Playing the Verb

A Literary-Linguistic Perspective on Verb Variation in Early Modern Dutch Prose

Verbs are almost indispensable elements of texts. In the long seventeenth century, a period in which the standards of language were still in flux, they appeared in wide variety, resulting in a type of language variation that has rarely been addressed before: intra-author variation. This dissertation is a collection of four papers that deal with several forms of intra-author variation in verbs from a literary-linguistic perspective.

The study argues intra-author variation to be a phenomenon that falls to a large extent in the interface between (socio)linguistics and literary studies. Through the works of four historical individuals, the book opens a window onto the complex political, religious, and cultural context in which authors participated, highlighting the use of verbs as a device to take part in the dynamic society of the long seventeenth century. The study includes the language of authors of a high literary polish and those who had barely any training but for whom texts were an essential means in striving for religious, political and professional impact.

An important result is that despite differences in writing skills, education, social position, and professional occupation, all four individuals played the verb. Verbs provided a strategy to facilitate the interpretation of their texts, both in the content and the structure of these texts. The authors used verbs as a demarcating tool, making a text unit stand out and imbue it with meaning in a certain way.
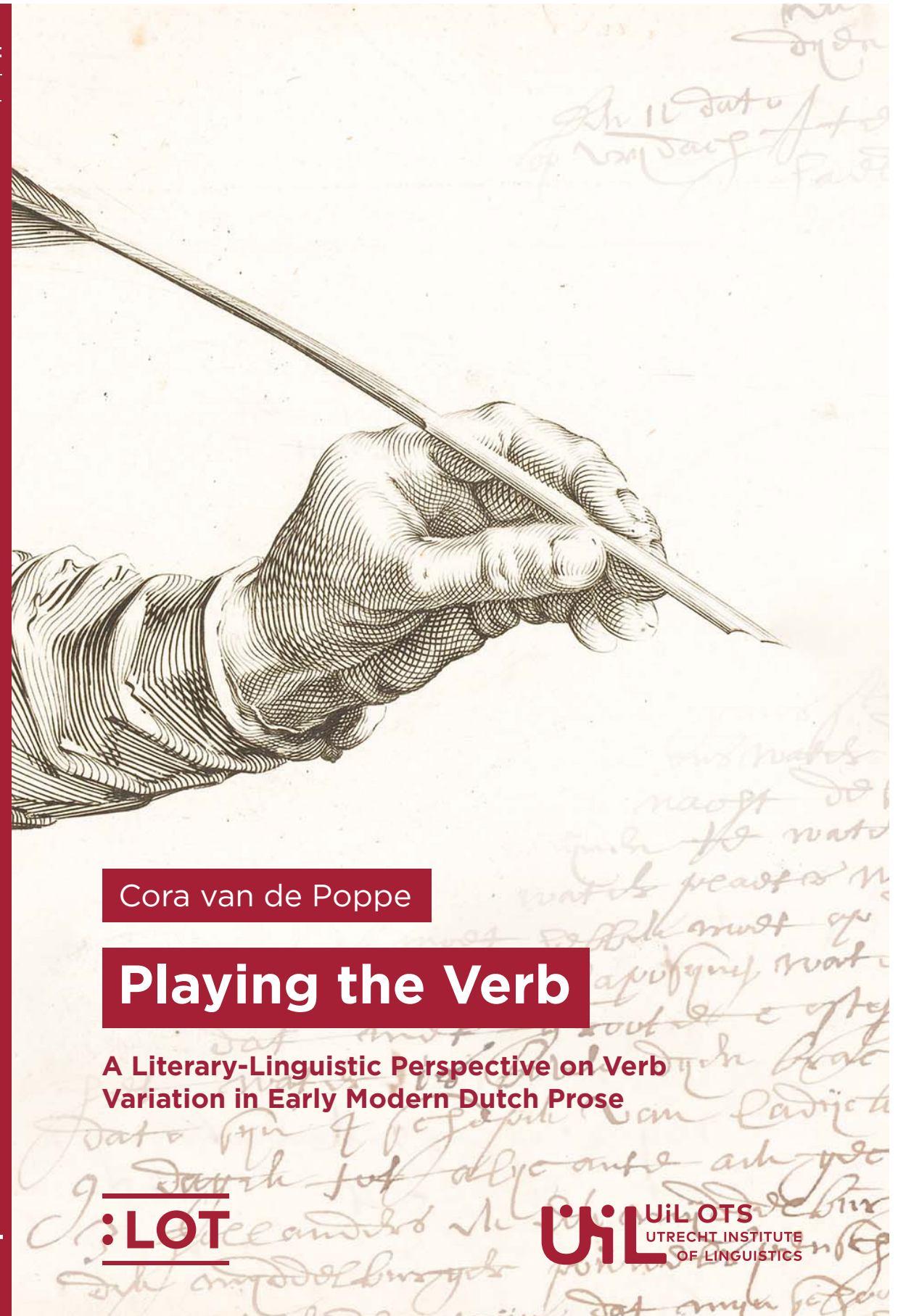
Cora van de Poppe   Playing the Verb

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WERKWOORDSPEL
Een literair-taalkundig perspectief
op werkwoordvariatie in vroegmodern Nederlands proza
(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

Proefschrift

door

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INTRODUCTION

1. Verb variation in an interdisciplinary perspective

This dissertation reveals how Dutch authors of the long seventeenth century used a variety of verbs in the construction of their texts.[1] I proceed from the assumption that verbs are almost indispensable elements of texts because they represent actions and feelings and locate them in time. They are, moreover, illustrative of language's richness, as they come in all forms and shapes. When using verbs, authors not only have a wide array of lexical options at their disposal but also make grammatical choices with regard to tense, aspect, and mood. Because of the endless variational possibilities of verbs, we can them consider to be not only essential but also exciting devices for writing: verbs are crucial for linguistic performance, serving as vehicles to report events and as bearers of narratological meaning. Authors can 'play' verbs to shape the message they want to convey.[2] This dissertation explores and explains how verb variation functioned as a literary, socio-cultural, and communicative instrument within a society very much devoted to the written word: the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, which nourished a thriving textual culture.[3]

This central research question is strongly bound up with the scholarly ambition of my dissertation: I aim here to explore the possibilities afforded by interdisciplinary research at the crossroads of literary studies and linguistics.[4] This

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[1] For this dissertation, I consider the long seventeenth century as a timeframe running from the emergence of the Dutch Republic seceding from Spanish-Habsburg rule to, barely a century later, the point when its flourishing and its overall power began to wane due to continuous armed conflicts with other nations. See also Section 6 below.

[2] Laurel J. Brinton, 'Historical Discourse Analysis', in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis, 2,* ed. by Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), pp. 222–43 (p. 227).

[3] Helmer J. Helmers, 'Popular Participation and Public Debate', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age,* ed. by Helmers and Janssen, pp. 124–46 (p. 141).

[4] The rather strict distinction between literary studies and linguistics that we know today has its origin in the second half of the twentieth century. See: Ton Anbeek and Arie Verhagen, 'Over stijl', *Neerlandistiek.nl,* 01.01 (2001), 1–26 (p. 4). Previously, and notably in the stylistic-syntactic research by Gerrit Overdiep (1885–1944), literary studies and linguistics had been more intertwined. See e.g.: Gerrit S. Overdiep, *Syntaxis en Stilistiek, Verzamelde opstellen over*

dissertation pinpoints where the promising opportunities for a joint line of research lie, and how scholars from both fields can join forces – methodologically and theoretically – to develop new perspectives on the toolbox available to early modern authors for the shaping of their messages. I will explore the methodological and practical implications of an interdisciplinary line of research by studying a specific type of language variation: the phenomenon of *intra-author variation.* The term refers to an individual author's alternation between (more or less) interchangeable linguistic items.[5] The crossing of disciplinary boundaries can help account for this type of language variation that – in contrast to research on group language use – has been fairly overlooked in research on historical Dutch.[6] Preliminary research on this type of language variation indicates that variation within texts and authors is embedded within literary-cultural contexts.[7] We may thus expect an interdisciplinary approach to be particularly fruitful here in this area of language variation. From a linguistic perspective, the study of verbs within a literary-cultural framework augments

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taal- en letterkunde, II, ed. by Gustaaf A. van Es (Antwerp: N. V. Standaard-Boekhandel, 1948).

[5] The concept intra-author variation has been introduced in: Marjo van Koppen and Feike Dietz, 'Vrije Competitie GW: *Language Dynamics in the Dutch Golden Age'* (2016). Previously, sociolinguistic work had theorised intra-individual variation as stylistic or intra-*speaker* variation, thus mainly focusing on variation in spoken language. See: Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy*, Sociolinguistic Styles* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), p. 30 (Figure 1.7). Only recently has intra-individual language variation, under the label of intra-*writer* variation, become a major trend in historical sociolinguistic research. Consider, as an example of this new development, the Historical Sociolinguistics Network 2021 conference 'Intra-writer variation in historical sociolinguistics'.

[6] Sociolinguistic studies usually work with data from a speech community rather than from a linguistic individual (consider as an example the *Letters as Loot project* [2008–13, Leiden University]; see also Section 4), but occasionally also include individuals and their cultural and sociolinguistic embedment in research on historical Dutch. See e.g. Marijke J. van der Wal, *Koopmanszoon Michiel Heusch op Italiëreis. Brieven van het thuisfront, 1664–1665* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2019). Linguistic individuals, however, have featured more prominently in research on historical English. Consider as example the work of Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade on stylistic differences between variants in the language of individuals in *The Auxiliary Do in Eighteenth-Century English. A Sociohistorical-Linguistic Approach* (Dordrecht: Foris Publications, 1987) and *In Search of Jane Austen. The Language of the Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[7] Research in historical linguistics, and notably on historical English, has shown how literary-cultural factors such as genre, style, and textual tradition are important contexts for accounting for language variation within individual authors and/or individual texts. See e.g. Marcelle Cole on 'textual variation' in 'Pronominal anaphoric strategies in the West Saxon dialect of Old English', *English Language and Linguistics* 21.2 (2017), 381–408 (p. 396).

scholarly knowledge about the extralinguistic factors that interact with language use: in addition to social factors, writing traditions and persuasive considerations (e.g. the practice of abundant variation, the striving for clarity in expression) may also provide incentives for authors to vary their language. From a literary-cultural perspective, moreover, the focus on a text's grammatical items and the variation employed may raise awareness that texts were frequently framed not only as rhetorically but also as grammatically refined instruments of persuasion. Such an approach, furthermore, can offer insights into the sorts of figures who used these strategies (linguistic innovators, along with those who did not – openly – participate in language debates) and how, precisely, this kind of grammatical persuasion works.

Four case studies, each of which has already been published as an independent article, will illustrate this interdisciplinary approach to intra-author variation in verbs. Before getting to them, I will first discuss the scholarly debates on (linguistic) form in which this dissertation is rooted and introduce the main principles informing the analyses of the case studies. Section 2 will illustrate how language and literature are intertwined through a historical example, while Sections 3 and 4 discuss modern scholarship on language and literature: Section 3 examines the study of form and language within the domain of literary studies, and Section 4 focuses on the study of variation in linguistics. Based on the explorations of form and variation in literary studies and linguistics, Section 5 introduces this dissertation's methodology on variation within the verbal domain. Section 6 introduces the four case studies.

2. Studying language and literature in symbiosis: An example

My ambition to reunite literary and linguistic studies is inspired by the historical intertwinement of language and literature. Indeed, within the vibrant cultural atmosphere of early modern Dutch society, language and literature existed in symbiosis.[8] The first printed grammar of Dutch, *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche*

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[8] Language and literature were central not only to early modern Dutch society but to Renaissance culture at large. See, on early modern Dutch society: Theo Hermans, 'The World of Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age,* ed. by Helmer J. Helmers and Geert H. Janssen (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 289–307 (p. 289). See, on Renaissance culture: Lodi Nauta, 'Introduction', in *Language and*

letterkunst (*Dialogue on Dutch Grammar*, 1584), highlights this reciprocity. This grammar was drawn up by the members of a literary society, the Amsterdam Chamber of Rhetoric the Eglantine.[9] Its preface, by the prominent man of letters Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert (1522–1590), celebrates the vernacular ('de sprake') as a proper vehicle for interpersonal exchange.[10] The *Twe-spraack* is recommended as a means whereby the Dutch language would be further elevated and transformed into a means of social and intellectual expression.[11]

Modern scholarship has largely overlooked this historical symbiosis between language and literature. Linguists and literary historians alike have studied the rising status of the vernacular and its incidence in early modern discourses, but, particularly since the 1960s scholars, have usually operated from distinct disciplinary angles.[12] Literary historians view the linguistic endeavours of literary authors such as Coornhert as representative of the public role they sought for themselves as agents of moral,

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Cultural Change. Aspects of the Study and Use of Language in the Later Middle Ages and the Renaissance, ed. by Lodi Nauta, Groningen Studies in Cultural Change, XXIV (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), pp. ix–xiii (p. ix).

[9] An overview of grammars is given in: Nicoline van der Sijs, *Taal als mensenwerk: het ontstaan van het ABN* (The Hague: Sdu Uitgevers, 2004), p. 414ff. The members of the Eglantine were not the first to study the Dutch vernacular. See: Alisa van de Haar, 'Every language has its laws – Rhetoricians and the study of the Dutch vernacular', *Renaissance Studies,* 32.1 (2018), 121–39.

[10] Dirk Volkertszoon Coornhert, 'Voorreden', in Hendrik Laurenszoon Spiegel, *Twe-spraack. Rugh-bewerp. Kort begrip. Rederijck-kunst,* ed. by W. J. H. Caron (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1962), pp. 6–9 (p. 6: '[die] de menschen verzelt verenicht ende te zamen kóppelt'). The *Twe-spraack*'s main text also emphasises the vernacular's social and intellectual potential. See, for example, p. 15: 'Ende mochtment óóck nu elckander in ons moeders tale vroet maken […]'. The desire to shape the vernacular's intellectual potential aligns with the Eglantine's overall linguistic-didactic aspirations. See, on the *Twe-spraack* and the Eglantine: Gijsbert Rutten, 'Waarom verscheen de Twe-spraack in 1584?', in *De tuin der talen. Taalstudie en taalcultuur in de Lage Landen, 1450–1750,* ed. by Toon van Hal, Lambert Isebaert, and Pierre Swiggers (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), pp. 253–78.

[11] Coornhert, 'Voorreden', p. 6. Grammars like the *Twe-spraack* aimed at elevating the vernacular by moulding its features in attempted conformity with what was considered the perfect language, namely Latin, the transregional language of learning in medieval and early modern Europe. See: Alisa van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages. Forging Dutch and French in the Early Modern Low Countries (1540–1620)* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019), p. 117.

[12] Ton Anbeek and Arie Verhagen, 'Over stijl', *Neerlandistiek.nl,* 01.01 (2001), 1–26 (p. 4). See, however, Van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages,* as an example of research adopting a literary-historical perspective on historical Dutch language debates from the past.

religious, and political persuasion.[13] For these early modern authors, a rich vernacular (i.e. a language that is pure and elegant, offers abundant possibilities for variation, and is clear in its expression) was essential for the proper moral, religious, or political instruction of their audiences.[14] Hence, they strived to create and refine such a language. The literary scholar thus recognizes that the linguistic endeavours of early modern authors were essential to their key role in 'shaping Dutch religious, political, and civic identities'.[15]

Linguists, for their part, are interested in texts as language and hence draw attention to the actual linguistic makeup of early modern – but usually non-literary – texts vis-à-vis contemporary language rules. The core of linguistic research on historical Dutch comprises the linguistic variation that occurred as result of, and in interaction with, the broader developments of early modern Dutch society: active efforts of language standardisation, mass migration, and growing literacy. This variation, and the attempts to regulate it, can shed light on the properties of early modern Dutch and the process by which it was standardised.[16]

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[13] See e.g. Karel Porteman and Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1560–1700* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2009), pp. 98, 138–40; Hermans, 'The World of Literature', pp. 289, 292. See also, on the role of literary authors in Dutch Golden Age society as persuaders: Helmers, 'Popular Participation and Public Debate'.

[14] The competences of language are discussed in: Hendrik Laurenszoon Spiegel, *Twe-spraack,* ed. by Caron, p. 3 ('een onvermengde / ryke/ cierlyke ende verstandelycke spraack'); Coornhert, 'Voorreden', p. 7 ('verstandighe wóórden', 'overvloedighe verandering').

[15] Hermans, 'The World of Literature', p. 290. See, on the role of non-literary discourse in linguistic research, Section 4 below and specifically footnote 43.

[16] In its attempt to standardise morphology, the *Twe-spraack* is one of the first examples of the codification of Dutch. See: Marijke J. van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal. Standaardisatie-aspecten in de Nederlanden omstreeks 1650* (The Hague: Sdu Uitgevers, 1995)*,* p. 26. Language variation took place particularly in the area of case marking (notably the genitive case). See: Fred Weerman, Mike Olson, and Robert A. Cloutier, 'Synchronic variation and loss of case. Formal and informal language in a Dutch corpus of 17th-century Amsterdam texts', *Diachronica,* 30.3 (2013), 353–81; Judith Nobels and Gijsbert Rutten, 'Language norms and language use in seventeenth-century Dutch. Negation and the genitive', in *Norms and Usage in Language History, 1600–1900. A Sociolinguistic and Comparative Perspective,* ed. by Gijsbert Rutten, Rik Vosters, and Wim Vandenbussche (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014), pp. 21–48; Cora van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma: Semantische en stilistische functies van intra-auteur-variatie', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal-en Letterkunde,* 134.4 (2018), 277–99.

Inspired by ongoing attempts in linguistics and in literary studies to mutually influence and inflect each other's field, the present study strives to synthesise the scholarly perspectives mentioned above.[17] This interdisciplinarity is necessary if we are to understand the socio-cultural and literary implications of language use. Amidst discussions on early modern language cultures (e.g. the role of translations in early modern society, the early modern fascination with language), literary historians have tended to relegate the actual language use of early modern authors to the background (see Section 3). However, when taking into account the linguistic consciousness that characterises early modern Dutch society, it is reasonable to assume that grammatical items also played a significant role in the construction of texts and the fostering of textual interaction; the apparently trivial items of the language system may have enabled early modern authors to help shape the ever-changing society in which they lived.[18]

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[17] Inspirational examples are e.g. Anbeek and Verhagen, 'Over stijl'; Kormi Anipa, 'The Use of Literary Sources in Historical Sociolinguistic Research', in *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics,* ed. by Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, pp. 170–90; Gillis J. Dorleijn, 'De periodiserende computer of stilistiek als instrument voor periodisering; een aanzet', *De Nieuwe Taalgids,* 88 (1995), 490–506; Susan Fitzmaurice, 'Literary discourse', in *Historical Pragmatics,* ed. by Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton, 2010), pp. 679–704; Van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages.*

[18] Linguistic awareness in Europe grew from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, with vernaculars spreading to new domains and language becoming an object of study and codification. See: Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 15–17. The growing attempts to regulate language use increased the awareness of linguistic diversity and allowed language to become a status symbol in early modern society. See: Anita Auer and Anja Voeste, 'Grammatical Variables', in *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics,* ed. by Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy and Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), pp. 253–70 (p. 258). In the Dutch context, moreover, language building was entangled with the major changes that characterise Dutch Golden Age society. Whereas standardisation practices initially took place in the Southern and Northern Netherlands, in the second half of the sixteenth century they shifted to the North, where a new Republic was developing. An overview of factors contributing to the standardisation of Dutch is given in: Van der Sijs, *Taal als mensenwerk,* p. 29ff. The publication of metalinguistic texts such as the *Twe-spraack* may thus have been part of a wider programme oriented towards the cultivation of language as a status symbol and the construction of a national identity. See: Hermans, 'The World of Literature', p. 296; cf. Coornhert, 'Voorreden', p. 7, who, when addressing the negative influence of foreign rulers ('vreemde Heren ende vreemdtongighe landvooghden') on his mother tongue, points to the relationship between language and politics. Language and literature, furthermore, underpinned religious and political changes in Dutch Golden Age society, as literary authors became major shapers of opinion. See: Helmers, 'Popular Participation and Public Debate', pp. 124–46.

Let us take the *Twe-spraack* as an example that allows us to explore the rhetorical potential of a text's grammatical items and the variation one might find there. In its preface, Coornhert argues that abundant variation ('overvloedige verandering') is the essential element of a rich language. Indeed, his own writing exhibits variation and exemplifies how meaning is created through the use of linguistic variants.[19] For example, Coornhert alternates a verb cluster consisting of an auxiliary verb + *have* ('beghonnen hebbende') with a construction containing another verb form of *have* ('beghonnen hebbe ghehad').[20] The latter, a *have*-doubling construction already quite unusual in Coornhert's time, is absent from Modern Standard Dutch.[21] How can we account for the occurrence of this rather exceptional doubling form? This doubling form, I would like to argue, existed alongside the 'normal' non-doubling form for rhetorical purposes.

Research in linguistics has shown that language variation is determined by a wide variety of socio(linguistic) factors, including language-internal constraints (e.g. word order, end-weight) and socio-contextual circumstances (e.g. gender, age, intended audience). In addition, recent scholarship in sociolinguistics has made us aware that individuals adapt their language not only according to the socio-situational context (reactive) but also to control the social situation, e.g. through identity performances (active).[22] When insights from literary studies on the eloquent individual are added to this sociolinguistic perspective, an interesting picture arises of an author not only rhetorically but also grammatically literate.

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[19] Coornhert, 'Voorreden', p. 7. 'Verandering' typically takes shape as flexion in the case system but can also include derivational morphology and conjugation in other word classes such as verbs. See: Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal,* pp. 28, 45; Van der Sijs, T*aal als mensenwerk*, p. 415; cf. footnote 36 below.

[20] Coornhert, 'Voorreden', p. 6.

[21] Joanna Wall, '*Have*-doubling Constructions in Historical and Modern Dutch', *Linguistics in the Netherlands,* 35.1 (2018), 155–72; Joanna Wall, 'Extralinguistic properties of *have*-doubling in historical varieties of Dutch', in preparation. Although not present in Standard Dutch, *have*-doublings are still found in certain modern Dutch dialects. See: Olaf Koeneman, Marika Lekakou, and Sjef Barbiers, 'Perfect doubling', *Linguistic Variation,* 11.1 (2011), 35–75.

[22] This is argued in sociolinguistic Third Wave studies. See: Penelope Eckert, 'Three Waves of Variation Study: The Emergence of Meaning in the Study of Sociolinguistic Variation', *Annual Review of Anthropology,* 41 (2012), 87–100.

Coornhert fits such a picture rather well. Literary historians have shown him to be an innovative author who flexed his vernacular into an intellectual means of expression.[23] Given the linguistic knowledge of *have*-doublings in other varieties, where it has a semantic meaning of completeness and a pragmatic function of emphasis, we can assert that Coornhert's exceptional use of the doubling form was part of his careful textual design. In addition to traditional rhetorical elements, Coornhert also used linguistic items for rhetorical purposes. This combined literary-linguistic approach to Coornhert's text changes a small – and by literary historians usually neglected – detail into a meaningful textual element: the *have*-doubling might have been part of Coornhert's rhetorical aims, e.g. to effectuate clarity and to mark emphasis.[24] This interdisciplinary perspective thus yields relevant new insights into the dynamics between linguistic and literary-cultural practices of writing. In this dissertation, I will explore these dynamics by taking a joint literary-linguistic approach to the type of language variation we have stumbled upon above: intra-author variation, or language variation within an individual's writing. Before we arrive at an interdisciplinary approach to intra-author variation, I will first discuss the two main scholarly disciplines in which this interdisciplinary approach is rooted: literary studies and linguistics.

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[23] Arie-Jan Gelderblom, '"Nieuwe stof in Neerlandsch". Een karakteristiek van Coornherts proza', in *Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert. Dwars maar recht*, ed. by H. Bonger, J. R. H. Hoogervorst, M. E. H. N. Mout, I. Schöffer, and J. J. Woltjer (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1989), pp. 98–114. Cf. Van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma'.

[24] Cf. Marijke J. van der Wal, 'De drieledige vormen in taal en taalbeschouwing', *De Nieuwe Taalgids,* 81 (1988), 383–400 (p. 393). Following the line of argument as presented in Chapter 1 below, the only case of *have*-doubling in the *Twe-spraack*'s preface seems to signify that Coornhert's own attempt to write a grammar lies in the completed past ('beghonnen hebbe ghehad') – as opposed to his work of linguistic purism, which had come to a temporary halt but was continued through Coornhert's vernacular writings ('beghonnen hebbende'). The doubling form thus celebrates the *Twe-spraack* as the solution to Coornhert's unfinished work on the codification of Dutch: Coornhert will not pick up his grammatical work again, because the *Twe-spraack* is the unexpected realisation ('ghants buyten myn hope') of a work that will serve 'to improve our Dutch language' (tót beteringhe van onze Nederlandsche tale'), which Coornhert himself had initially attempted to write. See: Coornhert, 'Voorreden', p. 6.

3. Language and form in literary studies

Although it is the (socio)historical linguists who most often study early modern language, literary scholars and cultural historians have also directed attention towards early modern language cultures. Recent literary-cultural approaches to language have mainly been concerned with mapping the early modern cultures of language fascination and reflection. For example, Alisa van de Haar's monograph *The Golden Mean of Languages* offers a literary-historical interpretation of the reflections on languages that arose in the Early Modern Low Countries, arguing that the understanding of these multilingual debates is 'an essential prerequisite for appreciating the literary culture of the time'.[25] A literary-cultural approach concerning itself with the actual linguistic practices of early modern authors – including those who did not (openly) participate in the language debates of their time – is, however, still in its infancy, especially within Early Modern Dutch Studies.[26]

In recent decades, literary historians of Dutch did develop a text-centred line of research that was focused on a text's formal aspects, but attention to grammar was usually lacking. The historical-formal analysis of texts gained ground in literary studies from the 1970s onwards with the development of research into rhetoric.[27] In

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[25] Van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages,* p. 7; see also Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe.*

[26] In Dutch Studies, the field of stylistics has sought interdisciplinarity between literary studies and linguistics. See: Dorleijn, 'De periodiserende computer of stilistiek als instrument voor periodisering; een aanzet', p. 496; Anbeek and Verhagen, 'Over stijl'. This has resulted in stylistic research on modern discourses in particular. See, as an example of the research project *Stilistiek van het Nederlands* (Stylistics of Dutch, Leiden University): Suzanne Fagel, Ninke Stukker, and Loes van Andel, 'Hoe telbaar is stijl? Een kwantitatieve analyse van observatie en participatie in de stijl van Arnon Grunberg', *Nederlandse Letterkunde,* 17 (2012), 178–201.

So-called New Formalism has attempted to shift attention to questions of form in historical texts. See: Mark David Rasmussen (ed.), *Renaissance Literature and Its Formal Engagements* (New York: Palgrave, 2002). This approach, however, tends to focus on literary rather than linguistic form, and its application in Dutch Studies is limited. See, as an example: Nina Geerdink, 'Politics and Aesthetics – Decoding Allegory in *Palamedes* (1625)', in *Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679). Dutch Playwright in the Golden Age,* ed. by Jan Bloemendal and Frans-Willem Korsten, *Drama and Theatre in Early Modern Europe*, I (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2012), pp. 225–48. Pragmatic research, for its part, offers a combined literary-linguistic approach to Dutch historical texts. See, as an example: Marcel Bax and Nanne Streekstra, 'Ritual politeness in early modern Dutch letter-writing', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics,* 4.2 (2003), 303–25.

[27] Interdisciplinarity between literary theory and linguistics in the 1970s led to a renewed attention to language, style, and form – stylistics would expand (also including lexical and grammatical linguistic elements in its analyses) and eventually replace the study of rhetoric.

the wake of formalism and structuralism, there was growing scholarly interest in the historical design principles that had determined the shape of early modern literature.[28] Whereas early studies had traced the formal features that had characterised a certain period or genre, later scholars brought into view the public function of literature – i.e. the desire of authors to persuade and instruct their audiences – in early modern society.[29] These scholars investigated the set of instruments used by early modern poets and playwrights to play on their audiences for specific ends. This type of research addresses not only classical stylistic features but also issues of arrangement, which early modern poets considered to be crucial for expressive power and the

See: Hernández-Campoy, *Sociolinguistic Styles*, pp. 17, 28–29; Stephen Cohen, 'Between Form and Culture: New Historicism and the Promise of a Historical Formalism', in *Renaissance Literature,* ed. by Rasmussen, pp. 17–41 (pp. 19–20). Sonja Witstein initiated the study of classical rhetoric in early modern Dutch studies. See: Sonja Witstein, *Funeraire poëzie in de Nederlandse Renaissance. Enkele funeraire gedichten van Heinsius, Hooft, Huygens en Vondel bezien tegen de achtergrond van de theorie betreffende het Genre* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969).

[28] The literary historian W. A. P. Smit can be considered the founding father of the historical formal approach to early modern Dutch literature. See: Marijke Spies, 'De krisis in de historische Neerlandistiek', *Spektator. Tijdschrift voor Neerlandistiek,* 3 (1973–74), 493–508 (p. 501). Note further that Stephen Greenblatt, in his ground-breaking *Renaissance Self-Fashioning,* stated that self-fashioning 'is always, though not exclusively, in language'. See: Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005 [1980]), p. 9. Thus Greenblatt's work initially made a further contribution to analyses of form and its function within culture – though subsequent generations shifted attention from literature to culture and from literary form to function. See: Rasmussen, *Renaissance Literature,* p. 2; cf. Hermans, 'The World of Literature', p. 293. More generally, literary studies has been dominated by hermeneutics (i.e. the practice of interpretation) rather than poetics (i.e. the study of devices, conventions, and strategies by which literary works create effects). See: Jonathan D. Culler, *Structuralist Poetics. Structuralism, linguistics and the study of literature* (London/New York: Routledge, 2002 [1975]), pp. vii–viii. See, however, the work of Jeroen Jansen on Dutch poetics in the early modern period: Jeroen Jansen, *Decorum. Observaties over de literaire gepastheid in renaissancistische poëtica* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001); Jeroen Jansen, *Imitatio. Literaire navolging* (imitatio auctorum) *in de Europese letterkunde van de renaissance* (1500-1700) (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008).

[29] Marijke Spies has called this trend the historisation ('historisering') and socialisation ('vermaatschappelijking') of literature as a scientific research object. See: Marijke Spies, 'Inleiding', in *Historische letterkunde. Facetten van vakbeoefening,* ed. by Marijke Spies (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1984), pp. 7–11 (p. 7). In the footsteps of W. A. P. Smit (see footnote 28 above), literary historians paid specific attention to formal features of early modern Dutch drama. The following titles are telling examples of studies on the form and function of historical texts: Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, *Samuel Coster, ethicus-didacticus* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff/Forsten, 1986); Anneke C. G. Fleurkens, *Stichtelijke lust. De toneelspelen van D.V. Coornhert (1522–1590) als middelen tot het geven van morele instructie* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994). In later research the focus would shift to popular prose and verse. See: Hermans, 'The World of Literature', p. 293.

effective persuasion of their audience.[30] Key ideals of early modern composition were the notions of *copia* (abundance) and *varietas* (variety), both of which informed all phases of Renaissance writing, including both content (the *inventio*) and the composition stage (the *elocutio*).[31] Literary scholars of early modern Dutch thus paid attention to variety in content (e.g. different events contributing to the same ethical thought) or in narratological principles that served to convey the text's point (e.g. variation in narrative voice, narrative perspective).[32]

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[30] Stylistic choices and the arrangement of content were both seen as crucial means to effectively influence one's audience. See: Hernández-Campoy, *Sociolinguistic Styles*, p. 10. It should be noted, though, that while humanism entailed a rebirth of interest in classical rhetoric, the canon of style was simultaneously reduced to a few stylistic features (e.g. metaphor, metonymy). See: Craig Hamilton, 'Stylistics as rhetoric', in *The Cambridge Handbook of Stylistics,* ed. by Peter Stockwell and Sara Whiteley (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 63–76 (pp. 67, 76); Hernández-Campoy, *Sociolinguistic Styles*, p. 11; Witstein, *Funeraire poëzie,* p. 25.

[31] Sylvia Adamson, 'Literary Language', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, ed. by Roger Lass (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 539–653 (p. 545ff); [Anon.], *Lexicon van de retorica. Deellexicon uit het ALL*, 'copia rerum', 'copia verborum'. *Varietas* was a central stylistic virtue in various early modern disciplines, including poetry, architecture, and music. See: Alexis Luko, 'Tinctoris on Varietas', *Early Music History,* 27 (2008), 99–136, (p. 101). Sonja Witstein was the first scholar to study early Dutch modern literature with attention to *copia* and *varietas*. See: Sonja Witstein, 'Hoofts *Achilles ende Polyxena*', in *Taal- en Letterkundig gastenboek voor Prof. Dr. G.A. van Es,* ed. by Gustaaf A. Van Es (Groningen: Archief voor de Nederlandse Syntaxis, 1975), pp. 273–82 (p. 280).

[32] See, as examples of research on abundance and variety in early modern Dutch literature: Witstein, 'Hoofts *Achilles ende Polyxena*', pp. 275, 276, 281; Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, *Het Nederlandse renaissancetoneel* (Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1991), p. 45; Lia van Gemert, 'De krachtpatser en de hoer. Liefde en wraak op het zeventiende-eeuwse toneel', in *Schelmen en Prekers: genres en de transmissie van cultuur in vroegmodern Europa,* ed. by Hans Bots and Lia van Gemert (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 1999), pp. 15–37 (p. 23). More recent research – acknowledging that rhetoric was present at various levels of society (cf. Hamilton, 'Stylistics as rhetoric', p. 67; Hermans, 'The World of Literature', p. 293) – goes beyond the traditional scope of poetry and drama to discern rhetorical ideals in popular literature. See, as examples of research on pamphlet literature: Joost Vrieler, *Het poëtisch accent. Drie literaire genres in zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse pamfletten* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), p. 179; Clazina Dingemanse, *Rap van tong, scherp van pen. Literaire discussiecultuur in Nederlandse praatjespamfletten (circa 1600–1750)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2008), pp. 181, 340. The studies listed here typically focus either on given content through multiple stylistic and narratological forms or on multiple contents. Desiderius Erasmus's style guide *De Copia* (1512) indicates that varying could also include linguistic possibilities. Erasmus 'goes well beyond the rather rudimentary substitution of synonyms, flexing the muscles of the language, as it were, according to its various grammatical and rhetorical possibilities'. See: Gideon Burton, 'From *Ars dictaminis* to *Ars conscribendi epistolis*: Renaissance Letter-Writing Manuals in the Context of Humanism', in *Letter-Writing Manuals and Instruction from Antiquity to the Present,* ed. by Carol Poster and Linda C. Mitchel (Columbia: University of South Carolina

What has been obscured amidst the discussions on formal textual characteristics, and specifically on rhetorical and narratological principles, is the grammatical aspects of a text. Such neglect with regard to a text's linguistic makeup is probably due to the usual approach pursued by literary historians: formal analyses tended to be informed by the clues that historical treatises on the art of rhetoric and poetry offered for such research.[33] Those texts hardly provide explicit leads for the study of a text's grammatical properties.[34] What is more, although early modern treatises on language such as the *Twe-spraack* contain ubiquitous references to linguistic abundance or the copiousness of the vernacular, these texts seem also to lack discussions on the specific forms of linguistic variety.[35] For example, the *have*-doubling construction, alternating in Coornhert's preface to the *Twe-spraack* with a past/present perfect form (see above), is not discussed in the grammar itself, which is mainly concerned with matters of orthography, pronunciation, and the case system.[36]

Press, 2007), pp. 88–101 (p. 95); see also footnote 35 below. Renaissance authors were thus to vary not only stylistic but also linguistic instruments. See: Adamson, 'Literary Language', p. 549ff, and specifically pp. 550–54 on morphological variation.

[33] See for example Witstein, *Funeraire poëzie*, on Plato, Aristotle, and Scaliger. See, for an overview of early modern texts on rhetoric and poetics: Marijke Spies, 'Developments in Sixteenth-Century Dutch Poetics. From "Rhetoric" to "Renaissance"', in *Renaissance-Rhetorik,* ed. by Heinrich F. Plett (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), pp. 72–91.

[34] Explicit discussions on the relationship between rhetoric and grammar occurred from the eighteenth century onwards. See: Marijke J. van der Wal, 'Retorica in grammatica, linguistica en praxis', in *Bundel voor Antoine Braet bij zijn afscheid van de Opleiding Nederlandse taal en cultuur van de Universiteit Leiden,* ed. by Korrie Korevaart, Henrike Jansen, and Jaap de Jong (Leiden: SNL, 2007), pp. 217–28 (p. 220ff).

[35] Early modern grammars scarcely recommended certain variants as exemplary, but they did ascribe negative value to unacceptable variants. See: Auer and Voeste, 'Grammatical Variables', p. 258; see also the example in footnote 37 below). Furthermore, these early modern grammars, as well as the local language regulation that took place within the circles of writers and poets, did trigger language variation, notably in the area of case marking and the use of negation. See, as examples: Weerman et al, 'Synchronic variation and loss of case'; Nobels and Rutten, 'Language norms and language use in seventeenth-century Dutch'; Van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma'. Note also that Erasmus's style guide *De copia* discusses linguistic variation as part of acquiring a rich oratorical style (cf. footnote 32 above).

[36] Initially, metalinguistic discourse for the most part focused on orthography, but from the late sixteenth century onwards morphology gained in importance. See: Nobels and Rutten, 'Language norms and language use in seventeenth-century Dutch', pp. 27–28. The *Twe-spraack* comprises both orthography and morphology. It pays attention to verbs ('woorden'; 'help-woorden') as part of morphology (derivational and inflectional morphology; Chapters 6

The only contemporary reflection on this construction that I know of comes from a later generation of language debaters. In his observations on language, Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581–1647) disapproves of the doubling constructions because of its 'sad length caused by the doubling of the auxiliary verb'.[37] Yet Hooft himself used the construction in his own work, a reminder that an author's reflections on language (if they indeed exist) cannot (always) account for actual language use.[38] Consequently, the study of language use and variation asks that we adopt a bottom-up approach – i.e. the analysis, that is, should not be first and foremost informed by contemporary debates on poetics and language but should rather follow a data-driven approach, based on an analysis of the author's actual language use.[39]

In sum, this section has discussed two trends in/perspectives on literary-cultural research relevant to the study of language variation. First, literary scholars and cultural historians have alerted us to the discourses of language fascination and reflection that emerged during the early modern period in the Netherlands. These early modern language debates made language users aware of the socio-cultural significance of language varieties and provided the possibility that language could be used as a social, cultural, and stylistic status symbol.[40] Hence even the smallest grammatical items may have played a significant role in early modern texts. Second, the historical formal analyses of the rhetorical and narratological properties of early modern texts provide a solid basis for initiating the study of the literary-cultural

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and 7) and it experiments, for example, with noun-verb relations, e.g. 'een school, ende ick schole' (p. 55).

[37] Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, 'Waernemingen op de Hollandsche Tael', in *Uit de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche spraakkunst. Grammatische stukken van De Hubert, Ampzing, Statenvertalers en reviseurs, en Hooft,* ed. by Frederik Lodewijk Zwaan (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1939), pp. 235–56 (p. 249). Original Dutch: 't welk een' verdrietighe lankheit geeft, met de verdubbeling van 't *Verbum auxiliare*'.

[38] See, for example, the doubling construction in Hooft's *Historien*: 'Mendooza, een Spanjaardt, niet darrende 't werk verdaadighen, tracht d'ooversten t'ontlasten, met zeggen, dat zy 't geirne gekeert gehadt hadden'. Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historien*, in *Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, Alle de gedrukte werken, 1611–1738,* vol. 4 and 5, ed. by Wytze Gerbens Hellinga and Pierre Tuynman (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1972), pp. 278–79.

[39] This is a common approach in historical sociolinguistics. See: Nobels and Rutten, 'Language norms and language use in seventeenth-century Dutch', pp. 28–29. Note that Nobels and Rutten investigate language items which are also discussed in early modern metalinguistic texts in order to discover whether language norms influenced actual language use.

[40] Auer and Voeste, 'Grammatical Variables', p. 258.

significance of this sort of language variation. Previous studies of formal textual analysis have shown how literary mechanisms were crucial in determining the function of early modern texts in the broadest sense; not only the product of creative and aesthetic processes, texts were also strategically composed with the aim of fostering interaction between text and audience (i.e. a text served as a rhetorically refined instrument directed towards the persuasion of the public).[41]

This dissertation builds on the efforts of formal textual analysis established by previous generations of literary scholars, but it also breaks new ground by shifting attention away from traditional rhetorical and narratological principles and towards grammatical structures: it brings into focus the author as a linguistic performer. By being alert to a text's smallest items – often apparently trivial – this dissertation seeks to contribute to our understanding of historically distant texts.

4. Language variation in (historical) sociolinguistics

To develop a literary-linguistic framework for the analysis of language variation, it is necessary to build upon the linguistic framework within which language variation has tended to be analysed. The study of language variation in context is rooted in the field of variationist sociolinguistics.[42] Since its advent in the 1960s, variationist sociolinguistics has experienced various paradigm shifts in which attention shifted

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[41] Cf. Barbara Johnstone, *The Linguistic Individual. Self-Expression in Language and Linguistics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 184. See, as an example of aesthetic ideals influencing variation in case marking, Van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma', pp. 293–94.

[42] See, for an introduction to the variationist approach in sociolinguistics: Suzanne Romaine, 'The variationist approach', in *The Cambridge Handbook of English Historical Linguistics,* ed. by Merja Kytö and Päivi Pahta (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 19–35. From the 1980s onwards, variation theory was also applied to the domain of historical languages, resulting in the emergence of historical sociolinguistics as a field. See: Terttu Nevalainen and Helena Raumolin-Brunberg, 'Historical Sociolinguistics: Origins, Motivations, and Paradigms', in *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics,* ed. by Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, pp. 22–40 (p. 23); Cinzia Russi, 'Introduction', in *Current Trends in Historical Sociolinguistics,* ed. by Cinzia Russi (Warsaw/Berlin: De Gruyter Open Ltd, 2016), pp. 1–18. An overview of recent developments in historical sociolinguistics is given in: Tanja Säily, Arja Nurmi, Minna Palander-Collin, and Anita Auer, 'The future of historical sociolinguistics?', in *Exploring Future Paths for Historical Sociolinguistics,* ed. by Tanja Säily, Arja Nurmi, Minna Palander-Collin, and Anita Auer (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2017), pp. 1–19.

back and forth between the individual language user and the social group.[43] In early sociolinguistic studies, variation within a linguistic individual was a peripheral concern.[44] In fact, sociolinguistic studies from the 1960s marked a critical response to the studies on the linguistic individual that had flourished in the first half of the twentieth century. Scholars in the footsteps of the neogrammarian Hermann Paul (1846–1921), conceiving the individual's language as encompassing 'the structured nature of language, the consistency of speech performance, and the regularity of change', hence regarded it as a viable object of research. In Dutch studies this line of research was pursued by Gerrit Overdiep (1885–1944) in his stylistic-syntactic methodology focusing on individual linguistic behaviour and its underlying psychological principles.[45] Early sociolinguists, however, criticised the opposition of individual and society inherent in this orientation.[46] Striving for 'social realism', sociolinguists thus investigate the language system as an embedded component of social structures.[47] Consequently, (historical) sociolinguistic theory has made

[43] The three major variationist approaches are Attention to Speech; Audience Design; and Speaker Design – or First, Second, and Third Wave Studies. See: Natalie Schilling, 'Investigating Stylistic Variation', in *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change,* second edition, ed. by Jack K. Chambers and Natalie Schilling (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp. 325–49; Eckert, 'Three Waves of Variation Study'. In sociolinguistic theory intra-individual language variation is known as stylistic variation or intra-speaker variation. See: Hernández-Campoy, *Sociolinguistic Styles*, p. 30 (Figure 1.7). Sociolinguistic theory focuses on the speaker (i.e. inter-speaker and intra-speaker variation), because the speaker's vernacular – rather than in written language – is where the linguist expects to find the most natural speech and, hence, the best evidence for the processes of linguistic change. See: John R. Rickford and Penelope Eckert, 'Introduction', in *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation,* ed. by Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 1–18 (pp. 2–3).

[44] Intra-individual variation was conceived a reactive phenomenon, such that variation would be the output of varying attention to speech, conditioned by the social context. See: Nikolas Coupland, *Style. Language Variation and Identity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 7; Eckert, 'Three Waves of Variation Study', p. 89; Schilling, 'Investigating Stylistic Variation', pp. 327, 330.

[45] Uriel Weinreich, William Labov, and Marvin I. Herzog, 'Empirical Foundations for a Theory of Language Change', in *Directions for Historical Linguistics,* ed. by Winfred P. Lehmann and Yakov Malkiel (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), pp. 95–195 (p. 104). This focus on individual linguistic behaviour and underlying psychological principles resonates in the stylistic-syntactic methodology of Gerrit Overdiep. See: Overdiep, *Syntaxis en Stilistiek,* p. 6.

[46] Note, though, that Paul, through a comparison of individual languages, also tried to theorize transindividual language use. See: Weinreich et al, 'Empirical Foundations', p. 106.

[47] Weinreich et al, 'Empirical Foundations', p. 176. Suzanne Romaine was the first to implement sociolinguistic theory on historical data, regarding language as a social and a

important claims about languages and patterns of variation across groups.[48] The *Letters as Loot* project (2008-13, Leiden University), which studies patterns of regional, class, and gender variation across a wide range of linguistic features in private letters, has introduced this line of social variation research in studies on historical Dutch.[49] By now, many external factors have been found to determine social variation between linguistic variables, including class, age, gender, ethnicity, prestige, level of formality, and so on.[50]

Whereas early (historical) sociolinguistic theory regarded language variation as a product of the sociolinguistic context, the latest model of sociolinguistic research (known as Speaker Design or Third Wave Studies) views language and society as being co-constituted.[51] Consequently, recent (historical) sociolinguistic research has brought the social significance of language use into focus, thus shifting attention to language use as an active phenomenon.[52] This line of research has renewed scholarly

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historical product. See: Suzanne Romaine, *Socio-Historical Linguistics. Its Status and Methodology* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1982); see also footnote 42 above.

[48] Barbara Johnstone, 'Individual', in *Key Terms in Language and Culture,* ed. by Alessandro Duranti (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2001), pp. 122–25 (p. 122); Tieken-Boon van Ostade, *In Search of Jane Austen,* p. 21.

[49] Judith Nobels, *(Extra)Ordinary Letters. A View from Below on Seventeenth-Century Dutch* (Leiden: LOT publications, PhD thesis, 2013); Tanja Simons, *Ongekend 18e-eeuws Nederlands. Taalvariatie in persoonlijke brieven* (Leiden: LOT publications, PhD thesis, 2013). The *Letters as Loot* project is an example of micro-sociolinguistics (i.e. sociolinguistics of language 'from below'). More recent research on historical Dutch – see, as an example, the project *Going Dutch. The Construction of Dutch in Policy, Practice and Discourse, 1750–1850* (2014–18, Leiden University) – aligns with the macro-linguistic perspective of historical sociolinguistics (i.e. sociolinguistics of society). See, on micro- and macro-sociolinguistics: Anita Auer, Catharina Peersman, Simon Pickl, Gijsbert Rutten, and Rik Vosters, 'Historical sociolinguistics: the field and its future', *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics,* 1.1 (2015), 1–12 (p. 7).

[50] Auer and Voeste, 'Grammatical Variables', p. 267.

[51] See, for a discussion on the main approaches to intra-individual language variation: Anita Auer, 'Stylistic variation', in *Letter Writing and Language Change,* ed. by Anita Auer, Daniel Schreier, and Richard J. Watts (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 133–55 (pp. 133–34); Nikolas Coupland, 'The sociolinguistics of style', in *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociolinguistics,* ed. by Rajend Mesthrie (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 138–56; Schilling, 'Investigating Stylistic Variation', pp. 325–49.

[52] People can '*use* or *enact* or *perform* social styles for a range of symbolic purposes'. Coupland, *Style,* p. 3. Cf. Eckert, 'Three Waves of Variation Study', pp. 97–98: 'The emphasis on stylistic practice in the third wave places speakers not as passive and stable carriers of dialect, but as stylistic agents, tailoring linguistic styles in ongoing and lifelong projects of self-construction and differentiation.' This agentive view on language variation seems to allow for a broader

interest in the linguistic individual, as it zooms in on the workings of smaller mechanisms within the larger social system.[53] In contrast to early sociolinguistic theory, in which intra-individual variation is but 'an offshoot of social group variation', the proponents of third-wave sociolinguistic theory argue that the agency, authenticity, and performativity of the individual language user can more accurately account for variation in language use.[54] As Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre explain:

> Linguistic variation is […] the instrument, or resource, for linguistic performance, rhetorical stance and identity projection, where individuals (rather than groups) and the individual voice are actively responsible for the transmission of sociolinguistic meaning in terms of a speaker's personal and interpersonal social identity and authenticity.[55]

With this renewed focus on the linguistic individual as a creative agent who seeks to exert social impact and uses linguistic innovation as a means of interactional identity construction, sociolinguistic research begins crossing traditional paradigm

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focus in sociolinguistic research, thus not only a focus on speech(-like) data (cf. footnote 43 above) but also an acknowledgement of the importance of intra-individual variation in written language. See, as an example: Coupland, *Style,* p. 2: 'it would be wrong to force these areas of study [i.e. style in speech and literary style] too far apart'.

[53] An example of research on the language of the individual within larger patterns of language change is: Terttu Nevalainen, Helena Raumolin-Brunberg, and Heikki Mannila, 'The diffusion of language change in real time: Progressive and conservative individuals and the time depth of change', *Language Variation and Change,* 23.1 (2011), 1–43. Furthermore, individual differences in social network memberships has been receiving attention in recent years. See: Nevalainen et al, 'Historical Sociolinguistics', p. 33.

[54] Coupland, *Style,* pp. 6–7, 36; Eckert, 'Three Waves of Variation Study', p. 89; Schilling, 'Investigating Stylistic Variation', p. 327. See, for the importance of the linguistic individual for the study of linguistic variation and change, and language in relation to society: Richard A. Hudson, *Sociolinguistics,* second edition (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 10; Johnstone, 'Individual', p. 123; Johnstone, *The Linguistic Individual,* p. 8.

[55] Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy and Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre, 'Assessing variability and change in early English letters', in *Letter Writing and Language Change,* ed. by Auer, Schreier, and Watts, pp. 14–34 (p. 15). This approach to linguistic variation matches the wider aim of current historical sociolinguistics to encourage dialogue between the micro and the macro, the individual and society, as well as to account for variability across individuals. See: Terttu Nevalainen, 'What are historical sociolinguistics', *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics,* 1.2 (2015), 243–69; Säily et al, 'The future of historical sociolinguistics?', p. 5.

boundaries, thereby invading areas of communication (i.e. pragmatics) and rhetoric (i.e. stylistics, literary studies), amongst others.[56] Historically and culturally distant sources in particular summon the need for 'a more holistic perspective so as to be better prepared to meet the "historical paradox", i.e. knowing that the past was different from the present, but not knowing how different'.[57] Recent research concentrating on the individual has thus increasingly sought to incorporate insights from neighbouring fields of research.[58] Yet third-wave (historical) sociolinguistics does not offer a ready-made framework for the type of variation that I will address in this dissertation.

The sociolinguist typically studies variation in spoken or speech-like data because this sort of information offers the most natural kind of speech in which the sociolinguist can expect to find evidence for processes of linguistic change.[59] Consequently, sociolinguistics has theorised intra-*speaker* variation (also known as stylistic variation) in addition to inter-*speaker* variation (or social variation).[60]

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[56] Hernández-Campoy, *Sociolinguistic Styles,* p. 48; Johnstone, 'Individual', p. 124; Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen, 'Pragmatic Variables', in *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics,* ed. by Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, pp. 293–306 (p. 294). It is still rare to encounter scholars in Dutch studies adopting a cross-disciplinary approach to historical language. However, see e.g. Rutten and Van der Wal on pragmatic principles in early modern Dutch writings: Gijsbert Rutten and Marijke J. van der Wal, 'Functions of epistolary formulae in Dutch letters from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics,* 13.2 (2012), 173–201.

[57] Nevalainen, 'What are historical sociolinguistics', p. 247.

[58] See for references footnote 56 above. Conversely, literary historians (notably in stylistics) incorporate (socio)linguistic theories and/or research objects. See, as examples: Sylvia Adamson, 'Questions of Identity in Renaissance Drama: New Historicism Meets Old Philology', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 61.1 (2010), 56–77 (specifically pp. 74–77); Beatrix Busse, '(New) historical stylistics', in *The Routledge Handbook of Stylistics*, ed. by Michael Burke (London/New York: Routledge, 2014), pp. 101–17. See also the earlier notions of interdisciplinarity amongst literary criticism, linguistics, and philology in: Monika Fludernik, *The Fictions of Language and the Languages of Fictions. The Linguistic Representation of Speech and Consciousness* (London/New York: Routledge, 1993), p. x, and e.g. p. 332 on the 'linguistic fallacy'.

[59] This goes back to Labov's variational sociolinguistics – which is fundamental to the current study of variation. See: Rickford and Eckert, 'Introduction', pp. 2–3. Other branches of linguistics also tend to focus on speech-like data. See, for example: Irma Taavitsainen and Andreas H. Jucker, 'Trends and developments in historical pragmatics', in *Historical Pragmatics*, ed. by Andreas H. Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton, 2010), pp. 3–30 (pp. 7–8).

[60] Hernández-Campoy, *Sociolinguistic Styles,* p. 30 (Figure 1.7).

Although recent (historical) sociolinguistic theory acknowledges that 'written language can be analysed as a communicative act for its own sake, not just as a poor substitute for spoken interaction', the main sources for historical sociolinguistic research remain speech-like data such as we find in diaries and letters.[61] These sources not only offer the sociolinguist insights into non-standard varieties (and thus into processes of linguistic change and language standardisation), but, in line with third-wave approaches, they also shed light on the individual's role in ongoing linguistic changes and on how language affects processes of social self-performance.[62] Moreover, since the objective of sociolinguistic research is to understand the social realm, this type of research tends to focus on variation that distinguishes social meaning and thus studies how individuals attempt to become ratified members of particular social and cultural groups: 'accents, dialects and their styling are markers of this social meaning'.[63]

Unlike most sociolinguistic research, this dissertation does not seek to identify the social, historical, and linguistic processes that may have played a role in the diachronic development of early modern Dutch and the changes it underwent. Pursuing instead a literary-cultural objective, I employ here a new concept for intra-individual variation research: intra-*author* variation.[64] This concept aims to account both for the study's data (i.e. written discourse) as well as its framework of analysis,

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[61] Päivi Pahta, Minna Palander-Collin, Minna Nevala, and Arja Nurmi, 'Language practices in the construction of social roles in Late Modern English', in *Social Roles and Language Practices in Late Modern English,* ed. by Päivi Pahta, Minna Nevala, Arja Nurmi, and Minna Palander-Collin (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010), pp. 1–28 (p. 8). Cf. Auer et al, 'Historical sociolinguistics', p. 7; Romaine, 'The variationist approach', p. 29.

[62] Säily et al, 'The future of historical sociolinguistics?', p. 4.

[63] Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre, 'Assessing variability and change in early English letters', p. 15. Cf. Nikolas Coupland, 'Language, situation, and the relational self: theorizing dialect-style in sociolinguistics', in *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation,* ed. by Eckert and Rickford, pp. 185–210 (p. 189); Coupland, 'The sociolinguistics of style', p. 140; Hernández-Campoy, *Sociolinguistic Styles,* pp. 43–48, and particularly the distinction drawn between 'cross-dialectical style-shifting' and 'performance style-shifting'.

[64] Although recent historical sociolinguistic research uses the concept of intra-*writer* variation (see footnote 5 above), I am following Marjo van Koppen and Feike Dietz in using the concept of intra-*author* variation, as the latter better accounts for the literary-cultural contexts involved in the type of variation addressed in this dissertation. See: Marjo van Koppen and Feike Dietz, 'Vrije Competitie GW'.

which departs from the assumption that the reciprocal relationship between written variation and extralinguistic contexts, in addition to sociolinguistic factors, also included cultural, textual and rhetorical circumstances (e.g. cultural value, textual background, narratological structure, contemporary meaning, intended audience, and so on). The question now arises how different theories and perspectives on language use and variation, as discussed above, can be incorporated into the present study.

5. Intra-author variation: a new approach

This dissertation forms part of the project *Language Dynamics in the Dutch Golden Age,* which addresses intra-author variation as a phenomenon situated at the crossroads of linguistics and literature. Hence, the development of a line of research that focuses on intra-author variation requires an approach based on linguistic analysis (sociolinguistics, pragmatics, discourse analysis) and literary theory. For my subproject, I regard texts as sites of interaction between author and reader and assume that their authors each had linguistic variables at their disposal that animated such interactions.[65] Although this dissertation is methodologically more solidly rooted in literary studies than in (socio)linguistics, the synthesis that I will present is typical neither of standard literary approaches nor of (socio)linguistic methodologies. Its methodology and focus relates to, but also deviates from, existing paradigms in the following ways.

First, in this dissertation I draw on the field of variationist (historical) sociolinguistics by taking the linguistic variable, i.e. an item in the structure of language that can be realized in different ways, as my research object.[66] Instead of adopting a sociolinguistic aim, however, this dissertation tries to understand the ways

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[65] Cf. Fitzmaurice, 'Literary discourse', p. 681. Anipa has drawn the connection between sociolinguistic devices and literary phenomena. See: Anipa, 'The Use of Literary Sources in Historical Sociolinguistic Research', p. 180. According to Adamson, variation can support features of stylistic design. See: Adamson, 'Literary Language', p. 553. See, as examples: Jenny C. Mann, *Outlaw Rhetoric: Figuring Vernacular Eloquence in Shakespeare's England* (Ithaca, NY/London: Cornell University Press, 2012), pp. 150–51; Van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma', pp. 293–94.

[66] See, for a definition of the linguistic variable: Auer and Voeste, 'Grammatical Variables', p. 253; Jucker and Taavitsainen, 'Pragmatic Variables', p. 294.

language is linked to literary-cultural processes. Therefore, and contrary to what would occur in most (historical) sociolinguistic research, the case studies presented in this dissertation are not instances of language use that are indexically linked to social group membership (e.g. the features from the repertoire of dialect, register) but rather are those that likely played a role in literary-cultural processes. The focus of this dissertation, therefore, centres on certain variational possibilities of verbs (including morpho-syntactic, semantic, and lexical areas). Not only essential elements in textual performance, verbs are also known as valuable sources for the understanding of the role played by linguistic items in texts.[67] They often transcend their basic grammatical function, involved as they are in process both narratological (e.g. foregrounding, narrative pace) and expressive (e.g. evaluation, point of view).[68] Verbs, in other words, provide a useful point of departure for the literary-cultural understanding of the phenomenon of intra-author variation.

Second, this dissertation aligns with both third-wave sociolinguistics and literary studies in considering the linguistic individual as agentive and creative.[69] I assume that variation in verbs not only results from various linguistic and extralinguistic constraints but is also an option chosen by individuals, involving the

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[67] In the history of logic and grammar, verbs are known as categorematic words, i.e. words that are significant by themselves – as opposed to syncategorematic words such as conjunctions, which are quantifiers that do not symbolize meaning. See: Joke Spruyt, 'Syncategoremata', in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy,* ed. by Henrik Lagerlund (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011); Sara L. Uckelman, 'The logic of categorematic and syncategorematic infinity', *Synthese* 192 (2015), 2361–77 (pp. 2361–62). Recent approaches to language underline the potential stylistic and narrative role of verbs, on both the lexical (i.e. wording and meaning) and the grammatical (i.e. tense) level. Consider as examples the role of verbs in Labov's narrative model and the stylistic method of Leech and Short. See: Geoffrey Leech and Mick Short, *Style in Fiction. A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose,* second edition (Harlow: Person Longman, 2007), pp. 61–62. An overview of Labov's narrative model is provided in: Hernández-Campoy, *Sociolinguistic Styles,* p. 41.

[68] See, for a short overview of the role of verbs in the structuring of discourse: Brinton, 'Historical Discourse Analysis', pp. 227–28. For example, Suzanne Fleischman has studied the pragmatic nature of tense in (historical) narratives: Suzanne Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity. From Medieval Performance to Modern Fiction* (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 3. See also the case studies in: Suzanne Fleischman and Linda R. Waugh (eds), *Discourse-Pragmatics and the Verb. The Evidence from Romance* (London/New York: Routledge, 1991).

[69] Eckert, 'Three Waves of Variation Study', pp. 97–98; Schilling, 'Investigating Stylistic Variation', p. 338ff. Cf. Hernandéz-Campoy, *Sociolinguistic Styles,* p. 14, on agency in rhetoric.

use of a meaning-making resource.[70] On the basis of this assumption, I deviate in what follows from early philological work and stylistic studies because my goal is not to determine the way linguistic features might stamp texts as exemplary for a person, genre, fashion, etc.; rather, it is to grasp the reciprocal relation between language variation and literary-cultural circumstances, i.e. how variation developed out of and/or shaped the literary-cultural contexts it occurred in.[71]

Third, as a consequence, this dissertation deviates from the speech-based framework of variationist analysis. Regarding variation as integral to the written text – and not as a mechanism alluding to larger linguistic processes such as language change and standardisation – its analyses are guided by literary, discourse and pragmatic theory.[72] In other words, this dissertation places a text's linguistic structure within its direct context rather than within a diachronic, speech-based linguistic framework.[73] More precisely, it considers the written text as a form of communication: linguistic variation, just like rhetorical strategies, might have offered the author a resource to initiate those processes of meaning-making concerned with language use, i.e. on levels ideational (the representation of events), interpersonal (the

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[70] Note that according to recent theories on rhetoric and style, language as a resource for meaning-making consists of both conscious and unconscious language choices. See: Hernández-Campoy, *Sociolinguistic Styles,* pp. 14, 45. In addition, automaticity in language use is key to the communicative process, e.g. to maintain a particular status quo. See: Schilling, 'Investigating Stylistic Variation', pp. 342–43; cf. Geoffrey Leech, *Language in Literature. Style and Foregrounding* (London/New York: Routledge, 2008)*,* p. 88. This dissertation's aim is thus not to uncover the conscious or unconscious nature of language variation but rather to understand literary and socio-cultural contexts surrounding such variation and their shaping influence on it.

[71] Stylistic studies generally provide scientific evidence for subjective interpretations and evaluations of texts and styles. See: Michael Burke, 'Introduction. Stylistics: From classical rhetoric to cognitive neuroscience', in *The Routledge Handbook of Stylistics,* ed. by Burke, pp. 1–7 (pp. 2–3); cf. Fitzmaurice, 'Literary discourse', p. 680. Beatrix Busse argues that recent developments in stylistics have generated a shift of focus – from measurable linguistic profiles to questions of how language and texts come to bear communicative and social meaning. See: Busse, '(New) historical stylistics', p. 104.

[72] Note, however, that Anipa has urged sociolinguists to study literary texts and literary phenomena, and thus also take into account variation within individual texts. See: Anipa, 'The Use of Literary Sources in Historical Sociolinguistic Research', pp. 180, 182.

[73] Cf. Van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages*, p. 7.

interaction between author/text and audience), and textual (the organisation of the text).[74]

Fourth, based on the assumption that, in terms of sources, one should expect these meaning-making processes in texts from a broad range of authors, this study pursues sociolinguistic and literary analyses alike. Searching for the boundaries of their linguistic system, literary innovators such as D. V. Coornhert employed rather exceptional constructions, such as *have*-doublings, as alternative linguistic realisations.[75] However, sociolinguists and recent generations of literary scholars have raised awareness that stylized language is not exclusive to literary genres.[76] Variation employed by non-establishment authors or in non-canonical genres, though probably less innovative, might have been applied for the same purposes as variation in literary texts. This dissertation, investigating how language variation played a role in literary-cultural processes inherent to writing in early modern Dutch society at large, thus includes various authors and sources: male and female; writers of a high literary polish and those who had barely any training; figures from Holland as well as from the periphery; printed texts as well as handwritten documents circulating in smaller social circles. The coherence of the study, however, has demanded that all chapters focus on prose texts. However diverse its genres (this dissertation includes canonical and non-canonical genres, i.e. polemical treatises, literary historiography, life story, and professional notes), prose texts share elements of narrativity that interrelate with verb

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[74] Here I am following the three metafunctions of language as distinguished by Michael Halliday in his theory of Systematic Functional Grammar: Michael A. K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar,* ed. by Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen (London: Arnold, 2004). See, for a brief introduction to the metafunctions of language: William C. Mann and Christian M. I. M. Matthiessen, 'Functions of language in two frameworks', *Word,* 42.3 (1991), 231–49 (p. 239ff); Hernandez-Campoy, *Sociolinguistic Styles,* pp. 25–26. See, for the ongoing influence of Halliday in text analyses: Katie Wales, 'The stylistic tool-kit: methods and sub-disciplines', in *The Cambridge Handbook of Stylistics,* ed. by Stockwell and Whiteley, pp. 32–45 (p. 39).

[75] Hooft's use of the dative *hum* offers another example of pioneering language use by a literary author. See: H. W. van Tricht, 'De dativus *hum* bij Hooft', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal-en Letterkunde,* 68 (1951), 313–16.

[76] Hernández-Campoy, *Sociolinguistic Styles*, p. 24. That stylized language is not exclusive to literary discourses is shown, *inter alia*, in the research project *Stilistiek van het Nederlands*. See, as an example: Suzanne Fagel, *De stijl van gewoon proza* (Leiden, PhD thesis, 2015).

variation.[77] Poetry might also share these characteristics, but it is safe to assume that poetry is a distinct category of linguistic performance involving other determinants of language use (e.g. rhyme, meter).[78]

Following from this discussion above, the four case studies investigate relatively small amounts of data but in relatively extensive detail, applying quantitative and qualitative methods alike. Each is grounded in an observation-driven approach in which, through quantitative analysis and close reading, linguistic patterns and deviations from those patterns are investigated and significant manifestations of literary-cultural variation are indicated. Indeed, variation does not bear meaning per se, and the meaning it does carry is not always evident on the linguistic surface. Rather, the significance of variation and its meaning can be found by comparing different variants of the same linguistic structure, yielding discoveries about how certain variants might emerge routinely, and can be related to specific purposes, textual structures, pragmatic principles, aesthetic values, etc. I thus examine the occurrences and distributions of variants within a single text or across a corpus of a particular author's texts. In the close reading and interpretation of the specific examples that follows, the analyses focus on the texts' higher-level organisational properties as well as the broader literary-cultural context within which they were produced and functioned. This methodology may be characterised as historical discourse analysis since, in seeking to understand the literary-cultural function of a text's linguistic makeup, it includes approaches ranging from philology and rhetoric to (socio)linguistics and pragmatics.[79]

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[77] See Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity,* p. 4, who connects narrativity (as a marked variety of language) to tense usage.

[78] Van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma', p. 285; cf. Chapter 1, Section 2.

[79] Cf. Fitzmaurice, 'Literary discourse', p. 681. Various ideas exist on the meaning of discourse and discourse analysis, but speaking generally, discourse analysis is about the full context within which to understand language in use. See: Christopher Eisenhart and Barbara Johnstone, 'Discourse analysis and rhetorical studies', in *Rhetoric in Detail. Discourse Analysis of Rhetorical Talk and Text,* ed. by Barbara Johnstone and Christopher Eisenhart (Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company), pp. 3–21 (pp. 8–10); Marianne Mithun, 'Discourse and Grammar', in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis, 2,* ed. by Deborah Tannen, Heidi E. Hamilton, and Deborah Schiffrin (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), pp. 9–41 (p. 12).

6. Case studies and outline of the book

The dissertation consists of four chapters, each of which has been written as a stand-alone article. Each chapter can thus be read individually and can function as an example of how to undertake research that is interdisciplinary in nature. Taken together, the chapters provide a more elaborate picture of the literary, socio-cultural, and communicative contexts interacting with verb use. The four case studies' joint results are discussed in the Conclusion.

All four chapters focus on prose texts written and/or published from the 1570s to the 1670s.[80] This timeframe runs from the emergence of a thriving Dutch Republic seceding from Spanish-Habsburg rule to, barely a century later, the point when its flourishing and its overall power began to wane due to continuous armed conflicts with other nations. Following recent trends in the historiography of the Dutch Republic, the chapters approach the long seventeenth century as a vibrant but also troublesome era in which major cultural, religious, political, and economic changes resulted in local and global struggles.[81] These struggles, importantly, were reflected upon in texts and were also fuelled by them. Seventeenth-century society, in other words, 'was very much devoted to the word': a booming book market without preventive censorship, in combination with a lively rhetorical culture, ensured that texts could create public debate and generate acts of political and religious persuasion.[82] What is more, due to growing levels of literacy, authors with less

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[80] I.e. the beginning of Dirk Volckertzoon Coornhert's polemic against Reformed ministers (Chapter 1) until the death of Michiel de Ruyter in 1676 (Chapter 4).

[81] The long seventeenth century is also known as the Dutch Golden Age. The term 'Dutch Golden Age' is now a much contested label given its implied disregard for the darker sides of the Dutch Republic (e.g. the lack of wealth and power in rural regions, its involvement in colonial imperialism and slavery). For a recent introduction to the term and its history, see: Helmer J. Helmers and Geert H. Janssen, 'Introduction: Understanding the Dutch Golden Age', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age,* ed. by Helmers and Janssen, pp. 1–12. Following Helmers and Janssen (p. 10), this dissertation tries to add to our understanding of this vibrant but also troublesome past by focusing on silences in its literary-cultural and linguistic history, i.e. the functioning of apparently trivial linguistic items not only in well-known writings but also in texts overlooked by traditional scholarship.

[82] Helmers, 'Popular Participation and Public Debate', pp. 141–42.

training were also able to participate in this textual culture. With their ego-documents (e.g. life-stories, professional notes), individuals sought public functions for themselves, particularly in claiming and/or consolidating a social, political, religious, or professional position.[83] This dissertation seeks to understand how language variation was an outgrowth of this thriving textual culture and helped shape it. Therefore, I home in on two main areas of textual turmoil: those texts relating to religious and military conflicts.[84]

The chapters are structured chronologically and thematically. The first two chapters deal with issues of religion. Though the Protestant Reformation was the catalyst for the Dutch Revolt against Habsburg Spain, the newly created Dutch Republic did not develop a homogenous religious identity. Especially in the early years, the Dutch Reformation and the state's public Church were opposed by independent-minded religious thinkers. **Chapter 1** is devoted to the moral-theological treatises of one such opponent: the Amsterdam-born D. V. Coornhert (1522–1590) – whom we have already met as the author of the preface to the first printed grammar of Dutch. Keeping himself aloof from the Reformed Church, Coornhert wrote plays and treatises aimed at influencing the spiritual attitudes of his fellow men. Thus he contributed not only to the development of 'a rich vernacular language' but also to the shaping of Dutch religious identities.[85] Linking Coornhert's linguistic and spiritual vocations, this chapter provides a new perspective by pointing to the role of linguistic

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[83] E.g. Peter Burke, 'The rhetoric of autobiography in the seventeenth century', in *Touching the Past: Studies in the Historical Sociolinguistics of Ego-Documents*, ed. by Marijke J. van der Wal and Gijsbert Rutten (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2013), pp. 149–64 (p. 161); Cora van de Poppe, 'Nieuwsberichten als stilistisch voorbeeld voor een vroegmoderne vrouw – Een analyse van het dagboek van Willemken van Wanray (ca. 1573–1647)', *Vooys,* 36.4 (2018), 16–26. See, on the importance of written text (in addition to printed texts) in early modern Dutch society: Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life. Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), p. 2. Texts and (prestigious) language could thus be a means of stratification by social aspirants. See, for example, the study of Mary Thomas Crane on the use of commonplace books by early modern English humanists sharing a common background: Mary Thomas Crane, *Framing Authority. Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 6 ('a theory of language and education [… was] a necessary form of cultural capital for upward mobility').
[84] Helmers, 'Popular Participation', pp. 139–41.
[85] Hermans, 'The World of Literature', p. 289.

units in Coornhert's programme of literary persuasion. More specifically, it studies the rather exceptional occurrence of ***have*-doubling constructions** (e.g. 'beghonnen hebbe ghehad'), as a variant of the simple perfect (e.g. 'beghonnen hebbe') in his polemical treatises. Here, in explaining this variation, I explore the role of macro-level factors (e.g. style, genre) as well as micro-level features, including both language-internal constraints (e.g. the verb's semantics) and external factors (e.g. pragmatic contexts) as constituting elements of intra-author variation within the literary domain. *Have*-doubling, this chapter aims to show, operated as a linguistic means to enhance the persuasive potential of Coornhert's argumentative prose.

Coornhert's debates with the Reformed Church form a prelude to a theological quarrel that would tear apart Dutch society in the first quarter of the seventeenth century: the Remonstrant controversy on predestination. Rooted in the theological principles of Coornhert, the Remonstrants argued that humans could decide to resist the grace of God. The Counter-Remonstrants, in response, advocated the orthodox view that God, before creation, had decided on the salvation or the damnation of individuals. **Chapter 2** shifts focus to a personal story originating from this controversy. A relatively unknown participant in the debate was the Nijmegen Remonstrant widow Willemken van Wanray (ca. 1573–1647), whose autobiographical narrative on her religious persecution enabled her to voice her opinions. Whereas Chapter 1 presented the cultivated literary author as the spiritual guide for Dutch society, Chapter 2 thus moves the ordinary author and her local context to centre stage and examines how language variation was a vehicle for Van Wanray to participate in the controversy. This chapter investigates linguistic performances of identity. It studies how t**ense-aspect variation** allowed Van Wanray to present different selves to her readers, thus anticipating varied (hostile) audiences within and beyond the domestic sphere. More broadly, the chapter's goal is to show how self-narrative not only is shaped in interaction with cultural expectations (i.e. the use of familiar [e.g. biblical] scripts) but is also created through the individual's choices from the language system.

Chapter 3 and 4 shift the thematic focus of his dissertation to the (cultural) management of war and imperial expansion. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch

Republic developed a secular, political memory culture of the Revolt.[86] With an analysis of P. C. Hooft's (1581–1647) *Nederlandse Historien* (first edition 1642), describing the Dutch struggle for independence from Spanish rule (1555-1587), **Chapter 3** studies the creation of such forms of memory. Like Coornhert, Hooft – a member of the Amsterdam Chamber of Rhetoric, which as noted had published the first printed grammar of Dutch – became a major literary author in seventeenth-century society. Whereas Coornhert had written for the sake of his audience's spiritual development, Hooft aimed to provide his readers with moral lessons through a rendering of their own collective history. Taking into account the humanist characteristics of Hooft's *Historien* – he turned Tacitus's Latin into Dutch, so to speak, and the Roman wars into the Dutch Revolt[87] – this chapter opts to employ an analytical multilingual framework. It observes that Hooft, known as the 'Dutch Tacitus', interfered with the Tacitean style by adding aspectually marked tense forms, i.e. ***begin*+infinitive**, as alternative variants to unspecified verbs (e.g. 'zij begint te zeggen' *she begins to say* versus 'zij zegt' *she says*). Investigating why Hooft added the *begin*-construction to Tacitus's concise style, this chapter shows how areas of humanist culture, the material book, narrative structure, and pragmatic-rhetoric principles are involved in the construction's usage and function, and it is necessary to include them in the analysis. More broadly, via a study of a vernacular linguistic item in a text shaped by the Latin writing tradition, this chapter seeks as its objective to contribute to our understanding of the cultural-linguistic interaction between humanist culture and Latin (being the complementary language of culture in Early Modern Europe) on the one hand and the Dutch vernacular writing tradition on the other.

After seceding from Spanish-Habsburg rule, the northern provinces developed into a thriving Dutch Republic. Its economy could prosper thanks to overseas commercial expansion. Around the middle of the seventeenth century, however, England – expanding its own overseas power – became a commercial and

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[86] Judith Pollmann, 'Met grootvaders bloed bezegeld. Over religie en herinneringscultuur in de zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlanden', *De Zeventiende Eeuw. Cultuur in de Nederlanden in interdisciplinair perspectief,* 29. 2 (2013), 154–75.
[87] Here I follow Adamson, 'Literary language', p. 550.

military threat, and the Dutch Republic and England fought each other in a series of wars. Having assessed Hooft's retrospective rendering of the Republic's early history, this dissertation, in **Chapter 4,** moves on to history-in-the-making with a study of the ships' logbooks kept by the naval officer Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter (1607–1676) during these Anglo-Dutch wars. Coming from a modest background, De Ruyter had quickly worked his way up through the ranks, making a career in whaling, privateering, and the merchant marine. In the navy, De Ruyter would climb the ladder to become commander of the Dutch fleet and lieutenant-admiral of the Amsterdam Admiralty, thus holding positions that required extensive writing in the form of daily logbooks. Hence, whereas Chapter 3 studied the literary dimension of storytelling, this chapter traces the role of language variation in narrating for professional purposes – and thus again investigates linguistic use in non-literary discourse (cf. Chapter 2). Observing that verbs cannot be assumed to be a standard characteristic of the plain style one encounters in De Ruyter's logbooks, this final chapter examines the mere presence of verbs, and, when they are present, considers the **lexical variation** that occurs as well as related **syntactic issues** (i.e. variation in grammatical subjects). The chapter, hence, is interested in the way De Ruyter selected certain forms of meaning (through lexical and syntactic variation in verbs) when creating a professional narrative for the readers ashore. Again, the analysis follows (and thus shows the interference of) different contextualisation levels that together constructed this variation, ranging from the individual's background to macro-societal levels (e.g. the situated activity of logbook keeping, the social position of naval officers) and contextual resources (e.g. early modern dictionaries), thus shedding light on the personal/evaluative role of lexis within the process of professional storytelling.

CHAPTER 1

The Pragmatic and Rhetorical Function of Perfect Doubling in the Work of D. V. Coornhert (1522-1590)[1]

Co-authored by Joanna Wall[2]

Abstract

The Early Modern Dutch writer D. V. Coornhert (1522-1590) was an influential figure in, amongst others, the key religious and linguistic developments of his times. Bringing together these two facets and combining both a linguistic (pragmatics/discourse studies and semantics) and a literary studies (rhetoric) approach, this intra-author variation study examines Coornhert's use of *have*-doubling constructions (e.g. have had written) alongside simple perfects (e.g. have written). At the macro-level, we show that *have*-doubling was restricted to Coornhert's argumentative and predominantly moral-theological prose. At the micro-level, we then firstly link Coornhert's *have*-doubling to the well-studied double perfect of modern German which has been proposed to signal the absence of current relevance and have emphasis functions. Secondly, connecting these observations with the pragmatics of verb tense variation, this chapter proposes that *have*-doubling parallels the historical present in functioning as a stance marker/evaluative device in Coornhert's moral-theological prose.

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[1] This chapter is accepted for publication in *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, 25.1 (2024).

[2] This chapter is a joint publication. In Section 1 (introduction), I contributed some of the material on Coornhert's time and work, and links to sociolinguistic work, and the remainder was written by Wall. Wall also conducted the research for and wrote the sections on the macro properties of Coornhert's *have*-doublings (Section 2) and its semantics and pragmatics (Section 3). In Section 4, building on my intuition, Wall and I jointly conceived of the direct parallel with the historical present. Additionally, Wall formalised the bridge with the perfect doubling literature, whilst I contributed the detailed content on evaluative devices/stance markers and the bridge to the subsequent section. Further, I analysed its working in specific fragments of Coornhert's prose (Section 5) and wrote the conclusion (Section 6). Finally, both authors provided comments on each other's writing.

1. Introduction

The Early Modern period witnessed far-reaching developments across diverse domains. No less was this the case than in the Early Modern Low Countries, which underwent a period of, amongst others, important religious and linguistic developments. In particular, in the fledgling Dutch Republic, Reformed Protestantism or Calvinism grew steadily, but was strongly resisted by some. There was also increasing fascination for and exaltation of the vernacular tongue, prompting the first attempts to standardise, even though this would only be realised in the eighteenth century.[3]

A central actor in both these domains was the Amsterdam-born writer D. V. Coornhert (1522-1590). The majority of Coornhert's writing concerned religious and related moral issues: Coornhert was an active opponent of Reformed Protestantism and heavily criticised it by expounding his own contrasting views on moral-theological matters in a number of publications. Moreover, Coornhert was an active promoter of the vernacular. He was heavily involved with *De Egelantier*, an Amsterdam chamber of rhetoric (*rederijkerskamer*), which, in 1584, published H. L. Spiegel's *Twe-spraack van de Nederduitsche Letterkunst*, 'the most important grammar from the sixteenth century'.[4] It was Coornhert who penned its preface. His broader work also testifies to this linguistic vocation: in humanist fashion, he translated several texts into the vernacular from Latin, and was a rare sixteenth-century moralist in it.[5] In so doing, he both acquainted his contemporaries with the

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[3] See, on the fascination for the vernacular tongue within a multilingual context: Van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages.* See, on the standardization of Dutch: Gijsbert Rutten, 'Standardization and the Myth of Neutrality in Language History', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 242 (2016), 25–57; Gijsbert Rutten, 'Diaglossia, Individual Variation and the Limits of Standardization: Evidence from Dutch', in *Current Trends,* ed. by Russi, pp. 194–218.

[4] Nicoline van der Sijs and Roland Willemyns, *Het verhaal van het Nederlands: Een geschiedenis van twaalf eeuwen* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2009), p. 216. Original Dutch: 'De belangrijkste grammatica uit de zestiende eeuw'.

[5] Abraham Jacob van der Aa, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden. Deel 3* (Haarlem: Van Brederode, 1858), p. 699; Hendrik Bonger, *Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert. Studie over een nuchter en vroom Nederlander* (Lochem: De Tijdstroom, 1941), p. 29; René Veenman, De klassieke traditie in de Lage Landen (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Vantilt, 2019), pp. 69–70.

classics in their own language, and elevated that language by applying rhetorical characteristics from Latin to his own vernacular writings.[6]

Whilst Coornhert's use of such characteristics has long been studied, only recently has attention been given to variation in his use of morphosyntactic structures. Firstly, from an intra-author variation perspective, Cora van de Poppe examines Coornhert's variation in genitive constructions, showing that it was part of the rhetorical repertoire in his plays.[7] Secondly, adopting a formal syntactic perspective, Joanna Wall examines Coornhert's use of the constructions that will be the focus of the current chapter: *have*-doubling constructions like (1/2b).[8] These constructions occur alongside run-of-the-mill present perfect, (1a), and (irrealis) past perfect constructions, (2a), which are formed of a finite present/past form of *have* like *heeft* 'has' and *hadde* 'had', and a participial form of a main verb like *belooft* 'promised' or *ontfanghen* 'received'. *Have*-doubling constructions differ formally from these simple present and past perfects in containing an additional participial form of *have*, i.e. *ghehadt* 'had' in (1/2b).

(1) a. *Maar   wie   **heeft**   henluyden   d'alderbeste   voorspoet*
         But   who   has   them.people   the.best   prosperity

   ***belooft**?*
   promised.PTCP

   'But who promised those people the best prosperity?'[9]

   b. *Dit   **heeft**   God   Israel   **belooft**   **ghehadt**.*
       This   has   God   Israel   promised.PTCP   had.PTCP

   Approx.: 'God promised this to Israel'[10]

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[6] Gelderblom, 'Een karakteristiek van Coornherts proza', e.g. pp. 102–03.
[7] Van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma'.
[8] Joanna Wall, *Seeing double: the HAVE puzzle* (Master's thesis, Utrecht University, 2018).
[9] Dirk Volkertszoon Coornhert, *Zedekunst dat is wellevenskunste,* ed. by Bruno B. Becker (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1942), p. 361.
[10] Dirk Volkertszoon Coornhert, *Schijndeugd der secten* (Amsterdam: Jacob Aertsz 1630), fol. cccliir.

(2) a.　…*meer　dan　hy　__hadde　ontfanghen__*.

　　　more　than　he　had　received.PTCP

　　　'more than he had received'[11]

　b.　…*maar de zelve… __ontfanghen　hebben　ghehadt__*,

　　　but　the same　received.PTCP　have　　had.PTCP

　　　Approx.: '…but received the same.'[12]

Both these constructions and Coornhert's use of them are conspicuous for a number of reasons. Firstly, whilst found in certain modern Dutch dialects and other modern varieties like German, *have*-doubling constructions like (1/2b) are entirely absent from modern Standard Dutch, in contrast to run-of-the-mill present/past perfects which remain frequent.[13] Investigating a range of Coornhert's texts available from the *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren* (DBNL), Joanna Wall finds 120 such constructions in a text collection totalling 1.6 million words, equating to a frequency of approximately 76.3 instances per 1 million words.[14] Given the construction's complete absence from modern Standard Dutch, their frequency in Coornhert's writing stands out. As Wall shows, whilst Coornhert was certainly not the only user of *have*-doubling in the Early Modern Dutch period, he also exceeds most of his contemporaries in his frequency of use of the construction.[15] This raises the question: *Which factors determined Coornhert's apparently exceptional use of* have-*doubling constructions?* In this chapter, we provide an answer to this question by examining how semantic, pragmatic and literary factors determine the use of *have*-doubling, or perfect doubling, as we will opt to focus on (see Section 3). As we will show, previous analyses of double perfects have proposed pragmatic reasons for

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[11] Coornhert, *Zedekunst,* p. 267.

[12] Coornhert, *Zedekunst,* p. 201.

[13] Sjef Barbiers, Johan van der Auwera, Hans Bennis, Eefje Boef, Gunther de Vogelaer, and Margreet van der Ham, *Syntactic atlas of the Dutch dialects*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), p. 40; Koeneman et al, 'Perfect doubling', 35–75.

[14] Wall, *Seeing double,* pp. 159–60.

[15] Wall, '*Have*-doubling Constructions'; Wall, 'Extralinguistic properties of *have*-doubling'.

the alternation between these forms and simple perfects.[16] Building on these studies, we show that double perfects are akin to evaluative devices or stance markers described in the pragmatic/discourse studies literature and, more specifically, parallel the well-studied historical present.[17] Adopting a literary perspective on how early modern literary authors like Coornhert used their texts as rhetorically refined instruments of persuasion, we then use this as a basis for examining how Coornhert used the construction to express individual themes in his moral-theological prose.[18] In so doing, we connect both construction-specific and broader research in semantics and pragmatics/discourses studies (linguistics) to research on rhetoric (literary studies), arguing that Coornhert could use double perfects to emphasise and thus arouse the reader's attention to core elements of his ethics. As such, this chapter also adds to the predominantly (historical) sociolinguistic research on intra-writer or -speaker variation, recently extended to include variation within a single author's literary texts (i.e. intra-author variation),[19] including that specifically on Coornhert's work.[20]

The chapter proceeds as follows. In Section 2, we investigate the use of perfect doubling at the macro-level in Coornhert's work, namely in relation to cultural styles and genre. Turning to the micro-level, we then provide an overview of previous studies on the semantic and pragmatic properties of perfect doubling in

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[16] See e.g. Van der Wal, 'De drieledige vorm in taal en taalbeschouwing', p. 393; Mario Squartini, 'On the Semantics of the Pluperfect: Evidence from Germanic and
Romance', *Linguistic Typology* 3.1 (1999), 51–89 (pp. 57, 65–67); Ellen Brandner, Martin Salzmann, and Gerhard Schaden, 'Zur Syntax und Semantik des doppelten Perfekts aus alemannischer Sicht', in *Syntaktische Variation. Alreallinguistische Perspektiven*, ed. by Alexandra N. Lenz and Franz Patocka (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Vienna University Press, 2016), pp. 13–46 (p. 27); Norman Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen im Deutschen und im Französischen* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 2016), pp. 197–213, 215–82.

[17] See e.g. Deborah Schiffrin, 'Tense Variation in Narrative', *Language,* 57.1 (1981), 45–62 (p. 59); Brinton, 'Historical Discourse Analysis', p. 227.

[18] Cf. Hermans, 'The World of Literature', p. 292; Gelderblom, 'Een karakteristiek van Coornherts proza'; Van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma'.

[19] Van Koppen and Dietz, 'Language Dynamics in the Dutch Golden Age'.

[20] Van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma'. In comparison with inter-individual variation, intra-individual variation has hitherto received considerably less attention in (historical) sociolinguistics. See: Hernández-Campoy, *Sociolinguistic Styles,* pp. 29–30. Recently, however, attention for individual language users has been growing. See e.g. Rutten, 'Diaglossia, Individual Variation and the Limits of Standardization', for a recent Early Modern Dutch example in this line of research.

both Early Modern Dutch and modern German varieties and Dutch dialects (Section 3). In Section 4, we detail our proposal that, based on analyses of double perfects in these previous studies, this construction can be assimilated into the stance markers/evaluative devices identified in the pragmatics/discourse studies tradition and, more specifically, parallels the historical present. Moreover, we argue here that both this and construction-specific linguistic research can be connected to research in literary studies on rhetoric, i.e. the persuasive use of language to influence and manage the reader.[21] On this basis, in Section 5, we then provide a qualitative analysis of how the construction is used in two case studies on Coornhert's moral-theological texts, showing how this relates to their thematic and wider sociohistorical context, as well as rhetorical structure. Section 6 concludes the chapter.

2. Macro properties of Coornhert's *have*-doubling: Cultural styles and genre

In this section, taking a macro-level approach to intra-author variation, we will show that Coornhert's use of *have*-doubling was not a humanistic shaped borrowing from classical texts, nor informed by the writing tradition of sixteenth-century rhetoricians. Rather, the literary-communicative context seems to have triggered the use of the construction: Coornhert employed *have*-doublings overwhelmingly in his argumentative prose.

As already noted, Gelderblom and Van de Poppe have both made relevant proposals about specific elements of Coornhert's language. Firstly, Gelderblom has shown that, as well as translating texts from Latin, Coornhert, in humanist fashion, borrowed and adapted some elements of his style from classical literature (e.g. rhythm, rhyme and rhetorical questions).[22] This raises the question as to whether Coornhert might have also borrowed *have*-doublings as stylistic devices from Latin. However, such a notion can be quickly disposed of: whilst *have*-doubling is found in

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[21] Cf. Cora van de Poppe, 'Early modern reader management: *begin*+infinitive as a discourse marker in P. C. Hooft's Dutch prose', *Renaissance Studies* (2020, early view).
[22] Gelderblom, 'Een karakteristiek van Coornherts proza'.

certain modern (Latin descendant) Romance languages like French, to the best of our knowledge it is not documented in Latin itself.[23]

Secondly, in her research on genitive variation, Van de Poppe has argued that genre is a determiner behind Coornhert's linguistic variation. Van de Poppe shows that, in his plays, Coornhert uses the more archaic pregentive variant more frequently than the postgentive variant, but that this is reversed in his prose.[24] Building on previous studies by Damsteegt and Jansen, she links this to the fact that Coornhert's plays were more faithful to the *rederijkerstraditie* (i.e. the rhetorical style in the tradition of the chamber of rhetoric) than his prose was.[25] Moreover, Van de Poppe shows that variation between both types of genitives 'often takes place in and contributes to the functioning of style figures', especially those typical of lyric rather than prose, e.g. chiasms, alliteration, rhythm and rhyme.[26]

In order to ascertain which factors determined Coornhert's use of *have*-doubling here and throughout the present investigation, we examined Wall's set of 120 *have*-doubling constructions collected from his non-translated texts available on DBNL (see Section 1).[27] Like variation in the use of the genitive, we find a clear genre dichotomy in Coornhert's (non-)use of *have*-doubling, but one that points in a different direction to the dichotomy found in genitive variation. Consider firstly Table 1, which shows the number of *have*-doubling constructions found in the corpus for each genre, based on the classification of (main) genre in DBNL.[28]

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[23] Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*; see also Wall, 'Extralinguistic properties of *have*-doubling'.

[24] Van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma', pp. 284–85.

[25] Boudewijn Cornelis Damsteegt, 't'Samenvoeghing in de Hertspiegel', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde,* 94 (1978), 1–24; Jeroen Jansen (ed.), *G. A. Bredero. Proza* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2011), p. 57; Jeroen Jansen, ''Sincere Simplicity'. Gerbrand Bredero's Apprenticeship with Coornhert and Spiegel', *Dutch Crossing*, 41.1 (2017), 4–20 (pp. 10–13).

[26] Original Dutch: 'vindt vaak plaats in en draagt bij aan het functioneren van stijlfiguren.' Van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma', p. 296.

[27] From Wall, *'Have*-doubling Constructions'.

[28] This distinguishes Drama, Poetry, Prose and Non-Fiction. In Table 1, the latter two are combined into Prose.

Genre	Number of texts	Number of words	Percentage of total words	Number of instances of *have-*doubling	Number of instances of *have-*doubling per million words
Drama	10	150,221	10%	1	6.7
Poetry	4	49,682	3%	0	0.0
Prose	48	1,372,673	87%	119	86.7
Total	62	1,572,576	n/a	120	76.3

Table 1. *Have*-doubling constructions in Coornhert's work by genre

The first observation concerning Table 1 is that, whilst the corpus size is small (*n*=49,682 words; 3%), *have*-doubling is entirely absent from Poetry. Similarly, only one instance is attested in Drama, equating to just 6.7 instances per million words, despite Drama accounting for 10% of the total words in the corpus. Indeed, *have*-doubling overwhelmingly predominates in Prose (86.7 instances per million words).[29] Notice that, since *have*-doubling is essentially completely absent from Coornhert's plays, its use cannot be directly linked to the *rederijkerstraditie,* as was the case in his use of the pregenitive (see above). Instead, this broadly matches construction-specific literature on the role of genre: both Van der Wal on Early Modern Dutch *be-* and *have*-doubling constructions (cf. footnote 40 below) and Litvinov and Radčenko on German find a low frequency of *have*-doubling in poetry.[30] Further, Van der Wal's intuition is 'that argumentative prose forms a favourable context'.[31] We are able to provide support for her observation: all of the

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[29] See also Wall, 'Extralinguistic properties of *have*-doubling'.

[30] Van der Wal, 'De drieledige vormen in taal en taalbeschouwing', p. 393; Viktor P. Litvinov and Vladimir L. Radčenko, *Doppelte Perfektbildungen in der deutschen Literatursprache* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg-Verlag, 1998), p. 15.

[31] Original Dutch: 'dat betogend proza een begunstigende kontekst vormt […]'. Van der Wal, 'De drieledige vormen in taal en taalbeschouwing', p. 393; cf. however Litvinov and and Radčenko, *Doppelte Perfektbildungen,* pp. 12–15. Note that ultimately, whilst Van der Wal does not provide her statistics, the main evidence for this conclusion might be the

Prose texts in the corpus, regardless of the presence of doubling, fall into at least one of the following subgenre categories: treatises, Dialogues, Pamphlet-Brochures, Philosophy-Ethics and Theology. Indeed, the four texts with the highest raw frequency of *have*-doubling are all clear examples of argumentative prose on philosophical, ethical and/or theological content, and together account for 45% of the *have*-doubling constructions in the corpus.[32] These are: *Van de vreemde sonde* 'On strange sin' (1584; *n*=24, 20%); the first vernacular companion to ethics for common people, *Zedekunst* (1586; *n*=13, 11%); *Vande predestinatie, verkiesinghe en de verwerpinghe Godes* 'On predestination and God's preferences and rejections' (1589; *n*=10, 8%); and *Van de toelatinge ende decrete Godts* 'On God's allowances and decrees' (1572; *n*=7, 6%). In Section 5, we will examine individual examples from the two texts in which *have*-doubling occurs with the highest raw frequencies, *Van de vreemde sonde* and the *Zedekunst*, in this central context of theological prose, in order to analyse the micro-discourse properties of *have*-doubling.

Furthermore, we can also assimilate the one apparently exceptional *have*-doubling found in Drama, shown in (3), to this picture.

(3)　　*...[Het Evangelie] seydt dat het leven der oprechten hier wel een rasernye schijnt inden ooghen der gheenre die self rasen, maer dat zy namaels met te spade berou sullen bevinden dat sy gheraest hebben ende dat het kinderen Godes zijn **die sy bespot hebben ghehadt**.*

'[The Gospel] says that the life of the righteous here does seem a mad one in the eyes of those who rage themselves, but that they subsequently realise with too late repentance that they raged and that it was children of God who they **mocked**.'[33]

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argumentative prose of Coornhert's *Zedekunst*, which is included in her study (cf. footnote 40 below).

[32] Note that, although Coornhert's plays were also vehicles for moral and theological instruction, his texts were first and foremost intended to provide entertainment and thereby educate the audience (Fleurkens, *Stichtelijke lust,* p. 80). The primary purpose of the texts distinguished in Table 1 thus differed (entertainment and teaching in plays, versus education and persuasion in prose). The form (prose versus poetry) and style is adjusted accordingly.

[33] Dirk Volkertszoon Coornhert, 'Der Maeghdekens Schole, comedia', in *Het*

(3) is from Coornhert's *Maeghdekens schole* 'School for Maidens' (ca. 1570-1575), one of only two of Coornhert's plays which were non-rhyming, his eight others were all rhyming.[34] It is spoken by the pupil Iohanna, the drama's principle protagonist. In it, she defends to the teacher, Curiositas, the supremacy of the Gospel, the latter having misled Iohanna's fellow pupil Galilea to exchange it for a book that gives more pleasure. Instead, Iohanna points out to Curiositas that the Gospel teaches her that God's judgement and that of man are distinct. Hence, this example in fact satisfies all three characteristics highlighted above: it is prose, theological, and argumentative, indeed placed into the mouth of the principle protagonist.

Given that all Prose texts in the corpus can be broadly characterised as argumentative prose, what obviously cannot be straightforwardly established on the basis of this corpus is how frequent *have*-doubling was in Coornhert's non-argumentative prose. Consideration of some of Coornhert's texts not included in the corpus provides evidence, albeit limited, that the construction occurs in other forms of prose less frequently. In point of fact, we find the example in (4) in a letter from Coornhert to Spiegel, his friend and fellow member of the chamber of rhetoric *De Egelantier*, whose content, relating an important life event – the death of his wife – to his friend, implies non-argumentative prose.[35]

(4) *Amice, ick groet U vriendelyck met U lieve Huysvrouwe; de mijne is bij haer Heere: diese my lange* **_gheleent heeft ghehadt_**_.

Approx.: 'Dear friend, I send my cordial greetings to you with your dear wife; my own is with her Lord who **had** long **lent** her to me.'[36]

A future investigation should be conducted to establish whether *have*-doublings are also less frequent in Coornhert's letters compared with his argumentative prose.

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roerspel en de comedies van Coornhert, ed. by Paul van der Meulen (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1955), pp. 318–401 (p. 327).

[34] Van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma', p. 283.

[35] Even certain instances in letters could, however, be assimilated into Coornhert's argumentative and persuasive prose. See: Hendrik Bonger and Arie-Jan Gelderblom (eds.), *Weet of rust. Proza van Coornhert* (Amsterdam: Em. Querido's Uitgeverij, 1985), p. 126.

[36] Repeated from Bonger, *Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert,* p. 37.

Another text not included in the corpus which already points to the conclusion that *have*-doubling is indeed infrequent in Coornhert's non-argumentative prose is his *Vijftigh lustighe historien oft nieuwigheden Joannis Boccatij* 'Fifty funny stories or curiosities from Giovanni Boccacio' (1564), a translation of selected parts of Boccaccio's prose narrative work *Decamerone*, excluded from the original corpus as it is a translation. It contains four *have*-doublings, equating to a frequency of 24.3 instances per 1 million words, significantly lower than the 86.7 instances per 1 million words for the (argumentative) prose works in the corpus. This suggests that, whilst not absent from other types of prose, *have*-doubling is indeed particularly frequent in Coornhert's argumentative prose relative to other types of prose.[37]

3. Semantics and pragmatics of perfect doubling

In this section, we introduce previous research on the semantics and pragmatics of *have*-doubling in both Early Modern Dutch and modern Dutch dialectal and German varieties. Whilst multiple different types of *have*-doubling have been proposed to exist in both these and other related varieties, we will concentrate on one particular type of *have*-doubling, perfect doubling.[38] Like simple perfects, these are active constructions in which the interpretation of the syntactic subject is determined by the external argument of the embedded participle. For example, (5) is an active construction, in which the subject is interpreted as a sinner in line with the embedded participle *gezondight* 'sinned'.

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[37] There are few other available instances of non-argumentative prose from Coornhert: his other translations include those of Cicero's treatise *De Officïs* (1 double perfect), Boethius' philosophical work *De consolatione philosophiae* (1 double perfect in main text, 1 in foreword) and selected parts of the *Odysee* (0 double perfects), a verse text.

[38] Wall, for instance, argues that in addition to double perfects there are passive *have*-doubling constructions, in which, following Broekhuis and Duinhoven, the syntactic subject is 'a metaphorical recipient, namely an individual who is causally but not actively implicated in the denoted event', akin to causative *have*-doubling constructions found in modern English. See: Wall, 'Have-doubling Constructions', pp. 162-63; Hans Broekhuis, 'The Rise of the Periphrastic Perfect Tense in the Continental West Germanic Languages', *LingBuzz* (2019), p. 15; Antonius Maria Duinhoven, *Middel-Nederlandse syntaxis: Synchroon en diachroon 2. De werkwoordgroep* (Groningen: Martinus Nijhoff, 1997), p. 347. Here, we assume that the specific instances of Coornhert's *have*-doubling discussed in Section 5 are double perfects, although it should be noted that most examples do not allow the reading of the subject to be ascertained unambiguously. More research is required to try to determine the distribution of these distinct types of *have*-doubling more accurately.

(5) *... souden sy   int   niet   aannemen vanden Heere oock* __*gezondight*__
    should they in.the not   accept.INF of.the Lord   also   sinned.PTCP

    __*hebben*__ __*ghehadt*__?
    have.INF   had.PTCP

    Approx.: '…would they have also sinned in not accepting from the Lord?'[39]

A previous Early Modern Dutch study which touches upon the factors of interest is that of Van der Wal who investigates these 'active three-part forms' in a multi-author corpus study of 18 Dutch texts from the sixteenth until the eighteenth century.[40] Van der Wal finds that there is 'no particular rule [of usage]' of doubling constructions, but nevertheless highlights two factors related to their semantics and pragmatics.[41] Firstly, she cites an extract from the seventeenth-century writer P. C. Hooft's (1581-1647) grammar *Waernemingen op de Hollandsche Tael* ('Observations on the Dutch language') where he describes the potential ambiguity of run-of-the-mill perfects as a potential motivation for the use of perfect doubling in Early Modern Dutch: the use of a present perfect like *hy heeft de stadt beleghert* 'he has besieged the town' '…may obscure matters, because it might be understood that he still had the town under siege, at our time of speaking: so to be very clear, it would in fact be necessary to say HY HEEFT BELEGHERT GEHADT [i.e. the

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[39] Dirk Volkertszoon Coornhert, 'Toetzsteen der ware leeraren', in *D. V. Coornhert, Wercken. Deel I* (Amsterdam: Jacob Aertsz., 1631), fol. 67r.

[40] Original Dutch: 'aktieve drieledige vormen'. Van der Wal, 'De drieledige vormen in taal en taalbeschouwing', p. 391. One of the sixteenth-century texts in Van der Wal's muli-author corpus is Coornhert's *Zedekunst*, which is also included in the present study, but these are otherwise from authors other than Coornhert. Note further that the 'active three-part forms' are in fact of secondary interest to the main focus of Van der Wal's study – the apparently related three-part passive constructions like (a), a further construction found in Early Modern Dutch but absent from modern Standard Dutch.

(a) *Het boek is verkocht   geworden   / gewesen*
    The book is sold.PTCP become.PTCP / been.PTCP
    Approx.: 'The book has been/was sold.'

This means, aside from her discussion of Hooft's remarks which specifically concern *have*-doubling, Van der Wal's comments on the function of doubling refer to both sets of constructions, if not predominately those like (a), not just the ones of interest here.

[41] Original Dutch: 'geen bepaalde regel'. Van der Wal, 'De drieledige vormen in taal en taalbeschouwing', p. 393.

doubling variant]…'.[42] This implies that a double perfect may only be used when something is no longer valid at the time of speaking. Secondly, Van der Wal also expresses an intuition regarding a pragmatic role of these constructions: 'Since one variant is more marked and thus draws more attention than the usual form, one might assume that the use of the three-part forms corresponds to the need for clarification or placing of emphasis'.[43]

In contrast to their Early Modern Dutch counterparts, perfect doubling constructions in modern Dutch dialectal and, more so, German varieties have been subject to a vast amount of research.[44] This research distinguishes two different types of double perfects, whose availability is determined by the variety in question's wider tense/aspect paradigm. As we now show, Early Modern Dutch likely lacked a purely temporal double perfect such as restricted to southern German varieties, but instead had a double perfect like those found in Dutch dialects and other German varieties, with both a temporal/aspectual semantics akin to that described by P. C. Hooft, but also a clear pragmatic motivation comparable to that suggested by Van der Wal.

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[42] Original Dutch: 'kan duijsterheijt vallen, want het mochte verstaen worden, dat hij de Stadt nog beleghert hield, op den tijd als wij spreeken: zulx om heel klaer te spreken, wel noodigh waere te zeggen HY HEEFT BELEGHERT GEHADT […]'. Hooft, 'Waernemingen', p. 249; see also Van der Wal, 'De drieledige vormen in taal en taalbeschouwing', p. 397.

[43] Original Dutch: 'Omdat een variant gemarkeerder is en dus meer aandacht trekt dan de gebruikelijke vorm, zou men kunnen veronderstellen dat het gebruik van de drieledige vormen samenhangt met de behoefte tot verduidelijking of met het leggen van een accent.' Van der Wal, 'De drieledige vormen in taal en taalbeschouwing', p. 393.

[44] Andreas Ammann, 'The Fate of 'Redundant' Verbal Forms: Double Perfect Constructions in the Languages of Europe', in *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung. Language Typology and Universals*, ed. by Thomas Stolz (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007), pp. 186–204; Brandner et al, 'Zur Syntax und Semantik'; Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*; Koeneman et al, 'Perfect doubling'; Litvinov and Radčenko, *Doppelte Perfektbildungen*; Michael Rödel, *Doppelte Perfektbildungen und die Organisation von Tempus im Deutschen* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg-Verlag, 2007); Michael Rödel, 'New Perspectives on Double Perfect Constructions in German', in *Tense Across Languages*, ed. by Monika Rathert and Renate Musan (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2011), pp 127–46; Squartini, 'On the Semantics of the Pluperfect'; Tatjana Zybatow and Thomas Weskott, 'Das Doppelperfekt: Theorie und Empirie', *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft,* 37.1 (2018), 83–124.

The first, purely temporal double perfect, the so-called *anterior*,[45] which is found in southern German dialects, signals 'an event in the past as completed/anterior to a reference point in the past'.[46] This is illustrated in (6).

(6)	*Wo*	*s*	*Anni*	*der*	*ëërscht*	*Walzer*	***gmacht***
	When	the	Anni	the	first	waltz	done.PTCP

	ghaa	***hed***,	***isch***	*em*		*schlächt*	***wòorde***.
	had.PTCP	has	is	him.DAT		bad	become.PTCP

'After Anni had danced the first waltz, she started to feel sick.'[47]

In (6), as signposted by the conjunction *wo* 'when, after', the anterior double perfect *hed ghaa gmacht* 'has… had done' expresses that Anni's having completed the waltz is anterior to the point when he starts to feel bad – expressed by a run-of-the-mill simple perfect – *isch…wòorde* 'has became'. In modern Standard German and other varieties, the same meaning is instead expressed by a morphological past perfect, like *hatte…getanzt* 'had…danced' in (7).

(7)	*Nachdem*	*Anni*	*den*	*ersten*	*Walzer*	***getanzt***	***hatte***,
	After	Anni	the	first	waltz	danced.PTCP	had

	wurde	*ihr*	*schlecht.*
	became	him.DAT	bad[48]

Importantly, the availability of double perfects with this purely temporal meaning is determined by the wider tense/aspect paradigm: these double perfects are generally

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[45] E.g. Koeneman et al, 'Perfect doubling', pp. 72-74, and references therein; Brandner et al., 'Zur Syntax und Semantik'; Ida Larsson and Ellen Brandner, 'Perfect doubling and the grammaticalization of auxiliaries', paper presented at DiGS16 (3–5 July 2014, Budapest); cf. Squartini, 'On the Semantics of the Pluperfect', pp. 62ff.; Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen,* pp. 117–33.

[46] Original German: 'beschreibt ein Ereignis in der Vergangenheit als abgeschlossen/vorzeitig zu einem Referenzzeitpunkt in der Vergangenheit […]'. Brandner et al, 'Zur Syntax und Semantik', p. 4.

[47] Cf. Hans Bossard, *Zuger Mundartbuch: Grammatik und Wörterverzeichnisse* (Zürich: Schweizer Spiegel-Verlag, 1962) in Brandner et al, 'Zur Syntax und Semantik', p. 16.

[48] Brandner et al, 'Zur Syntax und Semantik', p. 16.

restricted to varieties which have undergone the *Präteritumsschwund* 'preterit disappearance', i.e. lost morphologically simple past tenses like *wurde* 'became' in (7).[49] More specifically, given the absence of simple past forms of the auxiliary (e.g. *sie hatte* 'she had' and *sie war* 'she was') in these varieties, past perfects cannot be formed from a combination of a simple past form of the auxiliary like *hatte* 'had' and a lexical past participle like *getanzt* 'danced', as in other German varieties and modern Dutch varieties (see footnote 56 below). As such, in southern varieties, double perfects express this temporal meaning, thus filling a genuine gap in the tense/aspect system.

Like in non-southern German varieties and modern Dutch varieties, there appears to have been no such gap in the tense/aspect system in Coornhert's Dutch: he retained morphological simple pasts and was hence able to express the temporal meaning associated with anterior double perfects with a morphological past perfect. Both of these forms are exemplified in the narrative extract in (8).[50]

(8)   *Endelijck* *bevindende* *dat* *hy* *hem* *niet* *en* ***beweechde***
      Finally   finding   that   he   him   not   NEG   moved

      na dat *sy* *hem* *al*   *dicmael*   *weder*
      after   she   him   already   many.times   again

      aenghestoten ***hadde***, ***vermerckte*** *sy* *dat*
      nudged.PTCP   had   noticed   she   that

      hy *doot* *was*
      he   dead   was

      'Finally finding that he was not moving after she had nudged him again and again, she realised that he was dead…'[51]

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[49] Larsson and Brandner, 'Perfect doubling and the grammaticalization of auxiliaries'; cf. Squartini, 'On the Semantics of the Pluperfect', pp. 60–61; Koeneman et al, 'Perfect doubling', pp. 40–41, 73–74.
[50] See also Hooft's contemporary description of the past perfect in his 'Waernemingen', p. 248.
[51] Dirk Volkertszoon Coornhert, *Vijftigh lustighe historien oft nieuwigheden Joannis Boccatij* (Amsterdam: Broer Jansz [ca. 1644]), fol. N4v.

In (8), the morphological past perfect *hadde…aenghestoten* 'had…nudged' appears to express the anterior's meaning: as signposted by the conjunction *na dat* 'after' (cf. *nachdem* 'after' in (7)), the repeated nudging of the body is anterior to the establishment of the individual's death indicated by the simple pasts *beweechde* 'moved' and *vermerckte* 'noticed'. As such, given the presence of both morphological simple pasts and past perfects in Coornhert's Dutch, and assuming that we can generally only expect double perfects in varieties without these, we seem to be able to rule out this purely temporal, anterior double perfect.

Instead, Coornhert's double perfects appear to correspond to a second type of double perfect, which has both a temporal/aspectual and pragmatic meaning, and is found alongside anterior double perfects in southern German dialects,[52] as well as in other German varieties[53] and modern Dutch dialects[54] which lack the anterior.[55] In what follows, focusing on the better studied instances of this construction in German varieties, we introduce the temporal/aspectual meaning of these double perfects, by first describing relevant forms in the wider tense/aspect paradigm of these varieties with which they are partially interchangeable, and then look at their pragmatic function.

In non-southern varieties of German, in addition to past perfects like (7), the wider tense/aspect paradigm features morphologically simple pasts like *traf* 'met' as well as simple perfects like *habe…getroffen* 'have…met'.[56] Both of these

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[52] E.g. Squartini, 'On the Semantics of the Pluperfect', p. 65ff.; Brandner et al, 'Zur Syntax und Semantik'.

[53] E.g. Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*.

[54] Koeneman et al, 'Perfect doubling', pp. 72–74. As Wall shows based on the same dataset, Coornhert's *have*-doubling constructions also parallel their Dutch dialectal counterparts in terms of an important syntactic property, namely their word order. See: Wall, '*Have*-doubling Constructions'; cf. Koeneman et al, 'Perfect doubling'; and Brandner et al, 'Zur Syntax und Semantik', p. 35ff. on southern German varieties.

[55] This corresponds to what Haß refers to as the *absoluter Gebrauch* 'absolute use' of double perfects, and broadly speaking to the various non-anterior uses distinguished by Squartini and Brandner, Salzmann, and Schaden. Note that unlike these other authors, who for instance notably treat double perfects with positional past tense adverbs as a separate class, we, following Haß, assume they are part of a unified class of non-anterior uses. See: Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*; Squartini, 'On the Semantics of the Pluperfect', p. 66ff.; Brandner et al, 'Zur Syntax und Semantik', pp. 17–18, 27–28.

[56] See e.g. Squartini, 'On the Semantics of the Pluperfect', p. 61. Whilst there is less descriptive material available on the wider tense/aspect systems of Dutch dialects with double

are at least to some extent exchangeable, being able to combine with positional past adverbs like *gestern* 'yesterday', as illustrated in (9a/b) respectively.[57]

(9)   a. *Gestern*   *traf*   *ich*   *Hans.*
           Yesterday   met   I   Hans

        b. *Gestern*   *habe*   *ich*   *Hans*   *getroffen.*
           Yesterday   have   I   Hans   met.PTCP

        'Yesterday, I met Hans.'[58]

In addition, simple perfects in German are possible in *current relevance*-type contexts, namely approximately when what is expressed relates to or holds into the present. One such instance is (10), a universal perfect[59], in which the durative adverb *seit einer Stunde* 'for an hour' indicates that a state began in the past and the present tense adverb *jetzt* 'now' shows that it still holds in the present.

(10)   *Ich*   **<u>habe</u>**   *den*   *Rucksack*   **jetzt**   **schon**   **seit**
        I   have   the   rucksack   now   already   since

        einer   ***Stude*** *[sic.]*   **<u>getragen.</u>**
        a   hour   carried.PTCP

        'I have now carried the rucksack for an hour.'[60]

In their temporal meaning, double perfects in (non-southern) German varieties parallel (9a/b), rather than (10): Like morphologically simple pasts and perfects of the (9b)-type, they can also express simple past tense and combine with positional

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perfects, they appear to parallel non-southern German varieties, given that they also feature both simple pasts and past perfects, and that both simple and double perfects are possible in viable doubling contexts. See: Koeneman et al, 'Perfect doubling', pp. 40, 74.

[57] See e.g. Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*, pp. 48–49, 55–63.

[58] Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*, pp. 48–49.

[59] See e.g. Bernard Comrie, *Aspect: An Introduction to Verbal Aspect and Related Problems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 60.

[60] Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*, p. 217.

past tense adverbs like *gestern* 'yesterday' in (11a), but are ungrammatical in current relevance contexts (11b).[61]

(11)　　a. ***Gestern*　*hat*　*er*　*es*　*mir*　*gesagt*　　*gehabt.***
　　　　　Yesterday　has　he　it　me.DAT　said.PTCP　　had.PTCP
　　　　　Approx.: 'He said it to me yesterday.'[62]

　　　　b. **Ich*　***habe***　*den*　*Rucksack*　***jetzt***　***schon***　***seit***　***einer***
　　　　　I　have　the　rucksack　now　already　since　an
　　　　Stunde　***getragen***　　***gehabt***.
　　　　hour　carried.PTCP　　had.PTCP[63]

As such, perfect doubling can be seen to express the absence of current relevance, or to 'cancel[…] the implication that a certain status still holds at the moment of speech'.[64]

　　　　According to the aforementioned comments by Hooft in his *Waernemingen*, including and beyond those cited above, a broadly identical situation seems to have held of both the wider tense/aspect system and double perfects in Early Modern Dutch. First, both Early Modern Dutch morphological simple past forms like *hy belegherde* 'he besieged' and simple perfects like *hy heeft de stadt beleghert* 'he has besieged the town', can express 'a matter which is over at the point of time when one speaks thereof'.[65] Further, the latter, just like their German counterparts, seem to be found in current relevance contexts given that from the simple perfect *hy heeft de stadt beleghert*, 'it might be understood that he still had the town under siege'.[66]

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[61] E.g. Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*, pp. 249–58; see on positional past tense adverbs e.g. pp. 145, 216–17; cf. footnote 55 above.

[62] Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen,* p. 135.

[63] Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*, p. 217.

[64] Ammann, 'The Fate of 'Redundant' Verbal Forms', p. 197. For similar descriptions see e.g. Brandner et al., 'Zur Syntax und Semantik'; Rödel, *Doppelte Perfektbildungen;* Rödel, 'New Perspectives on Double Perfect Constructions in German'.

[65] Original Dutch: 'een zaek die verbij is op den tijdt als men daer af spreekt'. Hooft, 'Waernemingen', p, 248.

[66] Original Dutch: 'het mochte verstaen worden, dat hij de Stadt nog beleghert hield'. Hooft, 'Waernemingen', p. 249.

Finally, as noted above, it is likewise double perfects which are ruled out in this latter context and appear thus to be only able to express something which is no longer valid at the time of speaking, like in German.

Secondly, supporting Van der Wal's second observation, previous analyses of double perfects in German and Dutch varieties have proposed pragmatic reasons for the alternation between these forms and simple perfects.[67] Notably, directly parallel to Van der Wal, Haß argues that double perfects are an *expressive Kommunikationsstrategie* 'expressive communication strategy' compared with double perfect due to their status as a 'more complex, heavier and phonetically marked verbal form'.[68] According to Haß, examples which exhibit this expressive function can be linked to the *Hervorhebung eines Verbalgeschehens* 'emphasis of an event' or *eine besonders wichtige Information* 'a particularly important piece of information'.[69] One context in which such expressive functions are frequent is the repetition of an event that has already been expressed with a non-double form, be it a simple perfect or simple past in conjunction with a double perfect, or a simple past perfect with either a double perfect or double past perfect.[70]

Further, describing the example below in (12) and directly related to their temporal/aspectual meaning, Rödel links double perfects to an emphasis specifically on the 'temporal distance' of the proposition expressed, stating: 'Obviously the speaker chooses a double perfect to emphasise the temporal distance of the situation.

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[67] E.g. Squartini 'On the Semantics of the Pluperfect', pp. 57, 65–67; Koeneman et al, 'Perfect doubling', pp. 69, 73; Brandner et al, 'Zur Syntax und Semantik', pp. 27–28; Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*, pp. 197–213, 215–82.

[68] Original German: 'komplexere, schwerere und phonetisch markierte Verbalform'. Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*, p. 199.

[69] Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*, pp. 205–06, 208.

[70] Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*, pp. 203–07, 210-12; see also Rödel, 'New Perspectives on Double Perfect Constructions in German', p. 136, ex. 21.
In addition, Haß relates this expressive function to 'eine[r] Art Betonung, dass ein vergangenes Ereignis tatsächlich in der beschriebenen Form stattgefunden hat' (a sort of emphasis, that a past event actually took place in the described form). See: Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*, pp. 212–13. However, as this is not obviously the case of the Early Modern Dutch instances in this chapter, we will not further discuss it here.

It is a subjective classification of the speaker to distance himself from the topic of this sentence […]'.[71]

(12)   Speaker 1: *Bei den Filmaufnahmen damals haben Sie sehr sportlich gewirkt. Treiben Sie Sport?*
        Speaker 2: *Ja, ich spiele leidenschaftlich Fußball (.) und **habe** es auch damals schon **gespielt gehabt**.*
        Speaker 1: 'Back then when shooting the film you seemed to be very sporty. Do you regularly do sports?'
        Speaker 2: 'Yes, I love playing football and I already played then too.'[72]

Thus, as well as expressing a temporal meaning associated with the absence of current relevance, double perfects can be linked to pragmatic motivations for emphasis.

In this section, we have shown, with reference to the wider tense/aspect paradigms, that Early Modern Dutch likely lacked a purely temporal, anterior double perfect found in southern German varieties, but instead had a double perfect with both a temporal/aspectual and pragmatic meaning as also found in modern Dutch dialects and other German varieties. Temporally, such double perfects can be broadly seen to express the absence of current relevance and, pragmatically, these constructions have been associated with emphasis functions, specifically in relation to stressing a situation's temporal distance.[73] In the next section, we present a proposal for Coornhert's use of perfect doubling based on this previous literature in relation to research in pragmatics and discourse studies on verb tense variation.

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[71] Rödel, 'New Perspectives on Double Perfect Constructions in German', p. 136; see also Rödel, *Doppelte Perfektbildungen*; Brandner et al, 'Zur Syntax und Semantik', pp. 27–28.
[72] Bayern2Radio, 05/10/2005 in Rödel, 'New Perspectives on Double Perfect Constructions in German', p. 136.
[73] Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*; Rödel, *Doppelte Perfektbildungen*; Rödel, 'New Perspectives on Double Perfect Constructions in German'.

4. Proposal: Perfect doubling parallels the historical present

In this section, we propose that, due to their semantics and emphasis function, double perfects can be considered to parallel the historical present. As such, we show they form part of a wider class of evaluative devices/stance markers documented in the pragmatics/discourse studies literature on tense switching phenomena.[74] Further, as a bridge to the case studies on Coornhert's use of *have*-doubling, we argue that these can be linked to rhetorical devices as discussed in literary studies research.

The historical present is the use of the present tense in the narration of past events. It is a marked form, in opposition to the usual unmarked past tense found in narratives.[75] Now widely acknowledged is the fact that the historical present serves pragmatic roles, which fall under the category of evaluation devices/stance marking.[76] Generally, scholars assume that the speaker/writer is present in an utterance with his/her attitude and belief through linguistic means, thus giving personal emphasis and conveying, for example, levels of certainty and importance.[77] Over the past decades, scholars have increasingly studied the evaluative function and meaning of various linguistic items in different languages and contexts.[78] In particular, the first decades of the twenty-first century witnessed an upsurge of interest in the linguistic mechanisms of evaluation under different labels, including evaluation, subjectivity, and stance – the latter probably being the most commonly used nowadays.[79]

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[74] E.g. Suzanne Fleischman, 'Evaluation in Narrative: The Present Tense in Medieval "Performed Stories"', *Yale French Studies* 70 (1986), 199-25.

[75] See for a discussion on tense and markedness: Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity,* p. 52ff.

[76] See for a short overview on pragmatic roles: Brinton, 'Historical Discourse Analysis', p. 227.

[77] See for a short overview on stance's rhetorical effect: Alexander M. Baratta, 'Revealing Stance through Passive Voice', *Journal of Pragmatics,* 41.7 (2009), 1406–21 (p. 1407).

[78] Particularly that of value-marked vocabulary, but see e.g. Suzanne Fleischman, 'Discourse functions of tense-aspect oppositions in narrative: toward a theory of grounding', *Linguistics,* 23 (1985), 851–82, on the historical present and Barrata 'Revealing Stance through Passive Voice', on the passive.

[79] E.g. Susan Hunston and Geoff Thompson (eds.), *Evaluation in Text. Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); James R. Martin and Peter R. R. White, *The Language of Evaluation. Appraisal in English* (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Robert Englebretson, *Stancetaking in Discourse. Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction* (Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing

Although the historical present has no intrinsic evaluative force itself – in contrast to intensifiers or other value-marked vocabulary –, it can function as an evaluative device/stance marker in two ways. Firstly, on a more general level, the historical present as a marked tense can highlight the relative importance of a certain event within the larger discourse, i.e. it foregrounds certain information.[80] Secondly, following from its tense/aspect morphology, the historical present has an evaluative function related to the degree of distance between the event and the moment of narration/reading. More specifically, as a form of 'internal evaluation' the historical present renders events 'as if they were occurring at that moment'.[81] As such, it can serve both the narrator and the audience, in the representation and interpretation of the narrative.[82]

Building on the discussed literature on verb tense variation between the past and the historical present and combining it with the discussed literature on the semantics and pragmatics of perfect doubling (Section 3), perfect doubling and the historical present can be treated as parallel phenomena. Firstly, perfect doubling and the historical present have in common that they are both marked tenses – as they are used as deviation from other tense forms, i.e. run-of-the-mill present/past perfects as well as simple pasts in the case of the former and simple pasts in the case of the

Company, 2007); Alexandra Jaffe (ed.), *Stance. Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Geoff Thompson and Laura Alba-Juez (eds.), *Evaluation in Context* (Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014).

[80] E.g. Laurel J. Brinton, 'The Historical Present in Charlotte Brontë's Novels: Some Discourse Functions', *Style* 26.2 (1992), 221–44 (pp. 227–28); Fleischman, 'Discourse Functions of Tense-Aspect Oppositions in Narrative'.

[81] Schiffrin, 'Tense Variation in Narrative', p. 59. The notion of internal evaluation refers to Labov's seminal sociolinguistic work on the structure of narratives, where he distinguishes between external (i.e. explicit) and internal (i.e. linguistic items expressing evaluative force) evaluation. See: William Labov, *Language in the Inner City. Studies in the Black English Vernacular* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), p. 370ff. However, as highlighted above, recent research has greatly extended these notions beyond Labov's initial conception of them as alerting the audience to the story's point, and it is to these more recent interpretations which we relate perfect doubling in the current study.

[82] There is some debate whether the historical present is an evaluation device for the narrator, revealing his/her stance towards the events, or for the audience, to 'develop their own view of events'. See for a short overview on both aspects: Brinton, 'The Historical Present in Charlotte Brontë's Novels', p. 228. Below, we interpret the use of perfect doubling from an interactional perspective: perfect doubling first and foremost allows Coornhert, as author, to distance himself from the uttered content. When presenting his own way of thinking, however, he likely also guided the interpretation of the audience.

latter[83] – and, hence, they are a potential means for the author's personal emphasis (stance), e.g. emphasising *eine besonders wichtige Information* 'a particularly piece of important information'.[84] Secondly, both tenses reveal the level of distance to the content of the utterance. Whereas the historical present situates narrated events in the here-and-the-now, perfect doubling, in contrast, locates events in the completed past.[85] Perfect doubling, in other words, offers the writer/speaker the most distanced stance, thus allowing 'the speaker to distance himself from the topic of this sentence […]'.[86] To the best of our knowledge, this link between perfect doubling and the historical present/stance marking is a novel one which does not feature in the previous literature on either.

In the following section, we present a qualitative analysis of *have*-doubling in two case studies on themes in Coornhert's moral-theological texts. We will argue there that, parallel to the historical present, perfect doubling is a vehicle for the author to insert his viewpoint into a text.[87] In contrast with the former's conveyance of temporal closeness, however, the evaluative force of perfect doubling lies in dissociation. In that sense, perfect doubling could be argued to be another of the stylistic devices used for rhetorical functions as discerned in literary studies. Like the deployment of stylistic devices and the effective arrangement of the texts' argument structure, Coornhert could use morphosyntactic items, and perfect doubling specifically, rhetorically, i.e. to attract the reader's attention and to structure the argumentation line by situating the utterance's content in the completed past.[88]

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[83] Van der Wal, 'De drieledige vormen in taal en taalbeschouwing', p. 393; Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*, p. 198; see also Section 3 above.

[84] Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*, p. 205.

[85] E.g. Rödel, *Doppelte Perfektbildungen*; Rödel, 'New Perspectives on Double Perfect Constructions in German'.

[86] Rödel, 'New Perspectives on Double Perfect Constructions in German', p. 136.

[87] Cf. Brinton, 'The Historical Present in Charlotte Brontë's Novels', p. 228.

[88] Cf. e.g. Gelderblom, 'Een karakteristiek van Coornherts proza'; Fleurkens, *Stichtelijke lust*; Van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma'.

5. Perfect doubling in Coornhert's theological prose: Two case studies on (original) sin

The majority of Coornhert's writing concerned religious and related moral issues: Coornhert was an active opponent of Reformed Protestantism and heavily criticised it and the Reformed Church by expounding his own contrasting views on moral-theological matters in a number of publications. The works in which perfect doubling occurs most frequently, are all related to these theological matters (see Section 2).

In this section, we will consider potential pragmatic-rhetorical functions of the construction in relation to a key context in his writing in which perfect doubling occurs frequently: the notion of sin from bygone times.[89] Contrary to Calvinist theology, Coornhert argues that Adam's sin (i.e. original sin) has not doomed all mankind to sinfulness, and therefore mankind can take destiny into their own hands and pursue salvation.[90] Coornhert's denial of original sin results in his theory of perfectism (*perfectisme*): through God's grace, a believer is capable of leaving his/her sinful past behind and fulfilling the divine law completely.[91]

When discussing these notions of sin and perfectism, Coornhert varies between double perfects and simple present/past perfects. In what follows, we aim to provide possible interpretations of this variation by studying a sample of *have*-doubling constructions in two contexts (see however also footnote 107 below): Coornhert's polemical debate with his Calvinist opponents (Section 5.1), and the exploration of Coornhert's own theology (Section 5.2). We will propose that Coornhert used perfect doubling in both contexts as an evaluative device/stance marker (see Section 4): Coornhert employed perfect doubling to signal the significance of certain information and the point of the debate, as well as to guide

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[89] Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, 'Coornhert, een eigenzinnig theoloog', in *Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert. Dwars maar recht*, ed. by H. Bonger et al (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1989), pp. 18–31 (pp. 22–23).

[90] Berkvens-Stevelinck, 'Coornhert, een eigenzinnig theoloog', pp. 22–25.

[91] Ruben Buys, *Coornhert in het klein. Korte teksten over deugd, onwetendheid en Volmaakbaarheid* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), p. 7; Mirjam G.K. van Veen and Jesse Spohnholz, 'Calvinists vs. Libertines: A New Look at Religious Exile and the Origins of 'Dutch' Tolerance', in *Calvinism and the Making of the European Mind*, ed. by Gijsbert van den Brink and Harro M. Höpfl (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 76–99 (p. 88).

his audience through the line of argument by dissociating himself, and potentially his readers, from the sins of bygone times. In the specific context of polemical debates (Section 5.1), furthermore, this use of perfect doubling contributed to critiquing his opponents' theology, whereas, in the context of presenting his own ethics (Section 5.2), perfect doubling served to linguistically confirm the theology of perfectism, by putting additional emphasis on the completeness of past sins, resulting in a state of perfection.

5.1 Case study 1: Coornhert in debate

In *Van de vreemde sonde* 'On strange sin' (VDVS, 1584), Coornhert argues against two Calvinist ministers Arent Cornelisz and Reynier Donteclock who view man's corrupt nature as arising through the fall of Adam. Coornhert, to the contrary, argues that man acquires sin or virtue through his own belief or disbelief.

Through this first case study of perfect doubling, we aim to illustrate that in this context of a controversy Coornhert used perfect doubling for restating and evaluating the opponent's point, linked to one of the main structures found in early modern controversy texts more broadly. We will do so by analysing seven examples from one chapter (Book 1, Chapter 5).

Considering the polemical context and argumentative content of VDVS, the pragmatics of Coornhert's language in this treatise should be analysed from the perspective of historical controversies and polemical communication. This topic has recently received much attention in the field of pragmatics, thus providing a framework for the analysis of communicative patterns in polemical texts.[92] Specifically, previous studies on controversy dialogues help us to see how perfect doubling functioned in one specific communicative section. As pointed out by Fritz, early modern controversy texts follow certain organisational principles of dialogue structures.[93] The main structure used is the restatement of the opponent's point, and

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[92] Gerd Fritz, Thomas Gloning, and Juliane Glüer, *Historical Pragmatics of Controversies. Case Studies from 1600 to 1800* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2018).

[93] Gerd Fritz, 'Dialogical Structures in 17th Century Controversies', in *Dialogue Analysis 2000*, ed. by Marina Bondi and Sorin Stati (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag GmbH, 2003), pp. 199–208.

then the author's response to that particular point.[94] This was a means to provide some background knowledge, since in many cases 'the authors could not assume their readers to have available the texts of which the controversy consisted or to remember previous contributions. So they had to take measures in their own text to provide readers with the appropriate knowledge'.[95] Coornhert applied this technique in VDVS.

In both the chapter's title, (13), and its introductory section, (14), Coornhert introduces the main subject, i.e. whether Adam received virtues for himself or for mankind, using the past perfect (*ontfangen hadde* 'received had'). Following the observation on controversy dialogues above, the introductory section, (14), marks the first part of the dialogue structure, since it introduces the opponent's point: the Calvinist ministers argue that Adam indeed received virtues for himself and his descendants.

(13) *Of Adam alle die gaven in hem gheweest zijnde, voor die gantsche menschelijcke nature, dat is voor alle sijne afcomste, dan of hy eenighe voor hem self **ontfangen hadde***.

'Whether Adam received all the gifts which were in him, for all mankind, that is, for all his descendants, or whether he **had received** some of them for himself.'[96]

(14) *Ghyluyden bouwet dese uwe leere vande vreemde sonde op u segghen, dat Adam alle sijne gaven **ontfanghen hadde**, niet voor sich self alleen, maer voor alle sijne afcomste*

'You build this doctrine of yours on your argument that Adam **had received** all his gifts not only for himself, but for all his descendants.'[97]

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[94] See also Nicholas Brownlees, '"He Tells Us That". Strategies of Reporting Adversarial News in the English Civil War', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*, 18.2 (2017), 235–51 (p. 236).

[95] Fritz, 'Dialogical Structures in 17th Century Controversies', p. 203.

[96] Dirk Volkertszoon Coornhert, 'Van de vreemde sonde, schulde, straffe nasporinghe', in *D. V. Coornhert, Wercken. Deel II* (Amsterdam: Jacob Aertsz., 1630), fol. cccclxxxvij.v.

[97] Coornhert, 'Van de vreemde sonde, schulde, straffe nasporinghe', fol. cccclxxxvij.v.

After this introduction, Coornhert starts his response in this polemical dialogue; the conjunction *maer* 'but' at the start of (15) marks the beginning of Coornhert's rhetorically composed criticism of the Calvinist theology. His main thesis in (15) is that their theology of receiving and losing virtues through Adam is not based on scripture. Contrary to the title (13) and introduction section (14), however, Coornhert uses perfect doubling here to restate his opponent's viewpoint. Following the observation on the pragmatics of double perfects made in Section 3, Coornhert may be using the double perfect here to put additional emphasis on the temporal distance of the fall, according to the emphasis function attributed to the construction by Rödel.[98]

(15)   *Maer dit bewijsdy even soo weynigh metter heyliger Schrifturen, als ghy bewijst dat hy die altsamen oock voor alle sijne Nacomelinghen* **verloren soude hebben ghehadt**...

'However, you prove this [viewpoint] no more with the Holy Scripture than you prove that he [Adam] also **would have lost** these [virtues] for all his descendants.'[99]

In fact, throughout the argumentative dialogue in this chapter – i.e. the reiteration of the opponent's viewpoint, and Coornhert's response –, Coornhert seems to supplement overt forms of criticism, such as the reproach of being unscriptural (*see* (15)), with more covert forms of evaluation through linguistic structures, e.g. perfect doubling, thus representing his own way of thinking (or stance towards the subject matter). Consider as an illustration the example in (16).

(16)   *Want ick niet en meyne u luyder meyninghe te zijn, dat [...] wyluyden altsamen oock mede, waren sy [Adam ende Eva] niet ghevallen, alle sulckx van henluyden oock* **aengheerft** *ende* **ontfanghen souden hebben ghehadt**,

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[98] Rödel, *Doppelte Perfektbildungen*; Rödel, 'New Perspectives on Double Perfect Constructions in German'.
[99] Coornhert, 'Van de vreemde sonde, schulde, straffe nasporinghe', fol. cccclxxxvij.v.

> *ghemerckt sulck segghen met gheen Godtlijcke Schrifutre eenen*
> *waerschijnlijcken verwe en mach ghegheven worden…*
> Approx.: 'Since I do not think your opinion is that…had they [Adam and
> Eve] not fallen, all of us **would have also inherited** and **received** all such
> gifts from them, given that such words cannot be made probable by any
> piece of divine scripture'[100]

In (16), Coornhert summarises the same Calvinist viewpoint which he had summarised in the title, (13), and introduction, (14), but contrary to the latter two, in (16) he intertwines his own view (*ick niet en meyne* 'I do not think') with that of the Calvinist ministers (*u luyder meyninghe* 'your opinion'). In fact, freely translated, Coornhert argues that it cannot be the case that these ministers are so ignorant to fathom that, if mankind had not fallen, we could have inherited virtues through Adam, since no citation from scripture can evidence such. In this way, Coornhert criticises the Calvinist foolishness by allegedly doubting his own interpretation of their argument. Coornhert supplements this overt form of critique and irony with linguistic argumentation through perfect doubling (*aengheerft ende ontfanghen souden hebben ghehadt*) which presents the fall as situated in the completed past, and, hence, without consequences for the present.

A similar analysis can be made of the subsequent instances of doubling in the chapter, shown in (17) and (18), in which Coornhert again addresses his opponents and summarises their dispute using double perfects.

(17) *Aengaende dit beelde Godes mette voorschreven deuchden (nu hier ons*
      *gheschille zijnde) seght ghyluyden dat Adam voor ons allen **ontfanghen***
      ***heeft ghehadt**…*
      'With respect to this image of God and the discussed virtues (being our
      dispute), you argue that Adam **received** them for all of us.'[101]

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[100] Coornhert, 'Van de vreemde sonde, schulde, straffe nasporinghe', fol. cccclxxxvij.v.
[101] Coornhert, 'Van de vreemde sonde, schulde, straffe nasporinghe', fol. cccclxxxvij.v.

(18)   *Want dit niet bewijsende ist u onmoghelijck te bewijsen dat [...] Adam*
        sulcke gaven oft deuchden voor ons allen **<u>verloren soude hebben ghehadt</u>**.
        'Not proving this, it is impossible for you to prove that [...] Adam **would**
        have lost such gifts or virtues for us all.'[102]

Interestingly, like in the title and introduction section (i.e. (13) and (14)), in the
conclusion, (19), Coornhert does not use perfect doubling. Instead, here he switches
to the present perfect (*heeft ontvangen* 'has received').[103]

(19)   *Soo en* **<u>heeft</u>** *dan oock Adam sijne gaven voor ons niet* **<u>ontfanghen</u>** *om by*
        hem ons aengeerft te worden indien hy staende bleef.
        'Thus, Adam **did** not **receive** his gifts for us, to be inherited by us through
        him if he had not fallen.'[104]

This difference between the chapter's introductory and conclusion sections (without
perfect doubling) on the one hand, and its main body on the other (with perfect
doubling), suggests that perfect doubling might have an evaluative function in the
polemical dialogue specifically. Whereas the introduction and conclusion with the
present/past perfects are a more general rendering of the chapter's subject with
present/past perfects, in the polemical dialogue Coornhert's aim may be to guide his
reader through his own line of thought, and thus to convince his reader with the help
of rhetorical-linguistic elements, including that of perfect doubling. The function of
this perfect doubling, firstly, seems to be that of revealing the personal emphasis of
the writer on the event's significance within the larger argumentative discourse:
Adam's sin is crucial to the theological matter at stake, i.e. original sin. More
importantly, considering the fact that Coornhert alternates between simple

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[102] Coornhert, 'Van de vreemde sonde, schulde, straffe nasporinghe', fol. cccclxxxvij.r.
[103] Interestingly, though, in the title and introduction Coornhert uses the past perfect, whereas
in the conclusion he uses the present perfect. Further, in this section of Coornhert's work and
elsewhere, indicative double perfects alternate with irrealis ones (e.g. (15)) (cf. e.g. Johan
Hendrik Kern, *De met het participium praeteriti omschreven werkwoordsvormen in 't
Nederlands* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1912), p. 290). Further research is necessary to
illuminate our understanding of both instances of variation.
[104] Coornhert, 'Van de vreemde sonde, schulde, straffe nasporinghe', fol. cccclxxxvij.r.

past/present perfects in the introduction/conclusion section and double perfects in its main body – also paralleling alternations found more broadly between double and non-double forms in modern German[105]–, perfect doubling seems to be a vehicle of argumentative commentary, thus revealing Coornhert's way of thinking and his stance towards the event. Contrary to the evaluative function of perfect doubling's counterpart, i.e. the historical present signalling temporal closeness (see Section 3 and 4), perfect doubling as a marked tense then reveals the personal emphasis of the writer on temporal distance and thus creates dissociation from the present.[106] Coornhert presents the fall as situated in the completed past, and hence, shows it to be without consequences and/or relevance for the present, contrary to what Calvinist theology claims.[107]

5.2 Case study 2: Coornhert highlights key elements of his theology

The preceding section described the function of perfect doubling in the context of theological controversy, where we have attempted to show that it was used by Coornhert to summarise his opponent's viewpoints on Adam's sin and simultaneously express his own stance towards this. Additionally, as we now show, Coornhert uses perfect doubling when highlighting the basic principles on sin in his own theology.

An important aspect related to sin is Coornhert's belief in the process of spiritual rebirth, with corresponding degrees of faith, ultimately resulting in perfection. As explained above, according to Coornhert, man is able to reject sin and to grow in his faith, ultimately leading towards the maintenance of all God's commandments: the final stage of perfection. The following examples presented in (20), (21) and (22) illustrate that Coornhert, when addressing the readers of his own theology to teach them on moral development, uses perfect doubling to show that a

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[105] Haß, *Doppelte Zeitformen*; see Section 3 above.

[106] We have borrowed the term 'dissociation' from: Susan Steele, 'Past and Irrealis: Just What Does it All Mean?', *International Journal of American Linguistics,* 41.3 (1975), 200–17.

[107] A potential further example of similar variation between the doubling and non-doubling forms is in Book 2, Chapter 1 of 'Van de vreemde sonde', where instances of simple present/past perfects with the verbs *bederven/verderven* 'corrupt' are found alongside *have*-doubling constructions with those same verbs.

level of spiritual rebirth is or should be fully completed. The construction, then, again may be seen as a means of dissociation, but, rather than providing a means to dissociate himself and thereby his readers from Adam's fall and its consequences, Coornhert might have used it to create the possibility for his readers to dissociate themselves from their own sins of bygone times.

The first two examples, (20) and (21), contain an order concerning the pursuit for perfection, expressed by an imperative (*begheeft* 'forsake' and *dient* 'serve'). There is, however, a linguistic difference between the two. In (20), Coornhert describes a level of faith that is not completed yet, using the present perfect (*hebt ghedient* 'served'). In this example, inequity (*ongerechtigheid*) is still present, because the person serves its opposite, i.e. righteousness only *voor een deelken ende onvolcomelijck* 'partially and incompletely'. To the contrary, in (21) Coornhert uses perfect doubling when expressing a completed process of striving for perfection. Here, Coornhert stresses the contrast between the "old man" (*Ghelijck als* 'just as'), the sinner who had followed impurity and inequity, and the "new man" (*alsoo…nu…* 'thus…now…'), who as a result of spiritual rebirth serves righteousness (*dienst der gherechtigheydt* 'service of righteousness'). Hence, whereas in (20) man's imperfections are still present, in (21) man has overcome these imperfections. Coornhert seems to use variation between the present perfect tense, (20), and perfect doubling, (21), to emphasise this difference: the double perfect in (21) may stress the temporal distance, and thereby express the dissociation, between the righteous reader and his sins that are situated in the completed past.

(20)   *Ghelijck ghy voormaels in't gheheel ende volcomelijck die ongherechtigheydt* **hebt ghedient**: *alsoo dient nu voor een deelken ende onvolcomelijck die gherechtigheyt…*
'Just as you previously **served** inequity wholly and completely, thus now serve righteousness partially and incompletely.'[108]

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[108] Coornhert, 'Van de vreemde sonde, schulde, straffe nasporinghe', fol. cccccij.r.

(21)   *Ghelijck als ghy uwe leden **hebt begheven ghehadt** tot dienste der onreynigheyt ende ongherechtigheydt: alsoo begheeft nu mede uwe leden tot dienst der gherechtigheydt, tot heylighmakinghe.*

Approx.: 'Just as your limbs used to **follow** the service of impurity and iniquity, now turn your limbs in the service of righteousness and sanctification.'[109]

Taken together, examples (20) and (21) thus provide evidence that Coornhert uses grammatical items, such as forms of address (*ghy* 'you') and instructions (imperatives), to directly address the reader and guide them in their moral development, which fits into the broader picture of Coornhert treatises as rhetorically refined instruments of persuasion.[110] Likewise, alternation between the present perfect and perfect doubling may be applied by Coornhert, not only to reveal his personal stance towards the sin of bygone times, but also to convey the reader's appropriate stance towards their sin; whereas the *ghy* of example (20) is still subject to sin, the *ghy* of example (21) is dissociated from sin.

However, giving orders to the readers of his own theology as in (20) and (21) is not the only rhetorical context in which perfect doubling is used by Coornhert. In his famous vernacular companion to ethics, the *Zedekunst* (ZDIW, 1586), for example, Coornhert also uses perfect doubling when communicating the core tenets of his theology, thereby addressing a more general audience (*men* 'one') instead of the 'ghy' in examples (20) and (21). An example is presented in (22); again, contrasting the behaviour of the 'old' and 'new' man, Coornhert warns that it will not be easy to exchange the bad for the good, in this particular case in the context of judging persons and events:

(22)   *…maar niet zo licht en vallet een valsch oordeel, datmen langhe **bezeten** ende met ghoeddunckenheyd **omhelst heeft ghehadt**, te verlaten om een warachtigh oordeel te anvaten.*

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[109] Coornhert, 'Van de vreemde sonde, schulde, straffe nasporinghe', fol. ccccij.r.
[110] Hermans, 'The World of Literature', p. 292.

> '…but it is not so easy to leave a false judgement, which one long **possessed** and **embraced** with self-assurance, in order to accept a true judgement.'[111]

Like in (20), in (22), the bad, characterizing the "old man", is expressed through perfect doubling (*bezeten ende omhelst heeft ghehadt*). Again, in line with the emphasis functions attributed to double perfects by Rödel, Coornhert may use the construction here to locate this situation of false judgement (*een valsch oordeel*) in the completed past, in order to contrast it with the present true judgement (*warachtigh oordeel*). Indeed, a true judgement is only possible when the false judgement has been completely cast aside. In brief, the examples (20) and (22) suggest that Coornhert uses perfect doubling instead of the perfect tense to dissociate perfect readers from their past sins. To the contrary, based on (21), when parts of the 'old man' are still present, Coornhert does not dissociate the reader through perfect doubling, but instead uses a present perfect. Generally speaking, furthermore, this investigation into Coornhert's use of perfect doubling through case studies 1 and 2 suggests that concerning the subject of human sin, Coornhert's use of perfect doubling dissociates his readers from Adam's sin, and their own sin from bygone times, in order to justify his ethics of perfectibility, in which human beings are capable of becoming perfect.

6. Conclusion

Previous research has shown how the sixteenth-century Dutch writer D. V. Coornhert applied *classical rhetorical strategies* in his works in order to persuade his audiences. This chapter elaborated on a more recent strand of research which investigates the pragmatic function of *morphosyntactic structures* within individual authors (intra-author variation), by examining Coornhert's exceptional use of a structure found in his times but unknown to modern Standard Dutch: *have*-doubling. Firstly, taking a macro-approach, this chapter showed that the use of this structure depended on the literary-communicative context, and thus revealed both parallels

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[111] Coornhert, *Zedekunst,* p. 120.

but also important differences with Coornhert's wider use of rhetorical strategies: Coornhert mainly used *have*-doubling in his argumentative prose on philosophical and/or theological content. Secondly, focusing on previous accounts of perfect doubling's semantics and pragmatics, this chapter suggested that Early Modern Dutch double perfects parallel the aspectual/temporal meaning of absence of current relevance and the emphasis functions of those in modern German varieties (cf. also Dutch dialectal varieties). Relating these more formal observations to research in pragmatics/discourse studies on verb tense variation and literary studies on persuasive language use, we have, moreover, proposed that perfect doubling could be regarded as an evaluative device/stance marker. This hypothesis is supported by our two case studies on Coornhert's argumentative prose, in which he uses the construction specifically when responding to his opponent's viewpoint and discussing past sins in his own theology which defends perfectibility. In particular, our analysis suggests that double perfects create the evaluative effect of dissociation through which Coornhert could both express his distanced stance towards Adam's fall as well as empower his readers to leave behind their own sins of bygone times.

CHAPTER 2

The Shaping of an Innocent Martyr. The Linguistic Strategies of the Remonstrant Widow Willemken van Wanray (ca. 1572-1647)[1]

Abstract

After the Synod of Dort (1618-1619) forbade Remonstrant gatherings in the Dutch Republic, many Remonstrants continued to preach or to attend the delivery of sermons in secret. As a consequence they were fined or imprisoned. Remonstrants wrote stories that told of their persecution as a means of strengthening the congregation, whose members could be cast as belonging to the true Church, as well as to criticize the Remonstrants' subordinate position in Dutch society, suffering at the hands of the Contra-Remonstrant authorities. Among such authors was the Nijmegen widow Willemken van Wanray (ca. 1573-1647), who wrote an autobiographical narrative of the religious persecution she endured.

This chapter approaches Van Wanray's memoirs broadly as a communicative act through which Van Wanray displays certain selves in interaction with her (intended) audiences. It illustrates how Van Wanray used culturally determined scripts drawn from biblical and other historical sources so as to claim

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[1] This chapter combines insights from three publications: the article 'The shaping of an innocent martyr' published in *Early Modern Low Countries* (EMLC, 2018) on the identities Van Wanray created in her memoirs; the article 'Nieuwsberichten als stilistisch voorbeeld voor een vroegmoderne vrouw' published in *Vooys* (2018) on the intertextuality between Van Wanray's memoirs and contemporary pamphlet culture; and a paper on the role of women in Remonstrant literature, 'Following formats: printed texts as examples for early modern women's stories', presented at the 2018 RSA conference. The structure of this chapter follows that of the *EMLC* article, but Sections 2 and 3 incorporate insights from the *Vooys* publication: Section 2 discusses the stylistic differences between Van Wanray's two stories, and Section 3 explores how Van Wanray's memoirs accord with contemporary pamphlet literature in content and style. Sections 3 and 5 include findings from the paper presented at the RSA conference on the role of female violence in early modern society. In addition, this chapter includes some authoritative new evidence. In addition to the qualitative argumentation that has been adopted from the *EMLC* publication, Sections 2 and 4 also provide quantitative proof for the text-structuring and communicative role of linguistic elements. Furthermore, whereas the *EMLC* article brought to the fore how Van Wanray created a picture of religious martyrdom on the one hand, and an image of innocence on the other, this chapter aims to connect these characterizations by studying them as parts of the new profile that Remonstrant martyrs sought for themselves (see Section 5).

certain positions for herself in a socially acceptable format. The positions Van Wanray assumed, moreover, are highlighted through linguistic means such as tense-switching. Van Wanray varied her language not only in order to present a Christian example to her descendants and to the broader Remonstrant community but, anticipating further religious turbulence and criticizing her civil persecutors, she also claimed the position of innocent citizen with an eye to her potential Contra-Remonstrant readers.

1. Introduction

It has long been acknowledged that autobiographical storytelling is a form of identity performance.[2] Scholarship on early modern storytelling has analysed the process of identity creation in terms of 'scripts' or 'schemata', i.e. culturally determined structures (such as themes, plots, metaphors[3]) that ascribe certain positions to the self in the past. For example, Judith Pollmann has argued in *Memory in Early Modern Europe* that 'memoirs were often used to show how someone had "performed" his life in accordance with cultural "scripts" that were used to give meaning to personal experiences and made them easier and more useful to share'.[4] Scripts, in other words, allowed one to give meaning to one's past self in a socially recognizable and acceptable format.

Research in the field of sociolinguistic and discourse analyses, however, has shown that storytelling is not only a matter of applying cultural scripts. The past, and the self within that past, are also framed by the linguistic and stylistic choices the individual narrator makes.[5] Linguistic approaches to life-writing thus celebrate

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[2] The relationship between storytelling and identity creation has been widely acknowledged since the strengthening of the narrative turn in the 1990s. See: Anna De Fina, 'Narrative and Identities', in *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis*, ed. by Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015) pp. 351-68 (p. 351). See, on identity and self-narratives in the early modern period: Judith Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), and particularly the first chapter 'Scripting the Self', pp. 18–46.
[3] Burke, 'The rhetoric of autobiography', p. 158
[4] Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe,* p. 20.
[5] The seminal work of the sociolinguists Labov and Waletsky on the underlying formal and semantic structure of oral stories, led to a wealth of studies on narratives as *linguistic* representations of experiences from the past. See: William Labov and Joshua Waletzky, 'Oral

narrators as agents who perform, enact, and embody identities 'through a variety of linguistic and non-linguistic means'.[6]

Although self-narrative has become a major theme in scholarship across the humanities, the strands of research mentioned above (i.e. the cultural-historical and linguistic approaches to life-writing) tend to operate as separate fields of research.[7] This chapter argues that combining the two approaches helps modern scholarship to better understand the construction and functioning of early modern narratives. Using the autobiographical text by the Remonstrant widow Willemken van Wanray (ca. 1573-1647) as a case study, this chapter shows how the framing of the past and the self within that past took shape through a combination of cultural scripts and linguistic devices. Van Wanray endured religious persecution during the Remonstrant controversy of the 1620s. This chapter shows a multifaceted picture of Van Wanray's martyred self, including Christian as well as civic aspects of martyrdom. Apart from her adoption of cultural scripts, Van Wanray employed verbs – as linguistic devices to highlight information – to enable the construction of these different facets of her identity.[8]

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versions of personal experience', in *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts. Proceedings of the 1966 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society,* ed. by June Helm (Seattle/London: University of Washington Press, 1967), pp. 12–44.

[6] Anna De Fina, Deborah Schiffrin, and Michael Bamberg, 'Introduction', in *Discourse and Identity,* ed. by Anna De Fina, Deborah Schiffrin, and Michael Bamberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 1–24 (p. 3). The relation between language use and identity construction is explored in studies in third-wave sociolinguistic studies. See: Eckert, 'Three Waves of Variation Study'.

[7] Anna De Fina and Barbara Johnstone, 'Discourse Analysis and Narrative', in *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis, 2,* ed. by Deborah Tannen Heidi E. Hamilton Deborah Schiffrin (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), pp. 152–67 (p. 152). Elaborating on Labov and Waletzky (see footnote 5 above), much of the sociolinguistic and narrative research was conducted on the basis of contemporary oral narratives, because of their interactional nature. In recent research it is acknowledged that not only spoken data is communicative. The sociolinguist Kormi Anipa, for example, argues that also the study of written texts can help to understand the role of language in social practices (such as identity creation) because linguistic devices reflect human interaction. See: Anipa, 'The Use of Literary Sources in Historical Sociolinguistic Research', p. 180.

[8] A short overview of the role of verbs in structuring discourse is given in Brinton, 'Historical Discourse Analysis', p. 227. Tense and tensed verbs, moreover, are 'the foundation of the linguistic approach to narrative'. See: William Labov, *The Language of Life and Death. The Transformation of Experience in Oral Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 14.

The chapter will proceed as follows. In Section 2, I will further introduce Van Wanray's memoirs and their stylistic characteristics. Section 3 explores the biblical and literary-historical scripts Van Wanray used to shape her memories. Sections 4 and 5 investigate how, in addition to cultural scripts, linguistic and stylistic elements helped Van Wanray to create a picture of Remonstrant martyrdom that consisted not only of religious persecution but also civil injustice. The latter suggests that Van Wanray seems to have written her story not only as a religious example for her descendants, as she claims in her title and as was customary for early modern autobiographical writing.[9] Van Wanray's performance of the role of an innocent suspect, mistreated by the very institution that should have protected her civil rights, suggests that she also anticipated having an audience outside the family domain. This readership would have included not only the broader Remonstrant congregation, for whom Van Wanray's story was a means to frame Remonstrant martyrdom and criticize the Contra-Remonstrant authorities. Van Wanray's claims of innocence can also be seen as an indication that she feared the story might end up in the hands of those who had persecuted her and the Nijmegen congregation and provide cause for renewed persecution.

2. Characteristics of Van Wanray's memoirs

Willemken van Wanray lived in Nijmegen, a city in the eastern part of the Dutch Republic. She was connected through marriage to the Biesman family, which was part of the town's political elite.[10] By the 1620s, however, the political and religious conflicts in the Dutch Republic reached their nadir for Remonstrants. The Synod of Dort (1618-1619), initiated to settle the controversy between the Remonstrants (or Arminians) and Contra-Remonstrants (or Gomarists) in the Dutch Reformed

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[9] 'Het verhael van gennege my […] is overcommen […] ter oorsaek van de ryelyesse, om 'tselleve voer myn kinderen ende onsse nacommelyngen bewaert te woerden.' In: Willemken van Wanray, *Om den gelove. Wederwaardigheden van Willemken van Wanray [ca] 1573-1647*, ed. by Antoon E.M. Janssen, (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Valkhof Pers, 2003), pp. 94 and 102. In what follows, I will cite from and refer to Janssen's edition when quoting Van Wanray's memoirs. Writing for the sake of the family is an often heard justification in early modern autobiography. See: Burke, 'The rhetoric of autobiography', p. 155.

[10] Antoon E.M. Janssen (ed.), *Om den gelove. Wederwaardigheden van Willemken van Wanray [ca] 1573-1647* (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Valkhof Pers, 2003), p. 36.

Church, had rejected the Remonstrants' views and confirmed orthodox Calvinist theology. Consequently, Remonstrant ministers had to cease their activities or would otherwise be banned from the Dutch Republic. With the issuance of a placard on 3 June 1619, Remonstrant gatherings were also interdicted on penalty of fines or imprisonment.[11] Nijmegen, Van Wanray's hometown, soon experienced the consequences of this protracted controversy between the Remonstrant and Contra-Remonstrant factions. Up until 1617, the city had been politically and religiously governed by the Remonstrants – including Van Wanray's brother-in-law Christoffel Biesman. In 1618, however, Stadholder Maurits committed a coup by replacing Remonstrant members of the magistrate with Contra-Remonstrant supporters. Furthermore, Remonstrant ministers and the consistories had to give way to Contra-Remonstrants.[12] This tense situation got Van Wanray into trouble on two occasions. In 1619, she was fined 25 guilders for attending a sermon. In 1622 Van Wanray opened up her house to a Remonstrant minister and hosted a sermon that he delivered, but she was betrayed to the magistrate. She never openly confessed to hosting the sermon and refused to pay the imposed fine of 225 guilders.[13] As a result, Van Wanray was imprisoned for several weeks, until she finally caved in under the magistrate's pressure and borrowed money from friends to pay the fine and be released from prison.[14]

We know about Van Wanray's story thanks to her memoirs, preserved in the Nijmegen city archives.[15] In 2003, these recollections were edited by A.E.M.

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[11] The placard is printed in Nikolaas Wiltens, *Kerkelyk plakaat-boek, Behelzende de plakaaten, ordonnantien, Ende resolutien Over de kerkelyke zaken,* vol 1 (The Hague: Paulus and Isaac Scheltus, 1722), pp. 669-75.

[12] See about the political and religious conflicts in Nijmegen: Janssen, *Om den gelove*; Antoon Hendrik Jenniskens, *De magistraat van Nijmegen,* 1618-1648 (Nijmegen: Gemeente Archief Nijmegen, 1973); Jan Kuys and Hans Bots, *Nijmegen, Geschiedenis van de oudste stad van Nederland. Deel 2: Middeleeuwen en nieuwe tijd* (Wormer: Inmerc, 2005).

[13] Based on other historical documents, Janssen (*Om den gelove,* p. 26) has argued that Van Wanray did host the delivery of the sermon, but she refused to confess due to lack of proof.

[14] Criminal prosecution could be stopped by a financial settlement. See: Manon van der Heijden, *Misdadige vrouwen: criminaliteit en rechtspraak in Holland 1600-1800* (Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2014), pp. 54–56.

[15] Nijmegen, Regionaal Archief Nijmegen, 211 Biesman 1381–1686, number 12, ca 1619-1622, *Verhaal van gennege my Wyllemken van Wanrade wedewe van z. Gerradt Bysseman inden jaar 1619 etc*; Nijmegen, Regionaal Archief Nijmegen, 211 Biesman 1381–1686, number 13, 1622, *Historye vande gevanckenis van onse suster Willemken Biesman.*

Janssen as *Om den gelove. Wederwaardigheden van Willemken van Wanray [ca] 1573-1647*, accompanied by a historical introduction.[16] Van Wanray wrote about the tribulations of 1619 and 1622 in a single booklet, but the memoirs are presented as two stories, each with its own title.[17] In his edition, Janssen suggests that Van Wanray started writing both stories in 1622, soon after her release from prison.[18] A point in favour of Janssen's assumption is the fact that the two texts vary in length and employment of tense forms. The story about 1619 (Text 1) takes up two manuscript pages (486 words), whereas the account of 1622 (Text 2) is 19 pages long (4499 words) and features details such as multiple conversations and copies of letters. Furthermore, as we will see in Section 4, Text 1 is mainly narrated in the present perfect, whereas in Text 2 the most frequent tense is the simple past. The longer text and the switch in the default tense form might indicate a difference in moment between the narrated past vis-à-vis the moment of writing, thus supporting Janssen's assumption. Indeed, it is known that stories, over time, tend to be adapted so as to conform to the overall story's outcome (through the meaning-giving plots that are culturally available), causing details to gradually diminish.[19] Assuming that both texts were written in 1622 puts the past at a greater remove from the moment of writing in the case of Text 1. This distance may explain why Text 1 is more compact and why it features the present perfect (i.e. the past as being looked back upon) instead of the simple past (i.e. the past as still being lived in).[20]

Text 1, we should however note, narrates the events of two days.[21] Text 2, in contrast, retells events taking place over a longer span, i.e. between March 6, the evening of the sermon, and May 16, the day of Van Wanray's release from prison.

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[16] Antoon E.M. Janssen, *Om den gelove. Wederwaardigheden van Willemken van Wanray [ca] 1573-1647* (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij Valkhof Pers, 2003). Despite the publication and availability of this edition, Van Wanray's memoirs have, to my knowledge, received no further scholarly attention.

[17] They are written in one quire, which also contains 15 blank pages.

[18] Janssen, *Om den gelove,* pp. 72–73.

[19] Donald E. Polkinghorne, 'Narrative Psychology and Historical Consciousness: Relationships and Perspectives', in *Narration, Identity, and Historical consciousness,* ed. by Jürgen Straub (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), pp. 3–22 (p. 10).

[20] Cf. Saskia Daalder and Arie Verhagen, 'Dutch Tenses and the Analysis of a Literary Text: The Case of Marga Minco's *De val'*, in *The Low Countries and Beyond,* ed. by Robert S. Kirsner (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), pp. 139-50 (p. 147).

[21] 24 and 25 Oktober 1619.

What is more, the switch from the present perfect in Text 1 to the simple past in Text 2 is not the only formal difference between the two stories. This shift is accompanied by other linguistic and stylistic differences evident in Text 2. Text 1 is characterized by a 'and then, and then' style, visible for example in the use of the conjunction 'so'.[22]

> …so is den teekts geweyst Mycha (…) So is die predecasy begonne geweest (…) So heefft men die predecant wech gehaellepen (…) So heb die gemynte aengevangen te dancken Godt (…).
>
> *Then the text was Micah. Then the sermon was started. Then they helped the minister to get away. Then the congregation started to thank God.*[23]

This form, where a new episode is marked through 'so', is typical of oral storytelling.[24] In Text 2, on the contrary, Van Wanray tends to construct narrative layers of greater complexity. Episodes are smoothed out into long sequences of sequences through, for example, the present participle – which had not been used in Text 1.[25]

> Aldaer ingelaeten sinden, sien se boven gegaen yn die tynne ende commende aen myn daekvinsteren, hebben 'tseleve met gewelt opgebrocken ende sien alsoe van boven in myn huys gecomme.

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[22] 'So' can mean 'so' or 'then' but can also be used to connect sentences without having an explicit meaning. See *Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal GTB INL* (gtb.inl.nl), 'so', I, 2, 3. Van Wanray used the conjunction 'so' 11 times in Text 1 (2,3%, 11/486 words) – in addition, Van Wanray used 'daerop' (2), 'maer' (1), and 'doen' (toen) (2). In Text 2, 'so' occurs 39 times (0,9%, 39/4499 words) (spelling 'so', 'soe', 'soo').

[23] Van Wanray, pp. 94–96. All English translations are the author's.

[24] Monika Fludernik, *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology* (London/New York: Routledge, 1996), pp. 70, 104. The individual episodes are characterized by a basic threefold structure, containing a beginning, an incident, and a result, e.g. 'So is die predecasy begonne geweest [begin], maer niet voleent [result], doer die verstoerryng die daer quaem [incident]' (Van Wanray, p. 96; cf. Fludernik, *Towards a 'Natural' Narratolgy*, pp. 65–66, 126).

[25] Cf. Fludernik, *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology*, p. 126.

> *Being let in, they went upstairs into the gutter and coming onto my window,*
> *they violently broke the window open and they thus entered my house from*
> *above.* [26]

Additional aspects of verb use further differentiate Text 1 from Text 2. Whereas Text 1 mainly features perfective auxiliaries (i.e. the present perfect through 'hebben' and 'zijn', see Section 4.1), Text 2 shows a variety of non-perfective auxiliaries.[27] Like the present participle, the auxiliaries are suitable for a more enhanced way of storytelling. For example, quasi-modals are used as activity generators, linguistic devices 'that attribute activity to speakers in a form that is consistent with the absence of such activity'.[28] Van Wanray uses verbs like 'gaan' (to go) and 'komen' (to come) to describe Contra-Remonstrant agents in a dynamic fashion, for example in the episode on the house search in 1622, when she writes how the Contra-Remonstrants 'gingen […] clopen' (went knocking).[29] For Remonstrant characters, in contrast, auxiliaries serve to underline their inability to act: the two imprisoned Remonstrant women '*bleven* sitten' (remained imprisoned).[30]

Given these differences between Text 1 and Text 2 (see also Section 4), one might ask whether both texts were indeed written at the same time. The shift from the successive 'and then, and then' style to something more complicated (including the introduction of verb forms such as the present participle) might indicate that Van Wanray's writing skills had evolved. Janssen has suggested that Van Wanray received assistance from her brother-in-law Christoffel Biesman during her

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[26] Van Wanray, p. 104.

[27] Text 1 consists of 40 two-verb clusters (e.g. 'hebben aengetykent') and 8 three-verb clusters (e.g. 'hebben moete geven'). Out of the 40 two-verb clusters, 33 (83%) feature a perfective auxiliary. Text 2 consists of 320 two-verb clusters, 51 three-verb clusters, and 1 four-verb cluster. There, 141 out of the 320 two-verb clusters (44%) feature a perfective auxiliary.

[28] Labov, *The Language of Life and Death*, p. 55.

[29] Van Wanray, p. 104. 'Gaan' can also be used as a main verb to suggest activity, e.g. 'Ende *genck* en staek den kalerder open' (p. 104, italics the author's). In addition to Contra-Remonstrant actors, other 'bad characters' are also described through activity generators, e.g. 'waet geboeft saevens *quame* kloppen' (p. 132, italics the author's).

[30] Van Wanray, p. 126.

imprisonment when writing letters to the Nijmegen magistrate.[31] Intriguingly, moreover, Text 2 was copied by Biesman.[32] He included a transcription in his *Aentekeninge* for the Remonstrant Brotherhood. Thanks to his copies, Van Wanray's tribulations of 1622 were thus disseminated to the wider Remonstrant community: her story was retold in the anonymous *The Persecutions of the Remonstrants* (1627)[33] and, years later, a part of the 1622 story was printed in part four of Gerard Brandt's *History of the Reformation* (1704).[34] Biesman's work as copyist suggests that he thought the tribulations of 1622 were still relevant enough to warrant further distribution. Can we therefore conclude that he, in addition to copying Van Wanray's text, had also helped Van Wanray develop her writing skills? Van Wanray's manuscript shows no sign of outside intervention, so Biesman's precise role in the construction of Van Wanray's memoirs remains unknown.

3. Following formats

3.1 The Bible and martyrologies

Thanks to Christoffel Biesman's intervention, Van Wanray's memoirs became part of a larger network of literature that illustrated and criticized the Remonstrants' subordinate positions within Dutch society. However, as an early modern female writer, Van Wanray positioned herself first and foremost within the tradition of

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[31] Janssen, *Om den gelove,* p. 81 and footnote 103 therein.

[32] See footnote 15 above.

[33] [Anon.], *Der Remonstranten Vervolgingh [...],* part 1 (Vryburgh, 1627). This pamphlet (RV) was published anonymously by a fictitious printer (at 'Vryburgh'). This pamphlet also narrates about the sermon of 1619. There it does not name Van Wanray either as one of the Remonstrant protagonists or as a source of information. However, RV shows some striking similarities with Van Wanray's memoirs in its word order, the use of metaphors and of formulation, suggesting a connection between Van Wanray's manuscript and RV. Compare, for example, Van Wanray p. 96 and RV, p. 5. Regarding the sermon of 1622, Van Wanray is there identified as the 'Weduwe van Zal. Gerrit Biesman' (RV, p. 11). In addition, this episode shows similarities with Van Wanray's manuscript; compare RV, p. 11 and Van Wanray, p. 104.

[34] Gerard Brandt, *Historie der reformatie [...],* vol. 4 (Rotterdam: Barent Bos, 1704), pp. 731–33. Brandt summarises the house search and the resulting imprisonment and financial loss. Moreover, he provides a copy of Van Wanray's first letter to the Nijmegen magistrate as an example of her 'fiere kloekmoedigheit' (p. 733). Brandt generally follows Van Wanray in sentence structure, but he makes changes in spelling and sometimes in word choice.

women who were preserving their family memories.[35] Those memories could, for instance, offer examples of human behaviour and its consequences, and of God's care in life.[36] Van Wanray reflects upon this exemplary function in her concluding remarks in the 1622 story:

> Daarom kinder, wyelt daer altiet op lette: niet te vollegen de menschen die seggen dat sy kennen het richte Woerdt Godts, maer probbyerren het met het Woerdt Godts ofte sy het goedt vollegen dat Godt geboeden heeft […].
> *Therefore, children, always pay attention to the following: do not follow the people who say that they know the true Word of God, but try, with help of God's Word, to establish whether they are following the things that God has commanded.* [37]

The above quotation indicates that Van Wanray's stories feature both good and bad examples of human behaviour, i.e. those who claim to know the Bible, and those who actually follow the Bible and God's commandments.[38] Van Wanray uses scripts rooted in biblical and historical discourses as a means of creating such oppositions.[39]

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[35] See e.g. p. 94: 'om 'tselleve over myn kinderen ende onsse nacommelyngen bewaert te woerden'. Widowhood was seen as a potentially risky moral phase in a woman's life, and therefore it was necessary for a widow to show her Christian virtues (e.g. in the form of Church membership). See Judith Pollmann, 'Women and Religion in the Dutch Golden Age', *Dutch Crossing* 24.2 (2000), 162–82 (p. 174).

[36] Katharine Hodgkin, 'Women, memory and family history in seventeenth-century England', in *Memory before Modernity. Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Müller, and Jasper van der Steen, (Leiden 2013), pp. 297–313; Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe,* p. 23.

[37] Van Wanray, p. 144. The coda of the 1622 story, which includes the previous quotation, is absent from Biesman's copy. By omitting an explicit reference to the Nijmegen magistrate and to Van Wanray's children, Biesman changed the story's local character and made it usable for sharing with the broader Remonstrant community in the Dutch Republic.

[38] Cf. Gerard Brandt, *Historie der Reformatie [...],* vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz, Hendrick en Dirk Boom, 1677), 'voor-reden' (page number unknown): 'de historie leerdt wat men vlieden en volgen moet'.

[39] Cf. Pollmann, 'Scripting the Self' in *Memory in Early Modern Europe;* Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester/New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), e.g. pp. 118–19.

For example, as a story character, Van Wanray places herself in alignment with Christ – the most admirable model – by imitating his behaviour.[40] When the magistrate asks her to reveal the name of the minister who had been preaching at her house, Van Wanray answers that she would 'volgen 't exempell van mynne Salichmaker Chrysty ende alle maerteleren, ende op sulcken vragen geen antwoerdt geven'.[41] She repeats this habit of not answering in subsequent interrogations.[42]

In addition to the imitation of Christ's behaviour as a martyr, the use of biblical comparisons enhance the picture of Christian martyrdom. In the following quotation, the mayors of Nijmegen are compared to wolves who seek to tear the Remonstrant congregation apart:

> Soo is Gerret Vervoerdt en Ponsyaen, als buerregemester toe ter tyet, daer gecomme als eenne wolff om die schapen te verschuerren ende hebben se oversien
>
> *Gerrit Vervoerd and Ponsiaen, the mayors of that time, came as wolves to tear apart the sheep, and they surveyed the crowd.* [43]

This comparison is rooted in biblical discourses, as the Bible features both Christ and his followers as sheep and their persecutors as wolves.[44] Subsequently, post-biblical martyrs, including the sixteenth-century Dutch martyrs suffering under Catholic persecution, used the wolf-sheep metaphor to frame their own

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[40] Cf. Freya Sierhuis, *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy: Religion, Politics and the Stage of the Dutch Republic* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 170.

[41] Translation:…follow the example of my Saviour Christ and all other martyrs and, therefore, I will not answer such questions (Van Wanray, p. 110). See Isaiah 53:7 and Luke 23:3.This attitude of silence is also recommended by the Remonstrant preacher Eduard Poppius: 'Christus heeft oock dickmael/ als hy voor den Richter stondt/ ende van hem ondervraeght werde/ stille ghesweghen […] Dese exempelen zijn de Remonstranten schuldigh na te volghen'. See: Eduard Poppius, *Nievwe-Iaer*, p. 47.

[42] See Van Wanray, pp. 114-16: 'Daerop Kelfken vrachden off hy ons vervolechden. Ick antwoerde dat hy 't mocht weten off hey 't niet en deden. […] Daerop Kelffken vrae[ch]den off ick 't op hem sprack. Ick seyde: die het my aendoen'.

[43] Van Wanray, p. 96.

[44] E.g. Jesaja 53, Matthew 10:16, Matthew 9:36, John 10, and Hebrew 13:20.

martyrdom.[45] As the new martyrs of their own time, the Remonstrants appropriated the comparison.[46] Van Wanray's wolf-sheep comparison, in other words, was part of a textual tradition of biblical and historical martyrdom. This martyrdom functioned as a key storytelling script used during the Remonstrant controversy: Van Wanray and other Remonstrants performed a martyr role to reactivate a memory of injustice and to justify their beliefs, positing their suffering to be aligned with the martyrdom of Christ and his followers.[47]

3.2 Pamphlet literature

The examples cited above show that the connections made with previous martyrs, as created through references to biblical and sixteenth-century Dutch martyrdom, were ubiquitous in the seventeenth-century Remonstrant discourse. Remonstrants positioned themselves along a continuous line of persecution. Within the Dutch context, they were the successors of Protestant martyrs who had suffered under the Spanish Inquisition of the sixteenth century. Indeed, as argued by Freya Sierhuis, the Remonstrants warned 'that the Contra-Remonstrants were attempting to set up a spiritual tyranny, including a new inquisition'.[48] Yet, unlike the sixteenth-century persecution of the faithful, seventeenth-century martyrdom hardly ever resulted in death.[49] Remonstrants thus had to adapt and reinvent what martyrdom was as an identity.[50] Instead of the martyr's death, the main themes used to criticize Contra-Remonstrant persecutors were the violence they inflicted and the resulting material and financial loss.

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[45] Brad S. Gregory, *Salvation at stake: Christian martyrdom in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 152.

[46] See e.g. Vrieler, *Het poëtisch accent,* p. 148.

[47] Cf. Dirk Pfeifer, 'Loyalty, bravery and female cleverness. Grotius's maidservant and Remonstrant identity', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 29.2 (2013), 176–88 (p. 185).

[48] Freya Sierhuis, 'The Rhetoric of Religious Dissent. Anti-Calvinism, Satire and the Arminian Controversy in the Dutch Republic', *Reformation & Renaissance Review,* 12.2-3 (2011), 307–27 (p. 313).

[49] Pfeifer, 'Loyalty, bravery and female cleverness', p. 186.

[50] Pfeifer has argued that Remonstrants combined the theme of persecution with that of escape (see: 'Loyalty, bravery and female cleverness', p. 186). The latter, however, does not apply to Van Wanray's story, as she had to pay a fine in order to be released from prison.

Pamphlets were an effective vehicle to voice this reinvented conception of martyrdom. Criticizing the political and religious situation in the Republic and especially the Remonstrants' subordinate position within Dutch society, these pamphlets were mostly printed in Antwerp due to the Northern ban forbidding the printing of Remonstrant texts.[51] Although early pamphlets from Antwerp condemned Northern Protestantism as a whole, from the middle of 1618 onwards these pamphlets criticized Contra-Remonstrants as persecutors in the system of material martyrdom.[52] For example, a pamphlet on 'the cruel acts of the bloodthirsty Calvinists' (1619) discusses in great detail the plundering of Remonstrants by Calvinist soldiers: 'ontnemende haere mantels en hoeden/ hare Geldt buydels en Neusdoecken/ ende voorts al wat sy crijgen konden'.[53] Moreover, female characters are used to portray the Contra-Remonstrants as heartless robbers and rapists:[54]

> De Vrouw-persoonen hebben zy gheweldelijck ontnomen haere huycken/ haer Silverwerck/ haer hulsels van t'hooft/ slepende de zelve metten hayre door het slijck; hebben eenighe haer rocken uyt gheschoten ende hare Lichamen schandelijcken ontbloodt; trocken de ringhen van haere vingheren/ dat het vleesch daer aen bleef hanghen; jae hebben eenighe de vingheren half afghebeten om de Ringen te crijghen
>
> *They violently took away the women's cloaks, their silver and headwear. They dragged them through the mud by their hair. They pulled off their skirts and scandalously exposed the women's bodies. They pulled the rings*

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[51] Paul Arblaster, *From Ghent to Aix. How They Brought the News in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1550-1700* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), p. 91.

[52] See for an early example: [Anon.], *VVaerachtich verhael van den Oploop [...]* (Antwerpen: Abraham Verhoeven, 1617). Cf. Roeland Harms, *Pamfletten en publieke opinie. Massamedia in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2011), p. 35.

[53] Translation: taking away their coats and hats, their money, purse, and handkerchief. In: [Anon.], *Sommier verhael van de wreede handelinghe der Bloet-dorstighe Calvinisten [...]* (Antwerpen: Abraham Verhoeven, 1619), p. 5. The pamphlet's title page reads: 'Ende men vinse te Coope daerse veyl zijn', but Arblaster, *From Ghent to Aix,* p. 297 has identified Verhoeven as its printer.

[54] See, on the abuse of women as a manifestation of intolerance in early modern Dutch literature: Amanda Pipkin, *Rape in the Republic, 1609–1725. Formulating Dutch Identity* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013).

off their fingers, so the flesh was stuck to the ring. Yes, they bit off some of the fingers to get the rings.[55]

Van Wanray's story fits into this discourse of female physical and material martyrdom. When, for example, the magistrate in 1622 had discovered the Remonstrant sermon and ordered the ransacking of Van Wanray's home, the widow evaluates this event in terms both of material damage and of gender: the mayor and his servants had done 'diet schoenne stuck wercks […] aent huys van een eerlick weedfrow'.[56] The story's ending, moreover, also brings physical suffering to the fore when Van Wanray tells of the city servants who 'quaemen my aen […] om my met gewelt in Eemaus te slepen'.[57]

The above exploration shows that the practice of scripting the self lies not only in the application of devices of comparison, metaphors, and quotations from biblical and other historical sources. More contemporary forms of intertextuality also played a role. Van Wanray's story conforms to the Remonstrant discourse of physical and material violence as was discussed in, and created through, pamphlets. By offering her behaviour in the face of persecution as an example to her descendants, Van Wanray followed a family tradition of memory preservation and theological education. Yet by using biblical and historical matter and by drawing themes from contemporary textual production, Van Wanray's memoirs were also usable, and were indeed used, for sharing more broadly.

4. The linguistic facilitation of martyrdom

As a martyr, Van Wanray appropriated a position which she shared with other members of the religious community. Various texts and writing traditions offered models for imitation that enabled a writer to realize acceptable forms of self-display, as we have seen in the previous section. The present section will add to this literary-cultural technique of adopting storytelling devices from the linguistic repertoire. I

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[55] *Sommier verhael,* pp. 5–6.
[56] Translation: …doing this fine piece of work to the house of an honest widow (p. 110).
[57] Translation: …came towards me, to violently drag me into prison (p. 136). Van Wanray later evaluates this event this in terms of abuse (p. 142).

here argue that Van Wanray could vary her language for emphasis. I will particularly focus on the use of verbs, and their tense-aspect morphology, as key means drawn from the linguistic repertoire used to help structure the text and attract an audience's attention. In short, through variation in verbs Van Wanray could highlight certain parts of her story, and in this way she further enhanced the working of certain cultural scripts.

4.1 Tense-aspect alternation

The use of tense and aspect is not always a strictly grammatical matter of expressing temporality and duration. Different tense forms can occur in texts that refer to the same events or to events equally distant from the moment of writing or reading. Consider two quotations from Text 1 (emphasis added) – which occur in sequence in the text. Both tell about Remonstrants who, after having attended a sermon delivered on German territory, were interrogated in Nijmegen's city hall. In (1a), the speech of Mayor Vervoerdt and the Remonstrant woman Joerdens are introduced through a perfect, i.e. a syntactic construction consisting of a form of the auxiliaries 'hebben' or 'zijn' and a past participle. In (1b), contrarily, Van Wanray applies a past to introduce her own conversation with the mayor.

1 (a) soo **heeft** Gerret Vervoerdt **geseyt** tegen vrow Joerdens **geseyt** waerom

dat sy boven het placat buette gegaen waes. Daerop **geantwoordt,** myn heerre mochte die varreseren slachte, die meynden dat sy sagen en waerren blyndt.

Gerrit Vervoerd asked Joerdens's wife why she, acting against the placards, had been outside. Thereupon she answered, 'my lords resembled the Pharisees, who thought they saw, but were blind'.

(b)   Soo **<u>seyde</u>** Gerret Vervordt, wy gyngen na lugens. Daerop ick **<u>sprack,</u>** wy sien gegaen dat wy over 34 off 35 jaer aengenomen hebbe; daer woel ick goedt en bloet by opset.

So said Gerrit Vervoerd to Joerdens's wife, we followed lies. Thereupon I spoke: 'we lived according to that what we embraced 34 or 35 years ago. For that purpose I want to give up earthly possessions and my life'.[58]

The above example illustrates how, just like in present-day Dutch, seventeenth-century Dutch could feature both an 'uncompleted' form (onvoltooid verleden tijd [OVT], e.g. *seyde*) and a 'completed' form (voltooid tegenwoordige tijd [VTT], e.g. *heeft gezegd*) as default tenses in the narrative discourse.[59] I will refer to the Dutch OVT as the simple past and to the Dutch VTT as the present perfect.[60] Based on previous research, I will substantiate the hypothesis that Van Wanray's alternation between tenses has a functional meaning in the process of textual communication in that it foregrounds certain story parts. Because of its strategic implementation, verb variation enhanced the functioning of scripts and thus further enabled the display of the self in the past.

Tense alternation has been subject to discourse and variationist studies on spoken as well as literary genres, and present-day as well as historical varieties – although systematic research on tense alternation in seventeenth-century Dutch is lacking.[61] As the past tense is regarded to be the default tense for narratives, previous research on tense-aspect alternation has chiefly focused on the use of the present tense in past tense discourses (i.e. the historical present). Scholars assume the historical present to be a key resource for storytelling in that it helps to set narrative events apart and indicates information relevance or the point of a story to

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[58] Van Wanray, pp. 98–100. Emphasis the author's.

[59] See Bert Le Bruyn, Martijn van der Klis, Henriëtte de Swart, 'The Perfect in Dialogue. Evidence from Dutch', *Linguistics in the Netherlands* 36 (2019), 162–75 (pp. 163–65 and the references therein).

[60] Cf. Le Bruyn et al, 'The Perfect in Dialogue', p. 165.

[61] Research on tense-aspect alternation is typically conducted on oral narratives, e.g. natural (every day) conversations or historical performance literature, but it has also been directed towards higher literary styles. See, for a short overview: Brinton, 'Historical Discourse Analysis', p. 227; and see, as an example of research on historical texts: Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity.*

the audience.[62] These functions have been related to the semantics of this tense form. For example, Deborah Schiffrin has argued that the historical present 'allows the narrator to present events as if they were occurring at that moment, so that the audience can hear for itself what happened, and can interpret for itself the significance of those events for the experience'.[63]

More recent studies have nuanced the direct link between the semantic properties of a particular tense and its discourse-pragmatic function. Scholars have shown that tense alternation is not limited to the past and present tenses but also occurs between other tense forms, e.g. the simple past and the present perfect.[64] Other forms of alternations show pragmatic functions similar to that of the historical present in past tense discourses.[65] In short, alternation helps to structure the discourse (e.g. by demarcating narrative events and episode boundaries), and it functions at the interpersonal level of communication (i.e. between narrator and audience) as a device for personal emphasis.[66] Because of the pragmatic similarities between the historical present and forms of tense alternation, it has been argued that the switch itself, rather than the semantic characteristic of a particular tense form, is what facilitates a discourse-pragmatic function of tense alternation.[67]

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[62] Brinton, 'Historical Discourse Analysis', p. 227.

[63] Schiffrin, 'Tense Variation in Narrative', p. 59; see also the discussion on the historical present in Chapter 1.

[64] See, as examples, the studies in Fleischman and Waugh, *Discourse-Pragmatics and the Verb*; Dulcie M. Engel and Marie-Eve A. Ritz, 'The Use of the Present Perfect in Australian English', *Australian Journal of Linguistics,* 20.2 (2000), 119–40; Stephen Levey, 'Tense Variation in Preadolescent Narratives', *Journal of English Linguistics,* 34.2 (2006), 126–52; Hiroshi Nara, 'Aspect and Discourse in Tense-Switching: A Case Study of Natsume Sōseki's "Botchan"', *Japanese Language and Literature,* 45.1 (2011), 273–305; Carmen Portero Muñoz, 'Tense Switching in English Narratives: an FDG Perspective', *Open Linguistics,* 4 (2018), 657–84.

[65] E.g. Tauno F. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax: Parts of Speech* (ed. Elly van Gelderen) (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016 [1960])*,* p. 506; Engel and Ritz, 'Present Perfect', p. 133; Levey, 'Tense Variation', p. 138.

[66] Fleischman, 'Discourse functions of tense-aspect oppositions in narrative', p. 861; Muñoz, 'Tense Switching', p. 679ff.

[67] Levey, 'Tense Variation', p. 130.

4.2 1619: The present perfect and simple past

Let us consider the above findings in relation to the data from Van Wanray's texts. As Table 1 shows, the completed tense form or *voltooide tijd*, and specifically the present perfect, is the default form in Text 1. Hence, the incomplete form, and the simple past as used in (1b), can be considered a deviation from the default tense form. Being grammatically distinctive, the simple past can serve as a linguistic resource for emphasizing particularly important information within the larger narrative discourse.[68]

Text 1 (1619)	
Conjugated verbs	65
Completed ('voltooid')	41 (63%)
Present perfect (VTT)	*34 (52%)*
Uncompleted ('onvoltooid')	24 (37%)
Simple past (OVT)	*21 (32%)*

Table 1. Distribution of tenses in Van Wanray's first text. The percentages are based on the total of conjugated verbs. Small clauses (i.e. featuring an infinitive or present participle construction) are excluded here.[69]

There is a risk of circularity in claiming that tense-switching highlights narrative information and that the narrative section as presented in (1b) is highlighted because of tense alternation. However, the alternation between tenses is not the only formal clue suggesting that Van Wanray as a narrator attempted to set off (1b) from (1a). First, although it might have been the switch rather than the verb itself that facilitated a text-structuring and highlighting function (see above), the foregrounding function of tense-switching may have been enhanced through the verb's semantics. Unlike the present perfect, which is used to look back upon the past, the simple past expresses a persistent situation in the past (i.e. the past as still being lived in).[70] The latter can therefore create a sense of 'vividness' that has been

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[68] Cf. Levey, 'Tense Variation', p. 130.

[69] For this Table, I have manually coded the corpus for tense.

[70] Le Bruyn et al, 'The Perfect in Dialogue', p. 171 ; Daalder and Verhagen, 'Dutch Tenses', pp. 145–46.

attributed to the historical present and the periphrastic – well-known forms used for highlighting and demarcating.[71]

Second, the switch from the present perfect in (1a) to *seyde* in (1b) initiates a cluster of simple pasts – and this form continues to be used after the quotation in (1b).[72] Previously the clustering of a tense form has been observed as representing an attempt to group certain events into a scene or episode.[73] Through a set of tense switches, a narrator could mark a narrative unit within the larger story, e.g. as the most reportable event.[74]

Third, confirming this episode-demarcating function of the simple past in (1b), the switch in tense form co-occurs with a switch in narrative characters. Just like the sequence of verbs marking an episode, the co-occurrence of tense switching with the change of participants has been found in previous research.[75] Example (1a) features a conversation between the mayor of Nijmegen and Joerdens.[76] The rendering of other characters' speech acts presumably helped Van Wanray to connect her own behaviour to the acts of the religious community and to underline the collective resonance of her martyrdom.[77] Upon citing another woman, Van Wanray begins a narrative section in (1b) in which she herself features as the main character. Here, Van Wanray, for the first time, cites her own words and presents

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[71] See on vividness e.g. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax,* pp. 448, 506, 596; Fleischman, 'Evaluation in Narrative', pp. 203, 228; Muñoz, 'Tense Switching', p. 664.

[72] Van Wanray, p. 100.

[73] E.g. Muñoz, 'Tense Switching', p. 666; and the overview in Brinton, 'Historical Discourse Analysis', pp. 227–28.

[74] Labov, *The Language of Life and Death,* p. 23.

[75] Muñoz, 'Tense Switching', p. 665.

[76] The woman accuses the magistrate by making a sharp biblical comparison; in Matthew 15:14, Jesus likens the Pharisees, Jewish religious leaders who agitated against Jesus, to blind people. As with other biblical references, religious groups appropriated this comparison to accuse their opponents of heresy. See e.g. Brandt, *Historie der Reformatie* part 1, to Cornelis Cloek (page number unknown): 'Dese Historie sou veele Christenen, die sich als blinden van blinde leydsluiden naer de gracht der partyschap laeten leyden, veellicht ten nutte strekken.'

[77] Van Wanray repeatedly embeds her words and deeds within those of the larger community. In this specific case, Van Wanray had first related that men had been summoned. Then she describes the same situation for the women, beginning by quoting Joerdens's wife. This rendering of speech is related to narrative authority and collectivity: narrators can 'signal their authority to represent others in a community, thus conveying that they are not just individuals animating their own stories, but also principals who are collectively committed to particulars versions of the past'. In: De Fina et al., 'Introduction', p. 11.

herself as a martyr, willing to sacrifice her goods and her very life for the Remonstrant cause.

Fourth, this demarcation of narrative participants through the use of the simple past (i.e. the switch from the present perfect for the conversation between Vervoerd and Joerdens to the simple past for the conversation between Vervoerd and Van Wanray) is further underlined through another formal feature. Whereas Joerdens and Vervoerd are cited in semi-direct speech – in the past tense instead of the present tense, and in the citation of Vervoerd in the third person plural instead of the first person plural (free indirect speech) – Van Wanray quotes her own words in direct speech.[78] Hence, through variation in form (i.e. the switch from the present perfect to the simple past and from semi-direct to direct speech), Van Wanray is able to set apart a particular narrative episode. Embedding her tale within a larger story of collective Remonstrant martyrdom, Van Wanray linguistically and stylistically draws attention to her conversation with Mayor Vervoerd, through which she can perform her position as an exemplary martyr. For her own quotations, Van Wanray switches back to the present perfect to complete the 1619 story. She pays a fine of 25 guilders: 'Ik hebb ze getelt aen Claerck, den saekretaeryes'.[79]

4.3 1622: The historical present and present participle

Text 2, about events from 1622, features patterns of language use similar to those in Text 1. These patterns, however, take shape through different linguistic forms. As Table 2 shows, in Text 2 the division of labour between completed and uncompleted tense forms now runs in the opposite direction (cf. Table 1), with the majority of tense usage occurring in the simple past (44%).

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[78] Also quotative contexts have been identified as a context related to tense switching. See Levey, 'Tense Variation', p. 143; Muñoz, 'Tense Switching', pp. 663–64.
[79] Translation: I have paid [the fine] to the town clerk (p. 100).

Text 2 (1622)	
Conjugated verbs	657
Completed ('voltooid')	161 (25%)
Present perfect (VTT)	*84 (13%)*
Uncompleted ('onvoltooid')	496 (75%)
Simple past (OVT)	*290 (44%)*

Table 2. Distribution of tenses in Van Wanray's second text. The percentages are based on the total of conjugated verbs. Small clauses (i.e. featuring an infinitive or present participle construction) are excluded here.[80]

Generally, in Text 2 the present perfect is the tense used in providing context to the events and characters that feature in a specific episode.[81] Van Wanray employs it at the beginning of an episode to introduce a character, time, and place.[82] Van Wanray also switches back to the perfect at the end of an episode to narrate a result or conclusion. In between, the simple past is used to narrate the actual story.[83] In Text 2, hence, the alternation between the present perfect and the past performs text-level organizational functions in that it sets the narrative introduction and outcome apart from the main body of the story.

      Similar to Text 1, tense-switching also functions to signal the saliency of particular characters or events. Whereas Van Wanray in Text 1 used the simple past as a foregrounding mechanism, Text 2 features a historical present, presumably to

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[80] For this Table, I have manually coded the corpus for tense.

[81] Cf. Nara, 'Aspect and Discourse', p. 275.

[82] I.e. the orientation in the Labovian terminology of narrative analysis. See, for an introduction to narrative analysis: Barbara Johnstone, '"Oral versions of personal experience": Labovian narrative analysis and its uptake', *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 20.4 (2016), 542–60 (p. 546); and for the application of the Labovian model of analysis to early modern texts: Van de Poppe, 'Nieuwsberichten als stilistisch voorbeeld voor een vroegmoderne vrouw', pp. 16-26.

[83] I.e. the complicating action, in Labov's terminology of narrative analysis (see footnote 82 above for references). Consider, as an example of this division of labour between the present perfect and the simple past, the episode about the ransacking. It begins with a present perfect ('des avens is Aerndt Kelffken […] gecome over myn duer', p. 102). When rendering the actual action, Van Wanray switches to the simple past ('geboet hy hem die duer yn stucken te slaen', p. 104). This effort fails. A new attempt to enter Van Wanray's house is introduced, once again through the present perfect ('sien se boven gegaen yn die tynne', p. 104). When the mayor and his servants are finally inside, the conversation Van Wanray has with them is rendered through the simple past. For the end of the account of the ransacking, Van Wanray switches back to the present perfect ('is Kelffken met sien volck gegaen', p. 110).

draw attention to the narrative climax: the moment Van Wanray endures bodily martyrdom.[84]

2   (a) Daer **gaet** die schell aen. Daer **comt** Kelffken en Verspick

There the bell rings. There come Kelffken and Ter Spijck

(b) ende **ginghen** in Eemaus in. Ende die dinnaers **vollechden** en **quamen**

my aen […] om my met gewelt in Eemaus te slepen.

and they went into Emmaus. And the servants followed and grasped me, to violently drag me into Emmaus.[85]

Van Wanray uses the historical present (*gaet, comt*) to describe the situation preceding the onset of physical violence (2a) – the actual violence and the subsequent imprisonment is narrated in the simple past (2b). Usually, the sound of the bell (2a) signalled danger.[86] For Van Wanray, this sound was probably related to a sense of strong emotion, as in this case it was she who cause the bell to ring.[87] We should also note that not only were sounds related to violence narrated often in early modern stories – evocations of sounds thus being a recognizable means to articulate distressing events – but that they are also known to be a way to engage the audience in the unfolding narrative.[88] The reference to sound and the switch in tense can be considered devices taken from the repertoire of involvement strategies that would

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[84] Van Wanray also used the present tense in Text 1, but within narrative dialogue and not in the rendering of narrative events. Later, Van Wanray will reflect upon the situation and deem it an act of abuse ('myshandelden', p. 142).

[85] Van Wanray, p. 136. Emphasis the author's.

[86] Janssen, *Om den gelove,* p. 136, footnote 100 therein.

[87] More generally, towards the end of her story Van Wanray starts reflecting upon her emotional state (p. 140) and includes descriptions that evoke the senses of sound and smell (p. 138). She probably sought to create empathy in her audience and to explain why she finally caved to the magistrate's pressure and paid the fine (cf. Labov, *The Language of Life and Death,* p. 227). Such motives are also recognizable in the reception of the story. See Brandt, *Historie der Reformatie,* vol. 4*,* p. 733: 'maer toen se vier weeken hadt geseten, was se soo verswakt en afgemat, dat se de gevankenisse niet langer kon verdraegen'.

[88] Susan Broomhall, 'Disturbing memories. Narrating experiences and emotions of distressing events in the French wars of religion', in *Memory before Modernity*, ed. by Kuijper et al., pp. 253–67 (p. 260); Levey, 'Tense Variation', p. 131.

draw the audience's attention to a dramatic high point in the story.[89] An additional point in favour here of the historical present's highlighting function is the fact that Biesman – who in his copy of Text 2 (see Section 2) made small textual additions to Van Wanray's original – copied this tense switch instead of replacing it with the default simple past.[90] As in Text 1, this foregrounded situation gives substance to Van Wanray's martyrdom, underlining her positioning as a martyr who is to endure physical suffering.

Text 2 includes, in addition to the historical present, another form of tense-aspect deviation. Above, in (1a) and (1b), we have seen how Van Wanray in Text 1 varied tenses in speech tags to demarcate speaker roles. Van Wanray mobilized speech to highlight her own position in the story and, unlike the other story characters, directly presented her own voice.[91] In Text 2, quotations also play a pivotal role in the voicing of martyrdom. The majority of speech tags introduce Van Wanray's voice (41/73, 57%).[92] In addition, 14 of her 41 (34%) quotations are direct speech[93] – in comparison, the magistrate (speech tags 26/73, 35%) is quoted in

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[89] Cf. Levey, 'Tense Variation', p. 133. Note, though, that peaks of emotional intensity can also be marked through other tense switches. See e.g. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax,* p. 506, on the historical perfect.

[90] Janssen, *Om den gelove,* p. 136, footnote 100 therein. These textual additions are marked in Janssen's editions through footnotes.

[91] Cf. Anna De Fina and Alexandra Georgakopoulou, *Analyzing Narrative: Discourse and Sociolinguistic Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 166; De Fina et al., 'Introduction', p. 10; Mel Evans, 'Royal language and reported discourse in sixteenth-century correspondence', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics,* 18.1 (2017), 30–57. Evan argues that in the case of royal speech, the specificity of direct speech was irrelevant; indirect forms were preferred (p. 46). However, given that Van Wanray uses direct speech almost exclusively to quote herself (see below), here it seems that Van Wanray is elevating her language through direct report and is downplaying the speech of others through indirect report (cf. Evans, p. 33).

[92] In Text 1, speech is divided equally among members of the city council and Remonstrants: four tags introduce the speech of the magistrate; two introduce Van Wanray; one introduces the woman Joerdens; and one the Remonstrant women as a group.

[93] These quotes help to position Van Wanray as a religious follower of Christ who suffers injustice at the hands of a worldly magistrate. In characterizing herself in this fashion, Van Wanray makes reference to the sixteenth-century religious war between Protestantism and Catholicism ('so voellegen wy wederom het pausdoem', p. 108), the role-model martyr Christ ('Onsse Salichmaecker heeft […] bevoelen..', p. 114), and her potential death ('wyl my liever daer doet in laette sleppen', p. 134). In addition, Van Wanray uses direct quotes to frame her position as a citizen whose civil rights are threatened, see also Section 5 below.

direct speech only twice (2/26, 8%).[94] Since in Text 2 the use of the present perfect is reserved mainly to provide introductory and conclusive material (Table 2), the majority of speech tags in Text 2 occur in the simple past (61/73, 85%) – as part of the main body of the story. However, Van Wanray also deploys another form of introducer: the present participle (3b) (3d), as alternation to the simple past (3a) (3c):

3 (a)   Doen **sprack** ick tegen Kelffken,
         Then I spoke to Kelffken,

  (b)   my **beclaegende** over 't gewelt dat hy my dede.
         complaining about the violence he inflicted upon me.

  (c)   Ick **seyde** dat sy ereger handelde als Duc Dalff
         I said that they [the magistrate] acted worse than the Duke of Alba

  (d)   **vragende** off dat all tot eenycheyt streckte tuschen die gemeinte
         asking whether this contributed to unity in the community[95]

As is the case with the historical present (2a), the present participle (3b) (3d) is not used in Text 1. Van Wanray employs the present participle to create long event sequences (see Section 2). In the context of speech tags, more specifically, the present participle is suitable for stringing together multi-layered speech events that consist of multiple speech tags.[96] The present participle always introduces the follow-up speech tag, as in (3b) and (3d), which typically give voice to Van Wanray's critical questions or remarks towards Mayor Kelffken.[97] In (3), Van

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[94] Both quotes illustrate a key moment in the story, i.e. a moment concerning an interrogation that illustrates the main allegation against Van Wanray, leading up to the subsequent prison sentence (pp. 112–14, 118). Van Wanray, perhaps wanting to set them apart from other quotations, used various quotation forms to that end.

[95] Van Wanray, p. 106. Emphasis the author's.

[96] Cf. Fludernik, *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology*, p. 126. The present participle can thus be used as an alternative form in the contexts of multiple quotatives. Characteristically, the present participle is preceded by a simple past speech tag (e.g. 'seide') and the present participle itself occurs as the verb 'vragen' (to ask), with 'seggende' (to say) occurring only once (p. 114).

[97] There is one present participle featured in the speech of another character: Mayor Kelffken (p. 104). There, the switch from the present perfect ('heeft ingeroepen') to the present participle ('vragende') marks the start of the conversation between the two main characters of the story, Van Wanray and Mayor Kelffken. Van Wanray's reaction is marked with the

Wanray emphasizes the violence and disruption he had caused her to endure (3b) (3c) and poses the rhetorical question of whether this behaviour contributes to the unity of the religious community (3d). She underlines her message of violence and disruption through the use of a script. The comparison between the mayor and the Duke of Alba (3c) alludes to sixteenth-century martyrdom and serves to identify the Remonstrants correspondingly as seventeenth-century martyrs.

Unlike the simple past in (1b), the present participles like those in (3b) and (3d) are not accompanied by direct speech. Although in particular the combination of formal features provides strong evidence for the communicative function of verbs (cf. Section 4.1), it can be argued that Van Wanray also employed the simple past and present participle combination in speech tags to demarcate an event sequence. The present participle has been ascribed discourse-pragmatic functions similar to those of the historical present. Because of its durative 'colour', the present participle can be used to vividly describe events and serves for emphasis.[98] Furthermore, as we have seen above, speech tag variation is known to play a part in distinguishing speaker roles.[99] This might have been the case for Van Wanray's use of the present participle. Although only a few present participle speech tags occur (6), the vast majority of them (5/6, 83%) serve to introduces Van Wanray's speech.[100] For a multi-layered speech fragment quoting another protagonist, Van Wanray applies a juxtaposed 'ende' (4c) to connect two simple pasts (4a) (4c), rather than featuring a present participle, as in (3d).

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simple past. She uses the remaining present participle-introducers in reproducing her own speech (see pp. 106, 110, 114, 134).

[98] Cf. Mustanoja, *A Middle English Syntax,* pp. 448, 596, on the periphrastic with -ing or -ende.

[99] Suzanne Fleischman, 'Verb tense and point of view in narrative' in *Discourse-Pragmatics and the Verb. The Evidence from Romance,* ed. by Suzanne Fleischman and Linda R. Waugh (London/New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 26–54; Barbara Johnstone, '"He says…so I said": Verb tense alternation and narrative depictions of authority in American English', *Linguistics,* 25 (1987), 33–52 (p. 45); Muñoz, 'Tense Switching', p. 665.

[100] See footnote 97 above.

(4) (a)   Daerop hy, Kelffken, **<u>antwoerden,</u>**

        Thereupon he, Kelffken, answered

  (b)   hy wolde dat wael ducker doen.

        that he would do that more often.

  (c)   Ende **<u>seyde</u>**

        And said

  (d)   dat de heeren my hadde ontboyen […]

        that the magistrate had summoned me[101]

In sum, Van Wanray mobilized her speech so as to voice her position of martyrdom. In both texts 1 and 2, she used various formal properties, including verb tense and dialogue form, to set apart her own role as the story's protagonist. Although we have touched upon a highly personal aspect of storytelling – tense-switching is obviously not a mandatory aspect of narrating the past – the repetition of deviations as well as the co-occurrence of certain formal aspects strongly suggest that, as discussed in this section, specific linguistic properties performed a function on the level of text structure and communication.[102] The sections that show formal deviation in particular (e.g. through the historical present, present participle, direct speech) help Van Wanray create a picture of her financial and bodily martyrdom.

5. Martyrdom and innocence

Thus far we have seen how Van Wanray's memoirs, by means of cultural scripts and devices drawn from the linguistic repertoire, build to a climax marked by physical violence against her and her imprisonment.[103] These themes of violence and imprisonment helped Van Wanray to create a picture of the martyred self that was exemplary for her descendants and for the Remonstrant community at large. Elaborating on this communicative process of storytelling – in which a narrator

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[101] Van Wanray, p. 110. Emphasis the author's.
[102] Cf. Muñoz, 'Tense Switching', p. 674.
[103] Van Wanray reflects upon the situation as an act of abuse ('myshandelden', p. 142).

presents certain versions of the self with a view to the audiences borne in mind[104] – this final section discusses another aspect of Van Wanray's self-positioning: her display of the innocent self. This section brings together cultural and linguistic means in its identification of the innocent self and explores how this innocence is absolutely aligned with the construction of a Remonstrant identity.

Given the religiously exemplary function of her story, Van Wanray has remarkably little to say about the immediate cause of her persecution: the delivery of the Remonstrant sermon at her house. Historical evidence suggests that Van Wanray indeed opened up her house in 1622 to host a Remonstrant sermon, probably given by the Remonstrant preacher Daniël Wittius.[105] In her memoirs, however, Van Wanray does not openly confess to hosting the sermon. Van Wanray veils her role in this part of the story in various ways.

First, in the first episode of story 2, Van Wanray is absent as an agentive story character. The story about the events of 1622 starts in medias res. City servants are assailing Van Wanray's house because 'spies' had informed the magistrate about a Remonstrant gathering there. Van Wanray downplays this information as a rumour.[106] Between the lines, however, Van Wanray seems to have been unpleasantly surprised by the actions of the mayor and his servants. She refuses to open the door, whereupon the servants try to break it open. Instead of explicitly acknowledging her refusal to open the door, Van Wanray uses a passive to veil her role in this episode: 'Doe die duer niet opgedaen woerden'.[107] More generally, Van Wanray uses the passive to leave out Remonstrant actors.[108] At the beginning of the

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[104] This view on narrative stems from postclassical narratology. See: Luc Herman and Bart Vervaeck, *Handbook of Narrative Analysis* (second edition) (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2019), p. 169. I thus focus on the communicative complexity of historical data. Cf. Andreas H. Jucker, 'Historical Pragmatics', *Language and Linguistics Compass,* 2.5 (2008), 894–906 (p. 896).

[105] Janssen, *Om den gelove*, pp. 18–22.

[106] Van Wanray, p. 102.

[107] Translation: When the door was not opened, he, Kelffken, summoned the city smith to be brought and commanded him to break open the door (p. 102).

[108] In Text 1, the passive, with 'worden', is used two times. In both cases, Remonstrant agency is being concealed: 'doen ons voergedragen woerden' and 'Daer het [the sermon] geleert woerden' (p. 94).

1622 story, in other words, Van Wanray is suppressing information about her own role.

This suppressing of information, second, lays the foundation for her self-presentation as an innocent suspect, a role she will perform in the episodes that follow. In some places, positioning herself as an innocent victim accords with her identity as a religious martyr, as when she refuses to answer why she had not opened her door and who had preached in her house.[109] In other instances, she pursues a line of argument rooted in legal justice. In her pleas before the city council, Van Wanray asserts that the mayor had not found anyone at her house; therefore she could not be convicted.[110] She also brings to the fore her identity as a widower, mother, and citizen who was entitled to the magistrate's protection.[111] To that end, she uses techniques we have already observed above in Section 4. Direct quotes – having emphasis functions, see above[112]– are used not only to illustrate the persecution of particular faith communities and martyrdom but also to refer to issues of civil rights. When Van Wanray is threatened with imprisonment, her first response is to point to her legal rights as a citizen – she should be allowed to make bail, instead of being imprisoned: 'ick begeer my op myn buerregenricht te verboergen laete'. Van Wanray is also able to frame her civil rights through biblical references.[113] For example, she adduces the parable of the widow and the judge (Luke 18: 1–8) to ask for legal justice and she refers to the Apostle Paul while appealing to her civil rights.[114]

Van Wanray's supressing of information about the actual sermon and her subsequent performance of innocence and calling for justice shed light on the communicative nature of her memoirs. First, I would like to propose that her framing of innocence indicates (the fear of) a readership outside the Remonstrant

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[109] Here, Van Wanray also points to freedom of conscience. Cf. Sierhuis, *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy,* p. 172ff.

[110] Van Wanray, p. 132.

[111] Van Wanray, pp. 120–22.

[112] See e.g. De Fina and Georgakopoulou, *Analyzing Narrative,* p. 166.

[113] Translation: I want, based on my civil rights, to be released on bail (p. 118). See, on Van Wanray's pledge for surety: Janssen, *Om den gelove,* pp. 22–23.

[114] Both references are made in letters to the magistrate. A copy of these letters is included in the memoirs, see pp. 128, 120–22.

circle. In general, the construction of certain identities can help to shed light on the storytelling event, for narrators design their stories and present themselves within those stories with their audiences in mind.[115] For a readership of relatives or of members of her religious community, Van Wanray had no need to hide her disobedience of an urban magistracy that was persecuting true believers. Rather, one could argue, such information could add to the exemplary function of the story, showing Van Wanray's bravery in obeying God rather than worldly laws.[116] The shaping of an innocent suspect suggests that the audience in mind when she wrote the text extended beyond the domestic circle. The created picture of innocence did allow Van Wanray to protect herself, as well as other Remonstrants, from renewed persecution by a potential Contra-Remonstrant readership. Her prudence in giving information about the sermon and the protection of her own role in the episode suggest that Van Wanray was writing in times that were still unsettled. It would take years before the political and religious troubles subsided: only in 1635 was the Remonstrant Church officially allowed in Nijmegen.[117] In light of this situation Van Wanray had to be careful, keeping in mind both her own and the Remonstrant community's safety.[118]

Second, this presentation of innocence might have helped not only to evade further persecution but also to add to the new picture of martyrdom that the Remonstrants aimed to create. Although religious aspects – built up through biblical and historical references (see Section 3) – formed a key aspect of Remonstrant identity, the Remonstrants also exploited the turbulent situation and adapted the concept of martyrdom to align with it. In the words of Dirck Pfeifer, they created a

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[115] Here I follow the interactionally oriented approach to personal experience narratives. See for a short introduction: Johnstone, 'Labovian narrative analysis', p. 551.

[116] Van Wanray, p. 114: 'wy sien geoersaeckt, de gelegentheyt hebbende, sulcks te hoeren, 'om Godt meer gehoersam te sien als die menschen'.'

[117] Janssen, *Om den gelove,* p, 71.

[118] It is likely that, as Janssen has suggested, Van Wanray wrote her story shortly after her release in 1622, or at least before 1627. In *Der Remonstranten Vervolgingh,* published in 1627, Van Wanray's innocence is not thematized (the mayor came 'om een heymelijcke Vergaderingh te verstoren', p. 11). However, this pamphlet does emphasize the lack of proof ('Maer vonden niemandt […] Niet te min is dese Weduwe daer na gedaecht', p. 11), thus underlining that issues related to civil rights were indeed voiced to reflect upon the Remonstrant profile and to claim a position within Dutch society.

'new profile in comparison to other religious groups in the Republic. Primarily, they were the ones who faced persecution while Lutherans, Anabaptists and even Catholics had already found some *modus vivendi* with local and regional state authorities'.[119] This new profile thus included both religious and civic traits, as Remonstrants saw not only their religion but also their civil liberties and privileges as being under direct threat.[120] This was particularly the case for the Remonstrant inhabitants of Nijmegen, Van Wanray's hometown. Indeed, the Prince of Orange's changing of the magistrate at Nijmegen (see Section 2) could be regarded as an open attack on the liberties and privileges of the town's inhabitants. Remonstrant literature, as Freya Sierhuis has shown, increasingly criticized the policies of the Dutch civil authorities.[121]

Van Wanray's memoirs, I would like to propose, can be regarded as a part of this literature. By framing a picture of innocence, Van Wanray was able to criticize the civic procedures of the urban magistracy and in this way contribute to the new profile of Remonstrant martyrdom. Van Wanray's 1622 story shows how the persecution of certain forms of faith, civil subordination and financial loss were closely related, as legal injustice led to financial damage: 'mach my dan geen richt gebeuerren, soo sael ick dan myn lieff moette rantsoenne' – note that here too this quotation is again given in direct speech.[122] Her identity as a widow helps Van Wanray to further give shape to the extent of the injustice being inflicted, as a worldly magistrate was obliged 'om wedewe en wessen over te staen' (to protect widows and orphans), rather than deprive them of freedom and money.[123]

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[119] Pfeifer, 'Loyalty, bravery and female cleverness', p. 185
[120] See Sierhuis, *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy,* p. 145ff.
[121] Sierhuis, *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy,* p. 145ff.
[122] Translation: If I am not given justice, then I must purchase my freedom (p. 134).
[123] Van Wanray, p. 126. She adds to this an argument involving gender, pointing to women as 'weak vessels' (p. 128). Interestingly, in the reception of Van Wanray's memoirs the female characters are even more exploited so as to illustrate the brutality of the Contra-Remonstrant urban magistrate. The specification of age shows how female characters were used to illustrate as well as criticize the local government. Van Wanray was imprisoned with another widow 'out ontrent 60 off 65 jaer' (Van Wanray, p. 118). Christoffel Biesman, in his copy, writes that the widow was 'omtrint 70 Jaeren' (Janssen, *Om den gelove,* p. 119, footnote 49 therein). Brandt, who situates Van Wanray's story within a narrative on ''t vangen van die twee weduwen' (p. 733), goes even further, writing that the widow was 'vijf en tseentig jaeren' (Brandt, *Historie,* vol. 4, p. 731).

When considering Van Wanray within the network of her brother-in-law Biesman – who, as mayor, had held a powerful position in the Nijmegen city council and was familiar with prominent figures of the larger Remonstrant community (see Section 2) – Van Wanray can be regarded a spokesperson for Remonstrant civil rights. Her experience of persecution and imprisonment took its place squarely within the discourse of martyrdom. What is more, her identity as an innocent, female, widowed suspect could add aspects of legal injustice, physical violence, and financial damage – the latter resulting in other damage, as it prevented Van Wanray from carrying out her maternal duties involving the care of children – to this picture of religious martyrdom. Most likely it was the female voice expressing familiar themes as well as the new aspects of the Remonstrant profile that made parts of the memoirs suitable for sharing beyond the intimate circle of her family.

6. Conclusion

By her own account, Van Wanray recorded her recollections of religious persecution for her descendants. The issues of persecution, violence, imprisonment, and financial damage raised by Van Wanray, however, also suited the broader Remonstrant community. Van Wanray's memoirs provided a story of consolation to the congregation, strengthening them in their belief that they were members of the true Church who were suffering persecution from the anti-Remonstrant authorities. Her memoirs, moreover, helped to generate the Remonstrant voice of resistance, agitating against not only religious but also civil subordination. Particularly because of her identity as a citizen and widow, Van Wanray could shape a picture of a violent urban magistracy which not only was guilty of engaging in religious persecution but also threatened the civil rights of citizens whom the civil authorities should have been protecting.

This chapter thus considered Van Wanray's ego-document as a communicative act of a narrator addressed to real readers and listeners who, in turn, themselves contributed to Van Wanray's display of the self. It argued that the various aspects of Remonstrant martyrdom to which Van Wanray alluded were shaped through a combination of cultural scripts and linguistic means. Van Wanray

drew upon the memory of biblical and sixteenth-century persecution to define herself and the Remonstrant congregation as the religious martyrs of their own particular era. She, moreover, referred to biblical stories to make a demand for civil justice. Whilst this use of scripts is by now a well-known mechanism of early modern storytelling, this chapter also showed how linguistic devices, which have been rather neglected in scholarship on Dutch historical texts, enhanced the functioning of these scripts.

By varying her use of language, Van Wanray was able to foreground certain parts of the story and draw the reader's attention. The two main devices I have discussed here are tense-aspect alternation and the use of direct speech. Both were used as stylistic strategies that marked specific story parts for their saliency. These parts seem to have been selected by Van Wanray for their exemplary potential: they serve to create a multifaceted picture of Remonstrant martyrdom. Tense-aspect alternation and variation in quotation are both optional, personal features of storytelling. Although their existence has been observed across languages and genres, they are highly personal in application. Significantly, however, although Van Wanray's brother-in-law Christoffel Biesman edited her memoirs at certain points, these forms of emphasis were copied and sometimes even extended.[124] Biesman may thus have recognized these devices and acknowledged their importance for the storytelling event being represented.

In conclusion, this chapter has brought to the fore two fundamental structures of storytelling: the use of scripts to frame story characters and the use of linguistic devices to foreground certain aspects of that story. An important difference between these two features is that whilst cultural scripts determine the content of a story (e.g. they feature the protagonist as a Christ-like martyr), linguistic techniques operate on the level of text structure and interpersonal communication (e.g. they foreground story parts, and thus draw an audience's attention). The case study of Van Wanray shows how these two fundamental structures can interact: Van Wanray uses devices from the linguistic repertoire to emphasize Remonstrant

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[124] See e.g. Van Wanray, pp. 118-19 and footnote 47 therein. Whereas Van Wanray switches back to semi-direct speech, Biesman extends the direct form to quote Van Wanray as a story character.

subordination, which is further framed through references to historical and contemporary sources.

CHAPTER 3

Early Modern Reader Management. *Begin+infinitive* as a Discourse Marker in P. C. Hooft's Dutch prose[1]

Abstract

This chapter combines linguistic, rhetorical and material perspectives on early modern reader management in order to investigate how the Dutch historian P. C. Hooft (1581-1647) guided his readers through a new genre: humanist history written in the vernacular. Central to this chapter is the linguistic construction *begin+infinitive*, which is known to have text-structuring functions in several historical varieties. Study of this construction in historical Dutch, however, is currently lacking. Although the Roman historian Tacitus, Hooft's classical writing model, largely avoided the *begin+infinitive* construction, Hooft used it in his translations of Tacitus's prose and in his own magnum opus, the *Nederlandsche Historien* (*Dutch Histories,* first edition 1642). More specifically, Hooft employed the construction as part of his humanist tempo-changing style, using *begin*'s durative semantics in combination with rhetorical devices to slow the narrative pace and to alert the reader to an upcoming main event. Such main events were highlighted not only by linguistic and rhetorical guidance but also by material devices, i.e. printed marginalia.

1. Introduction

Over the past few decades, scholars of the early modern period have shown increasing interest in the means used by authors, editors, and printers to capture the reader's attention. Broadly, one can distinguish two research strands, the nature of which aligns with Jerome McGann's differentiation of a text's 'bibliographic code' (i.e. its physical presentation) from its 'linguistic code' (i.e. its words, rhetoric,

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[1] This chapter has been published as an article in *Renaissance Studies* (2020, early view).

etc.).[2] The mid-1970s 'material turn' led to wide acknowledgment that early modern paratextual elements, among them the title page, printed marginalia, images, index, etc., constituted a 'material and hermeneutic framework' through which book designers attempted to shape the reader's reception and experience of the printed text.[3]

Counterbalancing this focus on how an early modern text's material (i.e. bibliographic) code determined the reading process, research within linguistics has illuminated how the linguistic code of such texts also encouraged a specific sort of reader experience. Scholars of pragmatics ('pragmatists') approach texts as communicative acts possessing linguistic features that foster certain forms of interaction between author and audience. Such acts not only aim to build relationships – for example, through forms of politeness and terms of address – but they also help structure a text so as to guide readers towards important narrative episodes.[4] By studying the communicative force of a text's linguistic code, pragmatists have broadened scholarly knowledge about the devices available to writers in structuring their texts: highlighting an episode turn, important event, character, or particular quote, among other possibilities.

Thus far, early modern material and linguistic studies have found themselves at cross purposes, operating as different fields of research. It has not gone unnoticed, however, that material means and linguistic items show similarities in their text-structuring and reader-guiding purposes. In his study on the use of the present tense in past-tense stories, Neil Kenny has connected linguistic and material means of reader management, arguing that the present tense helps to highlight relevant actions, events, or words, 'rather like printed or manuscript marginalia

[2] Jerome J. McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 77.

[3] Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington, 'Introduction', in *Thresholds of Translation. Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain* (1473–1660), ed. by Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 1–23 (p. 3).

[4] See for an introduction to the field of Historical Pragmatics: Matylda Wlodarczyk and Irma Taavitsainen, 'Introduction. Historical (socio)pragmatics at present', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics,* 18.2 (2017), 159–74. The present chapter on *begin+infinitive* is rooted in pragmatic research on pragmatic or discourse markers. See e.g. Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen and Corinne Rossari (eds.), *The Evolution of Pragmatic Markers,* a special issue of *Journal of Historical Pragmatics,* 6.2 (2005).

(whether in the form of headings, quotation marks, or pointing fingers).'[5] Taking as a point of departure the hypothesis that linguistic items, just like paratextual elements, indeed have guiding purposes, the present chapter investigates a linguistic way of managing the early modern reader, thereby drawing parallels to rhetorical and material means of reader management. This approach contributes both to literary and to linguistic studies. Considering the former, this chapter aims to show how linguistic items and rhetorical devices in the main text, combined with summarizing marginal notes, helped manage early modern readers. Moreover, linguistically, new evidence, i.e. from printed marginalia, will here argue for the text-structuring function of a grammatical item.

Focusing on early modern Dutch literature, this chapter more specifically addresses the attempt of the Dutch poet and historian Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581–1647) to translate and imitate the classical author Tacitus.[6] The central works considered are Hooft's magnum opus, the *Nederlandsche Historien* (*Dutch Histories,* first edition 1642),[7] and the translation of Tacitus's *Annals* (published posthumously in 1684[8]) undertaken in preparation for the *Dutch Histories.* Written during the second half of the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648) between Habsburg Spain and the Dutch Republic (which had seceded from Spanish rule), the *Dutch Histories* is regarded as a textual monument to the Dutch fight for independence and

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[5] Neil Kenny, *Death and Tenses. Posthumous Presence in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 151.

[6] So doing, the present chapter reflects recent scholarly interest in Latin-vernacular exchanges. See for further references: Van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages*, p. 4 and footnote 12 therein.

[7] The first edition of the *Neederlandsche histoorien* (1642, reprinted 1656) contains the first twenty books of the *Dutch Histories.* The remaining seven books were printed first in 1654 as *P. C. Hoofts Vervolgh der Neederlandsche Historien,* then in 1677 as *P. C. Hoofts Vervolgh zyner Nederlandsche Historien.* In 1703, the *Nederlandsche Historien* were issued as volumes 1 and 2 of Hooft's *Works*. This edition is available digitally as a diplomatic edition: *Alle de gedrukte werken 1611–1738,* vol. 4 and 5, ed. by Wytze Gerbens Hellinga and Pierre Tuynman (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1972), https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/hoof001nede01_01/index.php. This searchable edition meticulously follows the manuscript of Hooft's *Historien* (Allard Pierson, University of Amsterdam, hs. II C 4–9; see also footnote 38 below elaborating on spelling variation in Hooft's manuscript, followed in the printed edition) and is therefore used for the analysis and quotations presented in this chapter.

[8] Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, *C. Cornelis Tacitus. Jaarboeken en Historien, ook zyn Germanië, en 't leeven van J. Agricola* (Amsterdam: Hendrik Boom, en de Weduwe van Dirk Boom, 1684).

a linguistic monument to the Dutch vernacular.[9] Hooft's opting for Dutch instead of Latin parallels attempts by late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch poets to elevate their vernacular; it also mirrors Renaissance humanism's didactic mission to make knowledge and culture accessible for those not trained in Latin and Greek philology.[10]

To write a vernacular humanist historiography, Hooft had to create a Dutch prose style. Hooft's predecessors had written either Latin humanist histories (the only Latin history on the Dutch Revolt, completed by Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) in 1612, remained unpublished until 1657[11]), or histories in the vernacular chronicle tradition: mostly factual, chronological overviews of historical events accompanied by ample quotations from historical sources.[12] Unlike these factual chronicles, Hooft's humanist *Dutch Histories* – spanning thirty-three years (from 1555 to 1587), encompassing 1,242 printed pages of continuous text, divided into 27 books – provides a continuous narrative whose unfolding is determined by causes and

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[9] Porteman and Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen,* pp. 500–01. Hooft was acknowledged for his attempts to imitate Tacitus's style. See: Gerard Brandt, ''T leeven van den Weleedelen, gestrengen, grootachtbaaren Heere, Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft', in *P. C. Hoofts Nederlandsche Historien*, vol. 1, ed. by Gerard Brandt (Amsterdam: Henrik Wetstein en Pieter Scepérus, 1703). p. 20. Hooft's Latin-inspired Dutch, however, also encountered resistance. See: Jeroen Jansen, *Brevitas. Beschouwingen over de beknoptheid van vorm en stijl in de renaissance*, vol. 1 (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995), pp. 211–12.

[10] Tom B. Deneire, 'Introduction: Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular: History and Introduction', in *Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular. Language and Poetics, Translation and Transfer*, ed. by Tom B. Deneire (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 1–17 (p. 2).

[11] See e.g. Jan Waszink, 'Tacitisme in Holland: de *Annales et Historiae de rebus Belgicis* van Hugo de Groot', *De Zeventiende Eeuw,* 20 (2004), 240–63.

[12] Porteman and Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen,* p. 500; Gees van der Plaat, *Eendracht als opdracht. Lieuwe van Aitzema's bijdrage aan het publieke debat in de zeventiende-eeuwse Republiek* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2003), p. 11; Frank van Gestel, Eddy Grootes, and Jan de Jongste, *P. C. Hooft. Nederlandse Historiën* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2007), p. 15; Coen Maas, *Medievalism and Political Rhetoric in Humanist Historiography from the Low Countries (1515–1609)* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2018), p. 406. See for the literary style of humanist historiography: Jansen, *Brevitas,* p. 196ff; Daniel R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 26, 34; Maas, *Medievalism and Political Rhetoric,* pp. 8–9.

consequences.[13] Typically for publications in the humanistic tradition, the *Dutch Histories* guided its readers via summarizing marginal notes.[14]

The stylistic (i.e. vernacular humanism) and material characteristics (i.e. printed marginalia) of Hooft's *Dutch Histories* give rise to this chapter's central question: how did Hooft guide the seventeenth-century reader through a new prose style and genre – namely, humanist history in the vernacular? The analysis presented below argues that Hooft employed, in addition to printed marginalia, linguistic means to signal narrative turns preceding important events and outcomes (the latter also highlighted by printed marginalia). More specifically, in his humanist prose, Hooft, to bring the reader's attention to an upcoming climax or result, adopted a particular construction that his exemplar, Tacitus, had avoided: *begin+infinitive* (the word *begin* followed by an infinitive verb). Scholars have demonstrated the text-structuring and reader-managing function of *begin+infinitive* in historical writing, but no such research exists on its function in historical Dutch.[15] This chapter thus provides the first analysis of *begin+infinitive* in historical Dutch texts and specifically Hooft's prose. Moreover, it uses a novel approach to investigate the text-structuring function of a grammatical item by incorporating narratological

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[13] In earlier historiographies, additional typographical elements for reader guidance occur: indentions, blank lines, chapters, or short chapter summaries/titles. See e.g. Jan Reygersbergh, *Dye Cronijcke van Zeelandt* (Henrick Peetersen, 1551); Cornelius Aurelius, *Die Cronycke van Hollant, Zeelant ende Vrieslant* (ed. Dordrecht: Pieter Verhaghen, 1585); Emanuel van Meteren, *Historie der Neder-landscher ende haerder Na-buren Oorlogen ende geschiedenissen* (The Hague: Hillebrant Iacobssz, 1614); Pieter Christiaenszoon Bor, *Vervolgh der Nederlandtsche Oorloghen, beroerten, ende Borgerlijcke oneenicheyden,* vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Michiel Colijn, 1621).

[14] See: Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), p. 210. Some earlier historiographies in the Dutch vernacular (e.g. Reygersbergh's *Cronijcke,* Van Meteren's *Historie*, and Bor's *Nederlandtsche Oorloghen,* see footnote 13 above) had, however, contained summarizing notes in the margin.

[15] E.g. Jeanette Beer, 'Traces of a Durative Use of "comencier" + Infinitive in 13th-Century French', *Romance Philology,* 28.1 (1974), 43–48; Laurel J. Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers in English. Grammaticalization and Discourse Functions* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1996); Giovanbattista Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio + infinitive: some new remarks', in *Early and Late Latin. Continuity or Change?,* ed. by James N. Adams and Nigel Vincent (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 246–64; Bettelou Los, 'Onginnan/beginnan with bare and to-infinitive in Ælfric', in *Pathways of Change: Grammaticalization in English*, ed. by Olga Fischer (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000), pp. 251–74; Hannah Rosén, 'The Late Latin *coepi* + infinitive construction: Evidence from translated texts', *Classica et Mediaevalia,* 63 (2012), 189–215; Barbara Wehr, *Diskurs-Strategien im Romanischen* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1984).

organization, rhetorical devices, and printed marginalia into the analysis. Broadly, the case study of Hooft aims to show that, in order to manage the reader, early modern authors and editors utilized a text's material (i.e. paratextual infrastructure)[16] and its linguistic (e.g. grammatical items, rhetorical devices) code.

2. *Begin+infinitive* in its historical varieties

Before turning to Hooft, an account of previous research on the *begin+infinitive* construction is in order. Contemporary linguistic studies on *begin+infinitive* in various historical varieties, including Classical and Late Latin, Old and Middle English, and Old and Middle French, show usage that exceeds *begin*'s standard grammatical function; as an aspectualizer, *begin* normally refers to the onset of a process, action, or event (expressed by the accompanying infinitive) that can be segmented into different temporal states (onset, nucleus, and coda) – this is also known as *begin*'s ingressive or inchoative meaning.[17] Although these studies show some variation in describing *begin*'s other function (e.g. demarcating, text structuring, foregrounding, highlighting, evaluating, dramatizing) and labelling the construction (e.g. pragmatic marker, discourse marker, rhetorical device), they seem to generalize that for several historical varieties, *begin+infinitive* was used particularly in narrative texts, developing into a marker of textual structure to demarcate narrative units.[18] I will refer to this text-structuring function of *begin+infinitive* as a discourse marker.[19]

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[16] John Tholen coined the term *paratextual infrastructure* ('the cluster of various paratextual elements') in *Ovidian Paratexts. Guiding the reader to the Metamorphoses in the early modern Low Countries* (Alblasserdam: Ridderprint bv, PhD thesis, 2019), p. 13.

[17] See for a short discussion on *begin*'s aspectual semantics: Los, 'Onginnan/ beginnan', pp. 257–58.

[18] I.e. a process of grammaticalization. See e.g. Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 50ff.; Los, 'Onginnan/beginnan', pp. 270–71; Ulrich Detges, 'How cognitive is grammaticalization? The history of the Catalan *perfet perifràstic'*, in *Up and Down the Cline: The Nature of Grammaticalization,* ed. by Olga Fischer, Muriel Norde, and Harry Perridon (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), pp. 211–27.

[19] Discourse marker is a term commonly used to denote linguistic 'strategies ensuring textual cohesion'. See: Chiara Fedriani and Andrea Sansó (eds.), *Pragmatic Markers, Discourse Markers and Modal Particles* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2017), p. 2. Although Brinton interprets linguistic items such as *begin* as pragmatic markers because of their twofold function in the textual and interpersonal domain (*Pragmatic Markers,* pp. 38–40), she also uses the terminology of discourse marker. See: Laurel J. Brinton, 'Discourse Markers', in

Two major approaches characterize research on *begin+infinitive.* First is a monolinguistic methodology that often yields arguments for a form-function relationship. Laurel Brinton, for example, distinguishes Middle English *gan* from *aginnen* (both meaning *begin*).[20] Whereas the latter is used in its 'original' meaning, the former functions discursively: *gan* 'indicates the beginning of a new or significant event in the discourse'.[21] Brinton draws this conclusion from the frequent co-occurrence of *gan* (unlike *aginnen*) with linguistic material hindering an ingressive interpretation, such as punctual verbs (e.g. 'she began to *awake'*) or durative/iterative adverbials (e.g. '*day by day* he began to inquire').[22] The form-function relationship, however, does not always hold; Brinton notes that *aginnen* in particular instances seems to have served a discourse function parallel to *gan,* and that *gan* itself 'may sometimes have the meaning "begin"'.[23] In her research on *begin* with bare and to-infinitive in Old English, Bettelou Los substantiates another form-function relationship. Instead of differentiating non-ingressive *begin* as a discourse marker from ingressive *begin* as a grammatical item, Los assigns both non-ingressive and ingressive *begin* a discourse-structuring function, i.e. regards it as a marker of thematic continuity and thematic discontinuity, respectively.[24]

Second, translation studies have provided important evidence for the discursive functions of *begin+infinitive,* also in languages with a single-form *begin*-construction. Translations are, in general, a promising source for understanding the role of discourse markers: linguistic structures added to a literal translation are likely

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Historical Pragmatics, ed. by Andreas Jucker and Irma Taavitsainen (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 285–314, (p. 293).

[20] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 79.

[21] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 79.

[22] These examples are taken from Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* pp. 68–69. Italicization the author's.

[23] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers*, pp. 68, 79. Although Brinton adopts a quite strict distinction between discursive and aspectual *begin,* she does acknowledge that a verb's semantic meaning remains present when a linguistic item functions discursively: markers like *begin* operate 'on both the local (i.e. syntactic and semantic) and global (i.e. pragmatic) level simultaneously' (p. 35).

[24] Los, 'Onginnan/beginnan', p. 263. The distinction between the two discourse-structuring functions of *begin* is further supported by Los's analysis of the linguistic contexts in which the constructions occur: the bare-infinitive occurs in a *then*-verb sentence, whereas the to-infinitive co-occurs with a verb-initial word order.

to perform a discourse-structuring role.[25] The addition of (single-form) *begin*-constructions has been observed in several historical translations, thus indicating its discourse function in the target language.[26]

Taken together, these two research strands reveal overlapping patterns in the *begin*-construction's usage. First, *begin* was applied in actions destined to be interrupted[27] and has thus been characterized as a marker of thematic discontinuity – a sudden turn of events, or a turning point.[28] This first pattern aligns with *begin*'s ingressive semantics, expressing the onset of a process. Second, *begin* was used to express perfective meaning, thus suggesting duration.[29] This meaning also derives from *begin*'s semantics. Since *begin* refers normally to the onset of a situation that can be segmented into different temporal states, the verb suggests that one can regard the situation expressed by the infinitive as durative in some way – though in some cases the action is not durative, e.g. 'she awoke'/*'she began to awake'.[30] As shown here, in such cases the direct linguistic context (e.g. a punctual verb) can prevent a strictly ingressive reading of *begin*.[31] The larger narrative discourse can also indicate that the focus lies on not the initial moment of the action expressed but its duration.[32] Translations offer additional evidence for the durative reading of *begin*, since the verb construction is used to translate non-ingressive verbs, like perfects.[33]

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[25] E.g. Rosén, 'The Late Latin *coepi* + infinitive construction', p. 189.

[26] E.g. Beer, 'Traces of a Durative Use of "comencier"', pp. 43–48; Rosén, 'The Late Latin *coepi* + infinitive construction', pp. 189–212; Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio', pp. 246–64.

[27] Beer, 'Traces of a Durative Use of "comencier"', p. 46; Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio', p. 254; Los, 'Onginnan/beginnan', p. 261.

[28] This is Los's interpretation of the to-infinitive, in 'Onginnan/beginnan', p. 267.

[29] This is Los's interpretation of the bare infinitive, in 'Onginnan/beginnan', p. 267. Cf. Beer, 'Traces of a Durative Use of "comencier"', p. 45; Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 97; Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio', pp. 248, 255; Rosén,'The Late Latin *coepi* + infinitive construction', p. 209.

[30] See, for an example of stressing the beginning of a non-durative action: Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio', p. 248.

[31] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* pp. 68–69. Italicization the author's.

[32] E.g. Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio', p. 255.

[33] Beer, 'Traces of a Durative Use of "comencier"', pp. 44–45. See also the references in Los, 'Onginnan/beginnan', pp. 260–61. Rosén, 'The Late Latin *coepi* + infinitive construction', finds *coepi* to be a translation for a normal past tense (p. 191) and an aorists (p. 192), amongst others.

Various studies have connected the semantic characteristics of aspectualizers like *begin* to narratological mechanisms. For example, the Old Catalan *go-to*-construction – paralleling the inchoative force of the *begin*-construction – has been interpreted as a 'rhetorical device used to represent especially dramatic points of narrative sequences'.[34] Others have used the term 'foregrounding' to characterize the narratological function of aspectualizers. Giovanbattista Galdi, for example, states that Classical Latin *coepi* (*begin*) was a means of 'foregrounding (and thus highlighting) durative processes'.[35]

The notions of foregrounding and highlighting are interrelated to the issue of personal style. Translation studies in particular have pointed to stylistic influences in the use of the *begin*-construction. For example, Galdi has argued that 'stylistic factors played a crucial role' in usage variation of the Latin *coepi*-construction: addition *and* omission of the verb enabled the translator or adaptor to distinguish oneself from the style of the source.[36] Brinton, furthermore, alighting on the role of personal choice in the use of the construction as *begin*'s interpersonal function, has linked it to the verb's guiding purposes: with *begin,* 'the speaker marks in the text places which he or she considers important'.[37]

In sum, several historical varieties of *begin+infinitive* possessed a discourse-structuring and reader-managing function: it alerted the audience to narrative turns or events of (relative) salience. How, then, do these findings relate to Hooft's use of the *begin*-construction?

3. Formal properties of *begin+infinitive* in the *Dutch Histories*

Elaborating on previous *begin+infinitive* research, this section discusses the construction's formal characteristics in Hooft's *Dutch Histories*, where *begin+infinitive* occurs 229 times over 1,242 pages (once per five printed pages on

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[34] Detges, 'How cognitive is grammaticalization?', p. 216.
[35] Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio', p. 255. See also Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 80; Detges, 'How cognitive is grammaticalization?', p. 217.
[36] Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio', pp. 254, 256. Cf. Rosén, 'The Late Latin *coepi* + infinitive construction', p. 212.
[37] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 81.

average).[38] The construction is distributed quite evenly throughout the *Histories'* books*,* though it is absent from the final book (book 27).[39] The formal properties of these *begin*-constructions match other studies' findings. First, in the *Dutch Histories* the construction occurs significantly more frequently in the past tense (n 210, 92%) than in the present tense (n 19, 8%).[40] Second, the construction is far more frequent in main clauses (n 169, 74%) than in subclauses (n 60, 26%), a finding related to *begin*'s foregrounding function.[41] Main clauses typically express the narrative's central information. In addition, events with ingressive or durative readings (expressed through *begin*, amongst others) might be perceived to be more relevant than aspectually unspecified events.[42] Hence, a *begin* clause is usually foregrounded

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[38] I have compiled a dataset of all *begin*-constructions occurring in Hooft's *Histories* based on the digitally available and searchable DBNL edition (ed. W. Hellinga and P. Tuynman; see footnote 7 above). I have counted only the occurrences of *begin* – instances of *begin* co-occurring with multiple infinitives are counted as 1 construction. I have searched for the verb *begin* and its conjugations: singular *begint* (9)*, begon* (101)*,* and *begost* (29); plural *beginnen* (7), *begosten* (71), *begonnen* (8), and *begonden* (1); and the present participle *beginnende* (3). The variation resulted from Hooft's not-standardized spellings in the manuscript. With one exception, in the manuscript Hooft changed *begonden* to *begosten,* and the alterations are accurately reproduced in the printed editions – in his correspondence, Hooft uses *begosten* from 1640 onwards (see *De briefwisseling van Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft,* vol. 3*,* ed. by Hendrik W. van Tricht et al. (Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink/Noorduijn, 1979), letter 1022, p. 246). Likewise, Hooft changed the singular *begost* to *begon*. However, for reasons unclear, in books 2 and 3 this correction has not been applied (in neither the manuscript nor the printed editions). Furthermore, *begost,* together with plural *begonnen,* is used in IPP-constructions throughout the entire manuscript. This matches Hooft's own recommendations: 'en men moet zeggen *hadde ik begonnen* oft *begost te gaen*'. See: Hooft, 'Waernemingen', p. 239.

[39] Excluding book 27 (with zero occurrences), the distribution of *begin+infinitive* ranges absolutely between 4 constructions in book 13 and 14 constructions in books 20 and 23. Relatively (number/pages), the distribution ranges between 0.11 in book 13 and 0.29 in book 23. Cf. Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 76, who claims that an uneven distribution of the *begin*-construction argues in favour of its discourse-structuring role. However, this applies only to metrical texts where an even distribution would argue for a metrical function. An uneven distribution, co-occurring with the narrated actions, points instead to a discourse-structuring role (Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* pp. 75–76). In Hooft's *Histories* (prose)*,* however, the narrated action is spread throughout the individual books. Hence, we would expect a quite even distribution of *begin+infinitive,* as observed here.

[40] X^2 p<.001. Present participles (i.e. 'beginnende') are counted as a present tense. Cf. Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 68. However, note that Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity,* p. 70ff., argues for a co-occurrence of auxiliaries like *begin* with the present tense. Co-occurrences with the present tense are discussed below, in Sections 4 and 6.

[41] X^2 p<.001. Cf. Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio', p. 255; Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* pp. 76–77.

[42] See Detges, 'How cognitive is grammaticalization?', pp. 213–14, 216. Cf. Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity,* p. 175, linking aspectual semantics (items moving narrative time forwards) to foregrounding.

and constitutes a mainline event.[43] Third, in connection with its foregrounding function, *begin* occurs in several identifiable contexts expressing narratological developments.[44] In Hooft's *Histories, begin* expresses a change in the general course of events, specifically war-related events like surrenders, e.g.

> In voeghe dat de Baroen Dunfort […] van verdragh **begon te handelen**: en besprak dat de inwoonders met vrouwen en kinderen veiligh naa Vlaandre, oft Engelandt; het krysvolk alleen naa Engelandt moghten vertrekken.[45]
> *Consequently, Baron Dunfort began to negotiate a treaty and arranged for the inhabitants to depart safely with their women and children to Flanders or England, and for the soldiers to England alone.[46]*

a change in the narrative scene, such as the time of day, e.g.

> En 't **begon** aan den avondt **te gaan**, als men meenighte van zeylen ontdekte, die, van beneeden, naa stadt toe quaamen.
> *The evening began to descend when they perceived a multitude of sails approaching the city.[47]*

character internal changes, such as attitude developments, e.g.

> Dies veelen der bondtgenooten […] **begosten**, naa de uitbiedingen der Landvooghdesse **te luisteren**; die de kans aan 't keeren ziende, haaren slagh waar nam […].

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[43] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* pp. 76–77; Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio', p. 255.

[44] Here I am following the contexts as identified by Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers*, p. 77. Hooft's *Histories* offers no evidence for *begin* as a marker of fortuitous occurrences.

[45] Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historien*, p. 10. (cf. pp. 460, 810, 884, 1028). This category also includes multiple examples of battles and retrenchments (e.g. pp. 258, 299, 316, 590, 591, 774, 785, 795, 914, 1011, 1087, 1091, 1169, 1172).

[46] All English translations of Hooft's prose are the author's.

[47] Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historien*, p. 526. (cf. pp. 198, 468, 526). *Begin* also can express a change in time of year (e.g. p. 616) or in weather conditions (e.g. p. 834).

> *Therefore, many of the allies began to listen to the offers of the governess, who, seeing a change in fortune, seized her opportunity.*[48]

and as an introduction to sound, speech specifically, e.g.

> Jaa hy **begon te dryven**, en pooghde met veele reeden staande te houden,
> *Dat den Staaten nocht Heerschappy nocht Hoogheit kon toebehooren* […].
> *Yes, he began to argue, and tried with many arguments to assert,* That neither dominion nor prestige belonged to the States.[49]

Sometimes, as here, italicization makes the speech act introduced through *begin+infinitive* especially conspicuous, the typography highlighting the sequence and confirming its narratological importance.

Fourth, in addition to these narratological contexts, *begin+infinitive* can occur with specific linguistic items that illuminate its semantic reading. Very occasionally, *begin+infinitive* expresses an interrupted situation (n 13, 6%),[50] via, for example, the signal word *maar* or *(e)doch* (but), e.g.

> Voorts […] **begon** m'er den gezuyverden Godsdienst **te oeffenen**. Maar niet zoo ras namp men 's heemels zaak by der handt, oft de menschelykheit wild'er haar persoonaadje onder speelen […].

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[48] Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historien*, p. 124 (cf. pp. 82, 134, 367, 688, 953, 1008; see for a combination with an imperative p. 727). This category also includes changes in emotion (e.g. pp. 14, 24, 151, 305, 438, 540, 727, 1053).

[49] Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historien*, p. 1141 (cf. pp. 48, 233, 681, 746, 845, 1143). See also, for co-occurrence of *begin* with speech: Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 76; Rosén,'The Late Latin *coepi* + infinitive construction', p. 208; Hannah Rosén, 'Dum Loquimur, Fugerit Inuida Aetas: On Tense and Actionality of Latin Verba Dicendi', in *Studies in Classical Linguistics in Honor of Philip Baldi,* ed. by Richard Page and Aaron Rubin (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 97–113.

[50] Cf. Beer, 'Traces of a Durative Use of "comencier"', p. 46; Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio', p. 248; Los, 'Onginnan/beginnan', p. 267.

Furthermore, they began to practice the Reformed religion. But as soon as they took the affairs of heaven in hand, human nature wanted to play its role.[51]

Semantically, the focus in these kind of examples lies on *begin*'s ingressive meaning (see Section 2). Although this emphasis on the inception of a situation aligns with *begin*'s 'standard' meaning, one can still interpret these type of constructions as foregrounding devices, i.e. episode boundary-markers, signalling thematic discontinuity.[52] More specifically, *begin* might have been used here to mark a dramatic turn in religious reform, resulting in religious troubles.[53]

In addition to *begin+infinitive*'s role expressing events destined to be interrupted, the construction can express an ongoing situation (n 216, 94%).[54] The presence of a durative or iterative adverbial (e.g. 'oover acht maanden') can explicitly exclude a strictly ingressive reading, e.g.

maar, dat'er […] vier oft vyf verscheenen, die zyne regeering niet lyden konnen, en, al oover acht maanden, **begosten** teeghens hem aan **te myneeren**.

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[51] Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historien*, p. 252 (cf. pp. 17, 18, 340, 1007, 1096).

[52] Cf. Los, 'Onginnan/beginnan', p. 263, who interprets both ingressive and perfective *begin* as foregrounding devices. See also Beer, 'Traces of a Durative Use of "comencier"', p. 46, who observes the addition of *begin* in translations to express situations that are destined to be interrupted.

[53] Lending support to *begin+infinitive*'s function as an episode boundary, anticipating a new main event, the construction occurs right between two main events, each marked with summarizing notes in the margin. Interestingly, the recent translation of the first twenty books of Hooft's *Histories* (ed. Frank van Gestel, Eddy Grootes, and Arjan van Leuvensteijn, http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/Nederlandse_Historien_van_P.C._Hooft) adds a subheading between the *begin*-sentence and the *but*-sentence, which seems to confirm *begin's* role as a discourse boundary (cf. Los, 'Onginnan/beginnan', pp. 263, 267–69).

[54] This is Los's interpretation of thematic continuity, in 'Onginnan/beginnan', pp. 264–67. See also: Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 97; Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio', pp. 248, 255; Rosén,'The Late Latin *coepi* + infinitive construction', p. 209. These 216 instances include iterative use of the construction, thus *begin* expressing a protracting series of events (e.g. 'beginnen te beuken').

> *...that there were four or five who could not suffer his reign and over the course of eight months began to undermine him.*[55]

Furthermore, Hooft combined *begin* with several markers to emphasize that something took place gradually, thus expressing both inception and duration.[56] Consider an example where the *begin*-construction is complemented with an adverbial emphasizing inception ('van toen af') and an iterative adverbial ('van dagh tot dagh') in combination with literal repetition ('luipender en luipender'), suggesting duration and gradual development:

> Dit [...] worp, als een wis bewys van de loosheit der zoene, weeder alles in 't war: en, van toen af **begosten** de bekommeringen en steurnissen, van dagh tot dagh, **in te kerven**; en de partyen elkandre met luipender en luipender oogh aan te zien.
> *This confused everything, as proof of the reconciliation's weakness. And from that moment onwards, the concerns and disturbances began to sharply insert themselves day after day, and the parties began to leer at each other ever more maliciously.*[57]

In addition to the direct linguistic context preventing an ingressive reading, it can also be the case that the marking of inception does not have a particular meaning within the larger narrative discourse (see Section 2). Compare, as illustration, the following two versions of an event – version (a) is used by Hooft:

a. An old woman, sitting in front of the choir to sell candles and to receive offerings, **began to rail** at the boys, and **began to throw** ashes and dust at them.

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[55] Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historien*, p. 1149.
[56] This aligns with the meaning of *begin* given in the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, 'beginnen', 2c, 2d.
[57] Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historien*, p. 1180.

b. An old woman, sitting in front of the choir to sell candles and to receive offerings, railed at the boys, and threw ashes and dust at them.[58]

Here the linguistic context (e.g. punctual verbs, durative/iterative adverbials) does not prevent an ingressive reading, but the larger narrative discourse does not ask for an ingressive reading (see also Section 6). Following Ulrich Detges's argument on variation between constructions with aspectualizers such as *begin* and aspectually unspecified verbs, Hooft might have chosen option (a) over option (b) for reader-managing purposes: an 'inchoative version is more dynamic and therefore more appropriate to catch the listener's attention'.[59] I discuss this example in greater detail in Section 6.

4. *Begin+infinitive* as a stylistic device: Evidence from the margins

As the previous section shows, most of the formal characteristics of Hooft's *begin*-construction match the findings of previous research. To strengthen the argument that Hooft's *begin*-construction served reader-managing functions, this section will complement the analysis with translated material. Historiographers like Hooft commonly adopted stylistic techniques from classical authors, whose works set the standard of excellence; imitation of the classics was essential in composition, even when writing in the vernacular.[60] Hence, while working on his *Dutch Histories,* Hooft translated the Latin prose of the Roman historiographer Tacitus as a writing example for his own prose.[61] By translating Tacitus, Hooft 'could practice concision and demonstrate that a compact yet fluid historiographic style was also viable in the vernacular.'[62] In general, Hooft faithfully followed Tacitus's original but, like other early modern translators, he struggled with the challenges posed by the ancient

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[58] This example is based on Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historien*, p. 100.
[59] Detges, 'How cognitive is grammaticalization?', p. 215.
[60] Maas, *Medievalism and Political Rhetoric,* p. 25.
[61] Hooft started translating Tacitus around 1630, see Gerard Brandt, 'Aan den Leezer', in Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, *Alle de werken van C. Corn. Tacitus*, ed. by Gerard Brandt (Amsterdam: Henrik Wetstein and Pieter Scepérus, 1704), fol. b1r.
[62] Original Dutch: 'hier konden vertalers zich oefenen in beknoptheid en demonstreren dat een compacte en toch vloeiende geschiedschrijversstijl ook in de volkstaal een haalbare kaart was. Bij Hooft was het ook een duidelijke voorbereiding op het schrijven van de *Nederlandsche Historiën*.' Jansen, *Brevitas,* p. 192. English translation the author's.

writer's Latin.[63] Later, he 'reformed' certain episodes translated earlier, allowing himself greater creative freedom – unfortunately, it remains unknown which episodes he rewrote.[64] Perhaps this rewriting process led to Hooft's additional usage of the *begin*-construction. In the *Annals,* Tacitus had used Latin *coepi+infinitive* only six times.[65] Such limited usage reflects the contemporary Latin literary style in which, unlike less formal Latin prose, *coepi+infinitive* was avoided.[66] Hooft, however, added thirty-seven extra *begin*-constructions in his translation. Table 1 shows that Hooft was not the first to do this: in the two previous Dutch translations of Tacitus's *Annals,* by Johannes Fenacolius (1616) and Johan van Groenewegen (1630), *begin+infinitive* had also been added.[67]

Author	Number of constructions
Johannes Fenacolius (1616)	161
Johan van Groenewegen (1630)	24
Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1684)	43

Table 1. Number of *begin+infinitive* constructions in the Dutch translation of Tacitus's *Annals*.[68]

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[63] Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, *De briefwisseling van Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft,* vol. 2, ed. by Hendrik W. van Tricht et al. (Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink/Noorduijn, 1977), p. 20 (letter 370, lines 15–18), p. 42 (letter 379, lines 51–52). Cf. Neil Rhodes, 'Introduction', in *English Renaissance Translation Theory,* ed. by Neil Rhodes, Gordon Kendal, and Louise Wilson (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2013), pp. 1–70 (p. 2); Neil Rhodes, 'Status anxiety and English Renaissance translation', in *Renaissance Paratexts,* ed. by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 107–20.

[64] Hooft, *De briefwisseling,* vol. 2*,* p. 93 (letter 401, lines 11–14).

[65] In his *Annals* and *Histories* together, Tacitus used the construction 11 times. See: Galdi, 'on coepi/incipio + infinitive', p. 250; Arnold Gerber, Adolf Greef, and Constantin John, *Lexicon Taciteum* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1903), p. 180.

[66] Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio', p. 250.

[67] Johannes Fenacolius, *De Hoochberoemde Historien van C. Cornelius Tacitus* […] (Delft: Adriaen Gerritsen, 1616); Johan van Groenewegen, *D'Ovrige Werken van Gaius Cornelius Tacitus* […] (Delft: Adriaen Gerritsen, 1630).

[68] These numbers are based on Fenacolius's *De Hoochberoemde Historien*, edition 1616, Van Groenewegen's *D'Ovrige Werken*, edition 1630, and Hooft's *Tacitus*, edition 1684. These texts are available and searchable online via Archive.org or as a PDF via Google Books. These texts are searched for begin (and conjugations) through Optical Character Recognition (OCR). The results are then manually filtered for instances of begin in infinitive constructions. It should be noted, however, that this research method has limitations. Instances of *begin+infinitive* could have been missed because of the quality of the scanned documents and their typescript. This might have influenced the number of constructions

The three Dutch translations yield the following conclusions. First, as observed in previous research (see Section 2), the *begin*-construction has a stylistic and optional character; Tables 1 and 2 show that the translators did not always make the same choices in adding *begin+infinitive.* Of the forty-three constructions that appear in Hooft's *Annals* translation, one-quarter follow the Latin source and one-third had been introduced in previous translations.[69] That leaves well over forty percent of instances unrelated to either source, thus suggesting that *begin+infinitive* represented a means for the individual author to mark what he considered important; authors thus made different choices in implementing the construction. Furthermore, as with what is observed with other historical vernaculars, the figures in Table 1 might suggest that the use of *begin+infinitive* was part of a Dutch vernacular narrative convention.[70] Though appearing relatively sparingly – Hooft, for example, used one construction per seven printed pages on average – *begin+infinitive* might have been employed as an especially conspicuous foregrounding device.[71]

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found in Van Groenwegen's edition in particular, because of its gothic typescript – in contrast with the roman script used in Fenacolius' and Hooft's editions. However, the low number of *begin*-constructions in Van Groenewegen's edition as compared to Fenacolius' corresponds with the observations Gerard Brandt made on the difference in style between these two translations. Whereas Van Groenewegen is criticized because of his grave and abrupt brevity, Fenacolius, adding a great many *begin*-constructions to Tacitus' original, is criticized because of his Dutchification of Tacitus. See: Brandt, 'Aan den Leezer', fol. a4r. More generally, the numbers presented here suggest that, regardless the stylistic ideals the translators aspired to, *begin+infinitive* was part of the linguistic changes one made when translating a Latin text into the vernacular.

[69] Dutch *begin* is used for Tacitus's Latin *coepi*-constructions, for the suffix *esc* marking inception (see on the suffix *esc*: Andrew Allen, 'Regrammaticalization and degrammaticalization of the inchoative suffix', in *Historical Linguistics 1993,* ed. by Henning Andersen (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1993), pp. 1–8), or as a reinforcement of Latin *primus* or *initium.*

[70] Beer, 'Traces of a Durative Use of "comencier"', p. 44.

[71] This has been argued for the *go*-construction in early modern French, used only sparingly in literary discourse, see Detges, 'How cognitive is grammaticalization?', p. 218.

	Total	With printed marginalia	Percentage of printed marginalia
Related to Tacitus	11	3	27%
Related to previous translations[72]	14	9	64%
Unrelated to previous sources	18	15	83%

Table 2. The number of *begin+infinitive* constructions with corresponding running side notes in Hooft's translation of the *Annals*.[73]

Interestingly, as Table 2 shows, the editor of Hooft's translation, Gerard Brandt, edited almost all of Hooft's additions with a summarizing note in the text's margin.[74] The co-occurrence of *begin+infinitive* with printed marginalia brings about the second conclusion: Hooft seems to have added *begin+infinitive* as a text-structuring device for the reader. This conclusion can be drawn both from the presence of printed marginalia and their linguistic make-up. Considering the former, the printed marginalia function as summarizing and navigational aids, encouraging the reader to move about the text and easily locate relevant information. Taken as a single unit, the printed marginalia form a high-level summary of the story, demonstrating the work's organizational scheme.[75] This function of summarizing notes could be linked to *begin*'s discourse-structuring role. For example, Brinton has argued that a clause with Middle English *gan* (*begin*) 'is foregrounded and marks a mainline or backbone event'.[76] Since *begin*-sentences tend to co-occur with summarizing notes in Hooft's *Annals* translation, especially for Hooft's added constructions, it seems likely that Hooft used *begin* as a discourse marker, and the

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[72] Excluded here are occurrences also related to Tacitus's original.

[73] For this Table, instances of *begin+infinitive* in Hooft's translation are manually compared to the corresponding sections in Tacitus's original and previous translations.

[74] Brandt, 'Aan den Leezer', fol. b2r. Furthermore, Latin words or alternative translations are sometimes printed at the bottom of the page. These are copied from Hooft's manuscript (see Brandt, 'Aan den Leezer', fol. b2r).

[75] I follow Burke and Christ, who distinguish among interpretive, navigational, and commercial uses of printed paratext. See: Dorothee Burke and Birte Christ, 'Paratext and Digitized Narrative: Mapping the Field', *Narrative,* 21.1 (2013), 65–87 (pp. 67–68); cf. William Slights, *Managing Readers. Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 8, 207.

[76] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 77.

construction in most cases was interpreted by the editor-as-reader Brandt as such. Note, too, the linguistic make-up of the summarizing notes, which typically lack *begin* (see Table 3 and 4 below).[77] This omission is characteristic for a discourse marker, which is only loosely attached to the syntactic structure.[78] In other words, when *begin* functions discursively in the main text (i.e. to foreground a mainline event), the verb can be omitted in the paratextual infrastructure, which does not require *begin* as a discourse marker.

Consider the two examples presented in Tables 3 and 4 below. Both contain a combination of *begin* and a verb of communication; both describe a call for death. As mentioned in Section 3, several studies have noted this co-occurrence of *begin* with verbs of sound. For example, Rosén argues that this combination of *begin* and *verba dicendi* tends 'cross-linguistically towards durative, protracted expression'.[79] These examples provide evidence for the stylistic and discursive role of *begin+infinitive*. Only the *begin*-construction of the first example (Table 3) appeared in one of the previous translations – Hooft added the other (Table 4). Furthermore, although in previous translations neither example was marked with summarizing notes, in Hooft's translation Brandt chose to complete both examples with printed marginalia. Importantly, these printed marginalia lack the verb *begin,* thus pointing to the verb's discourse-structuring role in the main text. Moreover, other linguistic items underline the narratological importance of the events presented here. In both examples, the *begin* sentence is reported in the past tense. Reporting an actual death or an attempt to kill, Hooft switches to the present tense, a gesture that is not one of Hooft's adaptations but has rather been copied from Tacitus's original: it is one of the linguistic tools that authors use to ensure that the audience does not miss a story's climax. For Tacitus, this tool was the present tense.[80] The tense switch

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[77] Of the *begin*-sentences co-occurring with summarizing notes, only in one summary is the *begin* verb used (Hooft, *Tacitus,* p. 234).

[78] Brinton, 'Discourse Markers', pp. 285–86.

[79] Rosén,'The Late Latin *coepi* + infinitive construction', p. 208; Rosén, 'On Tense and Actionality', pp. 97–113; cf. Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 76, and the references therein; Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity,* p. 73.

[80] David Stienaers, 'Linguistic features of peaks in Latin narrative texts', in *Latinitatis Rationes. Descriptive and Historical Accounts for the Latin Language,* ed. by Paolo Poccetti (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), pp. 902–16. See also Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity,* p.

in this example thus confirms the event's importance within the larger narrative discourse. Consequently, Brandt also marked these events with a summarizing note.

Main text	Printed marginalia
Libo, dien zelf het banket, dat hy 't zyner jongste wellust hadt doen aanrechten, een kruis was, begost om ymant te roepen, die hem ombraghte, de slaaven by de rechterhandt te vatten, en hun 't zwaardt daar in te wringhen.	Valt in waanhoop, verzoekt dat men hem ombrenghe.
[…] zoo heeft hy, zich vindende reeds in een duisternisse die hem de doodt voor ooghen stelde, twee steeken in 't ingewant gebraght.	En doodt zich zelven.
[…] D'aanklacht is nochtans voor den Raadt, met gelyk aanstaan, volvoert, en heeft Tiberius gezwooren, *dat hy om zyn' leeven, alhoewel 't verbeurt was, zoude gebeeden hebben, 't en waare hy zich tot een willighe doodt gespoeit hadt.* Zyne goederen zyn onder d'aanklaaghers omgedeelt, en de geenen die onder hen van de orde van den Raadt waaren, zyn buiten orden met schoutschappen begiftight.	Zyn betichters worden beloont.

Table 3. Begin in combination with a verb of communication. Hooft added *begin+infinitive* in the section preceding the episode's main event (i.e. Libo's death).[81]

72*, who links aspectualizers like *begin* to tense switching, arguing that they are favourable to attract a present tense (cf. Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 68).

[81] Hooft, *Tacitus, Annalen,* p. 65 (Book 2.31). Italicization is copied from the printed source (ed. 1684). Translation: Libo began to call for someone to kill him, and began to grasp the right hands of some slaves and began to try to place the sword in their hands. (Margin: Falls in despair, begs that they kill him.) So, finding himself in what was for him already the darkness of death, Libo delivers two blows to his own intestines. (Margin: And kills himself.) The accusation is nonetheless executed with the same formality by the council, and Tiberius *swears that he would have asked to spare Libo's life, guilty though he was, had he not been too hasty in committing suicide.* His goods are divided amongst his accusers, and those of them who belonged to the senatorial order are given extraordinary praetorships. (Margin: His accusers are rewarded.)

Main text	Printed marginalia
Achternaa, door 't staadigh aanjaagen, als haar de buik schudde, en 't ingewandt dreunde, begost zy te bidden, om door een' eerlyke doodt van de smaadt der gevanklykheit bevrydt te werden.	Die hem om de dood bidt.
[…] Ten laatsten, door de heftigheit der minne, en niet ongeoeffent in grouwelstukken, rukt hy den saabel uit, en sleept de gequetste aan den oever van Araxis, zet haar in de stroom; op dat het lichaam ook niet weghgedraagen wierde.	Hy doorsteekt ze, en werpt ze in de stroom Araxis.
[…] Daarentussen, […] zyn de harders, Zenobia […] gewaar geworden, daar aadem en kenlyk leeven in was, en haar uit de achtbaarheit der gedaante voor niet oneedel oordeelende, verbinden de wonde, leggen daar boersche geneeskruiden op; en haaren naam en lot verstaan hebbende, brengen haar in de stadt Artaxata […].	Zy wordt, noch levende gevonden, en binnen Artaxata gebraght.

Table 4. *Begin* in combination with a verb of communication. Hooft added *begin+infinitive* in the section preceding the episode's main events (i.e. Zenobia's apparent death and rescue).[82]

These examples, strongly suggesting that Hooft indeed used *begin+infinitive* as a discourse marker to guide the reader through the text, also prompts consideration whether the interpretation of *begin+infinitive* as 'highlighting a new turn in the discourse', as proposed in previous research, fully covers Hooft's use of the construction.[83] Especially the latter observation of tense switching indicates a more

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[82] Hooft, *Tacitus, Annalen,* pp. 268–69 (Book 12.51). Translation: When her belly shook, and her insides jostled, she began to beg to be spared the indignities of captivity by an honorable death. (Margin: Who begs to be killed.) Finally, urged on by the violence of his love, and being no novice in atrocities, he draws his sabre, and drags the wounded to the bank of the Araxis, and places her in the stream. (Margin: He stabs her, and throws her in the river Araxis.) Meanwhile, some shepherds notice Zenobia […], bandage her wounds, apply their rustic cures and, on learning her name and circumstances, convey her to the city of Artaxata. (Margin: She is found, still alive, and is brought to Artaxata.)

[83] This is Galdi's summary of research that had aimed to identify the discourse-structuring role of the construction. Galdi, 'On coepi/incipio', p. 254.

specific function of *begin* in relation to a narrative climax: *begin+infinitive* is used in the build-up to a story's key event. In her study on ingressive and perfective *begin* in Old English, Los has observed that, although one can interpret ingressive *begin* as a marker of a dramatic turn in the discourse (see Section 3), non-ingressive *begin* (thus expressing duration)*,* instead, 'represent[s] the smooth progression of the narrative'.[84] Elaborating on this observation, the following section proposes a hypothesis for Hooft's use of non-ingressive *begin+infinitive.*

5. Narratological properties of *begin+infinitive*

Although *begin* as an aspectualizer (as opposed to aspectually unspecified verbs) can be argued to act as a foregrounding device, thus highlighting the event expressed by *begin's* infinitive, this section argues that perfective *begin+infinitive* in Hooft's prose had a more specific function entailed by *begin*'s semantics.[85] Section 2 has pointed out that the presence of *begin* – semantically referring to the onset of a situation that can be segmented into different temporal states – suggests that the situation presented there is durative in some way.[86] This semantical reading determines *begin*'s narratological function.[87] In her study on Middle English *gan,* Brinton links the verb's semantics to narrative pace: '[*Begin*], with its inchoative semantics, emphasizes the ongoing nature of the action, focusing on the action itself, and thus slowing down the narrative.'[88] This observation informs the present analysis of Hooft's prose, especially *Dutch Histories*. Hooft is known for his dynamic, tempo-changing style, a common characteristic of humanist historiography: in Hooft's work, brief reports alternate with narrative deceleration

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[84] Los, 'Onginnan/beginnan', p. 263.

[85] Detges, 'How cognitive is grammaticalization?', p. 215; Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity,* p. 175. Previous research has attributed various levels of foregrounding to *begin,* see Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 97; Rosén,'The Late Latin *coepi* + infinitive construction', p. 211.

[86] See: Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 75; Los, 'Onginnan/beginnan', pp. 257–58. Also for translations, the durative character of *begin* has been observed, e.g. Beer, 'Traces of a Durative Use of "comencier"', p. 45.

[87] Fleischman, *Tense and Narrativity,* pp. 22, 72, argues that auxiliaries like *begin* are often pressed into service to change situation types. In these cases, the lexical information provided by the auxiliary marks entry into a new situation, specifically for new or unexpected developments on the narrative line.

[88] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 97.

via devices such as the provision of detailed information on characters, events, and locations, or lengthy depictions of important events and speeches.[89] *Begin+infinitive,* this chapter argues, constitutes an important cog in this mechanism: *begin*, with its durative semantics, slowed the narrative pace, thereby attracting the reader's attention to a significant upcoming event. In other words, Hooft employed the linguistic item *begin+infinitive* to support a feature of stylistic design, i.e. his tempo-changing style.[90]

Pinpointing precisely the decelerating function of *begin+infinitive* in Hooft's prose requires a narrative model. As previous research typically interprets *begin* as marking a new turn in discourse, the use of a narrative model is not new to discourse marker research.[91] However, in addition to the well-known episode-boundary interpretation, a detailed model allows more precise interpretations of *begin+infinitive* in Hooft's seventeenth-century prose. Indeed, research on *begin+infinitive* has mainly focused on narratives produced in highly oral cultures.[92] There the *begin+infinitive* construction was an easily recognizable marker for important narrative shifts.[93] In Hooft's literary prose, I submit, *begin+infinitive* forms part of a humanist style of acceleration and deceleration, interrelated to particular narrative layers.[94]

According to William Labov's influential model of narrative macro-organization, a narrative exhibits (most of) the following components: abstract (what is this about?), orientation (who, what, when, where?), complicating action (then what happened?), peak (what was the high point?), evaluation (so what?), resolution

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[89] Van Gestel et al., *Nederlandse Historiën*, pp. 16, 18; Maas, *Medievalism and Political Rhetoric,* p. 22.

[90] Cf. Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 96. The role of morphosyntactic features in supporting rhetorical devices has been observed before. See e.g. Adamson, 'Literary Language', p. 553; Van de Poppe, 'Genitiefvariatie als instrument in Coornherts didactische programma', p. 291ff.

[91] E.g. Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* pp. 40–44.

[92] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* pp. 3–5. More generally, discourse markers are typically associated with oral discourse. See: Brinton, 'Discourse Markers', pp. 285–86.

[93] Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 5.

[94] The survival of text-structuring devices up until early modern literary discourse has also been observed for the *go*-to-construction, see Detges, 'How cognitive is grammaticalization?', p. 218.

(what finally happened?), and coda (what is the relation to the present context?).[95] Building on Labov's model, Monika Fludernik has argued for the existence of smaller, repetitive episodes within larger narrative units. Within Labov's complicating action, for example, Fludernik proposes the following structure: incipit (a spatial shift), incidence (a sudden event), and result.[96] Previous research has shown that these abstract narrative structures, although not always completely applicable, can help in understanding the organization of and language in historical narratives.[97] The following paragraphs will locate Hooft's use of *begin+infinitive* within the narrative models of Labov and Fludernik, arguing that Hooft used the construction in the complication action or incidence section preceding a narrative's peak and/or result. So, although *begin* with its aspectual semantics is a foregrounded tense (see Section 2 and 3), in Hooft's prose the *begin*-sentence does not constitute the episode's main event but rather precedes it.[98]

6. Linguistic and marginal guidance in the *Dutch Histories*

Combining the previous sections' findings, this section takes a linguistic and material approach to study Hooft's techniques of reader management in his *Dutch Histories* and *begin+infinitive*'s specific role therein. Unlike his Tacitus translation, edited by Gerard Brandt, Hooft himself took care of the summarizing marginal notes in his *Dutch Histories*. Hooft seemingly applied another strategy of reader guidance than Brandt: whereas Brandt often marked the events denoted by a *begin*-

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[95] Labov, *Language in the Inner City*; Labov and Waletzky, 'Oral versions of personal experience'.

[96] Fludernik, *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology*, pp. 65–66; Monika Fludernik, 'Letters and Chronicles: How Narrative Are They?', in *Essays on Fiction and Perspective,* ed. by Göran Rossholm (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 129–54 (p. 135).

[97] Recent research has moved away from attempts to define universal narrative structures. However, Labov's terminology is still being applied in the analysis of narrative structure, thus demonstrating the ongoing value of narrative analysis. See: Ruth Page, 'Narrative structure', in *The Cambridge Handbook of Stylistics*, ed. by Peter Stockwell and Sara Whiteley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 439–55 (pp. 442, 449ff.); Monika Fludernik, 'Letters as narrative: Narrative patterns and episode structure in early letters, 1400 to 1650', in *Methods in Historical Pragmatics,* ed. by Susan Fitzmaurice and Irma Taavitsainen (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2007), pp. 241–66.

[98] This interpretation also applies to ingressive *begin* as a marker of thematic discontinuity; in those cases, *begin* functions as a bridging mechanism between two main events (see the example of interruption in Section 3, footnote 51 and 53 above).

construction in the margin (see Section 4), Hooft accompanied merely 50 of the 229 instances (22%) with a summarizing marginal note. But *begin*'s text-structuring role thereby is not necessarily weakened. Rather, as this section aims to show, Hooft used *begin+infinitive* in combination with rhetorical means to slow the narrative pace, signalling to an upcoming key event, in which Hooft sped the narrative tempo up. The browsing and scanning reader, crisscrossing the *Dutch Histories,* is directly guided towards this climax or its resolution via the printed marginalia.

The key foci of humanist historiographers are humans and their actions.[99] In line with this tradition, Hooft's *Dutch Histories* portrays people, cities, and rulers, and the political players of the Dutch Revolt, all from a stoic point of view: those presenting a firm and levelheaded front are celebrated, and the masses' unsubdued passions, which lead to violence and rebellion, are denigrated.[100] Illustrative in this regard is Hooft's frequent use of *begin+infinitive* to denote characters' internal changes, like emotions or resolutions (n 76/229, 33%).

Narrative section	Main text	Printed marginalia
Incipit	Des anderen daaghs ('t volk weeder in en ontrent de voorzeide kerke t'zaamenrottende) werd het krakkeel teeghens 't Mariebeeldt hervat.	
Incidence	Een ouwt wyfken, zittende voor 't koor, met waslicht te koop, en om offerpenningen t'ontfangen, begost'er teeghens aan te kribben, en den jongens asch, en vuilnis, naa 't hooft te werpen; […]	

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[99] Maas, *Medievalism and Political Rhetoric,* pp. 8–9.
[100] Van Gestel et al., *Nederlandse Historiën*, p. 18.

Result/peak	De Markgraaf, Schout der Stadt […] en de Majestraat […] worden verkundschapt van 't ongemak, en maaken zich derwaarts, op hoope van het, door 't onzagh hunner jeeghenwoordigheit te stillen. […]	
Result/peak	De schatmeester en regeerders der kerkegoederen, hebbende de Heilighe beenderen en kleinoodjen in de paykaamer gebraght, schikken zich ter Noortdeure uit. 'T geboefte van buiten, daarop, schiet toe; verkraft die poort; en slaat voorts al d'andere oopen. Markgraaf en Majestraat, op deezen roep, begeeven zich weeder derwaarts: […]	
Resolution	Beelden, taafreelen, altaaren, zonder achting op ouderdoom, konst oft kostelykheit, werden gevelt, geklooft, aan stukken, en daar heen gesmeeten, oft voor buit wegh gedraaghen; […]	De groote kerk word geplondert.
Evaluation	alzoo dunkt niet buiten schyn (wordende onder alle gezintheeden, eerloozen en vroomen gevonden) dat de vuylsten, door deeze ranken, hunnen aardt hebben getoont	

Table 5. The iconoclasms in Flanders, starting with a small disturbance.[101]

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[101] Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historien*, pp. 100–01. Translation: The next day the masses resumed the quarrel against the statue of the Virgin Mary. [Incipit] An old woman, sitting in front of the choir to sell candles and to receive offerings, began to rail at the boys, and began to throw ashes and dust at them. [Incidence] The margrave and sheriff of the city are being notified, and set out for the disturbance. [Result/Peak] The treasurer and the administrators of the church, having stored the relics and the church treasure, take to their heels. The rabble, then, rushes forward, breaks the gate, and beats the others open. The margrave and the magistrate make their way back, but are frightened by the great surge. [Result/Peak] Statues, paintings, and altars were pulled down without respect for their age and value. (Margin: The main church is begin plundered.) [Resolution] Therefore, I think it is not implausible that the bad ones have shown their true nature through these pravity. [Evaluation]

Hooft provides an example of the destructive force of the masses' unsubdued passions in his story on the beginning of iconoclasm directed towards Catholic churches, starting in Flanders. Hooft describes how a series of church plunderings started with a few boys ridiculing the statue of the Virgin Mary (the incipit). An old woman's reaction, introduced with the verb *begin* (the incidence), initiates a disturbance that culminates in the destruction of church treasures. An abbreviated version of this episode is presented in Table 5. Following the narrative model, the incipit, incidence, and results are microunits which together form a macrounit, the complicating action.

      Stylistically, there is a clear-cut distinction between the reporting of the episode's incidence and its results. In the incidence section, the presence of the verb *begin*, with its durative semantics suggesting an ongoing action, shifts focus towards the event expressed with the accompanying infinitive.[102] Furthermore, Hooft decelerates the narrative pace by including *couleur locale* (the description of place and actor through visual details) – namely, the *old* woman, *sitting in front of the choir*. These techniques set the stage for the coming climax and the final resolution, which exhibit the same linguistic and rhetorical mechanism observed in the Tacitus examples from Section 4: Hooft switches the verb tense. Furthermore, when reporting the peak, Hooft speeds up the narrative pace via a series of short, present tense – e.g. the rabble 'rushes forward, breaks the gate, and beats the others open'. When reporting what ultimately transpired (the resolution), Hooft switches back to the narrative's standard past tense. It is here that Hooft finally adds a summarizing note, thereby directly drawing the reader's attention to the episode's denouement. In the main text, Hooft ends this episode with his stoic perspective on and evaluation of the masses' behaviour as demonstrated through this story of church plundering. In sum, this example demonstrates the stylistic strategies (including linguistic units and rhetorical devices alike) that Hooft employed to distinguish different narrative units.

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[102] Cf. Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* p. 97.

Narrative sections	Main text	Printed marginalia
Incipit	Zyn' Genaade, verstout door deeze tyding, en zich tot hoon reekenende, […] spat ter begraaving uit.	
Reaction	Maar de Spanjaart, niet beeters zoekende, kant 'er zich wakker teeghens, en maakt, met de mosketten, een' breede nêerlaag.	
Incidence	Voorts begint 's Graaven volk 't aankoomende heir te zien,	Slagh van Jemmingen.
Reaction	en, met een, naa de leegherwal, om; zich wendende derwaarts, op styver tredt, dan aftoght vordert.	
Result	Hy, met prikkelen van schande, van eere, arbeidt, om hen te doen staan; vliegt naa 't geschut, en steekt het met eighen' handt aan.	
Resolution	Maar dit was 't laatste lossen. Want de vyandt, vervolghende zyn voordeel, raakte teffens binnen de beschanssing en achter de stukken. Hier mêe had alle weederstandt uit; en liep elk daar hem zyn' anxt heene joegh. Een deel koos 'er 't water, en verdronk. 'T zelve lot hadden anderen, vallende in de schuiten, die, door den ooverlast, t'zink ginghen	Verlooren by Graaf Luidewyk.

Table 6. The narrative peak in the story of the Battle of Jemgum (1568).[103]

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[103] Hooft, *Nederlandsche Historien*, pp. 187–88. Translation: His grace [Louis], encouraged by this news, bursts out of the entrenchment, [Incipit] but the Spaniard, wanting nothing more, goes bravely against it, causing a bloodbath with muskets. [Reaction] Then, the Count's people begin to see the approaching army (Margin: Battle of Jemmingen.) [Incidence] and immediately they begin to look backward toward the embankment and they turn toward the embankment, moving more quickly than a retreat demands. [Reaction] He [Louis] flies

Besides using *begin+infinitive* in the incidence section (microscopic level) of the complicating action (macroscopic level), Hooft used the construction in other macrounits – for example, in the story's peak. Take Hooft's telling of the Battle of Jemgum (1568), between Louis of Nassau on the Republic's side and the Duke of Alba on Phillip II's side. Alba sent a small army to provoke Louis's soldiers. When he thought no Spaniards were left, Louis ordered his soldiers to advance, but they were surprised by Alba's forces. Instead of keeping cool heads, Louis's soldiers fled – a disgraceful retreat, according to Hooft. Alba won the battle, and more than seven thousand men on Louis's side died. An abbreviated version of the story's peak is presented in Table 6.

In contrast to the example presented in Table 5, Hooft here included the *begin*-construction in a present tense unit.[104] The present tense unit is in fact part of a larger episode about Jemgum. Before focusing on the actual battle, Hooft describes the billeting of Louis's soldiers and Alba's scouting in order to plot an attack. Judging from Hooft's summarizing notes accompanying the story, this larger narrative can be divided into complicating action (the billeting), peak (the battle), and resolution (the defeat). As presented in Table 6, the peak itself can be further divided into distinct units on a microscopic level, which are stylistically distinguishable. In the incidence-reaction section, *begin+infinitive* – a means to suggest duration – and a detailed rendering of the act of retreat – i.e. seeing, looking, and turning – decelerate the narrative pace. In contrast, the resolution section exhibits shorter narrative clauses – e.g. 'It was the final salvo' – in the past tense. Besides the linguistic and rhetorical methods employed to draw the reader's attention to the battle episode, Hooft added paratextual information via marginalia to

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toward the artillery, and lightens it with his own hands. [Result] It was the final salvo. The enemy, continuing its advance, came into the fortress at the cannons. This stopped the resistance, and everyone walked to where his fear forced him. Some chose the water, and drowned. Those who fell into the barges, which sank under their weight, met the same fate. (Margin: Lost by Count Louis.) [Resolution]

[104] This aligns with Fleischman's observation that aspectualizers attract the present tense (in *Tense and Narrativity,* p. 72). As observed in Section 2, however, *begin* occurs mainly in the past tense. This example suggests that the use of a past or present tense depends on the narrative structure, i.e. whether the *begin* sentence is part of a multilayered peak.

guide the reader. Here, the *begin* sentence and the resolution section are each marked in the margins since, as aforementioned, the unit starting with the *begin* sentence is part of the story on a macroscopic level – i.e. it constitutes the story's peak.

7. Conclusion

Using P. C. Hooft's prose as a case study, this chapter has argued that, just like rhetorical and material means, a text's linguistic make-up could strive to structure the text and thus guide the reader. Hooft's literary style is known to resemble that of a classical model, Tacitus. This chapter has shown, however, that Hooft implemented a construction that Tacitus tended to avoid: *begin+infinitive*. This construction's use by contemporaries of Hooft who also translated Tacitus might suggest that *begin+infinitive* was part of a vernacular, narrative style. However, large-scale corpus research is necessary to determine the spread and function of the construction in historical Dutch.

Most formal characteristics of Hooft's *begin*-construction match prior research findings on the usage of *begin+infinitive* in highly oral cultures. Adding to our understanding of *begin+infinitive*'s reader-managing function, moreover, this chapter has interpreted the construction's function in the context of narratological mechanisms, arguing that Hooft could employ *begin+infinitive* to support his humanist style of alternately decelerating and accelerating his story's pace. With its durative semantics, *begin+infinitive* moves narrative time slowly. Hooft could further protract the story through rhetorical techniques, such as the reproduction of details within long embedded sentences. Hooft used these linguistic and rhetorical strategies to signal the coming climax of micro- and macrounits within the narrative. Hence, the studious reader of Hooft's *Dutch Histories* was guided towards important events on both microscopic and macroscopic levels via rhetorical and linguistic strategies of deceleration and acceleration; the skimming reader, in most cases, was guided directly towards denouements on the macroscopic level via summarizing notes in the margin.

CHAPTER 4

Narrativity in Naval Logbooks. Michiel de Ruyter (1607-1676) and the Narrative Function of Verb Variation[1]

Abstract

In the seventeenth-century Dutch navy, low-born men who were practically trained found themselves able to climb the social and professional ladder from ordinary sailors to celebrated naval officers. Perhaps the best-known example is Michiel de Ruyter (1607–1676). This chapter examines how De Ruyter employed his modest writing skills in his obligatory ships' logbooks to report to the Dutch government. Applying a narratological perspective to his factual recounting of naval events, I argue that De Ruyter's linguistic variation represents a strategy he employed to articulate and foreground certain events within a larger narrative discourse. The focus here is on verbs as a key means to create a sense of eventfulness. De Ruyter's logbooks are characterised by a simple style typically lacking in verbs. The mere presence of a verb thus not only helps describe but also draws attention to a particular event. In addition, De Ruyter varied his verbs as a way to make significant naval, political, or meteorological events meaningful to his readers on land.

1. Introduction

This chapter explores the narrative strategies of meaning-making evident in the official naval ships' logbooks kept by one of the best-known seafarers in Dutch history, Michiel de Ruyter (1607–1676).[2] In recent years, early modern travel

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[2] De Ruyter's naval ships' logbooks are archived at the National Archive, The Hague, Collection De Ruyter, 1.10.72, nr. 1–23. Hereafter, quotations from the individual logbooks are referred to by date and year.

accounts have received valuable scholarly attention.[3] In their search to construct accounts of the weather of past eras, historical climatologists have described the professional content and formal characteristics of significant historical ships' logbook collections, including naval logbooks.[4] The scholarly fascination with early modern problems involving truth and facts, furthermore, has led cultural historians and literary scholars to study the conditions of credibility in early modern (official) travel literature; whilst the European discovery of the New World spurred the practice of systematic observation directed towards lands, people, and resources, concurrent questions arose concerning the credibility of such travel documents. Studies by Barbara Shapiro, Andrea Frisch, and Daniel Carey, amongst others, argue that early travel writers – also known as 'travel liars' – strategically presented their observations as truthful facts.[5] These studies touch upon a topic that will be investigated here: the significant role of language use in the reporting of travel observations.

The aforementioned studies show that, in addition to prefatory materials that rejected falsehood and fiction on the one hand, and assured the reader of the text's trustworthiness based on the observer's social respectability, status, and/or expertise on the other hand, language and style became equally important to the

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[3] The characterization of travel literature as a genre is problematic due to variations in style, tone, organization, and form (e.g. handwritten or printed). See: William H. Sherman, 'Stirrings and searchings (1500–1720)', in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing,* ed. by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 17–36 (p. 30). However, the case of Columbus shows that printed and handwritten accounts, as well as official and public travel narratives, should not be studied in isolation. Columbus himself promised a report of his journey in no less than three different formats in order to please different audiences. See: Margaret Schotte, 'Expert Records: Nautical Logbooks from Columbus to Cook', *Information & Culture,* 48.3 (2013), 281–322 (pp. 281–82). It may thus be helpful to use results from printed travel accounts in studies on handwritten documents, and vice versa.

[4] See e.g. Ricardo García-Herrera, C. Wilkinson, F. B. Koek, M. R. Prieto, N. Calvo, and E. Hernández, 'Description and General Background to Ships' Logbooks as a Source of Climatic Data', *Climatic Change,* 73 (2005), 13–36, as part of the project 'Climatological Database for the World's Oceans 1750–1850' (https://webs.ucm.es/info/cliwoc/).

[5] Barbara J. Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact. England, 1550–1720* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2000); Andrea Frisch, *The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures. UNC Department of Romance Languages, 2004); Daniel Carey, 'The problem of credibility in early modern travel', *Renaissance Studies,* 33.4 (2019), 524–47.

enhancement of credibility.[6] For example, instead of writing impersonal accounts, travel writers presented themselves as eyewitnesses, adopting the first person (both singular 'I' and plural 'we') and the verb 'to see'. These eyewitnesses, moreover, narrated what they saw in chronological-temporal order or employed prescribed sets of categories such as weather, positional information, etc.[7] In so doing, their travel accounts became 'readily labelled "matters of fact"'.[8]

To expand on the linguistic knowledge gained from previous research on early modern travel writing – and on English and French travel documents in particular – this chapter examines Michiel de Ruyter's naval logbooks from a narratological perspective. Doing so adds to our understanding of early modern travel literature both theoretically and historically. Considering the theoretical framework, previous studies dealing with the language of travel literature have typically approached these writings as legal discourses and thus have analysed the rhetoric of credibility employed by travellers-as-eyewitnesses, as explained above.[9] The present study instead interprets De Ruyter's ships' logbooks as a narrative discourse.[10] This narrative approach not only results in an analysis of new linguistic material – i.e. verbal markers, see below – but also allows for the exploration of new aspects of travel writing. Rather than examining (as would follow from a legal

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[6] Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact,* p. 70; Carey, 'The problem of credibility', p. 534; Frisch, *The Invention of the Eyewitness,* p. 81. Rhetorical devices were also increasingly applied in other branches of travel literature, e.g. by mapmakers. See e.g. Surekha Davies, *Renaissance ethnography and the invention of the human: new worlds, maps and monsters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 2.

[7] See also, for observations on the linguistic and stylistic characteristics of historical travel accounts: Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 62–95.

[8] Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact*, p. 70.

[9] Frisch studies the emergence of the modern notion of eyewitness testimony via first-hand accounts of travel, since they 'most consistently raised, confronted, and discusses issues of what made a testimonial account believable' (p. 13). Shapiro examines cultures of facts and 'extends the story of the English legal tradition's contribution to epistemological development and evidentiary traditions' (p. 2). More recently, Carey has acknowledged the role of narratology in travel writing: 'Questions of evidence, testimony and witnessing quickly come into play in this context, and with them a set of abiding epistemic and narratological quandaries.' (p. 524) However, he also focuses on the legally informed questions of veracity and belief in travel writing.

[10] Traditionally, a distinction is being made between story as the underlying event structure and narrative discourse as the representation or narration of events. See e.g. Page, 'Narrative structure', p. 440.

approach) the rhetoric of credibility, this chapter aims to shed light upon the narratological process of meaning-making in De Ruyter's factual accounts.

This shift from the rhetorical issues of credibility to the narratological strategies of meaning-making is necessary if we are to understand the practice of logbook keeping by members of the seventeenth-century Dutch navy, and by Michiel de Ruyter in particular. Unlike the early explorers, naval officers like De Ruyter hardly ever caused the issue of credibility to arise. In general, it was believed that captains were making and reporting reliable observations, which scarcely ever prompted questions concerning their truth.[11] Far from describing the world's marvels and rarities, naval logbooks of the era are instead filled with professionally relevant information about human and natural events, including weather, conflicts aboard the ship, encounters with enemies, etc.[12] On shore, the authorities used this information to exert control over life aboard the ship as well as overseas affairs.[13] The naval context here thus does not raise credibility issues but rather brings forth questions concerning narratological meaning-making. How did official ships' logbooks communicate significant naval information? This question is especially pressing for the seventeenth-century Dutch navy: low-born, practically trained men in particular, who had enjoyed little to no education in writing, proved able to rise from ordinary sailors to celebrated naval officers.[14] Born into a modest family living

[11] Shapiro, *A Culture of Fact,* p. 64. Following Schotte, 'Expert Records', p. 304, De Ruyter's logbooks 'functioned simultaneously as a source of reliable knowledge, a professional credential, and an epistemic genre'.

[12] De Ruyter applied the same linguistic techniques that have been discerned in previous studies of earlier travel accounts: he narrates from a first-person observer perspective, making frequent use of the verb 'to see', in a temporal-chronological order. However, his logbooks are not accompanied by prefatory materials to enhance the texts' credibility. Instead, credibility was established through the writing of the self. Contrary to professional and private correspondence, which was often contracted out to the ship's scribe, a captain like De Ruyter would have written the entries in his own logbook. See, for the value of handwriting and practices of delegation: Ann Blair, 'Early Modern Attitudes toward the Delegation of Copying and Note-Taking', in *Forgetting Machines: Knowledge Management Evolution in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Alberto Cevolini (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 265–85.

[13] Schotte, 'Expert Records', pp. 298–99.

[14] See, for the cult of naval heroes: Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 248–49; Cynthia Lawrence, 'The cult of the seventeenth-century Dutch naval heroes: Critical appropriations of a popular patriotic tradition', in *Narratives of Low Countries History and Culture. Reframing the Past,* ed. by Jane Fenoulhet and Lesley

in the Zeeland seaport of Flushing (Vlissingen), Michiel de Ruyter (1606-1676) was one such man. De Ruyter began his seafaring career at the age of eleven, as a boatswain's apprentice. De Ruyter quickly rose through the ranks: after a career in whaling, privateering and the merchant navy, he made a name for himself in the Dutch navy, ultimately moving up to the rank of lieutenant-admiral general.[15] So, while never having received a formal education in writing, De Ruyter eventually held positions that required extensive writing.[16] Such activities included corresponding with his superiors and drawing up professional notes for their benefit. Considering the linguistic corrections in De Ruyter's logbooks, it appears that he actively strove for proper communication.[17] Still, growing up in a society in which writing education was generally limited to the higher classes, De Ruyter's orthography and syntax are relatively poor.[18] Albeit simple, however, his writings are understandable – unlike the texts of some of his naval colleagues.[19]

The narrative approach applied in this chapter aims to shed light on one of De Ruyter's particular strategies for foregrounding important naval events for his readers back home. The sociolinguistic work on narratives has been valuable for

Gilbert (London: UCL Press, 2016), pp. 35–43; Marc van Alphen, Jan Hoffenaar, Alan Lemmers, and Christiaan van der Spek, *Krijgsmacht en Handelsgeest. Om het machtsevenwicht in Europa 1648–1813* (Amsterdam: Boom, 2019), p. 57.

[15] See, for biographical information on De Ruyter: Ronald Boudewijn Prud'homme van Reine, *Rechterhand van Nederland: biografie van Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter* (Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1996).

[16] The Dutch Republic probably had the highest degree of literacy in seventeenth-century Europe. However, as schools typically taught reading before writing, large sections of seventeenth-century society were still unable to write. See: Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *1650. Bevochten eendracht* (Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 2000, second edition), pp. 237–38; Judith Brouwer, *Levenstekens. Gekaapte brieven uit het Rampjaar 1672* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2014), p. 90. Furthermore, according to his biographer Gerard Brandt, De Ruyter showed little interest in the education he did receive: 'In de schoolen, daar zyne ouders hem bestelden, om te leeren leezen en schryven, kon hy niet duuren, en rechte zoo veel ranken van kinderlyke losheit aan, met vechten en smyten, dat de Schoolmeesters hem ter schoole uitjoegen.' See: Gerard Brandt, *Leven en bedryf van den heere Michiel de Ruiter* (Franeker: Uitgeverij Van Wijnen, 1988), p. 5.

[17] Leendert Koelmans, *Teken en klank bij Michiel de Ruyter* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1959), pp. 14, 131.

[18] Koelmans, *Teken en klank,* p. 2; Marc van Alphen, *Het oorlogsschip als varend bedrijf. Schrijvers, administratie en logistiek aan boord van Nederlandse marineschepen in de 17e en 18e eeuw* (Franeker: Uitgeverij van Wijnen, 2014), p. 247. Cora van de Poppe and Marijn Schraagen, 'Michiel de Ruyter: eenvoudige afkomst, hoge positie, eenvoudige taal', *Vaktaal* 2021 (2), 14-17.

[19] Koelmans, *Teken en klank,* p. 2, and footnote 1 therein.

understanding the simplest forms of narrative structures, including factual accounts.[20] As Ruth Page has argued, a close reading of the formal features typical of narrativity 'is a valuable strategy for articulating how the text makes its "point" […]'.[21] This chapter will thus focus on a formal feature that enhances narrativity and contributes to meaning-making: verbs.[22] From a narratological point of view, a verb's semantics, expressing transition, transformation, and change, helps to constitute an event.[23] Moreover, in De Ruyter's logbooks, as I will show, verbs are typically lacking; their presence represents a deviation from the linguistic pattern. Hence, verbs are marked linguistic items. When present, they not only make the story engaging but also foreground particular events for the audience.

I will discuss De Ruyter's strategy of verb-use variation in two particular contexts, namely verbs as markers of 1) wind reports and 2) speech encounters. As I will show in the general introduction to ships' logbooks in the following section, these two clusters of information were among the main topics addressed in a captain's naval logbook: the analysis of observations on wind as the main influence on the fleet's progress shows how De Ruyter accounted for (the lack of) progress and reported on exceptional weather circumstances, and the analysis of speech tags helps us to understand how De Ruyter framed international relationships. Taken together, moreover, these two topics are illustrative for the narratological significance of verbs in naval reporting: within the logbook's terse and telegraphic style, a verb's mere presence served to both create and highlight a particular event.

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[20] Illustrative here is the seminal work of William Labov on oral narratives. See e.g. 'The Transformation of Experience in Narrative Syntax', in *Language in the Inner City*, pp. 354–96. Page, 'Narrative structure', pp. 443, 455, refers specifically to recounts.

[21] Page, 'Narrative structure', p. 455.

[22] Standard systemic choices (including verbs) could have foregrounding functions. See: Catherine Emmott and Marc Alexander, 'Foregrounding, burying and plot construction', in *The Cambridge Handbook of Stylistics*, ed. by Peter Stockwell and Sara Whiteley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 329–43 (p. 330); Leech and Short, *Style in Fiction,* pp. 62–63.

[23] This applies to dynamic as well as static verbs. See: Moshe Simon-Shoshan, 'Narrativity and Textuality in the Study of Stories', in *Workshop on Computational Models of Narrative 2013,* ed. by Mark A. Finlayson, Bernhard Fisseni, Benedikt Löwe, and Jan Christoph Meister (2013), pp. 228–37 (p. 230 and footnote 5 therein).

2. The captain-as-writer

The practice of nautical logbook keeping in early modern Europe can be traced back at least to the end of the fifteenth century. Seafarers' accounts became important after it became widely accepted that Columbus had indeed encountered a new realm of the world, and the genre evolved in interaction with the growing importance of observation in the early modern world.[24] Over the course of the sixteenth century, the practice of observing became more formal and centralised, resulting in the coordination of observers and the standardization of observations.[25] Based on new methods of bookkeeping, sixteenth-century Dutch navigators embraced the practice of systematically recording their voyages, and by the turn of the seventeenth century nautical logbook keeping was relatively widespread.[26]

The logbook's professional content benefitted the seafarer himself as well as the seafaring community. While travelling, the logbook served as a personal aid to or substitute for memory; notes about longitude and geographic data could help determine estimates of a ship's position, especially if sailing in unknown waters.[27] More general information about climate, tides, and currents, moreover, could improve the safety and efficiency of future voyages.[28] The logbook was also a place to record new knowledge, as well as to verify and, if necessary, adapt existing

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[24] Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions. The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 14; Schotte, 'Expert Records', pp. 281–83. The increasing value of observing and of note-taking in general is discussed by Lorraine Daston, 'The Empire of Observation, 1600–1800', in *Histories of Scientific Observation,* ed. by Lorraine Daston and Elizabeth Lunbeck (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), pp. 81–113.

[25] Daston, 'The Empire of Observation', p. 87; Thompson, *Travel Writing,* p. 74.

[26] Schotte, 'Expert Records', pp. 287, 289.

[27] Schotte, p. 290, 292. During his expedition from Africa to the West, for example, De Ruyter used his logbook to keep meticulous records of each day's course and distance. See: 16 November 1664 and further. The 1664–65 logbook has been published as *De Reis van Michiel Adriaanszoon de Ruyter in 1664–1665,* ed. by P. Verhoog en Leendert Koelmans ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1961). In this article, all quotations from the 1664–65 logbook are cited from this edition.

[28] Schotte, 'Expert Records', p. 292; Van Alphen, *Het oorlogsschip als varend bedrijf,* p. 226. In his logbook on the expedition of 1664–65, for example, De Ruyter addresses his readers directly to warn about the treacherous currents near Cabo de Gata (11 June 1664). It should be noted, however, that early modern knowledge infrastructure had not integrated maritime observations very smoothly. See: Schotte, 'Expert Records', p. 304–05; Daston, 'The Empire of Observation', p. 91.

knowledge about socio-cultural and economic phenomena encountered in far-flung places: native customs, prices, local goods, and so on.[29]

Apart from its uses in capturing meteorological, geographical, socio-cultural and economical observations for the collective benefit, the seventeenth-century Dutch naval logbook mainly served as a means of control for the authorities back on land. Documents produced aboard early modern Dutch naval ships were usually written by the ship's clerk.[30] In the first half of the seventeenth century, however, the Dutch Admiralties also obliged their captains to keep a day-to-day logbook.[31] Such a duty reflects their increasing need to regulate and manage life aboard ship. Upon all ships' return, their logbooks were handed in to the States-General to be examined – to determine whether the crew had complied with their regulations and instructions – and were copied for archiving.[32]

Although logbook keeping was mandatory, the seventeenth-century naval captain could be fairly free in his recording practices. Men like De Ruyter kept an open-form logbook – as opposed to using books with the pre-printed tabular format[33] – and thus enjoyed a certain leeway in what was noted, and how extensively. However, it seems that the text's linguistic make-up was considered important: compared to non-verbatim copies of early travel accounts – suggesting that in the early sixteenth century a text's grammatical form was not yet regarded as integral to its content – the few surviving copies of De Ruyter's logbooks seem to

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[29] Schotte, 'Expert Records', p. 298. When sailing in new areas, De Ruyter evaluates the accuracy of geographical maps. See e.g. 20 October 1664.

[30] The role of the ship's clerk has been reconstructed in Van Alphen's study, *Het oorlogsschip als varend bedrijf.*

[31] Van Alphen, *Het oorlogsschip als varend bedrijf,* p. 197.

[32] Van Alphen, *Het oorlogsschip als varend bedrijf,* pp. 198, 221, 225. The examination of naval logbooks is also discussed in the Dutch pamphlet literature. See e.g. [Anon.], *Een Praatje van den Ouden en Nieuwen Admiraal* (Amsterdam, Jacob Volkers Hoofdbreker, 1653).

[33] These preprinted logbooks were used, for example, by the Dutch East India Company (VOC). See: C. A. Davids, *Zeewezen en wetenschap: de wetenschap en de ontwikkeling van de navigatietechniek in Nederland tussen 1585 en 1815* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1986), p. 297.

follow the original texts quite accurately, thus indicating the text's formal linguistic make-up had grown in importance.[34]

Usually following a general pattern, the content of naval logbooks consists of records about the date, weather, positional information, and daily preoccupations, e.g. encounters with passing ships, irregularities aboard ship, etc.[35] Although a clerk and a naval captain usually recounted more or less the same sort of information, accents differed. In the following sections, I will analyse the linguistic make-up of two types of logbook entries which were of specific significance for the captain's logbook: in comparison to a clerk's day-to-day report, a captain's logbook paid more attention to meteorological topics and provided more detailed information on encounters with others.[36] These two types of logbook entries, furthermore, are illustrative for the significant role of verb use in articulating important events.

3. Reporting on the wind

In previous research, historical climatologists have incorporated into their discussions a linguistic aspect of nautical logbook keeping: the study of weather terms (e.g. how do we compare historical terms like 'little winds' to present day meteorological terms?).[37] I will shift the focus to another element of meteorological reports: verbal markers in wind reports. In most cases, as I will show, verbs in wind entries are lacking. When present, they serve a narratological function: a verb helps to create an event and simultaneously underlines its importance within the larger episode. I have compiled a dataset of wind entries drawn from six logbooks written

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[34] A few copies of De Ruyter's logbooks survived. See: NL-HaNA, De Ruyter, 1.10.72, nr. 15, 18, and 23. A sample was taken of nr. 23 to compare De Ruyter's documents to the scribe's copy. The examined pages show quite many deviations from De Ruyter's documents with regard to orthography – De Ruyter often spelled phonetically. However, formal features such as sentence structure, word use, etc. remained largely intact. Cf. Frisch, *The Invention of the Eyewitness,* p. 81, who points to the increasing importance of the '*rhetoric* of experiential knowledge' in early modern travel writing (italics in original), and p. 77, on a non-verbatim translation of an earlier travel account.

[35] See for example García-Herrera et al., 'Ships' Logbooks as a Source of Climatic Data', p. 30.

[36] Van Alphen, *Het oorlogsschip als varend bedrijf*, pp. 101, 202–03, notes some differences between a clerk's and a captain's logbook.

[37] See e.g. Dennis Wheeler, 'Understanding seventeenth-century ships' logbooks: An exercise in historical climatology', *Journal for Maritime Research,* 6.1 (2004), 21–36, and 'Hubert Lamb's "treasure trove": ships' logbooks in climate research', *Weather,* 69.5 (2014), 133–39.

throughout De Ruyter's naval career.[38] In the following sub-sections, I will use this dataset to explore De Ruyter's use of different verbs and to explain their narratological function.

3.1 Verb vocabulary

De Ruyter notes the direction and force of the wind almost daily, and often several times a day. Although he occasionally personifies the wind as having its own mind (e.g. 'soo/ de wynt westlyck *wylde* waeygen'[39]), De Ruyter usually writes in a laconic, abbreviated style that typically lacks verbs (e.g. 'jtem den 21 smorgens mystych weder/ wynt o n o').[40] In fact, as Table 1 below shows, the vast majority of wind entries in De Ruyter's logbooks under scrutiny here lack verbs.[41]

The fluctuation in wind entries including a verb – ranging from 11% in 1673 to 42% in 1656–57 – is likely to have been caused by meteorological and geographical factors. The percentage of wind entries including a verb is lower in logbooks recording on nearby destinations (e.g. England in 1652–53, 1667, and 1673)[42] than in logbooks recording voyages to more distant locales (e.g. Portugal [1656–57], North-West Africa and America [1664–65], and the Mediterranean [1675–76]).[43] The weather conditions during De Ruyter's faraway journeys in (partly) unknown waters likely required more detailed reports on the wind, and verbs could serve to precisely record and interpret the seafarer's observations.

De Ruyter's choice of verbs in his wind entries is firmly rooted in the maritime discourse predominant in his era. Various verbs were regularly employed to allow the seafarer to specify changes in wind force and direction. In his maritime dictionary *Seeman* (1681), Wingardus à Winschoten explains how verbs such as

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[38] I have analysed two logbooks per decade: 1652–53, 1656–57, 1664–65, 1667, 1673, and 1675–76.

[39] Translation: If the wind *wanted* to blow west (5 August 1665, italics the author's). All English translations in this chapter are the author's.

[40] Translation: The 21th in the morning foggy weather, wind e-n-e (21 August 1664). The logbooks' simple, temporal-chronological style, i.e. paratactic clauses with abbreviations and lacking verbs, reflects the practice of on-the-spot observation; memories were recorded whilst still fresh. See: Thompson, *Travel Writing,* p. 75.

[41] Cf. Van de Poppe and Schraagen, 'Michiel de Ruyter', pp. 14-17.

[42] 18% on average (n 125/686).

[43] 38% on average (n 292/765).

'ruimen' (to veer), 'vieren' (to slack), 'scherpen' (to sharpen), and 'krimpen' (to back) express how the wind 'becomes better, and in the latter examples, worse for the sailor'.[44] Likewise, verbs such as 'draaien' (to turn), 'keren' (to turn), 'lopen' (to shift), and 'schieten' (to shoot) all indicate a change in wind direction, but 'the last one informs that the wind suddenly changes'.[45]

	+ verb	- verb	Total
1652–53	43 (20%)	167 (80%)	210
1656–57	96 (42%)	135 (58%)	231
1664	107 (36%)	192 (64%)	299
1667	59 (22%)	205 (78%)	264
1673	23 (11%)	189 (89%)	212
1675–76	89 (38%)	146 (62%)	235
Total	417 (29%)	1034 (71%)	1451

Table 1. The relative presence or absence of a verb in wind entries. There difference between wind entries without and including verbs both for the total number of verbs and for the individual logbooks is significant (X^2 p <.001) except for the 1656–57 logbook (p =.01).[46]

All verbs listed by Winschoten were used by De Ruyter to record wind direction and wind force, although the amount of verb varieties differs per logbook (Table 2). Like

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[44] Wingardus à Winschoten, *Seeman: Behelsende een grondige uitlegging van de Neederlandse Konst, en Spreekwoorden, voor soo veel die uit de Seevaart sijn ontleend, en bij de beste Schrijvers deeser eeuw gevonden werden* (Leiden: Johannes de Vivie, 1681), p. 362. Dutch quotation: 'soo ook, *de wind ruimd: de wind vierd, scherpt, krimpt in*: dat is, de *wind* werd hoe langer, hoe beeter: en in de laatste voorbeelden, hoe langer, hoe slimmer voor de geen, die vaart' (italics in original).

[45] Winschoten, *Seeman,* p. 362. Original Dutch: '*de wind draaid, keerd, loopt, schiet om:* alle van een beteekenis: alleenelijk, dat het laatste te kennen wil geeven, dat het de wind schielijk veranderd' (italics in original).

[46] I have compared the number of wind entries including a verb with the total occurrences of the noun 'wind' (spelled wynt, wijnt, wynden, and wijnden). I have manually excluded other uses of the 'wind' noun, i.e. combinations with a preposition (e.g. 'den vijant hijelt/ in de wijnt van ons' [26 August 1652]; 'dye […] van ons vertrocken/ is met een n w wynt' [8 September 1652]) and a few instances where the noun does not express wind direction or force (e.g. 'soo de wynt en weder sulckx toe lyet' [13 July 1665]).

the fluctuation in wind entries including a verb (Table 1), the fluctuation in variant possibilities was likely caused by geographic factors. As Table 2 shows, the number of different verbs is highest in the logbooks recording on faraway destinations, i.e. the 1656–57, 1664–65, and 1675–76 logbooks. Again, the specific weather circumstances would have required more detailed reporting, a need met by the varying verb types.

Logbook	N
1652–53	8
1656–57	16
1664–65	13
1667	12
1673	8
1675–76	17

Table 2. The absolute number of variations in wind-entry verbs.

In the corpus under investigation here, De Ruyter uses 38 different verbs to record wind direction and/or wind force. Most verbs, however, are used only a few times: 30 out of the 38 verb types occur three or fewer times. The main verbs used by De Ruyter to record wind observations are not maritime jargon per se and are (therefore) not listed in early modern maritime dictionaries.[47] Almost 80% of the total verbs in the wind entries (n 330/417[48]) consist of the verbs 'komen'[49] (to come) (n 130), 'krijgen' (to get) (n 115), 'hebben' (to have) (n 56), and 'zijn' ('to be') (n

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[47] The verbs 'komen', 'krijgen', 'hebben' and 'zijn' are also used in non-meteorological contexts, such as information on ships or persons (e.g. 'ten 3 vren *quaem* den comandeur/ melkenbeeck met syn snaeu van/ buijten' [13 August 1675]; 'wy *cregen* den loort meyger van folck/ ston aen boort' [4 September 1675]; 'wy/ *hadden* ons schepen by ons' [12 September 1675]; 'den oostind/ vaerder *was* wel 2 myl beoosten van/ ons hachter' [12 September 1675] - italics the author's).

[48] These 417 verbs include wind entries on both wind force and wind direction. The four main verbs (n330) usually express wind direction (n319) rather than only wind force (n11).

[49] In Winschoten, *Seeman,* p. 19, 'komen' is interpreted as 'approaching' (naderen, aankomen) and linked to a ship instead of the wind ('het Schip is aangekoemen').

29).[50] In the following analysis, I will further explore the use and significance of these main verbs.

3.2 Verb variation in wind entries

As Table 1 has shown, the wind entries in De Ruyter's logbooks for the most part lack verbs. Although geographical circumstances can offer plausible explanations for variation in the presence of a verb and the number of verb varieties per logbook, new areas and corresponding weather circumstances do not necessarily account for variation within individual logbooks. What is more, they do not fully explain the use of the four main verbs 'komen', 'zijn', 'krijgen', and 'hebben' which are present in all logbooks under examination here. In this section, I will interpret these non-meteorological verbs as the essential determiners of narrativity: since most wind entries lack a verb, the presence of one of these verbs highlights the phrases in which they do occur, and the verb's semantic and grammatical properties imbue the specific event with meaning.

Closer examination of the linguistic properties of the four main verbs 'komen', 'zijn', 'krijgen' and 'hebben' is necessary to understand how these words express meaning and enhance eventfulness. First, these verbs differ with regard to their grammatical subject. The verbs 'krijgen' and 'hebben' take 'we' (i.e. the fleet, the logbooks' default topic) as their grammatical subject, e.g. 'we had/got the wind south'. 'Zijn' and 'komen', in contrast, have 'wind' as their grammatical subject, e.g. 'the wind was/came south'. Moreover, we can distinguish two verb types: static verbs, describing states of affairs, and dynamic verbs, depicting events and active processes.[51] As a static verb lacking an intrinsic implication of change, 'hebben' (paired with the subject 'we') parallels 'zijn' (which has a 'wind' subject). Likewise, 'krijgen' (with a 'we' subject) parallels 'komen' (with a 'wind' subject) as a dynamic verb, expressing progression. These characteristics (i.e. their grammatical

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[50] In terms of frequency, 'zijn' (n29) shares fourth place with 'schieten' (n29) – the fifth most frequently used verb, 'lopen', occurs significantly less frequently (n7). Since De Ruyter in his early, pre-naval logbooks used 'komen', 'krijgen', 'hebben', and 'zijn', I will focus on those four verbs specifically, as the key element of De Ruyter's wind reporting system.

[51] Michael Toolan, *Narrative: a critical linguistic introduction* (second edition) (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), p. 32.

and semantic differences) allowed De Ruyter to employ his main wind verbs to give shape to and highlight his reports on the wind. To illustrate the narratological function of verb presence, and the differences between static and dynamic verbs, I will first analyse the occurrence of verbs in the wind entries of a specific episode. Second, I will discuss the theme of windlessness in various logbooks as an example to explain the narratological difference distinguishing those verbs that take a 'we' subject from those that take a 'wind' subject.

De Ruyter's 1673 logbook offers evidence pertinent to the narratological significance of verb use in wind entries. Containing a mere 23 verbs, this logbook contains the lowest percentage of verbs in wind entries (Table 1).[52] One episode featuring verbs in its recounting concerns the Battle of Schooneveld in June 1673. At first, the wind direction hinders the Dutch fleet from attacking the English. Although De Ruyter had previously recorded his wind reports without a verb, on 4 June he uses 'hebben':[53] 'den vyant lach noch als/ voren en wy *hadden* de wynt w - s - w'.[54] This indication of direction marks a continuation of the unfavourable wind direction of the previous day.[55] Because of its static semantics, 'hebben' can be used in contexts like these to express a lack of wind transition.[56] The lack of change as expressed through 'hebben' is also mirrored by the linguistic context: in the corpus under investigation here, 'hebben' is mainly used in clauses without reference to time (n39/56, 70%) (e.g. 'we had the wind north'). In addition, 'hebben' in this example does not occur with an adverb of time but instead follows a conjunction ('en wy hadden de wynt w s w'). Contrary to 'hebben', the dynamic verbs 'komen'

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[52] The 1673 logbook has been published as *De oorlogvoering ter zee in 1673 in journalen en andere stukken,* Werken uitgegeven door het Historisch Genootschap, derde serie, no. 84, ed. by J. R. Bruijn (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1966). In this chapter, I will follow the original document when quoting the 1673 logbook (NL-HaNA, De Ruyter, 1.10.72, inv.nr. 20).

[53] An exception is the presence of a verb in the wind entry of 5 May 1673, when a change of wind direction ('soo schoodt de wynt suyden') prevented the fleet from setting sail.

[54] Translation: The enemy lay as before and we *had* de wind w-s-w (italics the author's).

[55] 3 June 1673.

[56] More generally, in the corpus examined here De Ruyter uses 'hebben' in wind entries to express a lack of wind direction or of progress. The lack of transition is connected either to the context, for example riding at anchor, or bad weather, e.g. 'wy hadden de wynt/ s ten oosten seer dyck weder/ soo dat dyen dach nyet conde verrychten' (30 September 1664), or when the wind does not change or barely does so, e.g. 'snachs/ hadden de wynt wat stylder' (18 March 1665).

and 'krijgen' are accompanied in the majority of cases by an indication of time, thus contributing to the suggestion of narratological transition (n113/130, 87% and n74/115, 64% respectively; e.g. '*in the morning* we got the wind north').[57]

Although 'hebben' in the example discussed above underlines a static situation (specifically, no change in wind direction), the word's mere presence in a context that usually lacks a verb (Table 1) increases eventfulness. The verb suggests that this particular situation is narratable and important within the larger story context. Considering the function of the logbook as a professional tool, it is likely that verbs in wind entries served to highlight important naval events, including the alterations of plans, lack of progress, and so on. In this particular example of the 1673 logbook, the 'hebben' verb underlines the continuation of a wind direction whereby the fleet cannot attack the enemy and therefore a different activity – a worship service with a homily and the celebration of the Lord's Supper – is justified: 'wy *hadden* de wynt w - s - w [...] ten 10/ uren dede onsen domeny een schoone/ predijcasije [...] en/ naer de predycasye wert het heylyge/ avontmael des heeren by ons gehouden'.[58]

The next wind entry to contain a verb is De Ruyter's report of June 7: 'wy/ *cregen* de wynt w - n - w topseyl coelte/ de vyant begon te met onder seyl te gaen/ en ons te naerderen wy gyngen alsamen onder/ seyl'.[59] Rather than the 'hebben' of the previous example, here 'krijgen' is used and expresses a change in wind direction. Moreover, like the 'hebben' example cited above, 'krijgen' is used to express an important phase in the narrative discourse: whereas 'hebben' accounted

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[57] I have also included the few instances where a reference to place also serves as an indicator of change (e.g. 'en *daer* quaem een sterke/ travade wynt' (23 December 1664, italics the author's). The occurrence with a reference to time is significant only for 'komen' (n113/130, X^2 p <.001).

[58] Translation: And we *had* de wind w-s-w [...] At ten o'clock, our chaplain gave a nice sermon [...] and upon the sermon we celebrated the Lord's Supper. See also 3 June: 'wy hoopen op morgen/ het heylyge nachtmael des heeren te schelybureren/ soo wij geen weder en hebben om te bataelgeeren'.

[59] Translation: We *got* the wind w-n-w, topsail breeze. The enemy immediately began to set sail and to approach us. Together, we set sail (7 June 1673, italics the author's).

for a religious activity, 'krijgen' marks a military event, i.e. the beginning of the first battle at Schooneveld.[60]

The use of verbs in wind entries in De Ruyter's report on the first battle at Schooneveld illustrates the function of variation between static and dynamic verbs.[61] In addition, De Ruyter's logbooks also vary in their grammatical properties. An important factor determining variation between the verbs with a grammatical 'we' subject ('hebben' and 'krijgen') and those with a 'wind' subject ('zijn' and 'komen') is textual cohesion.[62] Table 3 shows a difference between these two groups of verbs with regard to the preceding sentence's content. Whereas sentences with weather-related content are more likely to be followed by 'zijn' or 'komen' (76%), sentences including a non-weather theme are mostly followed by 'hebben' and 'krijgen' (64%). In other words, Table 3 suggests that De Ruyter, in cases when the preceding sentence had already introduced a weather-related theme, was more likely to choose 'zijn' and 'komen' rather than 'hebben' and 'krijgen'. Consider the following example:

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[60] Since 'krijgen' is the passive form of 'geven' (to give), it is possible that in the 'krijgen' instances, God, as the controller of wind and weather, resonates in the background. De Ruyter occasionally explicitly acknowledges God as the *giver* of wind, when referring to bad weather as well as favourable wind directions, e.g. 'wy hadden de wynt n w soo dat wy/ maer w-s-w conde seylen maer cort daer naer/ *gaf* godt ons de wynt n-n-w soo dat wy/ boven luytsster ryf seylde' (6 August 1665, italics the author's).

[61] The variation between 'zijn' and 'komen' largely parallels the variation between 'hebben' and 'krijgen' as discussed here, with the static 'zijn' verb suggesting a lack of change and the dynamic 'komen' verb indicating change. However, in De Ruyter's logbooks there is a diachronic change that needs to be mentioned. Almost half the 'zijn' verbs were used by De Ruyter during the 1650s (45%, n 13/29). In those logbooks, 'zijn' occurs in contexts of little progress but is also used in combination with progress. See for example the wind entries on 9, 10, and 12 January 1653. This suggests that, at least regarding the usage of 'zijn', the style used to record wind observations changed during De Ruyter's career. As part of this development, the relative use of 'zijn' per logbook decreased (from 14% (n 6/43) in 1652–53 to 3% (n 3/89) in 1675–76), but its function became more specific, i.e. it expressed a lack of change. For the other verbs, I have not found an analogous diachronic change.

[62] In the linguistics literature, textual cohesion is usually analysed as theme (given information) and rheme (new information). See e.g. Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen (ed.), *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar,* fourth edition (New York: Routledge, 2014), p. 87ff.

wy namen onse maerseylen in vreesende voor harde wijnt ten 10 vren doe
quaem de wynt hardt wt den s · o
We took in our topsails, fearing for a strong wind. Around 10 o'clock the
wind came strongly from the s-e.[63]

Since the first sentence of this example introduces the wind ('vreesende voor harde
wijnt'), in the second sentence ('ten 10 vren…') the wind can act as given
information. It thus functions as the sentence's grammatical subject and linguistic
topic. In this specific case, the verb 'komen' is chosen over 'zijn' to express a
change.

	Weather	Other
'We' subject ('hebben', 'krijgen')	25 (24%)	146 (64%)
'Wind' subject ('zijn', 'komen')	78 (76%)	81 (36%)
Total	103	227

Table 3. The association between content matter and verb choice in the preceding sentence for
the logbooks of 1652–53, 1656–57, 1664–65, 1667, 1673, and 1675–76.[64] The relation
between these variables is significant, X^2 p < .001.

Table 3, however, also shows that the notion of textual cohesion does not fully cover
variation. Consider the following example:

het was styl tot naer de myddach cregen wy en sy de wynt wtter see doe
quamen sy in seylen
It was windless until the afternoon. Then, we and they got the wind from the
sea. Then they set sail.[65]

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[63] 17 March 1657.
[64] When the wind verb occurs in the second part of a juxtaposed or subordinate clause, I have
counted the topic of the sentence's first part. Cases in which the wind entry constitutes the
day's first entry have been counted as 'other topic'.
[65] 1 June 1664.

This example starts with a report on windlessness ('het was styl'), upon which a verb selecting 'wind' as its grammatical subject could be used to express the upcoming change in wind conditions. However, De Ruyter topicalizes 'we' through the verb 'krijgen'. A comparison of the cases of windlessness in the corpus under investigation here indicates that 'krijgen' is used to express a subtle contextual difference with 'komen'. Whereas cases of 'krijgen' are followed by a notion of transition, expressed mostly through the verb 'zeilen' (to sail), e.g.:

> item den 30 smorgens stijl wij cregen de wijnt oostlijck en dreven en seylde tot smyddaech
>
> *The 30th in the morning [it was] windless. We got the wind east and floated and sailed until the afternoon.*[66]

the 'komen' instances express a more distinct change, expressed, for example, through the verb 'wenden' (to turn), e.g.:

> doe was gans stijlle op de myddach quaem de wijnt met een
>
> buijge regen o · s · o doe wende de vyse amyrael de wijt naer de vijant toe
>
> *Then it was completely still. In the afternoon the wind came with showers e-s-e. Then the vice admiral De Wit turned towards the enemy.*[67]

The examples of windlessness in the corpus indicate that compared to 'krijgen', 'komen' puts additional emphasis on the wind as a main character in the logbook

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[66] 30 September 1667. See, for other examples of 'krijgen' + 'zeilen': 28 December 1656, 6 February 1657, 11 February 1657, 27 May 1657, 1 June 1664, 22 July 1665, 30 September 1667, 2 November 1675, and 12 December 1675. See, for an example with negation: 3 December 1652. In a few cases, progression is not explicitly marked via the verb 'zeilen'. See: 20 July 1664 and 22 July 1667.

[67] 9 October 1652. See, for other examples of 'komen' + 'wenden': 11 January 1657, 14 February 1657, 24 July 1664, and 13 October 1675. In addition, other verbs marking a distinct change occur in combination with 'komen', e.g. 'overloopen' (20 June 1657) and 'laveren' (18 June 1664). Furthermore, 'komen' is used when the new wind direction prevents the fleet from setting sail or, alternately, allows such an embarkation to occur. See e.g. 19 June 1665, 19 May 1667, and 19 February 1676. A verb of change is lacking in the 7 September 1667 entry.

story, controlling the fleet's progress. 'Komen' seems to imply a more radical change, which De Ruyter adjusted to accordingly, e.g. by turning. As in the example from the 1673 logbook discussed above, the change in wind direction here allows the Dutch fleet to approach the enemy.

In conclusion, verbs effectuate the eventfulness of reports on the wind. These verb entries on (un)favourable wind direction contribute to narratological development because they help to frame salient information for the reader ashore, e.g. information on (lack of) progress or on changes leading up to important events like battles. Furthermore, De Ruyter's vocabulary of four main verbs allowed him to switch between two important logbook topics, i.e. 'we' and 'wind', and to express either a lack of change through static verbs or transition through action verbs.

4. Reporting speech

As with the giving of meteorological information, reports on speech encounters were a key topic in naval logbook keeping. The information exchange conducted with various others not only could account for an alteration in the fleet's course but also provided the reader ashore with insight into foreign relationships. Interestingly, De Ruyter's reports of speech show a pattern that resembles the linguistic make-up of his wind entries: variation in the presence or absence of a verbal marker, as well as within the type of verbal markers.[68] The absence or presence of a verbal marker to introduce speech parallels the variation in verb presence evident in the wind entries: within the logbook's laconic, abbreviated style, a verb marking a utterance as speech seems to serve narratological purposes, i.e. the highlighting of important speech, contributing to the development of the narrative.[69] In this section, I will specifically discuss the narratological function of variation between different verbal markers of

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[68] Cf. Van de Poppe and Schraagen, 'Michiel de Ruyter', pp. 14-17.

[69] Compare, for example, the following two quotations regarding the destination of a ship that had been encountered: 'capt allemande/ bracht een schypper van luijbijck aen myn/ boort […]/ hadde de wil naar boordeus' (1 June 1667), versus 'het was een/ oostender peu dye wt noorwege quaem/ […] wylde naer/ oostende soo hy *seyde*' (1 August 1665, italics the author's). In the latter example, De Ruyter explicitly marks the utterance as speech through a speech tag, i.e. the verb 'zeggen' (to say). De Ruyter regards this ship's destination with apprehension – it might encounter the English enemy – and commissions the ship to remain with the Dutch fleet, in exchange for payment.

speech: 'rapporteren' (to report), 'zeggen' (to say), and 'verstaan' (to understand/hear).[70]

Although previous studies on travel literature have not investigated speech encounters systematically, the narrative importance of communicative structures has been discussed in greatest detail in the field of narratology.[71] Not only does speech representation contribute to the development of the story in general; recent studies have also argued that the verbal marker has an evaluative function: 'when we choose a verb of saying to introduce speech represented as another's, our choices entail stances toward that speech'.[72] So, whereas the previous section has shown that verbs in wind entries serve to mark and express the degree of narrative transition, in this section I will argue that variation in verbal markers of speech are a means to express relationships among the narrative's main characters.

4.1 De Ruyter's reporting system

Seventeenth-century writers adhered to other and less firmly established conventions of quotation than we do nowadays. There was, for example, no clear-cut boundary between direct and indirect speech. In De Ruyter's logbooks most of the speech is reported indirectly.[73] The lack of direct speech aligns with the loose standards

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[70] In his analysis of De Ruyter's language, Koelmans touched upon De Ruyter's use of *verba decendi* only briefly, as part of the morphological (i.e. tense) and syntactic (e.g. position of the subject) characteristics of his language. See: Leendert Koelmans, *Het Nederlands van Michiel de Ruyter. Morfologie, woordvorming, syntaxis* (Assen: Koninklijke Van Gorcum, 2001), e.g. pp. 75, 199.

[71] See Fludernik's work on the reporting of speech and thought acts in Monika Fludernik, *The Fictions of Language.* See also Flesch's study on the function of speech tags in rhymed text: William Flesch, 'The Poetics of Speech Tags', in *Renaissance Literature and Its Formal Engagements,* ed. by Mark David Rasmussen (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 159–84. Speech representation has recently become a research topic in historical linguistics and pragmatics, as is noted by Peter J. Grund, 'Beyond speech representation. Describing and evaluating speech in Early Modern English prose fiction', in *Journal of Historical Pragmatics,* 19.2 (2018), 265–85 (p. 267). Research has been carried out, amongst others, on juridical documents. See e.g. Terry Walker and Peter J. Grund, '"Speaking base approbious words". Speech representation in Early Modern English witness depositions', *Journal of Historical Pragmatics,* 18.1 (2017), 1–29.

[72] Jaffe, *Stance,* p. 3; see also Colette Moore, *Quoting speech in early English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 125–27.

[73] See, for a unique example of direct speech: 30 June 1664. It seems that direct speech was here used for its dramatic specificity rather than its verbatim authenticity. Cf. Mel Evans's observations on direct speech in 'Royal language', p. 43.

regarding the faithful reporting of speech in pre-modern texts, as has been observed by Colette Moore; for early modern writers, it was less important to capture the exact words uttered and more important to represent speech that, because of its crucial historical, cultural, political, or economic importance, contributed to the development of their story.[74] What is more, De Ruyter, during encounters with other naval vessels, usually sent his subordinate (e.g. his lieutenant or rear admiral) to pay the compulsory visit.[75] Hence, De Ruyter was not always a first-person observer of the speech he reports, although he often records it as if he had been. In sum, in reporting what was deemed relevant in paraphrase (i.e. indirectly), De Ruyter's reporting system shows a high degree of narratorial intervention; De Ruyter possesses the agency to present and alter the interactions he represents.

De Ruyter indicates quotation solely through linguistic means – that is, without the use of quotations marks or other handwritten means. Hence, verbal markers such as 'say' have a key narratological role in his logbooks, not only in introducing speech but also in giving meaning to what has been paraphrased: De Ruyter selects not only what to record but also how to frame it.[76] To understand how De Ruyter used the verbal marker to create and reflect upon relationships, I will introduce the reporting system and its internal developments in greater detail. As in the previous section, I will focus on De Ruyter's most commonly used verbal markers, i.e. 'zeggen' (to say), 'rapporteren' (to report), and 'verstaan' (to understand/hear).[77] Like the wind verbs discussed above, these verbs differ on both grammatical and semantic levels. Grammatically, 'zeggen' and 'rapporteren'

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[74] Moore, *Quoting speech,* pp. 125–27.

[75] See e.g. 23 September 1664. A comparison with the logbook kept by the vice-admiral Meppel during the 1664–65 expedition reveals that on 13 June 1664 De Ruyter had sent his lieutenant to pay the compulsory visit, although he does not record the role of this messenger. See *Journael: gehouden bij mij Joan Cornelisz Meppel*, collection Het Scheepvaartmuseum, Hs-0001, A.0393.

[76] Cf. Karin Aijmer, 'Quotative Markers in *A Corpus of English Dialogues 1560–1760*', in *The Pragmatics of Quoting Now and Then,* ed. by Jenny Arendholz, Wolfram Bublitz, Monika Kirner-Ludwig (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), pp. 231–54 (p. 235); and the overview in Evans, 'Royal Language', pp. 34–35.

[77] Other verbal markers are, amongst others, 'adviseren' (to advise), 'aanzeggen' (to announce), 'laten weten' (let know), and 'klagen' (to complain). In addition to the logbooks examined above, I have, for this section, extended the dataset to include two other logbooks (1659–60, and 1674) to illustrate diachronic changes in De Ruyter's verbal markers in greater detail (see below).

topicalize the speaker of the reported text (e.g. 'he says/reports'), whereas 'verstaan' topicalizes the hearer (e.g. 'we hear that'). Due to this difference, De Ruyter could use 'verstaan' to quote a relatively insignificant communicator who has brought him important information.[78] Through his highlighting of 'we' as the sentence's topic, De Ruyter seems to signals that he had acknowledged the speech's importance and has acted accordingly. Consider the following example:

> jtem den 8 smorgens verstonden wy dat de eyngelsen in haer loese noch dry van de Comp-pangys vrouwen hadden dye sy van het heylant goeree genomen hadde waer op wy resolverd dat wy op morgen daer naer souden vernemen […]
> *The 8th in the morning we heard that the English had three wives of the company in their trading post, whom they had taken from the island Gorée. Hereupon we resolved that we would verify this tomorrow.*[79]

Another logbook written during this expedition reveals that the information presented here was delivered by 'Negers'.[80] The verb 'verstaan' thus seems to allow De Ruyter to leave out subordinate messengers – below, I will discuss the speech of African people in greater detail – and to simultaneously highlight as this episode's topic the naval officers ('we') who responded immediately to this news ('waer op wy resolverd').

Whereas 'verstaan' differs grammatically from 'zeggen' and 'rapporteren', the latter two differ semantically. Unlike 'zeggen', a more or less 'neutral' speech tag, the verb 'rapporteren' is rooted in official discourse. 'Rapport doen' (to report), for example, was used to describe a seafarer who upon return reported to his

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[78] The communicator is either not mentioned or is a non-naval person (e.g. 'de vysscher' [15 June 1665]). Occasionally, however, De Ruyter uses 'verstaan' when he probes his captains on a certain matter (e.g. 'en dede alle Cap aen bort/ te comen om haer meijnijge te/ verstaen' [29 August 1652]). In his earlier logbooks, De Ruyter also combines 'verstaan' with written communication (e.g. 'par avijs verstaen/ dat' [15 December 1652]).

[79] 8 December 1664. See, however, also 28 December 1665; the Elminians, collaborating with the Dutch, are mentioned explicitly as communicators (see footnote 94 below).

[80] Jeurian Prins, *Journael, Ofte Dag-Register, Van de Reyse die gedaen is door 'sLandts Vloot, onder den Manhaften Heer Admirael Michiel A. de Ruyter* (Amsterdam: Saumel Imbrechts, 1666), p. 49.

supervisors in the government.[81] Although the relative use of 'verstaan' barely fluctuates during De Ruyter's naval career, Table 4 points to variation in relative use between 'zeggen' and 'rapporteren'. In the following subsection, I will discuss some diachronic developments and explain how intra-logbook variation in verbal markers was a means for De Ruyter to evaluate interpersonal relations.

	'Rapporteren' (to report)		'Zeggen' (to say)		'Verstaan' (to hear)		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
1652–53	2	6	19	61	10	32	31
1656–57	6[82]	27	12	55	4	18	22
1659–60	36	57	11	17	16	25	63
1664–65	26	37	28	39	17	24	71
1667	28	72	5	13	6	15	39
1673	32	60	9	17	12	23	53
1674	16	59	8	30	3	11	27
1675–76	17	38	16	36	11	25	44

Table 4. Absolute and relative use of the three main verbal markers that introduce speech in De Ruyter's logbooks.

4.2 Verb variation in speech entries

Above I classified 'zeggen' as a neutral verbal marker. In fact, previous research has argued that this introductory verb is a 'neutral' or 'colourless' marker.[83] It is true that De Ruyter, in his occasional reports of complex dialogues, uses 'zeggen' as a

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[81] See *Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal*, 'rapporteeren', 2. Cf. De Ruyter's 1652–53 logbook: 'waer op wij sijto aen lant sijn ontboden/om *repoort* van onse reijse te *doen*/ en syn alsoo dyen avont verhoort' (15 October 1652, italics the author's).

[82] I have not included cases in which the verb marks an act rather than the introduction to an utterance (e.g. 'soo hebbe ick syto drye gedeputeerde/ by den governoort vant casteel gesonden/ om dyt te raporteeren' [29 June 1657]).

[83] See e.g. Moore, *Quoting speech,* p. 58; Aijmer, 'Quotative Markers', pp. 235, 238-39.

more or less neutral form of introduction.[84] When considering 'zeggen' as an alternative to 'rapporteren', however, 'zeggen' can also perform an evaluative role within the narrative discourse.

In the 1652–53 logbook, 'zeggen' still holds the majority of verbal markers. The two instances of 'rapporteren' are used to introduce the speech of the only two speaking Flag Officers present in this logbook. This suggests that 'rapporteren' represents an acknowledgement of social hierarchy and is reserved for quotation of members of the higher naval ranks. By 1659, however, De Ruyter's verb preference has changed: most speakers are introduced through 'rapporteren', including non-naval seafarers such as mercantile skippers (e.g. 'schypper Davyt Compange van Schodtlant […] geladen met moeudt […] raporteerde dat […]').[85] This pattern changes again in the later logbooks. Especially in De Ruyter's final logbook (1675–76), 'zeggen' is chosen over 'rapporteren' when De Ruyter quotes a non-naval person (e.g. 'het was een kaper […] seyde dat […]')[86], or a crew member lower in rank (e.g. 'onse/ pylooten seyden dat […]').[87] Since quotations introduced with 'zeggen' contain information on foreign nations, positional information, and so on – just like the 'rapporteren'-quotations – content does not seem the main determinant of variation between 'zeggen' and 'rapporteren'.[88] Instead, I would like to propose that De Ruyter's reporting system changed diachronically. It seems that De Ruyter's naval career gave rise first to the use of formal 'rapporteren'. But with his own rising status and rank, the reporting system further developed as a means of social

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[84] Within a single communicative structure, De Ruyter usually uses 'rapporteren' or 'verstaan'. Within complex exchange structures, i.e. conversations consisting of several moves including initiation, response, and follow-up, 'zeggen' is often used as the second or third verbal marker and takes the form of 'seyde mede'. E.g. '*raporteerde* / dat sy 3 dagen van de revyer van amburch/waren geseylt *raporterde* voort dat de vloodt / […] gereet was […] / *seyde mede* dat 3 […] Capteynen gearkebuseert waren' (28 July 1665, italics the author's). In this section, I will discuss cases in which 'zeggen' is used in a single communicative structure or as the first verb in a complex communicative structure.

[85] Translation: Skipper David of Scotland, loaded with malt, reported that… (21 September 1659).

[86] Translation: It was a privateer, who said that… (15 October 1675).

[87] Translation: Our steers men said that… (3 January 1676).

[88] Compare e.g. 'onse/ pylooten *seyden* dat sy een vloodt/ schepen bewesten haer sagen' (3 January 1676) with 'een Cap van de galeygen […] *raporterde* dat de wachters op het/ heylant lyf syko 20 seylen int gesycht/ hadden' (4 January 1676).

stratification, thus expressing the social and/or naval characteristics of the relationship between De Ruyter and the speaker.

In addition to social factors and diachronic changes, De Ruyter's reporting system altered under the sway of changing political circumstances. Illustrative in this context is De Ruyter's 1664–65 logbook, in which the habits of quotation vis-`a-vis several groups changed over time. In general, De Ruyter introduces (foreign) naval seafarers with 'rapporteren'. Given the deteriorating relationship between the Dutch Republic and England, however, De Ruyter changes the speech tag for speaking Englishmen from 'rapporteren' to 'zeggen'.[89]

> den schout by nacht van der saen voer aen syn boort om hem te bewyllecomen en eenych nyeus van de turcken te vragen **seydden** dat geen turcken wt en waren […]
>
> *The rear admiral Van der Saen sailed to his board to welcome him and to ask for news concerning the Turks. [They] said that there were no Turks offshore.*[90]

The content of this utterance on the presence and identity of other ships is comparable to the information exchanged with regard to previous Dutch-English encounters, but the linguistic make-up differs. Although previous visits had also been conducted by his subordinates (see footnote 75 above), De Ruyter here notes that he had sent his rear admiral. Furthermore, compared to previous speech encounters, De Ruyter switches from 'rapporteren' to 'zeggen', and within the logbook entry from singular 'hem' (i.e. the English vice admiral) to plural '[zij] seydden'. If we assume that De Ruyter used 'rapporteren' to quote his naval equals,

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[89] Compare 'rapporteren' on 11 May and 13 June to 'zeggen' on 19 August and 23 September 1664. De Ruyter was informed of the deteriorating relationship through official letters as well as encounters with the English. The English navy was no longer striking their flag as a token of respect. See e.g. 13 June 1664; and Prud'homme van Reine, *Rechterhand van Nederland,* p. 127).

[90] 23 September 1664. The Dutch and English fleets had passed each other previously, on 12 and 18 August, without verbal communication. On 19 August 1664, De Ruyter refers to an utterance through 'zeggen' when recording that the English were trying to sail West, 'alhoewel sy ons *geseyt hadden* dat sy/ ontrent arsyers souden gaen cruysen' (italics the author's).

a switch in verbal markers could be interpreted as a means he used to dissociate himself from the other speaker. Furthermore, since plural forms in logbooks were well-known means to evoke an association with a larger group (e.g. naval officers, the entire fleet, a country), the changes may be interpreted as a linguistic means to evaluate and dissociate himself from the entire English fleet.[91] The deviation from the 'rapporteren' standard continues thereafter until June 1665, when the Anglo-Dutch relationship seems to have improved.[92] Again, this change is reflected in De Ruyter's reporting system. Instead of 'zeggen', the two encountered English ships 'rapporteren': 'en raporteerde dat de schepen in eyngelan/ ontslagen waren en dat op goede hoope/ van acomandasye van vrede met onsen staet/ en eyngelant was'.[93] Taken together, the above examples suggest that De Ruyter's reporting system reflects not only social differences (i.e. in rank and occupation) but also political differences. By choosing 'zeggen' over the formal verbal marker 'rapporteren', De Ruyter dissociates himself from the speaker socially and/or politically. Interestingly, the reverse also applies, as is made evident from the case of speaking Africans.

While sailing along the coast of North Africa, De Ruyter encounters different African peoples, referred to as 'negers'; their speech is introduced through 'zeggen' or 'verstaan'.[94] This reporting system changes when treating the collaboration between the Dutch and the Fantys, a group from the African 'Gold

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[91] See Frisch, *The Invention of the Eyewitness,* p. 136. On 27 January 1665, De Ruyter also uses the first-person plural ('dye seyden') to quote English speech.

[92] See 25 October 1664, and 27 January 1665. Exceptions are licensed English ships that were thus sailing under command of De Ruyter. See: 4 November 1664 and 2 January 1665. There, 'rapporteren' seems to be used to indicate a crew-supervisor rather than an enemy relationship.

[93] Translation: And reported that the ships in England were discharged, and that there was good hope for an arrangement of peace between our state and England (17 June 1665). Interestingly, De Ruyter does not report that the English ships were made spoils of war, thus suggesting a peaceful encounter with these ships in the Bay of St. John's. Cf. [Anon.], *Journael, Gehouden op 's Lants Schip de Spiegel* (Amsterdam: Pieter la Burgh, 1665), p. 67; Prins, *Journael, Ofte Dag-Register,* p. 91.

[94] 'Zeggen' is used on 4 November 1664; 4 December 1664; 2 January 1665; 3 January 1665. An exception is 28 January 1665, where De Ruyter uses 'verstaan'. These speaking Elminans had been collaborating for decades with Europeans, and here had brought important news concerning the English enemy that necessitated a quick Dutch response. Hence the choice of 'verstaan' over 'rapporteren'. See the discussion of 'verstaan' above. See, for information on the Dutch and the Elminians: Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, *Dutch and Portuguese in Western Africa. Empires, Merchants and the Atlantic System, 1580–1674* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011).

Coast'. To recapture a fort from the English, the Dutch need the Fantys' help. Although an agreement is made, the first attack fails, and the Fantys are suspected to have betrayed their Dutch associates.[95] When one of the Fantys offers an explanation, his speech is introduced through 'zeggen':

> daer quaem een neger van lant genampt antony dye **seyde** dat de fantynsen noch nyet gereet en waren geweest noch samen geacordert maer dat sy morgen […] comen souden
>
> *There, from land, came a black person named Antony who said that the Fantys had not been ready, and had not yet made an agreement. However, they would come tomorrow.*[96]

Unlike the previous records of speech referring to 'negers', however, here a specific person (Antony) and his specific community (the Fantys) are identified. Moreover, as a result of Antony's visit the Fantys come to be in favour with the Dutch once more. De Ruyter underlines their mutual relationship of alliance by switching from 'zeggen' to 'rapporteren' in the following entry:

> […] savons is een van de fanteynsen aen boort dye ons **raporteerden** dat sy op morgen vroech met de prynse vlag […] souden verschynen
>
> *In the evening, one of the Fantys came aboard who reported that tomorrow, early in the morning, they [the Fantys] will show up on the sea side with the prince flag.*[97]

In conclusion, the examples cited above suggest that De Ruyter used his reporting system both to emphasize important speech, contributing to the logbook's narratological development, and to frame his relation to others, based on the desire for social and political association or dissociation. Variation in the introductory verb could function as a personal, symbolic act of withholding or granting respect, as

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[95] 3 February 1665.
[96] 7 February 1665 (emphasis the author's).
[97] 7 February 1665 (emphasis the author's).

well as a means of evaluation for the authorities, who used logbooks to investigate international relationships.

5. Conclusion

As a Flag Officer in the seventeenth-century Dutch navy, Michiel de Ruyter was obliged to keep logbooks. Naval logbooks enabled the Dutch authorities to control life overseas, encompassing both the functioning of their officers as well as their expedition's political, socio-cultural, geographical, and meteorological aspects. The analysis presented in this chapter demonstrates that De Ruyter employed verb variation to effectuate the rhetoric of reporting. Verbs cannot be assumed to be a standard characteristic of the De Ruyter's logbooks' stark and unembellished style. When present, a verb draws attention to itself and thereby prompts meaning. Whereas static and dynamic verbs in wind entries serve to express the degree of narrative transition, variation in verbal markers of speech evaluate relationships among the narrative's main characters based on social and political factors. Given De Ruyter's ability to use verbs to mark salient information, the official reader in the Dutch Republic may have been able to distinguish and interpret these marked phrases.

The analysis presented in this chapter provides information on De Ruyter's logbooks but also poses new questions. For example, information on the linguistic methodology of reporting can help us interpret a logbook's content within the context of maritime history – which information was foregrounded, and why? – but the question also arises as to whether, and how, De Ruyter's writing style fits within the general fashion of Dutch naval logbook keeping. Further research is necessary to fully understand the role of linguistic variation in naval reporting by De Ruyter and other naval officers. Moreover, this chapter has shown that (socio)linguistic and textual factors (e.g. social factors, diachronic changes, textual cohesion, etc.) should be taken into account when studying language use and reporting style. Hence, to better understand the language of naval logbook keeping, future research should strive for an interdisciplinary approach in which linguistic, textual, sociohistorical and maritime methodologies are brought together.

CONCLUSION

In recent decades there have been important attempts to contextualize the presence of language variation in literate societies of the past.[1] For the early modern Dutch Republic, major transitions characteristic of the long seventeenth century (e.g. growing literacy, mass migration, and changes in administration) have been identified as catalysts for certain linguistic developments.[2] Within the pre-standardized language phase, moreover, sociolinguistic contexts are also known to have played important roles with regard to variation.[3] Having sought to broaden our understanding of language variation within historical contexts, this dissertation has investigated how individual Dutch authors used the variational possibilities offered by their linguistic system for literary, social, and professional purposes. This dissertation has thus examined language variation from the point of view of the writing language user, and it has done so through analysis of *intra-author variation.*

By using this concept, I have aimed to raise awareness about a form of language variation that has been rather overlooked in studies on historical Dutch published over many decades: variation within the linguistic individual.[4] In addition, with its focus on the language user as an author, this concept has accounted for the

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[1] Important in this regard is the seminal study *Socio-historical Linguistics* by Suzanne Romaine (1982), which addresses the applicability of variationist sociolinguistics to historical data. An overview on the developments within historical sociolinguistics in recent decades is given in: Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg, 'Historical Sociolinguistics'.

[2] Van der Sijs, *Taal als mensenwerk,* p. 30ff; Van der Wal, *De moedertaal centraal,* p. 23ff; Van de Haar, *The Golden Mean of Languages,* p. 38ff.

[3] The standardization of Dutch is datable to the late eighteenth century. See: Rutten, 'Standardization and the Myth of Neutrality'; Rutten, 'Diaglossia, individual variation and the limits of standardization'. Gijsbert Rutten and Marijke van der Wal have identified various sociolinguistic factors influencing language variation in earlier stages of Dutch. See: Gijsbert Rutten and Marijke J. van der Wal, *Letters as Loot. A sociolinguistic approach to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014).

[4] The linguistic individual was central to Overdiep's stylistic-syntactic approach as advocated in *Syntaxis en Stilistiek* (1948). Since then, however, focus has shifted to larger scale variation on the level of social groups and communities. Recently, research on the historical individual has regained attention in the field of historical sociolinguistics under the label of 'intra-writer variation'. An example of research on linguistic individuals is: Rutten, 'Diaglossia, individual variation and the limits of standardization', p. 205ff. However, Rutten focuses on variation between individuals rather than within an individual's language.

complex socio-cultural and literary-historical settings within which intra-individual variation typically took place. In the face of scholarship performed predominantly by (socio)linguists, I have argued that language variation interfered to a large extent with the research domains of literary historians. However, although literary studies engage in important work on the (potential or intended) meaning of historical texts and their function in early modern society, current lines of research within literary history pay little attention to the ways the meaning and functioning of these texts were enabled by linguistic form.[5] This dissertation's objective, therefore, has been not only to bring the linguistic individual onto the stage of research, but also to show that the opening of discussions on linguistic form within literary studies will help to broaden our understanding of the devices that authors used to enable meaning and to create particular effects. This dissertation has thus set out to investigate the functioning of variation in linguistic form within its socio-cultural and literary context. It has done so in the spirit of international attempts to reassess aspects of early modern form and of the Dutch endeavours to take part in literary and linguistic studies.[6]

Regarding the linguistic focus of this dissertation and the precise time span it has covered, I have studied verb variation in texts written from ca. 1570 to 1670. This time span is crucial, not only for the history of the Dutch language – it covers a period of increasing linguistic consciousness and the first attempts to regulate Dutch[7] – but also for that of the history of the Dutch Republic, as it encompasses its creation and the subsequent blossoming and decay of its 'Golden Age' period. By taking the long seventeenth century as an experimental garden, I have opened a window onto the complex political, religious, and cultural contexts in which authors participated, highlighting the use of variation as a device to take part in this dynamic

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[5] Consider as an example the functional approach to early modern literature as practiced in: Porteman and Smits-Veldt, *Een nieuw vaderland voor de muzen,* p. 18.

[6] E.g. Rasmussen, *Renaissance Literature and Its Formal Engagements;* Anbeek & Verhagen, 'Over stijl'.

[7] Grammar gained importance in discussions on the Dutch language from the sixteenth century onwards. See: Nobels and Rutten, 'Language norms and language use in seventeenth-century Dutch', pp. 27–28. Well-known examples are the *Twe-spraack*, the first printed grammar of Dutch; the large-scale Bible translation project of the *Statenvertaling*; and more local attempts of literary authors to regulate language, such as Hooft's 'Waernemingen op de Hollandsche Tael'.

but also troubled society. My focus on verb forms stemmed from the hypothesis that verbs are an important, but thus far largely neglected, mechanism of early modern Dutch texts that were essential to meaning-making (i.e. they transfer events and experiences into linguistic representations) and communication (i.e. tense-aspect characteristics of verbs have text-structuring functions and thus helped to communicate events and ideas to the recipient).[8] What is more, by departing from a rather basic feature of the linguistic text, i.e. verbs, I was able to incorporate not only authors of a high literary polish but also those not necessarily known as authors but for whom texts were an essential means in their striving for social, religious, political, and professional impact.[9]

I have built this dissertation around four chronologically ordered case studies which together aimed to offer a small but inclusive perspective on language use and texts in early modern Dutch society. Chapters 1 and 3 focused on two authors who participated in the linguistic debates of their time. Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert (Chapter 1) and Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (Chapter 3) aimed at educating and shaping Dutch society through their diligently composed language. Chapters 2 and 4, by contrast, studied two historical actors unrelated to the linguistic debates of their time. Willemken van Wanray (Chapter 2) and Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter (Chapter 4) each used narrative to verbalize and situate their personal and professional experiences as texts. Despite differences in writing skills, education, social position, and professional occupation, all four individuals exploited their linguistic ability in this textual verbalization of past events, personal experiences, and opinions. Among their linguistic skills was systematicity in the use and variation of verbs. For all four individuals, verbs provided a strategy to facilitate the interpretation of their texts, both the content and the structure of these texts. The following sections will discuss these findings in greater detail and will relate them to

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[8] An indication of the importance of verbs for historical forms of communication is given in: Brinton, 'Historical Discourse Analysis', p. 227. Recent research on modern Dutch indicates that Dutch tenses and variation among them is suitable for discourse distinction as well. See: Le Bruyn et al., 'The Perfect in dialogue'. Previous research on verbs in historical Dutch has mainly focused on syntactic properties of Dutch. See e.g. Griet Coupé, *Syntactic extension. The historical development of Dutch verb clusters* (Utrecht: LOT, PhD thesis, 2015).

[9] Cf. Hermans, 'The World of Literature', p. 289.

one another. Section 1 gives an overview on the individual chapter's findings, and Section 2 discusses this dissertation's overarching conclusions.

1. A chapter overview

This dissertation consisted of four different case studies, each of which has been published as an independent article. Despite their diversity in terms of the historical actors studied and theoretical underpinnings used, the case studies have all shared a method of historical formal reading, which focuses on the linguistic make-up of texts. For the sake of coherence, I have studied language use within prose texts specifically. Genre is known to be an important determiner of language variation, and we may assume that we will find evidence of forces at work specific to rhymed texts (e.g. rhyme, meter) that shaped intra-author variation.[10] In fact, Coornhert's case indicates a correlation between prose and the specific verb variant under scrutiny in that chapter.[11] The objective of this dissertation was not just to unravel intra-author variation as a product of macro-level structures such as genre but also to more locally investigate the working of intra-author variation. After all, it is within the same texts or similar textual contexts that we can find patterns of variation

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[10] See e.g. Cole, 'Pronominal anaphoric strategies in the West Saxon dialect of Old English', p. 395ff; Irma Taavitsainen, 'Genre dynamics in the history of English', in *The Cambridge Handbook of English Historical Linguistics,* ed. by Merja Kytö and Päivi Pahta (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 271–85.

[11] In fact, a quick search within Hooft's work reveals that he favoured the *begin*-construction more often in prose than in poetry. In Hooft's rhymed oeuvre *begin*+infinitive occurs only 21 times – in comparison, in his *Histories* alone, Hooft used *begin*+infinitive 229 times (see Chapter 3). I have searched for *begin* and conjugations in P. C. Hooft, *Gedichten. Deel 1*, ed. by P. Leendertz Wz. and F. A. Stoett (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1989) and *Gedichten. Deel 2,* ed. by P. Leendertz Wz. and F. A. Stoett (Amsterdam: P. N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1900). Interestingly, both linguistic variations which appear to correlate with prose texts are 'extra' items, i.e. the addition of the *gehad* participle or the *begin* auxiliary to the main verb, respectively. These grammatically more or less superfluous items – their semantics served discourse-structuring functions – may have better suited prose texts, which were less limited by poetic conditions of text design (e.g. meter and rhyme) and whose narrative and argumentative content benefited from principles of linguistic organization. However, we should be cautious not to overgeneralize here. Correlation does not necessarily explain language use, and it can also be argued that extra items provide ready metrical 'fillers' for rhymed texts. So although genre has indeed been often acknowledged as a determiner of language variation, large-scale datasets are required to determine and account for the macro-level spread of constructions like perfect doubling and the *begin* auxiliary.

significant to the socio-cultural and literary processes which enabled texts to function within early modern Dutch society.

For each chapter, I first adopted a linguistic perspective by taking verb variation as my primary research focus. The preliminary research conducted for each chapter pointed out how intra-author variation in verbs was interlaced with other mechanisms of writing on the level of text, discourse, and style. Therefore, each chapter studied verb variation in relation to its immediate surroundings by taking into account narrative text units (e.g. narrative peak), discourse modes (e.g. the representation of speech within narrative discourse), and other (stylistic) contexts (e.g. recipients, signs of foregrounding). Because of this dissertation's focus on the functional possibilities of language variation for early modern Dutch authors, my approaches to discovering and interpreting patterns of variation were rooted primarily in literary studies and historical pragmatics. As a result, the case studies have demonstrated how small items of the linguistic repertoire (e.g. the extra *gehad* participle, the addition of the *begin* auxiliary to verb structures) have text-structuring and meaning-making functions, which often work cross-linguistically. I have uncovered patterns of variation through a combination of quantitative analyses and close reading, based on multiple texts written by the authors being studied and the writing tradition he or she was embedded in. My interpretations of specific linguistic variants concentrated on uncovering the complex extra-linguistic meanings and functions of particular linguistic features, and the latter's role in shaping, participating in, and reflecting upon an emerging form of Dutch society.

1.1 Chapter 1: *Have*-doubling in the work of D. V. Coornhert

The first chapter revealed how the late sixteenth-century polemical debate on Reformed doctrine was framed through the use of persuasive language. For D. V. Coornhert, the chapter argued, one item of the persuasive repertoire was the *have*-doubling construction (e.g. *have had written*), which occurred as a marked form alongside non-doubling verb constructions (e.g. *have written*). The chapter first observed a correlation between *have*-doubling (or perfect doubling, as the chapter later proposed) and prose texts. Since perfect doubling thrived particularly in texts

marked by a visible interaction between author and reader – in addition to appearing in Coornhert's argumentative texts fostering theological debate, the construction, the data showed, also occurred in his letters – it seems reasonable to assume that the double perfect performed a function on the interpersonal level, thus engaging the reader in the process of communication and meaning-making.[12] This assumption is confirmed by the chapter's cross-disciplinary findings on the micro level.

Semantically, the chapter showed how Coornhert's doubling construction is linked to the double perfect of modern German, which functions to signal the absence of current relevance and also possesses emphasis functions. Pragmatically, therefore, the chapter proposed that double perfects are akin to evaluative devices/stance markers in that they signal the author's personal emphasis and create the evaluative effect of dissociation from the content of the utterance. Rhetorically, hence, the chapter regarded perfect doubling to be a part of Coornhert's use of persuasive language, aimed at alerting the reader to key elements of his theology, providing his opponents with argumentative commentary on their viewpoints, and guiding his adherents in their beliefs. This first chapter, in sum, considered Coornhert's argumentative prose texts as forms of written communication and identified the *have*-doubling construction as a linguistic mechanism that enabled Coornhert to persuade his contemporary audiences.

1.2 Chapter 2: Tense-aspect alternation by Willemken van Wanray

Like the first chapter, Chapter 2 investigated the role of texts and language in the religious debates of the early modern Dutch Republic. This chapter has shown that in addition to persuading religious audiences (Chapter 1), language variation served to frame the religious self. I demonstrated such framing through analysis of two autobiographical stories recounted by the remonstrant Willemken van Wanray (ca. 1573-1647). Van Wanray wrote these two stories during or shortly after the religious persecution she endured due to the Remonstrant controversy taking place around the 1620s. Although by her own account these stories were written for the sake of her

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[12] Literary texts are indeed quite commonly viewed as forms of communication. See: Fitzmaurice, 'Literary Discourse', p. 681.

descendants, Van Wanray's tribulations transcended the private sphere. Van Wanray used her role in society as a woman, mother, and widow to tell a story of Remonstrant martyrdom that was embedded in a paradigm of religious and civic injustice. Parts of her stories ended up in printed media, at once criticizing the Remonstrants' subordinate position in Dutch society and framing Remonstrant identity.

Linguistic items, this chapter showed, helped Van Wanray to establish various aspects of this Remonstrant profile and communicate them to the stories' recipients – these linguistic strategies were copied and sometimes even expanded in later versions of Van Wanray's stories. The main focus of this chapter was on tense-aspect alternations, which are known to exist cross-linguistically in order to foreground events. Van Wanray applied tense-aspect alternations to mark salient events of Remonstrant martyrdom, e.g. those involving a proper Christian attitude, material loss, physical suffering, and legal injustice. In this chapter, I observed various forms of tense-aspect alternation, e.g. between the present perfect and the simple past, between the simple past and the historical present, and between the simple past and the present participle. These differences yield the conclusion that the switch between verb variants, rather than a verb's specific semantics, was what facilitated emphasis functions. However, what the tenses that Van Wanray seems to use as a foregrounding device (i.e. the simple past, the historical present, and the present participle) have in common is their creation of a sense of vividness through their aspectual semantics of protraction. This semantic characteristic might have made these tenses suitable for communicative functions.

As part of this communicative process of storytelling Van Wanray seems to have written with various audiences in mind. Not only did she create the image of an exemplary Remonstrant self for her descendants and the wider Remonstrant community; she also painted a picture of legal innocence for a potential Contra-Remonstrant readership. This assertion of innocence seems to serve both to criticize the civic subordination of Remonstrants within Dutch society and to protect herself and others from renewed persecution.

1.3 Chapter 3: *Begin+infinitive* in P. C. Hooft's prose

The text-structuring role of the grammatical aspect of verbs played a pivotal role not only within religious contexts; it also featured in political discourses. The third chapter studied how P. C. Hooft framed the Dutch Republic's recent history within a new genre, namely humanist history in the vernacular, and guided his reader through this new genre by means of verbs. By employing a multilingual framework of analysis, this chapter was able to identify a previously unobserved linguistic pattern in Hooft's works: departing from the classical writing model of Tacitus and his description of the Roman civil wars, the 'Dutch Tacitus' Hooft used the aspectual specified verb construction *begin+infinitive* in his account of the Dutch Revolt. The results of this case study confirm the findings from previous studies on this construction in other varieties showing that *begin* exceeded its basic grammatical function and functioned on the level of discourse, i.e. as a discourse marker. This early modern case, as compared to what we find in the classical and medieval discourses in which the construction is usually studied, provided an opportunity to shed light on the discourse function of *begin* in postmedieval storytelling, and in Hooft's innovative prose specifically.

Considering *begin*'s semantics, the narrative structure in which the construction occurred, and its relation to other means of reader management, notably printed marginalia, I proposed that Hooft's *begin*-construction slowed the narrative pace in order to alert the reader to an upcoming main event. On a cultural level, furthermore, comparison with previous studies on *begin*+infinitive strongly suggests that in addition to the humanist culture of reproducing classical antecedents in which Hooft's prose tends to be interpreted, his *Histories* align with vernacular modes of storytelling. Small elements of language, this case study showed, are highly significant to understanding the act of (classical) translation and the transaction between vernaculars or a vernacular and classical antecedents that was taking place in early modern society.

1.4 Chapter 4: The presence of verbs in Michiel de Ruyter's ships' logbooks

Variation, the final chapter showed, helped not only to present the past but also to report present events. The fourth chapter brought to the fore how lexical variation, i.e. variation between almost synonymous verbs, as well as variation between the presence and absence of verbs, was key to the practice of naval reporting undertaken by the naval officer Michiel de Ruyter. Using a set of ships' logbooks written over the course of his career, I examined the (development in) meaning of weather verbs and speech tags as well as their pragmatic impact within the logbook.

Although De Ruyter lacked extensive education in writing, the chapter observed that over the course of his career he developed an extensive repertoire of semantically more or less equivalent verbs: he expanded his weather-report vocabulary through the use of meteorological terminology and incorporated formal 'rapporteren' in addition to common 'zeggen' for the reporting of speech. In addition to these diachronic developments, the chapter observed that De Ruyter became adept at varying verbs as a way to make significant naval events meaningful for the reader on land. The style of his logbooks is that of factual reportage, with a focus on who, where, what, and when. Through the variation of his verbs, however, De Ruyter was able to make a given event stand out and imbue it with meaning by providing a certain representation of the event. Static and dynamic verbs in wind entries marked the degree of narrative transition, and speech tags were used as a system of socio-political stratification. Syntactic considerations were an integral part of the analysis, too, as De Ruyter's vocabulary allowed him to vary the logbook's default topics or to omit other agents. Moreover, since the verb was not an obligatory item for weather and speech entries, this chapter also revealed how the mere presence of a verb could create linguistic markedness which, on the textual level, helped to highlight certain passages. For an individual like De Ruyter, graced with a high naval position and charged with contributing to the welfare of the seventeenth-century Republic, his way of reporting might have carried particular significance. Despite his poor education, De Ruyter knew how to exploit the linguistic skill he possessed in the form of verb variation in order to facilitate the understanding and interpretation of his texts.

2. Playing the verb: Theoretical and empirical findings

2.1 The interdisciplinarity of intra-author variation

The scholarly aim of this dissertation was twofold. First, this dissertation investigated how Dutch authors from the long seventeenth century could use variation in verbs to construct their texts. Second, this focus on verbs served methodological purposes. I used the study of verbs to explore the possibilities of an interdisciplinary line of research at the crossroads of literary studies and linguistics: Where can we join forces, and what do we gain from a joint perspective?

Regarding the methodological focus, this dissertation has shown intra-author variation to be a useful forensic tool to carry out literary-linguistic research. Although language variation has traditionally been a (socio)linguistic object of research, intra-author variation falls, to a large extent, into the interface between linguistics and literary history: this specific type of variation is in fact significant to the literary-cultural products and processes that are studied by literary historians.

During the historical period covered in this study (c. 1570-1670), Dutch society contended with struggles over the creation of an independent state, the coexistence of different religious confessions and ideas, and its territorial expansion overseas. In this tumultuous period, texts played a pivotal role as conversational instruments. The texts I have studied in this dissertation helped to preserve memories, to project identities, to foster social composition, to boost public debate, and to generate acts of persuasion. These texts fulfilled these purposes as interactional entities, enabling dialogue between e.g. opponents, teacher and adherent, spokesperson and community, subject and government, or mother and family. Importantly, this dialogic potential was fostered by variation in verbs, as patterns of variation helped to create meaning, organizing the texts and in this way guiding the recipient in the processing and interpretation of such a text.[13] Verbs thus

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[13] The functional interpretation of language as performing roles with regard to text organization and communication between author/text and recipient is rooted in Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar;* see also in the Introduction footnote 74. This functional interpretation has proven to be applicable to historical sources, too. See: Brinton, *Pragmatic Markers,* pp. v, 6, who, elaborating on Halliday, concludes that linguistic forms in historical English fulfilled functions that fall into the categories of the textual and the interpersonal.

satisfied the expressive needs of authors, occasional and experienced alike, with respect to how to narrate (lexical choices) and how to communicate (pragmatic choices of tense-aspect alternation). Although I have studied four very different historical actors, I have found that they all 'played' the verb (akin to the sense that one 'plays' a particular card): they used variation within the linguistic entity 'verb' to facilitate the functioning and understanding of their texts. From the four case studies, hence, a picture emerges of intra-author variation as a linguistic phenomenon with implications that extend beyond the linguistic domain.

My interdisciplinary efforts to grasp how texts functioned in societies of the past, and how their authors communicated their messages to contemporary audiences through the variational use of verbs, were not oriented toward satisfying aims dictated by a single discipline, here specifically the field of linguistics. Having concentrated on patterns of variation significant to the literary-cultural understanding of texts and their functions in early modern Dutch society, this dissertation has not provided systematic insight into verb variation in the early modern language phase. The combination of a quantitative approach with a close reading of relatively small data sets is not a suitable means for gaining a thorough knowledge of a construction's synchronic or diachronic behaviour. However, because the case studies elaborated on the findings of previous linguistic studies and largely match their results, they help sharpen the picture of language variation and the extra-linguistic factors it interacted with in historical communities. The four case studies have brought into focus literary, socio-cultural and communicative forces at work in the long seventeenth century and show how they provoked, facilitated and interacted with variation within the linguistic individual.

2.2 Why authors played the verb

The first main finding with regard to the potential function of intra-author variation in verbs concerns text organization.[14] Much research in particular has been conducted on tense-aspect alternation in varieties of English, suggesting its presence

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[14] In this interpretation I follow Halliday. See footnote 13 above, and footnote 74 in the Introduction.

as a mode of storytelling across time and across linguistic varieties.[15] I found verb variation in the category of tense and aspect in the majority of the Dutch texts examined here: Coornhert shifted between the perfect and perfect doubling, Van Wanray between the perfect and the simple past tense, and the simple past and the historical present, and Hooft between the past tense and the historical present. Despite the differences in form, and although the findings of previous research could not always be directly superimposed upon the grammatical particularities of early modern Dutch, in all cases the deviation from the tense pattern occurred not because of the temporal location the verb expressed (i.e. its basic grammatical function), but because it was applied to mark a discourse chunk as important within the larger narrative or line of argument. Even within De Ruyter's plain and abbreviated style, verbs played a pivotal role: the mere presence of a verb in wind entries and speech representations could help make a text unit stand out and imbue it with meaning in a certain way.

Although in all cases variation in verbs thus contributed to the foregrounding of events, information salience appeared to be more than just a case of binary oppositions. The variation mechanisms of verbs served different levels of salience.[16] In the case of Hooft, for example, aspectual *begin* was employed to signal a narrative turn preceding an important event or outcome – the latter often being marked through tense deviation. While the *begin*-construction is prelude to a salient event, others linguistic variants appear to voice the important event itself. For example, both Hooft and Van Wanray used the historical present for narrative peaks; Coornhert used the semantic counterpart of the historical present, i.e. perfect doubling, in key moments of debate, namely when summarizing his opponent's viewpoint or when communicating key principles of his own theology. This diversity shows that multiple verb variants could be used as a demarcating tool but also indicates that we need to be alert for the specific contexts of variation. Not all forms of extralinguistic verb variation served to mark the most important narrative unit, and individual authors could tweak a given linguistic item according to their

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[15] E.g. Engel and Ritz, 'The Use of the Present Perfect'; Levey, 'Tense Variation'; Muñoz, 'Tense Switching'.

[16] Cf. Fleischman, 'Tense-aspect oppositions', p. 854.

needs. So although the findings concerning tense-aspect alternation may hint at more or less universal mechanisms of storytelling – with the verbal aspect being related to narrative units generally and variation in tense being prone to narrative highpoints specifically – one must always keep in mind the local contexts surrounding such variation.

Following from the text-organizing potential of intra-author variation in verbs, variation fulfilled a role on the level of communication between author/text and recipient. Lexical variation allowed the author to voice an event in a certain way, and variation in tense and aspect – often in combination with other means such as direct quotations – enabled the author to add personal emphasis, i.e. to convey to the audience what this author considered to be important in the story being told or the line of argument being put forward. In the cases of Coornhert and De Ruyter we see how a verb's meaning potential could be employed to guide a reader not only in the processing of important information but also in the interpretation of the text. Coornhert's *have*-doubling possessed an evaluative force of dissociation, which might have helped his readership – opponents and adherents alike – in their interpretation of the effect of past sins. For De Ruyter, speech tags seemed to have had an evaluative function of socio-political stratification. The degree of formality in speech tags might thus have influenced the reader's interpretation of the reported speech and the speaker.

The use of verbs as conversational mechanisms was probably not always consciously controlled by the authors, since patterns of variation did not always occur systematically within all contexts. However, the interaction between verb variation and other linguistic and stylistic properties allows us to conclude that variation, although not always completely predictable, was not spurious or accidental. I have considered variation to be a highly personal device that authors could use in efforts to exert textual, cultural, and social impact. For example, although Hooft copied the historical present from his classical source Tacitus, the *begin*-construction was largely his own addition. Personal style thus was a significant factor in terms of additions and omissions from a writing tradition: such choices enabled individual translators or adapters to distinguish oneself from the

style of the source. Hooft's deviation from the Latin humanist style through *begin*+infinitive can be compared to Coornhert's deviation from a sociolinguistic norm through his use of the low frequency *have*-doubling construction. The choice to use the rather exceptional doubling construction might have branded him a stylistically singular author. These two case studies thus indicate that the use of linguistic variants was a highly individual and creative endeavor.

Deviation, however, did not emerge out of nowhere but took place within the boundaries of particular linguistic and socio-cultural norms. Although a low-frequency item, Coornhert's *have*-doubling construction did exist in sixteenth-century Dutch. Hooft's choice to use *begin,* furthermore, was probably inspired by vernacular storytelling traditions. Such relations to existing norms of language use were necessary when an author strived not only to exercise cultural or social impact but also when persuasive communication was the aim. After all, the text's recipients needed to be able to recognize a linguistic item if they were to be guided by it while comprehending and interpreting the narrative or other sort of text they were reading. Although admittedly a small sampling, the case studies have offered evidence that intra-author variation in verbs was indeed interpreted extra-linguistically. Hooft's case, with editor Gerard Brandt featuring as an actual reader, indicates that readers were in fact guided by aspectual *begin* as a text-organizing device and responded to it. A similar argument can be made for Van Wanray's case. Despite making stylistic interventions, Christoffel Biesman copied his sister-in-law's deviations from the default tense-aspect pattern rather than changing these deviations into the standard tense form. As we see here, edited texts as well as copies are thus fascinating sources that hold a great deal of potential to shed further light on how language variation works.

The question that now arises is whether the above findings are unique to the long seventeenth century under scrutiny here. Or have we in fact stumbled upon more generic uses of verbs? While certain historical verbs or grammatical constructions are no longer in use, most of the grammatical, lexical and aspectual items studied in this dissertation can be found in modern Dutch. We all use verbs and we probably

still play them in a way that meets our (unconscious) communicative needs, just as Coornhert, Van Wanray, Hooft and De Ruyter did. What distinguishes these historical language users from us, however, is their exploration of a language under construction. Since the standards of language were in flux, in the midst of being established, authors had ample opportunity to explore their language and to vary it. Coornhert, for example, could use a rather obscure *have*-doubling construction to convey a theology that possessed national implications. Although (of course) not every literate individual exploited the linguistic possibilities of their language to the extreme, linguistic skills were important to the textual practices involved in politics, religion, and warfare, and variation among linguistic items was one of the competences which enabled authors of all sorts to strive for political, religious, cultural, professional, or social impact.

The textual culture of the Dutch past is a rich field that contains as yet undiscovered incentives for language variation. Verbs, moreover, are one among many features in the service of particular communicative purposes and the constructions of texts. There are thus ample opportunities for interdisciplinary scholars to uncover these textual languages of the past, which can shed light on the interpretation of historically distant texts and can indicate how knowledge and methodology from neighboring fields of research might assist in this regard.

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[Anon.], *Sommier verhael van de wreede handelinghe der Bloet-dorstighe Calvinisten, ghepleeght teghen de Remonstranten buyten Rotterdam, op Sondagh voorleden den xx. October. 1619. Mitsgaders, Uande groote Tierannije ende grouwelijcke Wreetheden, die in meer andere omligghende steden, van dese Suyvere Ghepredestineerde Broeders bedreven zijn. Hier is noch by gevoeght, Een nieu Liedeken, hoe dat het Dortsche Sinode, de Remonstranten soecken uyt te roeyen, die zy t'Oncruyt noemen* ([Antwerpen], 1619).

[Anon.], *Der Remonstranten Vervolgingh: Dat is/Waerachtige Historie vande onrechtvaerdighe Proceduren/ wreede mishandelinghen/ Exactien/ vanghenissen/verjaginghe/plunderingh/Vrouwe-schendinghen/ doodt-schietinghen/gehouden ende ghepleeght inde Vereenighde Nederlanden, sedert de veranderingh vande Regieringhe/ af- ende uyt-settinghe der Predicanten*, vol. 1 ([Vryburg], 1627).

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[Anon.], *Journael, Gehouden op 's Lants Schip de Spiegel, Van 't gene gepasseert en verricht is op de Vloot van haer Ho. Mo. De Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenidghde Nederlanden, soo in de Middellantsche Zee, als op de Custen van Africa en America. Onder 't Beleyt van den Ed. Manhaften Heer*

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NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

Werkwoordspel – een literair-taalkundig perspectief op werkwoordvariatie in vroegmodern Nederlands proza

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt het werkwoordgebruik van auteurs uit de lange zeventiende eeuw. Deze periode van circa 1570 tot 1670 omvat de opkomst van de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden en haar daaropvolgende economische en sociale groei, territoriale expansie, maar ook interne religieuze en politieke strubbelingen. Onder de inwoners van deze Republiek was de geletterdheidsgraad relatief hoog. Mensen van allerlei rangen en standen hadden dus toegang tot de volkstaal als schriftelijk communicatiemiddel. Mijn studie onderzoekt hoe vier heel verschillende individuen hun teksten gebruikten om te participeren in deze dynamische maar ook tumultueuze samenleving en daarbij een gemeenschappelijk instrument deelden: het werkwoord.

Hoewel werkwoorden een haast onmisbaar element van taal zijn – ze geven uitdrukking aan processen, toestanden, handelingen of activiteiten en situeren deze in de tijd – worden ze niet standaard gerekend tot het instrumentarium van een auteur. In de traditie van de klassieke retorica bevat het instrumentarium van een vroegmoderne auteur vooral literaire stijlmiddelen. Het werkwoord maakt daar als grammaticaal element geen onderdeel van uit. In het wetenschappelijk onderzoek is het werkwoord in al zijn verschijningsvormen vooral een object van taalkundige studie.

Aan de hand van het concept intra-auteur variatie (variatie binnen de taal van een individuele auteur) laat mijn studie zien dat werkwoordvariatie niet enkel interessant is vanuit taalkundig oogpunt, maar ook van belang is voor ons letterkundige begrip van taal en teksten en hun functie in de vroegmoderne samenleving. Bovendien, zo betoogt dit proefschrift, hebben we een inclusieve visie nodig waarin taal- en letterkunde gecombineerd worden om het fenomeen van intra-auteur variatie beter te begrijpen. Werkwoordvariatie binnen de taal van individuele auteurs werd niet enkel ingegeven door het taalsysteem, maar ook door historisch-

letterkundige mechanismen, zoals tekststructuur, de boodschap van de tekst en de functie van de tekst in zijn literair-culturele traditie(s) en de vroegmoderne samenleving als geheel.

Mijn onderzoek betoogt dus dat bundeling van krachten tussen wetenschappelijke vakdisciplines nodig is om de werking van werkwoorden te kunnen begrijpen en verklaren. Met zijn gecombineerde taal- en letterkundige benadering streeft dit proefschrift een hernieuwde synergie tussen de taal- en letterkunde na – twee vakgebieden van de Neerlandistiek die met name sinds de jaren 1970 meer en meer uit elkaar zijn gegroeid. De vier verschillende hoofdstukken waaruit dit proefschrift bestaat vormen voorbeelden van de manieren waarop zulk interdisciplinair onderzoek verwezenlijkt kan worden en welke opbrengsten dit oplevert. Ieder hoofdstuk geeft een voorbeeld van het type variatie dat in zeventiende-eeuwse teksten aangetroffen kan worden. Deze variatie wordt in cultuur-historisch perspectief geplaatst doordat de hoofdstukken chronologisch en thematisch geordend zijn. De hoofdstukken 1 en 2 onderzoeken hoe werkwoordvariatie fungeerde in teksten uit religieuze controverses. De hoofdstukken 3 en 4 richten zich op de opkomst en verdediging van de Republiek der Zeven Verenigde Nederlanden.

In hoofdstuk 1 onderzoek ik samen met Joanna Wall (Universiteit Utrecht en het Meertens Instituut) het gebruik van de *hebben*-verdubbeling ('ik heb gezondigd gehad') door Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert (1522-1590). Coornhert geloofde in de kracht van taal; hij zag taal als een instrument tot lezersbeïnvloeding dat hij vooral wilde gebruiken om zijn medemens te begeleiden in geestelijke groei. Behalve uit de klassieke retorica putte Coornhert ook uit zijn grammaticale repertoire om dat doel te bereiken. Hij trok de aandacht van zijn lezer met de weinig gebruikte *hebben*-verdubbeling die hij inzette als alternatief voor de gewone voltooide tijd ('ik heb gezondigd'). Met de extra *hebben*-vorm situeerde Coornhert de handeling zoals uitgedrukt door het hoofdwerkwoord ('zondigen') in het afgeronde verleden. Zo kon Coornhert zijn lezers bijvoorbeeld uitleggen dat de zonden van Adam en Eva geen doorwerking hadden in het heden (de kwestie van erfzonde).

Behalve het sturen van een religieus lezerspubliek, had werkwoordvariatie ook een functie in het presenteren van de religieuze 'ik'. Dit laat ik zien in hoofdstuk

2, waarin twee autobiografische verhalen van Willemken van Wanray (ca. 1573-1647) centraal staan. Zij werd geconfronteerd met geloofsvervolging gedurende de remonstrantse controverse rond 1619 en vertrouwde haar wetenswaardigheden toe aan het papier. Evenals vele andere gelovigen gebruikte Van Wanray de Bijbel en contemporaine literatuur om haar verhaal van remonstrants slachtofferschap vorm te geven. Dit hoofdstuk laat zien dat Van Wanray in aanvulling op intertekstualiteit variatie in werkwoordtijden gebruikte als vertelstrategie. Door afwijkingen van de standaard werkwoordtijd kon Van Wanray specifieke passages van remonstrants martelaarschap extra op de voorgrond plaatsen voor haar lezerspubliek.

Hoofdstuk 3 laat aan de hand van de casus Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581-1647) zien dat hoe talige lezerssturing hand in hand kon gaan met de sturing die het materiële boek bood. Hoofts *Nederlandse Historiën* gelden als renaissancistisch geschiedwerk geïnspireerd op de Romeinse geschiedschrijver Tacitus. De lezer krijgt, in klassieke traditie, een literaire verwoording van de geschiedenis en wordt in zijn leesproces geholpen door samenvattende aantekeningen in de marge. In afwijking op zijn rolmodel Tacitus voegde Hooft een middel tot tekststructurering toe: een *begin*-constructie ('hij begon te lezen' in plaats van 'hij las'). Door zijn nadruk op begin en duur, markeert *begin* de inzet van iets nieuws en vertraagt het werkwoord het tempo van het narratief. Deze vertraging gaat vooraf aan en waarschuwt de lezer voor het naderen van een belangrijke gebeurtenis. Die gebeurtenis is in Hoofts *Historiën* vaak ook herkenbaar aan een samenvattende aantekening in de marge.

Hoofdstuk vier, tot slot, toont werkwoordvariatie in haar meest basale vorm: de aan- en afwezigheid van werkwoorden, en de afwisseling tussen min of meer synonieme alternatieven. Het was een vorm van werkwoordspel die werd toegepast door Michiel de Ruyter (1607-1676) in zijn scheepsjournalen, specifiek als het ging om beschrijvingen van het weer en de verslaglegging van gesprekken. Hoewel De Ruyter weinig schrijfopleiding genoten had, was hij in staat het werkwoordspel aan te gaan. Binnen de staccato logboekstijl, waarin werkwoorden niet altijd een vereiste waren, vielen de passages die nader gespecificeerd werden door middel van het werkwoord op. De Ruyter opteerde voor het werkwoord om significante episodes te verhalen voor de lezer. Het werkwoord kon niet alleen de aandacht van de lezer

trekken, maar door zijn grammaticale en lexicale eigenschappen kon De Ruyter ook (subtiele) betekenisverschillen overdragen aan de lezer.

Met zijn vier casestudies laat dit proefschrift zien dat, ongeacht literaire capaciteit, werkwoordspel de auteurs eigen was. Met zijn focus op werkwoorden streeft dit proefschrift echter niet enkel naar het beantwoorden van de vraag hoe we werkwoordvariatie kunnen verklaren en interpreteren. De verkenning van intra-auteur variatie in werkwoorden dient tevens als aanmoediging tot interdisciplinaire samenwerking tussen taal- en letterkunde. Enerzijds is bundeling van krachten nodig om taalvariatie binnen de taal van (historische) auteurs te begrijpen. Anderzijds laat deze studie ook zien dat het concept van intra-auteur variatie een hereniging van verschillende disciplines van de neerlandistiek toelaat. Juist deze vorm van taalvariatie haakt in op mechanismen die in beide disciplines bestudeerd worden, namelijk taalvariatie (taalkunde) als onderdeel van het instrumentarium van een auteur (letterkunde).

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