APPENDICES

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1

Pronouns

A. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

FORM	FEATURES	FUNCTION	STATUS
ik	1SG	subject	neutral
ikke	1SG	subject	emphatic
'k	1SG	subject	weak
mij	1SG	object	neutral
me	1SG	object, reflexive	weak
mijn	1SG	possessive	neutral
m'n	1SG	possessive	weak
wij	1PL	subject	neutral
we	1PL	subject	weak
ons	1PL	object, possessive, reflexive	neutral
onze	1PL	possessive	adjectival agreement
jij	2SG	subject	neutral
je	2SG	subject, object, possessive, reflexive	weak
jou	2SG	object	neutral
jouw	2SG	possessive	neutral
jullie	2PL	subject, object, possessive, reflexive	neutral
je	2PL	possessive, reflexive	weak
u	2	subject, object, reflexive	honorific, neutral
uw	2	possessive	honorific, neutral
zich	2	reflexive	honorific, weak
hij	3SG.M 3sg.inan:cg	subject	neutral
ie	3SG.M 3sg.inan:cg	subject	enclitic
hem	3SG.M	object	neutral

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A. (*cont.*)

FORM	FEATURES	FUNCTION	STATUS
'm	3SG.M 3sg.inan:cg	object	weak
zijn	3SG.M	possessive	neutral
z'n	3SG.M 3sg.inan:cg	possessive	weak
zij	3SG.F	subject	neutral
ze	3SG.F	subject	weak
haar	3SG.F	object, possessive	neutral
d'r	3SG.F	object, possessive	weak
het/'t	3SG.INAN:N	subject, object	weak
zij	3PL	subject	neutral
ze	3PL	subject, object	weak
hun	3PL	possessive	neutral
hun	3PL.AN	subject, object	emphatic
hen	3PL.AN	object	written language, neutral
zich	3	reflexive	weak
elkaar (mekaar)	–	reciprocal	neutral
elkaars (mekaars)	–	possessive reciprocal	neutral
men	3	generic subject	neutral

B. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

FORM	FEATURES	DEIXIS	STATUS/FUNCTION	LOCATIVE VARIANT
deze	CG	proximate	neutral	**hier**
die	CG	distal	neutral, anaphoric	**daar**
diegene	HUM	distal	discourse anaphoric	**–**
dit	N	proximate	neutral, cataphoric	**hier**
ditte	N	proximate	emphatic	**–**
dat	N	distal	neutral, anaphoric	**daar**
datte	N	distal	emphatic	**–**
't	N	unmarked	weak	**er**
diens (die z'n)	3SG.M	distal	neutral, possessive	**–**

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B. (*cont.*)

FORM	FEATURES	DEIXIS	STATUS/FUNCTION	LOCATIVE VARIANT
dier (die d'r, die hun)	3SG.F/3PL	distal	neutral, possessive	**–**

C. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

FORM	FEATURES	FUNCTION/STATUS	LOCATIVE VARIANT
wie	AN	unmarked	**waar**
wat	INAN	unmarked	**waar**
watte	INAN	emphatic	**–**
welk(e)	–	attributive (identifying)	**–**
wat voor (een)	–	attributive (kind)	**–**
wiens (wie z'n)	3SG.M	possessive	**–**
wier (wie d'r, wie hun)	3SG.F/3PL	possessive	**–**

D. RELATIVE PRONOUNS

FORM	FEATURES	FUNCTION/STATUS	LOCATIVE VARIANT
die	CG.SG, PL		**waar**
dat	N.SG		**waar**
waar	LOC		**–**
wie	HUM	prepositional complement	**waar**
wiens (wie z'n)	HUM.M	possessor	**–**
wier (wie d'r)	HUM.F	possessor	**–**
wie	CG.SG, PL	free relative	**waar**
wat	UNMARKED	restrictive, appositive, free relative	**waar**

E. QUANTIFIERS

See section 7.4.1.

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2

Adpositions

This survey owes much to Zwarts (1997).

A. SIMPLEX

NB a locative complement is forced when *het* is replaced by *er*, and demonstratives appear in their locative variants; *dir* = directional meaning only.

FORM	CORE MEANING	POSITION	FORCES LOCATIVE?	VERBAL PARTICLE?
aan	touching	pre	yes	yes
bij	in the vicinity	pre	yes	yes
door	through	pre, (dir) post	yes	yes
in	inside	pre, (dir) post	yes	yes
jegens	vis à vis	pre	no	no
langs	along	pre, (dir) post	yes	yes
met	with	pre	yes (**mee**)	yes (**mee**)
na	following	pre	yes	yes
naar	towards	pre	yes	yes (**heen**)
naast	on the side	pre	yes	no
om	around	pre	yes	yes
onder	lower	pre	yes	limited
op	on top	pre, (dir) post	yes	yes
over	on the surface	pre, (dir) post	yes	yes
rond	begin and end point meeting	pre, (dir) post	no	yes
sedert	following a date	pre	no	no
sinds	following a date	pre	no	no
te	at a location	pre	no	no
tegen	opposite	pre	yes	yes
tot	up to	pre	yes (**toe**)	yes (**toe**)

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a. *(cont.)*

FORM	CORE MEANING	POSITION	FORCES LOCATIVE?	VERBAL PARTICLE?
tussen	between	pre	yes	limited
uit	out	pre, (dir) post	yes	yes
van	belonging	pre	yes	yes (**af**)
zonder	without	pre	no	no

B. SIMPLEX, BORROWED

These are all prepositions not forcing locative complements and not used as verbal particles.

à 'at the rate of,' **conform** 'in accordance with,' **contra** 'against,' **exclusief/inclusief** 'excluding/ including,' **per** 'as of, for each *x*,' **qua** 'with respect to, as,' **versus** 'against,' **via** 'by way of.'

C. COMPLEX

(i) **binnen** 'inside,' **buiten** 'outside,' **boven** 'in a higher location,' **beneden** 'in a lower location,' **bezijden** 'to the side of,' **benoorden/beoosten/bezuiden/bewesten** 'north, east, south, west of,' **behalve** 'except.'
These are formed with the applicative prefix *be-*; they are not used as verbal particles, and only *binnen*, *buiten*, and *boven* force locative complements.

(ii) {**voor**, **achter**, **boven**, **onder**} + {**aan**, **in**, **op**}
These are complex prepositions that force locative complements and can be used as verbal particles. Their meaning is compositional.

(iii) **binnen + in** 'inside,' **rond + om** 'around,' **tegen + over** 'opposite'
As (ii).

(iv) **na + bij** 'close to,' **voor + bij** 'beyond'
These complexes are used as prepositions and as postpositions. They force locative complements and can be used as verbal particles.

(v) **achter + na** 'chasing'
This combination is only used as a verbal particle.

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(vi) **van + af** 'from, off', **van + uit** 'from, out of'
These combinations can be used both as prepositions and as circumpositions. They force locative complements but are not used as verbal particles.

(vii) **boven + langs**, **door + heen**, **langs + heen**, **met + mee**, **naar + toe**, **om + heen**, **onder + door**, **onder + langs**, **tegen + op**, **tussen + door**, **tussen + uit**
These are circumpositions forcing locative complements and allowing use as a verbal particle. Their meanings are compositional.

D. DERIVED PREPOSITIONS

These are all prepositions not forcing locative complements and not used as verbal particles.

(i) *Deverbal*
aangaande 'concerning,' **behoudens** 'with a proviso for,' **betreffende** 'concerning,' **blijkens** 'as can be concluded from,' **gedurende** 'during,' **gegeven** 'given,' **getuige** 'witness,' **gezien** 'seen as,' **hangende/staande** 'pending,' **niettegenstaande** 'in spite of,' **ongeacht** 'regardless,' **onverminderd** 'not affecting,' **uitgezonderd** 'except,' **volgens** 'according to,' **wegens** 'because of'

(ii) *Denominal*
krachtens 'on the authority of,' **middels** 'by means of,' **namens** 'on behalf of,' **overeenkomstig** 'in accordance with,' **richting** 'in the direction of,' **tijdens** 'during'

(iii) *Phrasal*
dankzij 'thanks to,' **halverwege** 'half way,' **ingevolge** 'in accordance with,' **inzake** 're:,' **omstreeks** 'around (a time),' **omtrent** 'about,' **vanwege** 'because of'

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3

Auxiliaries and modal verbs

A. AUXILIARIES MARKING THE RELATIVE PAST ('PERFECT')

hebben 'have,' **zijn** 'be'

B. AUXILIARIES MARKING VOICE (PASSIVE)

worden 'become,' **zijn** 'be' (relative past only)

C. MODAL AUXILIARIES

NB this survey is partly based on Barbiers (1995) and IJbema (2002), and refers to the categories distinguished in Cinque (1999).

	KUNNEN	MOGEN	MOETEN	ZULLEN	WILLEN
PROBABILITY	▮	▮	▮	*4*	▮
FUTURE	▮	▮	▮	–	▮
NECESSITY	▮	▮	*4*	*4*	▮
POSSIBILITY	*4*	*4*	▮	▮	▮
HABITUAL	▮	▮	▮	▮	*4*
VOLITIONAL	▮	*1*	*1*	*1*	*1*
OBLIGATION	*2, 3*	*3*	*2, 3*	*2, 3*	▮
PERMISSION	*2, 3*	*2*	▮	▮	▮
ABILITY	*1*	▮	▮	▮	▮

NB **hoeven** is used for *moeten* under negation.

The numbers refer to the modal interpretations distinguished in Barbiers (1995): dispositional (*1*), directed deontic (*2*), nondirected deontic (*3*), and probability (*4*). The modal verbs all take bare infinitival complements (without *te*), except *hoeven* (which takes *te* when finite).

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D. ASPECTUAL AUXILIARIES

(i) **gaan** 'go,' **komen** 'come,' **blijven** 'keep,' **zijn** 'be'
The first two have a prospective reading; *blijven* entails continued activity; *zijn* is used for the absentive (on the absentive, see De Schutter 1974b, De Groot 1995, Haslinger 2007). These verbs all combine with a bare infinitive (without *te*).

(ii) **staan** 'stand,' **zitten** 'sit,' **liggen** 'lie down,' **lopen** 'walk'
These postural verbs all express durativity. They combine with an infinitive with *te*, except when they are themselves nonfinite, in which case *te* may be left out.

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4

Verbs taking infinitival complements

This survey is based on Den Besten *et al*. (1988), Rutten (1991), IJbema (2002), and Ter Beek (2008).

A. VERBS GIVING RISE TO CLUSTERING ('VERB RAISING')

(i) the modal and aspectual auxiliaries (Appendix 3)

(ii) Exceptional Case-Marking verbs
perception verbs: **horen** 'hear,' **voelen** 'feel,' **vinden** 'find,' **zien** 'see,' (marginally) **ruiken** 'smell'
causative verbs: **doen** 'do,' **laten** 'let'
These verbs combine with a bare infinitive (without *te*).

(iii) Verbs triggering raising-to-subject
beloven 'promise' (nonagentive), **blijken** 'turn out,' **dreigen** 'threaten' (nonagentive), **lijken** 'appear,' **schijnen** 'seem'
These verbs combine with an infinitive with *te*.

(iv) Control verbs
(be)horen 'ought to', **weten** 'manage', **zien** 'succeed'
These verbs combine with an infinitive with *te*.

The verbs in (i)–(iv) all show the IPP effect (replacement of the past participle by the infinitive) and transparency of the embedded clause ('restructuring').

B. VERBS APPEARING IN THE THIRD CONSTRUCTION

NB verbs marked *a* also allow verb raising (i.e. optionally show the IPP effect); note that all verbs listed here also allow extraposition of their infinitival complement (which may then feature the complementizer *om*, with the exception of the verbs in (vii) and (viii)).

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(v) Implicative control verbs
helpen[a] 'help,' **leren**[a] 'learn,' **vergeten** 'forget,' **verleren** 'unlearn,' **vermijden** 'avoid,' **verzuimen** 'fail,' **wagen**[a] 'dare,' **weigeren**[a] 'refuse'

(vi) Irrealis control verbs
aanraden 'recommend', **adviseren** 'advise', **begeren** 'yearn', **beloven** 'promise' (agentive), **beogen** 'intend', **besluiten** 'decide', **bevelen** 'order', **dreigen** 'threaten' (agentive), **dwingen** 'force', **eisen** 'demand', **gebieden** 'command', **gelasten** 'impose', **opdragen** 'order', **pogen**[a] 'endeavor', **proberen**[a] 'try', **trachten**[a] 'make an effort', **verbieden** 'prohibit', **verlangen** 'desire', **verplichten** 'oblige', **verzoeken** 'request', **voorschrijven** 'prescribe', **voorstellen** 'propose', **vragen** 'ask', **wensen**[a] 'wish'

(vii) Propositional control verbs
beweren 'claim', **denken**[a] 'think', **geloven** 'believe', **hopen** 'hope', **menen**[a] 'think', **verklaren** 'state', **vertellen** 'tell', **verwachten** 'expect', **vrezen** 'fear', **zeggen** 'say'

(viii) other control verbs
beginnen[a] 'begin', **durven**[a] 'dare'

C. VERBS APPEARING ONLY WITH EXTRAPOSED INFINITIVAL COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

(ix) without the complementizer *om*
begrijpen 'understand', **bemerken** 'notice', **beseffen** 'realize', **inzien** 'realize', **ontdekken** 'discover', **zich realiseren** 'realize', **veronderstellen** 'suppose', **verwijten** 'reproach', **voelen** 'sense', **weten** 'know'

(x) with *om*, optionally linked to a pronoun *het*
betreuren 'regret', **brengen tot** 'persuade' (NB *tot het* > *er toe*), **haten** 'hate', **zich herinneren** 'remember', **irriteren** 'irritate', **lukken** 'succeed', **opgeven** 'give up', **ophouden over** 'stop talking about' (NB *over het* > *er over)*, **verafschuwen** 'abhor'

(xi) with *om*, without *het*
aansporen 'urge,' **toestaan** 'allow,' **uitnodigen** 'invite'

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5

Verbal inflection

A. SUBJECT AGREEMENT

SUFFIX	PRESENT	PAST	IMPERATIVE	OTHER	NOTES
-	1SG, 2SG.INV	SG	SG		
-t	2SG, 3SG		PL		**-** with modal verbs
-en	PL	PL		INF	= [ə]

B. TENSE MARKING

TENSE	REGULAR	IRREGULAR/MODALS	*BE*
present	- -	- -	- -
past	-**d/t-**	Ablaut	suppletion

C. FORMATION OF THE RELATIVE PAST ('PERFECT')

BASIC PATTERN

AUXILIARY	PARTICIPLE
hebben 'have' / *zijn* 'be'	**ge** + ROOT + -**d/t**

DEVIATIONS

1. *ge-* is absent with verbs starting in *ge-/be-/her-/ont-/ver-* and with verbs starting with inseparable (unstressed) particle prefixes (e.g. *door*^{2}*lo*^{4}*pen*^{1} 'browse', *on*^{2}*der*^{2}*bou*^{4}*wen*^{1} 'support, back up')
2. with irregular verbs, *-d/t* may be replaced by *-en*
3. with irregular verbs, the root may be taken from the past tense paradigm (e.g. *zoeken* 'seek': *zoeken-zocht-gezocht*) or show its own Ablaut form (e.g. *nemen* 'take': *nemen-nam-genomen*) or suppletive form (e.g. *zijn* 'be': *zijn-was-geweest*)

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