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Review of

Booij, Geert. 2002. *The Morphology of Dutch.* Oxford University Press.
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Ever since his dissertation (1977), Geert Booij has been well known to the linguistic community as phonologist and morphologist. He is (together with Jaap van Marle) co-founder and editor of the well-established *Yearbook of Morphology*, published since 1988, and he is also one of the editors of the international handbook of morphology (Booij, Lehmann, & Mugdan 2000). In 1995 he, together with his colleague Ariane van Santen, wrote a text book (in Dutch) on morphological theory and the morphology of Dutch, which received a second, revised edition only three years later (Booij & Van Santen 1998). In the same year his book on Dutch phonology appeared in which he tried to combine an overview of the phonology of Dutch with a theoretical account of many problems concerning this subject (Booij 1995). And now he presents a book on Dutch morphology which takes a similar approach and makes the results of twenty-five years of morphological research accessible.

According to the 'preface' the book has two aims: (a) it is meant as an internationally accessible description of the morphology of Dutch, since "a full-fledged description of the Dutch morphological system has not been available in English" so far, and (b) it has the ambition "to show that the morphology of Dutch poses many interesting descriptive and theoretical challenges" (p. xi).

The book is divided into seven sections which of course cover the central areas of morphology: inflection (ch. 2), derivation (ch. 3) and compounding (ch. 4). The first, introductory, chapter deals with 'preliminaries' like the nature of morphological rules or the notion of productivity. Chapter 5 is about the interface of morphology with phonology and chapter 6 is devoted to the morphology-syntax interface. The short concluding chapter (7, only three pages) contains some thoughts about "the architecture of grammar".

The Morphology of Dutch is not an introduction to morphological theory or terminology in the first place. However, the first chapter provides an account of some central aspects of Booij's view on the nature of morphology. Thereafter he takes the morphological structure of Dutch as his starting point for the discussion of morphological phenomena.

Booij's basic assumptions don't come as a surprise: morphology has to define the notion 'possible complex word' (lexical morphology) and it deals with the form of words in different syntactic contexts (inflectional morphology). The central mechanisms of morphology are affixation and compounding, and morphological operations apply to words (rather than morphemes). Word-based or better: lexeme-based morphology implies that affixes are not treated as lexical entries, they have no existence of their own, they only exist as part of morphological rules. More than in former publications Booij stresses the importance of paradigmatic word formation. There is a strong tradition of paradigmatic morphology in Dutch linguistics which is tightly connected to the names of Henk Schultink and especially Jaap van Marle (cf. Van Marle 1985). Many of the insights of this branch of morphological research are found in Booij's book.

With respect to lexical morphology Booij concentrates on morphology in strict sense (derivation, compounding, conversion). He explicitly excludes other means of extending the lexicon like acronyms, clipping, or blending from his treatment of Dutch morphology, because "in these cases there is no systematic form-meaning correspondence between the base word and the newly created one". This exclusion is a pity, because in my view, what is often called 'marginal morphology' not only plays an important role in Dutch, it also sheds light on many aspects of morphological creativity and the conditions of morphological productivity, and as such it is highly interesting and important to morphological theory. Another recent overview of the word formation of one language, Donalies' *Wortbildung des Deutschen* (Donalies 2002), shows that there might be more systematic aspects to these mechanisms of word formation than Booij is willing to admit.

Chapter 2 discusses the inflectional system of Dutch. Dutch is characterized by a loss of inflection. Like English, it has lost morphological case markings and its inflectional system can – in terms of morphological complexity – be situated between German and English. Booij presents a fairly comprehensive account of nominal and verbal inflection in Dutch, which is exemplified by many tables showing the inflectional paradigms of Dutch. He goes further than description in, for example, trying to account for the selection of competing plural suffixes (-*s* or -*en*) in the framework of Optimality Theory.

With respect to morphological theory it is especially Booij's distinction between contextual and inherent inflection which I consider very insightful. Booij discusses (in 2.5) the boundary and the interaction between inflection and word formation. As in several earlier publications he argues against the dichotomy inflection-derivation (the hypothesis of 'Split Morphology') in favour of a functional continuum which can be subdivided into three parts: contextual inflection (mainly agreement categories), inherent inflection (like number categories) and derivation. This continuum view has become influential in recent years and Booij's tripartition has also been adopted in other text books on morphology, like Haspelmath's *Understanding Morphology* (Haspelmath 2002).

Chapter 3 deals with derivation in Dutch. It starts with a section on 'theoretical preliminaries', in which Booij discusses the nature of derivational processes and the restrictions limiting the output of these processes. Input restrictions limit the domain of a morphological process by excluding base words because of phonological, semantic, syntactic or pragmatic features. Stratal restrictions control the combination of native (Germanic) words and affixes with non-native (Romance) ones. Paradigmatic restrictions prevent the coining of words because of the existence of (near) synonyms ('blocking') and/or the existence of competing word-formation processes with the same meaning contribution. These are all well known restrictions on morphological processes and Booij illustrates them nicely with examples from Dutch. In the 'theoretical preliminaries' we also find reflections on the polyfunctionality of affixes and the semantics of derivational processes. With respect to the latter Booij presents his view on polysemous affixes, which he first developed some 15 years ago (Booij 1986).

The discussion of the derivational processes in Dutch is organized according to the formal processes involved: prefixation, suffixation, and conversion; and Booij gives an overview of the means involved in coining verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. Here his intention – to present *the morphology of Dutch* – is confronted with limiting factors. It is just impossible to describe all derivational processes in detail on 50 pages. So Booij chooses to present lists of affixes, like 'denominal nominal suffixes' (110) or 'native adjectival suffixes for qualitative adjectives' (131), and to comment on these groups of affixes without going into detail concerning the formal and semantic properties of the individual processes.

In respect to conversion Booij argues against zero-affixation. In his view the conversion of *douche* ('the shower' > 'to shower') is better accounted for by means of a template describing the semantics and the direction of conversion (which according to Booij can be determined on

the basis of the meanings of the corresponding words). Conversion is dealt with as part of derivation in this book because it is seen as 'functionally similar to derivation' (86).

The chapter on compounding starts with the observation that Dutch compounds are right-headed. This is not self-evident since it often has been stated that the so called exocentric ('bahuvrihi') compounds (like *roodhuid* 'redskin') are counterexamples to this claim. Booij convincingly analyses them as "a specific semantic category of endocentric compounds based on metonymy" (143). The chapter is subdivided into sections about nominal, adjectival, verbal, and numeral compounds. Again Booij seizes the opportunity to discuss general theoretical problems. Let me mention just one example: on the basis of compounds with an NP in the non-head position (like *blotevrouwenblad* 'nude women magazine' or *heteluchtballon* 'hot air balloon') he discusses the structure of grammar and he concludes that "our conception of the grammar has to be a modular one, with the modules unordered" (146).

In spite of the synchronic point of view for his description of the morphology of Dutch, Booij occasionaly touches diachrony when it seems appropriate to explain the morphological make-up of complex words. He does for example use the semantic development of *boer* (lit. 'farmer') in the head position of compounds to discuss the more general principle of grammaticalization, which he also illustrates with the development of pejorative prefixes out of nouns (153).

While in the first chapters the focus of the book has been on the structure of complex words in Dutch, the two remaining chapters reverse the perspective: now Booij takes theoretical questions as a starting point. He discusses the interaction between morphology and phonology (ch. 5) resp syntax (ch. 6) and looks at some domains of interaction in Dutch to illustrate the interface problems. Booij shows that – and how – the morphological structure of a word codetermines its prosodic structure (in 5.2) and in section 5.3 he discusses allomorphy. He states that in Dutch not only affixes exhibit allomorphy, but also stems. One example of the latter has already been discussed in chapter 2, where Booij presents his view on what is traditionally seen as a special plural marker *-eren*, like in *kind* ('child') – *kinderen* of *kalf* ('calf') – *kalveren*. Historically this is of course true (*-eren* is a sequence of two plural morphemes), but synchronically these forms should according to Booij be seen as 'normal' plurals in *-en* added to stem allomorphs of the base words (*kinder* and *runder*). One argument in favour of this view can be found in compounds (*kindertaal* 'child language', *runderpest* 'rinderpest') where these allomorphs are used too

In chapter 6 Booij first discusses syntactic valency effects in morphology. He demonstrates on the basis of verbs with the prefix *be-* that and how prefixation affects the meaning of the base words (verbs like *iets beschilderen* 'to cover something with paint' < *iets schilderen* 'to paint something'). He claims that this is an operation at the level of the Lexical-Conceptual Structure. The changes in syntactic valency which can be observed "are therefore to be seen as the effect of changes at the level of LCS" (191). This implies that the derived verb does not inherit the argument structure of the base verb. However, some category-changing processes do show inheritance (*zoeker naar waarheid* 'searcher for truth'), which according to Booij has to be accounted for as a correspondence in terms of LCS-roles between a verb and its deverbal noun.

The short section 6.3 contains some interesting thoughts on the demarcation of lexicon and syntax in the view of Construction Grammar which lead to 6.4 where Booij deals with the nature of separable complex verbs: syntax or morphology? He shows that verbs like *opbellen* ('to phone'; *hij* <u>belt</u> iemand <u>op</u> 'he calls somebody') have to be seen not as words, but as combinations of words. At the same time, however, they share some lexical properties with morphologically complex verbs. Booij comes to the conclusion that those separable complex verbs can best be seen as 'constructions'.

In his conclusions (ch. 7) Booij again stresses the importance of paradigmatic relations for morphology and the usefulness of the notion of 'construction' for mophological theory. He makes a plea for an integrated view of language: the interaction between the different subsystems of language should be of central concern when studying one of those subsystems.

On the cover of the book Mark Aronoff is quoted who considers *The Morphology of Dutch* a 'gold mine', and I agree with him: a gold mine it is. The book provides the international linguistic community with the relevant facts about Dutch morphology and it will definitely function as a reference work for at least the next couple of years. Of course not every aspect has been treated with equal depth, especially the chapter on derivation could be more detailed, but the overall delimitation of the descriptive domain seems very reasonable to me. The description itself is of very high quality and the book is well written and made accessible by three indexes (subjects, authors, affixes).

But what I like most about *The Morphology of Dutch* is the fruitful combination of description and theory. This is where the book excels. Booij presents his description of Dutch inflection and word formation, and whenever it seems appropriate he succeeds in linking up the

description to relevant and up-to-date discussions of morphological theory. And because of this, the book is not only a gold mine for linguists interested in the morphology of Dutch, but also for everybody interested in the theory of morphology.

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