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**Geert Booij**, *The morphology of Dutch*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Pp. xii + 253.

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This book is the first general introduction to the morphology of Dutch to be published in English. It not only provides a thorough description of the morphology of Dutch, but also raises interesting theoretical issues such as the nature of word-formation processes and the interaction of morphology with syntax, phonology and semantics.

The book is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 guides the reader through some word-formation processes (affixing, compounding and paradigmatic word formation). The basic assumption is that morphological operations apply to the underlying phonological form of the stem of a word. Consider in this respect the fact that even though the verbal stem *red* 'save' ends in the voiced sound /d/, this form never surfaces in isolation. When no morpheme is attached to the stem, a phonological rule applies that devoices final obstruents and the result is the surface form [ret]. If a vowel-initial morpheme is added to the stem (e.g. *-er*, to form a noun that refers to the subject of the verb), the phonological rule mentioned above does not apply and the voiced sound appears (as in *redder* [rɛdər] 'one who saves, saviour'). Booij assumes that productive morphological processes (i.e. processes by which the lexicon in the language can be extended in a systematic way on the basis of patterns of relationships between existing words) have the form of templates in which the base-slot is open and to which a specific meaning is assigned. Thus, the template [V + er]<sub>N</sub> expresses the fact that there is a class of nouns of the form 'verb stem plus *-er*' that has the meaning 'one who Vs'. Apart from affixation, chapter 1 also discusses paradigmatic word formation devices such as affix substitution, back formation and affix extraction.

Chapter 2 examines the inflectional system of Dutch. Booij distinguishes between inherent inflection – which adds morphosyntactic properties with an independent semantic value to stems – and contextual inflection – which does not add information but is required by the syntactic context. The inflectional category 'number' is, thus, an example of inherent inflection. There are two plural morphemes in Dutch and the author points out that the choice of the affix depends on the following output condition: 'a plural noun ends in a trochee' (24). For this reason, stems ending in an unstressed syllable select the plural morpheme *-s*, which was historically used in Germanic dialects along the North Sea coast, whereas stems ending in a stressed syllable select the more continental Germanic plural morpheme *-en* (cf. *kánon-s* 'canons' vs. *kanón-en* 'guns'). Exceptions are stems that end in *-s* which have *-en* plural forms (*cúrsus-en* 'courses'), borrowings that keep the plural form of the source language (e.g. *jeep-s* 'id.' from English and *collegae* 'colleagues' from Latin) and particular nouns that refer to persons. Moreover, it is interesting to note that nouns ending in certain suffixes may also select a specific plural ending; this is the case with the deadjectival suffix schwa (i.e. *-e*), for example, which selects *-en* rather than *-s* (e.g. [*de* [[[*goed*]<sub>A</sub>]-*e*]<sub>N</sub>-*en*]<sub>N</sub>NP vs. \**de goed-e-s* 'the good persons'). Booij proposes that in the regular cases, the choice between the plural affixes *-en* and *-s* is made on the basis of prosodic output constraints formulated within the framework of Optimality Theory (viz. the conditions that feet are maximally disyllabic and that syllables must be parsed into feet, both of which outrank the condition that feet are minimally disyllabic).

Prenominal adjectives may have the form 'stem + schwa', except when the stem ends in schwa + n (cf. *een blauw-e deur* 'a blue door' vs. *een open deur* 'an open door'). Booij accounts for this phenomenon by formulating a condition which says that prenominal adjectives should end in a trochee. A hypothetical form like *opene* (with two schwa-syllables) would violate the condition that the word should end in a trochee, and Booij provides an optimality theoretic tableau with prosodic output constraints to illustrate this point (46). However, his optimality account does not work for the examples that he himself provides, which have stems ending in schwa + r or schwa + m, which always get inflectional schwa, despite the fact that the output

conditions suggested by Booij would penalize such forms. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, any other prenominal adjective ending in a sequence of schwa plus another consonant also gets inflectional schwa (e.g. *een vervelende jongen* 'a tiresome boy'). Thus, the condition that prenominal adjectives should end in a trochee reflects a tendency rather than a true condition and Booij's constraint-based metrical account does not work for all prenominal adjectives in Dutch. The correct generalization is that inflectional schwa appears unless the stem ends in schwa + n (which may be attributed to the fact that this final /n/ is not pronounced, so that the word in question already ends in schwa). Booij proposes that of the two allomorphs for prenominal adjectives, viz. schwa and the null allomorph, the latter is only available after [ən].

Booij also provides an analysis of the nominalizing suffix *-e* (as in *de zeer rijk-e* 'the very rich one') and of partitive constructions. The chapter ends with a detailed account of verbal inflection and a discussion of the distinction between inflection and derivation. An important observation is that certain cases of inflection may feed word formation. For example, plural nouns may be used before the derivational suffixes *-dom* and *-achtig* (cf. *helden* 'heroes' vs. *heldendom* 'heroism') and nominal phrases with an inflectional prenominal adjective may be part of a compound (e.g. [[[*blot-e*]<sub>A</sub> [*vrouwen*]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> *blad*]<sub>N</sub> 'nude women magazine'). The theoretical consequences of this observation for the morphology of Dutch are addressed in chapter 4.

Chapter 3 is concerned with derivation. The author shows that even though all suffixes determine the lexical category of the output word in Dutch, the Righthand Head Rule (Williams 1981) is not without exceptions for Dutch morphology, because the nominalizing prefix *ge-* and a number of verbalizing prefixes are category-determining (cf. *dijk* 'dike' vs. *be-dijk* 'to provide with a dike'). Non-native suffixes only attach to non-native stems and native suffixes may attach to both non-native and native stems. Booij does not assume level-ordering to account for affix combinations, but proposes instead that the features [-native] and [+native] percolate from the so-called 'category determining affixes' to the dominating node. Consider in this respect the fact that the native prefix *on-* ('un-') does not determine the lexical category of the resulting word and, for this reason, the feature [+native] will not percolate. Hence, when this prefix is attached to the non-native adjective *grammaticaal*, the dominating node will still bear the feature [-native], so that it is still possible to attach the non-native nominalizing suffix *-iteit* to form *ongrammaticaliteit* 'ungrammaticality'.

In this chapter, Booij goes on to discuss and defend the hypothesis that the meaning of a complex word is a compositional function of the meaning of its parts. The chapter ends with a discussion of conversion, i.e. the process of forming a new word without any phonological change in the base word.

Chapter 4 is concerned with Dutch nominal, adjectival, verbal and numeral compounds and it is argued that these are all right-headed. The non-head position may be taken by the stem of a lexical category, by prepositions, quantifiers or phrases. For instance, in Dutch nominal compounds, the non-head can be a phrase in which an adjective is inflected (e.g. [[[*oud-e*]<sub>A</sub> [*mannen*]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>NP</sub> [*huis*]<sub>N</sub> 'old men's house'), a plural noun (e.g. [[[*huis-en*]<sub>N</sub>] [*rij*]] 'row of houses') or a verbal infinitive followed by a linking phoneme (e.g. [[*et-en*]<sub>S</sub>] [*tijd*]] 'eating time'). According to Booij (146), the existence of such examples and the fact that they illustrate productive processes imply that syntactic rules such as adjective-noun agreement must be allowed to apply within compounds, thus indicating that the morphological module, which defines the set of well-formed words, and the syntactic module, which defines the set of well-formed phrases and sentences, are unordered and apply simultaneously.

If one word-formation process presupposes another, Booij assumes a template with two open slots (e.g. [A [N-ig]<sub>A</sub>]<sub>A</sub> for [*blauw*]<sub>A</sub> [*og<sub>N</sub>-ig*]<sub>A</sub> 'blue eyed' alongside [[Q] [N-ig]<sub>A</sub>]<sub>A</sub> for *éénogig* 'having one eye' and [[N][V-er]<sub>N</sub>]<sub>N</sub> for *houthakker* 'woodchopper'). By means of such templates, the fact that two independent word-formation patterns co-occur can be expressed without the complications that a level-ordering approach would give rise to.

Chapter 5 addresses the morphological and phonological structure of Dutch suffixed words and compounds (although the running heads mistakenly read 'The interface of morphology and syntax'). In order to account for the phonetic realization of complex words, the author distinguishes between cohering suffixes, which form a prosodic word with their stem (e.g. *-ig* in *rood-ig* [ro:.dix] 'reddish'), and non-cohering suffixes, which form a prosodic word of their own (e.g. *-achtig* in *rood-achtig* [ro:t] [axtəx]) 'similar to red'). Among other things, Booij illustrates the fact that gapping of identical material may occur in words with non-cohering suffixes and in compounds (cf. the impossible \**rood-en blauwig* vs. grammatical *rood-en blauwachtig* 'red and

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blue like' and *ijs- en bruine beren* 'polar bears and brown bears'). In these cases, one of two identical prosodic words – rather than grammatical words – is omitted. The chapter also has a fascinating section on allomorphy.

Chapter 6 investigates the interaction of morphology and syntax. The author discusses cases where a morphological process affects the syntactic valency of words (e.g. the verbal prefix *be-* creates obligatorily transitive verbs) as well as a number of word combinations with a specific meaning, which implies that they are not generated by the syntactic module, but rather by the morphological component of the grammar (e.g. [*aan [het [V-infinitive]]*] as in *aan het zwemmen* 'swimming').

Chapter 7 provides a brief overview of general conclusions concerning the architecture of the grammar that can be drawn on the basis of the discussions in the preceding chapters. Finally, there is a list of references, an index of subjects, an index of authors and an index of affixes.

The merit of the book is that it not only introduces basic concepts, explains terminology and offers a detailed description of the morphology of Dutch, but also provides interesting analyses that contribute to the ongoing discussion on morphological issues.

#### REFERENCE

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