COMPLEMENT CLAUSES IN MODERN STANDARD DUTCH

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FOR DMR, ESR and CSR
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INTRODUCTION

1 BACKGROUND
This study focusses on complement clauses in modern standard Dutch and the verbs that control their selection.

Although there is a huge literature on complement clauses in English, I was not aware of any work having been done on this type of clause in Dutch, which, because of its close genetic and areal relation with English, might be expected to also have a rich complement clause system.

The objective for this study is to undertake a description of Dutch complement clauses using the identification procedure suggested by Noonan (1985) within the framework of the "semantics prior" approach used by Dixon (1991) for describing English complement clauses. Throughout this study we refer to Dixon's framework as the "SPA" approach. The central construct of SPA is the notion of semantic types. The approach involves drawing up a taxonomy of semantic types of all the commonly used words in a language and relating each semantic type with the semantic, syntactic and morphological facts of the language.

In this study we are concerned primarily with verbs and develop an SPA type taxonomy for Dutch verbs in Chapters 1, 3 and 5. These are then related to complement clauses in
Chapters 2 and 4. In Chapter 6 we examine the morphological processes in Dutch verb formation and relate these to the semantic types of verbs proposed earlier, and in particular, to their capacity to take complement clauses. A summary of the taxonomy for Dutch verbs, which proposes 20 semantic types, is given in Appendix 1 and a listing of approximately 1500 verbs used in this study is given in Appendix 2.

Surprisingly, given the complexities of the English complement clause system, Dutch only has two syntactic types of complement clause. The first is where the subordinate verb can take a full range of tenses (tensed complements), and the second, where the subordinate verb is restricted to the infinitive (infinitive complements). Despite this paucity in syntactic forms, many of the semantic subtleties and complexities that are associated with the English complement system are present in Dutch through the range of meanings associated with many complement taking verbs, especially compound or derived verbs.

2. THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

The idea that the verbs of a language can be grouped into "semantic types" on the basis of their semantic and syntactic properties is not new, and the linguistic literature includes numerous studies on such semantic categories as speech act verbs, causatives, evidentials,
verbs of perception and so on. The idea of semantic type adopted here follows Dixon (1977) where it is claimed that:

...the lexical items of a language fall into a number of semantic types (each item belonging to just one type). The division into types can be justified in terms of the syntactic/morphological properties of the members of each type; in addition, a non-disjunctive definition can be given for the overall semantic content of each type. These types are almost certainly linguistic universals" (p 9).

Dixon's (1991) "New Approach To English Grammar on Semantic Principles" is an attempt to apply the concept of semantic types to English. The approach is novel in so far as it attempts a comprehensive taxonomy of a very large sample of English words (not just verbs) representative of all the words in common usage. It then relates these semantic types to a wide range of syntactic processes.

In this study we limit ourselves to Dutch verbs and complement clauses.

The relationship between syntax and semantics is complex. Many linguists argue for the primacy of syntax and use syntactic facts to explain semantic differences. SPA, by contrast, gives primacy to semantics and tends to use semantic facts to explain syntactic differences. We take the view that both approaches have a place. For purely practical reasons we use both semantic and syntactic facts
to support the analysis without proposing a view as to which
has priority.

The central SPA notions of "semantic type" and "semantic
role" need some elaboration. Semantic types are introduced
by SPA which claims that the words of any language can be
grouped together "in a natural way" into large classes that
have "a common meaning component". It calls these large
classes semantic types and claims that each language has
about forty or fifty semantic types which cover the entire
vocabulary of that language. All open word classes can be
sub-categorised on the basis of semantic types.

Semantic roles are one of the major functions of noun
phrases and include such generalised roles as agent, patient
beneficiary and locative, long recognised by linguists as
being different from syntactic relations such as subject and
object, and pragmatic functions such as topicality,
definiteness, or specificity. Semantic roles also include
the specific roles associated with the semantics of a
particular verb. For example, the verb hate has two narrow
semantic roles when used in the sentence John hates
spelling, namely a 'hater' and the 'hated'.

SPA uses the wider notion of "verbal concepts" which
includes phrasal verbs (eg be going to, look at). Dutch has
a number of productive processes for deriving verbs from
other parts of speech which produce such compound verbs as 
thuis-komen (come home); mee-gaan (accompany); op-springen
(jump up) etc which behave in many (but not all) respects
like lexical verbs. We consider these more fully in Chapter
6. However at this point it is necessary to draw a
distinction between what we call "lexical verbs", "phrasal
verbs" and "compound verbs".

SPA defines a phrasal verb as a "verb plus preposition(s)
that has meaning not inferable from the individual meanings
of the verb and preposition" (p 274). This may be adequate
for English, but Dutch needs an additional category to
handle compound verbs of the sort above, i.e. verbs formed
from a productive process where at least one meaning of the
resultant compound is predictable. We use the term
"compound verb" to include verbs formed through the
combination of two or more morphemes, regardless of whether
they are free or bound morphemes. Of the verb lists
consulted about half are compound and half are lexical
verbs. Compound verbs are made up by adding certain verbal
prefixes (or bound morphemes) to another verb, e.g. be-kijken
(look at), ver-slapen (to oversleep) or by combining another
part of speech (free morphemes) with another verb as in the
examples above. Compound verbs have at least one meaning
that is predictable from its constituent parts. For
example, thuis-komen predictably means to come home, but
many compound words have multiple meanings. The first is
usually the most concrete and has a meaning predictable from its parts, but the second and subsequent meanings are more abstract. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning 1</th>
<th>Meaning 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>in-laten</td>
<td>let in/admit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onder-komen</td>
<td>come under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over-werken</td>
<td>work overtime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>over-work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Meaning 1: concern oneself with
Meaning 2: find shelter

The meaning distinctions are generally signalled by stress patterns in spoken Dutch, with stress on the prefix giving the predictable meaning and stress on the second (usually the verbal) element giving the unpredictable meaning.

Dutch compound verbs are essentially equivalent to SPA's phrasal verbs, and it is the result of Dutch spelling conventions that they are written as a single word in the citation form.

But there is also another group of verbs, which includes both lexical and compound verbs, and which occurs in prepositional phrases where the prepositions that can be used are very limited and not predictable. Examples are:

- raken aan (touch at)
- zweren bij (swear by)
- zaniken over (nag over)
- *raken op (touch on)
- *zweren over (swear over)
- *zaniken tegen (nag against)

We will call such collocations phrasal verbs.
3. PREVIOUS WORK

Dutch is a Germanic language with a number of dialectal variants used by over 21 million speakers throughout the world, principally in the Netherlands (14.7 million), Belgium (6.7 million), Suriname (.36 million) and over a million expatriate speakers in Indonesia, Canada, USA, New Zealand, Australia and other parts of the world. This figure does not include speakers of the related languages of Friesian or Afrikaans, nor the relatively small number of speakers who learn Dutch as a second language.

There are dozens of grammars of Dutch which vary in length, detail and theoretical orientation, and a substantial number of monographs and articles dealing with specific aspects of the language. Many of these deal with subordinate clause constructions and provide numerous examples of subordinate clauses, including complement clauses, but generally do not distinguish these from relative and adverbial clause types.

A number of studies have a semantic orientation, for example, Moskey (1979) analysed 1917 Dutch verbs within a Case Grammar Framework. He suggested that Dutch verbs could be divided into five categories: basic, experiential, benefactive, locative and modal and that the first four of these could be further divided into three sub-groups: stative, process or action, i.e. 13 semantic categories in all. The claim is that there is a close relationship...
between the category to which a verb belongs and the case frame in which it can occur, and that this provides a useful framework for comparing languages and ultimately, can "confirm or reshape the semantic primes which they (linguists) posit as universal" (p114).

A very detailed Dutch reference grammar, Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst (ANS), was published in 1984. It comprises over 1300 pages of detailed examples with the facts of the Dutch language couched in carefully defined traditional linguistic terms. It was written between 1976 and 1984 with 25 contributors under the control of eight editors and pulls together over 100 years of scholarship on the language. While this grammar is rich in examples, including examples of complement clauses, it does not provide a coherent analysis of them. Nevertheless, it covers an enormous amount of work which this study draws on and acknowledges throughout.

4. DATA SOURCES
For this study, data is drawn from three sources: published grammars and word lists, movie scripts and informants. Only data that is likely to occur in ordinary conversation of standard Dutch speakers has been included. There is a much greater difference between written Dutch (schrijftaal) and spoken Dutch (spreektaal) than there is for a language such
as English. Not only are there many words that are only used in written language, there are also a number of constructions that are only used in written and literary contexts. Written Dutch is of considerable historical interest, but out of place in a synchronic description and analysis of standard modern Dutch as used by native speakers in the course of ordinary living.

As far as possible sentences from published grammars have been used throughout. This has been supplemented by sentences drawn from Dutch movies (a good source of contemporary spoken material which is effectively spontaneous, delivered in context, and readily available in Australia). The published data sources are the ANS (referred to above); a frequently cited, very detailed grammar, Den Hartog's (1903) Nederlandse Spraakkunst (NS) and Donaldson's (1987) brief Dutch Reference Grammar (DRG) which gives many useful comparisons between Dutch and English. Stern's (1979) list of 1500 Dutch verbs, Moskey's (1979) list of 1917 Dutch verbs and Wolters (1990) thesaurus of Dutch synonyms were used for collecting verb lists.

Where it has been necessary to make up sentences to test the limits of acceptability of a construction or the usage of a particular word or sentence it was tested with informants.
5. STARTING POINT

We take as a starting point the various semantic types of lexical (i.e., non-compound) verbs that occur in Dutch. The SPA treatment of English divided the verbs in that language into two broad classes: PRIMARY verbs which refer directly to some activity or state, and SECONDARY verbs which can be used in conjunction with some other verb and signal a semantic modification of it. English verbs such as run, show, and happen are primary verbs while may, try, and seem are secondary verbs.

SPA proposes for English that both primary and secondary verbs can be further subdivided. In the case of primary verbs, SPA proposes two broad groups: PRIMARY-A verbs: those that take concrete NP's in their core-syntactic relations and PRIMARY-B verbs which can take a complement clause in one of those relations. In the case of English secondary verbs, SPA proposes four groupings: SECONDARY-A verbs such as can, try, begin and must have the same subject (and object if transitive) as the verb they modify, e.g. Mary tried to beat the record. SECONDARY-A verbs include all those verbs usually designated as auxiliaries in traditional English grammars. SECONDARY-B verbs such as want, hope and defer introduce a further role as the subject of the main clause as in Fred hoped Mary would win the race. SECONDARY-C verbs such as make, force, allow and help introduce a further role over and above that introduced by
the complement clause as in Harry forced Mary to eat the snail. SECONDARY-D verbs such as seem, appear, and matter optionally introduce an oblique role beginning with to as in It seems likely (to Mary) that Peter will win.

As we have seen, the initial distinction between primary and secondary verbs is based on the capacity of a verb to modify other verbs. The further subdivision of primary verbs is based on a verb's capacity to take complement clauses, while the subdivision of secondary verbs is based on the number of NP roles associated with each verb. For English, this gives neat, mutually exclusive categories. However, as we will see in more detail in Chapters 3 and 5, these distinctions do not work for Dutch. Dutch primary verbs such as zitten (sit); lopen (walk); gaan (go); blijven (stay); and staan (stand) which are proto-typically primary verbs of rest/motion, can also function as secondary verbs. For example, in a sentence such as:

1. Marie komt/gaat vanavond eten
Mary comes/goes tonight eat

The main verb (what the sentence is about) is eten (eating) and the verbs komen (come) and gaan (go) provide additional information about the eating and are clearly functioning as secondary verbs. We describe the clause vanavond eten as an infinitive clause.
ANS produced a list of 79 secondary verbs for Dutch (which it calls auxiliary verbs: "hulpwerkworden") using the same criterion as SPA, ie they can modify other verbs. A further 21 were identified during the course of this study. Of the ANS sample, 26 are essentially primary verbs: verbs of MOTION such as lopen (walk), komen (come); verbs of REST such as zitten (sit), blijven (stay); verbs of GIVING such as geven (give), krijgen (receive); the AFFECT verb slaan (hit); THINKING verbs such as denken (think) and geloven (believe) and SPEAKING verbs such as beloven (promise), and verklaren (declare). In other words, for Dutch, primary and secondary verbs are not mutually exclusive as they are for English.

The SPA distinction between primary-A verbs and primary-B verbs is also not clear-cut for Dutch. Like English Dutch has a large number of verbs that on SPA criteria could only be classified as belonging to the THINKING type, for example such verbs as weten and kennen which can both be glossed as "know" in English, but differ in that weten can take a complement clause and can even function as a secondary verb, but kennen can do neither. In semantic terms the distinction can be captured by positing two types of "knowing", one occurring in such sentences as John knows that........ and the other in such sentences as John knows Mary. Similar distinctions occur in French between savoir and connaitre and in German between wissen and kennen.
Similarly, Dutch SPEAKING verbs include some verbs like *zeggen* (say) that can take a complement clause and *praten* (talk) or *spreken* (speak) that cannot, and there may be more.

Although examples like these show that SPA's distinction between primary A and B verbs and primary and secondary verbs overlap for Dutch, as indeed they do to a lesser extent for English (though SPA does not make this explicit), for presentational purposes the distinction between primary and secondary verbs has been maintained for this study with primary-A verbs being covered in Chapter 1, primary-B verbs in Chapter 3 and secondary verbs in Chapter 5. The implications of the fact that the macro-categories of primary and secondary verbs overlap for Dutch is discussed in these chapters in the context of the analysis of the data.

A very interesting generalisation that SPA proposes relates to what Dixon calls "promotion to subject" constructions. This generalisation can be paraphrased (and somewhat simplified) along the lines that verbs which can take complement clauses in certain roles will not allow those roles to be promoted to subject. Conversely, any NP roles associated with a verb that does not allow a complement clause, can potentially be promoted to subject.
This generalisation appears to hold for Dutch as well as for English, and as it has bearing on a number of later chapters it is necessary to examine this construction type here in some detail.

Promotion to subject constructions in English are those where the non-subject NP of a clause (whether transitive or intransitive) can be placed in the subject slot when the clause contains some marker indicating the degree of success of the activity. Dixon gives examples such as:

2. sports cars sell quickly
3. that pogo stick jumps well
4. the middle house won't let

One of the central tenets of the SPA framework is that, for English, the semantic role which is most likely to be relevant to the success of an activity is placed in the subject position. For example, in a sentence such as 5 it is Mary that ensures the success of the activity. By placing a non-subject NP in the subject relation as in 6, it is that NP which is relevant to the success of the activity, ie sports-cars have some inherent property which makes them sell well. In sentence 7 it is 'Mary's sales pitch' which results in the success.
5. Mary sells sports-cars quickly (with her sales pitch)
6. sports cars sell quickly
7. Mary’s sales pitch sells sports-cars quickly

Dutch also has sentences which normally take animate (most often human) subjects, but will allow inanimate subjects when the success of the activity is due to another NP. For example:

8. deze schoenen lopen prettig
these shoes walk nicely

9. jou pen scrijft lekker
your pen writes comfortably (ie it is a nice pen to write with)

These sentences are not common in Dutch (but probably more common than in English) and more marked than the Dutch passive (especially the agentless passive, which is also common in Dutch). They are of considerable theoretical interest, first, because the inverse correlation between sentences of this type and complement clauses reinforces the distinction between primary-A and primary-B verbs, and second, because the promotion to subject constructions may be more common than Dixon suggests. For example, the relationship between such often quoted sentences as:

10. John opened the door with a key
11. the key opened the door
12. the door opened
seems to involve promotion to subject in the same way as Dixon's examples. Although there is no overt marker indicating the success of the action, it is implicit in the verb. Similarly, with sentences like:

13. the chimp cracked the nut with a rock
14. the rock cracked the nut
15. the nut cracked

the nut was actually cracked in each case and the associated cause of the cracking was the chimp in 13, the rock in 14 and an unknown agent in 15. There is no overt marker in 15 indicating the success of the action. If one were added, as in 16, the reading would be that it was due to an inherent property of the nut that it cracked.

16. the nut cracked easily

It could be argued that the overt marker indicating the success of an action is obligatory and that sentences such as sports-cars sell are ungrammatical. While it certainly sounds odd in isolation, in a context of two car salesmen discussing the saleability of cars, a sentence such as 17, where there is no success marking, seems perfectly acceptable:

17. sports-cars sell (trucks don't)

For Dutch, promotion to subject is also possible without overt markers indicating success, and we will be examining which verbs allow this process as we proceed.
CHAPTER 1
SEMANTIC TYPES AND PRIMARY-A VERBS

1.1 PRELIMINARY

As we have seen, SPA proposes that the words of a language can be classified into "SEMANTIC TYPES" which are classes of verbs grouped together "in a natural way" on the basis of "a common meaning component" (p6).

Examples of such classes for English are the verbs of MOTION, verbs of THINKING, CORPOREAL verbs and so on. SPA proposes 31 semantic types of verbs for English: 10 types of primary-A verbs, 9 types of primary-B verbs and 12 types of secondary verbs. Most of these types can be further divided into sub-types.

In this chapter, we seek to identify an appropriate set of semantic types to cover Dutch primary-A verbs. For Dutch we will propose 38 types comprising 16 types of primary-A verbs, 6 types of primary-B verbs and 16 types of secondary verbs.

As with all languages, Dutch has an extensive inventory of words referring to actions and states that are traditionally referred to as verbs. Dutch also has a small number of copulas. Being a Germanic language, many of these verbs are phonologically and semantically related to English as illustrated by such cognates as climb/klimmen, run/rennen,
fall/vallen, come/komen, steal/stelen. However, while the core concepts underlying these verbs are often similar, the range of their usage has diverged, in some cases very widely. As a consequence, it is often the case that while an English word belongs to a certain semantic type, the historically equivalent Dutch word belongs to a different type.

The base data for this study was Stern’s (1979) list of 1500 Dutch verbs. This list was drawn up for pedagogical purposes and provides an independently selected and reasonably representative list of modern Dutch verbs. About half of these verbs are compound verbs. A few of Stern’s verbs which informants thought were archaic have been deleted and a few common verbs which Stern had missed have been added, but for all practical purposes his list provides central data for this study. The verbs were categorised on the basis of common semantic and syntactic features following Dixon’s approach for English verbs. The completed categorisation is at APPENDIX 1 and the complete listing of verbs is at APPENDIX 2.

In applying SPA to another language two questions arise. First, the general issue as to whether the network of semantic types developed for English is appropriate for the language concerned. It seems probable that all languages have lexicalised verbs central to the human condition in
such areas as SPEAKING and CORPOREAL functions, but differ greatly in the extent to which cultural and economic activities have been lexicalised. The extent to which a particular semantic type is universal is an empirical question that needs to be investigated by applying the SPA approach to a sample of diverse languages. As this study deals with one language which is also areally and genetically related to English, one cannot a priori assume that the semantic types proposed are applicable to any other languages.

The second question concerns the absence of explicit and objective criteria for allocating words to their appropriate semantic types. SPA seems to be doing this allocation, at least partially, on intuitive grounds. Dixon selects only frequently used words with a basic meaning and ignores figurative or extended meanings. He argues that words with such basic meanings are unequivocally members of a single semantic type, but stresses that more specialised words can be members of more than one type, ie semantic types are not mutually exclusive. This contradicts Dixon's 1977 claim that each item belongs to only one type (p9).

Polysemous words could reasonably be expected to belong to more than one semantic type, but how do we handle situations where the polysemy is less clear? Dixon gives the example of the English verb *bite* (along with *eat*, *chew* and *swallow*) which he points out behave like a CORPOREAL verbs. But he
claims bite can also be used as an AFFECT verb (along with cut) as in He cut/bit through the string. We argue here that the phrasal verb bite through is essentially the same semantic type as the verb bite (as is their Dutch counterparts bijten (bite)/doorbijten (bite through). The English word bite, in its most general sense, refers to grasping something with the teeth. It is essentially transitive, and similar to other highly transitive verbs as hit or kick. On this basis it belongs to the AFFECT type, not the CORPOREAL type. The phrasal verb bite through is a semantic modification of bite which is also transitive and also belongs to the AFFECT type. CORPOREAL verbs refer to bodily activities/functions which are essentially intransitive (along with smile, cough and cry etc). If we want to consider phrasal verbs such as bite through, bite into, or bite on to be unitary verbs or semi-lexicalised, they would be analysed as distinct transitive verbs and appropriately classified as AFFECT verbs. If we do not want to consider them to be unitary we would have a single verb bite and the prepositions through, into, on etc would be analysed as part of the oblique NP.

For Dutch the approach we have adopted is to initially look at lexical verbs as being the most basic, classify these, explore the syntactic and semantic properties and then look at the more complex derived verbs. As we will see, the identification of lexicalised verbs in Dutch is clearer:
ANY GIVEN MEANING OF A WORD BELONGS TO ONE AND ONLY ONE SEMANTIC TYPE.

1.2 TRANSITIVITY

We follow Hopper and Thompson (1980) in considering transitivity as being concerned with the effectiveness with which the action denoted by a verb takes place. We follow SPA and many other theories in associating a number of semantic roles with each verb. As for English, Dutch includes verbs that require one, two or three semantic roles. These roles must be mapped onto one or more syntactic relations either in the core or the periphery of a clause. In addition, NPs can also have pragmatic roles. Core NPs are those which together with any verbs form a whole conceptual unit, and peripheral NPs are those which introduce circumstantial material into the clause. For the purpose of this study, a clause is defined as a verb complex with one or more Noun Phrases (NPs) in specific functional relationships with it.

The minimum number of core NPs required to form a conceptual whole is referred to as the valence of a particular verb and we will adopt the following notation:

- S intransitive subject
- A transitive subject
- O transitive object
1.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE DUTCH VERB COMPLEX

Dutch verb morphology is of two types. There is a relatively small set of inflectional affixes associated with the Dutch tense/aspect/mood system. These are historically decreasing in number and importance, and we will have a brief look at these now. There is also a larger number of productive and semantically complex processes for forming verbs from other parts of speech which we will consider in Chapter 6.

Verb inflections are used to form:

1. the infinitive or citation form, which is signalled by the affix -en for all verbs except gaan (go); slaan (hit); staan (stand); zien (see); and doen (do) which have an -n as an allomorphic variant.

2. the past tense, signalled by the so-called dental suffix for weak verbs and changes to vowel quality and other changes for strong verbs, eg:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>non-past</th>
<th>past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>werk</td>
<td>werkte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sta</td>
<td>stond</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. the past participle formed by adding the prefix ge- to the verb stem and the past tense suffix. There are a number of ways stems are derived from infinitives which we need not go into here. Examples of past participles are:
ge-werk-t  (werken to work)
ge-staan  (staan to stand)

4. second and third person singular marking, eg:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>non-past</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>non-past</th>
<th>past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>first pers:</td>
<td>ik werkt</td>
<td>ik werkte</td>
<td>ik staat</td>
<td>ik stond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sec. pers:</td>
<td>jij werkt</td>
<td>jij werkten</td>
<td>jij staat</td>
<td>jij stond</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>third pers:</td>
<td>hij werkt</td>
<td>hij werkte</td>
<td>hij staat</td>
<td>hij stond</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for an archaic subjunctive form which we will not consider here, no other verb inflections occur. In particular, there is no equivalent inflection to the English progressive aspect, -ing.

Examples of the Dutch verb complex are underlined in sentences 1-6. The verb complex might comprise a single inflected verb as in 1; an inflected verb and infinitive as in 2 or 3; an inflected verb and past participle as in 4 or an inflected verb and a number of infinitives as in 5 and 6.

1. Jan slaapt
   John sleep PRES
   John is asleep

2. Jan zal slapen
   John shall sleep INF
   John will sleep

3. Jan ging slapen
   John go PAST sleep INF
   John went to sleep

4. Jan heeft ge-slap- en
   John have PRES PP sleep INF
   John has slept

5. Jan wil blijv- en slap- en
   John will stay INF sleep INF
   John will stay sleeping
It should be noted that only the first verb in any sequence of verbal elements is inflected for tense, person and number. As a large number of syntactic processes are controlled by this inflected form we will follow ANS and call it a PV (persoon vorm). It is particularly important in positioning adverbials, NPs in the O function, question formation and other syntactic processes.

Except in sentences such as 4 which involves a perfective construction, all non-PV forms are infinitives (again, there is no equivalent to the English -ing form). Dutch perfective is formed with the the verb hebben (have) OR zijn (be) plus the past participle. There are a large number of verbs that can only take zijn (be) in the perfective and these verbs denote a change from one position or state to another eg gaan (go); worden (become); or not to change position eg blijven (stay). Generally all other verbs take hebben (have) in the perfective, although there is a small group that can take either. We will identify these as we proceed to consider individual verbs below.

In sentences such as 1-6, the main verb (ie the one that forms the semantic core of the predicate) is the verb on the right. In these examples, it is slapen (sleep). A number of syntactic processes are affected by this general requirement to keep the main verb on the right, particularly
in relation to word order in subordinate clause constructions. Because of its importance in what is to follow, we will call the main verb the SF (semantic focus) of the predicate. In a sentence such as 1, the PV and SF are one and the same, but in a sequence of verbs in constructions such as 5 and 6, they are far apart forming two "poles" which we will consider in greater depth in Chapter 3 when we look at complement clause constructions.

Like English, Dutch has a number of verbs that can modify other verbs in forming complex verb sequences as in examples 2-6. These include such verbs as hebben (to have); gaan (to go); mogen (to allow); willen (to want); zullen (future marking verb); blijven (to stay); liggen (to lie down). ANS lists 79 of them and calls them auxiliaries (hulpwerkwoorden). Most traditional grammars of Dutch recognise only 3-4 auxiliaries and a small number of modals. As we will see, these 79 verbs along with some additional ones identified during this study have properties in common with Dixon's secondary verbs for English, and accordingly we will call this group "secondary verbs" (see Chapter 5 for detail).

We now go on to examine each semantic type of Dutch primary-A verb.
1.4 VERBS OF MOTION

As in English, Dutch has a large number of verbs involving some sort of MOTION such as lopen (walk); komen (come); zetten (put); volgen (follow); dragen (carry); gooien (throw); and vallen (fall). These verbs can be divided into two broad categories: (i) those that involve a person/thing undergoing motion, and (ii) those where an agent causes the person/thing to undergo the motion. The first type is intransitive, the second transitive, and both have an optional locus. These two types can be further categorised into six sub-types as follows:

**TYPE I**
- MOTION-A mode of motion verbs
- MOTION-B motion in relation to a specific locus

**TYPE II**
- MOTION-C caused motion
- MOTION-D motion relative to moving entities
- MOTION-E speed of motion
- MOTION-F beginning motion

MOTION-A verbs denote the mode of motion. They are essentially intransitive and may take an optional locus. They take hebben (have) in forming the perfective. Included in this sub-type are:

- lopen (walk); rennen (run); kruipen (crawl); klimmen (climb); sluipen (slink); klanteren (scramble, clamber); springen (jump); glijden (slide); spinnen (spin); zwaaïen (sway); slingeren (swing); schudden (shake); duiken (dive, plunge); wandelen (stroll); sleuteren (saunter); draven (trot); galoppen (gallop); dansen (dance); marcheren (march); zwemmen (swim); vliegen (fly); trippelen (trip along); wankelen (totter, stagger); storten (plunge down).
Like English MOTION-A verbs, which can be used transitively to give a CAUSATIVE reading, the Dutch verb lopen (walk) can also be used in this way as in 7 below:

7. hij loopt de hond iedere morgen
   he walks the dog every morning

However this does not seem to be productive in Dutch and lopen (walk) is possibly the only MOTION-A verb that can be used in this way. Sentences such as 8 are not permitted:

8. *hij galopt het paard iedere morgen
   he gallops the horse every morning

As MOTION-A verbs are transitive they cannot be used in promotion to subject constructions and none can be used with a tensed complement. However, lopen (walk) can be used as a secondary verb in that it can take an infinitive complement:

9. Eric zal weer de hele dag lopen (te) mapper- en
   Eric shall again the whole day walk to grumble INF
   Eric will again walk around all day grumbling

MOTION-B verbs involve motion in relation to a specific locus, ie they involve a change from one position or state to another. The perfective is formed with zijn (to be), not hebben (to have) and they are intransitive. The two most common of these are gaan (go) and komen (come) which can also be used to modify the meaning of other verbs (ie function as secondary verbs). For example in sentences such as the following:
10. ik ga et-en
   I go eat INF
   I am going to eat

11. Jan komt et-en
    John comes eat INF
    John is coming to eat

Both gaan and komen are also bases of a large number of compound verbs, which as we will see in Chapter 6 are also appropriately classified as MOTION-B verbs. Such compound verbs cannot be used as secondary verbs. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>komen</th>
<th>gaan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aankomen (arrive)</td>
<td>weggaan (depart)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inkomen (enter)</td>
<td>uitgaan (go out, exit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tegenkomen (meet)</td>
<td>ingaan (enter, go in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terugkomen (come back)</td>
<td>teruggaan (go back)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binnenkomen (come in)</td>
<td>megaan (accompany)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other MOTION-B verbs include:

vluchten (flee); arriveren (arrive); rijzen (travel); rijken (reach); dalen (land); vallen (fall).

These verbs cannot be used in promotion to subject constructions and cannot take complement clauses.

MOTION-C verbs, as in English, involve the additional notion of causation where an agent, usually human, causes something to move in reference to a specific locus in the form of an adverbial or prepositional phrase. Motion-C verbs take hebben (to have) in the perfective and are transitive.

Examples are:
We argue below that the Dutch counterparts of the English MOTION-E and MOTION-F verbs also belong here.

MOTION-D verbs involve motion in relation to someone/thing that is moving, ie both the subject of the sentence is moving and so is the object. These verbs are transitive and take hebben (to have) in the perfective. As we have noted, Dutch verbs involving changes in position or a state take zijn (be). The fact that MOTION-D verbs do not take zijn (be) can be explained in that the two NPs associated with these verbs, while both in motion, are moving at the same rate, ie there is no change relative to each other. The fact that these verbs form the perfective differently provides an additional reason for differentiating this sub-type from MOTION-B verbs.

MOTION-D verbs may include an optional locus. Examples are:

- volgen (follow); sporen (track); leiden (lead);
- jagen (hunt).

SPA English MOTION-E verbs (eg carry; bear and transport) and MOTION-F verbs (eg throw; chuck and fling) also involve causing something to be in motion and for Dutch at least can be conflated and incorporated into the MOTION-C sub-type (ie the semantic distinction exists but there is no need for
postulating distinct sub-types on semantic grounds). The single category is justified for Dutch on the grounds that all these verbs involve the causation of motion, they are all transitive with the moving role mapped onto the 0 function. They all take hebben (to have) in the perfective. Thus Dutch verbs such as the following also belong to the MOTION C sub-type:

- dragen (carry);
- sjouwen (carry with difficulty);
- transporteren (transport);
- gooien (throw);
- smijten (chuck);
- werpen (cast, fling);
- slingeren (hurl);
- spuiten (spurt);
- sproeien (squirt, spray);
- trekken (pull);
- rukken (tug, pull).

SPA proposes a DROP sub-type for English verbs of "unwanted motion" for such words as drop, fall, slip, and trip. This is not needed for Dutch. There is no lexical equivalent in Dutch to the English transitive drop (as in: he dropped the ball). Dutch uses laten vallen (let fall). The nearest equivalent to the English intransitive drop is vallen (fall) which in Dutch is essentially a mode of motion, ie it belongs to the MOTION-A sub-type.

Two further categories of motion verbs are needed. MOTION-E verbs refer to the rate of motion and include such verbs as:

- haasten (hurry);
- spoeden (speed);
- treuzelen (dawdle);
- talmen (dawdle);
- aarzelen (hesitate);
- beuzelen (dawdle);

MOTION-F verbs involve beginning motion. Unlike English, where these verbs can take complement clauses, with one exception, these verbs cannot take complement clauses in
Dutch. The exception is *beginnen* (begin) which can function as a secondary verb (i.e., take an infinitive complement) eg

12. hij begint te lopen  
he begins to walk  
he begins walking

Other MOTION-F verbs are:

*starten* (start); *stichten* (found); *vestigen* (establish).

1.5 VERBS OF REST

Corresponding to the six Dutch MOTION sub-types there are 6 REST sub-types as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE I</th>
<th>TYPE II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>REST-A</td>
<td>REST-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mode of rest</td>
<td>caused rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REST-B</td>
<td>REST-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rest in relation to a specific locus</td>
<td>rest in relation to other things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REST-E</td>
<td>REST-F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>type of rest</td>
<td>coming to rest</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TYPE I rest verbs involve a person/thing being at rest and are basically intransitive while TYPE II introduce a causer with the causer always mapped onto A, the person/thing at rest being mapped onto O. Both types have an optional locus.

REST-A verbs denote the mode of rest. The three most common Dutch verbs denoting mode of rest: *zitten* (sit); *staan* (stand); and *liggen* (lie down), can take infinitive complements and thus also function as secondary verbs in the framework used here. The physical position of an agent,
(whether lying, sitting or standing) while performing the action depicted by a verb seems to have very high salience in Dutch. Rather than having sentences such as: Jan slaapt (John is asleep); Piet kletst (Pete is waffling on); or Harry leest (Harry is reading); the following are preferred, especially in conversational Dutch:

13. Jan ligt te slap-en
   John lay PRES to sleep INF
   John is lying down sleeping

14. Piet staat te klets-en
   Pete stand PRES to rave INF
   Pete is standing (there) raving

15. Harry zit te lez-en
   Harry sit PRES to read INF
   Harry is sitting reading

Donaldson (1987) points out that, in the absence of a morphological device to express the continuous aspect, Dutch uses zitten, staan, liggen or lopen for this purpose. ANS makes the point that the meaning of these verbs is "weakened" (verzwakt) to mean "be busy with" (bezid zijn met), and that in some contexts they can be used interchangeably (p 538). Some linguists (eg Moskey, 1979) also classify them as copulas. In some contexts they give a pejorative meaning.

It should also be noted that liggen (lay); zitten (sit); and staan (stand) take an infinitive with te (to) in contrast to the secondary verbs gaan (go) and komen (come), which are primarily MOTION-B verbs and which take te-less infinitives.
We will look at this in detail when considering verbs that can also function as secondary verbs (Chapter 5). It should also be noted at this stage that Dutch REST-A verbs, like Dutch MOTION-A verbs, can generally not be used transitively. However, zitten, liggen and staan, as in English, give a causative reading when used with an object, eg

16. hij zat/lag/ stond het kind op tafel
he sat/laid/stood the child on table
he sat/laid/stood the child on the table

Other REST-A verbs include:

- knielen (kneel)
- rusten (rest)
- drijven (float)
- bukken (crouch)
- leunen (lean)
- hangen (hang)
- hellen (incline).

REST-B verbs involve rest in relation to a specific locus and are intransitive. Again, the most common one, blijven (stay) can be used as a secondary verb as in:

17. hij blijft zitten lezen
he stayed sitting reading

Examples of Rest-B verbs are:

- wonen (to live at a place, dwell)
- resideren (reside)
- zetelen (settle)
- logeren (lodge)
- overnachten (stay overnight).

REST-C verbs involve causing something to be at rest in relation to a specific focus. These verbs are transitive with the causer (usually human) and the locus specified. As with MOTION-C sub-type, the equivalent of Dixon’s English
REST-E and REST-F verbs can be incorporated into this sub-type. Thus the following are also REST-C verbs:

- *zetten* (put); *leggen* (lay); *stellen* (place);
- *plaatsen* (place); *schikken* (arrange, settle);
- *kapseizen* (capsize).

Compound verbs such as *dichtdoen* (close) and *omslaan* (overturn) also belong here.

REST-D verbs in English describe the relative position of two things and include such verbs as *contain*, *enclose*, *encircle*, *adjoin*, and *surround*. Dutch verbs corresponding to these are all compounds, for example:

- *bevatten* (contain); *gevangenemen* (imprison);
- *insluiten* (enclose); *omgeven* (surround); *omheinen* (fence in); *omringen* (encircle); *omvatten* (encompass); *samenhangen* (be connected); *vervullen* (fulfil); *verzamelen* (gather together)

REST-E verbs are a small sub-type that, like REST-A verbs, involve mode of rest but, unlike them, are essentially transitive. REST-A verbs typically involve the whole body, but REST-E verbs involve only a part of the body especially the hands, sometimes the feet and, for animals, the teeth and mouth. Examples are:

- *houden* (hold); *pakken* (grab); *grijpen* (grasp);

and compounds such as:

- *aanhouden* (hold onto); *aapakken* (grab hold);
- *vasthouden* (hold fast);
REST-F verbs contrast with their MOTION-F counterparts and involve coming to rest or keeping at rest. Most cannot take tensed complements or infinitive complements, but there are exceptions and these are marked B and S respectively in the examples below. Many of these verbs are compounds whose verbal constituents belong to other verb types. Examples are:

afbreken (break off, stop); afmaken (B, finish complete); afsluiten (close off); beëindigen (B, finish, conclude); belemmeren (hinder); beletten (prevent); beperken (limit); blussen (extinguish); doven (extinguish); eindigen (end); hinderen (hinder); onderbreken (interrupt); opgeven (B, give up, stop); opouderen (hold up, stop); remmen (brake); sluiten (shut); staken (strike); stoppen (stop); toegaan (shut).

1.6 AFFECT Verbs

AFFECT verbs typically involve three semantic roles: an agent, an entity that is manipulated and which following SPA we call manip, and a target. The prototypical AFFECT verb occurs in sentences of the form in 18 below, but both the manip or target or both roles can be omitted if they are clear or unnecessary from the context as in 19, 20, and 21.

18. Jan sloeg de man met een stok
    John hit the man with a stick

19. Jan sloeg met een stok
    John hit with a stick

20. Jan sloeg de man
    John hit the man

21. Jan sloeg (hard)
    John hit (hard)
Dutch does not allow sentences equivalent to such English sentences as *The stick hit the man (when John swung it)*, and uses a passive construction as in 22 below when there is no need to focus on the agent. Agentless passives are very common in Dutch (Kirsner, 1976), and all AFFECT verbs can occur in agented and agentless passive constructions.

22. de man was met een stok ge-slagen
   the man was with a stick PP hit
   the man was hit with a stick

When the target is inanimate, some verbs will allow a prepositional phrase to be used as in 23 and 24 below. We use this fact as an additional criterion for differentiating between Dutch AFFECT verbs.

23. Jan sloeg (op) de tafel met een stok
    John hit on the table with a stick
    John hit the table with a stick

24. Jan schopte (tegen) de deur met zijn nieuwe schoenen
    John kicked against the door with his new shoes
    John kicked the door with his new shoes

This property of Dutch has an almost identical counterpart in English which also allows a preposition to be inserted between the verb and the object NP. Dixon argues that in English this marks a "deviation from an ideal transitive event." Thus the canonically transitive sentence (i) *he kicked the ball* can be contrasted with the sentence (ii) *he kicked at the ball* where the difference is that in (i) he succeeded in kicking the ball, but in (ii) failed to kick it properly or even make contact with the ball. An important fact not mentioned by Dixon is that the inclusion of a
preposition implies volition. Thus one can say he kicked the ball accidentally, but hardly he kicked at the ball accidentally. Dixon gives a small number of verbs that can occur with a preposition in this way eg hit, rub, tear, pull, bite and smell and a few others.

For Dutch, as we shall see, the number of verbs that allow a preposition to be inserted is much more numerous, and many AFFECT verbs seem more felicitous with a preposition than without. There is no reading that the action is somehow ineffective and the volitional nature of these verbs is very strong.

Dixon also draws attention to the converse of this phenomenon where a small group of English verbs (generally intransitive MOTION/REST verbs) that canonically occur with a preposition, but can delete the preposition to signify a degree of success. Examples are:

he jumped (over) the dog
he swam (across) the river
he climbed (up) the mountain
he walked (over) the course

Dixon points out that these sentences when used without a preposition are more transitive and this accounts for the reading that the achievement was more significant or successful than the sentences where the preposition is retained. Thus one could say that for English, syntactic transitivity reflects higher semantic transitivity.
Again, while Dutch allows prepositions following intransitive MOTION/REST verbs to be dropped in certain contexts, there is no reading to the effect that the action was more successful.

Returning now to AFFECT verbs, we define AFFECT-A verbs as those that bring manip into contact with the target. The target can only be mapped onto 0 and a prepositional phrase such as that in 23 is not possible for lexical verbs and those compound verbs formed with a verbal prefix. There are over 100 AFFECT-A verbs in the data. Examples are:

baden (bathe); dekken (cover); buigen (bend);
kleuren (colour); lengen (lengthen); mengen (mix);
pellen (peel); schilderen (paint); wassen (wash).

AFFECT-B verbs affect the target in a more significant way and do allow the target to be mapped onto a prepositional phrase. There are over thirty of these in the data. Examples are, again excluding compound verbs with a preposition as one of its constituents:

bijten (bite); kerven (carve); kloppen (knock);
slaan (hit); stoten (bump); wrijven (rub)

The AFFECT-B verb slaan (hit) can also be used as a secondary verb in the context of a phrasal verb such as aan het muieten slaan (to mutiny- literally: to hit at mutinying)
where muiten (mutiny) is an infinitive form of an
intransitive verb.

25. De matrozen sloegen aan het muit-en
the sailors hit at the mutiny INF
the sailors mutinied (ANS 592)

We will deal more with verbs that can take "aan het + INF"
in our discussion on infinitive complements (Chapter 4). In
the meantime it should be noted that this usage of the verb
slaan is quite productive: eg

at the eat INF drink INF play INF hit INF
to start eating/drinking/playing

It should also be noted that AFFECT-A verbs can also be used
with a prepositional phrase as in 27 below, but then the PP
is a locus alone, the target is not specified, ie it is
something else and certainly not the table being polished.

27. Jan poetst op tafel iedere dag
John polishes on table every day
John polishes at the table every day

AFFECT-C verbs involve changing the shape/state of the
target substantially and even destroying it. The target
cannot be mapped onto a prepositional phrase. There are 28
of these in the data and examples are:

barsten (burst); breken (break); onthoofden
(benead); slachten (slaughter); slijten (wear);
vernielen (ruin).

Many AFFECT verbs are compound verbs which will be discussed
in Chapter 6. It can be noted here that certain verbal
prefixes eg be- or ver- have the effect of making intransitive verbs transitive. Thus dampen (steam); branden (burn); zengen (singe); vriezen (freeze) are intransitive verbs that usually take impersonal subjects and, as we shall see, behave as weather verbs. By the addition of a verbal prefix they become AFFECT verbs. Other examples are:

bevriezen (freeze); verhitten (heat); verbranden (burn); verzengen (scorch); uitstrekken (stretch, extend); samendrukken (compress, lit. push together); oprollen (coil, lit. roll up); verdampen (evaporate); oplossen (dissolve).

AFFECT-D verbs are those involving manufacturing and cooking. These verbs behave very much like AFFECT-C verbs in that the manip is almost always not stated. They differ from USING verbs (discussed in 1.12) in that manip has high salience and is mapped onto O while the target is embedded in an infinitive complement. For example:

28. de man gebruikde een schop om het gat te graven
the man used a shovel to dig the hole

Examples of manufacturing and cooking verbs are:

bouwen (build); vormen (form); binden (tie); knopen (tie a knot); naaien (sew); breien (knit); haken (crochet); brocheren (stitch, embroider); stoppen (darn); koken (cook); bakken (bake); braden (roast).

Many of these verbs also behave like verbs of GIVING in sentences such as the following where instead of a manip role, there is a recipient role:
29. Jan maakte/ bouwde Marina een huis
   John made/ built Marina a house

30. Piet kookte Mariane een pragtig dine
    Pete cooked Mariane a beautiful meal

and like verbs of GIVING, the semantic focus can be on the recipient as above, or the gift as in:

31. Jan bouwde/maakte een huis voor Marina
    John built/made a house for Marina

32. Piet kookte een pragtig dine voor Mariane
    Pete cooked a beautiful meal for Mariane

However, unlike verbs of GIVING, the recipient role is optional for these verbs.

AFFECT-E involve MAKING and are the converse of AFFECT-C verbs which involve BREAKING. It could be argued AFFECT C and E should be combined, but we have not done this because MAKING verbs (AFFECT-E) have some different properties to their BREAKING (AFFECT-C) counterparts. Many are compounds based on the verb maken (make) or the prefix ver- (We discuss compound verbs in more detail in Chapter 6).

AFFECT-E verbs are essentially primary verbs that have one independent role, what SPA calls a "causer", but can have other associated roles. The causer can be animate or inanimate:

33. hij maakt een huis uit papier
    he makes a house out paper
    he is making a paper house
34. deze schoenen maken mijn voeten zeer
    these shoes make my feet sore

Two verbs from this sub-type, maken (make) and dwingen
    (force, compel) can function as secondary verbs, but only
with aan het for maken and om/dat/wat/ for dwingen:

35. hij maakt mij aan het lachen
    he makes me at the laughing
    he makes me laugh

36. hij was gedwongen dat/wat te zeggen
    he was forced that/what to say
    he was forced to say that/something

AFFECT-E verbs cannot be used with tensed complements.
Examples are (including several compounds):

    dwingen (force); hervormen (reform/amend); maken
    (make); schoonmaken (clean); verdelen (improve);
    vereenvoudigen (simplify); vereenzamen (become
    lonely); vereeuwigen (immortalise); verkleinen
    (reduce/diminish)

1.7 Verbs of GIVING

As in English, Dutch verbs of giving involve three semantic
roles: a donor, a gift and a recipient, and occur with two
basic construction types:

TYPE 1

37a. Jan geeft Pieter een boek
    John gives Peter a book

38a. Marti schenkt Kees een borrel
    Marti pours Kees a drink

39a. Piet huurt Jan een huis
    Pete rents John a house
    Pete rents a house to John

or
TYPE 2

37b. Jan geeft een boek aan Pieter
John gives a book to Peter

38b Marti schenkt een borrel voor Kees
Marti pours a drink for Kees

39b. Piet huurt een huis aan/voor/van/ met Jan
Pete rents a house to/ for/ from/ with John

Thus Dutch also has the so-called dative-shift, and as in English, the difference between type 1 and type 2 is that the semantic focus in type 1 is on the recipient (ie it was Pieter that received the book, not Paul) and this is the marked form. Sentences as in type 2 are unmarked and the focus is on the NP in the O slot, not the peripheral NP (ie it was a book that Pieter received, not a watch).

GIVING-A verbs are those that can occur in both Type 1 and 2 sentences, while GIVING-B verbs can only occur in unmarked sentences such as type 2, ie these verbs are allocated to their respective sub-types on the basis of their syntactic properties only. There appears to be no clear semantic basis for differentiating between these sub-types, however, there is a tendency for lexical verbs to belong to sub-type A and compound verbs to belong to sub-type B. Examples are:

GIVING-A:
geven (give); gunnen (grant); kopen (buy); opofferen (offer up); presenteren (present); schenken (pour a drink); verkopen (sell); lenen (lend); verlenen (grant); huuren (hire); betalen (pay); voeren (feed); belonen (reward).
GIVING-B

aanbieden (offer); afschaffen (abolish); bedienen (attend to/wait); begeven (give/bestow); belonen (reward); betalen (pay); opdragen (serve); overhandigen (hand over/deliver); uitkering (pay out); verdienen (earn); verlenen (grant/bestow) (Plus some 30 others).

GIVING-C verbs are the converse of GIVING A and B in that they involve RECEIVING. That is, the recipient role is mapped onto A and the donor is optionally mapped onto a peripheral NP whose preposition (usually van = from) cannot be dropped, ie they take the type 2 form only. Examples are:

aannemen (accept/receive); aanvarden (accept/assume); accepteren (accept); behalen (obtain); krijgen (get/receive); ontvangen (receive); verkrijgen (obtain/acquire);

GIVING-D verbs involve an exchange of something from one person to another. Examples are:

afwisselen (alternate); inruilen (exchange for); inwisselen (change/exchange for); omwisselen (swap over); ruilen (swap); verwisselen (exchange for); wijzigen (change/alter); wisselen (exchange).

Two GIVING verbs, geven (give) and krijgen (get) can function as secondary verbs:

40. Jan geeft de man te eten
    John gives the man to eat
    John gives the man (something) to eat

41. we krijgen een Turks gezin naast ons wonen
    we get a Turkish family next us live
    a Turkish family is coming to live next to us
1.8 CORPOREAL VERBS

Dutch CORPOREAL verbs, like their English counterparts deal with bodily functions and gestures. They cannot take complement clauses and usually take human subjects, but there are some appropriate to animals, eg vreten (eat, by animals) which can be used in a pejorative sense to refer to eating by humans. There are three sub-types for Dutch.

CORPOREAL-A verbs are those which can optionally take an NP in the O function and involve bodily actions that are essentially voluntary. For example:

- eten (eat); drinken (drink); zuigen (suck); ruiken (smell); slikken (swallow); kauwen (chew); spugen (spit); spuwen (spit out); vormeren (vomit).

The verb vormeren (vomit), as in English probably involves an involuntary action:

41. de zieke man vormerde (bloed) iedere morgen
the sick man vomited (blood) every morning

CORPOREAL-B verbs are always intransitive. Dutch does not allow a cognate NP in the O function, ie one cannot dream a good dream in Dutch. These verbs generally involve involuntary actions. Examples are:

- lachen (laugh); huilen (cry, weep); glimlachen (smile); meesmeulen (smirk); hoesten (cough); sniezen (sneeze); slapen (sleep); gapen (yawn); snikken (sob); zweten (sweat); transpireren (perspire); plassen (pee); sterven (die); overlijden (die); flauwvallen (faint); knipperen (blink); knippen (wink); bibberen (shiver); trillen (trill); beven (tremble).
CORPOREAL-C verbs are a small group that denote social deference, respect or lack thereof. Examples are:

achtten (respect, esteem); begroeten (greet/salute);
eren (honour); groeten (greet); onderwerpen (subject); verachten (scorn)

These verbs involve bodily actions which signal social status, and are not limited to mental states. They cannot be used with complement clauses. ANS gives one example of achtten used as a secondary verb in a rather obscure usage that informants had difficulty in understanding.

1.9 PRIMARY-A PERCEPTION VERBS

Primary-A perception verbs involve the physical ACT of perceiving rather than the MENTAL process involved in perception. They include such verbs as kijken (look) and luisteren (listen). These verbs differ in a number of ways from semantically related PRIMARY-B PERCEPTION verbs such as zien (see) and horen (hear). Dutch primary-A perception verbs are essentially intransitive and cannot take complement clauses (hence the primary-A label). By contrast, primary-B perception verbs are transitive and can take complement clauses (hence the primary-B label).

Primary-A perception verbs may or may not involve actually perceiving something. In English we can look but not see, and so it is in Dutch. The object of perception for primary-A perception verbs is optionally mapped onto an
oblique NP, while in the case of primary-B perception verbs it is optionally mapped onto O, eg

45. hij zag de vogel
    he saw the bird

46. hij keek op de vogel
    he looked at the bird

SPA categorises English phrasal verbs *look at, listen to* etc as primary-B verbs of the ATTENTION type. It could be argued that the corresponding Dutch compound verbs *aankijken* (look at) and *opluisteren* (listen to) should be categorised as Primary-B verbs because they allow infinitive complements such as:

47. Jan keek aan de jongens et-en
    John looked at the boys eat INF
    John looked at the boys eating

We reject this argument in some detail in Chapter 3 when we discuss infinitive complements functioning as oblique NPs. The essence of the argument is that compound verbs such as *aankijken* (look at) cannot take a full complement clause (ie a tensed complement).

PRIMARY-A PERCEPTION-A verbs are intransitive and involve volition. This sub-type cannot take impersonal subjects, ie Dutch does not allow the equivalent of such English sentences as: *the problem sounds/looks/appears difficult.*

Members of this subtype are:

*staren* (stare); *aankijken* (look at); *loeren* (peer);
*luisteren* (listen) *gluren* ( leer); *opleten* (watch out)
PRIMARY-A PERCEPTION-B verbs are transitive verbs that involve acts of perception but cannot take complement clauses. Examples are:

zoek en (to look for); onderzoeken (to examine); bezoeken (visit); inspecteren (inspect); controleren (control/examine); doorzien (look over quickly); naslaan (consult/look up); herzien (review); overzien (look over).

Unlike PRIMARY-A PERCEPTION-A verbs, they cannot take infinitive clauses in an oblique function.

A number of verbs such as stinken (to give out a bad smell); smaaken (taste); ruiken (to give off a smell); voelen (feel); and klinken (to give out a sound) also belong here but differ from the rest of this sub-type in that they can also be used with impersonal subjects with the perceiver optionally mapped onto an oblique:

42. de viol klingt mooi (voor mij)
the violin sounds nice (for me)
the violin sounds nice to me

43. het vlees stinkt (voor Jan maar niet voor mij)
the meat stinks (for John but not for me)
the meat stinks according to John but not according to me

44. de bloemen ruiken lekker
the flowers smell nice

1.10 PRIMARY-A SPEAKING VERBS

These involve the act of speaking, but unlike PRIMARY-B SPEAKING verbs, cannot take tensed complements. They can be divided into further sub-types on the basis of their transitivity. Central to the intransitive sub-type are
praten (talk) and spreken (speak). It should be pointed out that SPA classifies the English counterparts to these verbs, (which are also intransitive and which cannot take complement clauses) as primary-B verbs. We avoid this inconsistency in this analysis by classifying these verbs as primary-A verbs. Other examples of intransitive PRIMARY A SPEAKING-A verbs are:

- corresponderen (correspond); schertsen (joke);
- spellen (spell); tellen (count); and vloeken (swear).

Transitive PRIMARY-A SPEAKING verbs are more common (there are 27 in the data) and many are compounds. Examples are:

- aanbidden (worship/adore); aanspreken (address);
- benoemen (nominate/appoint); bespotten (mock ridicule); danken (thank); flatteren (flatter);
- honen (jeer); lasteren (slander); nopen (induce);
- prijzen (praise); uitspreken (pronounce).

We designate these as primary-B speaking-B verbs.

1.11 PRIMARY-A EMOTION VERBS

PRIMARY-A EMOTION verbs are verbs of EMOTION that cannot take tensed complements. They involve two roles: an experiencer of the emotional state and a stimulus causing that state. Like PRIMARY-A PERCEPTION and PRIMARY-A SPEAKING verbs there is a small intransitive sub-type and a larger transitive group. Examples of the intransitive (EMOTION A) group are:

- bedaren (calm down, allay); minnen (love); jubelen (exult, jubilate); kwijnen (languish, pine).
and the transitive group (EMOTION B):

amuseren (amuse); kalmeren (calm); kwel len (vex); lenigen (alleviate); ondergaan (undergo/suffer); troosten (comfort/console); lijden (suffer); beledigen (offend, hurt); aantrekken (take to heart); dulden (bear, tolerate); matigen (moderate/temper).

1.12 PRIMARY-A THINKING VERBS

PRIMARY-A THINKING verbs differ from PRIMARY-B THINKING verbs in that the former cannot take a tensed complement while the latter can (the difference is discussed in detail in Chapter 3). Central to the type is kennen (know). Other examples are:

herkennen (recognise); constateren (establish/diagnose); geringschatten (have a low opinion of); studeren (study).

1.13 PRIMARY-A TRYING VERBS

These verbs are a small group related to the verbs of TRYING which are SECONDARY verbs in Dutch. These verbs cannot take tensed complements. Examples are:

beoefenen (practice, study); instuderen (practice); oefenen (practice); uitoefenen (try out).

1.14 IMPERSONAL VERBS

Impersonal verbs have no associated semantic roles. Dutch has two groups of impersonal verbs: WEATHER verbs and EVENT verbs. This latter group all take complements and will be considered in detail in Chapter 3. Dutch weather verbs are
all derived from nouns as part of one of the productive processes for forming verbs considered in Chapter 6.

Examples are:

regenen (rain); bliksemen (lightning); donderen (thunder); dooien (thaw); hagelen (hail); misten (mist); onweren (thunder storm); schemeren (twilight); sneewen (snow); ijzelen (ice); stormen (storm); tochten (draught).

Although some of these verbs have been glossed as nouns in English, they are fully functioning verbs in Dutch with potentially the complete range of tense/aspect/mood variations. They require no semantic roles and take het (it) as a dummy subject. In the absence of a verbal affix, Dutch uses aan het (at the) to signal progressive aspect, eg:

49. Het is aan het regen-en
   it is at the rain INF
   It is raining

1.15 COMPETITION VERBS

Dutch competition verbs, like their English counterparts involve two human participants sometimes in some reciprocal relation and sometimes with one showing superiority over the other.

COMPETITION-A verbs involve no superiority. Examples are:

vechten (fight); spelen (play); worstelen (wrestle); boksen (box); concurreren (compete); bestrijden (fight against); karten (play cards).
With these verbs, one participant is mapped onto S and the other onto an oblique as in:

50. Jan spelde/bokste/vocht met Pieter
    John played/boxed/ fought with Peter

or they can be used in reciprocal constructions such as:

51. de jongens spelden/boksten/vochten met elkaar
    the boys played/ boxed/ fought with each other

COMPETITION-B verbs involve one participant being superior to the other and are also essentially intransitive. Except for winnen (win), they are all compound verbs. Examples are:

winnen (win); verliezen (lose, there is no verb liezen); verbeuren (forfeit, beuren = lift); verspelen (lose; spelen = play); overgeven (surrender, geven = give) opgeven; (give up)

The superior/inferior participant is mapped onto S and the other onto an oblique as in:

52. Jan won/veliezde tegen Piet
    John won/lost against Pete

Both COMPETITION-A verbs and COMPETITION-B verbs can take an inanimate NP, preferably a cognate to the verb in the O function:

53. Jan speelde (het spelletje/monopoly) met Piet
    John played (the game/ monopoly) with Pete

COMPETITION-C verbs involve two roles where one protects or watches over the other. Examples are:
behoeden (guard); beschermen (protect); beveiligen (shelter); bewaken (guard); bezorgen (look after); hoeden (guard); waken (watch over); verplegen (nurse); verdedigen (defend, there is no verb dedigen).

1.16 SOCIAL INTERACTION VERBS

Within the SPA framework SOCIAL INTERACTION verbs (which it calls "Social Contract" verbs) relate to the way human societies are organised. They are verbs associated with the institutionalised activities of government, business, religion, the law and other institutions. For English they include such verbs as appoint, elect, baptise, sack, dismiss, excommunicate, govern, manage and organise. Dutch has a large number of these verbs (over 50 in our data) that naturally fall into two sub-groups: transitive and intransitive. Transitive examples (SOCIAL INTER-A verbs) include:

bannen (ban); bedrijven (commit/perpetrate); behersen (control/rule); dopen (baptise); heersen (rule); handelen (trade); herkiezen (re-elect); huwen (marry); promoveren (graduate)

Many of these verbs are commonly used in agentless passive constructions as in:

53. Piet wordt bevorderd/geslagen/omgekeerd/ onslagen Pete was promoted/ passed exam/converted/sacked Pete passed/ was promoted/converted/sacked

Intransitive examples (SOCIAL INTER-B verbs) include:

afstammen (descend from); overwerken (work overtime); profiteren (profit); stemmen (vote); verjaren (celebrate a birthday)
1.17 VERBS OF USING

Central to this group are the verbs *gebruiken* (use); *misbruiken* (misuse); and *verbruiken* (use up/consume). The verbs in this group are transitive and can be used with a wide range of NPs in the O relation. One verb belonging to this sub-type, *dienen* (serve), can function as a secondary verb but only for a specialised meaning which can be glossed as "must" or "ought":

54. ze heeft het goed gedaan dat dient gezecht
she has it good done that must said PP
she has done it well, that must be said.

55. bezoekers dienen zich te melden bij de portier
visitors must theselves to report by the porter
visitors must report to the porter.

1.18 ACTING VERBS

ACTING verbs involve one role, usually human, and refer to the manner of behaving. They are essentially primary-A verbs although a small number of them can take complement clauses (marked "B"). Included in this sub-type are:

*aanstellen* (B, pose/feign); *gedragen* (behave);
*kwijten* (acquit oneself); *huichelen* (simulate);
*imiteren* (imitate); *veinzen* (B, feign); *voorwezen* (pretend); *voorwenden* (B, feign/pretend).

1.19 VERBS OF COMPARING

Dutch verbs of COMPARING are all transitive, but cannot take complement clauses. There are about twenty (mostly compound verbs) in the data. A few are phrasal verbs. Examples include:
1.20 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have proposed a classification for Dutch Primary-A verbs and posited the following categories:

1. Verbs of MOTION
2. Verbs of REST
3. AFFECT verbs
4. Verbs of GIVING
5. CORPOREAL Verbs
6. Primary-A PERCEPTION Verbs
7. Primary-A SPEAKING Verbs
8. Primary-A EMOTION Verbs
9. Primary-A THINKING Verbs
10. Primary-A TRYING Verbs
11. IMPERSONAL Verbs
12. COMPETITION Verbs
13. SOCIAL INTERACTION Verbs
14. USING verbs
15. ACTING verbs
16. Verbs of COMPARING

We have shown that Primary-A verbs do not form a single well defined category, but include a number of verbs that can take complement clauses, either tensed complements or infinitive complements. There is no apparent semantic basis for predicting which primary-A verbs can take complement clauses.
2.1 DEFINITION

In this study, a complement clause is defined as a clause that functions as a core argument of a predicate.

The notion of a linguistic complement, like complement in general, refers to a residual element. As Lyons puts it:

"a definition of $x$ is all $z$ that is not $y$, and this implies that the residue or complement of $y$ in $z$ will be a mixed bag of unrelated topics."

Huddelston (1984) defines a linguistic complement as:

"word or words used to complete a grammatical construction, especially in the predicate as an object (ie man in "he saw the man") or predicate noun (ie John in "his name is John")"

According to Huddelston complements are prototypically NPs in the O slot, but they can be extended to S or A as well. He claims that all languages have NP complements, and some allow whole sentences to be complements. It is this latter group we are concerned with in this study.

In the literature, complement clauses are also referred to as "noun clauses" (Huddelston 1984); "predicate complements" (Rosenbaum, 1967); "sentential complements" (Noonan 1985); or just plain "complements" (Ramson, 1986). SPA uses "complement clauses" which is the terminology we will use here. At a conceptual level, complement clauses function somewhat like nouns, in contrast to relative clauses that
play somewhat similar roles to adjectives and adverbial clauses that correspond with adverbs.

In traditional Dutch grammars examples of complement clauses are scattered through sections dealing with subordinate clauses in general and usually no distinction is drawn between these and relative and adverbial clauses. In Dutch, as in English, complement clause formation is not a unitary process and has features in common with other subordinate clause construction types.

ANS uses the concept of "verbal complement" ("verbaal complement") to refer to the infinitive(s) or past participle that can follow a secondary verb (auxiliary verb in ANS terminology). We call such infinitives "infinitive complements" in contrast to complement clauses which can take a full range of tenses and which we call "tensed complements". In the following examples (drawn from ANS) the verbal complements (underlined) are participles in 1 and 2, infinitive complements in 3, 4 and 7. In sentences 5 and 6 the verbal complement is a prepositional phrase:

1. Past participle:

   ze heeft de hele dag ge-werkt
   she has the whole day PP work
   she has worked the whole day

2. Passive participle:

   dat word wordt anders uit-ge-sproken
   that word becomes other out PP speak
   that word is pronounced differently
3. Infinitive with "te" (to):

Nora probeerde de knoop te onttren
Nora tried the knot to untie INF
Nora tried to untie the knot

4. Infinitive without "te" (to)

Pieter wil een boek schrijven
Peter wants a book write INF
Peter wants to write a book

5. Infinitive with "aan het" (at the)

de kinderen zijn buiten aan het spelen
the children are outside at the play INF
the children are playing outside

6. Infinitive with a preposition (other than "te" to)

Vader is uit visser
father is out fish INF
father is out fishing

7. A combination of these:

Hij schijnt tot voorzitter gekozen te willen te worden
he seems to chairman choose INF to want INF become INF
to be chosen as chairman

Verbal complements involving participles (sentences 1 and 2) are outside the scope of this study, while infinitive complements (sentences 3, 4 and 7) are considered in detail in Chapter 4. Verbal complements involving prepositional phrases with an infinitive (sentences 5 and 6), while not strictly complement clauses, have many characteristics in common with infinitive complements and will also be considered in Chapter 4. We now go on in this section to consider full complement clauses or what we have earlier called tensed complements.
2.2 DISCOVERY PROCEDURE

We followed Noonan's (1985) discovery procedure for complement clauses by searching published grammars for examples and supplementing these with personal knowledge of the language. Examples of each type of complement-taking predicate using Noonan's framework are listed below. This framework has been used in order to obtain as far as practical, an exhaustive list of complement types for Dutch. The headings Noonan uses are not part of the theoretical framework we are following here but are included to illustrate the basis of the search to find all complement clause types occurring in the language. In each case the complement is underlined.

1. Utterance predicate

8(a) hij zei dat hij zou komen
he said that he would come (DRG 183)

8(b) hij zei haar de rommel op te ruim-en
he said her the rubbish up to tidy INF
he told her to tidy up the rubbish

2. Propositional attitude predicate

9(a) ik weet niet wanneer hij thuis-komt
I know not when he home comes
I don't know when he will come home (DRG184)

9(b) hij wist zich altijd wel te redd- en
he knew himself always well to manage INF
he always knows how to manage

10. maar je (be)-grijpt niet wat ik bedoel
but you (BE) grasp not what I mean
but you don't understand what I mean
11. of hij hier komt is mij onbekend
   if he here comes is me unknown
   if he will come here is not known to me

3. Pretence predicate

Pretence predicates in Noonan's terminology involve propositions embodied in the complement clause which are not in the real world. They involve notions like pretend, fool or trick, make believe and other hypothetical propositions. Dutch has lexical verbs such as bedreigen (trick) and phrasal verbs voor de gek houden (fool) that we have designated ACTING verbs. These cannot take complement clauses, and it is likely that there are no complement taking verbs corresponding to Noonan's "pretence" category. Dutch uses modals to handle hypothetical events (see group 9 below) and there are no formal syntactic realis/irrealis distinctions.

4. Commentative predicates (factives)

12(a) het is belangrijk dat Jan komt
    it is important that John comes
    it is important that John comes

(b) Dat Jan komt is belangrijk
    that John comes is important

5. Knowledge predicates:

13. ik zag Jan vertrekken
    I saw John leave
    I saw John leaving

14. ik weet dat Jan vertrok
    I know that John left
6. Predicates of fearing:

15. Jan was bang om buiten te gaan
   John was afraid PUR outside to go INF
   John was frightened to go outside

16. Jan was bang dat iemand zou komen
   John was afraid that someone should come
   John was frightened that someone would come

17. Het is stom (om) een oude auto te kopen
   it is silly (PUR) an old car to buy
   It is silly to buy an old car

7. Desiderative predicates

18. Marian wou dat Jan zou komen
    Marian wanted that John would come
    Marian wanted John to come

19. Piet wou ook kom-en
    Pete wanted also come INF
    Pete also wanted to come

20(a) Marian hoopt dat Jan zou gauw kom-en
    Marian hopes that John would soon come INF
    Marian hopes that John would come soon

   (b) Marian hoopt te kom-en
    Marian hopes to come INF

8. Manipulative predicates:

21. Marina laat Jan kom-en
    Marina lets John come INF
    Marina lets John come

9. Modal predicates:

22. Marina zou/kan/zal/mag/moet kom-en
    Marina would/can/will/may/must come INF

10. Achievement predicates:

23. Jan durfde/probeerde om de berg te klim-en
    John tried/dared PUR the mountain to climb INF
    John dared/ tried to climb the mountain
24. hij probeert (om) de deur zo snel mogelijk
de door as quickly possible
to close as quickly as possible

dicht te doen

closed to do

25. ik ben vergeten (om) te vragen
I forget to ask

26. Ze weigerde (om) mee te gaan (met ons)
she refused (PURP) to go INF (with us)

11. Immediate perception predicates:

27. Ik zag Jan die appel eten
I saw John that apple eat INF

28. Ik zag dat Jan die appel had gegeten
I saw that John that apple had PP eaten

12. Negative predicates:

No examples. Dutch uses a negative particle niet (not)
and a range of inherently negative quantifiers and
adverbs.

13. Conjunctive predicates:

No examples

All the situations in which Noonan suggests complement
clauses might be discovered have yielded only two types of
complement clause. First, an infinitive complement that can
either occur with "(om) te" (PURP to) as in sentences 9(b),
13, 17, 23, 24, 25, or 26, or only with "te" as in example
20(b), or without "te" as in such examples as 8(b), 19, 21,
or 22. The verbs in these clauses are all infinitives (ie not marked for tense/aspect/mood). Second, tensed complement clauses involving a complementiser and a verb with potentially the full range of tense/aspect/mood variation as in such examples as 8(a), 9(a), 10, or 11. Both types of clause can occur as subjects or objects of the verb in the head clause.

2.3 COMPLEMENTISERS

Dutch complementisers signal a clause is subordinate in addition to the specific meaning(s) associated with each complementiser. The main complementisers in Dutch with their nearest English equivalents are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dat</td>
<td>(that)</td>
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<tr>
<td>of</td>
<td>(if)</td>
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<tr>
<td>om</td>
<td>PURPOSE</td>
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<td>wat</td>
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<td>waar</td>
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Two important syntactic facts need to be noted in relation to Dutch complement clause contructions: first, complement clauses, as with all subordinate clauses require the subordinate verb to be placed last in the clause. This is the case whether the complement clause be in the S, A, or O syntactic relation. This requirement can be readily illustrated by the difference between direct and indirect speech constructions as in the sentences below. In 29, the
direct speech matches the actual words spoken. As in English, direct speech is signalled in spoken Dutch by a pause and intonation matching the real or imaginary rendition of the words, and in written Dutch by punctuation marks. The inflected verb (moet in 29 below) takes the "second" syntactic position in the sentence and the infinitive goes to the end:

29. Jan zei: "Frank moet aardappelen schill-en"
John said: Frank must peel potatoes

By contrast, indirect speech requires the addition of a complementiser and the inflected verb being placed at the end of the complement clause as in 30(b). In some dialects 30(a) is an optional variant.

30(a). Jan zei dat Frank aardappelen moest schill-en
John said that Frank must peel potatoes

(b). Jan zei dat Frank aardappelen schillen moest

The second fact concerns the change in tenses. In sentence 29, the main verb (zei) is past tense while the actual words when they were spoken were non-past (moet schillen). When the spoken words are embedded in a complement clause construction, the tense is changed to the past (moest schillen). This process is traditionally referred to as "sequence of tenses" and what Huddelston (1984) calls "backshifting" for English, where non-past in the head clause requires past in the subordinate clause, past in the
head clause requires the non-past perfective in the subordinate clause and non-past perfective in the head clause requires a past perfective in the subordinate clause. Also, as in English, where the direct speech is a question, an appropriate SPEAKING verb is selected and the question form of the direct speech is changed to a declarative form (with the verb at the end) and an appropriate complementiser is introduced, as for example in sentences 31 and 32:

31. Jan vroeg: "moet Frank aardappelen schill-en"
   John asked: must Frank potatoes peel INF
   John asked: "must Frank peel potatoes?"

32. Jan vroeg of Frank aardapelen moest schill-en
   John asked if Frank potatoes must peel INF
   John asked if Frank had to peel the potatoes

Where the direct speech is a command or a resolution, the modal moeten (must) and pronouns, time adverbials and other deictics need to be made congruent with the indirect speech situation as in 33 and 34:

33. Jan zei aan Frank: "aardapelen schill-en"
    John said to Frank: potatoes peel INF
    John said to Frank: "Peel the potatoes!"

34. Jan zei dat Frank aardapellen moest schill-en
    John said that Frank potatoes must peel INF
    John said that Frank must peel the potatoes

2.4 REDUCED SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

In addition to tensed complement clauses of the form described above, when the subject of a main verb is co-
referential with that of the subordinate clause, Dutch allows what some traditional grammars call a "reduced subordinate clause" ("beknopte bijzin"). Both time adverbial clauses and complement clauses with dat (that) can be "reduced". In the case of complement clauses, the subject of the subordinate clause is dropped along with the complementiser, dat, and the verb in the subordinate clause is replaced with an infinitive. For example, the tensed complement clause in 35 below:

34(a) Clara antwoorde me dat ze Franz niet kende
Clara answered me that she Frank not know
Clara answered me that she did not know Frank

can be reduced without apparent change in meaning to 34(b):

34(b) Clara antwoorde me Frans niet te kennen
Clara answered me Frank not to know
Clara answered me that she did not know Frank

Similarly with 35(a) and 35Cb) where the tensed complement involves a perfective:

35(a) Clara antwoorde me dat ze Franz niet gekend had
Clara answered me that she Frank not known had
Clara answered me that she had not known Frank

35(b) Clara antwoorde me Franz niet gekend te hebb-en
Clara answered me Frank not known to have INF
Clara answered me that she had not known Frank

Similarly with 36 and 37:

36. Piet verbeeldt zich dat hij een nieuwe Einstein is
Pete imagines himself that he a new Einstein is
Pete imagines himself to be a new Einstein

37. Piet verbeeldt zich een nieuwe Einstein te zijn
Pete imagines himself a new Einstein to be INF
Pete imagines himself to be a new Einstein
If a modal verb is included in the complement clause, the infinitive form of the modal is used or it can optionally be deleted:

38. Jan heeft beloofd dat hij die rommel op zou ruim-en
John has promised that he the mess up shall tidy INF
John has promised to tidy up the mess

39. Jan heeft belooft die rommel op te (zull-en) ruimen
John has promised the mess up to (FUT INF) tidy INF
John has promised to tidy up the mess

Although not directly relevant to this study, it is interesting to note that where the subordinate clause is a time adverbial clause with the time deictics such as nadat (after), voordat (before), these are dropped and replaced by na (after) and alvorens (before).

40. nadat we ge-geten hadden gingen we fiets-en
after we pp eat had 1pl go 1pl we cycle INF
after we had eaten we went cycling

41. na ge-geten te hebb-en gingen we fiets-en
after PP eat to have INF go 1pl we cycle INF
after we had eaten we went cycling

As might be expected, not all verbs that take tensed complements allow their complements to be reduced and we will examine which verbs allow reduction and which do not when we come to consider infinitive complement taking verbs (ie SPA secondary verbs) in Chapters 4 and 5.

2.5 THE SEMANTICS OF COMPLEMENTISERS

Traditional grammars of Dutch usually set up a closed syntactic class of words referred to as conjunctions (voegwoorden) which have the role of linking together two or
more linguistic elements such as sentences, clauses, phrases and words. In this section we are concerned with a very brief overview of the semantics of a subset of conjunctions, namely those conjunctions that introduce complement clauses and which we call complementisers. (A description of the full range of meanings of Dutch complementisers goes well beyond the scope of this study).

We have seen that there are 9 of these: dat (that); of (if); om (PUR); wat (what); waar (where); waarom (why); wanneer (when); wie (who); and hoe (how). The complementiser om (PUR) which we have been glossing as a purposive marker, has a wide variety of uses some of which we will come to later.

We have already seen that it can be used optionally with infinitive complements to give a meaning roughly equivalent to the English in order to.

ANS refers to dat (that), of (if) and om (PUR) as "grammatical conjunctions", and says that the first two are used to introduce subordinate clauses (which as we have seen include complement clauses) and om when accompanied by an infinitive with te (to) introduces a reduced subordinate clause.

Semantically dat denotes certainty in contrast to of which denotes uncertainty:
42. Piet wist niet dat/of Jan thuis was
Pete knew not dat/if John home was
Pete didn’t know that/if John was home

Unlike the English that, dat can never be deleted. In the sentence with dat, John was in fact at home, only Pete didn’t know it, but in the sentence with of, Pete didn’t know whether John was home or not. Minimal pairs like 42 are only possible with negative sentences, as of is not allowed in such sentences as 43.

43. Piet wist dat/ *of Jan thuis was
Pete knew that/of John home was
Pete knew that/*if John was home

The use of om is complex in Dutch and not very well understood. It is obligatory in sentence 44, optional in sentence 45 and prohibited in sentence 46:

44. het is een kind om te zoen-en
it is a child PUR to kiss INF
it’s a kissable child

45. zijn bedoeling was (om) een roman te schrijven-en
his intention was (PUR) a novel to write INF
his intention was to write a novel

46. hij verwacht (*om) te zullen-slaan-en
he expects (PUR) to FUT INF pas INF
he expects to pass

Examples such as this suggest that the use of om is mainly controlled by the predicate and we will look at this in the context of particular verbs as we proceed.

All verbs that can take a tensed complement can take a dat complementiser, however, the verbs that can take other
complementisers are rather more restricted and, as we will see, are generally limited to PRIMARY-B SPEAKING verbs. A number of Dutch verbs can only occur with other complementisers. For example, verbs involving BEGINNING or FINISHING can only take \textit{wat} (what):

47. hij beeindiged \underline{wat} hij aan het doen was  
he ended \underline{what} he at the do INF was  
his stopped what he was doing

Many verbs involving MAKING can only take \textit{wat} (what):

48. hij tekende \underline{wat} hij ge-zien heeft  
he drew \underline{what} he PP see has  
his drew what he saw

and a small number can only take \textit{waar} (where):

49. hij duiden \underline{waar} Jan naar school ging  
he pointed where John at school went  
his pointed out where John went to school

50. hij volgd \underline{waar} wij liepen  
he follows where we walked  
his walked where we walked

In each case, the clause underlined is an argument of a predicate, and therefore by definition, a complement clause. However, some linguists, for example Noonan (1985) consider these to be headless relative clauses even though they are technically complements. Noonan gives the example:

51. Wanda knows what Boris eats

Here there is no domain noun which is relativised, but the clause "what Boris eats" could be seen as a restriction of the class of edible things that Boris could possibly eat,
and thus, on semantic grounds, it behaves like a relative clause. Similarly with sentences such as:

52. I told him what to do/where to go

However the distinction between complement clauses and headless relative clauses is far from clear. Consider such sentences as:

53. I told him that/why/how/where/when he should do it

The sentences with that, why and how clearly involve no semantic restriction of a class of things and cannot be considered to be relative clauses. Thus these are indisputably complement clauses. But the sentences with when and where involve a restriction and could be argued to be headless relatives, even though they have the same syntactic structure as a complement clause. We reject this argument here because it seems unnecessary to posit two different syntactic categories for sentences such as 53. The two groups differ only in the semantics of the introductory word: that, why and how would be labelled complementisers while when and where (and though not illustrated in sentence 53, also what) would be labelled "relativisers". Although the semantic distinction between the two groups is very real (i.e. when, where and what identify one of a class of possible times/places/things while that, while and how do not) this seems insufficient grounds to posit two types of syntactic structure when these words are used in the same syntactic frame.
Precisely the same distinctions apply to such Dutch sentences as:

54. Ik vertelde hem dat/waarom/hoe/waar/waneer hij het moet doen
I told him that/why/how/where/when he it must do

I told him that/why/how/where/when he should do it

For the purpose of this study we will consider all sentences such as those in 54 to contain complement clauses.

2.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have examined the evidence that Dutch has only two types of complement clause: what we have termed "tensed complements" and "infinitive complements". We looked briefly at the types of complementisers that can occur in tensed complement constructions in Dutch and rejected the claim that the words *wat* (what); *waneer* (when) and *waar* (where), when introducing a clause which is an argument of a predicate, is a headless relative clause.
CHAPTER 3
VERBS TAKING TENSED COMPLEMENTS:
PRIMARY-B VERBS

3.1 PRELIMINARY

We have seen that primary-B verbs differ from primary-A verbs in that they can take tensed complements AND do not allow promotion to subject. SPA proposes 10 semantic types for English primary-B verbs and in this chapter we consider the semantic types needed for Dutch primary-B verbs. We then relate these types to Dutch complement clauses and promotion to subject constructions.

The semantic types SPA proposes for English with some examples for each type are:

1. PERCEPTION (SPA calls these ATTENTION verbs, eg see, hear, show, find, witness, look)
2. THINKING (think, suppose, forget, believe)
3. DECIDING (decide, choose, select)
4. SPEAKING (talk, discuss, shout, affirm, promise)
5. LIKING (like, fear, envy, pity)
6. ANNOYING (dismay, frighten, worry, rejoice)
7. ACTING (act, behave, copy, reproduce)
8. HAPPENING (happen, arrange, commit, change)
9. COMPARING (resemble, measure, cost, weigh)
10. RELATING (depend on, indicate, imply, suggest)

3.2 PRIMARY-B PERCEPTION VERBS

We have already seen that a large group of Dutch verbs relate to the act of perception, but cannot take complement clauses. We have called these PRIMARY-A PERCEPTION verbs. In this section we are concerned with those perception verbs which involve actual perception and take tensed complements.
Some can also take infinitive complements (considered in Chapter 5).

Within the SPA framework, PERCEPTION verbs involve two core roles: a perceiver and the object or action perceived. It sees English verbs such as see and look at as being semantically closely related and both belonging to the PERCEPTION type. We have already suggested that the English equivalents of Dutch verbs like kijken (look) and luisteren (listen) essentially involve only one core role and are more concerned with bodily postures associated with perception, rather than the perception itself (PRIMARY-A PERCEPTION verbs). In this section we begin by seeking to justify this analysis in some detail. The arguments apply to both Dutch and English and we will therefore treat them together.

The verbs being considered are set out in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMARY-A PERCEPTION VERBS</th>
<th>PRIMARY-B PERCEPTION VERBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kijken</td>
<td>zien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luisteren</td>
<td>horen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruiken</td>
<td>ruiken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smaaken</td>
<td>smaaken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voelen</td>
<td>voelen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PRIMARY-A PERCEPTION verbs are essentially intransitive whereas PRIMARY-B PERCEPTION verbs are transitive in both languages. In sentences such as 1 the object perceived is something other than the table, the paper, the wall or the boys:
1. Hij keek onder de tafel/in de krant/op de muur/ he looked under the table/in the paper/on the wall/ aan de jongens at the boys

This is obvious in the case of the table, less obvious in the case of the paper and progressively less obvious for the wall and the boys. However, as has been pointed out many times for English, one can look but not see the object or action one's gaze is directed to, or see something else that one is not intentionally looking at. The same applies in Dutch, eg

2. Hij keek op de tafel en zag een sluitel he looked on the table and saw a key

3. Jan luisterde maar hij kon Piet niet hor- en John listened but he could Pete not hear INF

4. Ik ruikte maar ik kon niets ruik-en I sniffed, but I couldn't smell anything

In each case the act of looking, hearing, or smelling may result in no perception taking place. Looking, hearing, smelling etc are semantically very different actions. If one asks someone to listen, they characteristically turn their ear in the direction of the sound, ie listen refers roughly to the act of putting oneself in a position to hear. Likewise, look means turning the head, and possibly the whole body into a position to see. One sense of smell is likewise a corporeal act involving placing the nose in a position to receive a sensory input, and so too with taste and feel.
Although both Dutch and English make a distinction between the two types of PERCEPTION verbs, there are subtle differences in the way each is used in Dutch, for example in such sentences as:

5. Hij ziet er uit als zijn broer  
   He sees there out as his brother  
   He looks like his brother

6. Het ziet er slecht uit voor de Raiders  
   It sees there badly out for the Raiders  
   The outlook is bad for the Raiders  
   or  
   It looks bad for the Raiders

7. de vogel klinkt/*luistered/*hoort als een nachtegaal  
   the bird sounds/*listens/ *hears like a nightingale

8. Het klinkt erg gek  
   it sounds very silly

9. het voelt goed weer voor de tulpen  
   it feels good weather for tulips  
   it is good weather for tulips

10. het vlees smaakte niet lekker (volegens mij)  
    the meat tasted not nice  
    (according to me)

In sentences such as 5 and 6 English uses look but not see while Dutch uses zien (see) but not kijken (look). In sentences 7 and 8 both Dutch and English avoid a perception verb for "sounds" coming from animals or people, but allow them for "touch" or "taste" as in sentences 9 and 10.

We now consider these sentences in more detail. A Dutch sentence such as:

11. hij kijkt als zijn broer  
    he looks as his brother
while somewhat clumsy, does not mean that he resembles his
brother, but rather that he looks in the same way as his
brother, ie adopts the same posture when looking. When a
Dutchman wants to know what something looks like he asks:

12. hoe ziet het er uit?
how sees it there out
what does it look like?

ie "what visual impact does it make". The position is more
complex in English. When an English speaker says "How did
Pete see it?" the question is ambiguous. It could be asking
the circumstances under which Pete came to see it, or how
Pete regarded it.

In Dutch zien (see) and horen (hear) can take tensed and
infinitive complements while kijken (look) and luisteren
(listen) can take neither, eg

13. Jan ziet/*kijkt aan Pete kom- en
John sees/ looks at Pete come INF
John sees/ looks at Pete coming

14. Jan ziet/kijkt waar Piet ge-vallen had
John saw/ looked where Pete PP fall had
John saw/ looked where Pete had fallen

In sentence 14 with kijken the result is an acceptable
sentence but the subordinate clause is an adverbial and not
a complement.

There is one exception to the claim that luister (listen)
and kijken (look) cannot take complement clauses and that is
that the imperative of *kijken* (look), but not *luisteren* (listen), can take an infinitive complement as in:

15. kijk die honden eens te keer gaan
    look IMP those dogs once to turn go INF
    look at those dogs having a turn

It should be noted that there is no preposition after *kijk* and there is no break in intonation.

In sentences 8-10, the NP in the subject relation is inanimate (eg *het* (it) or *het vlees* (the meat)). In sentence 7, when audition is involved, both Dutch and English use a new verb altogether *klinken* (sound) which can take inanimate subjects, and avoids *horen* (hear) or *luisteren* (listen). In Dutch *klinken* (sound) cannot take a complement clause and is more appropriately classified as a primary SPEAKING verb. In sentence 8, where the audition is more abstract, a similar choice of verb is necessary.

In sentences 9 and 10 the verbs *voelen* (feel) and *smaaken* (taste) are used with impersonal subjects and for these verbs, as with *ruiken* (smell), there is no lexical distinction between the act of perceiving (ie paying attention) and the perception itself (ie the internal registration). Of these three verbs only *voelen* (feel) can take a tensed complement. It can also function as a secondary verb (ie take an infinitive complement) eg

16. Ik voelde iets bewegen
    I felt something move INF
Dutch verbs involving the registration of a perception are semantically very similar and all involve the stimulation of cognitive processes. They differ only in one dimension, the sensory modality through which the stimulation occurs (i.e., the ears, eyes, etc.). The object or action perceived is mapped onto 0. Also, while corporeal verbs are often subject to voluntary control, perception verbs are often beyond voluntary control. This is clear from a negative sentence such as 17 where trying not to look is acceptable, but trying not to see is impossible.

17. hij probeerde niet te kijken/*zien
   he tried not to look/see
   he tried not to look/see

18. hij probeerde het te zien/ *kijken
   he tried it to see INF/look INF
   he tried to see/look at it

While it is possible in English to say he tried to look at it by using a phrasal verb (as defined in SPA terms, or an oblique), in Dutch one could use the verbal prefix be- which has the effect of making intransitive verbs transitive, e.g.

19 hij probeerde het te be-kijken- en
   he tried it to BE look INF
   he tried to look at it

We will be considering this process in more detail in Chapter 6.

Putting all these facts together it can be concluded that, for Dutch at least and, possibly also for English, there is a distinction between the act of perceiving verbs (kijken,
and luisteren) which can be better captured by classifying them as primary-A verbs. Actual perceiving verbs (horen, and zien) can be better classified as primary-B verbs. Such a classification would account for all the facts of Dutch with the single exception of the imperative of kijken (look). It would also account for all the facts of English, if the lexical verbs look, and listen are used as a basis for the analysis. Once phrasal verbs such as look at/for/over/under etc are allowed the situation for English becomes more complex, but that is a problem for English grammar, not Dutch.

Dutch has three sub-types of PRIMARY-B PERCEPTION verbs:

PRIMARY-B PERCEPTION-A verbs are verbs of immediate perception and include:

zieu (see); horen (hear); ruiken (smell); smaken (taste); voelen (feel); merken (observe, notice, perceive).

The equivalents to the English verb recognise are erkennen, or herkennen which are both compounds with the base kennen (know) and are more appropriately handled as THINKING type verbs. The Dutch verb getuigen (witness) is essentially "to testify" and unlike the English witness, not a verb of perception.

Primary-B Perception-A verbs can all occur with tensed complements in the O function with the full range of complementisers. They can also take infinitive complements,
ie they can function as secondary verbs in SPA terminology as for example in sentences such as:

19. We zagen de hele stoet voorbijkom-en
we saw the whole procession come by INF
we saw the whole procession come past (ANS, 615)

20. ik hoor Else een lied-je zing-en
I hear Else a song DIM sing INF
I hear Elsie sing a (little) song (ANS 612)

It should be noted that when used as secondary verbs they take an infinitive without te (to).

PRIMARY-B PERCEPTION-C verbs involve the perception of something that was previously not apparent and include:

vinden (find); ontdekken (discover, dekken = cover).

Vinden (find) may be the only non-compound verb in this group. All can take tensed complements, but only vinden can take an infinitive complement (ie function as a secondary verb) as in:

21. ik vind zijn houding te prijz- en
I find his holding to praise INF
I find his stance praiseworthy

Unlike PERCEPTION-A verbs, vinden (find) can only take an infinitive with te (to).

PRIMARY-B PERCEPTION-C verbs include an element of causation and include such verbs as:

aanduiden (indicate/point out); aanwijzen (show/point out); duiden (point to); nazien (look after); vertonen (show represent); verbergen (hide); wijzen (point out).
All of these verbs can take tensed complements but none can take infinitive complements. Except for the lexical verbs duiden and wijzen, PRIMARY-B PERCEPTION-C verbs are all compounds and take complementisers other than dat or of.

3.3 PRIMARY-B VERBS OF THINKING

In the SPA framework, THINKING verbs refer to mental processes and states and are divided into 8 sub-categories. SPA also proposes a category for DECIDING verbs but it is difficult to see on what basis these two types are differentiated. Decisions also involve mental processes and states, and both DECIDING and THINKING verbs have two roles: a cogitator/decider and an idea/decision. For Dutch it is certainly not necessary to make the SPA distinction between THINKING and DECIDING and thus the two categories will be handled together and we will call them all THINKING verbs. However, like PERCEPTION VERBS, it is necessary to divide this group into two: PRIMARY-A THINKING verbs and PRIMARY-B THINKING verbs, as illustrated in Chapter 1.

Unlike PERCEPTION verbs which can have a concrete NP in the 0 relation, PRIMARY-B THINKING verbs generally have complement clauses. In Dutch a number of THINKING verbs are also reflexive. Dutch has five types of PRIMARY-B THINKING verbs:
THINKING-A verbs (corresponding to the SPA THINK sub-type) represent the proto-typical cases. The main member, denken (think) is commonly used both on its own or as the base for such compounds as overdenken (ponder); nadenken (contemplate); bedenken (reflect) which we will consider in Chapter 6.

Denken (think) can take tensed complement clauses, eg

22. Jan denkt dat het zal regen-en
John thinks that it shall rain INF
John thinks that it will rain

but only with the dat (that) complementiser. Denken can also take an infinitive complement with te (to):

23(a)hij denkt het probleem te kunn-en oploss-en
he thinks the problem to can INF solve INF
he thinks (that) he can solve the problem

As we will see later, such sentences differ semantically from full complement clauses such as 23(b), though in the case of these two isolated examples, the difference is not clear.

23(b)hij denkt dat hij het probleem kan oploss-en
he thinks that he the problem can solve INF
he thinks (that) he can solve the problem

Other THINKING-A verbs are

twijfelen (doubt); vermoeden (suspect, moeden is not a word); argwanen (suspect); peinzen (ponder);
mijmeren (muse); reminisceren (reminisce); overwegen (consider, wegen = weigh).

All can take a dat (that) complement and none can take an infinitive complement. There are also a number of reflexive
verbs that belong to this type. These are all compounds or recent borrowings. Examples are:

\[\text{zich indenken} \text{ (imagine, visualise); zich realiseren} \text{ (realise); zich verbeelden} \text{ (imagine, beeld = image, statue); zich verkijken} \text{ (to overlook, kijken = look).}\]

THINKING-B verbs involve bringing a "thought" into the mind, storing it, being able or unable to retrieve it or bringing in the wrong thought. They are prototypically compounds and some are reflexive. For example:

REFLEXIVES:
\[\text{zich herinneren} \text{ (remember); zich vergissen} \text{ (mistake, gissen = guess);}\]

NON-REFLEXIVES
\[\text{vergeten} \text{ (forget); onthouden} \text{ (retain mentally, houden = hold); memoriseren} \text{ (memorise); herroepen} \text{ (recall, roepen = call).}\]

Why \text{herinneren} \text{ (remember)} is reflexive while \text{vergeten} \text{ (forget)} is not clear.

All take complement clauses, and unlike THINKING-A verbs, they can take the full range of complementisers. Both \text{zich herinneren} \text{ (remember)} and \text{vergeten} \text{ (forget)} can be used with an infinitive with \text{te} \text{ (to)} (ie they can function as secondary verbs):

24. \text{ik herinner me te kom- en}  
   I remember myself to come INF  
   I remembered to come

25. \text{heb je me vergeten te roep- en}  
   have you me forgotten to call INF  
   have you forgotten to call me?
THINKING-C verbs roughly correspond to the SPA KNOWLEDGE sub-type and include such verbs as:

- weten (know); verstaan (understand); begrijpen (comprehend, grijpen = grasp); geloven (believe).

The Dutch verb kennen (know) and its derivative herkennen (recognise) do not belong here as they cannot take complement clauses, ie they function as primary-A verbs.

Sentence 26 provides the evidence for this.

26. Jan weet/kent wanneer te dans- en
John knows when to dance INF
John knows when to dance

On the other hand, weten (know) can only occur with a complement clause and not with a concrete NP:

27. Jan kent/weet Kees
John knows Kees

The distinction often given between weten and kennen is that weten means know how while kennen means to know about, but this is not sufficient to account for the fact that one can take complement clauses and the other cannot. A more plausible explanation is that kennen is concerned with the act of knowing in the same way as kijken in Dutch is concerned with the act of looking. The verb kijken is not a perception verb and kennen is not a mental process verb, though each is clearly related semantically to PERCEPTION and THINKING respectively.
The Dutch verb to believe (geloven) probably also belongs here. It can take both tensed and infinitive complements, but it can also take an NP in the O slot or an oblique, eg:

28. Ik geloof (in) Jan
I believe (in) John

29. Ze gelooft die taak wel te kunnen volbrengen
she believes that task well to can INF complete INF
She believes to be well able to complete that task

THINKING-D verbs are concerned with the modes of getting things into the mind. Central to this type is *leren* (learn/teach). Other related verbs include:

*ervaren* (learn/find out); *opleiden* (train)
*onderwijzen* (A, educate); *instrueren* (A, instruct);
*onderrichten* (A, instruct); *vernemen* (learn)

Those marked "A" cannot take complement clauses and are therefore primary-A verbs. *Leren* (learn/teach) can take the full range of complementisers and can also occur with infinitive complements:

30. Ik heb ge-lerend te roeien
I have PP learn/teach to row INF
I have learned to row

31. Hij heeft me leren roeien
he has me learn/teach INF row INF
he taught me to row

THINKING-E verbs involve coming to a decision. They include such verbs as:

*besluiten* (conclude); *beoordelen* (judge); *beslissen* (decide); *bepalen* (determine); *kiezen* (choose).
Like THINKING-C verbs (weten etc) they usually occur with tensed complement clauses. Kiezen (choose) can take an NP in the O function, but only beslissen (decide) can occur with an infinitive complement as in:

31. De voorzitter besloot de vergadering te schors-en
the chairperson decided the meeting to suspend INF
the chairperson decided to suspend the meeting.

3.4 PRIMARY-B SPEAKING VERBS

In the SPA framework SPEAKING verbs have four roles: a speaker, an addressee, a message and a medium. The way these four roles are mapped onto the syntactic structure of English is very complex. SPA posits 7 types of complement clauses for English and does not differentiate between act of speaking verbs (what we call PRIMARY-A SPEAKING verbs in Chapter 1) and PRIMARY-B SPEAKING verbs. The situation in Dutch is much less complex.

There are over 100 SPEAKING verbs in the data about two thirds of which are compound verbs derived by the varying process we will discuss in Chapter 6. Most of the compound verbs have a primary-A verb (which cannot take a complement clause) as its base, however the resultant compound can take a complement clause, and in some cases, as we will see, an infinitive complement as well. This last group will be considered in Chapter 5. In Dutch SPEAKING verbs occur in all three SPA categories: Primary A/B and Secondary. They
illustrate clearly that these macro-distinctions are not applicable to Dutch.

Dutch PRIMARY-B SPEAKING verbs can be divided into two groups:

1. SPEAKING-A verbs are those where the addressee role is generally omitted, or if included, is mapped onto an oblique. Examples are:

   zeggen (say); fluisteren (whisper); gillen (yell); schrijven (write); stamelen (stammer); bidden (pray); brommen (grumble); babben (babble); liegen (lie).

   These verbs can all be used in direct speech constructions and the message, in indirect speech situations, is generally a full complement clause.

2. SPEAKING-B verbs are those where the addressee role is usually included, or if included, is mapped onto O. However, in some cases an oblique is possible. There are two subgroups: those that can be used in direct speech constructions and those that cannot. Examples of both types are:

   can be used for direct speech
cannot be used for direct speech

   vragen (ask)
eisen (demand)
antwoorden (answer)
dreigen (threaten)
All these verbs allow tensed complements and *vrage(n)* (ask) and *eisen* (demand) can also take infinitive complements as in:

32. Mag ik u vrag-en het raampje dicht te doen
   May I you ask INF the window shut to do INF
   May I ask you to shut the window

33. Jan eiste te word- en toegelaten
    John demanded to become INF admitted
    John demanded to be admitted

3.5 PRIMARY-B VERBS OF EMOTION

We have already seen in Chapter 1 that Dutch has a number of verbs referring to emotional states that cannot take complement clauses. We have designated these as PRIMARY-A Verbs of EMOTION.

In general, Dutch tends to use phrasal verbs to refer to emotional states usually involving a human propensity adjective (see Chapter 6). For example:

- *belang hebb-en* (interest have INF to be interested in)
- *liever will-en* (rather want INF prefer)
- *met schrik vervall-en* (with fright fall down INF to die of fright)
- *bang mak-en* (frightened make INF frighten)

These phrasal verbs can take tensed complements, eg:

34. ik heb belang of hij zal kom-en
    I have interest if he will come INF
    I am curious whether he will come
Dutch also uses impersonal verbs to express emotional states, eg:

- *het valt me zwaar*  
  it falls me heavy  
  I find it difficult

- *het spijt me*  
  it sorrow me  
  I’m sorry

- *het verheugt me*  
  it pleases me

- *het valt me tegen*  
  it falls me against  
  I don’t like it

These also take tensed complements for example:

35. *het spijt me dat julie zullen verhuizen*  
    it sorrows me that you shall move house INF  
    I’m sorry that you are moving house

There are a small number of verbs referring directly to emotional states which can take tensed complements. As in English, Dutch emotion verbs have two roles: an experiencer of the emotional state and a stimulus that causes that state. They can be classified into two subtypes: EMOTION-A verbs are those where the experiencer is mapped onto S and the experience onto 0. Examples are:

- *benijden* (envy); *begunstigen* (favour); *genieten* (enjoy); *haten* (hate); *vrezen* (dread); *schrikken* (be frightened).

For example:

35. *Ik vreesde dat zij zou komen*  
    I dreaded that she would come

The verb *vrezen* (dread) can also take an infinitive complement eg
36. Ik vreesde haar daar te zullen ontmoet-en
I dreaded her there to FUT meet INF
I dreaded to meet her there

EMOTION-B verbs are those where the experiencer is mapped onto O or a peripheral NP, eg:

aanwennen (get used to); betreuren (regret);
schamen (shame); meevallen (come up to expectations); tegenvallen (not come up to expectations); spijten (be sorry).

An example of their usage is given in 37:

37. dat ze nooit meer zou komen wende we aan
that she never again shall come used we at we got used to (the idea) that she would never come again

3.6 EVENT VERBS

Event verbs, like weather verbs, have no semantic roles and are described as impersonal verbs in traditional grammars. They take dummy subjects het (it) or wat (what) in the S or A syntactic relation. They all take complement clauses and can be used with the complement clause in the A relation as in the (a) examples or with a dummy subject as in the (b) examples:

32(a) (om) dat spelletje winn-en lukt me niet (PUR)that game win INF succeed me not
I didn't succeed in winning the game

(b) het lukt me niet om dat spelletje te winn-en
it succeeds me not PUR that game to win INF
I didn't succeed in winning the game
It should be noted that om can be optionally deleted when the complement clause occurs in the A relation.

33(a) (om) hier te eten bevalt Jan niet
PUR here to eat INF pleases John not
it doesn’t suit John to eat here

(b) het bevalt Jan niet om hier te eten

Examples of these verbs are:

baten (avail/be of use to); betreffen (concern/have regard to); bevallen (please); dunken (S, think seem); gebeuren (happen/occur); gelukken (succeed); geschieden (happen/come to pass); lukken (succeed); mislukken (fail).

It should be noted that dunken which is somewhat archaic, can be used as a secondary verb and take inanimate subjects in such ANS sentences as:

34. die vraag dunkt me door de Minister vodoende beantwoord that question seems me by the Minister satisfactorily answered

35. het nuttigste cadeau dunkt me die nieuwe schooltas te zijn the nicest present seems me that new schoolbag to be

Informants expressed the view that medunkt (it seems to me), is about equivalent of the English "methinks" in antiquity. They are obvious cognates.

Impersonal verbs provide another way of avoiding the identification of the subject NP and, along with agentless passives, are very common in Dutch.
36. het gebeurde dat Jan bij ons kwam te wonen
   it happened that John with us came to live
   it happened that John came to live with us

3.7 CONCERNING

There are three verbs in the data that do not fit in any
other categories proposed so far and it is necessary to
posit an additional type we label CONCERNING verbs. These
include:

   * bemoeien (meddle oneself with); inlaten (concern oneself with); bekommeren (concern oneself with)

The last of these can take a tensed complement:

37. hij bekommerde zich erom dat ze ziek was
    he concerned himself over that she sick was
    he was concerned that she was sick

3.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we focussed on the types of verbs that take
tensed complements. We found that these included a number
of verbs of PERCEPTION, THINKING, SPEAKING and EMOTION as
well as a group of impersonal verbs we have called EVENT
verbs. A number of these verbs can also take infinitive complements. There seems to be no predictable basis for
deciding which complement taking verb allows an infinitive complement as well as a tensed complement.
CHAPTER 4

INFINITIVE COMPLEMENTS

4.1 PRELIMINARY

As we have seen, Dutch verbs have an inflected form ending in -en or -n which is usually given as the citation form and traditionally described as the infinitive form. There are only six words that take the -n form: doen (do, oe = [u:]); gaan (go); slaan (hit); staan (stand); zien (see, ie = [i:]) and zijn (be). Any new verbs introduced into the language either as borrowings or new inventions up to this time have the -en form.

The infinitive is very common in Dutch. When verbs are used as nouns the citation or infinitive form is used. ANS claims all verbs in Dutch can potentially be used as nouns. In this chapter we will focus on its role in verbal complements, ie where the action/state denoted by the verb along with its associated NPs can function as an NP of a second verb. We will follow Noonan (1985) and call such clauses "infinitive complements". They are also called verbal complements, eg Rosenbaum (1967), Ney 1981 and ANS. They differ from other tensed complement clauses in that they generally have no complementiser and the verb in the complement clause is an infinitive. Infinitives can also be used as exclamations, imperatives and adjectives in Dutch but these functions go beyond the scope of this study and will not be considered further here.
Before looking at infinitive complements in detail, we need to consider the wide use of Dutch infinitives as nouns.

Consider such sentences as:

1. *het et-en staat op tafel*
   the eat INF stands on table
   the meal is on the table

2. *lekker klets-en is heerlijk*
   pleasant chat INF is delightful
   pleasant chatting is delightful

Evidence that these infinitives are nouns is based on the fact that they can take articles, for example, *het* (the) as in 1 above. (When infinitives are used as nouns they are always neuter gender, i.e., they take the definite article *het* (the). Common gender nouns take *de* (the)).

Further evidence that these infinitives are nouns is that they can be modified by adjectives as in 2 above. However, this latter evidence is not conclusive. There is a general rule in Dutch that when adjectives are used attributively as in sentence 3 below, they take a suffix -e and are placed before the noun. When used non-attributively as in 4 there is no affix.

3. *Jan’s klein-e huis...........
   John POS small house...........
   John’s small house

4. *Jan’s huis is klein*
   John POS house is small
   John’s house is small
There are numerous exceptions to this rule which are not relevant here, for example, the -e affix is not used before singular neuter nouns standing alone, or after quantifiers such as een (one), elk (each), ieder (every), geen (none) veel (many).

However, when an infinitive is used as in 2, what appears to be the attributive adjective does not take -e. This suggests the infinitive is not a noun.

5. *lekker-e kletsen is heerlijk

Roos (1964) has shown that it is not possible to draw a clear distinction between words that are traditionally termed adjectives and those that are termed adverbs in Dutch, and the issue is a very complex one. Words traditionally categorised as adverbs do not take the -e suffix and hence it is at least arguable that the inflection -e is blocked before infinitives because the word in question is functioning as an adverb. In other words, an infinitive, while functioning as a noun in some respects, also continues to show some of the characteristics of a verb.

As we will see, when used as an infinitive complement, the infinitive shows none of the characteristics of being used as nouns even though they are core arguments of a predicate.
4.2 INFINITIVES USED AS COMPLEMENTS

We turn now to the main function of the Dutch infinitive: its use as the semantic focus of a sentence when used in conjunction with another (secondary) verb. In a sentence such as 6, the infinitive, zingen (sing), is what the sentence is about and forms the semantic focus of the sentence. The secondary verb, liep modifies the meaning of the verb in the complement clause. As we have noted previously, it is always the verb on the right that is the semantic focus and the verb on the left that is inflected for tense, person and number.

6. Piet liep te zingen- en
   Pete walk PAST to sing INF
   Pete walked (along) singing

It should also be noted that the implied subject of the second verb is identical to that of the first verb, ie it is Piet who is singing. Contrast this with sentence 7 where it is Piet who is coming and a new NP is introduced, namely ik (I) who does the hearing:

7. ik horde Piet kom- en
   I heard Pete come INF
   I heard Pete coming

ie some verbs have subject control and some verbs have object control. Dutch also allows sequences of infinitives (under strict order conditions) which modify the semantic focus, e.g:
8. hij schijnt tot voorzitter gekozen te willen en he seems to chairperson choose INF to want INF worden en become INF

he seems to want to be chosen as chairperson

9. Erika had liever willen blijven zitten lezen Erika had rather want INF stay INF sit INF read INF

Erica had rather wanted to stay sitting reading

In such verb sequences the semantic focus is always on the right. In 8 it is about becoming chairperson and in 9 it is about reading. It is only the first verb that is inflected for number, person and tense. All subsequent verbs in a sentence share its semantic roles and syntactic relations with that verb.

While all verbs can occur on the right, only a relatively small number of verbs can be used to modify other verbs, ie occupy positions to the left, and these we call secondary verbs following SPA terminology. As noted earlier, ANS has identified 79 of these, and a further 21 have been found during the course of this study. There may be more and it is likely that this number is changing over time. We will discuss this and the individual properties of these verbs in detail in Chapter 5. What we need to address is the semantics of infinitive clauses as such, and we do this by through looking at two properties of infinitive clauses. The first is whether the infinitive can occur with or without te (to), and the second is the order in which secondary verbs can occur in serial verb constructions.
4.3 INFINITIVES WITH AND WITHOUT "TE" (TO)

In English, certain verbs can only be followed by an infinitive preceded by to (eg wanted in John wanted to go). Others can only be followed by an infinitive without to (eg may in John may go) and with a small number of verbs there is a choice (eg dare as in John dared (to) go). It has been pointed out by Wierzbicka (1988) and others that there is a difference in meaning between English sentences such as John dared go and John dared to go, and we will argue there is also a semantic distinction in Dutch in those situations where there is a choice between a full infinitive (ie with te) or a bare infinitive (ie without te).

We consider which secondary verbs require full or bare infinitives in examining individual secondary verbs in chapter 5. We now go on to consider just those verbs where there is an apparent choice. There are eight of them, six whose meaning is associated with motion/rest:

- blijven (stay); liggen (lay); lopen (walk); staan (stand); zitten (sit); hangen (INTR hang)

and two others:

- durven (dare) and hoeven...niet (be unnecessary)

We will also consider the verbs krijgen (get) which usually requires te but does not under some circumstances and weten (know), hebben (have) and zijn (be) which usually take a
bare infinitive, but require a full infinitive under some circumstances.

Of the 79 secondary verbs identified by ANS, these 12 are the only ones that show deviations from the twin norms of either requiring or blocking te. It is of course in these "deviant" situations that we can get some insight into what is going on.

The motion/rest verbs that can optionally take te can be divided into two groups: (i), blijven (stay) which is non-specific as to the mode of rest and behaves in other respects like two other motion/rest verbs that can function as secondary verbs: gaan (go) and komen (come), and (ii), liggen (lay); staan (stand); lopen (walk); zitten (sit) and hangen (hang INT) which do incorporate the mode of motion/rest.

We take some examples from each group:

BLIJVEN (stay)

There is a very clear semantic difference between the following two sentences which differ only in regard to the presence/absence of te:

10(a) Jan blijft slap- en
John stays sleep INF
John is staying asleep
which means, as the English suggests, that John is already asleep and that he is staying that way. But, in the sentence:

10(b) Jan blijft te slap-en
John stays to sleep
John is staying to sleep

John is not yet asleep, but he is staying and will go to sleep in the future. Although the English "staying to sleep" has a purposive import, ie John is staying in order to sleep, this is absent in Dutch which would use "om" to give purposive force, ie

11. Jan blijft om te slap-en
John stays PUR to sleep INF
John stays in order to sleep

ZIJN (BE)

The Dutch infinitive, both with and without te can occur in so called minor sentences with zijn (be) for example:

12. Te werk-en is geen straf (NS I,131)
to work INF is no punishment
to work is no punishment

and

13. werk-en is geen straf (NS I,131)
work INF is no punishment
work is no punishment

First, it needs to be pointed out that werken in sentence 13 is an infinitive and not a noun for two reasons: first, there is a related nominal form werk (work) which can occur with articles and adjectives as for example:
14. (hard) werk is geen straf  
(hard) work is no punishment

and second, there is a difference in meaning. Compare 15 and 16:

15. hard werk     Vs     16. hard werken  
    hard work      working hard

as the English glosses suggest, in 15 the work is hard, but in 16 the work may in fact be easy, but someone is working hard at it. Further evidence comes from the fact that a phrase such as 17 is perfectly acceptable, but 18 is not allowed, for the same reason as in English.

17. moeilijk werk     Vs     18. *moeilijk werken  
    difficult work   working difficult

ANS recognises that there are semantic and syntactic consequences governed by the presence or absence of the te, but does not elaborate on what those consequences might be.

Den Hertog (1903), after giving an excellent description of the structure of the basic Dutch sentence devotes a chapter to what he calls "exceptions" which includes for the main part what we are calling infinitive complements. He recognises that infinitives can occur in 7 distinct roles which we need not go into here, but he does express some views on what he calls the meaning of the infinitive and argues that the semantic force of te (to) is almost always lost, even when it is obligatorily present. He sees te as a preposition with the meaning "direction towards" (een
richting ergens heen) but this meaning he claims is greatly weakened in most infinitive complements.

NS does not suggest a meaning distinction between sentences such as (12) and (13) either but indicates that the "te" is used to give a more "melodious usage" (welluidensheidshalve gebruik). Our claim here is that there is a clear semantic distinction, but this is not always apparent in some contexts. Further support for this claim can be seen from the following examples:

HEBBEN (HAVE) & KRIJGEN (GET)
Both hebben (have) and krijgen (get) can be used with and without te with very different meanings in each case.

Examples without te for hebben are common:

19. hij had zijn been op de stool ligg-en
   he had his leg on the chair lay INF
   he had his leg lying on the chair

20. ik heb daar vrienden won- en
    I have there friends live INF
    I have friends living there

21. je heb je haar in de war zitt-en
    you have your hair in the mess sit INF
    your hair is in a mess

22. we hebben het eten klaar-staan
    we have the meal ready stand INF
    we have the meal ready

Bare infinitives after hebben are only possible when hebben is in an imperfect tense, and they indicate the place or the circumstance the implied subject of the infinitive finds
itself. The infinitive after krijgen is likewise concerned with the place or circumstance of its implied subject. Examples are harder to find, but the full range of tenses is possible:

23. wij krijgen een Turks gezin naast ons won-en
we get a Turkish family next us live INF
a Turkish family will be living next to us

Hebben followed by an infinitive with te falls into three groups:

(i) where it expresses necessity or obligation as in:

24. je heb hier geen rommel te mak- en
you have here no mess to make INF
you must not make a mess here

25. hij heeft heel veel te doen
he has very much to do INF
he has very much to do

26. ze zeiden dat hij maar had te bell-en
they said that he but had to ring INF
they said that he had but to ring

(ii) where it has a similar meaning to the primary verb hebben, ie the core meaning which is something like "to be in a state of" as in:

27. ik heb het koud
I have it cold
I am cold

Examples are:

28. daar hadden wij niets tegen in te breng-en
there had we nothing against in to bring INF
there was nothing we could bring against that
29. hij heeft/krijgt per maand duizend gulden te besteden
he has/gets per month thousand guilders to spend

(iii) in a large number of fixed expressions such as:

30. met iets te maken hebben
with something to make INF have INF
to have something to do with it

31. niets te vrezen hebben
nothing to fear have INF
to have nothing to fear

Dutch also has a general requirement to delete *te* when the
infinitive is fronted to change the semantic focus of a
sentence. Thus

32. je hoeft niet hier te werken
you need not here to work INF
you do not have to work here

Becomes:

33. werken hoef je hier niet
work INF need you here not
work you need not do here

and a sentence such as 34 is wrong:

34. *te werken hoef je hier niet
    to work INF need you here not
    work you need not do here

On the basis of these examples we have seen that there is
always a semantic difference between an infinitive when used
with *te* and when used without *te*. That difference varies
from verb to verb and it is not possible to identify a
single meaning which captures the distinction between the two
forms of infinitive for those twelve Dutch verbs that allow a choice.

4.4 WORD ORDER IN VERB SEQUENCES

The second matter relates to the order of verbs. Sequences of double and triple infinitives are very common in Dutch and more than three is not unusual. We have seen an example of 5 verbs in sentence 16 above, and it is possible to construct sentences with even more infinitives which are theoretically correct even if somewhat artificial and clumsy. For example, with 6 verbs:

35. Piet had Jan willen laten blijven staan wachten
   Pete had John want let stay stand wait
   Pete had wanted to let John stay standing waiting

and with 7 verbs:

36. Piet kan Jan hebben willen laten blijven staan wachten
   Pete can John have want let stay stand wait
   Pete could have wanted to let John stay standing waiting

As might be expected there are constraints on which infinitives can co-occur in a sequence and the order in which they can occur. The table below sets out both the occurrence and order constraints. The restrictions on occurrence is a matter for the semantics of each individual word and any two words which occur in the same column of the table cannot occur together in a sentence. Words in different columns can co-occur. The seven slots describe
the restrictions on word order. When two or more verbs in different columns occur in the same sentence they must be in the order given in the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kunnen</td>
<td>blijken</td>
<td>hebben</td>
<td>(be)horen</td>
<td>blijven</td>
<td>hangen</td>
<td>worden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(can)</td>
<td>(seem)</td>
<td>(have)</td>
<td>(hear)</td>
<td>(stay)</td>
<td>(hang)</td>
<td>(become)</td>
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<tr>
<td>moeten</td>
<td>dunken</td>
<td>zijn</td>
<td>dienen</td>
<td>gaan</td>
<td>liggen</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(must)</td>
<td>(think)</td>
<td>(be)</td>
<td>(serve)</td>
<td>(go)</td>
<td>(lay)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mogen</td>
<td>heten</td>
<td>durven</td>
<td>komen</td>
<td>lopen</td>
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<tr>
<td>(may)</td>
<td>(call)</td>
<td>(dare)</td>
<td>(come)</td>
<td>(walk)</td>
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<tr>
<td>willen</td>
<td>lijken</td>
<td>weten</td>
<td>staan</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(want)</td>
<td>(seem like)</td>
<td>(know)</td>
<td>(stand)</td>
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<td>zullen</td>
<td>schijnen</td>
<td>(be)hoeven</td>
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<td>(FUT)</td>
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<td>voorkomen</td>
<td>(appear)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

This table covers the most common secondary verbs likely to be encountered in verb sequences and is based on a large number of examples provided by ANS which will not be repeated here. What is important is that the table summarises a large number of rules of Dutch grammar which have been reduced to two: first, all the verbs in any one column are mutually exclusive, ie heten (call) cannot occur with lijken (seem), gaan (go) with komen (come) and so on. Second, any verb can co-occur with a verb in a different column, but the order must be in accordance with the order in the table.
There are a small number of exceptions that we will mention later, but what is immediately apparent is that six of these seven groups of verbs fall into natural semantic classes (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 7 in the table below). While one group (4) in the middle does not seem to consist of a coherent group.

1. BECOME worden (become)
2. MODE OF REST/MOTION hangen (hang); liggen (lie); staan (stand); zitten (sit); lopen (walk)
3. REST/MOTION: blijven (stay); gaan (go); komen (come)
4. (be)horen (hear); dienen (serve); durven (dare); weten (know)
5. TENSE hebben (have); zijn (be)
6. SEEM: blijken (seem); dunken (think); heten (be named); lijken (be like); schijnen (appear) voorkomen (appear)
7. MODAL: kunnen (can); moeten (must); mogen (may); willen (want) zullen (fut); (be)hoeven (need)

This gives powerful support for the SPA claim that syntactic facts such as word order are governed by semantics. Similar conclusions were reached by Foley and Van Valin (1984) for the word order of English auxiliaries. We will be examining the semantics of these and other secondary verbs in detail in Chapter 5.

4.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we looked at the characteristics of the Dutch infinitive complement and established that there is a semantic difference between infinitives used with and without te. We have also briefly considered order constrains on infinitives in multiple verb sequences.
CHAPTER 5

VERBS TAKING INFINITIVE COMPLEMENTS:
SECONDARY VERBS

5.1 PRELIMINARY

SPA identifies about 100 secondary verbs in English which it subdivides into four categories:

Secondary-A verbs which have no independent semantic roles and share the roles and semantic relations of the following verb. They include the MODALS, SEMI MODALS and verbs of BEGINNING, TRYING, HURRYING and DARING - eg would, can, be going to, begin, try, hurry, dare;

Secondary-B verbs which have one role in their own right (the subject of the secondary-B verb) in addition to the roles of the verb(s) in the complement clause. They include the verbs of WANTING and POSTPONING - eg want, hope, demand, need, deserve, expect, intend, pretend, postpone;

Secondary-C verbs which are syntactically like secondary-B, ie they also introduce one role (the subject of the secondary-B verb) but differ semantically in that the subject of the secondary verb plays a role in making the state/event of the following verb happen. They include verbs of MAKING and HELPING eg make, let, prevent, ensure, help; and

Secondary-D verbs which are intransitive and take a complement clause in the subject slot. They include verbs belonging to the SEEM and MATTER types eg seem, happen, matter.

As we have seen, ANS has identified 79 secondary verbs for Dutch. What these (and the additional ones identified during the course of this study) have in common is that these verbs can be followed by an infinitive complement. Many of these have no independent semantic roles, ie they fall within the secondary-A category and share the syntactic relations and semantic roles with the following verb. For example, hebben (have); moeten (must); hoeven (need) meet
this criterion. In the ANS sample, there are a number of secondary-B verbs which introduce a role (in the subject slot of the secondary-B verb) in addition to those associated with the following verb. These are:

- zien (see); horen (hear); voelen (feel); ruiken (smell); kijk (imperative, look); hoor (imperative, listen); vinden (find); hangen (transitive hang); leren (learn/teach)

Dutch has two verbs that match the SPA secondary-C types: eg maken (make) and helpen (help) and a number that correspond to the secondary-D types: eg schijnen (seem); voorkomen (happen). But, as we have seen, Dutch also has a lot of primary-A verbs and primary-B verbs that can take infinitive complements as well, and it seems that the subdivision of secondary verbs into A, B, C and D subtypes does not fit Dutch verbs very well.

Furthermore, the SPA semantic treatment of English secondary verbs is somewhat unsatisfying compared to its treatment of primary verbs. The primary verbs do fall into "natural" classes that each have a reasonably transparent common semantic element or theme. However, the secondary verbs do not. I can see no common semantic element in, for example, such English secondary-A verbs as would, can, begin, try, hurry, dare. (There is of course the fact that they all need another verb, but this is not a semantic criterion). The reason for this is possibly that secondary verbs were
sub-categorised on the basis of the number of associated NPs, i.e., syntactic criteria, not semantic ones.

If we are to develop a more satisfying sub-categorisation for Dutch, we need to identify criteria for categorising secondary verbs. There are a number of semantic and syntactic criteria we could consider as providing a basis for categorisation. There are 6 of these and we now consider each in turn.

5.2 CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFICATION

Criterion 1

Whether the infinitive clause following the verb requires a te (to) or not. This is of course purely a syntactic criterion. As we have seen in Chapter 4, there are four groups: (i) verbs that must be followed by an infinitive without te in all contexts; (ii) verbs that require it in all contexts; (iii) verbs that omit it in certain contexts but require it in others, and (iv) those allow a free choice. In the last case, when there is a choice, there is a semantic difference between the two. The majority of secondary verbs do require an infinitive with te, but those that do not, whether in some or all contexts, are listed below. We will consider them individually later, but now they are simply listed alphabetically and grouped within some natural (as yet unnamed) sets:
(i) verbs which can only occur without te:

(a) kunnen (can); moeten (must); mogen (may); willen (want); zullen (shall).

(b) horen (hear); hoort (imperative hear); kijk (imperative look); ruiken (smell); voelen (feel);

(c) gaan (go); komen (come);

(d) doen (do); helpen (help); laten (let); leren (learn/teach).

(ii) verbs which can only occur without te in certain contexts (with examples from ANS):

hebben (have)

1. die boer heeft op dat weiland drie koien lopen en
   that farmer has on that pasture three cows walk INF
   That farmer has three cows walking in the paddock

2. ze heeft heel wat teleurstellingen te verwerken en
   she has very what disappointments to cope with INF
   she has many disappointments to cope with

krijgen (get)

3. we krijgen een Turks gezin naast ons wonen
   we get a Turkish family next us live INF
   we are going to have a Turkish family live next to us

4. ik krijg altijd vervelende klustjes op te knappen
   I get always troublesome bits up to tidy INF
   I always get the troublesome bits to tidy up

weten (know)

5. ik heb hem daar nog weten wonen
   I have him there still know live INF
   I remember him still living there

6. hij weet zich altijd wel te redden
   he knows himself always well to rescue INF
   he always knows how to rescue himself

zijn (be)

7. vader is visser
   father is fish INF
   father is fishing

8. die ster is niet te onderscheiden
   that star is not to distinguish
   that star is not distinguishable
(iii) verbs where te is optional

(a) durven (dare); hangen (intransitive hang); hoeven...niet (be unnecessary);
(b) blijven (stay); liggen (lay); lopen (walk); staan (stand); zitten (sit).

Criterion 2

Whether the verbal cluster in which the secondary verb occurs is "group forming" or not, i.e. whether it permits other elements to be inserted within the cluster. By way of illustration, in the sentence below the verbal cluster is underlined:

9(a) hij zei dat hij de kraanvogels graag zou willen
   he said that he the cranes gladly shall want

fotograferen
photograph

He said that would gladly photograph the cranes

The cluster "zou willen fotograferen" cannot be split and it is incorrect to say:

(b) *hij zei dat hij zou de kraanvogels graag willen fotograferen

or

(c) *hij zei dat hij de kraanvogels zou graag willen fotograferen

By way of contrast, the verb cluster in sentence 10 below (underlined) can be split and both 10(a) and 10(b) are acceptable:

10(a) Hij zei dat hij de kraanvogels probeerde te
     he said that he the cranes tried to

fotograferen
photograph
(b) Hij zei dat hij probeerde de kraanvogels te 
photograferen
he said that he tried to photograph the cranes

There are three groups:

(i) Those that never allow the insertion of another 
element. Following ANS we will call these secondary 
verbs "obligatory groupforming" (verplicht 
groepsvormend) or "G" verbs. The majority of secondary 
verbs are G verbs and include all the modals and 
secondary MOTION/REST verbs.

(ii) Those that allow the insertion of another element. 
We call these "non-obligatory groupforming" (niet 
verplicht groepsvormend) or "NOG" verbs. There are 19 
of these in the ANS sample and they are listed below 
and grouped together on the basis of common semantic 
features:

(a) beginnen (begin); besluiten (end ST 
with ST else); verzuimen (neglect/miss 
opportunity)

(b) beweren (assert); wensen (wish SO well); 
weigeren (refuse to do ST); zeggen (say);

(c) beogen (intend); denken (think); geloven 
(believe); hopen (hope); menen (mean/think); 
vergeten (forget); verlangen (long for); 
vrezen (fear); wagen (risk/venture);

(d) pogen (try); probeeren (try); trachten (try)

It is immediately apparent that, except for verzuimen 
(neglect), group (a) are MOTION/REST-F verbs, group (b) are 
SPEAKING verbs, group (c) THINKING verbs and group (d) are
verbs of TRYING. We discuss these and verzuimen later in this chapter.

(iii) Those that are generally not groupforming ("in het algemeen niet-groepsvormen") "N" verbs. There are 10 of these:

(a) beloven (promise); bevelen (order/command); dreigen (threaten); eisen (demand); gebieden (command/order); gelasten (order/instruct); leren (learn/teach); verbieden (forbid); verklaren (explain), and

(b) vragen (ask)

Again, it is immediately apparent that group (a) correspond to the PRIMARY-B SPEAKING-A verbs considered earlier and group (b) corresponds with the PRIMARY-B SPEAKING-B type. The semantic distinction between this group of SPEAKING verbs which are not groupforming and the group above which optionally groupforming is not clear.

Criterion 3
Whether the secondary verb can be followed by a participle.

In addition to hebben (have), zijn (be) which occur with all verbs to form perfectives and worden (become) which occurs with large numbers of verbs to form passives, there are a number of Dutch secondary verbs that can also be combined with a participle. The participles are underlined in the following examples:
11. die rommel mag weg-ge-gooid (worden) 
that rubbish may away PP throw (become) 
that rubbish may be thrown away

12. Oom Piet lijkt wel tien kilo aan-ge-komen (te zijn) 
uncle Pete seems well ten kilo on PP come (to be) 
Uncle Pete really seems to have gained 10 kilos

13. de auto is rood ge-spoten (ge-worden) 
the car is red PP paint (PP become) 
the car has been painted red

According to ANS, two groups of verbs behave in this way.
The first, as illustrated in 11 above, can occur with a 
passive participle. These verbs are the majority of the 
MODALS:

dienen (should/ought); moeten (must); hoeven...niet 
(be unnecessary); kunnen (can); mogen (may).

The second group, as illustrated in examples 12 and 13 
above, can occur with either a passive or a past participle 
(the form of the participle is the same in both cases, the 
distinction being a semantic one). This group comprises
EVENT verbs:

blijken (be evident); denken (think/seem); heten 
(be called/named); lijken (be/look like); schijnen 
(seem) and voorkomen (come about/happen).

There are a number of fixed expressions involving secondary 
motion/rest verbs which also have a participle (underlined) 
accompanying the secondary verb, eg begraven liggen (lay 
buried); gespaard blijven (remain saved); genoteerd staan 
(stand noted).

Criterion 4

Whether the secondary verb can occur in the frame:
As we have noted, Dutch lacks a continuous aspect equivalent to the English BE.....+ -ING paradigm, but uses the verb zijn (be) and the phrase "aan het V-en". For example

14. Vader is aan het viss-en
father is at the fish INF
father is fishing.

All Dutch verbs can occur in the V2 slot, but only a small number of secondary verbs (16 in the ANS sample) can occur in the V1 slot. In addition to zijn (be), these are listed below with an example for each and again grouped on the basis of their semantic types. It should be noted that some verbs in this group have the same subject in both the main and complement clause and some allow the introduction of a new role as subject of the secondary verb.

(a) GIVING

brengen (bring)

15. die opmerking bracht me aan het twijfel-en
that remark brought me at the doubt INF
that remark cast me into doubt

krijgen (get)

16. de politie kreeg hem aan het prat-en
the police got him at the talk INF

(b) PERCEPTION

vinden (find)

17. ze vond hem aan het af-wass-en
she found him at the up wash INF
she found him washing up
zien (see)

18. we zagen haar aan het schoffel-en in de tuin
we saw her at the shuffle INF in the garden
we saw her shuffeling (about) in the garden

horen (hear)

19. we horen haar aan het zing-en
we hear her at the sing INF
we hear her singing

(c) EVENT

blijken (seem)

20. Ze bleek aan het schilder-en
sche seemed at the paint INF
she seemed to be painting

liijken (seem)

21. hij leek wel aan het train-en
he seemed well at the train INF
he seemed to be really training

(d) MOTION/REST

blijven (stay)

22. we blijven aan het klimm-en
we stay at the climb INF
we are keeping on climbing

gaan (go)

23. we gaan aan het et- en
we go at the eat INF
we are going to start eating

zetten (put)

24. hij zette zijn assistent aan het typ- en
he put his assistant at the type INF
he set his assistant typing
houden (hold)

25. hij houd de machine aan het draai-en
he hold the machine at the turn INF
he keeps the machine turning

(e) AFFECT

raken (hit/touch)

26. de twee partijen raken aan het vecht-en
the two parties touched at the fight INF
the two parties began fighting

slaan (hit)

27. de matrozen sloegen aan het muit-en
the sailors hit at the mutiny INF
the sailors began to mutiny

maken (make)

28. hij maakt mij zo aan het lach-en
he makes me so at the laugh INF
he makes me laugh so

(f) AUXILIARY

hebben (have)

29. ik heb de motor net weer aan het lop-en
I have the motor just again at the run INF
I have just got the motor running again

We will discuss the category AUXILIARY later. At this point it should be noted that four of these verbs can only function as secondary verbs under very limited circumstances, namely in this frame only, and must thus be considered more marginal than the others. These are brengen (bring); houden (hold/keep); maken (make); and slaan (hit).
Criterion 5

A small number of secondary verbs can take a construction of the form PREPOSITION + INFINITIVE. This is a different construction to the aan het....+INF discussed above.

An example with zijn (be) is:

30. vader is uit viss-en
   father is out fish INF
   father is out fishing

There are 8 other verbs that can take this construction. These are again grouped with examples:

(i) MODALS

hoeven...niet (be unnecessary)

31. je hoeft niet uit wandel-en, als je niet wilt.
   you need not out walk INF if you not want
   you don’t have to go out walking if you don’t want to

cunnen (can)

32. de koningin kon niet meer uit rijd-en
   the queen could not more out ride INF
   the queen could no longer go out riding

mogen (may)

33. met zulk mooi weer moet ik gewoon uit fiets-en
   with such nice weather must I naturally out cycleINF
   with such nice weather I must naturally go out cycling

wilen (want)

34. hij mag gelukkig weer uit wandelen van de dokter
   he may luckily again out walk INF from the doctor
   luckily, the doctor has let him go out walking again

35. ik zou best eens een keer uit et- en will- en
   I would really once one time out eat INF will INF
   for once I would really like to go out and eat
(ii) MOTION/REST

gaan (go)

36. vader gaat uit viss-en
father goes out fish INF
father is going out fishing

liggen (lay)

37. zijn vader schijnt op sterv-en te ligg-en
his father appears on die INF to lie INF
his father appears to be at the point of dying

staan (stand)

38. de ketel stond op spring-en
the kettle stood on jump INF
the kettle was at the point of boiling

These examples are from ANS and some informants felt that
the examples of MODALS in this frame would be better Dutch
if the verb gaan (go) was added, eg

32(b) de koningin kon niet meer uit rijd-en gaan
the queen could not more out ride INF go INF
the queen could not go out riding any more

34(b) hij mag gelukkig weer uit gaan wandel-en
he may luckily again out go INF walk INF
luckily he may go out walking again

My informants, living in Australia, may not be as up to date
with the language as the ANS contributors. Acceptability of
deleting gaan in this type of construction may be
relatively recent.

CRITERION 6

This criterion concerns reduced subordinate clause
constructions illustrated in Chapter 2. An example of this
would be:
35(a) Hij beloofde de koning dat hij trouw zal blijven
He promised the king that he would remain loyal

35(b) Hij beloofde de koning trouw te zullen blijven
He promised the king to remain loyal

In its sample of 79 secondary verbs ANS gives 10 verbs that allow this reduction: helpen (help) and leren (learn) and 8 SPEAKING verbs: beloven (promise); bevelen (command); dreigen (threaten); gebieden (command); belasten (order); verbieden (forbid); and vragen (ask).

5.3 SECONDARY VERB TYPES

On the basis of these six criteria and the word order constraints operating for verb sequences discussed in Chapter 4, we now consider the semantic categories for the syntactic facts noted above. We have seen that the distinction between primary and secondary verbs does not form mutually exclusive categories, and we now propose that the primary/secondary distinction be conceptualised as two distinct tendencies. At one extreme are those verbs that can only function as secondary verbs, then those verbs that are secondary in most contexts but can also function as primary verbs, then verbs that are essentially primary but may have the possibility of being used as secondary verbs in one or two contexts and finally, those that are always primary. Using this as basis, we now posit 19 categories of secondary verbs as follows:
SECONDARY-1

There is only one verb in this type: worden (become) which takes the rightmost position in a verb sequence. It is used for forming passives and differs from all other secondary verbs in that it can only be followed by a past participle. Because worden does not take an infinitive clause, we will not consider it further here.

SECONDARY-2

There are 5 verbs in this type: hangen (hang); liggen (lay); lopen (walk); staan (stand) and zitten (sit). They occupy the second last slot in a verb sequence, are compulsorily groupforming and optionally take an infinitive with te (to). They are all primary MOTION/REST-A verbs. Liggen and staan can also be used with a preposition + infinitive.

SECONDARY-3

There are three verbs in this type: blijven (stay), gaan (go) and komen (come) and they occupy the third slot in a verb sequence. Semantically they belong to the MOTION/REST-B primary verb sub-type. All three take infinitives without te (to) and are obligatorily groupforming. In contrast to SECONDARY-2 verbs, all three can occur with aan het (at the), and all three, like liggen and staan, can occur with a...
preposition + infinitive (ANS only gives gaan in this frame):

35. vader gaat/blijkt/komt uit vissen
father goes/stays/comes out fishing

SECONDARY- 4

There are four verbs that occupy the fourth slot in a verb sequence: (be)horen (be proper); dienen (serve); durven (dare); and weten (know). These verbs have previously been allocated to different semantic types, and it seems obvious that there is no common semantic theme here. Syntactically these verbs also behave very differently from each other. Durven and one of the uses of weten take te-less infinitives, whereas the other two always take infinitives with te. An example where te is not allowed after weten is:

36. ik heb hem daar nog wet- en (*te) won- en
I have him there still know INF (to) live INF
I knew him when he was living there

Dienen and durven are compulsorily groupforming while (be)horen and weten are not.

It seems clear therefore that although these verbs can take the same spot in a verb sequence, they have nothing else in common and we must conclude that they do not form a semantic type of secondary verb. As we will see, weten (know) is classified with the THINKING S/10 type, dienen (serve) with GIVING S/12. We will come back to durven (dare) and (be)horen (belong).
The verbs that occupy the fifth slot, hebben (have) and zijn (be), form a natural set which we will call SECONDARY-4 verbs and which are referred to as AUXILIARY verbs in many traditional grammars. Both take te-less infinitives, both can take aan het + inf constructions and both are compulsorily groupforming. However only zijn can take a preposition.

37. vader is/*heeft uit vissen
father is/has out fishing

Both these verbs are used in forming the perfective, and as we have seen, zijn signals the perfective of a number of MOTION type verbs and hebben with others. When used in the perfective they must occupy the left most position and are inflected for person and number of the subject NP.

SECONDARY-5

There are 6 verbs in this group which occupy the 6th slot in a verb sequence: blijken (seem); denken (think); heten (name); lijken (resemble); schijnen (appear); voorkomen (happen). These verbs involve a judgement about the actuality of an event which we have called the EVENT type. Such epistemological hedges are common in languages.

All require an infinitive with te, and all of them allow the introduction of a new role as the subject of the main verb (Secondary types 1-4 all share the same roles as the main
verb). Only blijken and dunken are compulsorily groupforming, and three of them can function as copulas:

38. het blijkt/schijnt/lijkt goed
   it seems/appears/looks good

SECONDARY-6

This group occupies the seventh slot, or left most position in a verb sequence, except in the perfective when hebben (have) precedes it. They are usually referred to as MODALS in traditional grammars. They are: kunnen (can); moeten (must); mogen (may); willen (want); zullen (FUT); and (be)hoeven (need). They share their semantic roles with the main verb, take te-less infinitives, are groupforming and with the exception of zullen (FUT), can all take preposition plus infinitive constructions. In traditional grammars zullen is usually described as the future auxiliary, however its meaning is very complex. Kirsner (1979) has argued that zullen, along with kunnen (can) and moeten (must) are hypotheticals. It has no clear English equivalent.

Historically the proto-Germanic ancestor of willen became a future marker in English, leaving shall somewhat redundant), but it continued to mean want in Dutch. All this goes beyond this study and we have glossed zullen as FUT purely for practical purposes. We will come back to willen (want) when we consider verbs of the WANTING type.
SECONDARY-7

This is the largest group of secondary verbs identified in the study and all belong to the SPEAKING type. It will be recalled that PRIMARY-B SPEAKING verbs were of 2 sorts: the A type where the addressee role is usually omitted and the B type where the addressee is mapped onto 0. SPEAKING-B verbs were further sub-divided into those that can be used in direct speech and those which cannot. All the speaking verbs that have been identified by ANS as secondary verbs take infinitives with te and except for beloven (promise) and dreigen (threaten) which are compulsorily groupforming (G) in one frame only, none are compulsorily group forming. However, some are never groupforming (N) and some are optionally groupforming (NOG). When we put the relevant verbs into tabular form on the basis of their semantic sub-types we get:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B (i)</th>
<th>B (ii)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zeggen (say)</td>
<td>vragen (ask)</td>
<td>beloven (promise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beweren (state)</td>
<td>gebieden (order)</td>
<td>dreigen (threaten)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weigeren (refuse)</td>
<td>gelasten (order)</td>
<td>plegen (pledge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eisen (demand)</td>
<td>verbieden (forbid)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bevelen (command)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>verklaren (explain)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When we use ANS syntactic data we find that SPEAKING-A verbs that can function as secondary verbs are all not obligatory groupforming. SPEAKING-B verbs type (i) are all not groupforming and SPEAKING-B verbs type (ii) are groupforming in one syntactic frame and non-groupforming in all others.
In addition, except for plegen (pledge), only the SPEAKING-B verbs listed above can form reduced subordinate clauses. This is quite a remarkable "match" between the ANS analysis of the syntactic behaviour of this set of verbs and the SPA typological framework. Further work is needed to see if some of the verbs that are not included in the ANS framework also fit the above.

SECONDARY-B

This subtype comprises the PERCEPTION verbs that can function as secondary verbs. PRIMARY-B PERCEPTION verbs have been divided into three subtypes: A, immediate perception verbs; B, perception of something previously not apparent and C, caused perception. Following are the ANS secondary PERCEPTION verbs grouped on the basis of common SYNTACTIC criteria:

(i) (ii) (iii)

beogen (have in view) zoektien (look for) hoor (IMP listen)
kijk (IMP look) horen (hear)
ruiken (smell) vinden (find)
voelen (feel) zien (see)

Both beogen and zoeken take an infinitive with te, while all the others take te-less infinitives. Beogen is not obligatorily groupforming, while all the others are. Except for zien and horen which can take aan het + INF, none of the
other syntactic criteria discussed above apply to these verbs.

The "match" is not as neat as for SPEAKING verbs, however we can conclude from this that, first, no PERCEPTION-C verbs can function as secondary verbs, and second, the distinction between PERCEPTION-A and -B verbs has no clear cut syntactic consequences.

SECONDARY-9

This group is drawn from the caused motion/rest groups and comprises:

brengen (bring); houden (hold); leggen (lay); zetten (put).

Except for leggen and zetten, these can only be used with aan het with te-less infinitives. Leggen cannot occur with aan - het and can only occur in such sentences as:

39. we hebben de baby te slap-en ge-legd
    we have the baby to sleep INF PP laid
    we have laid the baby to sleep

zetten can occur both in sentences such as 39 and with aan het in such a sentence as 40:

40. hij zette zijn assistent aan het typ-en
    he set his assistant to typing
    he set his assistant at the type INF

Vallen (fall) may also belong here. It is compulsorily groupforming and takes an infinitive with te.
This group consists of THINKING type verbs that can function as secondary verbs. There are at least four of them: denken (think); geloven (believe); menen (mean); vergeten (forget).

Weten (know) which as we have seen takes the fourth slot in a verb sequence possibly also belongs here and possibly leren (learn/teach) also.

They all take infinitives with te (with the exception of weten, but then in one frame only and leren) and are not compulsorily groupforming (again with the exception of weten and one usage of leren).

This group has only two members: beginnen (begin) and besluiten (end), both of which are MOTION/REST-F verbs. When functioning as secondary verbs they take an infinitive with te and are not compulsorily groupforming.

There are two verbs in this group: geven (give) and krijgen (receive) both belonging to the GIVING type. Both are compulsorily groupforming, but differ in two respects. First, krijgen can take an infinitive without te while geven requires it, and second, krijgen can occur with aan het
while *geven* cannot. The verb *dienen* (serve) may also belong here.

**SECONDARY-13**

This group also consists of three verbs belonging to the AFFECT type. They are

- *maken* (make)
- *raken* (touch)
- *slaan* (hit)

All three are only marginally secondary verbs in that they can only occur with *aan het* with an infinitive with *te*.

**SECONDARY-14**

This group has no corresponding primary-B verb group and each verb is highly secondary in its functioning (we have classed Dutch verbs such as *oefenen* (practice) as a primary-A verb of TRYING). They correspond to the SPA TRYING group for English and include four verbs:

- *pogen* (try)
- *proberen* (try)
- *trachten* (attempt)
- *wagen* (risk)

All take infinitives with *te* and all are compulsorily groupforming.

**SECONDARY-15**

This group also has no corresponding primary verbs. There are two of them: *laten* (let/allow); *vermogen* (permit). Both
are compulsorily groupforming but laten takes a te-less infinitive whereas vermogen requires te.

SECONDARY-16

This group comprises essentially secondary verbs, but includes a few that are basically primary. They correspond to the WANTING type in the SPA framework and include three groups:

(i) willen (want)

(ii) hopen (hope); verlangen (long for); verzuimen (neglect); wensen (wish)

(iii) hankeren (hanker for); begeren (desire);

The first of these, willen, has already been identified as a MODAL verb and included in the SECONDARY-6 group. It can be used as a primary-A and primary-B verb as well. All three uses are illustrated below:

41. ik wil het
   I want it

42. ik wil dat Jan thuis komt
   I want that John home comes

43. ik wil geen aspirine hebben
   I want no aspirin have INF
   I don’t want any aspirin

The second group can all function as secondary verbs. All of them take te with a following infinitive and all of them are compulsorily groupforming.
5.4 RESIDUAL SECONDARY VERBS

There are 7 verbs in the ANS base of 79 not yet accommodated in the SPA framework. Two of these are single representatives of primary-A semantic types that can act as secondary verbs and both take an infinitive with te, i.e:

achtten (esteem) CORPoreal-C (Social deference verbs) which is groupforming
vrezen (dread) EMOTION-A which is non-groupforming

The remaining six are of two groups:

(i) doen (do) and helpen (help)

(ii) those residual verbs that occupy the fourth slot in a verb sequence: durven (dare); dienen (serve) weten (know) and (be)horen (belong).

We have already proposed that dienen (serve) and weten (know) belong to the GIVING and THINKING types respectively. The view taken here is that each of the remaining four verbs probably need a category of its own: DOING, HELPING, DARING and BELONGING.

5.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have reviewed the SPA framework for categorising English secondary verbs and proposed a completely different framework for Dutch secondary verbs consisting of 18 subtypes. The new framework is developed on the basis of integrating syntactic and semantic criteria and gives a novel means of describing Dutch infinitive complements.
6.1 PRELIMINARY

We have seen so far that it is possible to classify Dutch verbs into various semantic types on the basis of a combination of semantic and syntactic criteria, but for Dutch at least, semantic types are not a good predictor as to whether a verb can take a complement clause or what kind of complement clause it can take. Up to now we have focussed primarily on lexical verbs, but included some compound verbs to illustrate the range of verbs falling within a particular semantic type. In this chapter we look at the processes for forming Dutch compound verbs and their relationship to the various semantic types we have posited earlier, and in particular, whether compound verb formation bears any relation to a verb's capacity to take a complement clause.

Dutch has two productive processes for forming new verbs. The first involves adding certain verbal prefixes to other verbs, nouns or adjectives. The prefixes that can be added are be-, de-, her-, ont-, ver- and a zero form, but as might be expected, not all verbs, nouns or adjectives can occur with each of these prefixes and we will see that semantic types offer some explanation for the constraints that occur. As mentioned previously, we call these new verbs "compound verbs" and those compound verbs formed by the addition of a
prefix we call "derived compound verbs" (DCVs). Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASE</th>
<th>DVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beginnen (begin)</td>
<td>herbeginnen (recommence)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lopen (walk)</td>
<td>ontlopen (escape)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knoeien (meddle)</td>
<td>verknoien (spoil, bungle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spreken (speak)</td>
<td>bespreken (announce)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second process involves the combination of two free morphemes, usually an adverb/verb combination, but adjective/verb, noun/verb and even verb/verb can occur. We call these "co-ordinated compound verbs" (CCV's). Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BASES</th>
<th>CCV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varen (sail)</td>
<td>binnenvaren (enter harbour)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zitten (sit)</td>
<td>bijzitten (mind)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lezen (read)</td>
<td>verderlezen (read on)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slaan (hit)</td>
<td>dichtslaan (slam shut)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>houden (hold)</td>
<td>bezighouden (be occupied)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>springen (jump)</td>
<td>hoogspringen (high-jump)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakken (cut)</td>
<td>houdhakken (chop wood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zuigen (suck)</td>
<td>stofzuigen (vacuum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lezen (read)</td>
<td>liplezen (lip-read)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lachen (laugh)</td>
<td>glimlachen (smile)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varen (sail)</td>
<td>spelevaren (go boating)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regenen (rain)</td>
<td>plasregenen (pour rain)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CCVs are of two types: separable and inseparable. With very few exceptions, inseparable verbs stress the first syllable of the CCV while separable verbs place the stress on the first syllable of the base. Thus, 'voorstellen (introduce)
with the stress on the first syllable is inseparable, while
voor'spellen (predict) with the stress on the first syllable
of the verbal component: spellen (spell)- is separable.

As the terminology suggests, inseparable verbs never revert
to their constituent components, but in certain contexts,
separable verbs must be split up. ANS observes that the
judgement as to whether a verb is separable or inseparable
is not easy to make, and this was confirmed by the
informants used for this study who frequently disagreed with
each other. We follow ANS judgements throughout.

Verbs that take zijn (be) or hebben (have) in the perfective
when used alone may swap when used in an inseparable CCV,
and inseparable CCVs often involve a substantial change in
meaning from their base word. We illustrate these as we
proceed. As we will see, there are exceptions in Dutch to
the processes we are about to examine, but Dutch has nothing
like the fragmentation and inconsistencies that bedevil an
adequate description of English word morphology.

To avoid observational biases only the ANS examples are
used.

6.2 ADJECTIVES

Before we consider the processes involved in verb formation,
we need to consider the semantics of Dutch adjectives in
some detail. As we will see, adjectives play a number of
roles in verb formation in Dutch and an SPA type typology of them is needed before we can proceed. We have already seen that Dutch adjectives, like all adjectives, modify nouns. When used attributively (i.e., before a noun) take an affix -e. We have also seen that there is no morphological distinction between Dutch adjectives and adverbs, and that distinguishing between them in some contexts is complex.

ANS divides Dutch adjectives into 6 semantic categories which can be summarised as follows:

1. **INHERENT PROPERTY**
   - (a) physical form and colour: eg vierkant, (square); blau (blue)
   - (b) relative judgement: eg aardig (nice); actual (real); interessant (interesting);
   - (c) derived properties: eg plantaardig (from plants); dierlijk (animal like); democratisch (democratic)

2. **CLASS MEMBERSHIP**
   - (a) geographic eg Fries (Friesian), Australien (Australian)
   - (b) personal names eg gregoriaan (Gregorian); euclidische (Euclidian)

3. **SUBSTANCES**
   - eg zilver (silver); plastic (plastic); gietiezeren (leaden); glas (glass)

4. **CIRCUMSTANCES**
   - (a) ziek (sick); dronken (drunk); blij (glad) vol (full)
   - (b) adjectives that can only accompany verbs: ahandig maken (trick) braak liggen (lie fallow) kwijt raken (lose) indachtig zijn (be mindful of)
5. TIME

eg voorbij (past); huidig (present/modern); aanstande (forthcoming); vierdagse (every four days)

6. ABSOLUTE JUDGEMENTS

eg verdomd (dammed); stom (dumb); schijnbaar (apparent); noodzakelijk (necessary)

These differ considerably from the semantic categorisation proposed for adjectives in the SPA framework. They are nevertheless interesting and provide a useful starting point for attempting an SPA type categorisation. They differ from SPA categories in that ANS does not systematically seek to relate its semantic categories to the syntactic facts of the language.

SPA proposes 10 semantic types for English adjectives which substantially match the categories needed for Dutch adjectives, but leave some that do not fit. As a consequence it has been necessary to develop a new categorisation for Dutch adjectives as follows:

1. DIMENSION: vierkant (square); groot (big); lang (long); dik (thick); dun (thin); hoog (high); vol (full)

2. PHYSICAL PROPERTY: hard (hard); schoon (clean); koel (cool); sterk (strong); scherp (sharp); zwak (weak); krachtig (strong)

3. SPEED: vlug (fast); langzaam (slow); schielijk (sudden)

4. AGE/TIME: nieuw (new); oud (old); jong (young); modern (modern); verleden (former); toekomende (forthcoming); jaarlijks (annual)
5. COLOUR: rood (red); zwart (black); blau (blue); geel (yellow); groen (green)

6. VALUE: prachtig (beautiful); aardig (nice); flink (fine); goed (good); slecht (bad); vreemd (strange); gelukkig (lucky); interessant (interesting)

7. DIFFICULTY: makelijk (easy); moeilijk (difficult); envoudige (simple)

8. QUALIFICATION: waar (true); echt (real); zuiver (pure); zeeker (certain); normaal (normal); algemeen (common); gewoon (common); waarschijnlijk (probable); mogelijk (possible)

9. HUMAN PROPENSITY: blij (happy); ziek (sick); bang (fearful); boos (cross); woedend (furious); jaloers (jealous); gelukkig (happy); dankbaar (thankful); zorgzaam (caring); voorzichtig (careful); vurig (eager); knap (clever); dom (dumb); stom (stupid); vriendelijk (friendly, kind); wreed (cruel)

10. SIMILARITY: dergelijk (such); anderen (other)

11. NATIONALITY Fries (Friesian); Belgisch (Belgian); Europese (European); Japans (Japanese)

12. NUMERAL: Eerst (first); tweede (second)

13. SUBSTANCE: silver (silver); plastic (plastic); tin (tin); glas (glass)

We do not seek to justify this typology here, however some evidence supporting its adequacy will become apparent when we apply it in the verb formation processes discussed below.
6.3. DERIVED COMPOUND VERBS (DCV)

(a) verbs formed without prefixes

(i) Many Dutch nouns can function as verbs without the addition of a prefix. In the citation form they take the suffix -en (the infinitive marker) and they can take the full range of verb inflections. The resulting DCV has the general meaning of performing the action denoted by the base noun. Examples are:

- baden (bathe); bloeden (bleed); douchen (shower);
- fietsen (cycle); olien (oil); vissen (fish); winkelen (shop); badmintonnen (play badminton); vraagen (ask/question).

However, the precise meanings are not always predictable from the noun. For example, the Dutch word for a strawberry is aardbei, aardbeien does not mean to grow strawberries, but to pick them. The verb from the Dutch noun for the animal, hampster, hamsteren, does not mean to raise or hunt hamsters, but to hoard food.

ANS points out that this process is productive, particularly for what Dixon calls concrete reference nouns in the ANS framework. Where resultant verbs formed from such nouns are either AFFECT or CORPOREAL verbs (the vast majority) it is unlikely that they can take complement clauses. At least a complement taking AFFECT or CORPOREAL DCV has not yet been found.
Activity and speech act nouns can also form the basis of DCVs, eg the SPEAKING verb vragen (ask) may be derived from the noun vraag (question), although in this case informants are divided on whether it is an example of a verb being formed into a noun or a noun into a verb. In this case the resultant verb can take a complement clause. Similarly with such verbs as beantwoorden (answer, antwoord = answer); bedoelen (mean, doel = target); beoordelen (judge, oordeel = judgement).

SPA type abstract reference nouns or state/property nouns, cannot be used in verb formation.

(ii) Dutch adjectives can also be formed into verbs without the addition of a prefix to give the general meaning "to make more of whatever the adjective denotes", or more generally, "bring into a state". There are two groups: those whose infinitive is formed by adding the infinitive affix -en and those whose infinitive is formed by adding the affix -'eren with the stress on the first syllable.

Examples of each type are:

-**en**
-**-eren**

rijpen (become ripe) kalmeren (calm, soothe)
dunnen (thin out) kleineren (make small)
goden (kill) halveren (to halve)
heftigen (respond angrily) bruineren (to burnish)
bruinen (brown) koelen (cool)
snellen (hasten, rush)
There is an interesting contrast between bruinen/bruineren which are both derived from the COLOUR adjective bruin (brown) however the -eren affix is not productive, and seems to be associated with words borrowed from French (see also DCVs formed with de- below). The DCVs in this group are derived from four semantic types of adjective: PHYSICAL PROPERTY (rijp (ripe); dood (dead); koel (cool); kalm (calm)); DIMENSION (dun (thin); klein (small); half (half)); HUMAN PROPENSITY (erg (bad); heftig (heavy)) and SPEED (vlug (fast)). The resultant verbs cannot take complement clauses.

(b) Verbs formed with be-

The prefix be- can be added to other verbs, nouns and adjectives to form a transitive verb. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERBS</th>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>ADJECTIVES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bekijken (inspect)</td>
<td>bedijken (dam)</td>
<td>beangstigen (alarm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bewonderen (admire)</td>
<td>bemannen (man)</td>
<td>bekoelen (cool)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beklimmen (climb)</td>
<td>betegelen (tile)</td>
<td>bevuilen (dirty)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beoordelen (judge)</td>
<td>bewolken (cloud)</td>
<td>beveiligen (protect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berijden (ride over)</td>
<td>bezielen (inspire)</td>
<td>bevrijden (free)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bespreken (discuss)</td>
<td>bevolken (populate)</td>
<td>bezorgen (look after)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trans base</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedienen (serve)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bebouwen (develop)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>begieten (water plants)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bezigen (chant)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All these verbs are transitive. ANS give one exception: bezuinigen (economise) which is used intransitively as in:

1. we zullen moeten gaan bezuinigen
   we shall must go economise
   we will have to economise
This process is productive and common. In Stern's (1979) sample of 1500 verbs he lists 129 of the more frequently used of them, but in a literature search one could expect to find many more. The relation between the semantic type of the base and the semantic type of the resultant verb is not straightforward. Almost any PHYSICAL PROPERTY and SPEED adjective can form the base of a compound verb with the general meaning: "to make more of what the adjective denotes". This applies to a somewhat lesser extent to DIMENSION and COLOUR adjectives, but probably to no other adjectives.

We have seen that CONCRETE REFERENCE nouns can potentially form verbs with the general meaning: "performing the action associated with the noun" and that "association" can be quite vague: ranging from "making what the noun denotes" to "behaving like the noun behaves". We have also seen that any verb derived by this process is usually intransitive. Such verbs can be made transitive through the addition of be-. For example: fiets (cycle); fietsen (to cycle); befieksen (to cycle someone). A small number of nouns such as vraag (question); antwoord (answer); doel (target); teken (sign) can be formed into verbs which can take complement clauses, but there is no apparent relationship between the semantic type of noun and whether or not the verb can take a complement clause.
(c) Verbs formed with de-

There is only a small number of these which occur in verbs borrowed from French. Examples are:

- deballoteren (to blackball);
- demagnetiseren (to demagnetise);
- demaskeren (to dismask);
- demilitariseren (to demilitarise).

This process is virtually non-productive and will not be considered further.

(d) Verbs formed with dis-

These are also borrowed words where the prefix has the same meaning as in English. Again, the process is virtually unproductive and will not be considered further. Examples are:

- disfunctioneren (to make disfunctional);
- disharmoieren (to disharmonise);
- diskwalificeren (disqualify)

(e) Verbs formed with her-

These have the meaning of "renewing the direction of the action denoted by the base verb". It is only used with verbs and according to ANS, is productive, particularly in some regional areas. Examples are:

- herbebossen (re-afforest);
- herbeginnen (recommence);
- herbouwen (rebuild);
- herinneren (recall);
- herontdekken (rediscover);
- heropvoeden (re-educate);
- herschilderen (repaint);
- hertrouwen (remarry);
- herwaarderen (revalue)

This prefix can only occur with action verbs whether they be lexical verbs or compounds. For example the base verb bebosen means to plant trees, but this is itself a compound
verb with its base the noun bos (wood/forest) and the prefix be-.

ANS points out that speakers differ in where they place the stress in these verbs. There are regional and ideosyncratic differences as to whether the stress is placed on the prefix or the first syllable of the base. Where the base verb can take a complement clause, the resultant compound verb can also take one.

(f) Verbs formed with ont-

The prefix ont- can occur with a large number of verbs, nouns and adjectives as the base. Stern lists 48 of them in his sample of 1500.

DCVs with a verbal base have three distinct meanings none of which are productive:

(i) the converse of the action denoted by the base verb eg onthullen (unveil); ontladen (unload); ontrollen (unroll); ontsieren (disfigure); onsluiten (unlock); ontspannen (unwind); ontstoppen (unblock) ontwortelen (uproot);

(ii) a widening of the action denoted by the base verb eg ontglippen (slip from grasp); ontgroeien (outgrow); ontlopen (run away); ontvallen (drop from one's hands); ontrekken (withdraw); ontluchten (escape);

(iii) an inchoative force eg ontspreken (begin to burn); ontdooien (thaw); ontkiemen (germinate); ontvlammen (kindle); ontwaken (awaken)

All the DCVs in the first and third groups have AFFECT verbs in their base except for waken (wake) which is CORPOREAL,
and the second group have MOTION/REST verbs in their base. The DCVs all belong to the same semantic type as their base verbs.

DCVs in this group with a noun as base mean the converse of the state of affairs denoted by the noun, eg

ontpitten (stone of fruit); ontbladeren (defoliate); ontbolsteren (shell); onthoofden (behead); ontkrachten (weaken); ontkurken (uncork); ontluizen (delouse); onvolken (depopulate).

The base nouns are all concrete reference nouns and the resultant DCVs are all AFFECT verbs.

DCVs with an adjective as base in this group have as their meaning the removal of the property to which the adjective refers. Examples are:

ontgroenen (de-greening, ie initiate); ontharden (soften up); onzilten (desalinate).

A number of DCVs formed with ont- can take complement clauses, eg:

ontbieden (summon/send for); ontdekken (discover); ontgaan (escape notice); onthouden (remember); ontkennen (deny)

but this does not seem to be related to the semantic type of the underlying base nor the process for deriving this form of DCV.
(g) Verbs formed with ver-

DCV's formed with the prefix ver- are very common (183 in Stern's sample of 1500). They occur with other verbs, nouns or adjectives as their base. The prefix is always unstressed. When it occurs with verbal bases it has four distinct meanings:

(i) the action depicted by the verb has a negative impact on the NP in the O function. With this meaning it is productive. ANS gives the following example:

2. door dat voortdurende heen en weer rijden through that continual to and fro ride INF

ver-rijden je wel veel kostbare tijd VER travel you well much costly time

through that continual riding back and forth you spend much valuable travel time.

As the example illustrates, the semantic force of ver-is the negative impact on the object, in this case "much costly time". Other examples with typical objects included are:

zin tijd verbabbelien (waste time chattering); papier verbranden (burn papers); zin geld verdobbelen (gamble his money); benzine verrijden (waste petrol); tijd verknoeien (waste time); zin geld versnoepen (squander his money); verslapen (waste time sleeping); verpraten (talk idly).

The verb verhongeren (to be overcome by hunger), is intransitive and an exception.
The base verbs are, in every case, primary-A verbs of the CORPOREAL and AFFECT types. None can take complement clauses.

(ii) the action depicted by the verb has an unwanted or unintended result. These DCVs are generally reflexive. Examples are:

zich vergissen (to make a mistake); zich verlezen (to misread); zich verrijden (to get lost); zich verslapen (to sleep in); zich verspreken (to make a slip of the tongue); zich vertillen (to strain oneself lifting); zich vertypen (to mistype)

Related non-reflexive examples include:

vergroeien (grow out of shape); verdraaien (distort); verleiden (mislead, seduce)

(iii) The meaning of this group is to broaden the scope of the activity depicted by the base verb. This meaning is not productive. Examples are:

verbannen (exile); verdrijven (drive away); verjagen (chase away); verstoten (repudiate, disown); vervliegen (evaporate); vervloeien (overflow); verwaaieren (blow away).

(iv) This is the largest group of DVCs formed with the prefix ver- and it has the meaning of change in the location or circumstance of the object. Examples are:

veschikken (re-arrange); verwisselen (exchange); verhakken (tie); verkleden (change clothes); verknippen (cut up); verplanten (re-plant); verschuiven (remove); vervormen (re-form); verzetten (remove).
The process for adding the prefix ver- to nouns is productive and has the general meaning "to become or make that which the noun denotes". Examples are:

- **uverafgoden** (idolise);
- **verassen** (surprise);
- **verhouten** (make into wood);
- **verkalken** (calcify);
- **vernikkelen** (nickel-plate);
- **versuikerlen** (sugar);
- **verzanden** (silt up);
- **verseksen** (sexed up);
- **vertrossen** (bunch together).

There is a small, non-productive group which has the meaning "to change or make different", ie these have a similar meaning to the ver- + VERB examples in (iv) above. Examples are:

- **verhuizen** (shift houses);
- **verboeken** (exchange books);
- **verbedden** (put into another bed);
- **verjaren** (celebrate one's birthday);
- **vertalen** (translate).

The prefix ver- can be used with adjectives to denote "to make or become in greater measure whatever the adjective denotes". This is a productive process that can be used with almost any adjective, including the first step of their comparative forms. (Dutch has the same -er suffix as English to form comparative adjectives eg **beter** (better);
- **eger** (worse);
- **groener** (greener)). It is a very common process, but there are two variations in meaning. For example **verharden** can mean "to become harder" (ie more solid) as in:

3. cement **ver-hardt ook onder water**
   cement VER VER hardens also under water cement becomes hard under water

but it can also have the causative meaning "to make harder":

4. ze hebben de weg ver-hard
they have the road VER hardened
they have made the road harder

The verb verharden (harden) is an AFFECT-E (ie MAKING) verb in both cases. The difference lies in the transitivity of the verb. In 3 it is transitive while in 4 it is intransitive. ANS points out that all DCVs formed with ver- + ADJ have both meanings and that the causative reading is more common.

Examples of this group are:

veraangenamen (make/become pleasant); verarmen (impoverish); verburgerlijken (make/become civilised); verdubbelen (redouble); vergelen (make/become yellow); vermojen (make/become more tired); versimplen (simplify); vervlaamsen (make/become more Flemish); vervroegen (fix at an early date); verzwaren (make heavier, aggravate)

verwijden (widen)

and, using comparative forms:

verbeteren (make/become better); verergeren (make/become worse); verouderen (become older); verslechten (become worse); verwilderen (make/become confused); verwijderen (metaphorical, to remove SO from office, remove a stain, tumour etc);

There seems to be no correlation between the semantic type of adjective and the resultant verb type for this group.

Quite a number of verbs formed with ver- can take complement clauses, but there is no apparent correlation between semantic types. Examples of complement taking verbs formed with ver- include:

verbieden (forbid); verdenken (suspect); verbijsteren (bewilder/perplex); verbeelden (imagine); veranderen (change); vergeten (forget)
6.4. CO-ORDINATED COMPOUND VERBS

(a) adverb + verb

There are fifty-five adverbs that can be added to verbs to form CCVs. They comprise 32 lexical adverbs:

aan (on/at); achter (behind); af (off); bij (by);
binnen (inside); boven (above); buiten (outside);
doors (through); heen (towards); in (in); langs (along);
mee (with); mis (wrongly); na (after); neer (near);
om (about); onder (under); op (on); over (over);
rond (around); samen (together); tegen (against);
terecht (rightly); terug (backwards);
thuis (home); toe (to); uit (out); verder (further);
voor (for); voort (forward); weer (again); and weg (away);

and 23 compound adverbs:

aaneen (together); achteraf (from behind);
achterom (behind/the back way about); achterop (on the back);
achterover (backwards); achteruit (backwards);
bijeen (together); dooreen (pell mell, in confusion);
ineen (at once); omhoog (up high);
omlaag (down low); omver (down over); onderuit (out from under);
op (one upon another); opzij (aside); uiteen (apart);
vooraf (before hand); voorbij (beyond); voorop (in front); voorover (forward) and vooruit (beforehand).

With compound adverbs the stress is always on the second adverb.

The lists are drawn from ANS. It must be stressed that the English glosses are approximations only: the range of meanings for each adverb both in Dutch and English is very wide and there is considerable overlap in the meanings of individual adverbs in each language. There are too many to consider each in detail in this study, however as our goal here is to search for a possible relationship between Dutch verb formation processes and the capacity of the resultant compound verbs to take complement clauses, a sampling
approach is adequate. Accordingly we have selected the first, and thereafter every fifth adverb in the above listing. Again using ANS judgements, we divide them into two groups, separable and inseparable.

(a) **aan** (at)

CCVs with *aan* are relatively common. Stern gives 36 of them and they fall into four groups with different meanings.

Groups 1, 2 and 4 are productive:

- **Group 1:** nearness or in surface contact between the object and the action of the verb
- **Group 2:** the action of the verb takes a specific direction;
- **Group 3:** inchoative; and
- **Group 4:** (colloquial and implying disapproval) the disconnectedness of the action denoted by the verb, especially where the action has considerable duration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEPARABLE</th>
<th>INSEPARABLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group 1</strong></td>
<td><strong>Group 2</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aanbouwen (extend a building)</td>
<td>aanbiddend (adore)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aandoen (put on)</td>
<td>aanbidenen (accept an offer. There is no verb vaarden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aangeven (admit)</td>
<td>aangevenen (accept an offer. There is no verb vaarden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aangorden (put on a sword)</td>
<td>aangordenen (put on a sword)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aankleden (put on clothes)</td>
<td>aankleden (put on clothes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aankoppelen (couple together)</td>
<td>aankoppelenen (couple together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aanspelden (pin on)</td>
<td>aanspeldenen (pin on)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group 3</strong></td>
<td><strong>Group 4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aansnijden (begin to cut)</td>
<td>aanbranden (begin to burn (of food))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aanbranden (begin to burn (of food))</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Group 4</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aandragen (bring on)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aansjouwen (carry forward)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aankijken (look on)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aanleveren (deliver on)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aangooien (throw at)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
aangloeien (warm up)

Group 4
aankletsen (chatter on)
anneeren (winge on)
aanzeuren (fester on)
aanleuteren (drivel on)
aanschreewen (scream on)

The ANS examples show a reasonably close match with the semantic types of the SPA framework. Group 1 above, with the exception of aangeven and aanvarden are all AFFECT verbs. Group 2 is a mixture having representatives of the MOTION, AFFECT, CORPOREAL and PERCEPTION types. Group 3 are all AFFECT verbs and group 4 are all PRIMARY-A SPEAKING verbs, ie they cannot take complement clauses.

(b) binnen (inside)

CCVs with binnen can be formed with all MOTION verbs. The process is productive and the resultant CCVs are separable. Examples are:

binnengaan (go in); binnenglippen (slip in); binnenkomen (come in); binnenrijden (ride in); binnenvaren (sail in); binnenrollen (roll in); binnensijpelen (ooze/trickle in); binnenstrompelen (hobble in); binnenbrengen (bring in); binnendragen (carry in); binnenhouden (keep in); binnenkrijgen (get down food); binnenlaten (let in); binnenroepen (call in); binnensmokkelen (smuggle in).

(c) in (in)

All verbs formed with in- are separable. ANS gives four main types, the first three of which are productive:
(i) where the compound verb has the meaning that someone/thing comes into someone/thing through the action of the base verb. This process is productive and includes such examples as the following (the verb is underlined):

- giftige lucht inademen (breath in poison gas);
- de bal ingooien; (throw the ball in);
- een touw inhalen (bring the rope in);
- de gedenkplaat inmetselen (cement in the memorial plaque);
- een wasvoorschrift innaaien (sew in the washing instructions);
- inregenen (rain in);
- iets inslikken (swallow something);
- iets insluiten (enclose something);
- straatstenen instampen (stamp in cobblestones);
- winterpeen inzaaien (sow in winter carrots).

In these examples the verb types all involve activities usually performed by human agents and include a wide range of verb types including the CORPOREAL, MOTION and AFFECT types. When used transitively, it is the object (ie the target) that experiences being brought/put/moved in. This group should be distinguished from such AFFECT verbs as

- inwrijven (rub in), insmeren (wipe in) where it is something other than the target that goes in, eg

  5. hij smeert zijn rug in met olie
  he rubs his back in with oil

(ii) where the compound verb has the meaning that someone/thing goes in an inward direction, but not all the way, thus indicating getting smaller, or distorting inwards. Examples are:

- indrukken (press in);
- induwen (push in);
- een ruit ingooien (smash a window);
- inkrimpen (shrink);
- een jurk innemen (take in a dress);
- inschoppen (kick in);
- instampen (ram in);
- inzakken (sag)
(iii) where the compound verb has the meaning to make the target more functional. Examples are:

inhulden (inaugurate); schoenen inlopen (break in shoes); inluiden (ring in); een auto inrijden (run in a car); zich inspelen (get one's hand in); zich inwerken (get used to); inwijken (consecrate); inzegenen (consecrate)

(iv) where the compound has an inchoative meaning. This usage is not productive. Examples are:

indommelen (doze off); indutten (doze off); inslapen (sleep in); insluimeren (fall into a slumber).

(d) neer (down)

The process for forming compound verbs with neer (down) is productive when accompanied by verbs of MOTION. It forms separable verbs only and has the meaning of downward direction, but according to ANS not to the extent that "below" suggests. Examples are:

neerdalen (descend); neerploffen (crash down); neervallen (fall down); neerduwen (push down); neerknuppelen (cudgel down); neerleggen (lay down); neerslaan (knock down); neersmijten (throw down); neersteken (sting down); neerstampen (trample down); neerzetten (put down).

ANS gives the following examples which are not the result of the above productive process and have a different meaning:

neerlaten (let down); neerliggen (lay down); neerschrijven (write down); neertellen (count down); neerzien (look down); neerzitten (sit down)
It is difficult to see what these differences are, especially with the MOTION/REST verbs neer-laten/liggen/zitten (let/lay/sit down). Neertellen/schrijven (count/write down) while not involving actual MOTION/REST do involve a sort of directionality. It is arguable that neerzien (look down) is different. We saw earlier that zien (see) is a PERCEPTION verb, but neerzien cannot take a complement clause and could only be classified along with kijken (look) etc as a CORPoreal verb. The view taken here is that except for zien which is a probable exception, all the above verbs are part of the same productive process. None have been found that take complement clauses.

(e) rond (around)

Separable compound verbs can be productively formed by the addition of this adverb to MOTION verbs. Examples are:

rondbazuinen (trumpet forth); rondbrengen (take around); rondlopen (walk around); rondrijden (ride around); rondtrekken (pull around).

In some contexts the compound would have the meaning of going in a circle, eg:

6. we rijden het plein rond
we rode the square around
we rode around the square

None have been found that can take complements.
(f) **thuis** (home)

This adverb can be used with a number of verbs to indicate that the action of the verb occurs at or in relation to home. The process is not productive, and the resultant compound verbs are separable. Examples are:

- **thuisblijven** (stay home); **thuishoren** (belong home);
- **thuisbrengen** (bring home); **thuishalen** (take home);
- **thuishouden** (keep home); **thuiskomen** (come home);
- **thuislaten** (leave behind at home); **thuisliggen** (be at home, of something); **thuisvaren** (travel home);
- **thuisvinden** (find at home) **thuiszitten** (be at home, of somebody).

There are a number of semantic types involved here. They are predominantly verbs of REST (blijven (stay); houden (hold); liggen (lay); zitten (sit)) and verbs of MOTION (brengen (bring); halen (get); komen (come); varen (sail)) but also include a PERCEPTION verb (vinden (find)) where the meaning is that a perceiver finds someone/thing at home, and a verb that we have found difficult to classify in the SPA framework horen (belong).

(g) **voort** (forward)

This adverb when used in CCVs gives the base verb a durative aspect. The process is productive and compounds formed in this way are separable. Examples are:

- **voortbestaan** (continue to exist, survive);
- **voortdrijven** (drive on); **voorthelpen** (help on);
- **voortploegen** (plough on); **voortrijden** (ride on);
- **voortzetten** (continue on).

Again, none have been found that can take complement clauses.
(h) **achteraf** (from behind)

ANS claims that this adverb can be used in either a temporal or locative sense when combined with a verb base. It forms a separable compound. ANS gives one example, **achterafbrengen** (**bring from behind**) which it says is hardly used. It seems most felicitous with PERCEPTION verbs and with a temporal meaning:

- **achterafzien** (look after the event); **afterafhoren** (hearing after the event); **achterafbekeken** (examine after the event)

It has a very restricted range with the locative meaning:

- **achterafkomen** (come from behind) seems acceptable but

  *ahterafgaan** (go from behind) does not.

Only one of these, **achterafgezien** (look after the event) can take a complement clause.

(i) **achteruit** (out backwards)

This adverb only has a locative meaning. ANS says that the process is productive:

- **achteruitgaan** (go backwards); **achteruitduwen** (push backwards); **achteruitlopen** (walk backwards); **achteruitschuifelen** (shuffle backwards).

Clearly it goes with verbs of MOTION, but it can also be used figuratively: **achteruitboeren** (go down hill, boeren= farm/manage affairs). None can take complement clauses.
(j) omlaag (below)

This adverb forms compound verbs when combined with verbs of MOTION:

- omlaagduwen (push down);
- omlaaghalen (bring down);
- onlaaghouden (keep down);
- omlaaglopen (run down);

No complement taking verbs in this category have been found.

(k) uiteen (asunder/apart)

This adverb has the meaning to "widen" in a physical sense and is used in such compound verbs as:

- uiteenhalen (take apart);
- uiteenlopen (diverge);
- uiteendrijven (disperse);
- uiteenrukken (tear asunder);
- uiteenspatten (burst);
- uiteenvliegen (fly apart);

It is productive with both MOTION and AFFECT verbs. It can also be used figuratively: eg uiteenzetten (put apart = explain, expound); uiteenvallen (fall apart = separate/break up).

The verb uiteenzetten (explain/expound) can take a tensed complement.

(l) vooruit (before)

This adverb can be used in both a temporal and locative sense to form separable compound verbs. With GIVING verbs it has a temporal meaning, eg:

- vooruitbepalen (determine beforehand);
- vooruitbestellen (order in advance);
- vooruitbetalen (pay in advance);
- vooruitbrengen (bring in advance);
- vooruithelpen (help on);

and with MOTION/REST verbs it has a locative meaning:
vooruitlopen (walk ahead); vooruitkomen (come ahead); voruitrijden (ride ahead); voruitschoppen (kick ahead); voruitschieten (shoot ahead); voruitzetten (advance, e.g. the clock).

No examples taking complement clauses have been found.

6.5 OTHER FORMS OF COMPOUND VERBS

In addition to adverbs, compound verbs can be formed by adding adjectives, nouns or other verbs to base verbs. These processes are generally non-productive, however they are productive for four adjectives: dicht (closed); open (open); dood (dead) and vol (full). There is no obvious correlation between the semantic type of adjective and the semantic type of verb with which they can be combined. Similarly for the non-productive compounds, whether with adjectives, nouns or verbs, there is no correlation.

6.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter we sought to relate the typology of semantic types posited earlier to the processes involved in word formation and the implications of this for complementation. The results are somewhat mixed. On the one hand the capacity to form derived compound verbs does seem to be related to the semantic type to which a verb belongs, however, the capacity to form co-ordinated compound verbs seems much less clear. There seems to be no relation between word formation process and the capacity to take complement clauses. This result needs to be qualified in that it was based on a relatively small sample of verbs.
In this study we have undertaken a description of complement clauses in Modern Standard Dutch within the framework proposed by R.M.W. Dixon (1991) for English grammar.

Consistent with this approach, a taxonomy of Dutch verbs was developed on the basis of the semantic and syntactic properties of a sample of 1500 Dutch verbs in common usage, including both lexical and morphologically derived verbs.

The processes for deriving verbs and the semantic types to which each verb belongs were analysed in relation to their capacity to take complement clauses. Dutch has two types of complement cause, tensed complements and infinitive complements and the patterns of their usage was described.

The proposed taxonomy posited 20 semantic types for Dutch verbs many of which have multiple subtypes giving a total of 59 categories. Many of these categories include at least a few verbs which can take one or other type of complement clause. A few verbs can take both types of complement clause. This is a very different pattern to English where complement taking verbs fall into discrete semantic classes and there are a large number of classes that cannot take complement clauses at all.
As Dutch is genetically and areally close to English, the divergence in forming complement clauses between the two languages is striking and suggests the framework needs modification if it is to be applicable to languages other than English.
PROPOSED TAXONOMY OF SEMANTIC TYPES
WITH EXAMPLES

Column 1 contains examples of Dutch verbs that generally take NP arguments in their core roles (PRIMARY-A verbs). Column 2 contains those verbs that can take a tensed complement in one core role (PRIMARY-B verbs), and column 3 contains those verbs that can take an infinitive complement in one role (SECONDARY verbs).

While a classification of English verbs into PRIMARY A/B and SECONDARY verbs results in neat mutually exclusive classes, this is not the case for Dutch verbs, and even a cursory glance at the listing below will show extensive overlapping for many of the categories.

The proposed taxonomy identifies 20 Semantic types many of which include subtypes. There are 59 syntactico/semantic categories altogether.

The page numbers for each type/category refer to the place they are handled in the text.

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<td>lopen (walk)</td>
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<td>kruipen (crawl)</td>
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<td>glijden (slide)</td>
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<td>wankelen (totter)</td>
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<td>B. motion relative to a locus (p29)</td>
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<td>gaan (go)</td>
<td>S/3 (p125)</td>
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<td>komen (come)</td>
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<td>komen (come)</td>
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<td>vluchten (flee)</td>
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<td>arriveren (arrive)</td>
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<td>rijken (reach)</td>
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</table>
C. caused motion (p30)

brengen (bring)
passeren (pass)
sturen (send)
nemen (take)

duwen (push)

D. optional locus (p31)

volgen (follow)
sporen (track)
leiden (lead)
jagen (hunt)

E. rate of motion (p32)

hasten (haste)
spoeden (speed)
treuzelen (dawdle)
aarzelen (hesitate)
beuzelen (dawdle)

F. beginning motion (p32)

beginnen (begin)
starten (start)
stichten (found)
vestigen (establish)
incschepen (embark)

2. VERBS OF REST

A. mode of rest (p33)

staan (stand)
zitten (sit)
liggen (lie down)
hangen (hang)
knielen (kneel)
leunen (lean)

B. rest in relation to a locus (p35)

blijven (stay)
wonen (dwell)
logeren (lodge)
zetelen (settle)
overnachten (stay overnight)
C. caused rest (p35)

leggen (lay down)
zetten (put)
stellen (place)
plaatsen (place)

D. containment (p36)

bevatten (contain)
gevangnemen (imprison)
insluiten (enclose)
versamelen (gather together)
omringen (encircle)

E. holding (p36)

houden (hold)
grijpen (grasp)
pakken (hold)
vasthouden (hold fast)
aanpakken (grab)

F. coming/bringing to rest (p37)

besluiten (end)
stoppen (stop)
afmaken (finish)
eindigen (end)
afsluiten (close off)
beletten (prevent)

3. AFFECT VERBS

A. contact and slight impact on the target (p40)

raken (touch)
baden (bathe)
behandelen (handle)
dekken (cover)
buigen (bend)
kleuren (colour)
B. more severe impact on the target (p40)

- slaan (hit)
- bijten (bite)
- kerven (carve)
- stoten (bump)
- wrijven (rub)

C. destroys the target (p42)

- barsten (burst)
- breken (break)
- slachten (slaughter)
- slijten (wear)
- vernielen (ruin)

D. manufacturing and cooking (p42)

- bouwen (build)
- vormen (form)
- binden (tie)
- knopen (knot)
- koken (cook)

E. making (p43)

- maken (make)
- dwingen (force)
- scheppen (create)
- verdelen (improve)
- hervormen (reform)

4. GIVING

A. Allow dative movement (p45)

- geven (give)
- gunnen (grant)
- kopen (buy)
- lenen (lend)
- verkopen (sell)
B. Do not allow dative movement (p46)

(bed)ienen (serve)
betalen (pay)
begeven (bestow)
belonen (reward)
huuren (hire)

C. Receiving (p46)

krijgen (get/receive)
aannemen (accept)
accepteren (accept)
behalen (obtain)
onvangen (receive)

D. Exchanging (p46)

wisselen (exchange)
ruilen (swap)
wijzigen (change/alter)

S. CORPOREAL VERBS

A. Transitive bodily actions (p47)

eten (eat)
drinken (drink)
zuigen (suck)
kauwen (chew)
spugen (spit)

B. Intransitive bodily actions (p47)

lachen (laugh)
uilen (cry)
slapen (sleep)
bibberen (shiver)
beven (tremble)
C. social deference (p48)
achten (esteem)
groeten (greet)
eren (honour)
verachten (scorn)
onderwerpen (subject)

6. PERCEPTION VERBS

A/A intransitive sub-type (p49)
kijken (look)
luisteren (listen)
gluren (lean)
loeren (peer)
opletten (watch out)

A/B transitive sub-type (p50)
zoeken (look for)
onderzoeken (examine)
dorzien (look over)
navorsen (explore)
herzien (review)

B/A Immediate perception (p82)

S/8 (p130)

B/B Expected perception (p83)

S/8 (p130)

B/C Cause to perceive (p83)

S/8 (p130)
7. SPEAKING

A/A intransitive sub-type (p51)

praten (talk)
spreken (speak)
schertsen (joke)
spellen (spell)
tellen (count)

A/B transitive sub-type (p51)

danken (thank)
honen (jeer)
aanbidden (worship)
prijzen (praise)
uitspreken (pronounce)

B/A (p89)

zeggen (say)
gillen (yell)
schrijven (write)
stamelen (stammer)
bidden (pray)

B/B (p90)

eisen (demand)
vragen (ask)
antwoorden (answer)
bieden (offer)
dreigen (threaten)

8. EMOTION VERBS

A/A intransitive sub-type (p51)

jubelen (exult)
kwijnen (pine)
lijden (suffer)

B/A (p92)

benijden (envy)
genieten (enjoy)
schrikken (be frightened)
vrezen (dread)
A/B transitive sub-type

amuseren (amuse)
kalmeren (kalm)
kwel len (vex)
troosten (console)
len igen (alleviate)

B/B (p93)
aanwennen (get used to)
betreuren (regret)
schamen (shame)

9. VERBS OF THINKING

A/A
kennen (know)
herkennen (recognise)
constateren (diagnose)
geringschatten (have a low opinion of)
studeren (study)

B/A have in mind (p85)

denken (think) denken (think)
geloven (believe) geloven (believe)
menen (mean) menen (mean)
twijfelen (doubt) vermoeden (suspect)
peinzen (ponder) mijmeren (muse)

B/B bring into mind (p86)

vergeten (forget) vergeten (forget)
derinneren (remember) vergissen (mistake)
onthouden (remember) herroepen (recall)

B/C knowing (p87)

weten (know) weten (know)
verstaan (understand) begrijpen (understand)
aannemen (assume)
10. TRYING

A. practicing (p52)

oefenen (practice)
instuderen (practice)
beoefenen (study/practice)
uitoefenen (try out)

S/14 (p133)
pogen (try)
proberen (try)
trachten (attempt)
wagen (risk)

11. EVENT VERBS

A. Weather verbs (p52)

regenen (rain)
donderen (thunder)
misten (mist)
stormen (storm)
tochten (draught)

B (p94)
baten (avail)
gebeuren (happen)
gelukken (succeed)
geschieden (succeed)

S/5 (p127)
blijken (seem)
heten (name)
liijken (resemble)
12 COMPETITION VERBS

A. equal participation (p53)

vechten (fight)
speelen (play)
worstelen (wrestle)
boksen (box)
karten (play cards)

B. one participant dominates (p54)

winnen (win)
verliezen (loose)
overgeven (surrender)
opgeven (give up)
verbeuren (forfeit)

C. one watches over the other (p54)

behoeden (guard)
beschermen (protect)
waken (watch over)
verdedigen (defend)

13. SOCIAL INTERACTION VERBS

A intransitive sub-type (p55)

afstammen (descend from)
overwerken (work overtime)
profiteren (profit)
stemmen (vote)
verjaren (celebrate a birthday)

B transitive sub-type (p55)

bannen (ban)
dopen (baptise)
huwen (marry)
heersen (rule)
promoveren (graduate)
14. USING VERBS (p56)

gebruiken (use)
misbruiken (misuse)
verbruiken (use up/consume)

15. VERBS OF COMPARING (p56)

vergelijken (match, compare)
gelijk (resemblance)
wegen (weigh)
kosten (cost)

15. ACTING VERBS (p56)

aanstellen (pose)
veinzen (pretend)
voorwenden (feign)

kwijten (acquit)
imiteren (imitate)
huichelen (simulate)
voorgeven (pretend)

16. WANTING VERBS

willen (want)
hopen (hope)
wensen (wish)
verlangen (long for)
verzuimen (neglect)

17. PERMITTING

S/16 (p139)
S/15 (p133)
laten (let)
vermogen (permit)
18. MODALS

S/6 (p.128)
kunnen (can)
moeten (must)
mogen (may)
zullen (FUT)
(be) hoeven (need)

19. PERFECTIVES

S/4 (p.126)
hebben (have)
zijn (be)

20. PASSIVE

S/1 (p.124)
worden (become)
APPENDIX 2

WORD LIST

The following list contains approximately 1500 Dutch verbs (column 1) used as a basis for this study. Their English glosses are given in column 3, the semantic type to which each verb belongs is given in column 4 and whether the verb can take a complement clause is given in column 2.

A blank in column 2 means that the verb in question cannot take a complement clause.

The following abbreviations have been used:
- compound verb with separable prefix;
- B can take a tensed complement clause
- S can take an infinitive complement clause
- I impersonal verb
- Z reflexive verb

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<td>recommend/commend</td>
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<td>worship/ador</td>
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<td>offer</td>
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<td>aan-doen</td>
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<td>put on (clothes)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>cause, affect</td>
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<td>aan-draaien</td>
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<td>turn on</td>
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<td>aan-duiden</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>indicate/point out</td>
<td>PERCEPTION-C</td>
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<td>contract/enter into</td>
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<td>indicate/declare</td>
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<td>stop/detain</td>
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<td>announce</td>
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<td>place/apply/lay out</td>
<td>REST-C</td>
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<td>encourage</td>
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<td>aan-nemen</td>
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<td>accept/receive</td>
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<td>seize/take hold of</td>
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<td>aan-passen</td>
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<td>try on</td>
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<td>adjust to/adapt</td>
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<td>touch</td>
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<td>put up/post</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
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<td>aan-spreken</td>
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<td>connect/link up</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
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<td>aan-steken</td>
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<td>address</td>
<td>SPEAKING-A</td>
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<td>aan-stellen</td>
<td>B,Z</td>
<td>light up/set fire to</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
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<td>pose/feign</td>
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<td>nudge/bump</td>
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<td>pull on/attract</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
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<td>Z</td>
<td>take to one's heart</td>
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<td>accept/assume</td>
<td>GIVING-C</td>
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aan-vallen  attack/assault  AFFECT-A
aan-vragen  apply for/request  SPEAKING-B
aan-wenden  use/employ  USING
aan-wennen  get into the habit of  EMOTION-B
aan-wijzen  show/point out  PERCEPTION-C
aan-zeggen  announce/notify  SPEAKING-A
aan-zetten  put on/fit on  REST-C
aan-zien  look at/consider/regard  THINKING-A
aarzelen  hesitate/waver  MOTION-E
accepteren  accept  GIVING-C
achten  respect/esteem  CORPOREAL-C
achter-gaan  be slow/lose time  MOTION-B
af-beelden  picture/portray  THINKING-A
af-breken  break off/stop  REST-F
af-danken  disband/dismiss/discard  REST-F
af-dwalen  stray/wander  MOTION-A
af-dwingen  compel/command  SPEAKING-B
af-gaan  depart, descend  MOTION-B
af-hangen  hang down/depend  REST-B
af-leggen  take off/remove  REST-C
af-leiden  give an account of  SPEAKING-A
af-maken  finish/complete  REST-F
af-nemen  take off/ decrease/decline  REST-C
af-raden  dissuade from  SPEAKING-A
af-rekenen  settle (account)  SPEAKING-A
af-schaffen  abolish/do away with  GIVING-B
af-sluiten  lock/close/shut  REST-F
af-snijden  cut off/block  AFFECT-C
af-spreken  agree on/arrange  SPEAKING-A
af-staan  yield/give up/cede  REST-A
af-stammen  be descended from  SOC-INT-B
af-stijgen  dismount/get off  MOTION-B
af-stoten  push away/repel  AFFECT-B
af-tekenen  draw/delineate/sign  SPEAKING-A
af-treden  stand down/retire  REST-F
af-trekken  subtract  SPEAKING-A
af-vaardigen  delegate/depute  SOC INTER-A
af-wachten  await  WANTING-A
af-wennen  ward off/avert  WANTING-B
af-wijken  deviate/diverge  MOTION-B
af-wijzen  refuse/reject/decide  PERCEPTION-C
af-wisselen  alternate/take turns  GIVING-D
af-zetten  take off/cut off/dismiss  REST-C
af-zien  wave goodbye (see off)  SOC INTER-A
af-zonderen  separate/put aside  MOTION-C
amuseren  enjoy oneself  EMOTION-B
antwoorden  answer/reply  SPEAKING-B
arbeiden  work/labour  SOCIAL INTER-B
babbelen  babble/chatter/gossip  SPEAKING-A
baden  bathe  AFFECT-A
bakken  bake/fry  AFFECT-D
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<td>drinken</td>
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<td>drogen</td>
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<tr>
<td>droog-leggen</td>
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<td>drip/fail an exam</td>
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<td>drukken</td>
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</tr>
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<td>point to/interpret</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>duizen</td>
<td>dive/plunge/duck</td>
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<td>grow dizzy</td>
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<td>bear/suffer/tolerate</td>
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<td>last/continue/endure</td>
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<td>push/shove</td>
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<td>roam/wander/err</td>
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<td>force/compel/coerce</td>
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<td>end/finish/conclude</td>
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<td>eisen</td>
<td>demand/require</td>
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<td>ergeren</td>
<td>annoy/take offense</td>
<td>EMOTION-B</td>
</tr>
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<td>acknowledge/admit</td>
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</tr>
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<td>ervaren</td>
<td>learn/find out</td>
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<td>go</td>
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<td>watch/observe</td>
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<td>gape/yawn</td>
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<td>happen/occur</td>
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<td>command/order</td>
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<td>use/make use of</td>
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<td>gedragen</td>
<td>behave/conduct oneself</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dutch Word</td>
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<tr>
<td>geeuwen</td>
<td>yawn</td>
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<tr>
<td>gelasten</td>
<td>order/charge/instruct</td>
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<tr>
<td>gelden</td>
<td>be worth/cost/hold good/be valid/</td>
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<td>geleiden</td>
<td>lead/accompany</td>
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<tr>
<td>genezen</td>
<td>heal/get well/recover</td>
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<tr>
<td>genieten</td>
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<tr>
<td>geraken</td>
<td>reach/come to/attain</td>
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<tr>
<td>gerieven</td>
<td>oblige(persons)/accomodate</td>
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<td>gering-schatten</td>
<td>have a low opinion of</td>
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<td>gerust-stellen</td>
<td>reassure/set at rest</td>
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<td>happen come to pass/befall</td>
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<td>bear witness to/testify</td>
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<td>smell (fragrant)/show off</td>
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<td>glide/slip/slide</td>
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<tr>
<td>glimlachen</td>
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<td>glow/burn/be aflame</td>
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<td>shiver/snudder</td>
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<td>catch/grasp/snatch/clutch</td>
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<td>grow</td>
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<tr>
<td>gronden</td>
<td>found/ground/base</td>
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<td>fetch/get/go for</td>
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<td>have</td>
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<td>hechten</td>
<td>fasten/affix</td>
<td>REST-C</td>
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<td>heen-gaan</td>
<td>leave/go away/die</td>
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<td>rule/reign</td>
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<td>raise/lift/levy</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
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<td>heiligen</td>
<td>consecrate/sanctify</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
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<td>hellen</td>
<td>incline/slope/slant</td>
<td>REST-B</td>
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<td>helpen</td>
<td>help</td>
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<td>hengelen</td>
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<td>MOTION-D</td>
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<td>herbergen</td>
<td>lodge/accommodate</td>
<td>REST-B</td>
</tr>
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<td>herdenken</td>
<td>remember/commemorate</td>
<td>THINKING-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>herhalen</td>
<td>recall/repeat/reiterate</td>
<td>SPEAKING-A</td>
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<td>herinneren</td>
<td>recall/remember</td>
<td>THINKING-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>herkennen</td>
<td>recognise/know again</td>
<td>SOCIAL INT-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>herkiezen</td>
<td>re-elect</td>
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<td>heroveren</td>
<td>reconquer/reclaim/recover</td>
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<td>reform/amend</td>
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<td>revise/reconsider</td>
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<td>heten</td>
<td>be called/be named</td>
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<tr>
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<td>hinder/impede/trouble/annoy</td>
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<td>hinken</td>
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<td>guard/tend/watch</td>
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<td>need to</td>
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<td>jeer/taunt/insult</td>
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<td>esteem/respect</td>
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<td>belong/be proper</td>
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<td>hold/keep/contain</td>
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<td>cut/hack/hew</td>
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<td>simulate/feign dissemble</td>
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<td>cry/weep/howl</td>
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<td>keep house</td>
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<td>hullen</td>
<td>wrap/envelope/shroud</td>
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<td>huren</td>
<td>rent/hire</td>
<td>ACTING</td>
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<td>marry/wed/combine</td>
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<td>imitate</td>
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<td>inhale</td>
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<td>imagine/fancy/have high opinion of oneself</td>
<td>THINKING-A</td>
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<td>divide/group/classify</td>
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<td>present/submit/tender</td>
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<td>informeren</td>
<td>inquire/inform</td>
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</tr>
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<td>in-gaan</td>
<td>walk into/comply with</td>
<td>MOTION-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch verb</td>
<td>English translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-geven</td>
<td>give (medicine)</td>
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<td>in-halen</td>
<td>draw in/haul in</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-houden</td>
<td>hold in/contain</td>
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<td>in-komen</td>
<td>enter/come in</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-kopen</td>
<td>buy in/stock up</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-laten</td>
<td>admit/let in</td>
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<td>in-leiden</td>
<td>concern oneself with</td>
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<td>inform</td>
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<td>in-lijsten</td>
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<td>in-maken</td>
<td>preserve/pickle</td>
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<td>in-nemen</td>
<td>take in/load on</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-oogsten</td>
<td>reap/harvest</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-richten</td>
<td>arrange/furnish/set up</td>
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<td>in-roepen</td>
<td>invoke/call in (help)</td>
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<td>exchange for</td>
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<tr>
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<td>in-schepen</td>
<td>embark</td>
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<td>in-schrijven</td>
<td>inscribe/register</td>
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<td>in-slaan</td>
<td>drive in/smash in</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-slapen</td>
<td>fall asleep/pass away</td>
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<td>in-sluiten</td>
<td>lock in/enclose</td>
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<td>in-smeren</td>
<td>grease/oil</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-spannen</td>
<td>yoke/hitch up/exert</td>
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<td>in-staan</td>
<td>guarantee/vouch for</td>
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<td>step into/enter</td>
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<td>adjust/focus</td>
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<td>study/practice</td>
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<td>interesseren</td>
<td>interest/be interested in</td>
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<td>fall in/collapse</td>
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<tr>
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<td>in-voegen</td>
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<td>in-voeren</td>
<td>import/introduce</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-wijden</td>
<td>consecrate/initiate</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-wikkelen</td>
<td>wrap up/invoke in</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-wisselen</td>
<td>change/exchange for</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-zamen</td>
<td>collect/gather</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-zegenen</td>
<td>bless/consecrate</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-zenden</td>
<td>send in</td>
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<tr>
<td>in-zien</td>
<td>glance over/see/realise</td>
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<tr>
<td>jagen</td>
<td>hunt/chase/drive</td>
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<tr>
<td>jeuken</td>
<td>itch</td>
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<tr>
<td>jubelen</td>
<td>exult/be jubilant</td>
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<tr>
<td>juichchen</td>
<td>shout/cheer</td>
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<tr>
<td>kaarten</td>
<td>play cards</td>
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<tr>
<td>kalmeren</td>
<td>calm/soothe/calm down</td>
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<tr>
<td>kammen</td>
<td>comb</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- GIVING-B
- MOTION-B
- MOTION-C
- REST-C
- MOTION-C
- GIVING-B
- MOTION-B
- PERMITTING
- SPEAKING-A
- SPEAKING-B
- REST-D
- AFFECT-D
- AFFECT-C
- REST-C
- REST-D
- CORPOREAL-B
- REST-C
- ACTING
- MOTION-B
- REST-C
- SPEAKING-A
- TRYING
- THINKING-A
- SPEAKING-B
- MOTION-C
- MOTION-B
- SOCIAL INT-A
- MOTION-C
- MOTION-C
- AFFECT-B
- MOTION-C
- MOTION-C
- MOTION-C
- MOTION-C
- AFFECT-B
- MOTION-C
- MOTION-C
- PERCEPTION-A
- MOTION-D
- CORPOREAL-B
- EMOTION-A
- SPEAKING-A
- COMPETITION-A
- EMOTION-A
- AFFECT-A
kampen  fight/struggle/contend  COMPETITION-A
kantelen  overturn/capsize  AFFECT-B
kauwen  chew  CORPOREAL-B
kenmerken  B  mark/characterise  SPEAKING-A
kennen  know/be acquainted with  THINKING
kenteken  characterise  SPEAKING-A
kerven  carve  AFFECT-B
ketenen  chain  REST-C
keuren  inspect/assay/taste  PERCEPTION-A
kietelen  B  tickle  AFFECT-A
kiezen  S  choose  THINKING-E
kijken  look  PERCEPTION-A
klaar-maken  prepare/get ready  AFFECT-E
kladden  stain/blot/daub  AFFECT-A
klagen  complain/lament  SPEAKING-A
klapperen  rattle/clack/flap  CORPOREAL-B
kleden  dress  AFFECT-A
klemmen  pinch/clamp/clasp  REST-C
kleuren  colour  AFFECT-A
kleven  cling/stick to  REST-A
klimmen  climb/ascend  MOTION-A
klinken  sound  SPEAKING-A
klappen  knock  AFFECT-B
knabbelen  nibble/munch  CORPOREAL-A
knallen  pop/go off  AFFECT-C
kneden  knead  AFFECT-A
knieën  kneel  REST-A
knijpen  pinch  AFFECT-B
knikken  nod  CORPOREAL-B
knippen  cut/clip/trim  AFFECT-B
koelen  cool down  AFFECT-A
koesteren  cherish  EMOTION-A
koken  cook  AFFECT-D
komen  come  MOTION-B
kopen  buy  GIVING-A
koppelen  couple/chain together  REST-C
korten  shorten  AFFECT-A
kosten  cost  COMPARING
krabbelen  B  scrawl/scrub  SPEAKING-A
krabben  scratch  AFFECT-B
krenken  injure/hurt  AFFECT-C
kreunen  moan/groan  SPEAKING-A
krijgen  B  get/receive/obtain/acquire  GIVING-C
krijzen  B  scream/shriek  SPEAKING-A
krimpren  shrink/diminish  AFFECT-A
krommen  bow/bend/curve  AFFECT-A
kronen  crown  SOCIAL INT-A
kronkelen  wind/meander  MOTION-A
kruiwen  crawl  MOTION-A
kruisen  crucify  SOCIAL INT-A
kunnen  be able to  MODAL
kussen  kiss  AFFECT-B
kwaad-spreken  B  slander  SPEAKING-A
kweken  grow/cultivate  AFFECT-D
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kwellen</td>
<td>tease/vex/torment</td>
<td>EMOTION-B</td>
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<tr>
<td>kwetsen</td>
<td>wound/hurt</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwijnen</td>
<td>languish/pine</td>
<td>EMOTION-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwijten</td>
<td>acquire oneself</td>
<td>ACTING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwijt-raken</td>
<td>lose</td>
<td>PERCEPTION-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lachen</td>
<td>laugh</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laden</td>
<td>load</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>landen</td>
<td>land</td>
<td>REST-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lasteren</td>
<td>slander/blaspheme</td>
<td>SPEAKING-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laten</td>
<td>let/allow</td>
<td>MODAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leeg-lopen</td>
<td>empty</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leeggen</td>
<td>lay/place</td>
<td>MOTION-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leiden</td>
<td>lead/guide/direct</td>
<td>MOTION-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lekken</td>
<td>leak</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenen</td>
<td>lend/borrow</td>
<td>GIVING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leren</td>
<td>lengthen</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lenigen</td>
<td>alleviate/relieve</td>
<td>EMOTION-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leren</td>
<td>learn/teach</td>
<td>THINKING-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>letten</td>
<td>mind/pay attention</td>
<td>PERCEPTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leunen</td>
<td>lean</td>
<td>REST-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leven</td>
<td>live</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leveren</td>
<td>deliver/supply</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lezen</td>
<td>read</td>
<td>SPEAKING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lichten</td>
<td>light/shine</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lief-hebben</td>
<td>love/shine</td>
<td>EMOTION-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liefkozen</td>
<td>caress/cherish</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liegen</td>
<td>lie</td>
<td>SPEAKING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liggen</td>
<td>lay</td>
<td>REST-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lijden</td>
<td>suffer/endorse</td>
<td>EMOTION-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lijken</td>
<td>be like/seem/appear</td>
<td>EVENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lijmen</td>
<td>glue</td>
<td>AFFECT-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loeien</td>
<td>moo/bellow</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loren</td>
<td>peer/spy/watch for</td>
<td>PERCEPTION-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lossen</td>
<td>squint</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>logeren</td>
<td>stop over/stay</td>
<td>REST-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lonen</td>
<td>pay/reward</td>
<td>GIVING-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loophenen</td>
<td>deny</td>
<td>SPEAKING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>openness</td>
<td>walk/run (clocks and trains)</td>
<td>MOTION-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>los-laten</td>
<td>release/let loose</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>los-maken</td>
<td>loosen/untie</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luchten</td>
<td>air/ventilate</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luiden</td>
<td>sound/ring (bells)</td>
<td>SPEAKING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luisteren</td>
<td>listen</td>
<td>PERCEPTION-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lukken</td>
<td>succeed</td>
<td>EVENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lunchen</td>
<td>have lunch</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maaien</td>
<td>mow/reap</td>
<td>AFFECT-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maken</td>
<td>make</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mailen</td>
<td>grind/mill</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>martelen</td>
<td>torment/torture</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
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<tr>
<td>matigen</td>
<td>moderate/temper</td>
<td>EMOTION-A</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
matigen  Z control oneself  EMOTION-A
mede-delen  B announce/inform  SPEAKING-A
mee-brengen  B bring along/entail  MOTION-C
mee-maken  B experience  EMOTION-B
mee-vallen  B come up to expectations  EMOTION-B
melden  B mention/report  SPEAKING-A
melken  milk  AFFECT-B
menen  B mean/intend/think/suppose  THINKING-C
mengen  B mean/intend/think/suppose  THINKING-C
merken  B notice/perceive  PERCEPTION-A
meten  B measure  COMPARING
mijden  B shun/avoid  WANTING
mijmeren  B dream/muse/brood  THINKING-A
minachten  B disdain/hold in contempt  CORPOREAL-C
minnen  B love  EMOTION-A
misbruiken  B misuse/abuse  USING
mishandelen  I mishandle/treat badly  USING
misluiken  I fail/turn out badly  EVENT
missen  B miss/fail  WANTING
moeten  B have to/ must  MODAL
mogen  B may/be allowed to  MODAL
mompeien  B mutter/mumble  SPEAKING-A
motregenen  I drizzle  WEATHER
munten  I coin/mint  AFFECT-D
murmelen  B murmur  SPEAKING-A
naaien  sew  AFFECT-D
na-denken  B reflect/think about  THINKING-A
na-gaan  go after/check  MOTION-D
nagelen  nail (with hammer)  AFFECT-D
na-komen  come later/meet obligations  MOTION-D
na-laten  leave behind/neglect  MOTION-D
na-maken  copy/imitate/counterfeit/forge  ACTING
na-slaan  consult/look up (a word)  PERCEPTION-B
na-zenden  forward/send after  MOTION-C
na-zetten  pursue/chase  MOTION-D
na-zi en  B look after  PERCEPTION-C
neer-komen  come down upon/to  MOTION-B
neer-leggen  lay down/put down  MOTION-C
neer-storten  crash down  MOTION-B
nemen  take  MOTION-C
niezen  sneeze  CORPOREAL-B
nijgen  bow/courtesy  CORPOREAL-C
nippen  name/call  SPEAKING-B
noemen  urge/induce  SPEAKING-B
open  note/jot down  SPEAKING-A
noteren  B practice/exercise/train  TRYING
omarmen  embrace  CORPOREAL-A
om-draaien  turn around/wring  MOTION-C
om-gaan  go around/associate with  MOTION-B
omgeven
omheinen
omhelzen
om-kantelen
om-kleden
om-komen
om-praten
omringen
om-ruilen
omschrijven
om-slaan
omvatten
omver-werpen
om-waaien
om-werken
onderbreken
onder-brengen
onder-drukken
onder-duiken
onder-gaan
ondergaan
onderhandelen
onderhouden
onder-komen
ondernemen
onderschatten
onderscheiden
onderschrijven
onderstellen
ondersteunen
ondersteeken
onderwerpen
onderwijzen
onderzoeken
ontaarden
ontberen
ontbieden
ontbitten
ontbranden
ontbreken
ontdekken
ontdoen
onteigenen
onteren
onterven
ontgaan
ontheffen
ontheiligen
onthoofden
onthouden
ontkennen
ontkleden
surround/encircle
fence in/enclose
embrace
overturn
change one's clothes
perish
bribe/corrupt
convince/talk around
encircle
exchange (money)/swap over
define/describe
capsize/change direction (wind)
span/encompass/include
knock over/upset
blow over
re-work/re-model
interrupt/break off
obtain lodging for
suppress/stifle/oppress
go into hiding
set(sun)
undergo/endure/suffer
negotiate
maintain/repair/keep up
find shelter
undertake
underestimate
distinguish/discern
sign/approve
suppose
support
sign
subject
teach
examine
degenerate/deteriorate
lack/be without
summon/send for
breakfast
catch fire
lack/be wanting
discover
rid oneself of
dispossess/expropriate
desecrate/dishonour
disinherit
escape notice/elude
relieve (office or task)
desecrate
behead
remember
deny
undress
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ontladen unload/discharge                       MOTION-D
ontlasten unburden/relieve                      MOTION-D
ontlenen borrow/derive from                    GIVING-B
ontlopen run away/escape                         MOTION-B
ontmoedigen discourage                           SPEAKING-B
ontmoeten meet                                     MOTION-D
ontnemen take from                                 MOTION-C
ontploffen explode                                 AFFECT-C
onttraadselen unravel                              AFFECT-A
ontraden disuse from                               SPEAKING-B
ontruimen evacuate                                MOTION-C
ontslaan dismiss/discharge/sack                  SOCIAL INT-A
ontspannen relax                                   EMOTION-A
ontsporen derail                                  AFFECT-B
ontstaan come into existence                    REST-E
ontsteken light a fire/ignite                      AFFECT-B
ontvangen receive                                  GIVING-C
ontvliechten carry off                               AFFECT-C
ontvoeren abduct/carry off                           AFFECT-C
ontvouwen unfold                                  AFFECT-A
ontwaken wake up                                    AFFECT-A
ontwapenen disarm                                    AFFECT-A
ontwerpen draft/design                               AFFECT-F
ontwikkelonen develop                                AFFECT-D
ontzeggen deny/withhold                             SPEAKING-B
ooosten reap/harvest                                  AFFECT-A
oorzaken judge                                    THINKING-E
op-bellen (telephone)                              SPEAKING-A
op-dragen serve(food)/celebrate mass                GIVING-B
openen open                                            MOTION-F
openen maken be open/vacant                           REST-A
open-staan operate                                  SOCIAL INT-A
opereren operate                                    MOTION-B
op-gaan rise/go up                                   REST-F
op-geven give up/abandon                             REST-F
op-graven dig up/unearth/disinter                   AFFECT-A
op-heffen lift/raise up                               MOTION-B
op-houden stop/cease                                  REST-F
op-kleren clear up                                   WEATHER
op-komen rise (sun)/appear                           MOTION-F
op-leiden train/educate                        THINKING-D
op-letten pay attention                             PERCEPTION-A
op-lossen dissolve                                 AFFECT-A
op-maken make up (bed)/use up                       AFFECT-E
op-merken notice/observe                             PERCEPTION-B
op-moneren cheer up                                  EMOTION-A
op-nemen take up/pick up                             MOTION-C
op-offeren sacrifice                                 GIVING-A
op-passen look out/take care                         PERCEPTION-A
op-redenen raise/erect                                MOTION-B
op-ridlen tidy up                                     MOTION-B
op-slaan open (eyes, book)/pitch camp                MOTION-F
op-staan get up/rise up                                MOTION-B
op-stellen B
draw up/draft

op-treden B
draw up/draft

op-vallen B
enter/make one's appearance

op-vatten B
notice

op-voeden B
take up/take note of

op-wachten B
rear/raise/bring up

op-weken B
excite/provoke

op-winden
wind up/excite

op-zeggen
recite

op-zien
look up to

dread

ordenen B
order/arrange/ordain

over-blijven
remain

overbruggen
bridge/span

overdenken B
consider

overdoen
sell/part with

overdragen
transfer/hand over

overeen-komen B
harmonise

overeen-stemmen B
agree

over-gaan
go over/cross

over-geven
hand over/vomit

over-halen
ferry over

overhandigen
hand over/deliver

overheersen
rule/dominant

over-komen
get across

overkomen
happen/befall

over-leggen
put aside/save

overleggen B
deliberate/consider

overleven
survive

die

over-maken
remit (money)

overnachten
spend the night

over-nemen
take over/adopt/borrow

over-plaatsen
transfer

over-planten
transplant

overreden B
convince/persuade

overrompelen
surprise

overschatten B
overestimate

over-schrijven
re-write (good copy)

over-slaan
omit/skip/pass over

over-stappen
change trains

over-stappen
vote again

drown out (voice)/out vote

transgress/break (rules)

overstemmen
surpass/outdo

overstreden
compel

overtreffen
convinced

overtuigen B
surprise

overwaren B
re-weigh

over-wegen
consider

overweldigen
overwhelm

over-werken
work overtime

overwerken Z
to over work oneself

over-zetten
take across/translate

over-zetten
look over/go through

over-zien B
have an overall view

overzien
pakken
parkeren
passen
passeren
peilen B
peinzen B
peilen
pensioneren
persen
pijnigen
plaatsen
plagen
plakken
planten
plegen (PP plegde) S
plegen (PP placht)
ploegen
plukken
pogen B,S
praten B
preken
prenten
presenteren
presenteren Z
prijzen
prikkel
proberen B,S
proeven B
profiteren
promoveren
pronken
publiceren B
raadplegen
raden B
raken
ringschikken
rechtvaardigen B
redden
regelen
regenen I
regeren
reiken
reinigen
reizen B
rekenen
rekenen
rekken
remmen
repareren
reserveren
richten

grab/seize
park (car)
fit
pass by
guage/probe/sound/search
ponder/meditate/muse
peel
pension/retire
squeeze/press
torture/torment
place
plague/bother/tease
stick/glue/paste
plant
commit
be accustomed
plow
pick
try/attempt
talk/chat
preach
imprint/impress (on memory)
offer/present
introduce oneself
mutter/mumble
prickle/mumble
try
taste/sample
profit
show off
consult
guess
touch/hit/affect
arrange/classify
justify
save/rescue
arrange/regulate
rain
rule/govern
reach
clean/cleanse
travel
calculate
stretch
brake (car)
repair
reserve
direct/aim to

REST-E
REST-C
COMPARING
MOTION-C
PERCEPTION-A
THINKING-A
AFFECT-A
SOCIAL INT-A
AFFECT-A
MOTION-C
AFFECT-A
REST-C
AFFECT-D
SPEAKING-A
EMOTION-A
AFFECT-A
MOTION-C
TRYING
SPEAKING-B
SPEAKING-A
AFFECT-D
GIVING-A
SOCIAL INT-A
SPEAKING-A
SPEAKING-B
AFFECT-B
TRYING
PERCEPEPTION-A
SOCIAL INT-B
SOCIAL INT-A
CORPOREAL-B
SPEAKING-A
SPEAKING-A
THINKING-B
AFFECT-B
REST-C
SPEAKING-A
AFFECT-E
SOCIAL INT-A
WEATHER
SOCIAL INT-A
MOTION-B
AFFECT-A
MOTION-B
THINKING-E
REST-F
AFFECT-E
REST-C
WANTING
<table>
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<tr>
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<th>Category</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rijden</td>
<td>ride</td>
<td>MOTION-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rijgen</td>
<td>thread/lace/string</td>
<td>AFFECT-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rijken</td>
<td>reach</td>
<td>MOTION-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rijpen</td>
<td>ripe/mature</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rijten</td>
<td>tear</td>
<td>AFFECT-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rijzen</td>
<td>rise/come up</td>
<td>MOTION-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>riskeren</td>
<td>risk</td>
<td>WANTING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roeien</td>
<td>row</td>
<td>MOTION-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roepen</td>
<td>call/snout</td>
<td>SPEAKING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roeren</td>
<td>stir</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roesten</td>
<td>rust</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roken</td>
<td>smoke</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rond-gaan</td>
<td>circulate/go around</td>
<td>MOTION-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruiken</td>
<td>smell</td>
<td>PERCEPTION-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruilen</td>
<td>swap</td>
<td>GIVING-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruimen</td>
<td>empty/clear away</td>
<td>AFFECT-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rukken</td>
<td>pull/tug/jerk</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rusten</td>
<td>rest/repose</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samen-hangen</td>
<td>be connected</td>
<td>REST-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samen-komen</td>
<td>assemble</td>
<td>MOTION-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samen-stellen</td>
<td>compose/compile</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samen-vallen</td>
<td>coincide with</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samen-vatten</td>
<td>take together/sum up</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schaatsen</td>
<td>skate</td>
<td>MOTION-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schaden</td>
<td>damage</td>
<td>AFFECT-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schamen</td>
<td>shame</td>
<td>EMOTION-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schatten</td>
<td>estimate/appraise/assess</td>
<td>COMPARING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scheiden</td>
<td>divide/sever/divorce</td>
<td>AFFECT-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schedelen</td>
<td>call names/scold</td>
<td>SPEAKING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scheilen</td>
<td>differ</td>
<td>COMPARING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schellen</td>
<td>ring (bell)</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schemeren</td>
<td>dawn/twilight</td>
<td>WEATHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schenden</td>
<td>disfigure</td>
<td>AFFECT-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schenken</td>
<td>pour (a drink)/bestow/grant</td>
<td>GIVING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scheppen (PP schiep)</td>
<td>scoop/ladle</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scheppen (PP schepte)</td>
<td>scoop/ladle</td>
<td>AFFECT-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scheren</td>
<td>shave/clip</td>
<td>AFFECT-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scherpen</td>
<td>sharpen</td>
<td>AFFECT-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schertsen</td>
<td>joke/jest</td>
<td>SPEAKING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scheuren</td>
<td>tear</td>
<td>AFFECT-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schieten</td>
<td>shoot</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schijnen</td>
<td>shine/seem/appear</td>
<td>EVENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schikken</td>
<td>arrange/order</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schilderen</td>
<td>paint</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
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<td>schillen</td>
<td>peel/pare</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
</tr>
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<td>schimmelen</td>
<td>become mouldy</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
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<tr>
<td>schitteren</td>
<td>shine/glitter</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schoon-maken</td>
<td>clean</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>schrappen</td>
<td>scrape/scale/cross off</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
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<tr>
<td>schreewen</td>
<td>shout/cry out/squeal</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>schreien</td>
<td>weep/cry</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
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schrijden
schrijven  B
schrinnen  B
schröien
schudden
schuilên
schuimen
schniven
sideren
sieren
slaan  S
slachten
slagen
slepen
slijpen
slijten
slikken
slingerên
slinken
sluiten
smachten
smaden
smaken
smeken
smelten
smeren
smetten
smijten
smokkelen
smoren
sneeuwen  I
sneuvelen
snijden
snikken
spannen
sparen
spelen
spellen
spijten  B, I
spinnen
spitsen
spitsen  Z
spijten
splitten
splitten
spoden
spoelen
dspreiden
dspreken
springen
spuiten
staan  S

stride
write
be frightened
singe/scorch
shake
shelter/hide
foam/lather/froth
push/shove/slide
quake/tremble
decorate/adorn
hit/strike/beat
slaughter
succeed
haul/drag
grind/sharpen
wear
swallow
swing/oscillate
shrink/dwindle
shut/close/lock
languish
revile/defame
taste
forge/weld
beseech/imploy
melt/smelt
smear/grease/lubricate
stain/soil
throw/ling
smuggle
smother/stifle/suffocate
snow
die in action
cut/carve
ob
stretch/tighten/strain
save/economise
play
spell
be sorry
spin/purr (cat)
sharpren/prick up (ears)
anticipate/be eager
split
divide/split
hurry/hasten
rinse/spool (yarn)
mock/ridicule
spread/disperse
speak
spring/jump
spurt/spray/squirt/spout
stand

MOTION-A
SPEAKING-A
EMOTION-B
AFFECT-A
REST-C
CORPOREAL-B
MOTION-C
MOTION-A
AFFECT-A
AFFECT-C
COMPETITION
CORPOREAL-B
MOTION-C
AFFECT-A
AFFECT-C
CORPOREAL-A
MOTION-C
EMOTION-A
SPEAKING-A
PERCEPTION-A
AFFECT-D
SPEAKING-B
AFFECT-D
AFFECT-B
AFFECT-A
MOTION-C
MOTION-C
AFFECT-A
WEATHER
CORPOREAL-B
AFFECT-B
CORPOREAL-B
AFFECT-A
REST-C
COMPETITION-A
SPEAKING-A
EMOTION-B
MOTION-A
AFFECT-A
EMOTION-A
AFFECT-C
MOTION-E
AFFECT-A
SPEAKING-A
AFFECT-A
MOTION-A
AFFECT-A
REST-A
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<th>Part of Speech</th>
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<tr>
<td>staken</td>
<td>suspend/stop/strike</td>
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<tr>
<td>stamelen</td>
<td>stammer</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stammen</td>
<td>descend from</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stapelen</td>
<td>stack</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stappen</td>
<td>step/walk</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>staren</td>
<td>stare</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>starten</td>
<td>start/take off</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steeken</td>
<td>sting/prick</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stelen</td>
<td>steal</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stellen</td>
<td>put place</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stemmen</td>
<td>vote/tune/put in a mood</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stempelen</td>
<td>stamp/mark</td>
<td>B</td>
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<tr>
<td>sterken</td>
<td>strengthen/fortify</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sterven</td>
<td>die</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steunen</td>
<td>support/rest upon/lean upon</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stichten</td>
<td>found/establish</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stijgen</td>
<td>climb/mount</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stijven</td>
<td>stiffen/become stronger</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stikken</td>
<td>choke/stiffle/suffocate</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stillen</td>
<td>quieten/hush</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stil-staan</td>
<td>stand still/still</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stinken</td>
<td>stink/smell of</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stomen</td>
<td>steam</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stoppen</td>
<td>stop/halt/darn (socks)</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>storen</td>
<td>disturb/interrupt</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>storten</td>
<td>plunge/crash down</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stoten</td>
<td>bump</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>straffen</td>
<td>punish</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stranden</td>
<td>run around/be stranded</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strekken</td>
<td>stretch</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strijden</td>
<td>fight/struggle</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strijken</td>
<td>iron(clothes)</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stromen</td>
<td>flow/stream</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>struikelen</td>
<td>stumble/trip</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>studeren</td>
<td>study</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sturen</td>
<td>steer</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tasten</td>
<td>feel/grope/touch</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tegen-komen</td>
<td>meet/encounter</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tegen-spreken</td>
<td>contradict/answer back</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tegen-vallen</td>
<td>not come up to expectations</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tegen-werken</td>
<td>thwart</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tekenen</td>
<td>draw</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telefoneren</td>
<td>telephone</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teleur-stellen</td>
<td>disappoint</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tellen</td>
<td>count</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tentoon-stellen</td>
<td>show/exhibit</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terecht-staan</td>
<td>be on trial</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terecht-wijzen</td>
<td>set right</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terug-geven</td>
<td>return/give back</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terug-komen</td>
<td>return/come back</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terug-nemen</td>
<td>take back</td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tevreden-stellen</td>
<td>satisfy</td>
<td>B</td>
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</table>
thuis-komen

come home

B
MOTION-B

B
AFFECT-A

B
REST-F

PERMIT

B
CORPOREAL-B

B
MOTION-B

B
SPEAKING-A

B
SPEAKING-A

B
PERCEPTION-C

B
TRYING

B
MOTION-A

B
AFFECT-A

B
MOTION-C

B
EMOTION-A

B
CORPOREAL-B

B
EMOTION-B

B
SPEAKING-A

B
SOCIAL INT-A

B
THINKING-A

B
EMOTION-A

B
SPEAKING-A

uit-ademen

breathe out

CORPOREAL-B

CORPOREAL-B

REST-B

AFFECT-B

AFFECT-B

COMPETITION-A

THINKING-A

AFFECT-B

SPEAKING-A

MOTION-B

SPEAKING-A

SPEAKING-A

MOTION-B

SPEAKING-A

GIVING-B

THINKING-E

MOTION-B

EVENT

CORPOREAL-A

MOTION-C

SPEAKING-A

REST-F

SPEAKING-A

TRYING

SPEAKING-A

CORPOREAL-B
uit-slapen  sleep one's fill
uitsluiten  shut out/lock out
uit-spreken  pronounce
uit-staan  endure/suffer
uit-stallen  display (for sale)
uit-stappen  get on (bus)
uit-steken  to poke out (an eye)
uit-stellen  delay
uit-sterven  die out/become extinct
uit-stralen  beam/radiate forth
uit-trekken  take off (clothes)
uit-vinden  issue/promulgate
uit-vaardigen  invent/discover
uit-voeren  perform/carry out
uit-zenden  send out
uit-zetten  expand/swell/dilate
uit-zien  look out
uit-zoeken  choose/select/sort out
uit-zonderen  make an exception of

vallen  fall
vangst  catch
vast-binden  tie up/fasten
vasten  fast
vast-houden  hold onto
vast-staan  stand firm
vast-stellen  determine
vatten  catch/seize/grasp
vechten  fight
vegen  sweep
veinzen  feign
vellen  fell
verachten  despise/scorn
verachtschuwen  abhor/detest
veranderen  change
verantwoorden  answer for/account for
verbannen  banish/exile
verbaanen  amaze/surprise
verbeelden  imagine/represent
verbeteren  improve/make better
verbieden  forbid
verbijsteren  bewilder/perplex
verbinden  join/connect
verblinden  blind/dazzle
verbouwen  rebuild
verbranden  burn/incinerate
verbreiden  spread
verbreken  break off/cut off
verbrijzelen  break into pieces
verbruiken  use up/consume
verdedigen  defend

CORPOREAL-B
REST-F
SPEAKING-B
EMOTION-A
PERCEPTION-C
MOTION-B
AFFECT-B
REST-C
CORPOREAL-B
AFFECT-A
PERCEPTION-A
THINKING-E
COMPARING

MOTION-B
REST-C
MOTION-A
CORPOREAL-B
REST-E
REST-A
THINKING-E
COMPETITION-A
AFFECT-A
ACTING
AFFECT-D
CORPOREAL-C
EMOTION-A
EVENT
SOCIAL INT-A
EMOTION-A
THINKING-A
PERCEPTION-C
AFFECT-D
SPEAKING-B
EMOTION-B
REST-C
AFFECT-B
AFFECT-D
AFFECT-C
AFFECT-A
AFFECT-C
USING
COMPETITION-A
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Category</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verdelen</td>
<td>distribute</td>
<td>GIVING-A</td>
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<tr>
<td>verdennen</td>
<td>suspect</td>
<td>THINKING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verdienen</td>
<td>earn</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verdiepen</td>
<td>deepen</td>
<td>THINKING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verdoemen</td>
<td>lose oneself in</td>
<td>SPEAKING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verdragen</td>
<td>remove/carry away</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verdrieten</td>
<td>grieve</td>
<td>EMOTION-A</td>
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<tr>
<td>verdringen</td>
<td>expel</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verdrinken</td>
<td>push away</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verdubbelen</td>
<td>drown</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verdwalen</td>
<td>double/redouble</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verdwijnen</td>
<td>get lost</td>
<td>MOTION-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veredelen</td>
<td>disappear</td>
<td>PERCEPTION-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vereenvoudigen</td>
<td>improve</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vereenzamen</td>
<td>become lonely</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vereeuwigen</td>
<td>immortalise/perpetuate</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verreffenen</td>
<td>settle/pay off debt</td>
<td>GIVING-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vereisen</td>
<td>demand/require</td>
<td>SPEAKING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verenigen</td>
<td>unite</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vereren</td>
<td>honor/venerate/worship</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verfilmen</td>
<td>film/make a film</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vervrissen</td>
<td>refresh</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vergaan</td>
<td>happen/turn out</td>
<td>EVENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vergaderen</td>
<td>gather/assemble</td>
<td>REST-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vergelden</td>
<td>repay/require</td>
<td>GIVING-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vergelijkten</td>
<td>compare/lien to</td>
<td>COMPARING</td>
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<td>vergen</td>
<td>demand/require</td>
<td>SPEAKING-A</td>
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<td>forget</td>
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<td>vergeven</td>
<td>forgive</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
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<td>vergieten</td>
<td>spill/mis-pour</td>
<td>THINKING-B</td>
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<td>vergissen</td>
<td>mistake</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vergoeden</td>
<td>re-imburse/make good</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-C</td>
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<tr>
<td>vergroten</td>
<td>enlarge</td>
<td>EMOTION-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vergunnen</td>
<td>permit/allow</td>
<td>REST-F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verhalen</td>
<td>tell/narrate</td>
<td>REST-F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verhandelen</td>
<td>deal in/trade in</td>
<td>EMOTION-B</td>
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<tr>
<td>verheerlijken</td>
<td>glorify</td>
<td>REST-F</td>
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<tr>
<td>verheugen</td>
<td>gladden/delight</td>
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<td>verhinderen</td>
<td>prevent/hinder</td>
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<td>verhoeden</td>
<td>prevent/avert</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>vernogen</td>
<td>raise (price, wage)</td>
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<td>verhongeren</td>
<td>starve to death</td>
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<td>move house</td>
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<td>let out/rent out</td>
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<td>verjagen</td>
<td>drive away/expel</td>
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<td>verjaren</td>
<td>celebrate birthday</td>
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<td>rejuvenate</td>
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<td>verkiezen</td>
<td>choose/elect</td>
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<td>verklaren</td>
<td>explain</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>verkleinen</td>
<td>reduce/diminish</td>
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<td>verkopen</td>
<td>sell</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
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<tr>
<td>verkorten</td>
<td>shorten/abridge</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
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</table>
verkrijgen  obtain/acquire  GIVING-C  
verkwikken  refresh/comfort  AFFECT-E  
verkwisten  waste  USING  
verlagen  lower  AFFECT-E  
verlangen  long for  EMOTION-A  
verlaten  leave/abandon  MOTION-B  
verleiden  lead astray  MOTION-D  
verlenen  grant/bestow  GIVING-B  
verlengen  lengthen/extend  AFFECT-E  
verlichten  illuminate  AFFECT-A  
verliezen  lose  COMPETITION-B  
verlokken  B  tempt/entice  SPEAKING-A  
verloopen  pass/elapsed  MOTION-B  
verlossen  deliver/rescue  AFFECT-E  
vermaken  amuse  EMOTION-A  
vermeerderen  increase/multiply  AFFECT-E  
vermelden  B  record/mention  SPEAKING-A  
vermengen  mix/blend  AFFECT-A  
vermijden  B  avoid/shun  WANTING-B  
verminderen  lessen/diminish  AFFECT-E  
vermissen  miss  TRYING  
vermoeden  B  suppose  THINKING-B  
vermoeien  B  tire/weary  EMOTION-A  
vermogen  B,S  be able/have influence  PERMISSING  
vernemen  B  hear/learn  THINKING-D  
vernielen  B  wreck/destroy  AFFECT-C  
vernietigen  annul/nullify  AFFECT-B  
vernietigen  renew/renovate  AFFECT-E  
veronderstellen  B  suppose  THINKING-B  
verongelukken  perish/have an accident  CORPOREAL-B  
verontrusten  alarm/disturb  EMOTION-A  
verontschuldigen  B,Z  excuse oneself  SPEAKING-B  
veroordeelen  condemn/convict  THINKING-E  
veroorloven  B  allow/grant/authorise  PERMISSING  
veroorzaken  B  cause/occasion  AFFECT-E  
verordonen  B  order/decree  SPEAKING-A  
verouderen  make older  AFFECT-E  
veroveren  conquer  COMPETITION-B  
verplaatsen  remove/transfer  MOTION-C  
verplichten  B  oblige/compel  COMPETITION-C  
verraden  betray  PERMISSING  
verrassen  B  surprise  SPEAKING-A  
verrichten  do/perform  PERCEPTION-B  
verruiken  B  delight/enchant  ACTING  
verschaffen  procure/furnish  EMOTION-A  
verschijnen  B  appear  EVENT  
verschillen  differ/vary  COMPARING  
verschrikken  (PP verschrok) be frightened  B  EMOTION-B  
verschrikken  (PP verschrikte) frighten  B  EMOTION-A  
versieren  adorn/decorate  AFFECT-A  
verslijten  wear out  AFFECT-C  
verslinden  swallow up/devour  CORPOREAL-A  
versmachten  languish/pine  EMOTION-A
versperren
verspreiden
verstaan
verstellen
verstommen
verstoren
verstoten
verstrekken
verstrijken
vertalen
vertegenwoordigen
vertellen
vertelen
vertolken
vertonen
vertragen
vertrekken
vertrouwen
vervaardigen
verwenden
vervellen
verven
verversen
vervloeken
vervoeren
vervolgen
verwerven
verwinnen
verwenden
verwerken
verwerpen
verwerken
verwerken
verwisselen
verwoesten
verzwijgen
verzwijgen
verzoeken
verzoenen
verzoeken
verzorgen
block/barricade
spread/scatter
understand
mend/repair
strengthen
be struck dumb
disturb/annoy
repudiate/disown
furnish/procure
translate
represent
tell/relate
digest/consume
interpret/render
show/represent
delay/slacken
depart
trust
make/manufacture
fall into/lapse
falsify/adulterate
bore
paint
refresh/renew
curse/damn
transport/convey
continue/pursue
fulfill
wait for/expect/anticipate
warm/heat
entangle/confuse
cause/rouse/stir up
indulge/spoil
curse
defend oneself
realise (plans, hopes)
work up/make into
reject
obtain/acquire
stay/sojourn
proach
refer to
exchange for
devestate/ruin
wound
surprise/astonish
collect
assure
send/forward
move/shift
request/beg
reconcile/conciliate
take care of/attend
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dutch Word</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verzuimen</td>
<td>neglect duty</td>
<td>PERCEPTION-C</td>
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<tr>
<td>verzwijgen</td>
<td>keep secret/conceal</td>
<td>MOTION-F</td>
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<tr>
<td>vestigen</td>
<td>establish/set up</td>
<td>SOCIAL INT-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vieren</td>
<td>celebrate</td>
<td>SPEECH-A</td>
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<tr>
<td>vinden</td>
<td>find</td>
<td>AFFECT-D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vlechten</td>
<td>braid/plait</td>
<td>MOTION-A</td>
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<tr>
<td>vlieken</td>
<td>flatter/coax/ajole</td>
<td>MOTION-A</td>
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<tr>
<td>vliegen</td>
<td>soil/stain/spot</td>
<td>MOTION-A</td>
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<tr>
<td>vloeren</td>
<td>fly</td>
<td>AFFECT-A</td>
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<td>vloeren</td>
<td>flow</td>
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<td>vloeren</td>
<td>swear</td>
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<td>voeden</td>
<td>feed</td>
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<tr>
<td>voeden</td>
<td>feed</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-A</td>
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<tr>
<td>voegen</td>
<td>add/join to</td>
<td>GIVING-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voelen</td>
<td>feel</td>
<td>REST-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voeren</td>
<td>carry/take/transport</td>
<td>PERCEPTION-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voeren</td>
<td>feed</td>
<td>MOTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voleindigen</td>
<td>end/close</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voibrengen</td>
<td>fulfill/accomplish</td>
<td>REST-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voldoen</td>
<td>meet/satisfy</td>
<td>REST-E</td>
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<td>volgen</td>
<td>follow</td>
<td>MOTION-D</td>
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<tr>
<td>volharden</td>
<td>persevere/persist</td>
<td>REST-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vol-houden</td>
<td>maintain/keep up</td>
<td>REST-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voltooien</td>
<td>complete</td>
<td>REST-F</td>
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<tr>
<td>voitrekken</td>
<td>execute/carry out</td>
<td>ACTING</td>
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<tr>
<td>voor-bereiden</td>
<td>prepare</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
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<tr>
<td>voor-doen</td>
<td>show/display</td>
<td>PERCEPTION-C</td>
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<tr>
<td>voor-doen</td>
<td>present oneself</td>
<td>ACTING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voor-dragen</td>
<td>present/propose</td>
<td>PERCEPTION-C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voor-gaan</td>
<td>go before</td>
<td>MOTION-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voor-geven</td>
<td>pretend</td>
<td>ACTING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voor-komen</td>
<td>get ahead/happen</td>
<td>EVENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voor-lezen</td>
<td>read aloud</td>
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<tr>
<td>voor-lichten</td>
<td>provide light/enlighten</td>
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<tr>
<td>voor-nemen</td>
<td>make up one's mind/resolve</td>
<td>THINKING-E</td>
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<tr>
<td>voor-schieten</td>
<td>advance money</td>
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<td>voor-schrijven</td>
<td>write for</td>
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<td>voor-spellen</td>
<td>predict</td>
<td>SOCIAL INT-A</td>
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<td>voorstellen</td>
<td>present/introduce</td>
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<td>imagine</td>
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<td>bring forth</td>
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<td>voor-trekken</td>
<td>prefer/show favour</td>
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<td>vooruit-betalen</td>
<td>pay in advance</td>
<td>MOTION-B</td>
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<td>vooruit-gaan</td>
<td>go ahead</td>
<td>MOTION-B</td>
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<td>get ahead</td>
<td>HAPPENING</td>
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<td>voor-vallen</td>
<td>happen/occur</td>
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<td>feign/pretend</td>
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<td>voor-zeggen</td>
<td>prompt</td>
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<td>put before someone</td>
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<td>voor-zitten</td>
<td>chair (meeting)</td>
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<tr>
<td>vorderen</td>
<td>demand/claim</td>
<td>AFFECT-E</td>
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<td>vormen</td>
<td>form/shape</td>
<td>CORPOREAL-A</td>
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<td>vormeren</td>
<td>vomit</td>
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<tr>
<td>vouwen</td>
<td>fold</td>
<td>B,S</td>
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<tr>
<td>vragen</td>
<td>ask</td>
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<tr>
<td>vreten</td>
<td>eat (of animals)</td>
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<td>fear/dread</td>
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<td>freeze</td>
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<td>risk</td>
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<td>think (wrongly)</td>
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<td>grow</td>
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<td>bet/wager</td>
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<td>render/reproduce</td>
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<td>restrain/stop</td>
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<td>refute</td>
<td>B</td>
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<td>leave out/omit</td>
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<td>take away/remove</td>
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<td>graze</td>
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<td>refuse/decline/reject</td>
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<td>accustom/get used to</td>
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<td>wish</td>
<td>B,S</td>
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<td>work</td>
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<td>recruit/enlist</td>
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<td>B,S</td>
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<td>blame</td>
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<td>show/point out</td>
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<td>change/alter</td>
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wikkelen
willen B,S
winden
winkelen
winnen
wisselen
wonen S
worden
worgen
wrijven
wringen
wuiven
zaaien
zakken
zegelen
zegeven
zegevier en
zeggen B,S
zeilen
zengen
zetten S
zieden B,S
zijn S
zingen B
zinken B
zinnen B
zitten S
zoek den S
zoenen
zogen
zondigen
zorgen B
zuchten B
zuigen
zuiveren
zullen S
zwaaien
zweigen
zwellen
zwemmen
zweren (PP zwoer) B
zweren (PP zweerde)
zwerven
zweven
zwichten
zwijgen B

wrap up
want
wind
shop
win/gain
exchange
wound
dwell/live
become
strangle
rub
ring
wave

so
sink
seal
bless
triump
say
sail
sing/scorch
put
seethe/boil with rage
see
be
sing
sink
meditate/reflect
sit
look for
kiss
suckle/kiss
sin
care for
sigh
suck
purify/cleanse
FUTURE (shall)
wave
swallow
swell
swim
swear (an oath)
fester/ulcerate
roam/ramble/wander
sweat/perspire
be suspended
yield/give way
be silent/not to mention

AFFECT-B
WANTING-A
AFFECT-B
MOTION-A
COMPETITION-B
GIVING-D
AFFECT-B
REST-B
MODAL
AFFECT-C
AFFECT-B
AFFECT-A
CORPOREAL-B
AFFECT-D
MOTION-B
AFFECT-D
AFFECT-A
COMPETITION-B
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MOTION-A
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MOTION-C
PERCEPTION-A
MODAL
SPEAKING-A
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THINKING-A
REST-A
PERCEPTION-B
CORPOREAL-A
CORPOREAL-A
ACTING
WANTING-A
SPEAKING-A
CORPOREAL-A
AFFECT-A
MODAL
CORPOREAL-A
CORPOREAL-A
CORPOREAL-A
MOTION-A
CORPOREAL-A
MOTION-A
REST-F
SPEAKING-A
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