Figure 9.1 presents the distribution of the French-origin suffixes across time, computed as the average frequency per 1,000 words. The blue columns show the token frequency, and the orange columns the type frequency.

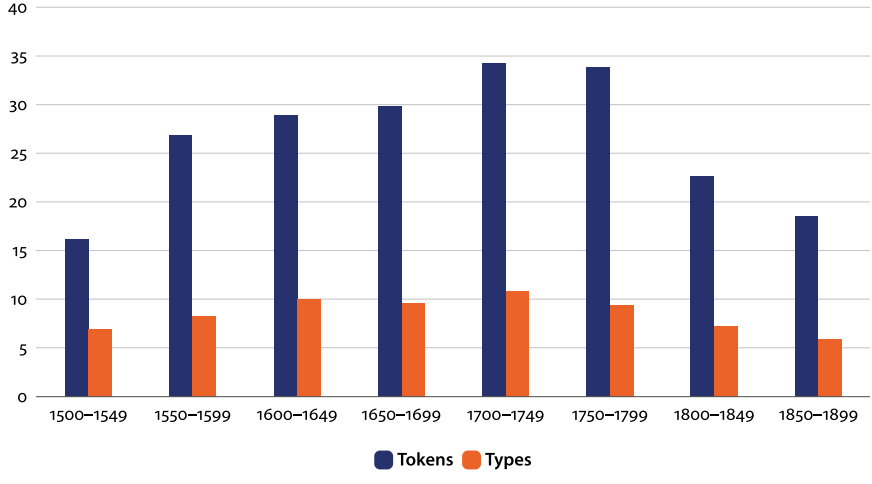


Figure 9.1 All French loan suffixes, across time, token frequency (blue) and type frequency (orange) per 1,000 words

As can be seen in Figure 9.1, the token frequency increases from the early sixteenth century to the early eighteenth century, that is, from 16 tokens per 1,000 words in the 1500–1549 period to 34 per 1,000 words in 1700–1749. It remains relatively high in the second half of the eighteenth century and then drops sharply and almost to the level of the first half of the sixteenth century. Figure 9.1 thus suggests that there is another remarkable development in addition to the gradual increase of French-origin suffixes in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, namely the sudden decrease in the nineteenth century. We will return to this below in Section 9.7 (as well as in 10.9 and in Chapter 13). The same pattern, i.e., a gradual increase followed by a decrease, is found for the types, although less pronounced due to the lower frequencies overall.

In addition to the token and type frequencies themselves, we can investigate the type-token ratio. This will give us an idea of the *loan suffix diversity*, which is based on measures for lexical diversity. Usually, type-token ratios (TTRs) are computed at the level of the text by comparing the number of unique forms or types of a particular phenomenon in the text to the total token count of the text in order to gain an insight into the lexical diversity of the text as a whole. Van Hout & Muysken (1994) discuss to what extent the TTR is useful in loanword research and criticise the TTR since it is sensitive to the length of the text samples. We are however only interested in the ratio of the suffix tokens and the suffix types, which gives a reliable interpretation of the diversity of the lexical items that carry a French-origin suffix.

Table 9.2 gives the absolute numbers of the suffix tokens and types as well as the TTR per 50-year period of the LOL Corpus.

Table 9.2 Tokens, types (absolute numbers per period) and type-token ratios of all French loan suffixes

	1500–1549	1550–1599	1600–1649	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899
Tokens	164	812	898	1074	1237	1220	815	665
Types	70	251	309	344	393	340	263	211
TTR	**0.43**	**0.31**	**0.34**	**0.32**	**0.32**	**0.28**	**0.32**	**0.32**

Note that the first half of the sixteenth century is only represented by two domains, Charity and Economy, which may explain the divergent TTR in this period. From the late sixteenth century onwards, the TTR is relatively stable, except perhaps for a minor dip in 1750–1799. This suggests that there are no strong

changes in loan suffix diversity; that is, it is not the case that a small number of lexical items with a French-origin suffix are used increasingly frequently, thus boosting the token count in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As could also be gleaned from Figure 9.1, the type count also goes up in these periods so that the TTR remains quite stable diachronically. We will see below (Section 9.6) that there are differences between social domains diachronically, but here the important observation is that it is not merely an increase in tokens which boosts the frequency in the eighteenth century.

9.5 Loan suffixes across social domain

This section looks at the distribution of the loan suffixes across the other main variable of the LOL Corpus: social domain. Figure 9.2 presents the token count per 1,000 words (blue columns) as well as the type frequency per 1,000 words (orange columns). On the left-hand side, Figure 9.2 has the administrative domains (Academy, Charity, Economy, Religion). On the right-hand side, it has the non-administrative domains (Literature, Private Life, Public Opinion).

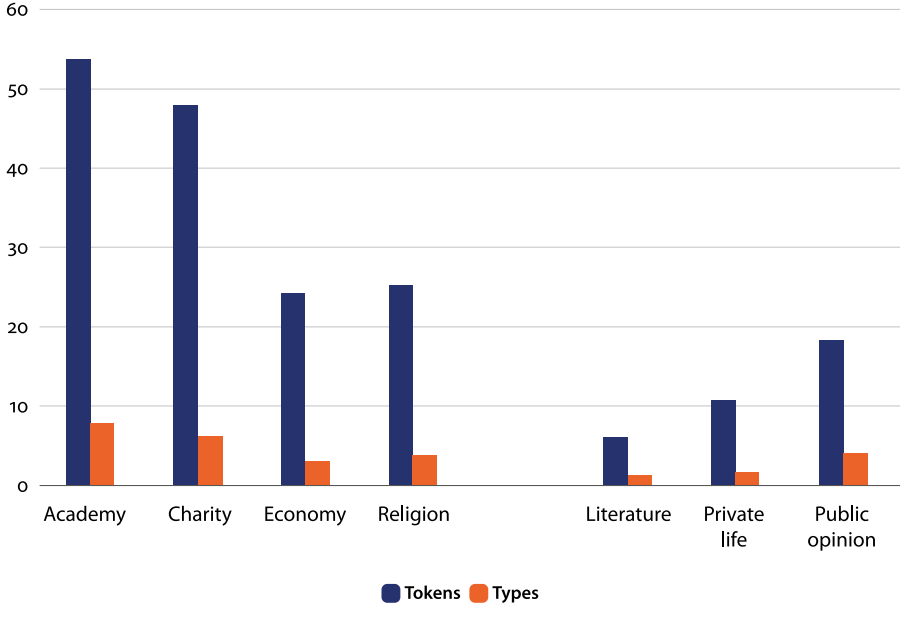


Figure 9.2 All French loan suffixes, across social domain, token frequency (blue) and type frequency (orange) per 1,000 words

A first observation is that there is a marked difference between the administrative and the non-administrative domains. This is particularly clear from the token frequencies, where all administrative domains are well above 20 tokens per 1,000 words as opposed to the non-administrative domains. Nonetheless, there are also marked differences within the administrative and non-administrative domains: Academy and Charity have very high scores, much higher than Economy and Religion, and Public Opinion also seems to differ from the other two non-administrative domains.

Table 9.3 gives the absolute numbers of the suffix tokens and types as well as the TTR per social domain represented in the LOL Corpus

Table 9.3 Tokens, types (absolute numbers per social domain) and type-token ratios of all French loan suffixes

	Academy	**Charity**	**Economy**	**Religion**	**Literature**	**Private Life**	**Public Opinion**
Tokens	1,921	1,966	1,006	925	219	383	465
Types	284	256	129	144	48	60	105
TTR	**0.15**	**0.13**	**0.13**	**0.16**	**0.22**	**0.16**	**0.23**

It appears that the TTR is very similar across social domains. It is only in Literature and Public Opinion that the TTR is slightly higher than in all other domains, indicating more loan suffix diversity in Literature and Public opinion.

We now focus on the suffixes and the lexical items (or: types) to which they are attached per social domain. Table 9.4 gives the two most frequently occurring lexical items per social domain with the absolute number of tokens between brackets. This will give a first impression of the lexical items and the semantic fields involved.

In many cases, the lexical items in Table 9.4 are characteristic of the social domains in question. This applies to the domains of Academy, Charity and Economy as well as to *predikant* in the domain of Religion. The words in Private Life (*logeren, partij*) illustrate the activities often talked about in private letters. The frequent words found in the domain of Public Opinion reflect the fact that international politics and military campaigns are frequent topics in newspapers.

Still, it cannot be concluded that the token frequencies in each social domain are due to only a limited number of highly frequent domain-specific lexical items, as already suggested by the type frequencies per domain in Table 9.3. If we zoom in on the 50-year periods of the corpus, the type frequencies in the Academy domain, for example, range from 37 in the 1850–1899 period to 150 in the 1650–1699 period. Literature has the lowest token and type frequencies of all

Table 9.4 Most frequently occurring words per domain (absolute frequency)

Domain	Lexical item (type)
Academy	*universiteit* 'university' (263)
	curateur 'curator' (146)
Charity	*testament* 'will' (210)
	comparant 'person appearing before a notary' (121)
Economy	*suppliant* 'suppliant' (56)
	draperie 'drapery' (37)
Religion	*predikant* 'preacher' (104)
	resolveren 'resolve, decide' (33)
Literature	*arguatie* 'argument' (18)
	Spanjaard 'Spaniard' (10)
Private Life	*logeren* '(let) spend the night' (15)
	partij 'party' (14)
Public Opinion	*ambassadeur* 'ambassador' (26)
	officier 'officer' (18)

social domains, but the type frequencies still range from a modest 7 to no fewer than 55 across the 50-year periods of the corpus. The interplay of social domains and diachrony will be further discussed in Section 9.6.

The lexical stock of the Academy domain comprises a few relatively frequent words in addition to *universiteit* and *curateur*, which make up 409 out of 1921 tokens or 21%. Other frequent words are *student* 'student' (50 tokens), *resolveren* 'resolve, decide' (47 tokens), *deliberatie* 'consideration, debate' (35), *faculteit* 'faculty' (32) and *arresteren* 'determine' (32). These examples are either characteristic of the Academic domain itself (*student, faculteit*) or they indicate administrative actions and events. With 605 tokens, these 7 types constitute 31% of the total. Still, among the total of 284 types, there are many more words that occur only once or a few times, from *abdij* 'abbey', *aboucheren* 'confer, discuss' and *absenteren* 'leave' to *chirurgie* 'surgery', *explicatie* 'explanation', *literatuur* 'literature', *meubilair* 'furniture', *mortificeren* 'cancel', *pecunieel* 'monetary, financial', *rescriberen* 'respond', *translatie* 'translation' and *vocaal* 'vocal'. While some of these appear to indicate the register used in historical administrative domains (e.g. *absenteren, rescriberen*), other words have a more general meaning and are used in other domains as well, and up until the present day (e.g. *abdij, literatuur, meubilair*).

The domain of Charity has a comparable high number of tokens and types. In addition to *comparant(e)* and *testament*, other relatively frequent types also

mainly concern domain-specific roles and actions: *testateur* 'testator' (75 tokens), *testatrice* 'testatrix' (72), *passeren* 'pass, viz. of a legal document before a notary' (71), *legateren* 'bequeath' (67). The word *resideren* 'reside' (69) has a more general meaning and is used here to indicate the residence of the individuals involved in the legal transaction. Likewise, *disponeren* 'dispose' (60 tokens), in the wills that represent the domain of Charity, has the specific meaning of owning goods and properties. The next frequent item is *compareren* 'appear before a notary' (50). This limited number of frequent types is responsible for 795 or 40% of the total of 1966 tokens. All other types have fewer than 40 tokens and most of the 256 types actually occur only once or a handful of times in the corpus. This applies both to words that are still relatively common in Dutch, such as *annuleren* 'cancel', *donatie* 'gift', *inventariseren* 'inventory', *mankeren* 'lack', and to words that have become less common, including *appliceren* 'focus on', *deliberatie* 'consideration', *resolveren* 'resolve, decide' *secluderen* 'exclude', *suppleren* 'supply, replace'. Examples such as *deliberatie* and *resolveren* demonstrate that frequent words in one domain (i.e. Academy) are not necessarily frequent in another administrative domain (i.e. Charity).

In the Economic domain, only few words have more than 10 tokens, in addition to *draperie* and *suppliant*. These are *ordonneren* 'order' (27), *gouverneur* 'foreman' (21), *superintendent* 'superintendent' (21), *fabrikeur* 'manufacturer' (18), *directeur* 'director' (17), *consenteren* 'approve' (16), *rekwestrant* 'petitioner' (15), *continueren* 'continue' (13), *manufacturen* 'manufactures' (12) and *drapier* 'draper' (11). Again, most of these lexemes exemplify the domain in question, as they signify social roles and objects characteristic of the domain. Other words indicate actions typical for the communicative situation, which is defined by ordinances and requests. This becomes visible through verbs such as *ordonneren* and *consenteren*. While these 12 types may be responsible for 264 tokens, i.e. 26% of the total of 1006, the lexical stock is again much broader, with more than 100 different types producing the remaining 745 tokens, from *accresceren* 'increase' and *admitteren* 'admit' to *examinatie* 'examination', *proflueren* 'originate', *retardement* 'delay', *ververij* 'dye house' and *ziederij* 'seething house', and many more. Frequent types from the Academic domain do not occur at all (*universiteit, curateur, student, faculteit*) or only a few times (*deliberatie* (8), resolveren (8), *arresteren* (6)). Likewise, frequent words from the Charity domain are absent (*testament, testateur, testatrice, legateren, resideren*) or infrequent (*passeren* (5), *comparant* (1), *compareren* (1) *disponeren* (1)).

The domain of Religion, in terms of token and type frequencies similar to Economy, has *predikant* (104) and *resolveren* (33) as the most frequent types. *Resolveren* was also among the more frequent items in Academy. The next most frequent item is *predicatie* 'sermon' (29 tokens). In this case, too, there are a small

number of lexical items with more than 10 tokens: *nominatie* 'nomination' (25), *president* 'president' (24), *attestatie* 'attestation' (21), *regent* 'governor' (21), *rapporteren* 'report' (19), *communiceren* 'communicate' (16), *committeren* 'delegate' (15), *ordonneren* 'order' (14), *continueren* 'continue' (13), *particulier* 'particular, private' (14), *proponent* 'proponent' (14), *nomineren* 'nominate' (13), *traktement* 'salary' (12) and *ordinair* 'normal, regular' (11). While there is some overlap with other administrative domains (*resolveren, ordonneren*), the main observation is that the most frequent types differ from the other domains. Again, a considerable number are domain-specific (*predikant, predicatie*), or have a domain-specific meaning here (*attestatie*, i.e. a certification of good conduct provided by the church; *nominatie*, viz. of a minister, along with the verb *nomineren*; *regent*, viz. of an almshouse), or indicate administrative roles and practices (*resolveren, president, rapporteren, communiceren, committeren, ordonneren*). This group of 17 types represents 398 or 43% of the total of 925 types, but again, this also means that the remaining 57% of the tokens are produced by 127 types, many of which occur only once or a few times. These include *absenteren* 'be absent', *adviseren* 'advise', *epidemie* 'epidemic', *legaal* 'legal', *mennoniet* 'mennonite', *presupponeren* 'presuppose', *rembourseren* 'reimburse', *vaccinatie* 'vaccination' and many more.

The domain of Literature is quite different from the administrative domains. The two most frequent words are *arguatie* and *Spanjaard*. All 18 tokens of *arguatie* are from one play from the second half of the sixteenth century, in which it occurs both as a noun and as a proper noun, i.e. as the name of one of the characters; other characters are *Gepeijs* 'Thought', *Vraege* 'Question' and *Antwoordt* 'Answer'. All occurrences of *Spanjaard* are from two plays, one from the 1650–1699 period and one from 1850–1899. Both are about the sixteenth-century revolt against the Spanish Habsburg rulers, and specifically about the siege of Leiden in 1573 and 1574. All other words occur fewer than 10 times, for example *natuur* 'nature' (7), *informatie* 'information' (6), *predikant* 'minister' (5), *razernij* 'rage' (5), *heerschappij* 'rule, reign' (4), *memorie* 'memory' (4). Together, these 8 types represent 59 tokens or 27% of the total of 219. The remaining 40 types occur only one, two or three times. Semantically, these are largely determined by the contents of the plays in the corpus. Like *Spanjaard* and *heerschappij*, a large portion have a political and/or military origin, for example *adjudant* 'adjutant', *ambassadeur* 'ambassador', *ambassadrice* 'female ambassador', *dwingelandij* 'tyranny', *hellebaardier* 'halberdier', *luitenant* 'lieutenant', *majesteit* 'majesty', *muiterij* 'mutiny', *officier* 'officer', *politiek* 'politics', *regent* 'ruler' and *slavernij* 'slavery'. Other examples of infrequent words include *appartement* 'apartment', *clergie* 'clergy', *dronkaard* 'drunkard', *fantasie* 'fantasy', *genereren* 'generate', *sentiment* 'sentiment' and *theologie* 'theology'. Apart from *clergie*, these are still in use today.

The two most frequent types in Private Life are *logeren* (15 tokens) and *partij* (14). Other relatively frequent words are also characteristic of private communication: *dienares* 'female servant' (10) is used in letter closings, while *feliciteren* 'congratulate' (10), *arriveren* 'arrive' (9), *compliment* 'compliment' (8), *kopie* 'copy' (7), *contentement* 'contentment' (6), *informeren* 'inform' (6), *presentatie* 'presentation' (6) and *communiceren* 'communicate (5) signify typical actions and practices performed through letter-writing. The word *officier* 'officer' (10) is used quite often, indicating the profession of individuals talked about in the letters. These 12 types (out of 60) make up 28% of all tokens, namely 106 out of 383. All other words appear fewer than 5 times. Among the group of types with 4 tokens, quite a few also signify actions and topics typically debated in private correspondence: *adresseren* 'address' (4), *diverteren* 'enjoy' (4), *logement* 'lodging house' (4), *presenteren* 'present' (4), *recommanderen* 'recommand' (4). Other types with 4 tokens are *fiscaal* 'tax officer', *kapitaal* 'capital' and *natuur* 'nature', which indicate professions and topics under discussion.

The domain of Public Opinion is characterised by types that signify the topics discussed in Early and Late Modern newspapers: politics, diplomacy and wars. In addition to *ambassadeur* (26) and *officier* (18), the most frequent types are *partij* 'party' (17), *arriveren* 'arrive' (14), *parlement* 'parliament' (12), *majesteit* 'majesty' (11), *gouvernement* 'government' (10), *regiment* 'regiment' (10), *president* 'president' (9), *diplomatiek* 'diplomatic' (8), *prinses* 'princess' (8), *gouverneur* 'governor' (7) and *publiek* 'public' (7). There is some overlap with Private Life, although *partij* denotes a social event in Private Life and political party in Public Opinion, and with Literature, which also often deals with political and military events. The 13 (out of 105) types mentioned make up 157 tokens or 34% of the total of 465 tokens. The remaining, less frequent types include lexical items from the same semantic field (such as *adjudant* 'adjutant', *admiraliteit* 'admiralty', *chevalier* 'chevalier', *deserteur* 'deserter', *detachement* 'unit', *equipage* 'equipment', *kanselier* 'chancellor', *marinier* 'marine', *politiek* 'political') as well as other types (e.g., *allerlei* 'all kinds of', *auteur* 'author', *confirmeren* 'confirm', *dicteren* 'dictate', *directeur* 'director', *interesseren* 'interest', *ledikant* 'bedstead', *organiseren* 'organise', *student* 'student', *visserij* 'fishery').

The social domains in the LOL Corpus display a wide variety of lexical types. In most domains, types indicating actions, roles and events characteristic of the domain are most frequent. In general, c. 10 frequent types produce between 25 and 50 percent of the tokens. At the same time, a broad range of dozens or in some domains even hundreds of other types, often occurring only once or twice, represent the majority of the tokens. Assendelft (2023: 131) demonstrates that of the total of 1,012 lexical types in the LOL Corpus, no fewer than 616 or 61% have a token frequency of 1 or 2. Assendelft (2023: 128–133), moreover, distinguishes

between domain-specific vocabulary and more generally used lexical items based on a combination of dictionary labels and token frequencies in the corpus. For example, some items are considered administrative or legal terminology in historical dictionaries. Other items lack such labels, but occur only in specific domains in the corpus, or, on the contrary, across multiple domains, both administrative and non-administrative. Since the latter analysis depends on the token frequency, Assendelft (2023: 130–131) has restricted it to types with 3 or more tokens. The adopted combination of clues leads her to assert that almost half of the lexical items with a French loan suffix and a token frequency of 3 or more can be considered to be domain-specific terminology. Most of these domain-specific lexemes occur in the administrative domains.

9.6 Social domains and time

After having found a clear diachronic pattern (Section 9.4) and having described the variation across social domains (Section 9.5), we now delve into the interaction of these two main variables. Figure 9.3 gives the token frequency, normalised per 1,000 words, across the temporal intervals of the corpus and split up according to the two groups of social domains distinguished in the corpus: administrative (blue line) and non-administrative domains (red line).

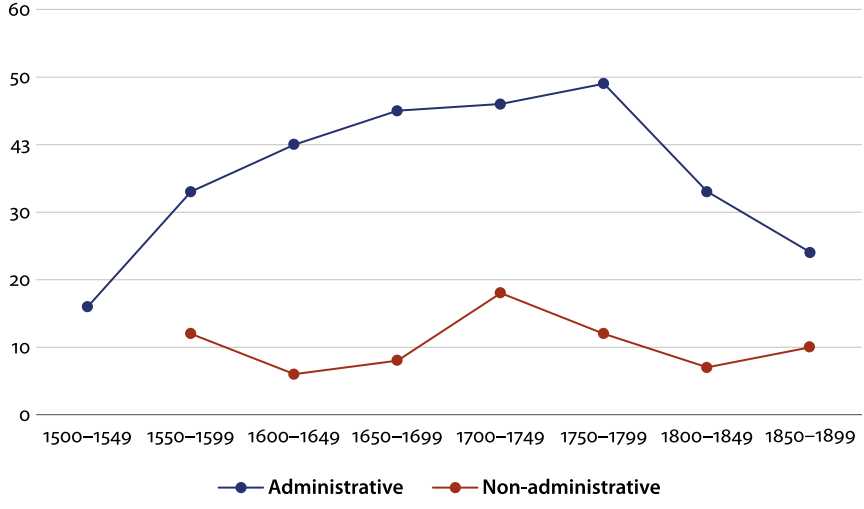


Figure 9.3 French loan suffixes across time, in the administrative and non-administrative domains, token frequency per 1,000 words

The considerable difference between the two types of domains established in Section 9.5 is clearly a stable pattern across time. In each of the 50-year periods, the token frequency in the administrative domains is higher than in the non-administrative domains. The administrative domains show a gradual increase until the second half of the eighteenth century and then a sharp decrease. The non-administrative domains are always between 6 and 12 tokens per 1,000 words, except in the first half of the eighteenth century, when the frequency peaks at 18 tokens per 1,000 words.

Figure 9.4 zooms in on the social domains across time, providing the token frequency per 1,000 words of each domain separately.

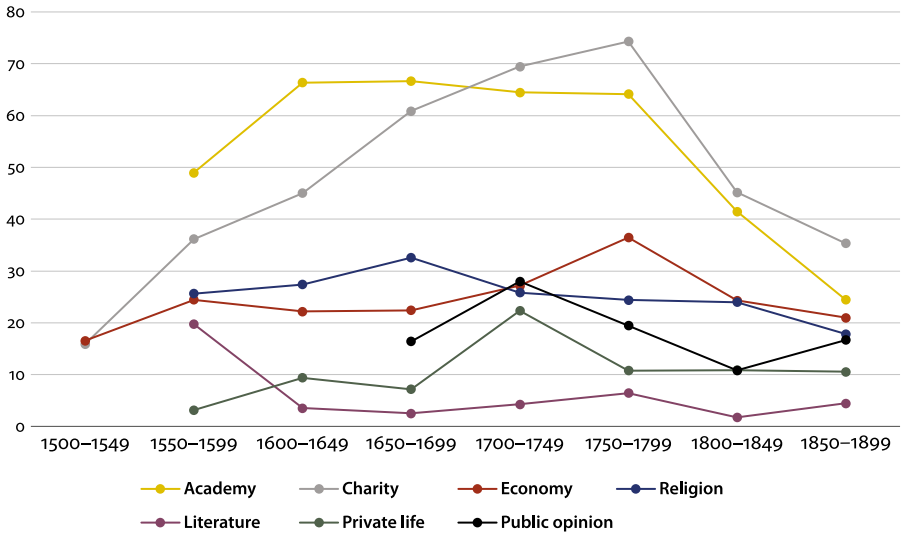


Figure 9.4 French loan suffixes across time and social domain, token frequency per 1,000 words

Figure 9.4 shows that there are considerable differences within the administrative domains. The high token counts in Academy and Charity when compared to Economy and Religion are stable features of the corpus. Academy rises almost immediately to a high score, where it remains until the decrease in the nineteenth century. Charity rises more slowly until it even surpasses Academy in the eighteenth century, followed by an equally sharp decrease. Economy and Religion show much more diachronic stability, with a modest peak in Economy in the later eighteenth century. Among the non-administrative domains, Literature stands out: it begins relatively high in the late sixteenth century, which confirms the traditional idea of a sixteenth-century literary style that closely follows French models (Porteman & Smits-Veldt 2016: 118–128) and then drops to a diachroni-

cally stable low proportion of loan suffixes. Private Life and Public Opinion are also relatively stable, like all other domains except Academy and Charity, but show a modest peak in the early eighteenth century.

We now turn to the type frequencies across time and domain. Figure 9.5 shows the type frequency per 1,000 words in the two groups of social domains.

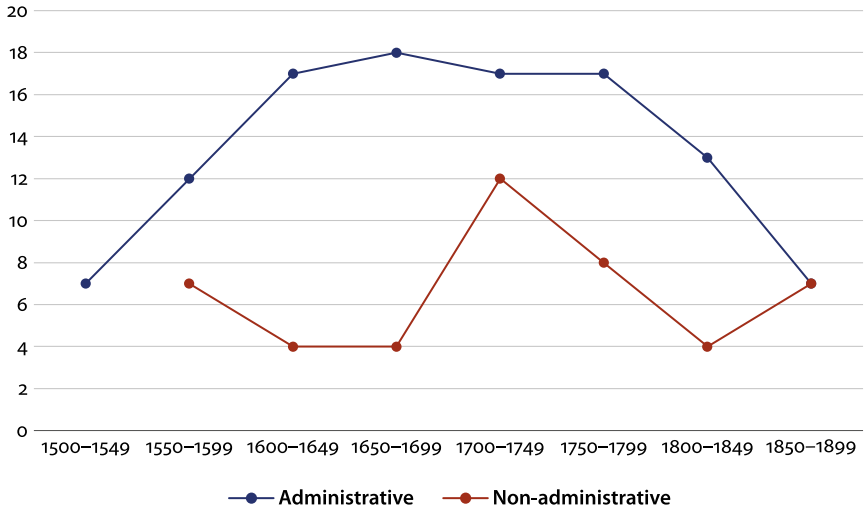


Figure 9.5 French loan suffixes across time, in the administrative and non-administrative domains, type frequency per 1,000 words

The patterns demonstrated in Figure 9.5 resemble those for the token frequencies in Figure 9.3. The type frequency is consistently higher in the administrative domains than in the non-administrative domains, paralleling the consistently higher tokens count in the administrative domains. Figure 9.3 showed a small peak for the non-administrative domains in the early eighteenth century, which is even clearer from Figure 9.5. In the eighteenth century, and in the first half in particular, the non-administrative domains have surprisingly high type frequencies.

Figure 9.6 splits up the results even further and gives the type frequencies per 1,000 words for each of the seven domains across time.

As can be seen in Figure 9.6, Academy now emerges as the only domain with a comparatively high type frequency. Charity, which has a similarly high token count, has a much lower type count, which indicates less lexical diversity. Figure 9.6 resembles most of the previous figures, in that it shows that many domains are quite stable through time, with Literature being remarkably low after its initial high score in the late sixteenth century. Also notable in Figure 9.6 are the

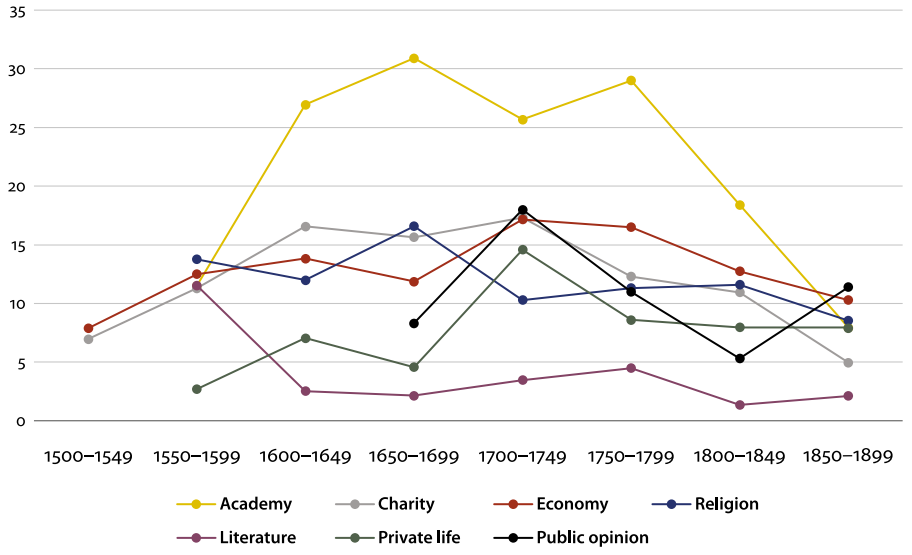


Figure 9.6 French loan suffixes across time and social domain, type frequency per 1,000 words

peaks in the type frequencies of Private Life and Public Opinion in the early eighteenth century, which appear to be responsible for the same peak in Figure 9.5.

9.7 Discussion

Although the verbal suffix *-eren* dominates the results as it represents 39% of the tokens, there is at the same time a wide variety of suffixes borrowed from French into Dutch, including nominal and adjectival suffixes, many of which occur dozens or even hundreds of times. The diachronic pattern was not entirely predictable from the research literature. Whereas the frenchification discourse suggests an ongoing influence of French in the Early and Late Modern period, previous research on the distribution of loan suffixes showed a more varied picture with loan suffixes only increasing in business letters written by men from the higher-middle ranks and regionally linked to Amsterdam. Other groups of writers of private and business letters produced similar proportions of French-origin suffixes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Rutten & Vosters 2023).

A clear result from the present chapter is the steady increase in French suffixes across time: from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century. This is in line with the traditional idea of the eighteenth century as the key juncture in the frenchification of the Low Countries. It also shows that the

stability in the proportion of loan suffixes in the private letters and in most of the business letters analysed in Rutten & Vosters (2023) is a register- or domain-specific result, not generalisable to other registers and domains. Another important observation concerns the frequency of types and tokens: both increase over time. This means that the increasing frequency of French-origin suffixes is not simply an effect of some lexical items becoming more frequently used. The number of different lexical types follows the same diachronic pattern. A final and crucial observation concerning the diachrony of this kind of loan morphology relates to the stage that follows the increase and (early-)eighteenth-century peak: a surprisingly strong decrease in loan suffixes from French. If the previous centuries are conceptualised in terms of frenchification, then the late eighteenth century and especially the nineteenth century display the reverse: *de-frenchification* or *dutchification*. This is an intriguing issue that we will further explore in Chapter 10.

The differences between the social domains are revealing. The administrative domains exhibit many more loan suffixes than the non-administrative domains. This comparison applies to both the token count and the type count, and it holds across time. Within the groups of domains, differences persist. The social domains of Academy and Charity attract the largest numbers of loan suffixes among the administrative domains, with Economy and Religion still outnumbering the non-administrative domains. Within the latter group, Public Opinion displays a higher frequency of loan suffixes than Literature and Private Life. The TTR suggests more lexical diversity in the non-administrative domains, where there is also more room for different topics, while the administrative domains are thematically more consistent. The differences between the domains echo the differences between private and business letters found in the literature (Rutten & Vosters 2023, van der Wal & Rutten 2024). It seems that French-origin suffixes are more likely to occur in administrative or business-related writings (see also Verheyden 2023).

While there are clear differences between the social domains, and many seem to follow their own path, a few general patterns can be detected. Some, like Academy and, in the case of the token count also Charity, have high numbers in the eighteenth century, after a gradual increase in the preceding periods. Literature begins high but is low from the seventeenth century onwards. Other domains are in between and are relatively stable through time, although they may peak at some point — and often, this point is in the eighteenth century. In general, the nineteenth century is a period of decrease in French suffixes.

The results in this chapter paint the picture of a first wave of contact-induced phenomena, i.e., of French loan suffixes, in the administrative domains, and particularly in the domains of Academy and Charity. This first wave of what has been labelled frenchification begins in the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, after

which the influence of French increases over time until it decreases by the nineteenth century. The first wave is followed by a second wave of so-called frenchification in the eighteenth century, when the type and token counts increase also in non-administrative domains, particularly in Private Life and Public Opinion, less so in Literature, where there seems to be an early move towards de-frenchification in the early seventeenth century. Finally, a reversed third wave of dutchification reduced French loan morphology in the nineteenth century. In the following chapters, we will delve into other possible contact phenomena to find out whether this picture holds.

CHAPTER 10

Loanwords

10.1 Introduction

An advantage of the research on French loan suffixes (Chapter 9) is that they can be sought automatically. This does not apply to loanwords, as we will explain in this chapter. Nonetheless, since lexical borrowing is arguably the most common and most pervasive language contact phenomenon around the globe, this chapter deals with loanwords. We will first explain our approach (Section 10.2) and method (10.3), after which we analyse the distribution of French loanwords across time (10.4). In 10.5, we compare the distribution in the LOL Corpus to the time of borrowing, based on the first attestations of the loanwords. Section 10.6 looks at the role of social domains, and 10.7 combines social domains and diachrony. In 10.8, we explore the feasibility of a variationist, onomasiological approach. Section 10.9 discusses the results.

10.2 Analysing borrowing and loanwords

Dutch has extensively borrowed lexical items from many languages, including French. Dutch is included in the World Loanword Database (Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009), where Dutch data are discussed by van der Sijs (2009). She shows that 6.8% of the Dutch vocabulary in the database is taken from French, while 6.1% is from Latin (van der Sijs 2009: 350–351). These are the most important donor languages with respect to Dutch. The World Loanword Database is based on 1,460 preselected meanings. As such, it does not represent the token-based language use of a community, but only certain preselected types of loanwords. Van der Sijs (2009) also indicates that she had found 25.2% Romance loanwords in an earlier study, based on a token count of newspapers. When exploring the dataset of the *Etymologisch woordenboek (EWN)*, however, she found that 50.7% of the lexical stock of Dutch consists of Romance loanwords, from which she concludes that loanwords are much more frequent in dictionaries than in actual language use.

Figure 10.1 is based on van der Sijs (2001: 214), who analyses the Dutch lexicon diachronically, and in this connection also discusses loanwords. As in the classic study by Salverda de Grave (1906), the data are to a large extent based

on historical and etymological dictionaries and the information about first attestations recorded therein. Figure 10.1 shows the absolute numbers of loanwords across the centuries, focusing on the first attestations of loanwords from French, Latin, English, and German — the four main donor languages — and a category Other, in which Italian, Spanish, Indonesian and Yiddish are the languages contributing the most loanwords.

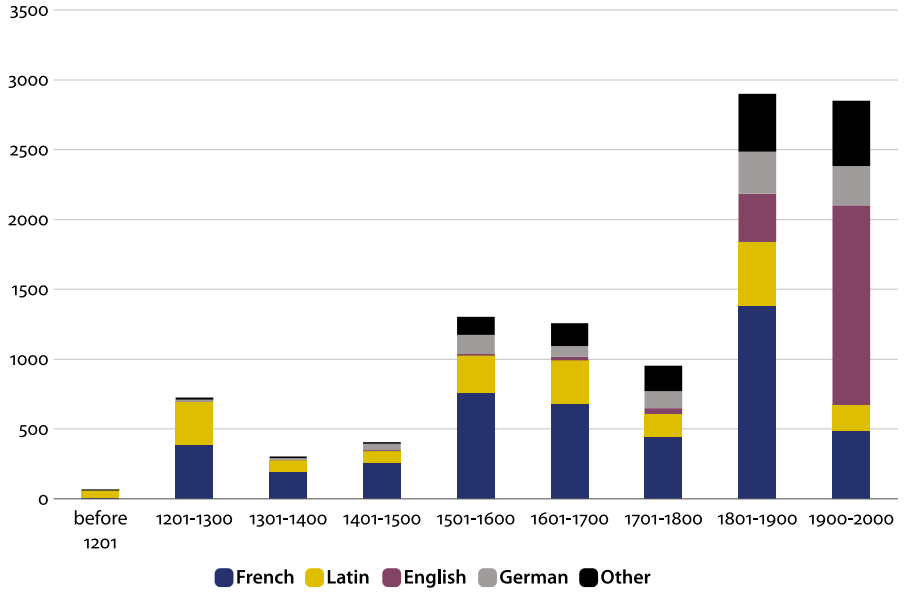


Figure 10.1 Absolute numbers of loanwords across time, based on van der Sijs (2001: 214)

As can be seen in Figure 10.1, lexical borrowing increases in the sixteenth century, and increases again and enormously in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The common and perhaps expected pattern is that Latin and French dominate in the earlier centuries, while German and English become more important in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Note, however, that the number of French loanwords varies across time, and in fact also increases in the nineteenth century. The absolute numbers are below 500 in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They increase to approximately 700 in the sixteenth century, and then go down again to just below 500 in the eighteenth century as well as in the twentieth. The nineteenth century disrupts this pattern and has 1,382 first attested loanwords from French. Van der Sijs (2001: 234) attributes this increase to the French occupation between 1795 and 1813, which fostered the adoption of French lexical items, for example in administrative language. An

interesting result is certainly also the low score for the eighteenth century, which traditionally counts as a period of heightened frenchification (see Chapters 1–3).

An important reason to undertake the present research is the dictionary basis of much previous work and the lack of empirical, corpus-based studies of actual language use representing a historical language community. Like Haspelmath (2009: 36), we consider loanwords to be lexical items that 'at some point in the history of a language entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing'. Thus, there is a theoretical distinction between borrowing and loanwords. The human act of borrowing at a certain point in time and the linguistic processes involved are central to studies such as Poplack (2017). The act of borrowing a specific other-language item can be repeated by different language users and does not necessarily lead to loanwords. Loanwords are established lexical items in the recipient language. Poplack (2017: 6) distinguishes between the results of *active borrowing* on the one hand, and *attested* or *bona fide loanwords* on the other, and argues that bona fide loanwords have become part of the recipient language and are thus available to monolingual speakers of the recipient language, even if they lack knowledge of the donor language that the words were once borrowed from. An important criterion to identify bona fide loanwords and to be able to distinguish them from recent borrowings, is their incorporation into dictionaries (Poplack 2017: 27). In our case, relying on contemporary dictionaries and wordlists, which are often fully engaged in the frenchification discourse (see Chapter 3), does not seem to be the best choice. The fifth edition of Meijer's *Woordenschat* (1669, see Chapter 3), for example, does not record 31 loanwords beginning with the letter *a* attested in the LOL Corpus, which amounts to c. 20% of all loanwords beginning with *a* in our corpus, some of which were however already borrowed in the medieval period (e.g. *aalmoes* 'alms', *aluin* 'alum'). More importantly, our main concern here is the presence of French-origin lexical material in the language community, and not the process of borrowing itself. This means that we are interested in French loanwords in general.[25] Our results will actually demonstrate that bona fide loanwords are often still perceived as foreign elements.

Two frequently mentioned reasons for borrowing are need and prestige (Winford 2003: 37; Campbell 2008: 64). These motivations correspond to the distinction between cultural borrowings and core borrowings (Haspelmath 2009: 46–48). Cultural borrowings are lexical items that refer to new meanings, previously unknown within a language community, which thus require new lexicalisations. Hence, they are needed or born out of necessity. Haspelmath

25. See Rutten & Assendelft (2025) for an analysis of the borrowing process in the same dataset, with a focus on grammatical integration and on the diffusion of French loanwords in the recipient language, i.e. in Dutch.

(2009: 46) comments that all languages 'have sufficient creative resources to make up new words for new concepts', so that need or necessity implies an overestimation of the importance of loanwords and an underestimation of linguistic creativity. He therefore concludes that an explanation of cultural borrowings is more likely to be found in convenience: particularly in cases of extensive bilingualism, recourse to a loanword may be easier than inventing a neologism or realising a semantic shift of an existing lexeme (Haspelmath 2009: 47). Poplack (2017: 59–60, 209) argues that lexical need is a minor factor at most and that adherence to community norms provides the main explanation for borrowing. While social factors such as proficiency in the donor language, neighbourhood of residence and socioeconomic class are not applicable to most of the textual sources in the LOL Corpus, we expect our domain approach, along with the diachronic dimension, to contribute significantly to our understanding of French-origin items in Dutch.

Core borrowings, which lexicalise a concept for which an indigenous lexeme is already available, are even more difficult to understand. With explanations such as 'the prestige of the donor language' (Haspelmath 2009: 48), *need* or *prestige* (Winford 2003: 37) are not entirely satisfying since these concepts are notoriously difficult to operationalise. Only a loanword study embedded in a broader language-ideological analysis may be able to resolve this, which is what we aim to do in the present volume.

The community perspective adopted in this chapter entails that we are not primarily interested in the process of borrowing, but rather in the use of loanwords in the historical language community. We take the LOL Corpus as a representation of the historical language community of the city of Leiden. As we will see in Section 10.5, focusing on innovation through borrowing may lead to the conclusion that the sixteenth century was the period in which contact with French was most intense, as this is the period with the highest number of first attestations of French loanwords. Intensity of contact has played a crucial role in the study of contact situations and lexical borrowing (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 74–76; Winford 2003: 30), but is also difficult to operationalise since it can involve so many different aspects: numbers of bilinguals, degree of bilingualism, migration patterns, marriage and settlement patterns, density of bilingual networks, proportions of textual materials available in the different languages, domain-specific language choice and virtual obligation of specific languages in certain domains, and so on — to which several attitudinal and ideological factors should be added, such as the perceived social hierarchy of the languages involved, individual and social identification patterns, and overt and covert opinions about the languages. We will argue in this chapter that our results shed an interesting light on this matter, as we can observe the use of loanwords across a considerable time span and

against the background of other contact-induced changes as well as language-ideological conflict sites (see Chapter 3).

Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts (2012) argue that loanword research should adopt an onomasiological approach as opposed to the more often adopted semasiological approach. An onomasiological approach investigates different lexicalisations of the same meaning and as such it aligns with a sociolinguistic, variationist approach. One important reason is that frequency counts, as in Figure 10.1, do not correct for the conversational topic. In principle, it is possible that the increase in French loanwords visible in Figure 10.1 is not simply the result of the increased use of French loanwords, but instead of the more frequent use of meanings for which originally French, but perhaps also originally Dutch words exist. The Dutch lexicalisations of the concept in question could theoretically increase even more than the French-origin lexemes, which would entail a proportional decrease of the importance of French. In Section 10.8, we will show that such a variationist approach is possible with the LOL Corpus, but only to a limited extent. The analysis yields important insights, however, with respect to the topic of frenchification as well as with regard to the issues of lexical need, prestige, and community norms.

As in Chapter 9, it is difficult to predict what we will find in the LOL Corpus. Van der Sijs (2001), like Salverda de Grave (1906), argues that the importance of French increases after the Middle Ages, but van der Sijs (2001) notices a decrease of French borrowings in the eighteenth century (see above). This is opposite to the traditional idea of frenchification, which entails a permanent and perhaps increasing importance of French in the Early Modern period with a culmination point in the eighteenth century. This is also the pattern that we would expect based on the results for loan suffixes (Chapter 9). The nineteenth century likewise leads to opposite expectations: whereas Chapter 9 suggests a decrease of French-origin items, the results by van der Sijs (2001) point to a potential increase.

10.3 Method

Extracting all French loanwords from the LOL Corpus is not an easy task (Assendelft 2023: 153–156). It soon became clear that contemporary lists of loanwords such as Meijer's *Woordenschat* (see 10.2 and Chapter 3) did not match the actual loanwords in the corpus in a satisfactory way so that an automated comparison of such lists and the corpus would probably still miss many actual examples of words borrowed from French. Of course, spelling variation is another and perhaps even more worrisome complication of historical data. The underlying idea of Rutten, Vosters & van der Wal (2015), who focus on loan suffixes, was that these

suffixes may serve as a useful proxy for loanwords; suffixes are easily detected, after all. But Stevens (2019) clearly demonstrates that the number of loanwords from French may significantly exceed the number of words with a French-origin suffix, and our aim for this chapter was to move beyond a mere understanding of suffixes. Finally, pilot studies involving particular segments of the corpus, whose loanwords were subsequently tested on the whole corpus, were equally unsatisfying as it became clear that the used loanword types may vary greatly across periods and social domains. The solution was an inductive approach, i.e., reading through the entire LOL Corpus and manually extracting the loanwords from French. This procedure is extremely time-consuming, but also very reliable.

Determining what is a loanword from French, and what is not, is as thorny as extracting the words from the LOL Corpus. We have used the historical dictionaries of Dutch, and the etymological dictionaries collected in the online *Etymologiebank*.[26] If one of these sources indicates that a word originates from French, it counts as a *possibly French loanword*. This category thus also comprises words for which at least one of the sources mentions another donor language. Usually, this is Latin, but it may also be Italian or English, for example. Within this broad category of all possibly French loans, there is a smaller category of *established French loanwords*. These are the words for which there is general agreement in the historical and etymological dictionaries that they are borrowings from French. If there is only one dissenting voice in the dictionaries, the word is relegated to the larger category of all possibly French loans and excluded from the smaller category of established French loans. Note that we did not look for all loanwords from Romance languages. This would be an even larger category, which also includes all established loans from Latin, Italian, Spanish and so on. Figure 10.2 visualises the relationships between these different categories of loanwords.

We limit our investigation to loanwords, as defined by Winford (2003: 45). This means we do not include loanshifts, such as loan translations, and native creations modelled after foreign words or meanings (neologisms). Within the category of loanwords, Winford distinguishes between 'pure' loanword and loanblend. Loanblends are combinations of native and borrowed stems and affixes. We only include loanblends with a borrowed stem, combined with a native affix (i.e., a derivational blend) or a native stem (i.e., a compound blend). We exclude loanblends consisting of a native stem and a borrowed affix. We do not consider these to be good examples of loanwords. Instead, they are cases of loan suffixes, and they were included in Chapter 9.

26. Available at https://gtb.ivdnt.org/search/?owner=wnt and https://etymologiebank.nl.

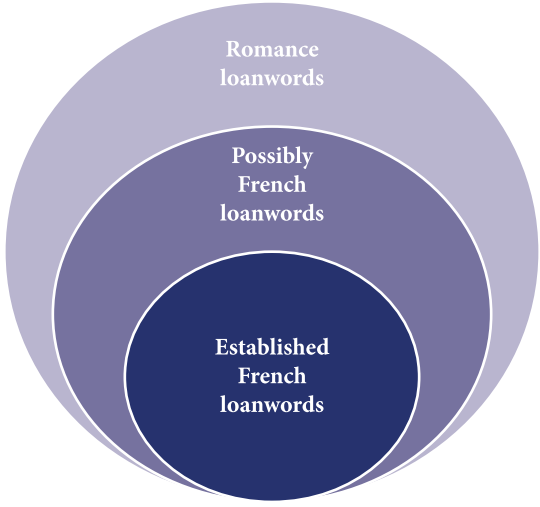


Figure 10.2 Relationship between categories of Romance loanwords

Many loanwords from French comprise one of the suffixes analysed in Chapter 9. In this respect, there is overlap between the database underlying this chapter and the one used for Chapter 9. There are also important differences:

- There are many loanwords without one of the suffixes analysed in Chapter 9. For example, the most frequent French loanword in the entire LOL Corpus is *plaats* 'place', which has 324 occurrences. The number of loanwords thus exceeds the number of words with one of the loan suffixes (see also Stevens 2019; Verheyden 2023: 184).
- In Chapter 9, we judged loan suffixes to be of French origin as a category, thereby consciously disregarding the fact that some words with a certain suffix may actually be borrowed from Latin. Here, we analyse loanwords individually. This difference in conceptualisation corresponds to a methodological difference: in the previous chapter we could apply search strings and extract suffixes automatically from the corpus. We adopt here an inductive approach. Some of the words with loan suffixes considered to be based on French and analysed in Chapter 9 are not uncontested, i.e., they are not part of the category of established French loans, but of the category of possibly French loans, or even not part of these categories at all, because they are established loans from another Romance language such as Latin. For example, the suffix *-ent* was deemed to be of French origin, in accordance with the historical and etymological dictionaries, since most words in *-ent* are borrowed from French. However, some words in *-ent* are of Latin origin. We focused on the suffix as a morphological category in Chapter 9, so those words were included in

that chapter. For the present chapter, words in *-ent* borrowed from Latin were excluded. An example is the noun *student* 'student', which occurs frequently in the LOL Corpus; *student* is not included in the loanword dataset, as it is derived from Latin *studentem*. It is a Romance loanword (see Figure 10.2), but not a possibly French loanword, let alone an established French loanword. The number of words with a loan suffix is therefore smaller in the present chapter than in Chapter 9.

– Loan suffixes can be combined with native stems. An example is the verb *waarderen* 'value, appreciate', where the French suffix *-eren* is attached to the stem *waard-* 'value, worth'. Such examples are part of the data in Chapter 9, but are not included here (see also above on loanblends).
– Abbreviated forms such as *comp.* for *comparant* 'person appearing before a notary' were not included in Chapter 9, since the suffix *-ant* is not overtly present here and can therefore not be extracted automatically from the corpus. Such abbreviations are however included in this chapter, as *comp.* and *comparant* are both orthographic representations of the same French loanword.

The token count of all possibly French loanwords in the LOL Corpus is 15,186 (see also 10.4 below), of which 5,663 tokens or 37% are also part of the loan suffix research reported on in Chapter 9. The number of established French loanwords in the LOL Corpus is 8,767, of which 3,602 tokens or 41% are part of the loan suffix research in Chapter 9. The database for the present chapter is therefore significantly larger than the database for Chapter 9. The database for this chapter comprises 5,663 tokens with a loan suffix, whereas the loan suffix database used for Chapter 9 comprises 6,885 tokens in total. This means that 82% of the loan suffixes analysed in Chapter 9 are also part of the analyses in this chapter. At the same time, 1,222 loan suffix tokens that are part of Chapter 9 are not included in the present chapter.

10.4 Loanwords across time

We first investigate the use of loanwords from French across time, distinguishing between *loanword distribution* and *loanword diversity*. Loanword distribution across time means that we compute the average frequency of French-origin words per 1,000 words across the 50-year periods of the LOL Corpus. As with the loan suffixes (Chapter 9), we distinguish between loanword tokens and types. We furthermore distinguish between established loans and possibly French loans, as explained in Section 10.3. Loanword diversity concerns the type-token ratio (see also 9.4).

The total number of loanword tokens possibly of French origin is 15,186. The established loanwords, i.e., loanwords for which there is agreement in historical dictionaries that they originate from French, amount to 8,767. The remaining number of 6,419 loanwords are contested: they may be French, but they can also be borrowed from Latin or even another language. This means that the loanwords extracted from the entire LOL Corpus make up 6% of the corpus (15,186 out of 251,417 words), if calculated on the basis of possibly French loanwords, and 3% (8,767 out of 251,417 words) if based on the more reliable number of established French loanwords. While these proportions may seem to be low, or in any case considerably lower than the various type- and token-based proportions estimated by van der Sijs (2009, see Section 10.2 above), they are still higher than the less than 1% English-origin items in Poplack's (2017: 44) data for French Canada.

The majority of the loanwords in the LOL Corpus are nouns, namely 74.3%. Table 10.1 gives an overview of the different parts of speech represented by the 15,186 possibly French loanwords in the LOL Corpus. These results are in line with many previous loanword studies, where nouns usually emerge as the most easily borrowable items, followed by either verbs or adjectives (van Hout & Muysken 1994; Winford 2003: 51; Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009; Poplack 2017: 48; Matras 2022).

Table 10.1 Parts of speech of the possibly French loanwords in the LOL Corpus

PoS	N	% of all possibly French loanwords
Nouns	11,277	74.3
Verbs	2,317	15.3
Adjectives	1,516	10.0
Interjections	41	0.3
Prepositions	27	0.2
Ordinals	8	0.1

After this first description of the dataset, we now move to the tokens across time. Figure 10.3 gives the token frequency per 1,000 words and per 50-year period of the total number of possibly French-origin loans (blue columns) and of the established French loans (orange columns). The pattern for possibly French loans and established French loans is similar, and, as we already wish to note here, also similar to the results for loan suffixes (Chapter 9). There is a gradual increase in the proportion of loanwords from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century and from the seventeenth to the eighteenth, followed by a decrease in the nineteenth century. The highest token and type frequencies are found in the first half of the eighteenth century.

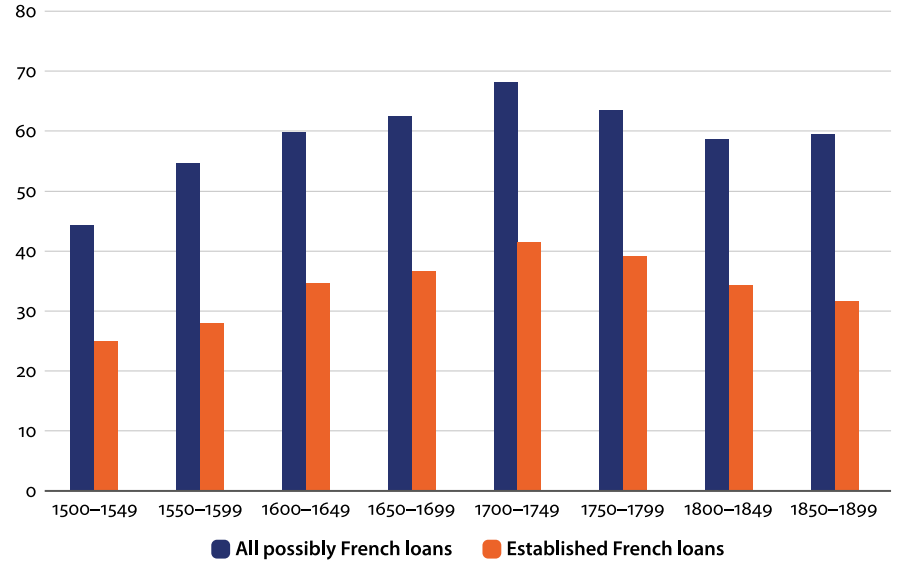


Figure 10.3 All possibly French loanwords (blue) and all established French loanwords (orange), across time, token frequency per 1,000 words

Figure 10.4 parallels Figure 10.3 but is based on the loanword types. The total number of 15,186 possibly French loanwords in the LOL Corpus corresponds to 1,733 loan word types. The established loans from French (8,767 tokens) represent 1,157 types. The remaining group of possibly French loans (6,419 tokens) represent 576 types.

Figure 10.4 shows that the loanword types, both possibly (blue columns) and established French (orange columns), increase across time with a peak in the eighteenth century, particularly in the 1700–1749 period, after which the decrease sets in. Note that the types in the nineteenth century seem to drop to rates even lower than those found for the sixteenth century, as opposed to the token counts (Figure 10.3), where the nineteenth-century scores are more similar to those for the seventeenth-century.

This comparison of tokens and types brings us to *loanword diversity*. In the foregoing discussion, we analysed tokens and types to see how they develop across time. The similar patterns contribute to the consistency of our results. Of course, tokens and types are also often statistically compared. The type-token ratio is but one of a larger set of measures of lexical diversity. Usually, types and tokens are compared at the level of the entire corpus or sample. We confine ourselves here to comparing the types and tokens of the loanwords, so that we use this measure as an indication of *loanword diversity* (see also Section 9.4). Table 10.2 presents the absolute number of loanwords per 50-year period for both tokens

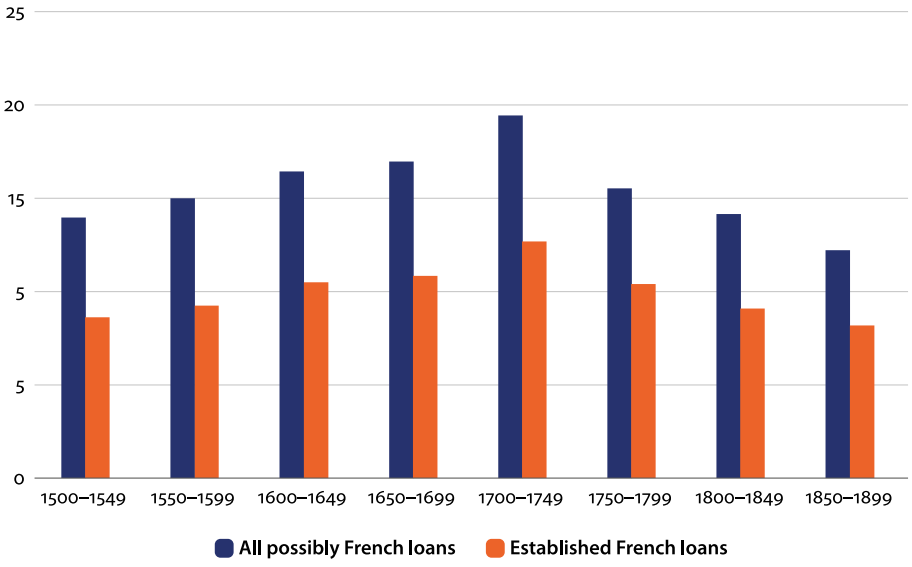


Figure 10.4 All possibly French loanwords (blue) and all established French loanwords (orange), across time, type frequency per 1,000 words

and types as well as the type-token ratio (TTR), based on the entire dataset of 15,186 loanwords.

If we consider that the first half of the sixteenth century is represented by only two social domains, which are however characterised by a relatively high number of loanwords (see below, Section 10.5), we may want to pass over the TTR for 1500–1549. From the late sixteenth century onwards, the TTR is stable until it goes down in the nineteenth century. This confirms our interpretation of Figures 10.3

Table 10.2 Tokens, types (absolute numbers per period) and type-token ratios of all possibly French loanwords

	1500–1549	1550–1599	1600–1649	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899
Tokens All possibly French loans	447	1651	1855	2242	2463	2284	2113	2131
Types All possibly French loans	141	454	510	610	703	659	510	438
TTR	**0.32**	**0.27**	**0.27**	**0.27**	**0.29**	**0.29**	**0.24**	**0.2**

and 10.4, where we indicated that the tokens in the nineteenth century seem to decrease to the seventeenth-century level, whereas the types go down to the even lower proportions of the sixteenth century. In other words, it is not only the number of loanwords that decreases in the nineteenth century, but also the loanword diversity. Table 10.3 gives the absolute number of loanwords per 50-year period for tokens and types as well as the TTR, now confined to the established loanwords from French. Table 10.3 also suggests a slight decrease in loanword diversity in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Table 10.3 Tokens, types (absolute numbers per period) and type-token ratios of all established French loanwords

	1500–1549	1550–1599	1600–1649	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899
Tokens Established French loans	252	847	1,072	1,318	1,497	1,408	1,239	1,134
Types Established French loans	87	280	326	390	459	375	328	293
TTR	**0.35**	**0.33**	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0.31**	**0.27**	**0.26**	**0.26**

10.5 Moment of borrowing v. community life of loanwords

If we want to understand the process of borrowing and the use of loanwords in a historical language community, we can compare the distribution of loanwords in a corpus to the point in time of borrowing, based on the first attestations recorded in historical and etymological dictionaries. As argued above, we are more interested in the community life of loanwords, but at the same time it is our goal to understand the influence of French on Dutch in different periods. It turns out that the comparison of the moment of borrowing and the community life of loanwords, as represented by their distribution in the LOL Corpus, is quite revealing in this respect.

We investigated the first attestations of all possibly French and established French loanword types in the LOL Corpus. These first attestations are found in the various etymological and historical dictionaries of Dutch (see Footnote 2). Many attestations are also recorded in van der Sijs (2001). In 54 cases, the example found in the LOL Corpus predates the first attestation in the dictionaries. We considered the date in the LOL Corpus as the first attestation in those cases. Since

many dictionaries as well as van der Sijs (2001) use centuries, especially for the medieval period, we first plot the distribution of first attestations across the centuries of the Dutch written tradition until 1899, the final year of the LOL Corpus. As can be seen in Figure 10.5, the period from 1200 to 1299 comprises a first relatively high score of both possibly and established French loanwords. This is however due to the fact that an extensive written tradition of Dutch begins in the thirteenth century. In other words, many loanwords first attested in thirteenth-century documents may well have been borrowed earlier. The figures for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are similar, after which the sixteenth century shows an enormous rise in French loanwords. In the seventeenth century, the numbers go down to the level of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and they go down even further in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. If we disregard the thirteenth-century numbers, which only show that there were many French loanwords from the earliest days onwards, it is clear that most loanwords represented in the LOL Corpus are first attested in the sixteenth century.

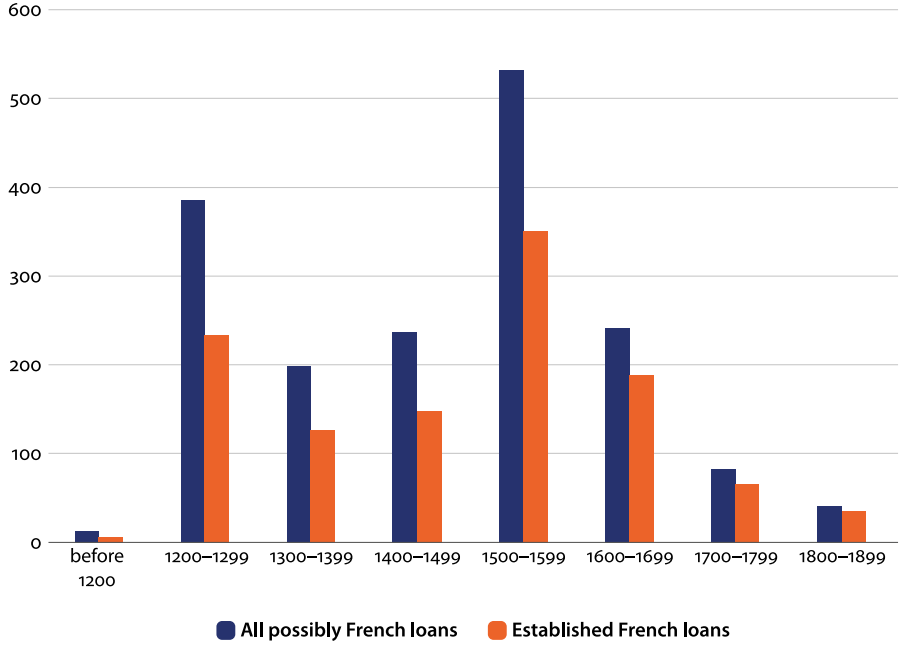


Figure 10.5 Period of borrowing of all possibly French loanwords (blue) and all established French loanwords (orange)

Splitting up the data into the 50-year periods of the LOL Corpus and thus restricting the analysis to loanwords borrowed during the time span of the corpus,

gives us Figure 10.6. This figure confirms the results presented in 10.5: there is a gradual decrease in the number of loanwords from French. With every 50 years, the number of new loans from French decreases until it approaches zero in the final period of the LOL Corpus. In the eighteenth century, which displays the highest frequency of loanwords in language use (Figures 10.3 and 10.4), the number of new loans is below 50 in both the first and the second half of the century, which is approximately half of the loanwords first attested in the seventeenth century. Of course, this still means that new words were being borrowed, just fewer than before. It is only in the late nineteenth century that borrowing from French is virtually halted.

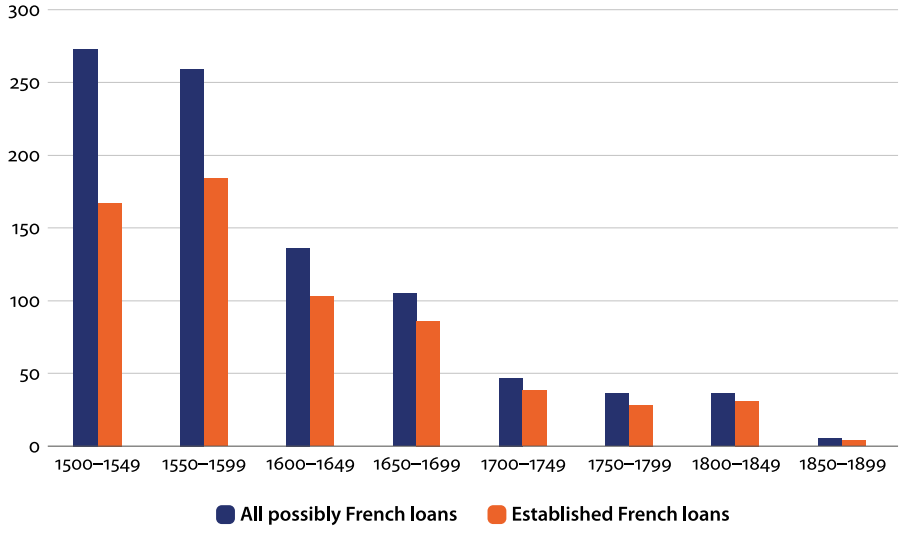


Figure 10.6 Period of borrowing of all possibly French loanwords (blue) and all established French loanwords (orange), breakdown according to the 50-year periods of the LOL Corpus

We repeat that Figures 10.5 and 10.6 do not provide language use data from the historical language community, but results based on dictionaries and on first attestations found in the LOL Corpus. However, Figures 10.5 and 10.6 provide an interesting background to the frequency distributions established in Figures 10.3 and 10.4 and in Tables 10.2 and 10.3. While borrowing from French and other Romance languages, in particular Latin, was an ongoing process that approached zero only in the late nineteenth century, it appears to be the case that the borrowing of new words slowed down enormously after the sixteenth century. At the same time, in actual language use, the use of possibly and established French loanwords increased until it reached a peak in the first half of the eighteenth century.

If one wished to conceptualise *frenchification* as the influx of loanwords, then it is clear that a distinction needs to be made between the use of loanwords as a measurable empirical phenomenon in the language production of the community on the one hand, and as a generalisation over dictionary attestations on the other. Before we interpret these seemingly very different phenomena, namely heavy borrowing in the sixteenth century and a high loanword frequency in the eighteenth, we first need to zoom in on the use of loanwords across social domains.

10.6 Loanwords across social domains

In this section, we investigate the use of loanwords across social domains. Figure 10.7 splits the data into the seven domains represented in the LOL Corpus, with the four administrative domains on the left-hand side and the three non-administrative domains on the right-hand side. It gives the token frequency per 1,000 words of all (possibly) French loanwords (blue columns), and of the more limited dataset of established French loanwords (orange columns).

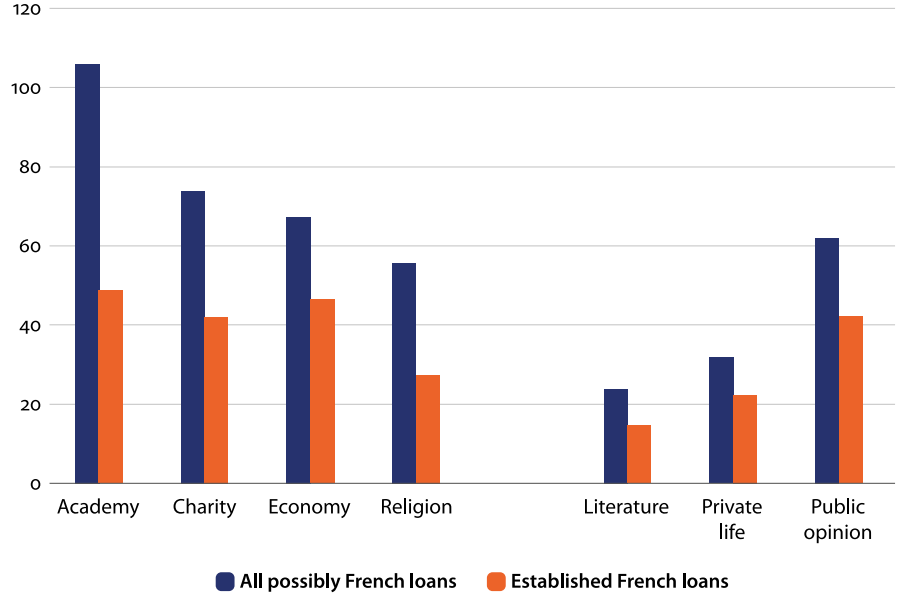


Figure 10.7 All possibly French loanwords (blue) and all established French loanwords (orange), across social domain, token frequency per 1,000 words

Figure 10.7 shows that the average token frequency is higher in the administrative domains than in the non-administrative domains, with the exception of

Public Opinion, where the token frequency is quite similar to Charity, Economy and Religion. The high frequencies in the administrative domains and the somewhat divergent position of Public Opinion within the group of non-administrative domains echoes the results for the distribution of French loan suffixes across social domains (Section 9.5). The highest numbers of loanwords are reached in the domains of Academy and Charity, which also comprised the highest numbers of loan suffixes.

Figure 10.8 presents the type frequency per 1,000 words of all (possibly) French loanwords (blue columns) and of the established French loanwords (orange columns).

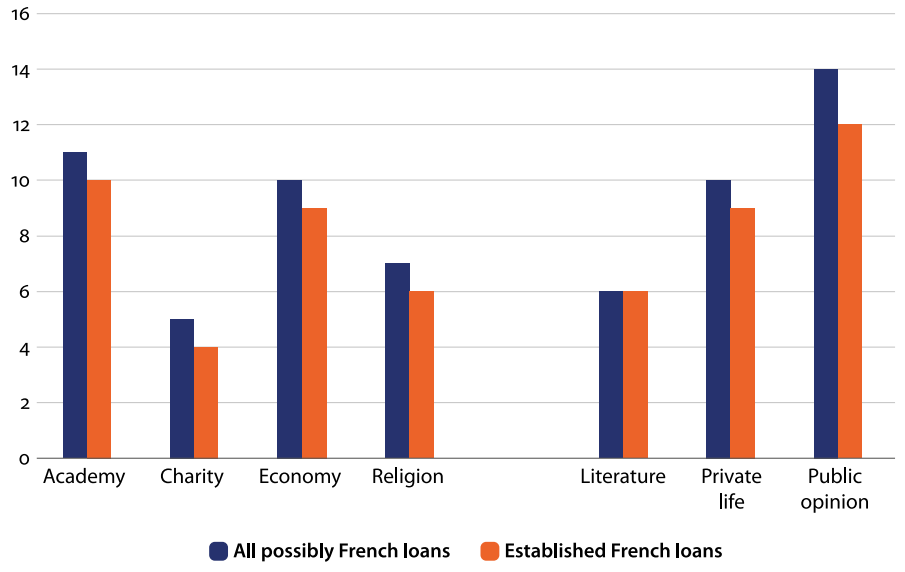


Figure 10.8 All possibly French loanwords (blue) and all established French loanwords (orange), across social domain, type frequency per 1,000 words

Figure 10.8 differs from Figure 10.7, i.e., the results for the types are different from those for the tokens. A first observation is that the difference between possibly French loans and established French loans is not so great in the case of the types. The administrative domains, in particular, have shrunk considerably in Figure 10.8 when compared to 10.7 (see the much lower blue columns on the left-hand side). This means that these domains comprise a large number of tokens of unclear origin. A second and more important observation is that the balance has shifted to the right-hand side of the figure. This means that there is a surprisingly large number of types in the non-administrative domains. The domain of Public Opinion even outnumbers all administrative domains when the types are

normalised per 1,000 words, and also in Literature and Private Life the type frequencies appear to be remarkably high when compared to the type frequencies in the administrative domains on the left-hand side. This clearly suggests that there is more loanword diversity in the non-administrative domains.

We thus move to the absolute numbers of tokens and types and to the TTR. Tables 10.4 and 10.5 give the relevant results for the whole dataset of possibly French loanwords (Table 10.4) and for the smaller dataset of established French loans (Table 10.5).

Table 10.4 Tokens, types (absolute numbers per social domain) and type-token ratios of all possibly French loanwords

	Academy	Charity	Economy	Religion	Literature	Private Life	Public Opinion
Tokens All possibly French loans	3,787	3,031	2,781	2,033	855	1,123	1,576
Types All possibly French loans	429	227	418	275	243	383	365
TTR	**0.11**	**0.07**	**0.15**	**0.14**	**0.28**	**0.34**	**0.23**

Table 10.5 Tokens, types (absolute numbers per social domain) and type-token ratios of all established French loanwords

	Academy	Charity	Economy	Religion	Literature	Private Life	Public Opinion
Tokens Established French loans	1,742	1,722	1,918	1,002	527	785	1,071
Types Established French loans	391	203	386	230	221	343	321
TTR	**0.22**	**0.12**	**0.20**	**0.23**	**0.42**	**0.44**	**0.30**

Tables 10.4 and 10.5. confirm that the highest loanword diversity, when calculated in terms of the TTR, is to be found in the non-administrative domains. This is visible in the results for all loans and in particular in the results for established loans (Table 10.5), where the TTR is especially high in the domains of Literature and Private Life. In other words, while the non-administrative domains, and these

two in particular, have fewer loanwords in general, the loanword diversity is considerably higher than in any of the other domains. The most likely explanation for this difference is that the administrative domains comprise relatively many technical or domain-specific loanwords, which are used repeatedly, as a result of which the token count increases and loanword diversity decreases.

We therefore shift attention to the lexical stock of the social domains. Table 10.6 gives a first impression of the lexical items that characterise the domains by presenting the two most frequent loanwords for each domain. We limit ourselves here to established French loanwords.

Table 10.6 Most frequently occurring established French loanwords per social domain (absolute frequency)

Domain	Lexical item (type)
Academy	*curateur* 'curator' (146)
	missive 'letter' (108)
Charity	*comparant(e)* 'person appearing before a notary' (230)
	som 'sum' (84)
Economy	*suppliant* 'suppliant' (164)
	plaats 'place' (82)
Religion	*plaats* 'place' (53)
	florijn 'florin, guilder' (39)
Literature	*toneel* 'stage, scene, theatre' (65)
	plaats 'place' (21)
Private Life	*plaats* 'place' (32)
	tante 'aunt' (24)
Public Opinion	*majesteit* 'majesty' (36)
	plaats 'place' (36)

It is clear that some domains attract highly frequent domain-specific lexical items: *curateur* in Academy, *comparant(e)* (which includes masculine forms in *-ant* and feminine forms in *-ante*) in Charity, *suppliant* in Economy, *toneel* in Literature, *tante* in Private Life and *majesteit* in Public Opinion. This shows that the language use in these domains is strongly determined by the communicative functions performed. At the same time, the high rank of *plaats* in 5 of the 7 domains shows the pervasiveness of loanwords with more general meanings, although it is still specified in accordance with the topics characterising the domains. In the domain of Religion, *plaats* often refers to the location of churches, whereas in Public Opinion it often denotes places where political events take place. It also frequently occurs in the expression *in plaats van* 'instead of'. In what follows, we will

zoom in on each of the domains separately in order to describe the lexical stock used therein in more detail.

The domain of Academy comprises two highly frequent words, *curateur* and *missive*, which characterise the domain: *curateur* denotes one of the most important functionaries and *missive* is an administrative synonym for *brief* 'letter'. Other frequent loanwords from French likewise indicate administrative or, even more specific, academic objects, events and actions: *resolutie* 'resolution' (68 tokens), *faculteit* 'faculty' (35), *ordonnantie* 'order' (33), *arresteren* 'determine' (32), *regent* 'governor' (26), *directeur* 'director' (26), *consideratie* 'consideration' (25), *dispositie* 'decision' (23), *rekwest* 'request' (22) and *order* 'order' (20). The words *som* 'sum' (45) and *florijn* 'florin, guilder' (43, often abbreviated *f)* indicate important topics discussed in the University Board meetings, viz. prices and salaries. Frequent loanwords with a more general meaning are *plaats* 'place' (55), *adres* 'address' (24) and *leveren* 'deliver' (21). Taken together, these 17 lexical types with 20 tokens or more each represent 752 or 43% of the 1742 tokens in the Academic domain. The remaining 374 types occur fewer than 20 times and often only once or a few times. These include administrative words such as *aboucheren* 'confer', *concerneren* 'concern', *electie* 'election', *emolument* 'emolument' and *recompensie* 'recompensation' as well as more widely applicable items, many of which are still in use today, such as *divers* 'diverse', *exact* 'exact', *excuus* 'excuse', *fonds* 'fund' and *precies* 'precise'.

In the domain of Charity, represented by wills in the LOL Corpus, the lexical item *comparant* 'person appearing before a notary' is the most frequent loanword type.[27] The next most frequent loanword from French is *som* 'sum' (84 tokens), especially in relationship to money. Other lexemes that are typical of wills or of administrative language in general are *testateur* 'testator' (75) and *testatrice* 'testatrix' (72), *passeren* (73), i.e., to pass before a notary, *resideren* 'reside' (69), which indicates the place of residence of individuals mentioned in the will, *akte* 'deed' (57), *publiek* 'public' (56), denoting public notaries, *dispositie* 'decision' (41), *executeur* 'executor' (37), *regent* 'governor' (37), *presentie* 'presence' (33), confirming the presence of individuals mentioned in the deed, *accorderen* 'approve, decide' (30), *ordonneren* 'order' (29), *institueren* 'install, assign' (24), viz. of heirs, *kantoor* 'office' (26) and *testamentair* 'testamentary' (20). The other frequent lexemes have more general meanings: *plaats* 'place' (45), *sint* 'saint' (42), which mostly occurs

27. This includes both the masculine form *comparant* and the feminine variant *comparante*. Of these 230 tokens, 198 are also in the suffix dataset, where *comparant* has 121 tokens and is among the most frequently used lexical types with a French suffix (see Table 9.4). The form *comparante* with the suffix *-e* in addition to *-ant* has 77 tokens. The difference between 198 and 230 is explained by 32 occurrences of abbreviated variants of this lexical item such as *com~t*, which lack a suffix in the orthographic representation, but which are part of the loanword database.

in the names of institutions to which money is bequeathed, and *manier* 'manner' (21). In this case, these 20 types (out of 203) with 20 or more tokens represent 1,101 out of the total of 1,622 tokens or 64%. The remaining one-third of the tokens are produced by the other 183 types, which all have (far) fewer tokens than 20. These comprise administrative words such as *accres* '(economic) growth', *administrateur* 'administrator', *commissionair* 'commissionary', *electie* 'election', *protocol* 'protocol', *recompensie* 'recompensation', *surplus* 'surplus' as well as more general words such as *divers* 'diverse', *dozijn* 'dozen', *evident* 'evident', *juweel* 'jewel' and *vilein* 'villainous'.

In the domain of Economy, there are 19 lexical types with 20 tokens or more. In addition to *suppliant*[28] and *place*, these are *saai* 'say' (64), *grein* 'grain' (44), *ordonnantie* 'ordinance' (39), *draperie* 'drapery' (37), *kalander* 'mangle' (32), *stof* 'fabric' (28), *fabriceren* 'fabricate, manufacture' (27), *prent* 'print' (26), *ordonneren* 'order' (25), *staal* 'sample' (25), *rekwest* 'request' (24), *fustein* 'fustian' (23), *prijs* 'price' (22), *gouverneur* 'governor' (21), *superintendent* 'superintendent' (21), *baai* 'bay' (20) and *manier* 'manner' (20). These 19 words, almost all directly related to the administrative business of textile manufacturers who communicate with the local government, represent 744 tokens or 39% of the total of 1918 tokens. The other 367 types thus represent only 1,174 tokens, from *acces* 'access' to *agent* 'agent', *effectief* 'effective', *juist* 'correct', *pers* 'press', *prefereren* 'prefer', *vigeur* 'strength' and *useren* 'use'.

The domain of Religion has *plaats* 'place' (53 tokens) and *florijn* 'florin, guilder' (39), usually abbreviated *f* or *fl*, as the two most frequent lexical types; the latter often occurs in relationship to the compensation offered to ministers. Other words with 20 tokens or more are *akte* 'deed' (27), *collecte* 'collection' (20), i.e, the practice of collecting money from congregants, *kwartier* 'quarter, neighbourhood' (27), viz. where churches are located, *missive* 'letter' (34), *nominatie* 'nomination' (25), viz. of ministers, *predicatie* 'sermon' (29), *present* 'present' (20), *president* 'president, chair' (25), *rapport* 'report' (29), *regent* 'governor' (21) and *resolutie* 'resolution, decision' (25). All of these 13 frequent lexical types are directly related to the administrative business undertaken in the church council meetings, except perhaps *plaats*, which can refer to specific church locations, but which also occurs in expressions such as *in plaats van* 'instead of'. These 13 types represent 374 tokens out of 1,002 tokens or 37%. This means that the remaining 628 tokens are connected to 217 types, many of which therefore occur only once or a few times. Here, too, administrative and church-related vocabulary is omnipresent

28. *Suppliant* has only 56 tokens in Table 9.4, which is the number of tokens with the suffix spelt out entirely. As can be seen in Table 10.5, the loanword itself is much more frequent, but often abbreviated (e.g. *suppl~t*). In both analyses, it is the most frequently occurring lexical type.

(e.g. *acclamatie* 'consent', *administratie* 'administration', *pensioen* 'pension', *reglement* 'regulations', *substituut* 'replacement').

The lexical stock of the domain of Literature is very different from the foregoing four social domains. A similarity is the prominence of the noun *plaats* 'place' (21 tokens), which is the second most frequent French loanword after *toneel* 'theatre, scene, stage' (65). The latter word occurs very often in the metalanguage of the plays that make up the texts in the Literary domain. The main difference is the preponderance of verbs and nouns in the administrative domains, signifying actions, social roles and events characteristic of these domains. Among the lexical types with 5 or more tokens in the Literature domain, there is however not a single verb. There are quite a few nouns, indicating the characters and the social and historical context of the plays: *kapitein* 'captain' (10), *kasteel* 'castle' (6), *lantaarn* 'lantern' (7), *papa* 'father' (10), *prijs* 'price' (5), *prins* 'prince' (6), *soldaat* 'soldier' (19) and *Spanje* 'Spain' (11). The most abstract noun is *informatie* 'information' (6), which is however also the name of a character in a sixteenth-century moral play. Then there are three adjectives: *fier* 'proud, self-conscious' (5), *fraai* 'beautiful, fine' (12) and *zot* 'funny' (11), and, perhaps even more significant, an interjection: *helaas* 'unfortunately' (13). These 15 words are responsible for 207 tokens or 39% of the total of 527. The other 320 tokens are produced by the remaining 221 types, many of which occur only once. These include occasional instances of administrative words such as *accorderen* 'approve, decide' and *rapport* 'report', but also many examples more in line with the most frequent words, such as the interjections *à propos* 'by the way' and *adieu* 'goodbye' and adjectives such as *blond* 'blond', *braaf* 'good, brave', *charmant* 'charming', *dangereus* 'dangerous', *fel* 'fierce', *fijn* 'fine', *kalm* 'calm' and *simpel* 'simple'.

In Private Life, *plaats* 'place' (32 tokens) is again one of the most frequent items, along with *tante* 'aunt' (24). The latter has counterparts in frequent lexemes indicating family members, viz. *mama* 'mother' (23) and *papa* 'father' (15), and professions, viz. *officier* 'officer' (10). Other lexical items deal with characteristic topics in historical letter-writing: *logeren* '(let) spend the night' (15), *partij* 'party' (14), *plezier* 'pleasure' (14), *feliciteren* 'congratulate' (10). The noun *haast* 'haste' (11) is often used to justify the conciseness of the communication, for example *in haast* 'in haste'. The final lexical type with 10 or more tokens is the interjection *adieu* 'goodbye' (14 tokens). These 11 lexical types together produce 182 out 785 tokens or 23%. The other 603 tokens are produced by 332 types with lower frequencies. Here, as in Literature, there are occasional administrative words such as *accorderen* 'approve, decide' and *administratie* 'administration' as well as many other words, from the interjection *à propos* 'by the way' to *ballet* 'ballet', *concert* 'concert', *dansen* 'dance', *kaneel* 'cinnamon', *koffer* 'suitcase', *oranje* 'orange', *pruik* 'whig' and *visite* 'visit'.

Finally, in the domain of Public Opinion, we also look at lexical types with a frequency of 10 or more tokens. The two most frequent words are *majesteit* 'majesty' (36) and, again, *plaats* 'place' (36). Similar to *majesty* are a range of other relatively frequent items, all related to diplomacy, (international) politics and wars: *ambassadeur* 'ambassador' (26), *compagnie* 'company' (18), *frank* (17), as part of the geographical name *Frankrijk* 'France', *Frans* 'French' (35), *gouvernement* 'government' (10), *kabinet* 'cabinet' (13), *kapitein* 'captain' (30), *markies* 'marquis' (15), *officier* 'officer' (18), *parlement* 'parliament' (12), *partij* 'party' (17), *Porte* (22) as the name of the Turkish government, *prins* 'prince' (31), *regiment* 'regiment' (10), *soldaat* 'soldier' (11) and *troep* 'troupe, squad' (23). Other frequent words are *arriveren* 'arrive' (14), viz. of diplomats, ships, armies and the like, *order* 'order' (13) and *sint* 'saint' (35), as part of the names of ships, cities, islands et cetera. These 21 types represent 442 tokens or 41% of 1,071 tokens in total. The remaining 629 tokens are produced by the other 300 types. Here, we find many items from the same semantic fields, such as *adjudant* 'adjutant', *baron* 'baron', *bataljon* 'batallion', *bom* 'bomb', *brigade* 'brigade', *corps* 'corps', *deserteur* 'deserter' and *eskader* 'squadron' as well as administrative words such as *administratie* 'administration', *akte* 'deed', *departement* 'department', *dateren* 'date', words with a more general meaning, such as *figuur* 'figure' and *fraai* 'beautiful', and of course also the lexeme *courant* 'newspaper'.

It seems that the French loanwords adopted in the domains are strongly determined by the topics discussed in these domains. Across the administrative domains, the most frequent loanwords are nouns and verbs indicating social roles, events, and actions characteristic of these domains. There is less overlap in the non-administrative domains: in Public Opinion, for example, nouns indicating roles and functionaries in the field of international politics, including war and diplomacy, dominate, while the domain of Literature attracts adjectives and interjections, and Private Life incorporates names for family members. In all domains, a small set of c. 10–20 lexemes are responsible for a quarter or even half or two-thirds of all established French loanwords. The remaining dozens or hundreds of loanword types occur only once or a handful of times.

10.7 Social domains and time

We have established diachronic (Section 10.4) and domain-related patterns (Section 10.6) reminiscent of the patterns we found for loan suffixes. We now zoom in on the interaction of the temporal and domain dimensions. We will restrict ourselves to established loans, on the one hand because the established loans and the larger dataset of possibly French loans (which includes the established loans, see

Section 10.3) give very similar results as is clear from the figures and tables in the previous sections, on the other hand also because, in the end, it is only the established loanwords that provide unambiguous evidence of French influence.

Figure 10.9 presents the token frequency of established French loans, normalised per 1,000 words, across the temporal intervals of the LOL corpus and split up according to the two groups of social domains distinguished in the corpus: administrative (blue line) and non-administrative (red line).

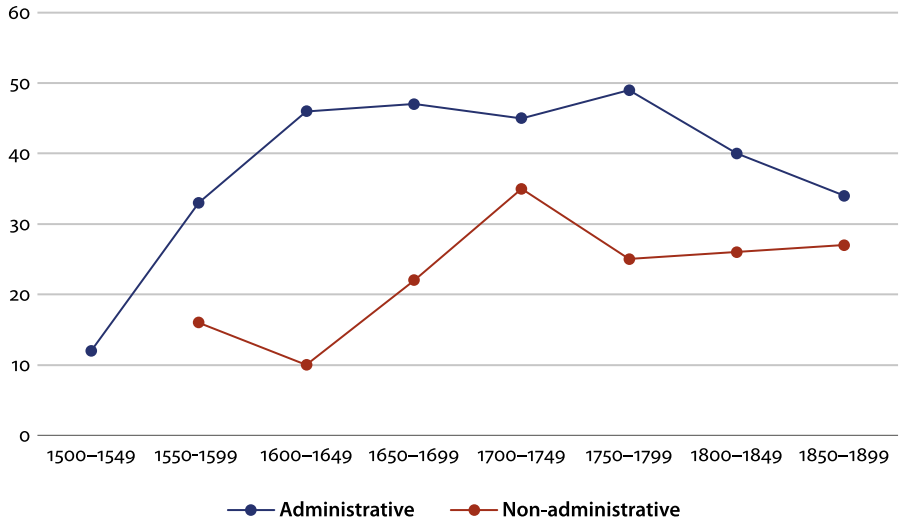


Figure 10.9 Established French loanwords across time, in the administrative and non-administrative domains, token frequency per 1,000 words

Again, the similarities with the loan suffixes are striking (see Section 9.6). The administrative domains have consistently higher numbers of loanwords than the non-administrative domains. In the administrative domains, there is a clear rise diachronically. A high level of more than 45 tokens per 1,000 words, i.e., more than 4.5% established loanwords, is however already reached in the first half of the seventeenth century and the frequency remains high throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, after which it decreases enormously, and in fact almost goes down to the overall prominence of established loans on the corpus (3%). The non-administrative domains have lower scores overall, but do display an interesting pattern, namely a steady increase in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with a small peak in the first half of the eighteenth century.

Figure 10.10 splits up the data even further, namely according to all seven domains represented in the corpus. This gives a very diverse image, where Academy, Charity and Economy show the — by now — expected diachronic pattern of a

gradual rise followed by a decrease in the nineteenth century. The domain of Religion, also administrative, is different, however, with lower frequencies per period. Literature is low, although it has a slight, yet remarkable increase in 1850–1899. Assendelft (2023: 177–178) shows that this is due to a few highly frequent French-origin lexical items in just one play of the period, such as *kapitein* 'captain' and *soldaat* 'soldier', which indicate important characters and social roles in the play. The non-administrative peak in 1700–1749 appears to be the result of a rise in the domains of Private Life and Public Opinion.

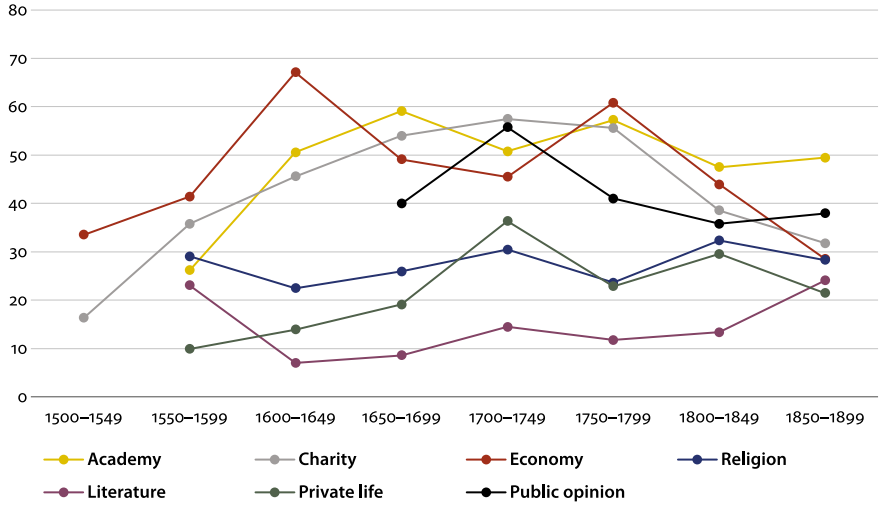


Figure 10.10 Established French loanwords across time and social domain, token frequency per 1,000 words

Figure 10.11 looks at the type frequency of the established loans, divided into the administrative and non-administrative domains. Again, the administrative domains have generally higher scores than the non-administrative domains. Here, too, there is a remarkable peak in the non-administrative domains in 1700–1749, when the type frequency per 1,000 words even surpasses that of the administrative domains, despite the fact that the token counts are higher in the administrative domains. There are also differences within these two groups of domains: Religion follows a path different from — lower than — the other administrative domains. Within the non-administrative domains, Literature is very low and Public Opinion aligns with the high-scoring administrative domains, while Private Life is in between.

The fascinating result in Figure 10.11 appears to be due to impressively high type frequencies in two domains in particular, namely Private Life and Public

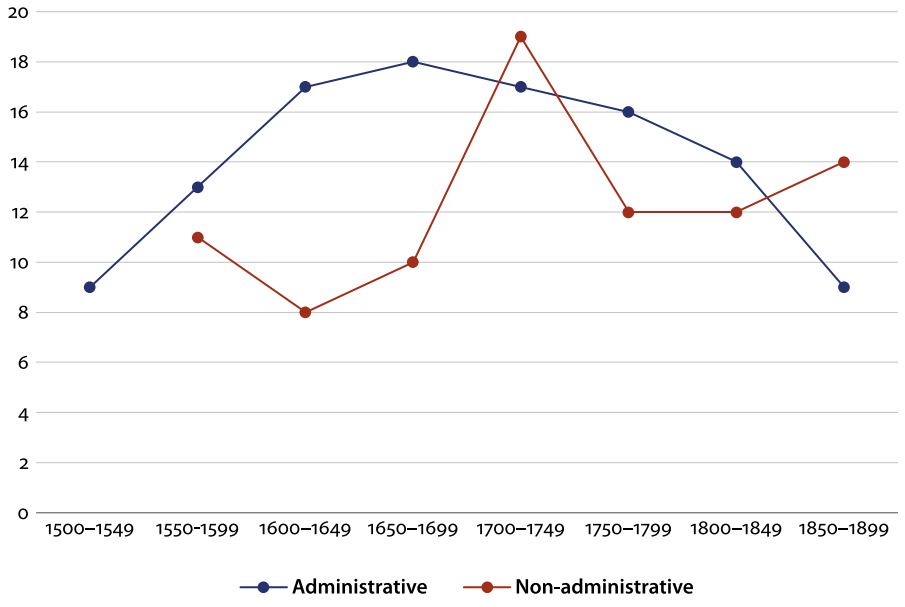


Figure 10.11 Established French loanwords across time, in the administrative and non-administrative domains, type frequency per 1,000 words

Opinion, as can be seen in Figure 10.12, where we divide the data according to the social domains of the corpus.

From Figure 10.12, it becomes apparent that the high frequency in the non-administrative domains in the first half of the eighteenth century is mainly due to the domains of Private Life and of Public Opinion. After the expected decrease in the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century, the domain of Public Opinion also has another notable increase in the second half of the nineteenth century. We will zoom in on the changes in these domains across time and focus on the periods in which they have a peak.

We begin with Private Life. Table 10.7 gives the token and type count of the established French loanwords across time: the frequencies gradually increase until the 1700–1749 period, after which they decrease, though not as gradually, since 1800–1849 shows a small increase again. The TTR is very high in all periods. Note that many types occur in more than one period and are thus counted repeatedly so that the TTR per period is higher than the overall TTR in this domain (0.44 for established loans, see Table 10.5).

In the 1550–1599, 1600–1649 and 1650–1699 periods, the token count is below 100. Most lexical types occur once or twice. Exceptions are *haast* 'haste' (7 tokens) and *kozijn* 'cousin' (7) in 1550–1599, and *kleur* 'colour' (7), *prijs* 'price' (6) and *staal* 'sample' (9) in 1650–1699. In 1600–1649, there is not a single type with more

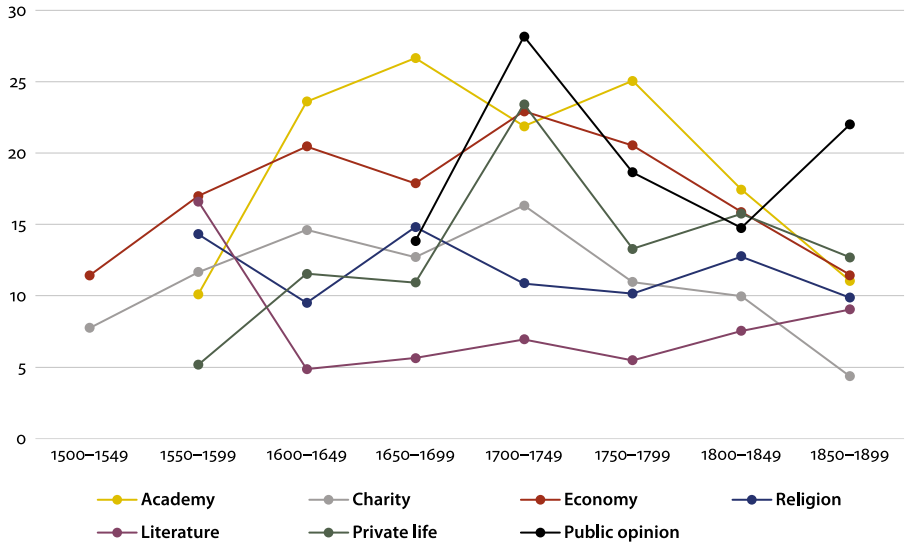


Figure 10.12 Established French loanwords across time and social domain, type frequency per 1,000 words

than two occurrences. The first half of the eighteenth century constitutes a fascinating period, in which both the token count and the type count are more than doubled when compared to the previous period. Types with 4 tokens or more include *adieu* 'goodbye' (4), *diverteren* 'enjoy' (4), *intentie* 'intention' (6), *logeren* '(let) spend the night' (6), *partij* 'party' (14), *plaats* 'place' (4), *plezier* 'pleasure' (6) and *tante* 'aunt' (5). Semantically, this is completely in line with the description of the lexical stock of this domain in Section 10.6. This also applies to the later peri-

Table 10.7 Tokens, types (absolute numbers per period) and type-token ratios of all established French loanwords in the domain of Private Life

Private Life	**1500–1549**	**1550–1599**	**1600–1649**	**1650–1699**	**1700–1749**	**1750–1799**	**1800–1849**	**1850–1899**
Tokens Established French loans	–	44	71	96	197	117	152	108
Types Established French loans	–	23	59	55	127	68	81	64
TTR	–	**0.52**	**0.83**	**0.57**	**0.64**	**0.58**	**0.53**	**0.59**

ods (1750–1799, 1800–1849 and 1850–1899), when frequent words include types such as *mama* 'mother', *plezier* 'pleasure', *plaats* 'place', *plan* 'plan', *papa* 'father', *tante* 'aunt' and *feliciteren* 'congratulate'.

In an effort to find out what characterises the domain of Private Life in the first half of the eighteenth century, we decided to focus on lexical types that occur for the first time in 1700–1749. Table 10.8 thus presents these types (including the token count). The types are ordered in line with the century in which the first attestation is found according to historical and etymological dictionaries (see Footnote 2).

Table 10.8 First occurrences of loanwords in Private Life in the 1700–1749 period, according to the attested period of borrowing

Period of borrowing	First occurrences in Private Life in 1700–1749	N types	%
C13	*amoureus* (1), *arriveren* (9), *beest* (2), *conditie* (1), *examineren* (1), *fontein* (1), *fout* (3), *generaal* (1), *manier* (3), *ordonneren* (1), *partij* (14), *passeren* (3), *prijzen* (2), *proper* (2), *termineren* (2), *tour* (4)	16	16
C14	*adieu* (14), *affaire* (2), *content* (1), *kapitein* (2), *konvooieren* (1), *particulier* (2), *regiment* (2), *reparatie* (1), *stof* (2), *taxatie* (1)	10	10
C15	*accepteren* (1), *assisteren* (1), *avanceren* (1), *bag* (1), *ceremonie* (1), *douairière* (1), *fatsoen* (2), *flatteren* (1), *luitenant* (2), *missive* (3), *president* (2), *profiteren* (2), *publiek* (1), *rooien* (1), *schaats* (1)	15	15
C16	*adres* (2), *adresseren* (4), *arrivement* (2), *attentie* (4), *advancement* (1), *avantage* (1), *consideratie* (1), *curieus* (1), *dateren* (1), *desisteren* (1), *diverteren* (4), *domestiek* (1), *extraordinair* (1), *garde* (1), *honneur* (1), *kolonel* (1), *licent* (1), *likeur* (1), *magnifiek* (1), *origineel* (1), *plezier* (14), *portret* (2), *pruik* (1), *reflectie* (1), *retour* (1)	25	25
C17	*agrement* (1), *air* (1), *ambigu* (1), *appuyeren* (1), *chagrijn* (1), *charmant* (1), *commandant* (1), *concert* (2), *couvert* (3), *deplorabel* (1), *detail* (1), *effectief* (1), *envoyé* (1), *ferm* (3), *incommoderen* (2), *kamizool* (1), *mankement* (1), *muzikant* (1), *reprimande* (1), *retourneren* (1), *surtout* (1), *trotteren* (1), *visite* (4)	23	23
C18	*cabanes* (1), *chapiter* (1), *chevalier* (1), *detailleren* (1), *fatigant* (1), *kokarde* (1), *quadrille* (1), *regaleren* (1), *souper* (2), *tante* (24)	10	10

Table 10.8 shows that 99 types are used for the first time in the domain of Private Life in the 1700–1749 period. Note that Private Life has 127 established loanword types in this period (Table 10.7), so that the large majority of these types (99 out of 127 or 78%) occur for the first time in this domain in the LOL Cor-

pus. This means that there is not just an enormous frequency rise in 1700–1749, but also an intense renewal of the lexical stock involved. In the previous period, 1650–1699, likewise 46 out of 55 types or 84% of all types used occur for the first time in the domain of Private Life in the LOL Corpus. The historical situation is therefore one of increasing token frequency along with substantial renewal of the lexical types. Comparing the 99 types first used in the 1700–1749 period to the century of borrowing furthermore reveals that many of them have first been attested in the Middle Ages, while a majority were borrowed in the sixteenth century (25%). This is in line with the results in Section 10.5. However, one-third of the 99 types were borrowed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (23% and 10%, respectively), and are therefore relatively recent loanwords. Finally, it seems that three semantic fields dominate the lexical types first used in this period. First, there are words that signify the practice of letter-writing; often, these are older, administrative borrowings that are now used in Private Life (*arriveren* 'arrive', *arrivement* 'arrival', *adres* 'address', *adresseren* 'to address', *dateren* 'to date'). The frequent word *adieu* 'goodbye' also belongs to the practice of letter-writing. Second, the highly frequent word *tante* 'aunt' signifies the adoption of French loanwords for family relationships, similar to *mama* and *papa*. Third, a large number of words signify elite cultural practices and polite models of behaviour, for example, *agrement* 'pleasantness', *air* 'attitude', *amoureus* 'amorous', *attentie* 'present, gift', *bag* 'gem', *ceremonie* 'ceremony', *charmant* 'charming', *chevalier* 'knight', *concert* 'concert', *content* 'satisfied', *couvert* 'envelope', *douairière* 'dowager', *flatteren* 'flatter (oneself)', *honneur* ''honour', *kamizool* 'camisole', *kokarde* 'cockade', *likeur* 'liqueur', *muzikant* 'musician', *pruik* 'whig', *quadrille* 'card game', *regaleren* 'entertain', *souper* 'supper', *visite* 'visit'.

Moving to the Public domain, Table 10.9 gives the token and type frequencies across time along with the TTR. The TTR is relatively high, particularly in 1700–1749 and in 1850–1899. While most words occur once or a few times — which is the general pattern in the LOL Corpus — there are also frequent types. These include *ambassadeur* 'ambassador' (16 tokens), *Frans* 'French' (16), *kapitein* 'captain' (12), *prins* 'prince' (15) and *sint* 'saint' (19) in 1650–1699. Similarly, in 1700–1749, the frequent types are *ambassadeur* (7), *compagnie* 'company' (14), *majesteit* 'majesty' (17), *order* 'order' (10) and *prins* (13). In 1750–1799, these include *plaats* 'place' (10), *parlement* 'parliament' (8), *ordonnantie* 'ordinance' (9), *majesteit* (12) and *kapitein* (7), in the period 1800–1849 *Frans* (8), *kabinet* 'cabinet' (7), *leveren* 'deliver' (7), *plaats, Porte* as the name of the Turkish government (20) and *troep* 'troupe, squad' (8), and in the period 1850–1899 *frank* 'frank' (10), *Frans* (10), *partij* (10), *plaats* (10) and *troep* (6). These examples recall the lexical stock of the domain of Public Opinion described above (Section 10.6).

Table 10.9 Tokens, types (absolute numbers per period) and type-token ratios of all established French loanwords in the domain of Public Opinion

Public Opinion	1500–1549	1550–1599	1600–1649	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899
Tokens Established French loans	–	–	–	202	285	209	182	193
Types Established French loans	–	–	–	70	144	95	75	112
TTR	–	–	–	**0.35**	**0.51**	**0.45**	**0.41**	**0.58**

In this case, too, we focus on the first half of the eighteenth century. In the 1700–1749 period, the domain of Public Opinion comprises 113 lexical types not previously occurring in this domain in the LOL Corpus; see Table 10.10. Semantically, this collection of loanwords fits with the general description of the lexical stock of Public Opinion: many words indicate (international) politics, the military and war (e.g., *compagnie* 'company', *corps* 'corps', *generaal* 'general', *parlement* 'parliament', *partij* 'party', *garnizoen* 'garrison', *luitenant* 'lieutenant', *president* 'president', *fregat* 'frigate', *frontier* 'border', *kanon* 'canon', *prinses* 'princess') and/or are of an administrative nature (*accorderen* 'approve, decide', *arresteren* 'approve', *privilege* 'privilege', *akte* 'deed', *registreren* 'register', *formeren* 'form', *debiteren* 'debit'). As with Private Life, some words, and especially more recent borrowings, indicate the practices of polite society in the eighteenth century: *rendez-vous* 'rendezvous', *mademoiselle* 'miss', *muzikant* 'musician', *chevalier* 'knight'. The main observation, however, is the much lower contribution of loanwords from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While these made up 33% of the first occurrences in the domain of Private Life in 1700–1749 (Table 10.8), they represent merely 11% in Public Opinion, where loanwords from the thirteenth century make up 32% as opposed to 16% in Private Life.

Finally, we also look at the first occurrences in the 1850–1899 period, where Public Opinion has a second peak in the overall type and token frequencies. Table 10.11 gives the 45 types first used in Public Opinion in this period. Again, the semantic field of politics and war is salient (e.g., *legioen* 'legion', *liberal* 'liberal', *sire* 'Sire', *bombarderen* 'bomb', *fractie* 'fraction, group', *procureur* 'attorney', *adjudant* 'adjutant', *bom* 'bomb', *bombardement* 'bombardment', *interpellatie* 'interpellation', *marine* 'marine', *circulaire* 'circular', *milicien* 'militiaman'). Interestingly, the proportion of loanwords first attested in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is now much higher (24% and 11% respectively), and a considerable number are

Table 10.10 First occurrences of loanwords in Public Opinion in the 1700–1749 period, according to the attested period of borrowing

Period of borrowing	First occurrences in Public Opinion in 1700–1749	N types	%
C13	*accorderen* (2), *appèl* (1), *appointement* (1), *arresteren* (3), *compagnie* (18), *consent* (1), *continueren* (2), *corps* (6), *declaratie* (2), *examineren* (1), *exceptie* (1), *faveur* (1), *formeren* (2), *generaal* (5), *kantoor* (1), *kwartier* (2), *metaal* (2), *muziek* (2), *octrooi* (2), *page* (1), *parlement* (12), *partij* (17), *passeren* (6), *present* (3), *presenteren* (2), *privilege* (1), *provoost* (1), *regulier* (2), *rivier* (6), *Romein* (3), *saluut* (1), *som* (8), *Spanje* (1), *tent* (1), *tour* (1), *trezoor* (1)	36	32
C14	*akte* (8), *amende* (1), *arrest* (2), *constitutie* (1), *controle* (2), *convoyeren* (1), *favorabel* (1), *florijn* (9), *livrei* (1), *particulier* (4), *registreren* (3), *reparatie* (1), *repareren* (1), *seculier* (1), *stof* (3), *taks* (2)	16	14
C15	*assisteren* (5), *brevet* (1), *collecteur* (1), *confisqueren* (2), *garnizoen* (4), *instructive* (2), *intendant* (2), *lakei* (1), *luitenant* (5), *missive* (2), *president* (9), *pretenderen* (2), *prinses* (8), *profes* (1), *prompt* (1), *rapport* (2), *rekest* (5), *resideren* (1)	18	16
C16	*abondantie* (1), *adresseren* (1), *arsenaal* (1), *beneficieren* (1), *chef* (2), *commanderen* (4), *considerabel* (1), *directeur* (3), *distinctie* (1), *emplooi* (1), *expresse* (2), *fregat* (3), *frontier* (1), *garde* (4), *honneur* (1), *cabinet* (13), *kanon* (6), *kolonel* (7), *laurier* (1), *ledikant* (1), *madame* (1), *magazijn* (4), *miljoen* (3), *occasie* (3), *order* (13), *provisioneel* (1), *reform* (1), *rendez-vous* (1), *route* (1), *soulageren* (1), *valabel* (1)	31	27
C17	*academist* (1), *appartement* (2), *contrabande* (2), *debiteren* (1), *equiperen* (1), *formaliteit* (1), *indispositie* (2), *kampement* (1), *mademoiselle* (1), *muzikant* (1), *negotiëren* (2)	11	10
C18	*chagrineren* (1), *chevalier* (1)	1	1

first attested in the nineteenth century (18%). These include words such as *centimeter* 'centimetre' and *kilo* 'kilo', which are traditionally associated with French rule at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century (van der Sijs 2001: 231).

This detailed analysis of Private Life and Public Opinion has uncovered the lexical stock behind the frequency peaks in 1700–1749 and, in the case of Public Opinion, also 1850–1899. For our interpretation of the historical discourse of frenchification, it seems striking that the domain of Private Life in the 1700–1749 period, in particular, is characterised by intense lexical renewal and an increase of lexical items related to elite cultural practices.

Table 10.11 First occurrences of loanwords in Public Opinion in the 1850–1899 period, according to the attested period of borrowing

Period of borrowing	First occurrences in Public Opinion in 1850–1899	N types	%
C13	*lamp* (1), *lantaarn* (1), *legioen* (1), *meubel* (1), *pers* (1), *plein* (1), *proeven* (1), *reserveren* (1)	8	18
C14	*liberaal* (1)	1	2
C15	*schaats* (1), *sire* (1)	2	4
C16	*abusief* (1), *bombarderen* (1), *cassatie* (1), *cavalerie* (1), *fractie* (1), *kaliber* (1), *personeel* (1), *portret* (1), *procureur* (1), *taak* (1)	10	22
C17	*adjudant* (1), *ballon* (4), *bom* (3), *bombardement* (1), *concentreren* (1), *formeel* (1), *interpellatie* (1), *manege* (1), *marine* (4), *plafond* (1), *portefeuille* (1)	11	24
C18	*circulaire* (2), *kosmopoliet* (1), *organiseren* (1), *quadrille* (1), *redactie* (1)	5	11
C19	*centimeter* (1), *industrieel* (1), *kilo* (1), *lokaal* (1), *lokaliseren* (1), *milicien* (1), *mobiliseren* (1), *normaal* (1)	8	18

10.8 Loanwords as lexical variables

In this section, we explore a variationist approach to loanwords from French, investigating to what extent we can distinguish different lexical variants of one semantic concept. Such a variationist approach aligns with the onomasiological approach to loanwords advocated by Zenner et al. (2012). We wish to emphasise, beforehand, that we doubt whether their approach, which targets present-day language, for which both more data and speaker intuitions are available, can be fruitfully applied to historical data. Zenner et al. (2012: 754–755) argue convincingly that very large datasets are needed for such research in view of the relatively low frequency of many content words. In addition, a complete overview of all loanwords in a given corpus should be relinquished as an ideal, precisely because the datasets needed are so big. We, however, not only work with a smaller corpus than the billion-word corpora of modern linguistics, we also want to arrive at a complete inventory of French loanwords, if only because we are the first to study the phenomenon on the basis of a historical corpus.

Furthermore, 454 out of 1,157 or 39% of the established French loanword types in our corpus are hapaxes, occurring only once between 1500 and 1899. This makes us suspicious about the likelihood of reliable quantitative comparisons with Dutch alternative lexicalisations of a particular concept. In fact, we believe

that it will be difficult to identify Dutch variants in many cases, for reasons of frequency but also because synonymity is not a trivial issue, as we will see below. It is probably not a coincidence that studies such as Zenner, Speelman & Geeraerts (2012) and Zenner et al. (2023) focus on person-reference nouns in very large corpora; these are relatively frequent and easy to detect, and synonymy is relatively easily established. We still want to explore this approach, not least because a careful analysis of possible lexical alternatives may shed more light on the motivation to adopt, or not adopt, loanwords from French.

We restrict ourselves for this analysis to the 29 established French loanword types with more than 50 tokens, on the assumption that a concept that is lexicalised by way of a French loanword more than 50 times may also attract Dutch alternatives in relevant proportions. This set of frequent loanwords comprises 3 adjectives, 4 verbs and 22 nouns. The 3 adjectives are *Frans* 'French' (54 tokens), *publiek* 'public' (86) and *sint* 'saint' (97). Table 10.12 gives the token frequency of these adjectives per 50-year period of the LOL Corpus.

Table 10.12 Loan adjectives in the LOL Corpus with more than 50 tokens

Adjectives	1500–1549	1550–1599	1600–1649	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899
Frans 'French'	–	1	7	18	2	5	15	6
sint 'saint'	15	22	4	22	7	12	7	8
publiek 'public'	4	5	5	26	19	21	3	3
openbaar 'public'	2	16	13	13	8	6	12	9

The adjective *Frans* 'French' denotes individuals from France and their actions, including their language, for example diplomatic decisions by French politicians reported on in newspapers in the domain of Public Opinion. There is no originally Dutch alternative to this strongly integrated loanword. The use of *Frans* obviously depends on the topic and on the origins of people and products and the like mentioned in the context of a specific discourse. In that sense, the use of *Frans* across the periods is randomly distributed. A similar line of reasoning applies to the adjective *sint* 'saint', which often occurs in names of locations such as *Sint Jacobsgracht* 'St Jacob canal', *Sinte Katrynen gasthuys* 'St Catherine guesthouse' and *Sint steuens clooster* 'St Stephan monastery'. While we excluded proper names, especially personal names, from our analyses, we kept these location names, precisely because they often incorporate nouns and adjectives suitable for further analysis. The diachronic distribution is random in the sense that it

depends on the authors' need to identify specific places. An alternative lexicalisation is *heilig* 'holy', which does not occur in these names, clearly because they were already established as names. The lexeme *heilig* does occur, but in other names, particularly in the domain of Charity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when many people bequeathed their possessions to the *Heilige Geest- of arme Wees- en Kinderhuis* 'Holy Ghost or poor orphans' and children's home'.

The adjective *publiek* 'public' is different. In this case, there is a Dutch variant, namely *openbaar*, also recorded in Table 10.12. The table shows the distribution of both variants across time, i.e., a fluctuating usage of *openbaar*, but a very clear pattern for *publiek*. This French loanword peaks between 1650 and 1799, when it also outnumbers *openbaar*, as opposed to almost all other periods (except 1500–1549). The results include many examples of the expression *notaris publyck* 'public notary', which also copies the French word order noun-adjective, as opposed to *openbaar notaris* 'public notary'.

The 4 verbs with more than 50 tokens are *accorderen* 'approve, decide' (51), *leveren* 'deliver' (54), *passeren* 'pass' (98) and *resideren* 'reside' (71). Table 10.13 gives the diachronic distribution of these verbs.

Table 10.13 Loan verbs in the LOL Corpus with more than 50 tokens

Verbs	1500–1549	1550–1599	1600–1649	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899
accorderen	1	1	2	10	10	17	10	–
leveren	2	9	12	9	5	2	12	3
passeren	1	3	15	12	22	20	19	6
resideren	–	–	3	12	15	16	17	8
wonen	1	9	8	24	21	13	2	4

The verb *accorderen* is closely tied to the administrative discourse employed by notaries and in board meetings. It was borrowed from French early on: the oldest attestation is from 1281 (VMNW s.v. *acorderen*). The historical dictionaries list only 14 tokens for the thirteenth century, all from administrative sources. In the LOL Corpus, *accorderen* has 47 out of 51 tokens in the administrative domains. A typical expression in which it occurs is *Accordeert voor Extract*, i.e., the person concerned agrees to the summary of the notarial document presented in the extract. This expression simply changes into *voor Extract* 'for summary' in the nineteenth century, perhaps because signing a document is already a sign of

agreeing to the contents of the document so that the performative verb *accorderen* may be left out.

The verb *leveren* 'deliver' is an old loanword with already 492 attestations in the thirteenth-century data of the historical dictionaries (VMNW s.v. *leveren*). While 70 of these are found in literary texts, a majority of 422 tokens stem from administrative sources. Note that *leveren* is phonetically different from the other verbs in *-eren*, i.e., it has a schwa vowel both in the penultimate and in the final syllable, whereas the other verbs in *-eren* have [e:] in the penultimate syllable and schwa only in the final syllable. Verbs in *-eren* normally have the stress on the full vowel in the first syllable of the suffix, while in *leveren* if falls on the first syllable of the word. The reduction to schwa thus occurring in *-eren* may be taken as a sign of phonetic integration. Along with the high frequency in the earliest materials, this suggests a well-established loanword. A possible alternative such as *verschaffen* 'provide' occurs only 3 times in the LOL Corpus. The verb *geven* 'give' is very frequent with hundreds of tokens — a search string such as *geve* generates 443 tokens — and often occurs as a light verb in expressions such as *kennis geven* and *te kennen geven* 'inform'. All in all, we suspect that the use of *leveren* largely depends on writers who want or need to communicate about deliveries, which makes the diachronic distribution random, as can be seen in Table 10.13.

The next two verbs are different. The verb *passeren* is much less frequent in the earliest materials (only 2 tokens in the VMNW). In the LOL Corpus, it displays the typical distribution with a peak in the eighteenth century. 87 out of the 98 tokens are from the administrative domains, of which 73 tokens occur in the domain of Charity. It usually means 'pass before a notary', and as such it often occurs in the expression *gedaan en gepasseerd*, i.e., 'done/ made and confirmed/ passed before a notary'. A Dutch alternative emerges for this expression: *gedaan en verleden*, where *verleden* is the past participle of the verb *verlijden*, which in this specific semantic environment, and in this expression, may be a loan translation of French *passer* and/or be formed after Dutch *passeren*. The expression *gedaan en verleden* or simply *verleden* occurs particularly in the nineteenth-century materials of the Charity domain. A couple of triplet examples of *gedaan, verleden en gepasseerd* occur in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which may signal either a misunderstanding of the uncommon Dutch alternative *verleden* or of the French loanword *gepasseerd*. In any case, *passeren* seems to be first and foremost administrative language that follows the typical pattern across time.

The verb *resideren* is an even more recent loan, from the fifteenth century (*Etymologiebank* s.v. *resideren*), which peaks between 1650 and 1849. There is a clear Dutch variant, *wonen* 'live', which occurs throughout the period of the LOL Corpus. It also increases, when it becomes customary to denote the place of residence of people involved in a contract or testament, but the important obser-

vation is that between 1750 and 1899, *resideren* overtakes *wonen*. Note that we included the deverbal adjective *woonachtig* 'living' in the results for *wonen*, since the most common forms of *resideren* and *wonen* are the forms *residerende* 'residing' and *wonende* 'living', i.e., nominal, participial forms of the verbs. This means that *woonachtig* is part of the envelope of variation, which includes the variants *x is residerende, x is wonende, x is woonachtig*, which all mean 'x is living'

There are 22 borrowed nouns in the LOL Corpus with a frequency of more than 50. A first group of 4 nouns comprises *akte* 'deed' (114), *comparant(e)* '(female) person appearing before a notary' (232), *testateur* 'testator' (76) and *testatrice* 'testatrix' (72). These are 4 nouns stemming from legal practice, although they are not entirely restricted to the administrative domains. The noun *akte*, for example, has 11 tokens in the non-administrative domains. In these cases, the practice of legal and administrative action comes with a particular vocabulary. There are no Dutch alternatives until masculine *erflater* and feminine *erflaatster* 'person who bequeaths' emerge in the nineteenth century. See Table 10.14.

Table 10.14 Legal loan nouns in the LOL Corpus with more than 50 tokens

Nouns	1500–1549	1550–1599	1600–1649	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899
akte		14	26	9	14	19	11	21
comparant(e)	–	12	50	18	26	71	9	46
testateur	–	11	1	24	30	2	–	8
testatrice	–	15	–	8	10	1	23	15
erflater/erflaatster	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	33

All tokens of *comparant(e)* stem from the administrative domains, and in fact 230 tokens occur in the domain of Charity. The form *testateur* has one token in Religion; the other 147 tokens of *testateur/testatrice* occur in Charity. The meanings of *comparant(e)* en *testateur/testatrice* are not completely interchangeable: all of them appear before the notary, but only the *testateur/testatrice* orders a testament. *Comparant(e)* thus includes witnesses. These words come with the French-based legal practice. It is significant that the historical dictionaries do not offer synonyms, but only descriptions of the meaning. Since these loanwords do not have Dutch alternatives, their frequencies vary across the centuries, depending on the topic, the number of witnesses, perhaps even on the style of the individual notary. The emergence of *erflater/erflaatster* in the second half of the nineteenth century is notable, when it becomes a competitive Dutch alternative. This

change is also reflected in the law. In the Dutch version of the Code Civil or Code Napoléon, *testateur* is the common term and *erflater* occurs only a few times (*Wetboek Napoleon* 1809). In the new civil code of 1836, *testateur* does not occur anymore and *erflater* has become the common term (*Wet* 1836).

Another small group of nouns refers to professional roles and to a group of individuals (viz. *faculteit*). It consists of *curateur* 'curator, board member of the university' (146 tokens) and *faculteit* 'faculty' (54). These are related to the new academic practice, emerging in the late sixteenth century. See Table 10.15. The Latin loanword *curator* (142 tokens) should be added to this group. Other words that behave similarly are *regent* 'governor' (89 tokens) and *suppliant* 'supplicant' (165).

Table 10.15 Administrative loan nouns in the LOL Corpus with more than 50 tokens (professional individuals/groups)

Nouns	1500–1549	1550–1599	1600–1649	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899
curateur	–	50	34	31	18	12	1	–
curator	–	4	12	6	5	41	55	19
faculteit		2	4	7	3	3	16	19
regent		1	23	26	8	13	5	13
suppliant	2	28	28	23	9	58	16	1

The Latin loanword *curator* overtakes the French loanword *curateur* from the late eighteenth century onwards. Almost all tokens of *curateur* and *curator* are from the Academic domain. A Dutch alternative does not occur. For *faculteit*, there is no Dutch alternative. The frequency depends on the need to talk about specific faculties in the university board meetings; the number of faculties increases over time. A similar line of reasoning applies to *regent* and *suppliant*: they indicate professional roles characteristic of the administrative domains. Dutch alternatives for *curateur* and *regent*, such as *bestuurder* 'director' and *beheerder* 'administrator', hardly occur. Only *bestuurder* has 3 tokens in the final period, 1850–1899. Likewise, the noun *verzoeker* 'petitioner, supplicant', a possible alternative to *suppliant*, has only 2 tokens, one in 1600–1649 and one in 1850–1899.

Table 10.16 lists the next group of nouns, which all indicate discursive practices characteristic of the administrative domains: *dispositie* 'decision' (71 tokens), *order* 'order' (83), *ordonnantie* 'ordinance' (87), *resolutie* 'resolution' (108), *rapport* 'report' (55) and *rekwest* 'request' (59). Generally speaking, these words follow the familiar pattern for French loanwords with the highest frequencies realised

between 1650 and 1849, i.e., concentrated around the eighteenth century. Table 10.16 also lists a number of Dutch alternatives, viz. *besluit* 'decision', *beschikking* 'order', *beslissing* 'decision', *uitspraak* 'judgment', *verslag* 'report' and *verzoek* 'request'. While most of these are quite infrequent, it is certainly observable that, when they occur, the highest numbers are reached in the later periods of the corpus, especially in the nineteenth century.

Table 10.16 Administrative loan nouns in the LOL Corpus with more than 50 tokens (discursive practices)

Nouns	1500–1549	1550–1599	1600–1649	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899
dispositie	–	4	7	14	12	9	11	14
order	–	3	7	21	28	19	2	3
ordonnantie	5	7	9	13	16	20	17	–
resolutie	–	7	8	19	30	37	6	1
rapport	–	7	9	4	5	4	17	9
rekwest	3	1	3	3	13	5	23	8
besluit	–	2	2	–	7	6	29	17
beschikking	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	8
beslissing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4
uitspraak	–	–	–	–	2	2	2	–
verslag	–	–	–	–	1	3	5	9
verzoek	1	7	3	5	22	24	29	42

Two more administrative loanwords are *florijn* 'guilder' (96 tokens) and *missive* 'letter' (148); see Table 10.17. What is remarkable in these cases is that the highest numbers occur in the later periods of the LOL Corpus, i.e., in the nineteenth century. Note that *florijn* almost exclusively occurs abbreviated to *f*, introducing an amount of money in guilders. The Dutch guilder was named after the golden florin (*Etymologiebank* s.v. *gulden*). While the name evolved into *gulden* 'guilder', based on the original adjective, the abbreviations *f* and *fl* remained in use until the introduction of the Euro. The word *gulden* is much more frequent in the LOL Corpus than *florijn*, as can be seen in Table 10.17, although it appears to decrease after 1750, when *florijn* or rather *f* is emerging. Since *gulden* derives from the Germanic word for gold, this may be seen as a case of a French loanword com-

peting with a Dutch alternative, albeit in the abbreviated form *f*. The word *missive* 'letter' has a clear alternative, viz. *brief*, which is a loanword from Latin. The word *brief* occurs throughout the period of the LOL Corpus. It has a more general meaning than *missive*, which is largely restricted to administrative use, while *brief* also includes private letters. Table 10.17 also compares the administrative use of *missive* and *brief*, showing that *missive* was less frequent than *brief* until 1749, after which *missive* increases in use with the specific meaning of a letter in administrative settings. It does not oust *brief* in this meaning, however.

Table 10.17 Administrative loan nouns in the LOL Corpus with more than 50 tokens: *florijn, missive*

Nouns	1500–1549	1550–1599	1600–1649	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899
florijn	–	–	–	2	18	15	18	43
missive	–	1	6	4	7	15	52	63
gulden	12	46	38	43	66	34	32	27
brief	18	28	19	33	44	31	47	78
missive-admin	0	1	6	4	5	13	52	62
brief-admin	18	15	7	7	14	14	6	54

Finally, there are 6 frequent loanwords from French, for which there are no clear Dutch variants in the LOL Corpus; see Table 10.18. The nouns are *plaats* 'place' (324 tokens), *prijs* 'price' (56), *prins* 'prince' (63), *saai* 'say' (66), *som* 'sum, total' (159) and *toneel* 'theatre, stage' (74). An obvious alternative to the highly frequent word *plaats* would be *plek*, which does not, however, occur at all in the LOL Corpus. Most of these words are already attested in the thirteenth century, and many of them even with hundreds of tokens (*prijs, prins, saai* and *som*). This indicates that they are common and well-established loanwords, and probably the main lexicalisations available of the meanings in question. Thus, these nouns occur throughout the period of the LOL Corpus with varying frequencies depending on the writers' need to lexicalise the meaning.

In this section, we explored to what extent we can apply a variationist or onomasiological approach to our data from the LOL Corpus. The answer is binary. In many cases, we are dealing with concepts that have a clearly preferred lexicalisation by means of a French loanword. There is hardly any lexical variation or none at all throughout the period of the corpus. The loanwords are attested early

Table 10.18 Common loan nouns in the LOL Corpus with more than 50 tokens

Nouns	1500–1549	1550–1599	1600–1649	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899
plaats	4	20	23	44	42	36	81	74
prijs	14	8	3	9	4	6	7	5
prins	3	3	17	16	15	3	1	5
saai	1	6	22	27	–	8	2	–
som	1	19	25	28	20	14	24	28
toneel	–	–	–	1	19	17	18	19

on and appear to be well-established in the language community. This applies to words such as *Frans, sint, akte, comparant, curateur, faculteit, plaats, prijs, prins, saai, som, leveren, regent, suppliant* and *toneel*. Obviously, it is not impossible to adopt Dutch alternatives to these words, for example *heilig* for *sint* or *verzoeker* for *suppliant*. It is certainly not helpful to think about these loanwords as so-called necessary loans, but it is also clear that there is a certain need for them — again, not because they are necessarily used for new, previously unknown referents, but because they are conventionally used within particular communities (Winford 2003: 37–39; Poplack 2017: 58–60). These words fulfil specific functions within certain social or professional practices. For example, legal and academic practices developed in the late Middle Ages and sixteenth centuries. Words such as *akte, comparant, curateur* and *faculteit* came with these practices, for which examples were found in the Romance world. Actors involved in these practices were, presumably, well acquainted with the common vocabulary, and as multilingual language users, they transferred these words into their Dutch texts. These words, therefore, occur throughout the period of the LOL Corpus with differing frequencies depending on the writers' need to verbalise these meanings.

Other words do have Dutch variants, and in these cases, we typically find the pattern that loanwords generally display, namely increasing usage in the eighteenth century, and the emergence of Dutch alternatives in the more recent periods of the corpus, in the nineteenth century in particular. This applies, to a greater or lesser extent, to *publiek, accorderen, passeren, resideren, testateur, testatrice, dispositie, order, ordonnantie, resolutie, rapport*, and *rekwest*. Here, it is not helpful to characterise these words as so-called luxury loans. Many are of an administrative nature and indicate actions and practices characteristic of the administrative domains. Here, too, there is a clear functional reason for multilingual, adminis-

trative individuals to adopt these words in Dutch. Nonetheless, their heightened frequency in the eighteenth century, and the subsequent competition of Dutch alternatives, are also indications of changing language-ideological perspectives in the community, possibly involving *frenchification* and *dutchification* (cf. Winford 2003: 39–40).

10.9 Discussion

In this chapter, we have taken a community perspective on loanwords: we were primarily interested in the distribution of French-origin items in the historical language community represented in the LOL Corpus. Distinguishing a larger group of possibly French loanwords and a smaller group of established French loanwords, we have shown that both groups increase across time, reaching a peak in the first half of the eighteenth century, after which a decrease sets in. This pattern applies to both loanword types and tokens. This general pattern is similar to that established in Chapter 9, where we analysed French-origin suffixes. The pattern is in line with traditional ideas about the so-called frenchified eighteenth century, but challenges ideas about the importance of the French period and the supposedly subsequent influx of French words in the nineteenth century. If one wished to adopt the contested label under scrutiny in this volume, then the eighteenth century, and more specifically the 1700–1749 period is the peak of frenchification, while the nineteenth century is a period of de-frenchification or dutchification.

In our analyses, we have not distinguished between borrowings and established or bona fide loanwords. While one could argue that Medieval and frequent words such as *plaats* belong to the Dutch lexicon — and today, hardly anyone will be aware it was once derived from French — it is also clear that many words were perceived to be French, sometimes even centuries after they had been borrowed into Dutch. If not, the surprising dutchification in the late eighteenth and in the nineteenth century would not have taken place. Note that this lexical dutchification coincides with dutchification in both language ideology and language policy (see Chapter 3 and Rutten 2019). While we found it difficult as well as unnecessary to distinguish borrowings from bona fide loanwords for theoretical reasons, we believe our results also cast doubt on the distinction since firmly established loanwords decreased in frequency in the period of dutchification. A prime example is the frequent verb *accorderen* 'approve, decide', which was borrowed in the thirteenth century, increased in frequency in the LOL Corpus, peaked in the second half of the eighteenth century, but then fell out of use.

As with the loan suffixes in Chapter 9, important differences exist between the administrative and non-administrative domains. The administrative domains have higher numbers of loanwords, many of which are nouns and verbs denoting roles, objects, events, and actions characteristic of these domains. The high number applies especially to the token count: the type frequency in the non-administrative domains was surprisingly high as well as the TTR. This result is in line with Matras's (2022: 601) observation that borrowed material often relates to 'activities that are shared with a neighbouring linguistic community: commerce, religion, administration, and technology. By contrast, personal and family experiences (body, emotions, space) remain conceptually protected and individualised'. Diachronically, this distinction is less obvious, however. Our results demonstrate that the non-administrative domains, including Private Life, show an increase of French-origin lexical material over time and also reach a peak in the eighteenth century. The differences between the domains also recall the result in Chapter 9: while there are clear differences between the administrative and non-administrative domains, these groups are still quite heterogenic. The general administrative pattern of an early steep rise, persistent high frequencies of French loanwords, and a decrease in the final periods of the LOL Corpus applies to Academy, Charity and Economy, but less so to Religion, where the proportions are both lower and more stable through time. Likewise, the domain of Literature diverges from Private Life and Public Opinion, in that it has low numbers of loanwords early on.

The non-administrative domains of Private Life and Public Opinion had a remarkable peak in the first half of the eighteenth century. Whereas Public Opinion here seemed to follow the general trend of increasing use of French-origin items, many of which had been borrowed much earlier, the domain of Private Life combined a few remarkable characteristics. In addition to the rise in the token and type frequencies, a significant renewal characterises this domain, in line with its high lexical diversity in terms of TTR. Furthermore, a considerable number of lexical items first used in this domain in the period 1700–1749 turned out to be recent borrowings, dating back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Finally, many of these words indicate elite culture and polite behaviour, as well as family relationships. This shows that a lexical stock of recent loanwords was penetrating private life at a great speed — and we believe much of the anti-French discourse goes back to this phenomenon. While much larger numbers of loanwords were used for specific functions in the administrative domains, and had been used for centuries, the eighteenth century witnessed the adoption of French vocabulary for 'personal and family experiences' (Matras 2022: 601). For a balanced judgment of the concept of frenchification, it should be kept in mind that the overall pro-

portion of French-origin items is 6% if based on all possibly French loanwords and 3% when calculated on the basis of the established French loanwords.

Our results in this chapter thus follow our interpretation in Chapter 9, viz. that there was a first wave of so-called frenchification in the administrative domains from the sixteenth century onwards, which was halted in the nineteenth century. This was followed by a second wave which concerned the non-administrative domains, and Private Life and Public Opinion in particular. A third wave of de-frenchification or dutchification affects both administrative and non-administrative domains.

Focusing on the language community, we adopted an etymological and sociolinguistic perspective and traced the distribution of French-origin items in the LOL Corpus. A lexicographical approach looks at the moment of borrowing, an approach that is also often adopted in the language contact literature, where the act of borrowing is related to the intensity of the contact. While borrowing indicates contact, our results show that the concept of intensity of contact needs to be distinguished according to the process, i.e., we distinguish intensity of contact during innovation from intensity of contact during diffusion. If we focus on innovation, i.e., on the point in time when French-origin items enter the Dutch language, we may be tempted to consider the sixteenth century the period of the highest 'intensity', when the contact situation was so intense that a broad range of lexical items was borrowed into Dutch. However, many of these innovations were of a particular kind: the lexical stock of the most heavily borrowing domains was to a large extent domain-specific. The loanwords fulfil specific functions, and many are of an administrative nature. This suggests that we are dealing with what Milroy (2007) calls 'off the shelf' changes, i.e., linguistic forms that are available to many people, that travel from community to community, but which do not necessarily imply a lot of contact. It seems that administrative vocabulary, known to multilingual languages users in the Low Countries through their knowledge of French written sources, may constitute an excellent example of such changes 'off the shelf'. In other words, what we seem to be witnessing, is an international discourse tradition in a period of elaboration of the Dutch language. In this process of lexical elaboration, easily accessible French words are available, because many people, or at least those who work in the administrative domains, are also literate in French and/or Latin. Face-to-face contact is not implied or necessary. In that sense, the sixteenth century, which contributed the largest number of French loanwords to the Dutch language, may in the end not be so intense.

On the contrary, the contact situation in the seventeenth and particularly in the eighteenth century seemed to have been more intense. While fewer words were actively borrowed, the use of French loanwords increased. As we have seen, this also involved lexical items denoting family relationships and various cultural

practices and models of behaviour, suggesting that interaction and thus oral transmission within communities and networks were at play (Milroy 2007). Thus, it may have been a relatively weak contact situation that brought many words into the Dutch language, leading to extensive lexical innovation in the sixteenth century. But it may have been a more intense contact situation in subsequent periods, which resulted in the diffusion of French-origin items across the domains of the LOL Corpus.

CHAPTER 11

Present participle constructions

11.1 Introduction

In this chapter, we explore to what extent present participle constructions, which constitute a salient feature of historical Dutch, can be seen as contact-induced change, more specifically whether their distribution in the historical language community can be seen as a result of contact with French. We first discuss theoretical approaches to contact-induced change in Section 11.2 and our method for selecting examples from the LOL Corpus in Section 11.3. We then follow the same route as in the previous chapters, that is, we first present the results across time (11.4) and across social domains (11.5), before we combine these two fundamental dimensions of the corpus (11.6). In Section 11.7, we zoom in on the use of auxiliaries such as *zijnde* 'being' and *hebbende* 'having' in present participle constructions. Section 11.8 discusses the results.

11.2 Present participles and borrowing scales

In the previous chapters, we looked at phenomena for which there is no doubt that they originate from French. Both loan suffixes (Chapter 9) and loanwords (Chapter 10) constitute linguistic phenomena borrowed from French. They are *established* contact-induced changes. But contact influence can extend beyond the domain of relatively easily borrowed material such as words and suffixes. In the present contact situation, a few grammatical characteristics of historical Dutch have been associated with French and/or Latin. A first example is the frequent use of participial constructions built around present participles such as *wonende* 'living' and *hebbende* 'having'. A second example is the emergence of relative pronouns such as *hetwelk* 'which, lit. the which'. The present chapter focusses on participial constructions and Chapter 12 on relativisers. Our aim is to determine whether these phenomena have indeed been influenced by contact with French.

Since the forms involved — both participles and relativisers — are not directly borrowed as there is no linguistic material that is immediately traceable to French (or Latin), we are certainly not dealing with matter (MAT) borrowing (Matras & Sakel 2007). It is questionable to what extent these cases qualify as pattern (PAT) borrowing, where the form-function relationship is borrowed (Matras 2022). Par-

ticipial phrases already occur in the oldest Dutch sources of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries (van der Horst 2008: 211, 408). Similarly, relative pronouns such as *welk* and *hetwelk*/ *dewelke* 'which' (see Chapter 12), in modern spelling, are already found in thirteenth-century Dutch, when the written tradition increases substantially (van der Horst 2008: 381). It has been claimed that *welc* is a calque from Latin, while *hetwelk* and *dewelke* follow the French example of *lequel* (see van der Horst 2008: 381). If this is true, they would be examples of pattern borrowing. Participial constructions increase in frequency over time and were extremely popular in the seventeenth century, which van der Horst (2008: 1150) and Hoeksema (2003) attribute to the admiration of Latin and/or French. Van der Wal & van Bree (2008: 272) treat them as borrowings from Latin. Similar phenomena have been attested in other languages and discussed in the literature. Del Rey Quesado (2019), for example, discusses participial constructions in sixteenth-century Spanish and also zooms in on the question to what extent these can be seen as Latinisms. Likewise, Greco (2019) discusses various presumably Latinate constructions in Italo-Romance, including participial constructions, while arguing against a too simplistic view of the influence of Latin on vernacular languages.

At the time of the emergence of a fully-fledged written Dutch tradition, in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the Middle Dutch period also begins, contact with both Latin and French already existed. In principle, both participial phrases and the aforementioned relativisers may be calques from Latin and/ or French, but they may also be inherited forms or forms that developed independently in Dutch, which gained popularity under the influence of Latin and/or French. In the latter case, they are not strictly calques or examples of pattern borrowing. According to Thomason (2001: 93–94), it is required that candidates for contact-induced changes did not occur in the recipient language before it came into contact with the source language. On that account, the features discussed in Chapter 11 and 12 cannot be considered to be contact-induced changes, since it cannot be proven that they did not exist in Dutch before it came into contact with Latin and French.

Whether they are pattern borrowings or contact-induced changes in the strict sense or not, it is often assumed in studies on the history of Dutch that participial constructions and the relativisers *welc* and *hetwelk* / *dewelke* increased in frequency under the influence of Latin and/or French (van der Horst 2008: 1150, van der Wal & van Bree 2008: 272). If this is true, we certainly believe they should be considered to be contact phenomena since distributional changes in the language community as a result of contact are also contact-induced changes in our sociolinguistic perspective (see also Thomason 2001: 70, 89). If multilingual language users increase their usage in the recipient language of a particular form which

they are familiar with in the source language, they are influencing the community grammar of the recipient language. Present participle constructions are part of a broader array of so-called Latinate constructions occurring in Dutch and in fact across European languages, presumably under the influence of Latin, such as accusative cum infinitive-constructions, connecting relatives, and the reintroduction of cases and the subjunctive (van der Wal & van Bree 2008: 272–275, Da Milano & Cuzzolin 2019, Del Rey Queseda 2017, 2019, Greco 2019, Höder 2019).

While the present participle already occurs in Old Dutch (i.e., before c. 1150) and in Early Middle Dutch (1150–1300), its functions have changed over time. The main change, as noted, is the increase of participial constructions, i.e., of clauses built around a present participle, whereas other uses appear to be more stable or even disappear. According to van der Horst (2008: 211–212, 408–409, 633–35, 861–862), the attributive use was relatively stable across the centuries. The combination of a present participle with an auxiliary (e.g., *seggende bin* 'saying am') increased in the late Middle Dutch period (1300–1500) and decreased again in the seventeenth century (van der Horst 2008: 634, 1152). The combination of two main verbs, one of which being a participle (e.g., *comt lopende* 'comes walking'), was present early on and gradually disappeared in the late Middle Dutch period (van der Horst 2008: 634). Finally, the seventeenth century displays an increase in the use of auxiliaries in present participle constructions, such as *hebbende* 'having' (van der Horst 2008: 1153). We will give more examples of the various uses of the present participle in Section 11.3.

Heine & Kuteva (2003: 593) describe what they call replica grammaticalisation as a particular type of contact-induced grammaticalisation, characterised by multilingual speakers replicating not just a form-meaning pattern from a source language into the recipient language — which would be borrowing — but replicating a grammaticalisation process of the source language into the recipient language. In this case, the grammaticalisation process replicated concerns the use of present participles to construct clauses — mostly so-called conjunct subordinate clauses, to a lesser extent also absolute clauses. More specifically, the increased usage of participial constructions over time may be an example of replica grammaticalisation affecting what Heine & Kuteva (2005: 45) call use patterns. In such cases, they do not assume that the grammatical forms involved did not yet exist in the recipient language, but merely that their use pattern was influenced through language contact. The emergence of a 'major use pattern in contact-induced replication' (Heine & Kuteva 2005: 45) comes with three possible effects: increased frequency of the use pattern, new contexts of use, and adoption of a new grammatical function. Increased frequency or 'acceleration' (Heine & Kuteva 2010: 95), and extension to new contexts, viz. auxiliaries, have been attested in the history of Dutch.

Since the present participle is an inherited grammatical form, there is no linguistic matter that is transferred from French (or Latin) to Dutch. This means we need to find an indirect way to determine possible contact influence on the use of participial phrases in Dutch. One strategy would be to investigate translations (McBeath Lamont 2015). It is well-known that the Dutch literary tradition from the Middle Ages onwards and well into the Early Modern period was influenced by Romance traditions, in particular the Latin and French, and that many of the texts written, read and performed in the Dutch historical literary culture were translations (Schoenaers et al. 2021). Translations were not limited to Latin and French originals; Spanish and German texts, for example, were also adopted for a Dutch audience. This approach to cross-linguistic influence is very promising, but also largely limited to particular genres, such as literary, scholarly and religious texts.

The indirect strategy that we adopt here is based on the 'largely valid' (Thomason 2010: 42) borrowing hierarchies from the language contact literature (Thomason 2001: 70–71, Thomason 2010, Winford 2010, Matras 2010, Meakins 2019). It is usually assumed that free, unbound materials are more easily and more often borrowed than bound materials, for example individual lexical items are more easily borrowed than morphemes or syntactic functions. Thomason (2001: 66, see also Thomason 2010) relates the borrowing scale to intensity of contact. Intensity of contact depends on various factors (see also Section 10.9), including the duration of the contact, the number of bilinguals and the level of their bilingualism. In low contact situations with a limited number of (partial) bilinguals and/or a short period of contact, borrowing is often restricted to lexical items, and prototypically to nouns for non-basic vocabulary (Thomason 2001: 70). At the other end of the scale, widespread bilingualism over a longer period of time may result in heavy lexical borrowing as well as heavy structural borrowing. In between, Thomason distinguishes various stages of intermediate contact intensity. At the level of 'more intense contact' (Thomason 2001: 70), with a larger group of bilinguals and attitudes and other social factors favouring borrowing, she explains that also non-basic vocabulary gets borrowed along with moderate structural borrowing. For example, derivational morphemes of the source language may become detached from their base and be combined with recipient-languages bases. Examples are French suffixes such as *-able*, which have become part of English morphology. Similar changes in Dutch are discussed in Chapter 9. In syntax, more intense contact may lead to 'increasing or decreasing use of participial constructions' (Thomason 2001: 70).

Our inferences from the borrowing scales developed in the literature are, first, that contact-induced changes in Dutch, triggered by contact with French, are more likely to occur in the lexicon and in derivational morphology than in syntax,

whether we call these contact-induced changes borrowings or contact-induced replication in usage patterns, and second, that the latter, if they exist, co-occur with the former. The second inference means that we expect participial constructions and the relativisers mentioned to occur in textual materials that also comprise lexical borrowings and French-origin suffixes. Conversely, if certain texts or domains, such as Literature and Private Life, show relatively low proportions of loanwords and loan suffixes, as established in Chapters 9 and 10, we do not expect a strong influence of French in the grammar, reflected in comparatively low numbers of participial constructions and relativisers. Recall that we do not assume these grammatical phenomena to be contact-induced changes *a priori*. Our aim is to find out whether they are candidates for contact-induced change by means of an indirect strategy. If their diachronic and domain-related distribution resembles that of French loanwords and suffixes, they may likewise be influenced by contact with French (see Höder 2019 for a similar approach to Latin-Swedish contact in the Middle Ages).

In Chapter 10, we reflected on the intensity of the historical Dutch-French contact situation. We concluded that the eighteenth century, and most likely the first half of it, should be considered the period of the highest intensity, when the adoption of French loanwords reached a crucial frequency peak in the non-administrative domains, including words for family relationships and elite cultural practices. This means that if we expect participial constructions (and relativisers, see Chapter 12) to co-occur with loanwords and loan suffixes, we should find a similar frequency peak in the eighteenth century. The intensity of the contact situation appears to have had a temporal axis: the number of loan suffixes and loanwords gradually increased over time until the first half of the eighteenth century. If there is a temporal order to contact intensity, then this may also apply to the borrowing scale, i.e., it is conceivable that contact-induced changes in the grammar come later than lexical borrowing and affix borrowing. If there is indeed a delayed effect in the grammar, then we may have to reckon with a frequency peak for participial constructions in the second half of the eighteenth century, but certainly not later. After all, dutchification set in strongly in the nineteenth century (see Chapters 9 and 10), and it is hard to conceive of the nineteenth century as a period in which dutchification results in a strong decrease in the use of loanwords and loan suffixes, while other contact phenomena persist.

There is not so much research on the history of participial constructions in Dutch. Van der Horst (2008) lists examples and functions from across the centuries, two important observations being the aforementioned increased frequency in the seventeenth century alongside the extension to auxiliaries. Present participle constructions are usually considered to be characteristics of the written language, perhaps even of relatively formal written language, and not of spoken

or spoken-like language (van der Horst 2008: 1150, Hoeksema 2003). Weerman, Olsen & Cloutier (2013) use present participle constructions to determine the level of formality of seventeenth-century texts. Rinkel (1989) demonstrates that experienced writers aiming at a high register, such as the famous literary author and historian P.C. Hooft (1581–1647), use more participial constructions and with a wider range of verbs than a presumably less experienced writer such as captain David Pietersz. de Vries (1593–1655) in his ship's log. Rutten (2008) demonstrates that participial constructions are quite frequent in eighteenth-century diaries, despite the presumed informality of diaries. Rutten (2022), partly based on the dataset underlying this chapter, shows that in various diachronic corpora, including the recent multigenre Historical Corpus of Dutch (Van de Voorde et al. 2023), present participles of auxiliary verbs gradually increase from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century after which they decrease in the nineteenth century, approximately to the frequency level of the sixteenth century.

In the metalinguistic tradition, the present participle is often part of the discussion of verbal paradigms, but concrete comments on its use are rare (Dibbets 1995: 281–290). The best-known comment is found in Joannes Vollenhove's (1631–1708) didactic poem for Dutch authors, which gives, among other things, grammatical and stylistic advice (Dibbets 2003, see also van der Horst 2008: 1151). He comments on the frequent use of auxiliaries such as *zijnde* 'being' in present participle constructions, which are often superfluous according to him. Leaving them out, would make the Dutch language more concise and as such more like Greek and Latin. Importantly, this opens the opportunity to surpass the French 'van het hulpwoort *estant* en *ayant esté* zich zo menigmaal dienende' (Dibbets 2003: 80–81), i.e., who use the auxiliaries *estant* 'being' and *ayant esté* 'having been' so often. Note that Vollenhove himself expresses this advice in a present participle construction built around the verb *dienende* 'serving'. He was only targeting participial constructions with auxiliaries, not with main verbs, and he associates this use of auxiliaries with the French language.[29]

11.3 Method

The Dutch present participle is formed by adding *-de* to the infinitive, for example the infinitival verb form *geven* 'give' + *-de* results in the present participle *gevende* 'giving'. The final schwa can be deleted. The LOL Corpus, for example, comprises tokens such as *hebbend* 'having'. Such schwa-less forms turned out to be extremely

29. Interestingly, in French, the increased use of participles and participle constructions is often considered to be a case of Latin syntactic influence (Nordahl 1980, Messiaen 2003).

infrequent. Nonetheless, our search string was *nd*, which generated 16,796 hits, including many instances of *ende* 'and'. The results were manually cleaned up; 3,450 results were kept. While all of these are present participle forms, they are not all instances of participle constructions. In 686 cases, the present participle is used attributively as in Example (1).

(1) *de* ***aanhoudende*** *groote Droogte* (Public Opinion, 1750–1799)
the persistent major drought

This category also includes the attributive use of mostly temporal present participles (2), which are sometimes placed after the noun, recalling their verbal origin; see (3).

(2) *te samen te komen* ***aenstaende*** *Maendag* (Religion, 1700–1749)
together to come next Monday

(3) *te hooren na de feestdagen* ***aenstaende*** (Religion, 1600–1649)
to hear after the holidays upcoming

Adjectives can be nominalised and this also applies to present participles, see Example (4), where *die lancste levende* denotes the longest living person.

(4) *die lancste* ***leuende*** *of Doutste vanden bloede* (Charity, 1500–1549)
the longest living or the oldest of the blood

The LOL Corpus comprises 155 of such nominalised present participles. The next category to be excluded are 201 examples of prepositions, see (5)–(7). Example (6) demonstrates the verbal origin of this participial preposition through its placement after the noun phrase.

(5) ***geduurende*** *drie maanden* (Literature, 1800–1849)
during three months

(6) *Drie Jaren lanck aen een* ***gedurende*** *nae my Doot* (Charity, 1500–1549)
three years long consecutively during after my death
'during three years in a row after my death'

(7) ***aengaende*** *de betalinge* (Economy, 1650–1699)
concerning the payment

These may be loan translations of Latin *durante* or French *durant* and of French *touchant* respectively (*Etymologiebank* s.v. *gedurende*, *aangaande*), but they may also be the result of replica grammaticalisation, according to which language users adopt the grammaticalisation process present participle > preposition from French or Latin. Either way, the Dutch prepositions would be contact-induced phenomena.

Another category excluded comprises 22 examples where present participles have lexicalised into adverbs. See Example (8), in which the temporal adverb *voortdurend* 'continuously' is derived from the verb *voortduren* 'continue'.

(8) *zy zitten elkander* ***voortdurend*** *in het haar* (Private Life, 1850–1899)
they sit each other continuously in the hair
'they argue all the time'

Finally, there are 93 instances, in which the present participle is used predicatively.

(9) *het weijnige dat hij, in eigendom is* ***bezittende*** (Religion, 1700–1749)
the little that he in property is possessing
'the little property he has'

(10) *hy is daar zeer* ***verlangend*** *na* (Private Life, 1800–1849)
he is there very longing after
'he strongly desires that'

The remaining dataset comprises 2,293 present participles used in a participial construction. A participial construction normally constitutes a subordinate clause. Traditionally, two main types are distinguished in the historical grammar of Dutch (Rinkel 1989, van der Horst 2008: 1150), viz. conjunct and absolute constructions (see Rutten 2008 on additional subtypes). Conjunct participial constructions are tied to the main clause as they are specifications of a part of speech in the main clause, often the subject, as in Example (11). Example (11) also presents a typical function of participial clauses: the present participle *bevindende* 'concluding' expresses a temporal relationship, which is often interpreted as the recent past or as a causal relationship. In (12), the prepositional construction *in the presence of* comprises two proper nouns, both of which are specified by a postnominal present participle construction headed by *wonende* 'living'. It expresses simultaneity. The much rarer absolute construction realises the subject itself and can therefore also stand entirely on its own (13). Participial constructions are both found with main verbs (11)–(12) and with auxiliaries (13) in the LOL Corpus.

(11) *Dye van den kerckenraet* ***beuindende*** *Dat* (Religion, 1550–1599)
those of the church council concluding that
Caspari brief sulcx Is dat hy nyet soo lichtelyck door ooghluyckinge
Caspar+GEN letter such is that he not so lightly by turning
behoort voor by gegaen te wordene hebben geordonneert Dat
a blind eye should ignore be have ordered that
'the members of the church council, who have (or: after having, or: because they have) concluded that Casper's letter is such that it cannot be ignored by looking away, have ordered that …'

(12) *in tegenwoordigheid van Huibertus van Zoelen, klerk* (Charity, 1850–1899)
in presence of Huibertus van Zoelen clerk
wonende** te Oegstgeest en Adrianus Venderbos, zonder beroep **wonende
living in Oegsgeest and Adrianus Venderbos without profession living
te Leiden
in Leiden
'in the presence of Huibertus van Zoelen, a clerk who lives in Oegstgeest, and Adrianus Venderbos, who has no profession and lives in Leiden'

(13) ***zynde** daarby gevoegd eene memorie tot adstructie* (Academy, 1800–1849)
being thereby added a memo to explanation
dat de Leden van gemelde Universiteit niet gehouden zyn tot een betaaling
that the members of said university not held are to a payment
van stedelyke belastingen of armengelden
of city taxes or poor rate
'To this is added a memo explaining that the members of said university are not obliged to pay city taxes and the poor rate'

11.4 Participial constructions across time

We first delve into the diachronic distribution of present participle constructions. The LOL Corpus comprises 2,293 participial constructions fulfilling the criteria explained in Section 11.3. These 2,293 tokens exhibit 391 different verbs or types. Figure 11.1 gives the token and the type frequency per 1,000 words across the 50-year periods of the LOL Corpus.

It is immediately clear that the general pattern established here diverges from the general patterns established for French-origin suffixes (Chapter 9) and French loanwords (Chapter 10). Whereas those established contact phenomena displayed a steady diachronic increase with a peak in the eighteenth century, and then a decrease, the token and type frequencies of the participial constructions are highest in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The frequencies then seem to go down slowly in the case of the token count, or stabilise at a lower frequency in the case of the type count.

Table 11.1 gives the absolute numbers for the tokens and types across time as well as the type-token ratio (TTR).

The TTR is not as diachronically stable as in some of the previous analyses in Chapters 9 and 10. The main observation in relationship to the aims of this volume is that the TTR is lowest in the eighteenth century. This means that the lexical diversity of the participial constructions is lowest between 1700 and 1799, i.e., in the supposed period of frenchification.

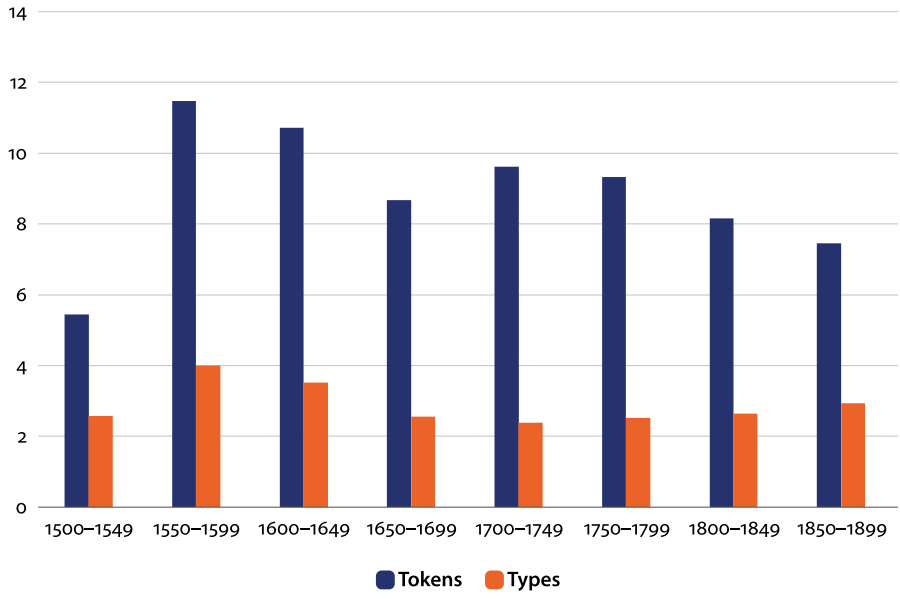


Figure 11.1 Participial constructions, across time, token frequency (blue) and type frequency (orange) per 1,000 words

Table 11.1 Tokens, types (absolute numbers per period) and type-token ratios of participial constructions

	1500–1549	1550–1599	1600–1649	1650–1699	1700–1749	1750–1799	1800–1849	1850–1899
Tokens	55	348	333	312	348	336	294	267
Types	26	121	109	92	86	91	95	105
TTR	**0.47**	**0.35**	**0.33**	**0.29**	**0.25**	**0.27**	**0.32**	**0.39**

11.5 Participial constructions across social domains

Figure 11.2 gives the results according to social domain, with the four administrative domains on the left-hand side and the three non-administrative domains on the right-hand side. Figure 11.2 also provides the type and token frequencies per 1,000 words.

Here, we do witness a strong alignment with the patterns found for loan suffixes and loanwords in Chapters 9 and 10. The token counts in the administra-

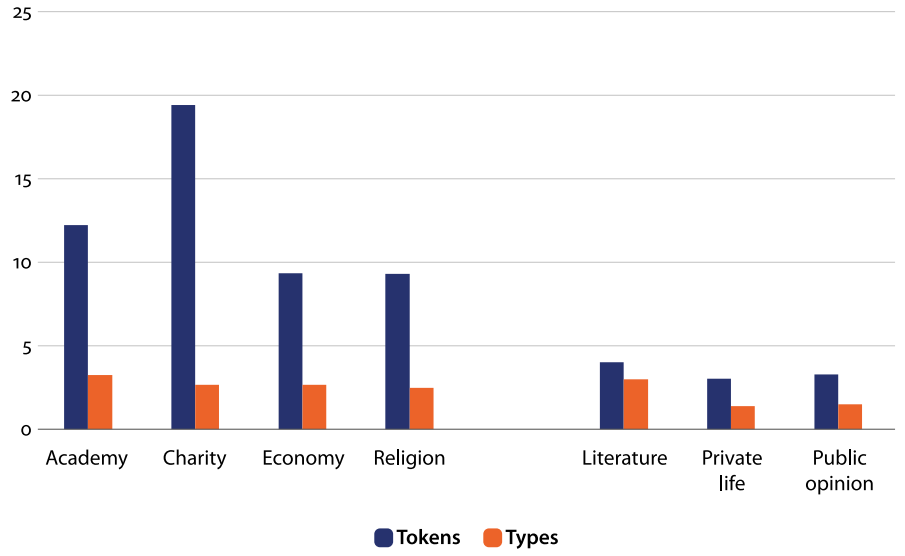


Figure 11.2 Participial constructions, across social domain, token frequency (blue) and type frequency (orange) per 1,000 words

tive domains are much higher than in the non-administrative domains. The type counts are similar, which in this case means that they are fairly low.

Turning to lexical diversity across social domains, we present the absolute numbers across the domains in Table 11.2 along with the TTR.

Table 11.2 Tokens, types (absolute numbers per social domain) and type-token ratios of participial constructions

	Academy	Charity	Economy	Religion	Literature	Private Life	Public Opinion
Tokens	437	796	386	339	145	107	83
Types	116	109	110	90	108	49	38
TTR	**0.27**	**0.14**	**0.28**	**0.27**	**0.74**	**0.46**	**0.46**

While three of the administrative domains, viz. Academy, Economy and Religion, have a highly similar TTR, the domain of Charity appears to be different with a much lower TTR. This is the result of the comparatively high token count in this domain, which in its turn is a result of the high degree of formulaic phrases in testaments. In wills, testators typically express what they want to happen to their possessions. As a consequence, participial constructions with *begerende* 'desiring' (48 tokens), *willende* 'wanting' (32 tokens) and *verzoekende* 'requesting'

(14 tokens) are frequent. In 13 instances, *willende* and *begerende* co-occur in a fixed expression as in Example (14). Similarly, *disponerende* 'deciding' (24 tokens) is frequent, particularly combined with *opnieuw* 'anew' (21 tokens), which indicates that the testator revokes an earlier will and takes a new decision; see Example (15).

(14) *Voorts* ***willende*** *ende* ***begeerende***, *dat na het Overlyden* (Charity, 1700–1749)
further wanting and desiring that after the death
van myne suster
of my sister
'Furthermore, I desire and want that after the death of my sister …'

(15) *Ende by deezen op nieuws* ***disponeerende*** *zo verklaarde* (Charity, 1750–1799)
and with this anew deciding so declared
hy
he
'And with this (will) deciding anew, he declared …'

As today, it was customary to give personal details of testators and witnesses as well as the notary in wills. Specifically, the place of residence was often provided. Participial phrases with *residerende* 'residing' (68 tokens) and *wonende* 'living' (104) are therefore very frequent in the domain of Charity. Together, the 6 types *begerende*, *willende*, *verzoekende*, *disponerende*, *residerende* and *wonende* constitute 290 out of 796 tokens or 36%. Other frequent verbs include the auxiliaries *hebbende* 'having' (33 tokens), *wezende* 'being' (28) and *zijnde* 'being' (51), which generate 112 out of 796 tokens or 14%. Auxiliaries will be discussed below in Section 11.7.

In the domain of Academy, it is significant that the auxiliaries *hebbende* (66 tokens), *wezende* (11) and *zijnde* (128) together produce 205 out of 437 tokens or 47%. The remaining 232 tokens are produced by the other 113 tokens, which already indicates that most other types have one, two, or sometimes three tokens. Examples range from *achtende* 'considering', *beginnende* 'beginning', *concernerende* 'concerning' and *mededelende* 'announcing' to *nemende* 'taking', *specterende* 'inspecting', *willende* 'wanting' and *zullende* 'lit. shalling'.

In the domain of Economy, the proportion of *hebbende* (41 tokens), *wezende* (5) and *zijnde* (63) is not as high as in Academy, but higher than in Charity, viz. 28% (109 out of 386 tokens). The other 275 tokens are generated by 107 tokens, of which *doende* 'doing' (36 tokens) and *behorende* 'belonging' (14) are the most frequent ones. The verb *behorende* is most often used for property of which it needs to be specified to whom it belongs; recall that this domain comprises communication between local businesses and the city council concerning economic activities and property. The participle *doende* occurs 24 times in combination with *twelk*,

i.e., *hetwelk* 'which', and 5 more times combined with *dit* 'this'. The fixed and elliptic phrase *twelk doende* 'which doing', or occasionally *dit doende* 'this doing' was a formulaic ending of requests, succinctly indicating that if the addressee granted the request, the petitioner would be very grateful (*WNT* s.v. *hetwelk*). It was usually followed by the signature of the petitioner.

The domain of Religion has a proportion of *hebbende* (47 tokens), *wezende* (4) and *zijnde* (116) that is similar to Academy, viz. 49% (167 out of 339 tokens). This implies that the remaining 172 tokens relate to 87 tokens. Relatively frequent are the verbs *houdende* and *inhoudende* 'comprising' (15 tokens), which are characteristic of board meetings, where the contents of incoming documents are discussed; see Example (16).

(16) *eene missive van Ds. Sepp. hoofdzakelyk* ***inhoudende*** *dat* (Religion, 1850–1899)
a letter of Rev. Sepp. mainly comprising that
'a letter by Rev. Sepp, mainly comprising …'

Similarly, the verb *verzoekende* 'requesting' (16 tokens) is used to inform the church council members present at the meeting about the contents of documents submitted to the council. Most other participles occur once or twice. Examples include main verbs such as *belovende* 'promising', *beseffende* 'realising', *rapporterende* 'reporting', *continuerende* 'continuing' and *wonende* 'living' as well as auxiliaries such as *wordende* 'being' and *zullende* 'lit. shalling'.

The non-administrative domains are lexically much more diverse than the four administrative domains. Private Life and Public Opinion have the exact same TTR of 0.46. Literature diverges with a very high TTR, indicating extreme lexical diversity. This clearly shows that Literature is the most creative domain, where writers — if they decide to use a predominantly written-language feature such as participial constructions — usually do not resort to fixed phrases. In the domain of Literature, a few participles occur more than once: while *hebbende* (5 tokens) and *zijnde* (6) may be the most frequent types, they still hardly occur when compared to the administrative domains: together, they make up 11 out of 145 tokens or 8%. Other frequent types such as are *buigende* 'bowing' (4 tokens) and *ziende* (6) are typically part of the stage directions, indicating what the actors should do. Most other types occur once or twice. These include more stage directions, such as *nedervallende* 'falling down', *peinzende* 'thinking, contemplating', *(het hoofd) schuddende* 'shaking (the head)' as well as other types such as *blozende* 'blushing', *blussende* 'extinguishing' and *verhopende* 'hoping'.

In the domain of Private Life, with its 107 tokens, *hebbende* (11) and *zijnde* (21) are again the most frequent types constituting 32 tokens or 30%. Other verbs often

used in this domain are *biddende* 'praying' (7), *wensende* 'wishing' (3), *verwachtende* 'expecting' (2), *verhopende* 'hoping' (2), *vertrouwende* 'trusting' (1) and *toewensende* 'wishing' (1), all of which indicate the distant communicative behaviour characteristic of personal letters. Another set of verbs is used towards the end of letters, in the closing or even just above the signature: *afbrekende* 'breaking off' (1), *endende* (1), *eindende* (2), *eindigende* (2) 'finishing' and *blijvende* 'remaining' (1). Still other examples are *etende* 'eating', *wetende* 'knowing', *strijdende* 'battling' and *wonende* 'living'.

Finally, the domain of Public Opinion also has *hebbende* (10 tokens) and *zijnde* (14) as the most frequent participles, along with *komende* 'coming' (6) and *gaande* 'going' (14), which are used to describe the movements and whereabouts of armies, diplomats and so on. These 4 types are responsible for 38 out of 83 tokens or 46%. Most other types occur once or twice, from *begerende* 'desiring', *liggende* 'lying', *nemende* 'taking' and *rustende* 'resting' to auxiliaries such as *willende* 'wanting' and *zullende* 'lit. shalling'.

It is not only the difference between administrative and non-administrative domains that is reminiscent of the distribution of loanwords across social domains in the LOL Corpus. Within the domains, there is a similar distribution of a relatively limited group of verbs producing a large proportion of the tokens, up to almost 50% in domains such as Academy and Religion. The frequently used participles sometimes denote actions characteristic of the domains, but also auxiliaries such as *hebbende* and *zijnde* occur quite often. In addition, there are a large number of participles that occur only once or twice. Sometimes these perform communicative functions characteristic of the domains in question, at other times they seem to relate more strongly to the specific contents of source texts. Different from the loanword distribution within the domains is the fact that the frequent types *hebbende*, *zijnde* and *wezende* are not content words immediately signifying the communicative events typical of the relevant domains, but semantically empty auxiliaries. We will return to the use of auxiliaries in Section 11.7.

11.6 Social domains and time

Figure 11.3 presents the token frequency per 1,000 words diachronically and across the administrative and non-administrative domains.

While Figure 11.3 does not show a gradual increase across time, as with the loan suffixes and loanwords, there are some resemblances, particularly with loanwords. There does appear to be a decrease in both groups of domains in the nineteenth century. In the early eighteenth century, the administrative domains have a very small peak. The non-administrative domains have a peak in the late eigh-

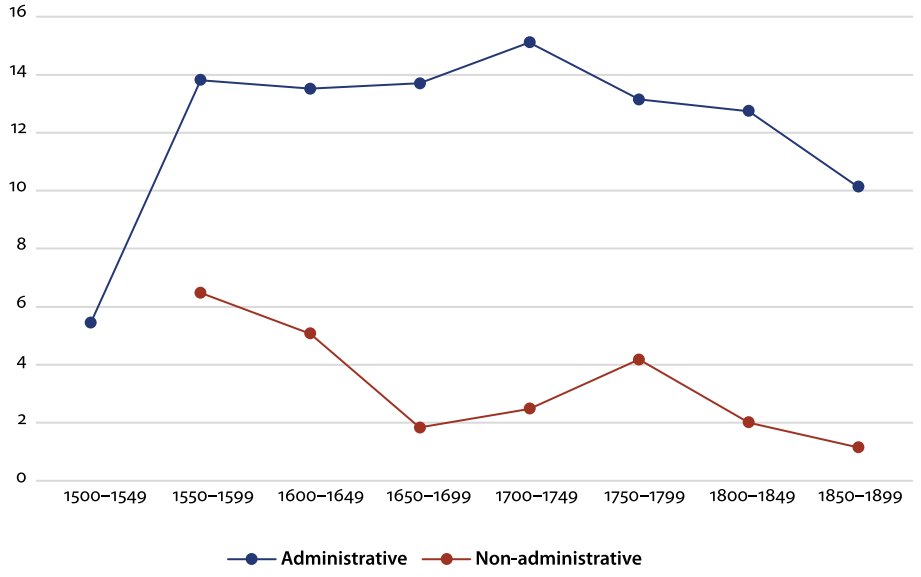


Figure 11.3 Participial constructions across time, in the administrative and non-administrative domains, token frequency per 1,000 words

teenth century, but it should be noted that this is not the endpoint of an evolution across the centuries. Instead, the non-administrative domains display a sharp decrease first, between 1550 and 1649, before a gradual increase commences. It is therefore doubtful to what extent this peak can be attributed to contact with French. Even if one were to argue that this later peak reflects a delayed effect in the grammar (see Section 11.2), when compared to the immediate effects in the lexicon and the morphology, then it remains unexplained why the earlier periods of the corpus show lower, although increasing numbers for loanwords and loan suffixes, while the participial constructions display an opposite pattern: they start off already quite high, especially between 1550 and 1649, and then decrease.

Figure 11.4 gives the token frequencies per 1,000 words and per period, but now split up according to all seven domains of the LOL Corpus.

Again, we see similarities and differences with the patterns found for loanwords and loan suffixes. The domain of Charity appears to follow a path similar to those established contact phenomena, although the peak comes earlier, namely in the late seventeenth century. A similar observation holds for Economy, where the 1550–1699 period provides the highest scores. Literature and Private Life begin relatively high in the sixteenth century and then go down. At the same time, some domains have a peak in the eighteenth century: Academy and Public Opinion, and Religion, although the latter also peaks early on, between 1550 and 1649. Overall, we also see considerable diachronic stability: there are few sharp

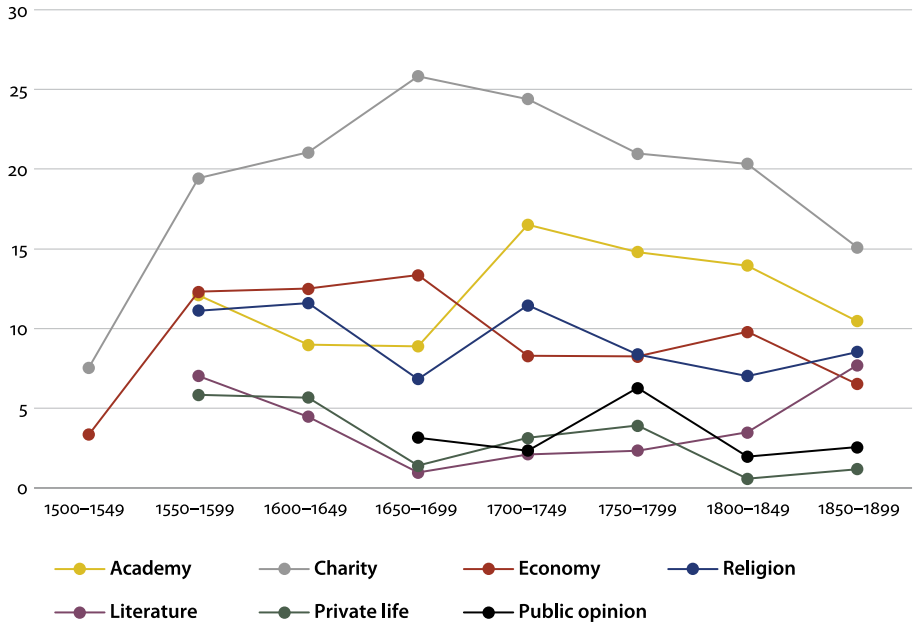


Figure 11.4 Participial constructions across time and social domain, token frequency per 1,000 words

increases and decreases. In sum, there are indications that participial constructions are contact-induced because of some similarities with the patterns found for loanwords and loan suffixes, but also that they are not.

Figure 11.5 presents the type frequency per 1,000 words across time, and divided according to the two groups of domains, i.e., administrative and non-administrative.

Again, we see a picture that diverges from the loanword and loan suffix patterns. After an initial rise — but we repeat that the LOL Corpus is less complete and thus less representative in the first half of the sixteenth century — the type frequency in the administrative domains slowly but gradually decreases. Note that the numbers are low anyway. In the non-administrative domains, a sharp decrease is followed by an increase in the eighteenth century, and then again in the late nineteenth century. In Figure 11.6, we split up the data even further, and look at the domains separately.

Here, Charity and Economy have early peaks, in the seventeenth century. Academy and Religion fluctuate slightly across time but note again the low numbers. Public Opinion has a clear peak in the second half of the eighteenth century. Another remarkable result is the peak in the domain of Literature in the nineteenth century. This cannot be attributed to specific source texts or authors but

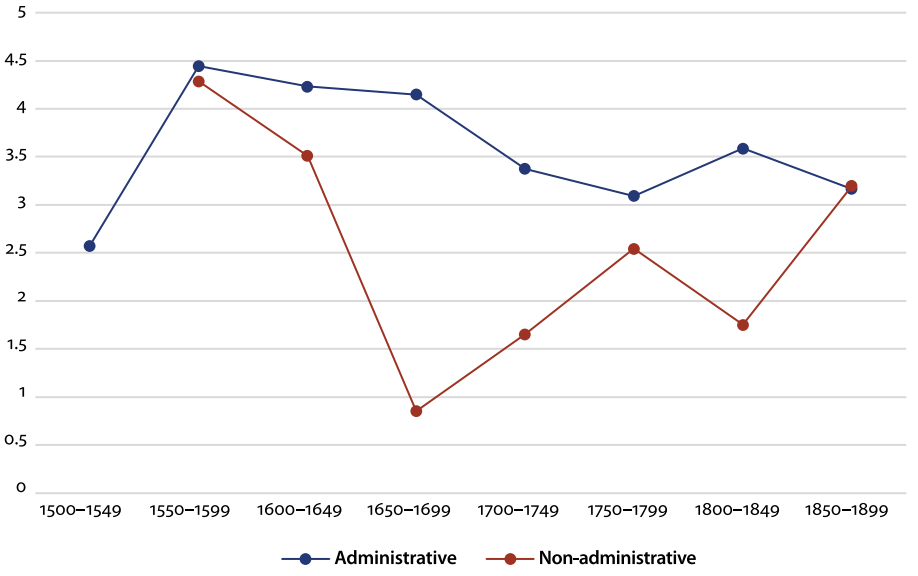


Figure 11.5 Participial constructions across time, in the administrative and non-administrative domains, type frequency per 1,000 words

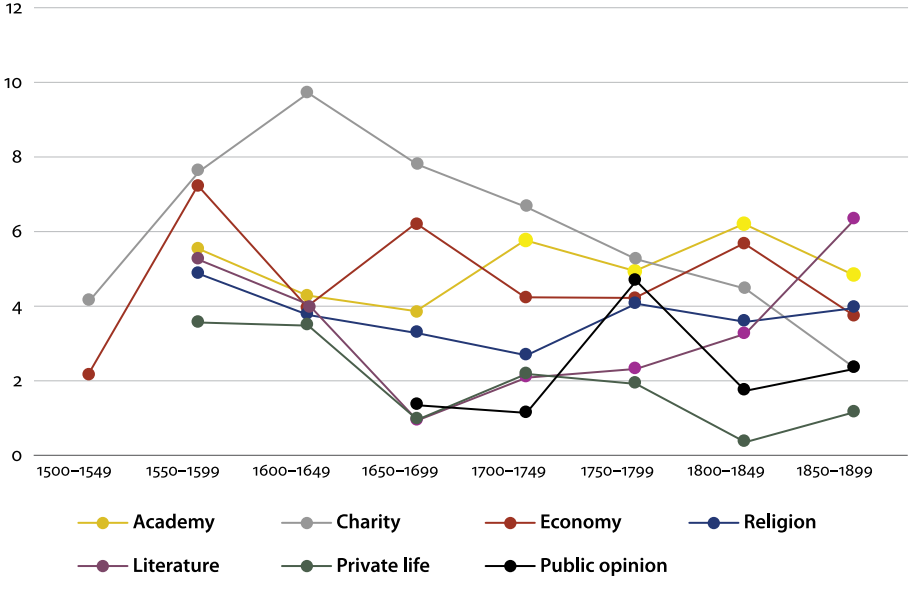


Figure 11.6 Participial constructions across time and social domain, type frequency per 1,000 words

seems to reflect the aforementioned popular use of participles for stage directions. Figure 11.6, like the other results presented in this section, diverges strongly from our results for loanwords and loan suffixes, to the extent that it is doubtful that the use of participial phrases in general was influenced by contact with French.

11.7 Auxiliary verbs in participial constructions

As explained in Section 11.2, we will now zoom in on auxiliary verbs, for which it has been claimed that they increase in frequency from the seventeenth century onwards, thus suggesting a diachronic pattern different from main verbs. In particular, we focus on the highly frequent forms *zijnde* 'being' (399 tokens), its somewhat less frequent alternative *wezende* 'being' (48) and *hebbende* 'having' (213). Together, these three types represent 660 tokens or 29% of all participial constructions in the entire LOL Corpus. Examples are in (17)–(19), where the auxiliaries are used in their frequent function of constructing a perfect tense. Note that *wezende* only occurs until 1749. In the final three 50-year periods, there are no instances, and it is completely taken over by *zijnde*.

(17) *hy, ontwaect* ***zynde*** *overpeyst zijn droom andachtig* (Literature, 1550–1599)
he awakened being ponders his dream attentively
'he ponders his dream attentively, after (or: now that) he has woken up

(18) *een opgedruckt Zegel van Rode wasse* ***wesende*** *met wit* (Charity, 1650–1699)
a attached seal of red wax being with white
papier overdeckt
paper covered
'an attached seal of red wax covered with white paper'

(19) *De Secretaris ter Vergadering* ***hebbende*** *geexhibeert* (Academy, 1750–1799)
the secretary af the meeting having
de Lyst van de Boeken
exhibited the list of the books
'the secretary at the meeting, after having shown the list of books'

The range of auxiliary verbs, including copula verbs and modal, passive and future auxiliaries is broader and encompasses, for example, *wordende* 'becoming', *blijvende* 'remaining', *blijkende* 'appearing', *willende* 'wanting' and *zullende* 'willing, lit. shalling'. These are, however, much less frequent. Together, they represent 91 tokens. We will not include them in the analyses for auxiliaries, and instead focus solely on the three frequent types *hebbende*, *wezende* and *zijnde*. We will compare these three types to all other verbs in the LOL Corpus. The set of aux-

iliaries thus includes 660 tokens (29%) of *hebbende*, *zijnde* and *wezende*, while the heterogenous set of all other verbs comprises 1,633 tokens (71%) representing the other 388 types, including the less frequent auxiliaries. Apart from frequency, another difference is that *hebbende*, *zijnde* and *wezende* arguably constitute the semantically most strongly bleached auxiliary verbs, mainly fulfilling the function of constructing a present perfect.

Our first step is to compare the three main auxiliaries *zijnde*, *wezende* and *hebbende* to all other verbs across time. In Figure 11.7, we present the diachronic results across the two groups of social domains. Thus, we distinguish the following four categories:

- *Admin-Aux*: this category comprises the auxiliaries *zijnde*, *wezende* and *hebbende* as used in the four administrative domains.
- *Non-admin Aux*: this comprises *zijnde*, *wezende* and *hebbende* in the three non-administrative domains.
- *Admin-Other*: this comprises all other verb types in the four administrative domains.
- *Non-admin-Other*: this comprises all other verbs in the three non-administrative domains.

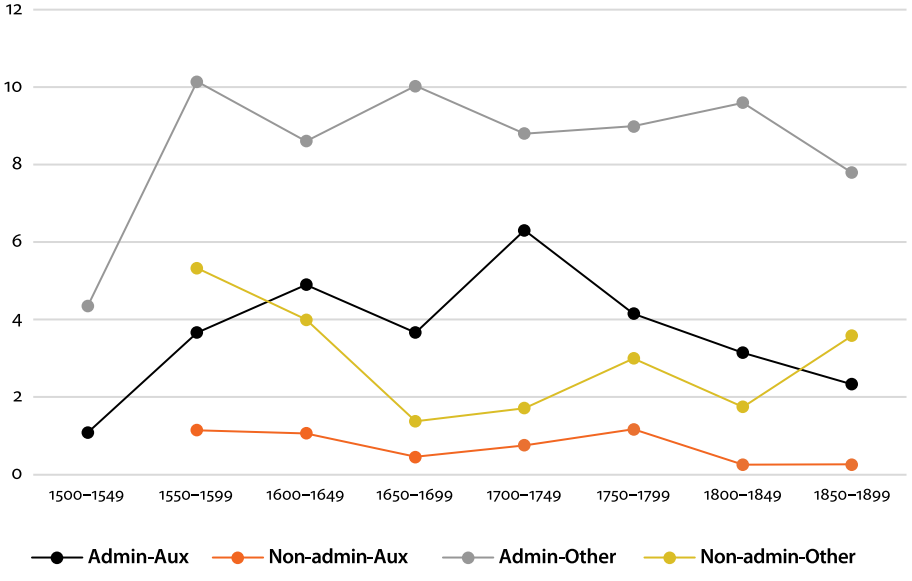


Figure 11.7 Participial constructions with auxiliary verbs (*zijnde*, *wezende* and *hebbende*) and with other verbs across time, in the administrative and non-administrative domains, token frequency per 1,000 words

Focusing first on the non-administrative domains, we observe that the auxiliaries (orange line) are low throughout the centuries. In addition, we see the other verbs (green line) fluctuate slightly more: it begins rather high in the late sixteenth century, and then soon decreases. The other verbs have high frequencies in the administrative domains (grey line): after a low start in the underrepresented first half of the sixteenth century, they increase sharply and remain high until there is small decrease in the nineteenth century. The most interesting line is undoubtedly the Admin-Aux line (dark blue) representing the use of the three frequent auxiliaries in the administrative domains: there is a gradual rise from the early sixteenth century onwards, except for a small dip in the second half of the seventeenth century, after which the increase continues into the 1700–1749 period, when a decrease commences resulting a low score again in 1850–1899. Apart from the inexplicable dip in the period 1650–1699, this pattern strongly resembles that established for loanwords and loan suffixes in Chapters 9 and 10.

In Figure 11.8, we give the results for the auxiliaries across time and social domain.

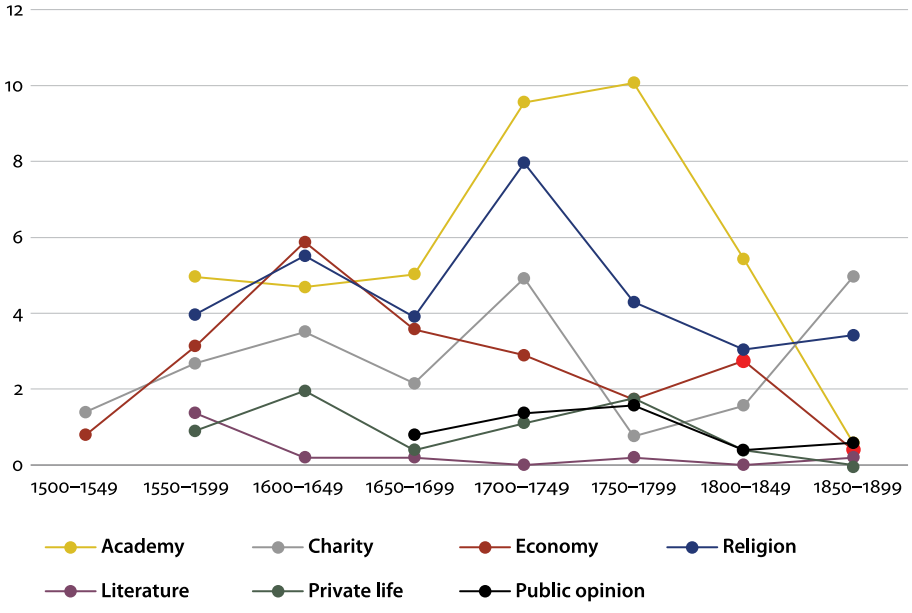


Figure 11.8 Participial constructions with *zijnde*, *wezende* and *hebbende* across time and social domain, token frequency per 1,000 words

A first observation is that the non-administrative domains, as expected based on Figure 11.7, have low rates for the three auxiliaries. Within the group of administrative domains, Economy diverges from the other three. Academy, Charity and

Religion display a rise between 1700 and 1749. In the case of Academy, the high proportion is maintained in the second half of the eighteenth century. A sharp decrease can be seen in all three domains, though note that Charity has another increase in the late nineteenth century. The low-high-low pattern established here, with the highest point in the eighteenth century, resembles the pattern found for loan suffixes in the domains of Academy and Charity, especially with respect to the token count (Figure 9.4). This pattern was however not found in the domain of Religion. Likewise, loanwords follow the same path over time in many domains (Figure 10.10), in Academy and Charity as well as in other domains such as Private Life and Public Opinion, but not in the domain of Religion.

11.8 Discussion

In Chapters 9 and 10, we established two waves of so-called frenchification in the LOL Corpus: a first wave from the sixteenth century onwards, which mainly affected the administrative domains, and a more recent second wave in the non-administrative domains. In this chapter, we have asked to what extent the distribution of present participle constructions in the LOL Corpus allows us to consider these as contact-induced changes. This, in turn, may help to better understand the French-Dutch contact situation in general.

Present participle constructions do not follow the diachronic pattern established for loanwords and loan suffixes. Instead, their frequency is quite high in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, after which there is a slight overall decrease. Even if some domains have a peak in the eighteenth century, then the pattern is often not one of a previous gradual increase, as the earlier periods of the LOL Corpus already provide many tokens. This also means that we cannot assume a delayed grammar effect in such cases. With respect to social domains, there are stronger indications of a similar distribution. As with loanwords and loan suffixes, present participle constructions are more frequent in the administrative domains than in the non-administrative domains. A large number of the participles used in the various domains perform functions immediately related to the contents of these domains. At the same time, semantically empty auxiliaries such as *zijnde* 'being' and *hebbende* 'having' are among the most frequently used participles. This mixed picture of some resemblances with established contact features as well as a lack of resemblances is confirmed when we combine time and social domain: some domains display a diachronic trend reminiscent of the established contact features, albeit with a peak in the seventeenth rather than in the eighteenth century, and other domains do have a peak in the eighteenth century, but not one following a previous gradual increase.

The Early Modern increase in the use of auxiliaries in present participle constructions (van der Horst 2008: 1153), which also attracted some metalinguistic commentary in the late seventeenth century (Dibbets 2003: 80–81), is found in the LOL Corpus. In fact, the diachronic trend for the three frequent auxiliaries *zijnde*, *wezende* and *hebbende* is very similar to the trends established for loanwords and loan suffixes. Socially, this is most strongly noticeable in the domains of Academy and Charity. Religion also displays this trend, whereas it did not have relatively many loanwords and loan suffixes. The increased use of these three auxiliaries in present participle constructions also explains the low TTR in the eighteenth century. In sum, we have evidence that the use of these auxiliaries in present participle constructions co-occurs with the adoption of French loanwords and French-origin suffixes, hence that the diachronic distribution of these constructions could be attributed to contact with French. In this context, it should be noted that *étant* 'being' and *ayant* 'having' are among the most frequently used participles in present-day French (Escoubas-Benveniste 2013).

If we follow Matras & Sakel (2007) and Heine & Kuteva (2010) in limiting borrowing to specific matter (MAT), then we are not dealing with matter, but with pattern (PAT) replication. Specifically, since the extension into the domain of auxiliaries, and even more specifically, the increase or 'acceleration' (Heine & Kuteva 2010: 95) of these auxiliaries in the present participle construction may be related to contact with French, we seem to have a case of contact-induced replica grammaticalisation of a use pattern. This contact-induced frequency increase is however domain-specific: it is restricted to the administrative domains Academy, Charity and Religion.

CHAPTER 12

Relative pronouns

12.1 Introduction

In the present chapter, we focus on relative pronouns, in particular on *welk-*, *hetwelk* and *dewelke* 'which, the which', asking whether their use can be attributed to contact with French. We first present some background on the history of relativisation in Dutch (Section 12.2) and then briefly explain our method (Section 12.3). In Sections 12.4, 12.5 and 12.6, we delve into the use of relative pronouns in the LOL Corpus across time and social domain. Section 12.7 zooms in on the functions of the relative clauses involved, and specifically on the distinction between restrictive and appositive relative clauses. The discussion is in 12.8.

12.2 Relative pronouns in the history of Dutch

Relative pronouns and in particular the use of *welk-*, *hetwelk* and *dewelke* 'which, the which' have been commented on before; a crucial passage from the historical-linguistic research literature is the following:

> Onder invloed van het Latijn, ontstond in de kanselarijtaal uit het vragende *welk(e)* een relatief *welk*, waarnaast onder invloed van het Frans *(lequel): d(i)ewelke, dewelcke* (met de verbogen vormen *des welcs, den welken*) en het onzijdige *twelc, welc* (de Vooys 1967: 101)

> Under the influence of Latin, the relative form *welk* [which] developed from the interrogative form *welke(e)* in chancery language, and in addition to this and under the influence of French (*lequel*): *d(i)ewelke, dewelcke* [the which] (with the inflected forms *des welcs, den welken*) and the neuter *twelc, welc*

This passage, also discussed by van der Horst (2008: 381), comprises several important aspects. First, the role of Latin in the grammaticalisation of the relative pronouns *welk* (neuter) and *welke* (common gender and plural) from the interrogative pronouns. Second, the role of French in the grammaticalisation of the common gender form *dewelke*[30] and the neuter forms *hetwelk/twelk*, which are

30. The text from de Vooys (1967: 101) lists several variants, mostly spelling variants such as <c>/<k>/<ck>, but also *diewelke* as opposed to *dewelke*. The Dutch definite article *de* is the

modelled after the common gender forms since French lacks the neuter gender. These forms (*dewelke*, *hetwelk*, *twelk*) are composite forms of definite articles (neuter *het*, common gender and plural *de*) and the interrogative and relative pronoun *welk-*. Third, the passage emphasises the role of chancery language.

The forms targeted here are the following; all examples are from the LOL Corpus. The relative pronouns *welk* (neuter) and *welke* (common gender and plural) can be used independently but also attributively preceding a noun phrase. We call these the nominal and adjectival uses respectively. Example (1) has a nominal instance of the neuter form *welk*, here spelt *welck*, which has the entire preceding clause as its antecedent. Example (2) has an adjectival occurrence of *welke*, preceding the plural noun *gelden*. Example (3) has the neuter composite relative pronoun *hetwelk*, Example (4) the plural relative pronoun *dewelke*.

(1) *goede sorgge draghen voor VE kinderen welck ick* (Private Life, 1550–1599)
good care carry for your children which I
seer geeren doen
very gladly do
'take good care of your children which I very gladly do'

(2) *Een somma van Neegenduyzend Zeshonderd* (Economy, 1750–1799)
a sum of ninethousand sixhundred
twee-entwintig guldens, welke gelden binnen onze stad aan Winkelier en
twenty-two guilders which money within our city on shopowners and
Bakkers geheel worden bested
bakeries entirely are spent
'a sum of nine thousand six hundred and twenty-two guilders, which amount is spent entirely in shops and bakeries in our city'

(3) *twee stuyvers, het welk door de Knegt zal werden* (Economy, 1700–1749)
two pennies which by the servant will be
opgehaalt
collected
'two pennies which will be collected by the servant'

(4) *de Onkosten dewelcke by desen occasie onvermydelyck* (Academy, 1700–1749)
the costs which on this occasion unavoidable
moeten werden gemaekt
must be made
'the costs which unavoidably must be made on this occasion'

reduced form of *die*, which derives from the demonstrative *die*. The LOL Corpus has a few instances of *diewelke* in the sixteenth century.

The relative pronouns *welk-*, *hetwelk* and *dewelke* already occur in the earliest Middle Dutch sources from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (van der Horst 2008: 380–381), and there is even evidenc of *w*-forms in the scanty Old Dutch materials (van der Horst 2008: 180–181). It is assumed that Dutch *welk-* spread to Low German and made it into High German in the fifteenth century (van der Horst 2008: 381, Pickl 2020: 245). The German variant *welch-* developed into a marker of educated speech and academic writing in the sixteenth century. The rise of *wh*-relative pronouns in English, including forms parallel to the Dutch variants such as *which* and *the which*, has also been attributed to possible Latin and/or French influence (Dekeyser 1984), perhaps only 'slight' influence (Fischer 1992: 299). In the same vein, Höder (2019) attributes the rise of the Swedish relative pronoun *hviliken* 'which' to contact with Latin.

The references to Latin and French in the literature on Dutch, English and Swedish follow from the fact that Romance languages often use interrogative pronouns as relative pronouns, for example *qui* (Kunstmann 1990), whereas many Germanic language originally had — and often still have — demonstratives as relativisers, for example *die* and *dat* in present-day Dutch. Relative clauses can be constructed with relative pronouns in many European languages, and often the relativisers originate from interrogative pronouns (Haspelmath 2001: 1494). Thus, the adoption of interrogatives as relativisers may constitute a case of loan translation or replica grammaticalisation (see Section 11.2). Fiorentino (2007: 283–285) calls the emergence of *w*-forms in non-Romance languages, including English *which*, *the which*, *who*, *whose*, calques from Latin through a shared written cultural tradition. Heine & Kuteva (2007: 229) consider the grammaticalisation path from interrogative to relative marker a typically European and Indo-European phenomenon, which is also found in languages that have been in contact with Indo-European languages. It is, however, not limited to Europe or Indo-European languages: they also give an example from Gidar, an Afroasiatic language from Chad. According to Höder (2019), medieval Swedish *hviliken* resulted from contact with Latin in the production of multilingual language users through the process of replica grammaticalisation.

Forms such as French *lequel*, *laquelle*, Spanish *el cual* and Italian *il quale* have a long history going back to at least the twelfth century (Giacalone Ramat 2005: 132). Present-day restrictions on French *lequel* and *laquelle*, specifically that they are combined with prepositions but do not occur in subject and object position, do not hold for historical French (Giacalone Ramat 2005: 132); Goux (2017) cites numerous examples from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is important, since *hetwelk* and *dewelke* also occur without prepositions in subject and object positions; see for example (4) above, which cannot be interpreted as evidence against influence from French based on present-day restrictions. Impor-

tantly, Giacalone Ramat (2005) argues that the Italian relativiser *il quale*, based on the Latin article *ille* and the interrogative *qualis*, emerges in medieval Italian as a marker of textual cohesion rather than as a relative pronoun identifying a particular referent in the discourse. This means that *il quale* mainly occurs in non-restrictive or appositive relative clauses, which also includes the function of connecting relative in so-called continuative relative clauses. Similarly, the dictionary of Medieval French gives as the first meaning of *lequel* its use as a relative appositive pronoun (DMF s.v. *lequel*). Goux (2017) offers a detailed analysis of the use of *lequel* in French sources from 1580 to 1720. One of the main conclusions is that relative clauses introduced by *lequel* (and inflected variants) are often in between hypotaxis and parataxis: they are marked as subordinate clauses but favour an interpretation at the main clause level, in short, they are continuative relative clauses (Goux 2017: 124, 383). We will return to appositive relative clauses below.

The rise of *welk-*, *hetwelk* and *dewelke* in the history of Dutch is part of a much broader set of changes in the relativisation system. These changes can be characterised as an evolution from demonstratives to interrogatives as the sources of relative pronouns and adverbs. The first and most advanced change is in locative relative clauses, where the historical form *daar* 'there' has been replaced by *waar* 'where'. Similarly, in combinations with prepositions, *daar*+preposition (e.g. *daarin* 'therein, *daarop* 'thereon') has been replaced by *waar*+preposition (e.g. *waarin* 'wherein', *waarop* 'whereon'). This change took several centuries, from the end of the Middle Ages well into the nineteenth century. Nowadays, *d*-forms are restricted to only some dialects, where they are never the only option, but always variants next to *w*-forms (Krogull, Rutten & van der Wal 2017). In addition to these relative adverbs, the pronouns *dat* (neuter) and *die* (common gender and plural) have alternatives in *wat* and *wie*. While *wat* has a long history and is quite common today, certainly in present-day spoken Dutch, *wie* has been a minor variant for at least two centuries (Krogull 2018: 193). We consider the forms that we focus on in this chapter, *welk-*, *hetwelk* and *dewelke*, to be *w*-forms with an interrogative origin. The two composite forms begin with the definite articles *het* and *de*, but these are specifications of the head *welk-* following the rightheadedness of Dutch compounds. Note, in this respect, the frequent occurrence of reduced forms such as *twelc*, as in the above quotation from de Vooys (1967: 101). Another new relative pronoun emerged in the sixteenth century or a bit earlier, even in the late Medieval period (van der Horst 2008: 831–832), viz. the composite form *hetgeen* 'which', consisting of the neuter definite article and the demonstrative pronoun *geen* 'that'. As such, this is a new *d*-form, contradicting the overall change from *d-* to *w*-forms.

A final important note: the historical *d*-forms *dat* and *die* and the newer *w*-forms *wat* and *wie* are forms that are linked to historical orality, while the new forms *welk-*, *hetwelk* and *dewelke* are typically associated with the written language or even more specifically with written administrative language — recall the note about chancery Dutch above. This is probably also to a large extent true for *hetgeen* (van der Horst 2008: 1116). De Schutter & Kloots (2000: 335) note that *welk-*, *hetwelk*, *dewelke* and *hetgeen* hardly occur in seventeenth-century plays, where they expect to find less formal language than in other literary genres such as lyrical poetry. They also call these variants *alternative* forms of the *normal* relativisers (de Schutter & Kloots 2000: 327), thus suggesting that they occupy a special place in the relativisation system.

Previous research on relative clauses in the history of Dutch has focused strongly on the change from *d-* to *w*-forms. Van der Horst & Storm (1991), van der Horst (1993), Schoonenboom (1997) and van der Wal (2002) argue that the (in)definiteness of the antecedent plays a role in this change. The two contexts triggering *w*-forms early on are free relatives and cases where the antecedent is an entire clause. Rutten (2010), Rutten & van der Wal (2014: 304–320) and Rutten & van der Wal (2017) add that various constructional constraints also play a role. Specifically, the incoming *waar-* and *waar*+preposition variants appear to be favoured in non-restrictive or appositive relative clauses, including continuative relative clauses, much like the spread of *wh*-forms in historical English (Rissanen 1999: 293) and of *il quale* in Medieval Italian (Giacalone Ramat 2005), and the contexts of use of French *lequel* (Goux 2017). Rutten & van der Wal (2014: 296–304) also argue that the change from *daar-* to *waar-* was a gendered change from above, at least in their corpus of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century private letters. As already mentioned, the forms *welk-*, *hetwelk* and *dewelke* are generally associated with written language, perhaps even with formal written language (van der Wal 2002: 29, Krogull 2018: 193). Krogull, Rutten & van der Wal (2017) analyse the distribution of relative pronouns in a multigenre corpus with data from the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries and conclude that *hetwelk* increases remarkably in newspapers and diaries, less so in private letters, which, in their corpus, are much more closely tied to orality than the other genres.

Based on the research literature, it can be expected that the forms *welk-*, *hetwelk* and *dewelke* are more prominent in administrative domains than in non-administrative domains. Against the background of the change from *d-* to *w-* in the Dutch relativisation system as well as research on English and Italian, we expect these forms to occur more often in appositive than in restrictive relative clauses. As to diachrony, it is unclear what to expect as it is unclear to what extent these forms fully took part in the change from *d-* to *w-*, i.e., in the change from

dat to *wat*, from *die* to *wie*, from *daar* to *waar* et cetera. If the diachronic distribution of *welk-*, *hetwelk* and *dewelke* follows that of the loanwords and loan suffixes as established in Chapters 9 and 10, we may have evidence of a French-influenced contact phenomenon.

12.3 Method

All relative pronouns were extracted from the LOL Corpus by searching for the following variants: the neuter pronouns *dat*, *wat*, *welk*, *hetwelk* and *hetgeen*, and the common gender and plural pronouns *die*, *wie*, *dewelke* and *welke*. The form *welk-* can occur as a noun, as in Example (1), and as an adjective (2). Note that the historical distinction between masculine and feminine gender had largely disappeared from northern varieties of Dutch by the seventeenth century, giving way to a common gender category, yet was maintained in some writing styles and in the normative tradition. We will combine masculine and feminine forms under the rubric of common gender here. Naturally, we also included spelling variants and inflected variants of the forms mentioned. Examples of *welk-*, *hetwelk* and *dewelke* are in (1)–(4). Examples (5)–(9) present the other forms investigated here, viz. *dat*, *wat*, *hetgeen*, *die* and *wie*.

(5) *het eenig bezwaar dat met reden gelden kan* (Economy, 1850–1899)
the only objection that with reason apply can
'the only objection that can apply with reason/reasonably'

(6) *alles te calanderen wat haer gebracht Wert* (Economy, 1600–1649)
everything to calendar what her brought was
'to calendar everything that was brought to her'

(7) *lijden en verdriet/ ist t'gene dat my ontmoet* (Literature, 1550–1599)
suffering and sadness/ is+it REL that me discourages
'suffering and sadness is what discourages me'

(8) *sonder eenige consequentie, die de Regenten van't* (Academy, 1650–1699)
without any consequence which the directors of+the
voorseijde Collegie
said college
'without any consequence, which the directors of the said college …'

(9) *dat de Gemeente te kennen geeft wie zy wenscht* (Religion, 1850–1899)
that the community to know gives who she wishes
'that the community indicates who they prefer'

We limit our investigation to clauses where the relative pronoun is in subject or direct object position, following Krogull (2018). The reason is that the paradigms are even more complicated in historical genitive and dative functions, where relative (pronominal) adverbs infiltrate the pronominal paradigm. For example, common gender forms such as *met wie* 'with whom' and *voor wie* 'for whom' have frequent alternatives in *waarmee* 'wherewith' and *waarvoor* 'wherefor'. While these are prescriptively restricted to non-animate referents, they are also common with animate referents. In the neuter, the (pronominal) adverbs are in fact the normal forms.

12.4 Relative pronouns across time

The LOL Corpus comprises 2,149 relative pronouns in subject or direct object function. There are 694 neuter forms and 1,455 common gender forms. Table 12.1 gives the absolute numbers of all variants. The neuter and common gender forms develop in different directions. Among the *w*-forms, it is particularly *hetwelk* which is frequent in the neuter domain. In the common gender domain, the nominal use of *welke* is the most often occurring *w*-form.

Table 12.1 Neuter and common gender relative pronouns in the LOL Corpus (subject and direct object functions, absolute numbers)

Neuter		**Common gender**	
dat	178	*die*	1,029
wat	62	*wie*	14
hetwelk	241	*dewelke*	112
welk (nominal)	4	*welke* (nominal)	225
welk (adjectival)	17	*welke* (adjectival)	75
hetgeen	192		
	694		**1,455**

We now look at the distribution of *d*-forms and *w*-forms across time; see Figure 12.1. The category of *d*-forms includes *die*, *dat* and *hetgeen*, while the category of *w*-forms comprises *wie*, *wat*, *welk*, *dewelke* and *hetwelk* (see Section 12.2).

Figure 12.1 shows that *w*-forms increase only in the second half of the eighteenth century and remain relatively high in the nineteenth century. It is clear that the modest peak in the 1800–1849 period comes fairly late when compared to the results for loanwords and loan suffixes.

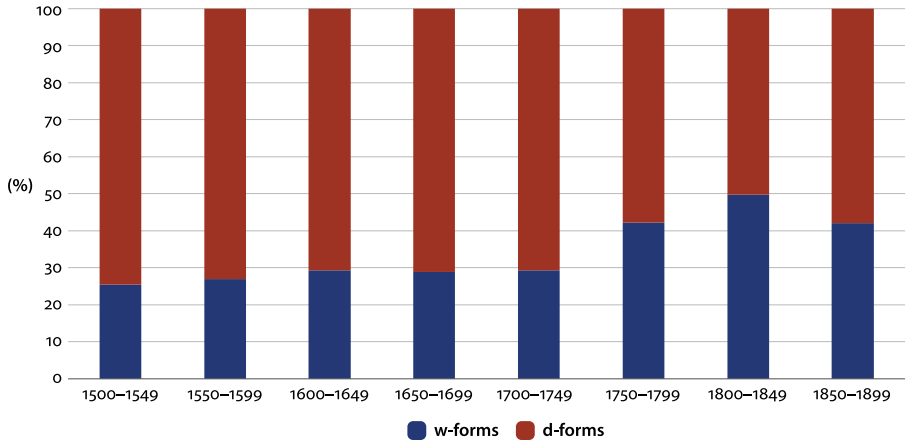


Figure 12.1 Relative pronouns in the LOL Corpus, across time

We will now further explore our results, focusing first on the neuter relative pronouns and then on the common gender forms. As in the previous chapters, we first give the diachronic overview. Figure 12.2 presents the results for the neuter relative pronoun across time.

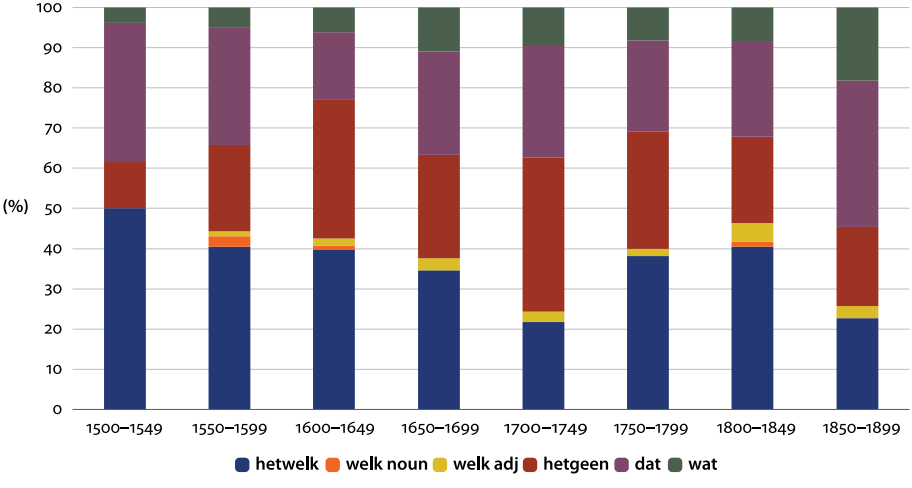


Figure 12.2 Neuter relative pronouns in the LOL Corpus, across time

Figure 12.2 shows some fluctuations in the use of *dat* and the new variant *wat*, which usually comprise between 30% and 40%, except in 1600–1649, when it is slightly less, and in 1850–1899, when their share increases to more than 50%. The decrease in 1600–1649 seems to be due to the increased use of *hetgeen*. Through-

out the centuries, *welk* is a minor variant, both nominally and as an adjective. The form *hetwelk* also fluctuates: it often comprises c. 40% of the results, which means it is far from a minor variant, and in many 50-year periods it is in fact the most used option. Interestingly, there is a slight decrease in the seventeenth century, and in the 1700–1749 period, when the proportion of *hetwelk* is at its lowest. It rises again to c. 40% in 1750–1799 and 1800–1849, after which it decreases again, mostly due to the rise of *dat* and *wat*. If we interpret the frequency of *hetwelk* as relatively stable through time, constituting c. 40% in 5 out of 8 periods, then it has to be added that its low proportion in 1700–1749 diverges from the patterns found in Chapters 9 and 10 for established contact features. Finally, it should be noted that the forms *dat* and *wat*, which are more closely tied to orality, constitute minority options throughout the running time of the corpus except in the very last period, when they reach more than 50%. Obviously, this means that the supposedly written forms *welk*, *hetwelk* and *hetgeen* are majority forms; together, they usually score between 60–70%.

Figure 12.3 gives the results for the common gender relative pronouns.

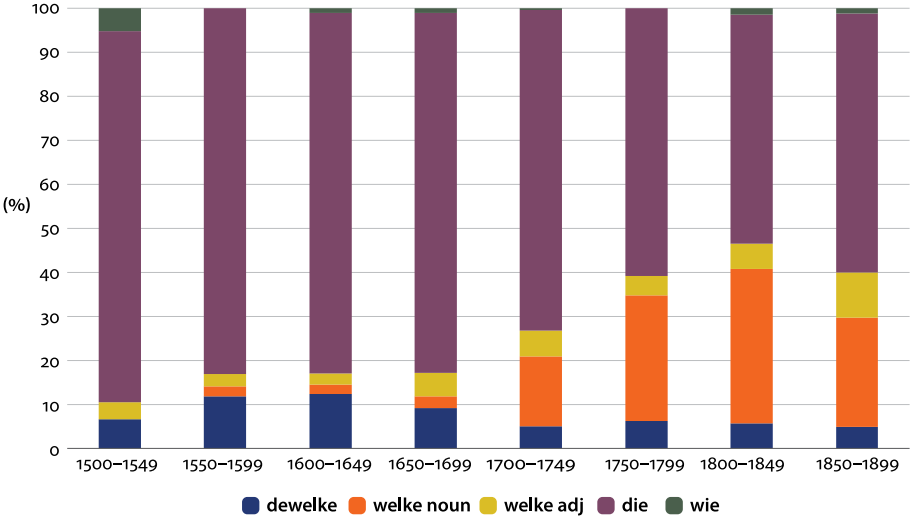


Figure 12.3 Common gender relative pronouns in the LOL Corpus, across time

Figure 12.3 shows that *die* has been the dominant form throughout the centuries. The only proportionally relevant other variant is the nominal use of *welke*, which gains popularity in the first half of the eighteenth century and remains quite frequent until 1899. It is this rise in the nominal use of *welke* which is largely responsible for the high proportion of *w*-forms between 1750 and 1899 in Figure 12.1. While the rise of *welke* begins in the period from 1700 to 1749, and is

thus reminiscent of the early-eighteenth-century peak established for loanwords and loan suffixes, there are two important caveats. First, the increased frequency in the 1700–1749 period is not the result of a gradual increase across time, as in the case of loanwords and loan suffixes. Secondly, and on the contrary, the rise in the first half of the eighteenth century is itself the beginning of a frequency increase, the peak of which is located in the first half of the nineteenth century. The variant *dewelke* is a minor variant across the centuries, with a small peak between 1550 and 1649, when it rises above 10%.

12.5 Relative pronouns across social domains

In this section, we present the results across social domains, first focusing on the overall distribution of the older *d*-forms and the incoming *w*-forms across social domains; see Figure 12.4.

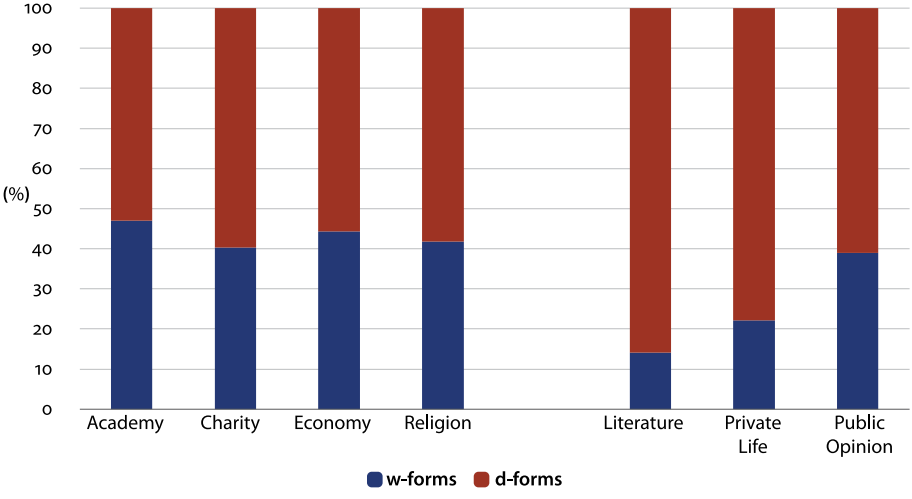


Figure 12.4 Neuter relative pronouns in the LOL Corpus, across the administrative and non-administrative domains

Figure 12.4 has the four administrative domains on the left-hand side and the three non-administrative domains on the right-hand side. It shows that the proportion of *w*-forms is relatively high in the administrative domains, i.e., between 40 and 50%. This is similar in the domain of Public Opinion, but differs remarkably from Literature and Private Life, where *d*-forms dominate.

We now present the results of the neuter and common gender forms separately across social domain, first divided according to the two groups of domains,

i.e., administrative and non-administrative, secondly, across all seven social domains. Figure 12.5 gives the results for neuter pronouns in the administrative and non-administrative domains.

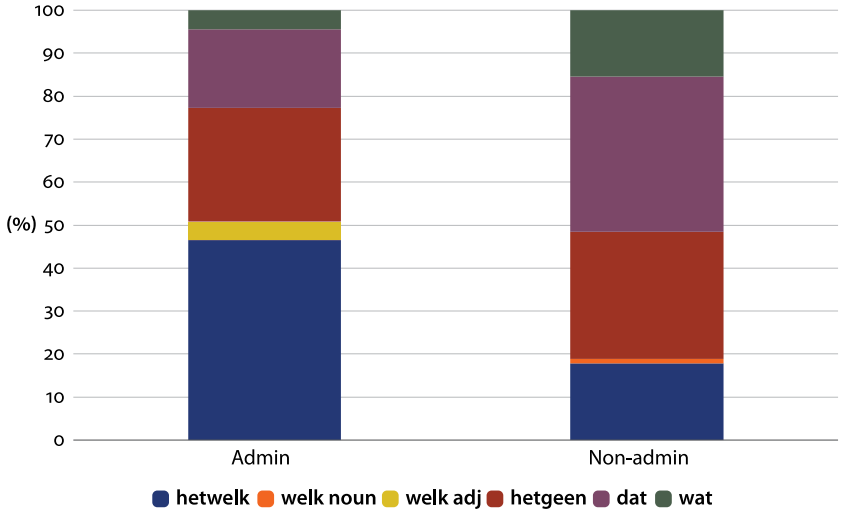


Figure 12.5 Neuter relative pronouns in the LOL Corpus, across the administrative and non-administrative domains

Figure 12.5 clearly shows that *hetwelk* is far more frequent in the administrative domains, where it reaches almost 50%, than in the non-administrative domains, where it is below 20%. This strong difference parallels the distribution of loanwords and loan suffixes, which were also much more frequent in the administrative domains. The lower proportion of *hetwelk* in the non-administrative domains is compensated for by the higher proportion of *dat* and *wat*. The use of *hetgeen* is similar in both categories, viz. c. 30%. The frequencies of *welk* are very low. The forms *hetwelk*, *welk-* and *hetgeen* together constitute close to 80% of the tokens in the administrative domains.

Figure 12.6 splits up the data according to all domains distinguished in the LOL Corpus.

Figure 12.6 shows that *hetwelk* is a main variant in all administrative domains as well as in Public Opinion. Recall that the token frequency of established French loanwords was also highest in some administrative domains along with Public Opinion (Figure 10.10). In Literature and Private Life, the use of *hetwelk* does not reach 20%, confirming its status as a form tied to the written language, less so to historical orality. Thus, *dat* and *wat* are the most frequent forms in these domains. The nominal and adjectival use of *welk* is infrequent everywhere. Here, we also

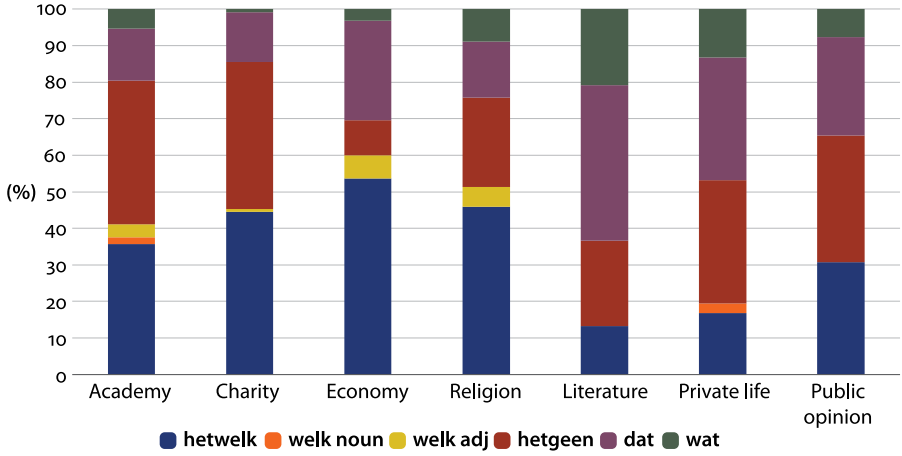


Figure 12.6 Neuter relative pronouns in the LOL Corpus, across social domains

observe that the supposedly written forms *hetwelk*, *welk* and *hetgeen* together realise very high proportions, particularly in the administrative domains.

Figure 12.7 looks at the distribution of the common gender relative pronouns across the two types of social domain. It shows that both the infrequent form *dewelke* and the even less frequent adjectival use of *welk* mainly occur in the administrative domains. The nominal use of *welk* is evenly distributed over the two types of domain. While the majority variant *die* dominates the non-administrative domains with c. 80%, it is just over 60% in the administrative domains, where *dewelke* and *welke* together constitute well over 30% of all forms.

Figure 12.8 splits up the results even further across the seven social domains. The variant *dewelke* is infrequent, but if it occurs, it is mostly in Academy and Charity. These are also the leading domains in Chapters 9 and 10, attracting most loan suffixes and loanwords. The variant *welke* occurs in almost all domains to a comparable extent, except in Literature, where it is virtually absent. In Private Life, the frequencies are also quite low. They are relatively high in the domain of Public Opinion, which again sides with the administrative domains.

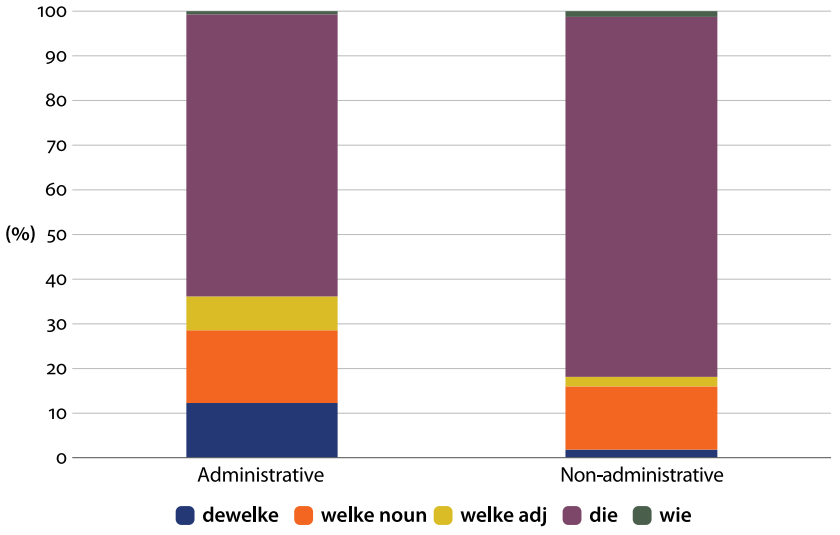


Figure 12.7 Common gender relative pronouns in the LOL Corpus, across the administrative and non-administrative domains

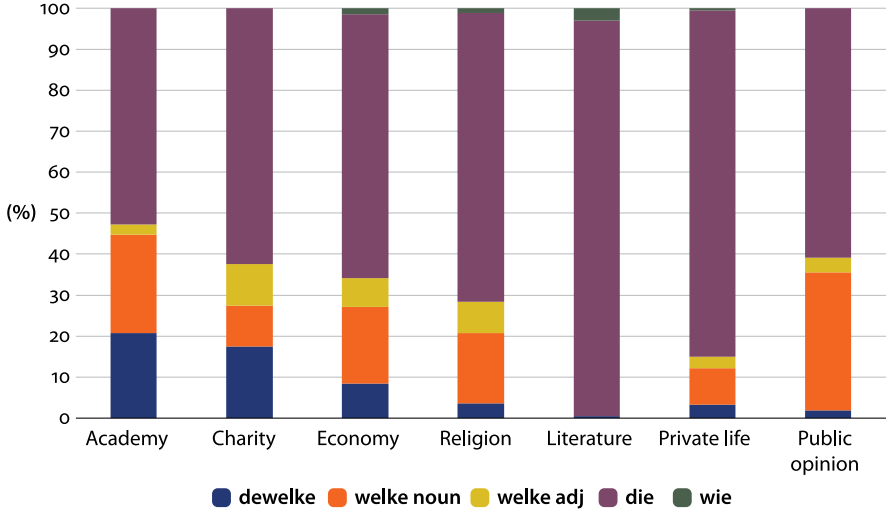


Figure 12.8 Common gender relative pronouns in the LOL Corpus, across social domains

12.6 Social domains and time

For our analysis of the distribution of relative pronouns across time and social domain, we will restrict ourselves to the group of domains where our target variants are most frequent. Thus, we focus on the administrative domains only. Figure 12.9 presents the results for the neuter relative pronoun.

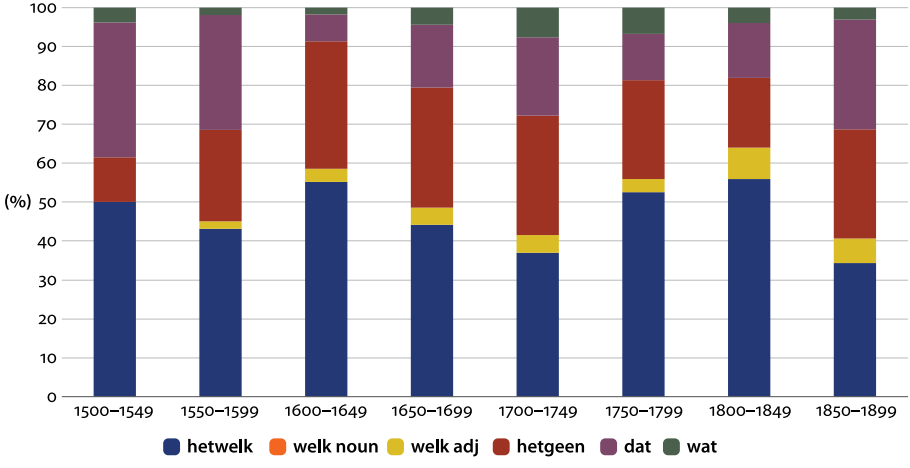


Figure 12.9 Neuter relative pronouns in the LOL Corpus, in the administrative domains, across time

Figure 12.9 shows that the strong position of *hetwelk* in the administrative domains (Figure 12.5 and 12.6) is stable across time. Throughout the centuries, *hetwelk* is responsible for approximately half of the tokens: sometimes a bit less and sometimes a bit more. Crucially, however, it sinks below 40% in the 1700–1749 period. The only other period with less than 40% *hetwelk* is 1850–1899. The form *welk* is a marginal variant throughout the ages, much like *wat*. The other variants, *dat* and *hetgeen*, fluctuate and are generally slightly less frequent than *hetwelk*. The forms *hetwelk*, *welk* and *hetgeen* together always constitute more than 60% of the results, and in the first half of the nineteenth century even more than 90%.

Figure 12.10 present the results for the common gender pronouns.

The pattern for *dewelke* recalls Figure 12.3, as this variant is largely restricted to the administrative domains: the proportions are low, and generally even lower in the period after 1700 than before 1700. This diverges from the patterns for loanwords and loan suffixes. The adjectival use of *welke* constitutes a minor variant. The nominal use of *welke*, on the other hand, increases enormously in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, reaching more than 50% in the 1800–1849 period, and relegating *die* to the status of a minor variant. Together, the three

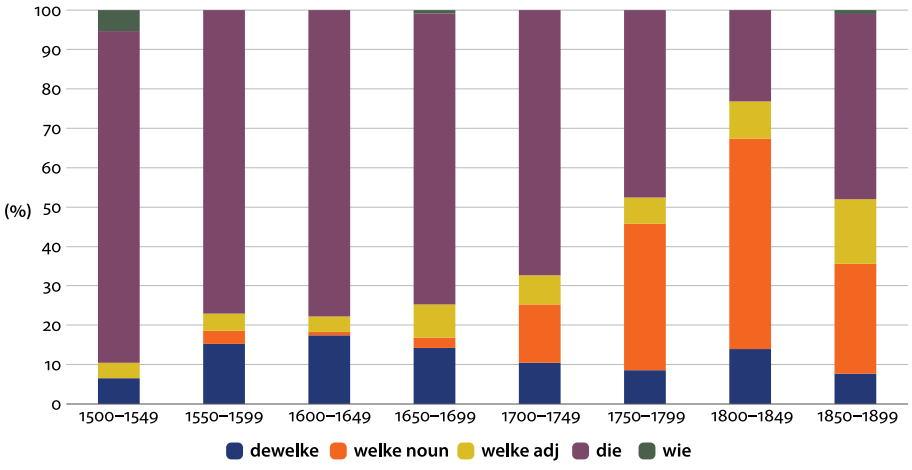


Figure 12.10 Common gender relative pronouns in the LOL Corpus, in the administrative domains, across time

written language variants *dewelke*, the adjectival form of *welke* and its nominal form increase from c. 30% in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries to more than 50% in the 1750–1799 period, and more than 75% in the 1800–1849 period, after which there is a decrease again. Importantly, the diachronic distribution is quite different from the patterns established in Chapter 9 and 10, and extends considerably into the nineteenth century, when loanwords and loan suffixes decrease under the influence of dutchification.

12.7 Functions of relative clauses

The research literature suggests that the type of relative clause is an important factor in the rise of *w*-forms. As mentioned in Section 12.2, Rissanen (1999: 293) considers continuative relative clauses to have promoted *wh*-forms in historical English. Rutten & van der Wal (2017) argue that appositives, including continuative relative clauses, fostered the change from *daar-* to *waar-* in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch. Giacalone Ramat (2005) shows that continuative relative clauses advanced the use of *il quale* in Medieval Italian. Goux (2017) demonstrates that *lequel* was often used for continuative relative clauses in Early Modern French. In fact, continuative relative clauses, also called *relatieve aansluiting* 'relative connection', constitute one of the classic examples of supposedly Latinate syntax in the history of Dutch, along with participial constructions (van der Wal & van Bree 2008: 271–274). In this section, we further explore this issue in an effort

to clear whether the use of relative *w*-forms is related to Latin instead of French (see also 12.2, where both were mentioned as possible sources).

We categorised the relative clauses in our dataset as either restrictive, appositive or free in order to find out whether there are morphosyntactic differences between the main semantic categories. Working with real data, it is often difficult to establish whether a relative clause is restricted or appositive (see also Rutten & van der Wal 2017). Take an Example (10) from an eighteenth-century private letter:

(10) *de nouvelles die erin staan zijn zeer gering* (Private Life, 1700–1749)
the news that therein stand are very little
'the news in it is very little'

It cannot unambiguously be reconstructed whether the news under discussion was insignificant, while other news was much more interesting, or the news was not so important in general, to which it is appositively added that this news was mentioned in a letter. In such ambiguous cases, we decided to treat the relative clause as an appositive. This means that we categorised relative clauses as appositives unless there was clear and unambiguous evidence in the immediate context favouring a restrictive interpretation. An example is (11), in which the relative clause adds necessary information that restricts the meaning of *niemant* 'nobody'.

(11) *alsnu voor eenigen tijdt niemant soude sijn*, *die int* (Academy, 1550–1599)
now for some time nobody would be who int+the
selve collegium eenige institutie als professor soude doen
same college any teaching as professor would do
'now that for some time, there would be nobody who could do any teaching in this college'

Our approach leads to a higher number of appositives than of restrictive relative clauses. In Rutten & van der Wal (2014: 316), likewise, appositive relative clauses outnumber the restrictive ones. With our approach, we managed to categorise 2,114 (out of a total of 2,149) clauses as restrictive, appositive or free. Table 12.2 presents the distribution of all forms investigated across the three main functions.

As expected, the appositive relative clauses outnumber the restrictive relative clauses almost everywhere. The most important observation for the present discussion is the very high proportion of appositive relative clauses for the *w*-forms *welk*, *hetwelk* and *dewelke*, which is always between 89% and 100%. The other more recent form, *hetgeen*, is often used as a free relative. This also applies to *wat* and *wie*, for which it has also been claimed that their infiltration in the paradigms of *dat* and *die* was led by so-called indefinite contexts such as free relatives (van der Horst 2008: 1392).

Table 12.2 Functions of relative clauses/relativisers in the LOL Corpus

	N tokens	Restrictive		Appositive		Free relative	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Neuter							
dat	168	40	24	121	72	7	4
wat	59	24	41	6	10	29	49
hetwelk	241	16	7	223	93	2	1
welk (nominal)	4	0	0	4	100	0	0
welk (adjectival)	17	0	0	17	100	0	0
hetgeen	192	25	13	60	31	107	56
Common gender							
die	1,009	211	21	762	76	36	4
wie	14	1	7	0	0	13	93
dewelke	111	11	10	100	90	0	0
welke (nominal)	224	24	11	200	89	0	0
welke (adjectival)	75	5	7	70	93	0	0

Many appositives are constructed with *hetwelk*. A frequent formula is *hetwelk doende* 'which doing' (12), which has 24 occurrences in the LOL Corpus. It is an administrative formula typically found at the end of a document, where it expresses the hope that the petitioner's request will be granted; see also Section 11.5, where we discussed this formula in the context of participial constructions. It has been suggested that the formula was derived from the Latin expression *Quod faciende bene facies* 'lit. which doing you do well', i.e., if you were to do this, viz. grant our request, you would do well (cf. Assendelft 2023: 251). The formula was usually abbreviated as in (12). Almost all occurrences in the LOL Corpus are related to the domain of Economy, which comprises many requests.

(12) *T'welck doende etc.* (Economy, 1600–1649)
which doing et cetera

Another administrative formula is *hetwelk ik affirmere* 'which I confirm' (13). It has 18 occurrences in the LOL Corpus, all of them in wills in the domain of Charity. Less frequent variants include verbs such as *bevestigen* 'confirm' (14), *beloven* 'promise' (15) and *getuigen* 'testify' (16).

(13) *twelc ic Affirmere* (Charity, 1650–1699)
which I confirm

(14) *hetwelk zy heeft bevestigd* (Charity, 1850–1899)
which she has confirmed

(15) *Twelck zy comparanten [...] belouen* (Charity, 1550–1599)
which they appearers promise
'which they, who appear before the notary, promise'

(16) *hetwelck Ic Notaris [...] getuyge* (Charity, 1550–1599)
which I notary testify

Similar formulae are found in the Private domain, where they do not express an administrative performative, but rather a subjective interpretation of a particular state-of-affairs (17)–(18); see also Rutten & van der Wal 2014: 307).

(17) *het welck jck niet hoope* (Private Life, 1650–1699)
which I not hope
'which I do not hope'

(18) *het twelck ons van herte lief is* (Private Life, 1650–1699)
which us of heart dear is
'which is heartily dear to us'

Many of such appositives can be analysed as continuative relative clauses. Continuative relative clauses are a subtype of appositive relative clauses, characterised by the fact that they offer new information, for which typically main clauses are used, yet in the form of a subordinate clause. Continuative relative clauses, therefore, display a mismatch of form and function. By adopting the syntax of subordinate clauses, they create coherence between the new information and the immediately preceding discourse (Giacalone Ramat 2005, Loock 2007, Rutten & van der Wal 2017). They can be tied to the preceding discourse, but they are also often standalone sentences, beginning with a capitalised connection relative.

Punctuation and capitalisation are not common strategies in historical documents of the Early and Late Modern period, especially not in handwritten texts. Interestingly, more than half of the occurrences of appositive *hetwelk* are either preceded by a punctuation mark such as a period or a comma, or capitalised as in (12) and (15), or both (19).

(19) *voorgestelt worden. 'Twelck geschiet is* (Religion, 1600–1649)
proposed are. Which happened is
'... are proposed. Which has happened'

Examples such as (19) clearly demonstrate the main clause function of the relative clause — as well as the writer's familiarity with this very particular stylistic feature.

12.8 Discussion

We have seen that *w*-relativisers increase in the eighteenth century and reach the highest proportions in the nineteenth century. This diachronic pattern diverges from the patterns found in Chapter 9 and 10. In the neuter domain, *hetwelk* is a very frequent variant, while the nominal and adjectival uses of *welk-* are marginal. The form *hetwelk* is frequent in all of the 50-year periods of the LOL corpus, but it has the lowest score in the period 1700–1749, which we identified as the peak of French-based influence on Dutch. The common gender relative pronouns have a different distribution: here, *dewelke* and the adjectival use of *welk-* are marginal in each 50-year period, while the nominal use of *welk-* increases in the eighteenth century from a previously marginal variant to a major variant in the nineteenth century. Our indirect method entailed a comparison with the diachronic trajectory of loanwords and loan suffixes. In view of the considerable differences, we conclude that the *w*-relativisers are not influenced by French in the same way as loanwords and loan suffixes.

Zooming in on the social domains, there is more overlap with the patterns found in previous chapters. The *w*-relativisers occur more often in the administrative domains and in the domain of Public Opinion, and less or hardly at all in the domains of Literature and Private Life. The variants *hetwelk* and *welk-* are responsible for 40–60% of the tokens in the administrative domains, a bit less in Public Opinion, and below 20% in Literature and Private Life. Similarly, the common gender forms *dewelke* and *welke* together constitute 30% to almost 50% in the administrative domains and in Public Opinion, yet considerably less in the remaining two domains.

Combining time and social domain, and thereby zooming in on the administrative domains, we find that *hetwelk* and *welk-* have a diachronically stable, high share of 40–60%. While *dewelke* is a marginal form overall, it seems to have been mostly used in the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century. The variant *welke*, on the other hand, reaches very high proportions in the nineteenth century. This means that the eighteenth century does not stand out. As with the participial constructions in Chapter 11, we do not want to assume a delayed effect of French influence in the grammar, as opposed to the lexicon. As opposed to the clearly discernible trend toward dutchification in the lexicon and in the derivational morphology, beginning in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as established in Chapters 9 and 10, the extremely high proportions of particularly *welk-* in the administrative domains in the nineteenth century appear to be too recent. If the relative pronouns studied in this chapter were in any way connected to contact with French, they were not indexed as such in the nineteenth century: if they were, we would expect a sharp decrease in their use, not an extended use.

The large majority of the *w*-relative pronouns *hetwelk*, *dewelke* and the various forms of *welk*-, viz. between 89–100%, occur in appositive relative clauses, many of which allow a continuative interpretation. If we consider that these *w*-relativisers are more likely to be written forms than oral forms, as well as the fact that especially *hetwelk* is relatively stable throughout the centuries — i.e., does not follow the diachronic patterns of loanwords and loan suffixes from French — then it seems probable that Latin played a vital role in the promotion of these types of *w*-relatives. If we treat the *w*-relativisers as contact phenomena (Haspelmath 2001, Fiorentino 2007), they are best seen as cases of replica grammaticalisation (Höder 2019). The Romance pattern of adopting interrogatives to construct relative clauses, and in particular appositives, or even more specific continuative relative clauses, is replicated in Dutch. Since these *w*-relativisers already occur in the oldest sources, it cannot be excluded that their use and grammaticalisation were influenced by French (cf. Goux 2017 on *lequel*), but even if that is the case, Latin is in the background as a language with a long and extensive written tradition in which continuative relative clauses were prominent. As elements of the written code, in the first place, and as stylistic features of the administrative domains, also in the first place, they came to index a formal writing style, and perhaps lost any associations with Latin, and certainly did not acquire associations with French. In this context, it seems relevant that Krogull, Rutten & van der Wal (2017) argue that the officially codified form of standard Dutch, promoted at the beginning of the nineteenth century, appears to be quite formal and traditional. Their example is the remarkable rise of *hetwelk* in the nineteenth century. Another example would be the increase in the use of the genitive case in the nineteenth century (Krogull & Rutten 2021). In this chapter, we have seen a similar increase for particularly *welk*- in the common gender.

CHAPTER 13

Synthesis and research directions for the study of historical multilingualism

The long-standing Dutch-French contact situation, often cast in terms of deplored *frenchification*, goes back to medieval times, when French texts were already read and translated in the Dutch-dominant Low Countries. In postmedieval times, the importance of French increased through trade and migration from French-dominant areas, while French also emerged as a principal international language. French churches, schools, publishers, journalists, books, newspapers, and so on characterise the Early Modern period, and Dutch-dominant individuals wrote private letters and diaries in French. The Dutch language furthermore changed through the contact with French. Against this background, we set out to scrutinise the supposed frenchification from a sociolinguistic and data-driven perspective, focusing on language ideology, language choice and shift, and contact-induced change. In this final chapter, we first provide a synthesis of the main results obtained. We then reflect on the sociolinguistic analysis of historical multilingualism, based on the theoretical, methodological, and descriptive insights from the present study.

13.1 Synthesis

What has our analysis of the Dutch-French contact situation between 1500 and 1900 revealed? As explained in Chapter 1, we aimed to focus on three crucial aspects of the contact situation:

1. effects on the functions of language use across a variety of genres related to the private and public domains, based on analyses of newspapers, pamphlets, ego-documents such as diaries, private family correspondence and business correspondence, as well as the diverse archival sources of one migrant family (Chapters 4–7);
2. effects on the form of the Dutch language, focusing on established and claimed contact-induced changes, based on the Language of Leiden Corpus (Chapters 8–12);

3. metalinguistic effects as revealed in a number of language-ideological conflict sites, as found in a variety of metalinguistic, literary, and educational sources (Chapter 3).

Where possible, we aimed to situate these effects in a broad diachronic and geographical perspective. We first discuss language ideology (3), then language choice and shift (1), and contact phenomena in language use (2), after which we discuss the interaction between these different aspects of the contact situation.

Language ideology

Historically, French was one of the written languages of the Low Countries, alongside Latin, Frisian and Dutch. Whereas the use of written Frisian decreased, the other three languages remained in use in the Early and Late Modern periods, with Dutch becoming more frequently used in a number of domains and genres, such as administrative texts. This situation was complemented by the phenomenon of European francophonie, which peaked in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The functional and symbolic uses of French formed a scale from predominantly functional on the one hand, as for example in business correspondence with partners in France, to mostly symbolic on the other, as in the use of French lexical items for long-established and relatively frequent Dutch words, for example *resideren* for *wonen* 'reside'. Often, the functional and symbolic uses are not clearly distinguishable: writing private letters or diaries in French, or using a French loanword instead of a common Dutch word can also be a conventional choice, i.e., functional in circles where French was commonly used — circles, in other words, with a significant degree of societal and individual bi- or multilingualism.

Both the functional and the symbolic uses of French attract metalinguistic commentary in the Early and Late Modern Netherlands. Over time, language-ideological conflicts become increasingly symbolic themselves, but the functional use of French remains present, and reemerges as the dominant purpose in the nineteenth century.

Our language-ideological analysis has focused on five conflict sites indicating the various occasions where Dutch and French came into contact, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, focusing on five different perspectives:

1. the social embedding of the conflict;
2. the geographical embedding;
3. the cultural context and identity work involved;
4. the linguistic embedding;
5. the dominant semiotic processes involved (Irvine & Gal 2000).

These perspectives undergo changes, and the eighteenth century is often the turning point.

The social embedding of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century purism is strongly determined by specific genres and registers, or by certain social groups and communities. A significant change happens around 1700, when the international cultural scene is the main point of reference. Later in the eighteenth century, the social embedding is restricted again, settling at the national level. The geographical embedding shows a similar pattern from local and supralocal communities to the international Republic of Letters around 1700 and settling at the national level by 1800. The national orientation remains dominant in the nineteenth century.

The broader cultural context and the identities involved also change over time. Multilingual communities performing academic and literary practices are at the heart of the language debates in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when functional reasons often motivate the choice for French loanwords and/or the use of the French language generally. The short-lived period of internationalism around 1700 also marks the concentration on the Dutch literary tradition, which evolves in the broader approach of cultural nationalism in the course of the eighteenth century. By 1800, the social, geographical, and cultural perspectives thus converge in a view of a Dutch community, living in the Netherlands, with the Dutch language as one of its main characteristics.

The linguistic embedding of the conflict sites concerns both contact-induced changes, in particular loanwords, and language choice, viz. the use of French instead of Dutch in certain domains and genres. Again, the eighteenth century displays a change towards a national perspective, and focuses on the Dutch language as such, and on its role in Dutch society. This reconceptualisation of Dutch as the national language comes with important semiotic changes: the iconisation of Dutch implies the erasure of French. This does not lead to a battle against French, but multilingualism becomes questionable and is relegated to functionality. In the nineteenth century, French is a functional foreign language for some, just like German and English.

Language choice and language shift

European francophonie is manifest in the many cultural connections between the Dutch and French language areas, for example through the consumption of French texts, and the wide dissemination of translations from French, but it also coincided with migration from French-dominant areas. An important generalisation based on migration and settlement data from people originating from French-dominant territory concerns the broad geographical division in the Netherlands. French-dominant migrants and their institutions and practices can

be found anywhere in the Netherlands, but more in the west and the south than in the east and the north.

Our analyses of language choice have revealed a gradual increase in monolingual Dutch over time, which was already the majority choice in the sixteenth century. There is a great deal of variation, however, against the background of this general trend. A first observation concerns the difference between the public and the private domain as founded on a comparison of newspapers, pamphlets, and ego-documents. The public domain is more strongly biased towards monolingual production, whereas bilingual and multilingual sources are more common in the private domain.

A second observation is about gender. Private ego-documents written by women display more multilingualism than those written by men, if calculated by the number of documents not written in monolingual Dutch. Male authors generally used a wider spectrum of languages than women, for example because Latin and Greek are more likely to occur in text written by men. French is one of the languages increasingly used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and particularly by women. Similar patterns were found in the sizeable collection of private letters from family archives. Here, too, Dutch is the dominant choice throughout the centuries, while a peak in the use of French can be found in the eighteenth century, particularly in the second half. The increase in the use of French was stronger in private letters written by women. In fact, the gender dimension is even more important: the likelihood of French being used increases whenever a woman is involved in the communicative setting, i.e., either as sender or as addressee. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century business correspondence from four families, Dutch was again the dominant choice, but French was also widely used, and women even preferred French in their business letters.

A third observation concerns region. We have established different layers in the historical linguistic landscape of the Netherlands, which partially echo the migration and settlement patterns of French-dominant groups. The domain of Public Opinion shows a historical bilingual Dutch-Latin landscape in the Netherlands. To this, a French layer is added from the seventeenth century onwards. This French layer is largely restricted to the Holland/Utrecht area and the city of Maastricht in the south, i.e., the west and the south are more likely to undergo French influence. Similarly, the use of French emerges in ego-documents over time and partially replaces Latin. The use of French is most prominent in the Holland area in the west and in the city of Maastricht in the south, and also occurs among the eastern nobility. Similar patterns were found in the private letters from family archives. A low proportion of French characterises the northern parts of the Netherlands, whereas relatively high proportions of French were found in the west, especially in Holland, and in the city of Maastricht in the south.

The case studies of language choice show considerable variation between texts, individuals, and families. This becomes particularly clear in the case study of business correspondence, where the overall patterns resemble other results, namely roughly 70% Dutch and more than 20% French, while the differences between families are also remarkable. We therefore delved into the Luzac family archive in Chapter 7, in which we show the interplay of societal and individual multilingualism in cases of language choice and shift. While the family clearly displays the typical shift from French to Dutch over the generations, the actual patterns that emerge from the archives are more complex, with other languages, such as Latin, coming into play, and a relatively long presence of French due to the functions of French in Dutch society generally and to the activities of the family members in publishing a French newspaper, in particular.

Established contact-induced phenomena: Three waves

There is no consensus about the point in time or period of so-called frenchification in the scarcely available research literature on the Dutch-French contact situation. Our results for the so-called established contact features (loan suffixes and loanwords) suggest that three partially overlapping waves can be distinguished based on the relative frequency of established French-origin items. Frenchification would then refer to cases of a relatively high frequency of established French-origin items, and de-frenchification or dutchification to the reversal. Conceptualised as such, a first wave of frenchification occurs in the administrative domains from the sixteenth century onwards and a second, additional wave of frenchification in the non-administrative domains in the eighteenth century. A third wave of dutchification characterises the nineteenth century and occurs across the social domains. The three waves apply to normalised token and type frequencies and are particularly discernible at the level of the corpus, although not necessarily at the level of individual domains or words.

There is an important distinction between administrative and non-administrative domains, although substantial differences exist within these categories. Rather than a clear distinction, the frequency of French-origin items forms a scale with the administrative domains of Academy and Charity at the one end, and the non-administrative domain of Literature at the other end, and with the other domains in between. Economy and Religion tend towards the administrative end, and Public Opinion and especially Private Life towards the non-administrative pole. This also means that the overall diachronic pattern is not found in each domain to the same extent. The pattern is strongest in the administrative domains closest to the high-frequency end of the scale.

Lexical diversity is highest in the non-administrative domains, where there is more room for different topics. The administrative domains are thematically more consistent. This difference in lexical diversity applies to loan suffixes as well as to loanwords. The use of French loanwords in the domain of Private Life reveals an interesting combination of characteristics in the first half of the eighteenth century. This period shows a peak in the use of French loanwords, both for tokens and for types. It seems important that a high number of these loanwords are recent borrowings, dating back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Furthermore, many of these loanwords are associated with family relationships, elite culture, and polite behaviour. In other words, a variety of recent loanwords are adopted in the domain of Private Life in the years 1700–1749. It seems likely that this situation triggered much of the anti-French discourse of the time. While much larger numbers of loanwords occur in the administrative domains, since late medieval times, the eighteenth century witnesses the use of French vocabulary for 'personal and family experiences' (Matras 2022: 601). Nonetheless, for a balanced judgment it should be kept in mind that the overall proportion of French-origin items is 6% if based on all possibly French loanwords and only 3% when calculated on the basis of the established French loanwords.

Claimed contact-induced changes

The diachronic distribution of two morphosyntactic phenomena potentially influenced by contact with French (present participle constructions and *w*-relativisers) does not match the general pattern found for loanwords and loan suffixes. Present participle constructions are relatively frequent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, coterminous with the first wave of so-called frenchification, but decrease afterwards and do not display a second wave. The set of *w*-relativisers as a whole reaches the highest proportions in the nineteenth century, at the time of the third wave of de-frenchification or dutchification. Present participle constructions with the three frequent auxiliaries *zijnde* 'being', *wezende* 'being' and *hebbende* 'having' may constitute an exception. Their diachronic pattern, especially in the administrative domains of Academy and Charity, follows the route of established French-origin items. We interpret their distribution across time as evidence of domain-specific contact-induced replica grammaticalisation of a use pattern.

There is more overlap between the established and the claimed contact-induced changes with respect to the distribution across social domains. Like loanwords and loan suffixes, present participle constructions are more frequent in the administrative domains than in the non-administrative domains, while *w*-relativisers occur more often in the administrative domains and in the domain

of Public Opinion, and less or hardly at all in the other two non-administrative domains (Literature and Private Life).

The correlation between various types of *w*-forms and appositive relative clauses, often with a continuative interpretation, suggests that written Latin played a vital role in the promotion of these types of *w*-relatives. We consider this another case of replica grammaticalisation. Thus, the Romance pattern of adopting interrogatives to construct continuative relative clauses, in particular, is replicated in Dutch. Like loanwords and loan suffixes, the use of these continuative relative clauses and of *w*-relativisers became associated with the register of administrative texts, more so than with the register of non-administrative texts. But in contrast to loanword and loan suffixes, this did not occur under the influence of French. Instead, Latin or more general Romance writing traditions seemed to have played a role here, although the exact mechanism is a topic for further research.

Disentangling French and Latin: Romance discourse traditions

It has become clear that it is not always easy to distinguish between French and Latin influences on Dutch, not only in the case of grammatical phenomena but even with respect to loanwords and loan suffixes. The precise route along which a particular word came to be used in Dutch cannot always be determined. Our dataset of Romance loanwords comprises a sizeable number of undetermined items: words for which there is no consensus on the etymology. This problem is only accelerated in the case of grammatical phenomena such as participial phrases and relative pronouns. It may be tempting to consider this a problem of the data: if we had even more extensive datasets and corpora for the history of Dutch, we would certainly be able to establish the origins of these elements.

But the problem may also be theoretical. Perhaps it is our own view of languages as discrete systems that leads to the wish to disentangle French and Latin influence, even in cases where the evidence seems to be pointing in the direction of French/Latin entanglement. Both the participial phrases and the *w*-relativisers provide excellent examples. On the one hand, it can certainly not be excluded that individual language users adopted these forms following, for example, French texts that they had been reading. On the other hand, similar constructions can be found in many Romance languages, including, importantly, Latin. We also know that knowledge of both French and Latin was pervasive in well-educated circles in the Netherlands. There were also multilingual texts, for example in the educational and literary domains, and these were read and interpreted by multilingual readers (Auger & Brammall 2023). The co-occurrence of these grammatical phenomena, along with ACI constructions, in conceptually written language across a

number of European languages may therefore better be seen as a Romance-based discourse tradition, which offers stylistic options specifically for higher registers (Greco 2019). This discourse tradition comprises grammatical elements that characterise various languages, reflecting the multilingual resources used by the multilingual individuals participating in this type of discourse.

An avenue for future research concerns translations: comparing translations from French and Latin sources might reveal differences with respect to the grammatical phenomena under discussion. And if not, this may be seen as evidence of a broad Romance-based discourse tradition, also in the minds of historical writers/translators.

Interaction of ideology, choice, shift, and contact-induced change

The multilingual situation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led to a great deal of metalinguistic commentary, most prominently to a tradition of purism. It is difficult to establish any direct effects of purist wordlists and dictionaries on language use. The influence of specific purist publications was certainly not at the heart of our research. In general, it is difficult to find concrete evidence of an influence of historical metalinguistic discourse (see e.g. Rutten et al. 2014, Lismont 2025). Overall, in the present case, the steady increase of French loanwords across time suggests a near absence of any influence of purism on lexical choices in the domains investigated here. The increasing use of loanwords may have inspired purist discourse, but the other way around seems unlikely.

With respect to language choice, dominant discourses in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries concerned domain-specific language use, and while the emergence of Dutch scholarly publications such as magazines characterises the period, the continued multilingualism within the Republic of Letters demonstrates that the use of multiple languages within one domain was not seen as problematic. The ideological conflict revolved around the underrated position of Dutch, not the overuse of other languages.

Changes set in with the eighteenth century. This is the period with the highest proportion of established contact features, and it is also the period of the rise of the standard language ideology, which is first conceptualised in relationship to citizenship, later in relationship to the nation-state. The sharpest decrease in the use of established contact features is found in the nineteenth century. The eighteenth century thus witnesses both extensive contact phenomena as well as considerable metalinguistic commentary. These are two sides of the same sociolinguistic coin: an intense contact situation. The swiftly intensifying ideology during the eighteenth century along with the slightly slower decrease of loanwords and loan suffixes later in the century and particularly in the nineteenth century suggests

that the national perspective, which is by then implied in the standard language ideology, influences the distribution of established contact phenomena. In other words, the nationalistically inspired dutchification of the period influences the use of loanwords and loan suffixes. At this point, then, ideology steers language use.

Language choice and language shift on the one hand, and contact-induced change on the other, are clearly not of the same sort. Whereas they were seen in multilingual terms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, ideas of purism were absorbed into the standard language ideology in the eighteenth century, leading to the gradual expulsion of loanwords. Domain-specific language choice, however, remained a viable way of life: even in the nineteenth century, knowledge of French (or German or English) was useful for some, and this was acknowledged in contemporary discussions about the role of foreign languages in the educational domain. In sum, the mixture of languages was only partially criticised: whereas individual languages were ideally unmixed, mastering multiple unmixed languages could still be beneficial for particular individuals. As a result, language choice underwent dutchification more slowly when compared to language use.

In previous research, focused on the rise of the Dutch standard language ideology, we argued that a conceptual split marks the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is in this period that the previous state of *diaglossia*, referring to the complete varietal spectrum from local dialects to supraregional writing traditions, is replaced by ideological *diglossia*, i.e. a strict belief in the opposition of standard and non-standard (Rutten 2019: 33–50). The present study shows that this compartmentalisation applies not only to the so-called internal multilingualism of the Dutch language area, but also to the relationship between Dutch and other languages. As a result, only individual multilingualism comprising neatly separated and purified standard languages remains as an acceptable type of multilingualism.

So, was there frenchification?

This is, of course, the question that we did not want to address and that we broke down into chunks: ideology, choice, shift, variation, change. At the same time, we realise that this is also the question that has always been there in the background, throughout the chapters, and perhaps also the question that some readers want to be answered. Let us be bold: if we dare to consider *frenchification* as a neutral label for influence from the French language and/or its users and/or the wider francophone cultural traditions on the Dutch language and/or its users and/or related cultural traditions, then the answer is positive. There was *verfransing* 'frenchification' in the northern Low Countries in the postmedieval period, but it was always very specific: bound to certain domains and registers, to certain groups of users, places and times, and with considerable differences across

the private and public spheres, across language levels, and across language users — and it was almost always a minor influence when compared to the overwhelming presence of Dutch.

The peak of this overall mild form of frenchification clearly lies in the eighteenth century, both with respect to language choice across domains and in terms of contact-induced change, which is in line with the traditional view of Dutch linguistic history. Our analyses of language choice suggest that French was more present in the western parts of the Netherlands, in the Holland and Utrecht areas, and in some of the southern regions (e.g. Maastricht), and less so in the northern parts (e.g. Friesland, Groningen). It is also in the eighteenth century that society and culture, language included, are increasingly seen through a national lens. As in other parts of Europe, functional multilingualism and language mixing became suspicious. In highly politicised contexts, such as the period of linguistic nationalism and the emergence of the standard language ideology from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, language ideology has influenced language use. The eighteenth century thus marks an important step towards monolingualism, both in practice and in discourse (Burke 2004: 49, Bennett 2022: 2).

13.2 Analysing historical multilingualism

With historical multilingualism as one of the key topics in historical sociolinguistics, we briefly summarise here some of the methodological and theoretical decisions we have taken with references to the chapters where they are explained more fully. We hope they will inspire colleagues to set up similar research projects, and that they will foster comparative historical sociolinguistics. Comparing variation and change across language areas and cultural contexts will help formulate generalisations at the abstract level, for example, of the European linguistic culture of the postmedieval period, as opposed to the many language-specific generalisations found in the research literature.

Theoretically, our analysis fits the framework laid out in Krogull & Rutten (2025c), who take the Silversteinian *total linguistic fact* (Silverstein 1985) as their point of departure. They argue that comprehensive analyses of historical multilingualism and language contact should pay attention, first, to the three layers of the total linguistic fact: the linguistic form itself, the use of linguistic forms in specific social contexts, and metalinguistic reflection on forms and on their contexts of use; second, to the interaction of these layers. Krogull & Rutten (2025c) relate this approach to the three central themes also developed in the present book: linguistic forms (i.e., contact-induced changes and supposed contact-induced changes), language in context (i.e., language choice and shift), and language ideology (see

Section 13.1). This framework is general enough to capture the far-reaching variability found in actual historical sources as well as the great diversity of political and sociocultural contexts in European history. Thus, while it was our original aim to develop a comprehensive and more detailed framework for the analysis of multilingualism and contact phenomena in postmedieval Europe, we realised, in the course of our research, that the theoretical and methodological issues that we encountered were often immediately related to our datasets and questions, to the extent that we ourselves even adopted different methodologies for very similar topics, as in the case of our analyses of language choice. We therefore limit ourselves here to an overview of important lessons learned, referring the reader to the relevant chapters for more background.

Analysing historical language ideologies

Historical language ideologies are, of course, variable, and due to their close affinity with cultural and political traditions more generally, they have been analysed from multiple theoretical perspectives. Based on the research literature, we selected five prominent language-ideological conflict sites connected to the Dutch-French contact situation, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Our approach distinguished between five different perspectives in an effort to meaningfully compare these conflict sites (Chapter 3). We focused on the **social embedding** of the conflict in terms of networks, communities and domains, on its **geographical embedding and orientation** (local, national, international), on the wider **cultural context and the related identity work** involved, on the **linguistic embedding** – is the conflict about language choice, or about loanwords, et cetera – and finally, we considered the dominant **semiotic processes** involved (erasure, iconisation, fractal recursivity). This approach enabled us to compare the different conflict sites across time, and to substantiate the important generalisation that the eighteenth century witnessed an ideological reconfiguration fostering monolingualism.

Comparing types of multilingualism

Our results indicate that the use of multilingual repertoires was more prevalent in the private domain than in public domains. This again confirms the value of the historical-sociolinguistic endeavour to uncover ego-documents and other texts related to the private life of historical individuals. But it was the combination of multiple genres from **a variety of domains, public and private**, that enabled us to draw large trends across time and space. The historical multilingual linguistic landscape of the Netherlands was predominantly Dutch/Latin in the six-

teenth and seventeenth centuries, to which French was added in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with some geographical restrictions, however (Chapters 4 and 5). For future research, we therefore recommend a thorough reflection on the type of multilingualism targeted: whereas multilingualism can be assumed for any historical period, its appearance is very different according to **genre, domain, time, and place**. This also means qualitative studies of a smaller scale are ideally contextualised through extensive **quantitative baseline evidence**.

Analysing language choice and shift

Here, we wish to emphasise the importance of **social background** information about the writers of historical documents. Our results confirmed **gender** differences in the use of French, for example. Even more important was our analysis in terms of **sender-addressee dyads**, where the results indicate that language choice in private and business letters strongly depended on these dyads (Chapters 5 and 6). In general, our data suggest a relatively high awareness of linguistic difference among historical language users: language choice is frequently a matter of either-or, although a sizeable number of mixed Dutch-French letters (including 50/50 letters) was found. Qualitative, contextualised analyses of choice and shift were made on the basis of one sizeable, diachronic archive, namely the multilingual archive of one family (Chapter 7). In this case, the **qualitative analysis** provided significant **depth and nuance** to the overall diachronic and geographical patterns established in previous chapters. While family-based multilingual archives present themselves as natural, comprehensive yet manageable empirical sources, their interpretation becomes more valuable against the background of more general patterns in the historical language community.

Analysing contact-induced changes

The value of a diachronic corpus covering multiple centuries need not be argued. An important decision was our focus on social domains within the confines of **one locality** (Leiden). Although prompted by feasibility — comparing multiple localities would arguably also have generated highly relevant results — this approach did enable us to compile a substantial corpus from seven domains important in the history of Leiden. A fundamental distinction was made between **administrative** and **non-administrative** domains (Chapter 8). We furthermore compared **established contact features** (e.g. loanwords) to **claimed contact phenomena** (e.g. participial phrases) on the assumption that the results for the former would inform the interpretation of the latter (Chapters 9–12). We did not distinguish between borrowings and established or bona fide loanwords

(Chapter 9). In operationalising the difficult concept of intensity of the contact situation, we found that it is necessary to distinguish between **intensity during innovation** (i.e., the borrowing process) and **intensity during diffusion** through the community, as the results for these two situations may be opposite (Chapter 9).

The historical Dutch-French contact situation analysed in this book is highly intriguing: it covers multiple centuries, affects communities and social domains in different ways, and involves trade, migration and spoken language contact alongside contact through the written language. There are a huge number of textual materials available, some published, or at least meta-dated, but most of the material is still hidden in archives. We have developed an overview of this fascinating contact situation from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries by taking a sociolinguistic, empirically driven perspective, addressing language choice and shift, contact-induced change, and the extensive language-ideological work underpinning it all. By triangulating multiple datasets, approaches and methodologies, a comprehensive view of this contact situation has emerged, and we have thus reached the end of our *grand tour*.

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This book offers the first comprehensive analysis of the Dutch–French contact situation in the Early and Late Modern period, when the Dutch language and culture supposedly underwent *frenchification* in various spheres of life. Bringing together empirical approaches based on a wide range of datasets, this volume not only delves deeply into an intriguing case study in historical multilingualism and language contact but also offers detailed theoretical and methodological background information on how to analyse such an enduring contact situation from a historical-sociolinguistic perspective. The Dutch–French case is approached from three interrelated angles, focusing on the Netherlands between 1500 and 1900: contact-induced change in historical Dutch, language choice and language shift in the private and the public domain, and language-ideological change.

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