Unexpected species in the affixal forest: The case of Dutch and Afrikaans -el and -er.

Abstract

This paper concerns the verbal suffixes -el and -er in Dutch and Afrikaans. These suffixes often bring about an iterative and/or attenuative interpretation (cf. Weidhaas & Schmid 2015; Audring et al. 2017; Grestenberger & Lallulli 2019). They furthermore display the same morphological behavior and pragmatic features. This paper presents a detailed dictionary- and annotation studyon the morphological, semantic and pragmatic properties of these two suffixes. Our analysis is stated in terms of the three-way division of suffix types as found in Creemers et al. (2018). We show that the -el and -er suffixes are categorically flexible suffixes, which are the closest to the stem with respect to other suffixes. As Creemers et al. (2018) state that Dutch does not have verbal suffixes that are in the position closest to the stem, this paper calls for a revision of that claim.

1. Introduction

This paper concerns the verbal suffixes *-el* and *-er* in Dutch and Afrikaans. The *-el* and *-er* suffixes are often referred to as *verbal diminutive suffixes* (cf. Weidhaas & Schmid 2015; Audring et al. 2017; Grestenberger & Lallulli 2019, and frequently indicate that an event is iterative or attenuative, or both. This is illustrated for Dutch in respectively (1)-(2) and (3)-(4).

- (1) hupp-el-en 'to skip (repeatedly)' (3) krabb-el-en 'to scratch lightly'
- (2) stuit-er-en 'to bounce (repeatedly)' (4) dobb-er-en 'to float while rocking lightly'

In (1) and (2), the *-el* and *-er* suffixes bring about an iterative interpretation of the event, that is, the events of skipping and bouncing are presented as occurring repeatedly. In (3) and (4) these same suffixes bring about an attenuative interpretation, in the sense that the events are of low intensity – as indicated by the adverb 'lightly' in the English translation. In (5)-(6) two Afrikaans examples are given with an iterative interpretation, and in (7)-(8) two Afrikaans examples with an attenuative interpretation.^{1, 2}

- (5) hobb-el 'to bump up and down (repeatedly)' (7) does-el 'to sleep lightly'
- (6) blikk-er 'to flicker (repeatedly)'

(8) knapp-er 'to crackle lightly (of fire)'

In both these closely related West-Germanic languages, verbal suffixes are very rare (De Haas & Trommelen 1993; Combrink 1990). In Dutch, there are only two other verbal suffixes besides *-el* and *-er*, namely the productive suffix *-eer* (e.g. *alarm*_N-*eer*_V-*en* alarm-SUF-INFL `to warn'), and the unproductive *-ig* (e.g. *steen*_N-*ig*_V-*en* stone-SUF-INFL `to stone'). *The Handbook of Dutch Morphology* (De Haas & Trommelen 1993) devotes no more than two pages to the *-el* and *-er* suffixes. This is somewhat surprising, given that Dutch contains quite a large set of verbs containing these suffixes (see Audring et al. 2017, and section 4 of the current paper).

¹ Note that in Afrikaans, there is no infinitive marker -en. The infinitive has the same form as the indicative.

² Besides an attenuative interpretation, the verb *knapper* also has an iterative interpretation. As said above, these suffixes can bring about one of the two interpretations, but can also bring about both in one and the same verb.

Furthermore, even though these suffixes are now no longer fully productive, they were highly productive derivational suffixes in previous stages of Dutch. ^{3,4}

In Afrikaans, the only verbal suffix that is explicitly mentioned in *Afrikaanse Morfologie* (Combrink 1990 – the Afrikaans equivalent of *The Handbook of Dutch Morphology*) is the productive suffix *-eer*. *-Er* is mentioned in the list of suffixes at the beginning of the handbook, but not discussed in the main text. The *-el* suffix is not listed.

Given that these two suffixes are part of the very small set of verbal suffixes in Dutch and Afrikaans, combined with the fact that the set of verbs containing these suffixes (henceforth -el and -er verbs) is quite large, it is surprising that there is hardly any literature on these suffixes. De Jager (1875) contains an extensive list of -el and -er verbs in Dutch, but most of the verbs on the list are no longer extant in Modern Dutch (Audring et al. 2017). A recent paper by Audring et al. (2017) focuses on the -el suffix only. Moreover, it is specifically devoted to a theoretical analysis thereof and does not contain a detailed list of -el verbs in Modern Dutch. A recent unpublished diachronic study on the -el and -er suffixes in Dutch (as well as English and German) is presented in Schmück (2019). As for Afrikaans, we are not aware of any study on Afrikaans morphology that discusses the -el and/or -er suffixes.

These suffixes are also found in other Germanic languages, e.g. German and its various dialects, English, and Scandinavian (see Audring et al. 2017 and Schmück 2019 for examples).⁵ The only detailed dictionary- and annotation studyon German *-eln* is Weidhaas & Schmid (2015). As in the case of the paper on Dutch *-el* by Audring et al. (2017), these authors do not include German *-er* in their study.

The ability to express iteration and attenuation, as illustrated above, is not the only shared property of the *-el* and *-er* suffixes. With respect to their morphological properties, we see that they can attach to four types of bases, namely (i) a verbal base (i.e. an existing verb in Modern Dutch/Afrikaans), (iii) a nominal base (i.e. an existing noun in Modern Dutch/Afrikaans), (iii) a non-lexical root (a root that does not exist as an independent lexical item in Modern Dutch/Afrikaans), and (iv) a base which can both be a noun or a verb. Examples are given for Dutch *-el* in (9)-(12). The same types of morphological bases can accommodate the *-er* suffix, in both languages.

- (9) hink_v-el-en 'to hop repeatedly' hink_v-en 'to limp'
- (10) $moff_N$ -el-en 'to cover up mof_N 'sleeve'
- (11) kabb-**el**-en 'to ripple (of water)' no lexical base
- (12) $krass_{V/N}$ -el-en 'to scrape lightly' $krass_V$ -en 'to scrape' $kras_N$ 'scratch'

Besides these four morphological base types, both Weidhaas & Schmid (2015) for German, and Audring et al. (2017) for Dutch, include in their typology cases in which it seems that the verb is in fact derived from a noun that inherently contains -el. Examples also exist for the -er suffix. An example for the -el suffix is given in (13), and for the - suffix in (14).

³ The only recent neologism (added in 2017 to the *Van Dale Groot Woordenboek van de Nederlandse Taal*) with the *-el* suffix that we have found is *sportelen* 'to sport recreationally, by elderly people'. We have not found any recent neologisms with the *-er* suffix.

⁴ See Weidhaas & Schmid (2015) on the productivity of the German suffix *-eln*, the cognate of Dutch and Afrikaans *-el*. See furthermore Kuhn (1961), Dettwiler et al. (2007) and Eichinger (2014) on the high productivity of this suffix in Swiss German.

⁵ In fact, the -/ suffix with iterative and attenuative meaning was present in earlier stages/languages of many branches of the Indo-European language family (Van Bree 1996: 49).

It is not clear whether the -el and -er morphemes in the verbs cirkelen and aanmodderen are the actual verbal suffixes. As Audring et al. (2017) note, the -el morpheme in nouns often came from the instrumental suffix -el, which was homophonous with the verbal suffix -el.⁶ Schmück (2019) mentions the same instrumental suffix origin for -er in certain Germanic nouns that can form the base for iterative/attenuative verbs such as (aan)modderen. Audring et al. (2017) set the -el morpheme in this type of -el verbs aside as a homophonous suffix, whereas Weidhaas & Schmid do not. The latter argue that this type of -el verb should be accounted for in the same way as the other types, because they can also indicate attenuation or signal endearment/pejorative meaning — two properties that cannot be accounted for as straightforwardly if one assumes two different but homophonous -el suffixes. Given this disagreement in the few works on the two verbal suffixes, the current study also investigates this fifth type of morphological base, to see whether the Dutch and Afrikaans data can shed new light on this issue.

As just indicated, a significant property which these two suffixes have in common is that they can be used to signal expressive meaning. Just like the nominal diminutive suffix (Jurafsky 1996), these suffixes can signal a positive or negative evaluation by the speaker of the event that is referred to. The two main types of expressive meaning involved are the signaling of endearment (a positive evaluation) and the signaling of a pejorative meaning (a negative evaluation). Examples for Dutch are given in (15)-(16).

(15) bommel-en 'to buzz (of a bumblebee)' (16) bazel-en 'to waffle'

Our own native speaker judgments are that the verb *bommelen* can signal endearment (a cute and positive sound made by a bumblebee), whereas *bazelen* signals pejorative meaning. It is important to note, though, that expressing endearment or pejorative meaning is not the sole purpose of these suffixes. That is, the expressive meaning is an additional layer of meaning, aside from the semantic meanings of iteration and/or attenuation. Both suffixes should therefore be viewed as derivational suffixes which additionally can express the speaker's evaluation of the event (see also Weidhaas & Schmid 2015: 189).

All in all, the clearly similar behavior of the *-el* and *-er* suffixes in their semantics (iteration/attenuation), morphology (being able to attach to the same morphological base types) and pragmatics (endearment/pejorative meaning), makes it worthwhile to investigate both suffixes in parallel.

The aim of this paper is twofold. On the descriptive front, we want to enrich the typology of the *-el* and *-er* verbs in West-Germanic by presenting a detailed dictionary- and annotation studyof these verbs in Dutch and Afrikaans. As mentioned above, no such study exists for these languages, with the exception of Audring et al. (2017) on Dutch *-el* verbs, which however does not include a detailed annotation of the semantic, morphological and pragmatic properties of these verbs. On the analytical and theoretical front, we want to propose a unified analysis of the *-el* and *-er* verbs in all five morphological base types. This analysis builds on work by Creemers et al. (2018), who argue that there are three types of affixes that can be distinguished. We will show that the *-el* and *-er* suffixes are so-called 'level la' suffixes. This

⁶ As mentioned in Audring et al. (2017), Schönfeld and Van Loey (1964: 238-239) in fact propose that verbal suffix *-el* developed from a reanalysis of verbs that were derived from nouns containing the instrumental *-el* suffix. See Schmück (2019) for a similar analysis for the *-er* suffix.

type of suffix is positioned closest to the morphological base compared to other suffixes, it often has a low degree of productivity and a wide range of semantic meanings. Our analysis of the *-el* and *-er* suffixes as level Ia suffixes is particularly interesting for the typology of affix types in Dutch, as Creemers et al. (2018) argue that there are no verbal suffixes of level Ia in this language.

The outline of the paper is as follows. In section 2, we briefly discuss the two core previous studies on -el verbs, namely Audring et al. (2017) on Dutch, and Weidhaas & Schmid (2015). The latter paper is discussed in more detail, as the methodology of our dictionary- and annotation studyis partly based on theirs. Furthermore, we discuss Creemers et al. (2018), which is the core paper for our analysis of how the -el and -er suffixes fit in the typology of Dutch and Afrikaans affix types. In section 3, we present the methodology of our dictionary and annotation study. In section 4, we present the results of this study. Section 5 is devoted to our analysis of the affix type the verbal suffixes belong to. As already mentioned above, we propose that the verbal suffixes are of type level Ia — affixes which are closest to the morphological base compared to the other two types of affixes. Section 6 draws the main conclusions.

2. Previous studies

2.1 Audring et al. (2017)

As mentioned in the introduction, the paper by Audring et al. (2017) is the only recent work which discusses the verbal suffix -el in Dutch extensively. They establish that iteration and attenuation are the core semantic meaning components of this suffix. They furthermore state that the morphological base of -el verbs can be either a verb or a noun, but that the large majority has a non-lexical root as a base. In addition, they mention that there is a set of verbs for which it is unclear whether the base is a verb or a noun. The four types of morphological bases were already presented in section 1, abstractly repeated here for convenience.

(17) X_V -el-en X is unambiguously a verb (18) X_N -el-en X is unambiguously a noun

(19) *X-el-en X* has no category, i.e. it is a non-lexical root

(20) $X_{V/N}$ -el-en X is ambiguous, i.e. it can be either a noun or a verb

However, Audring et al. do not present exact numbers for each type of morphological base, since they did not do a detailed annotation of the set of verbs containing the -el suffix in Dutch.

As mentioned above, they include a fifth type of base, namely nouns that already contain the -el suffix. Audring et al. argue that this suffix is a non-verbal, homophonous suffix. Accordingly, the set of verbs that contain a noun which in turn already contains this homophonous -el suffix, should be set aside from all the other verbs containing the verbal -el suffix.

In sum, the paper of Audring et al. forms a useful starting point regarding the Dutch -el suffix for the current study to build on, by providing five types of morphological bases that need to be considered when investigating verbs containing the -el suffix. As they do not present any detailed dictionary and/or annotation study, the current study has an obvious gap to fill.

2.2 Weidhaas & Schmid (2015)

Weidhaas & Schmid (2015) presents a detailed dictionary- and annotation study on the German cognate suffix of Dutch -el, namely -eln. They report a number of 273 verbs ending in -eln, based on a dictionary investigation in the Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der Deutschen Gegenwartssprache (Mater 2001). As the authors note, this number is an underestimation, as they did not include -eln verbs that also have a prefix, in order to keep the semantic and pragmatic annotation focused on the semantic/pragmatic contribution of suffix -eln. Moreover, they did not include -eln verbs from dialects, in which the -eln suffix seems much more productive than in Standard German (Weidhaas & Schmid 2015: 195).

They annotated the dataset of 273 *-eln* verbs for morphological, semantic and pragmatic properties. Differently from Dutch, German *-eln* verbs can also take an adjective as its base. On the morphological side, they use three morphological base types as annotation categories, the first two of which were also annotated for the subcategories *verb*, *noun* or *adjective*. Type I are bases that do not contain *-l-*. Base type II are bases that do contain *-l-*. For type I and type II, the base can be either a noun, verb or adjective. Base type III is what we have labeled above as a non-lexical root, i.e. a base for an *-eln* verb that does not exist in the language without the suffix. It is important to note, though, that Weidhaas & Schmid (2015) do not view this type as non-lexical roots from which *-eln* verbs can be derived by adding the suffix. Rather, they take the verbs that fall under this type as underived lexical items. The overview table of Weidhaas & Schmid is presented here in table 1.

	e I: base without <i>-I-</i> 25 (45,8%)	Type II: base with -/- n= 126 (46,2%)	Type III: 'non-derived' <i>n</i> = 22 (8%)
Verb	74%	5%	n/a
Noun	17%	87%	n/a
Adjective	6%	2%	n/a
Unclear	3%	6%	n/a

Table 1. Overview base types of -eln verbs in German (Weidhaas & Schmid 2015: 195)

Weidhaas & Schmid's type I verbs thus include both the Audring et al. (2017)'s types in (17) and (18) above, whereas the former's type III corresponds to the latter's (19). Audring et al. (2017)'s type in which the base is ambiguous between a noun and verb (20) are included in the 'unclear' subcategories. Weidhaas & Schmid's type II correspond to Audring et al. (2017)'s fifth base type, namely nouns that already contain the -el suffix. As can be seen from the table, apparently in German there are a handful of verbs and adjectives that also belong to this type. Two main observations can be made from the table. First, the two biggest classes of bases are those of type I and type II, whereas type III is rather infrequent (8% of the data set). Recall from the previous subsection that Audring et al. (2017) claim that the majority of Dutch -el verbs have a non-lexical root as base. It thus seems that German and Dutch differ significantly in this respect. Second, in base type I (bases without -l-), the large majority are verbs, whereas in base type II (bases with -l-) the large majority are nouns.

As for the semantic and pragmatic annotation, Weidhaas & Schmid focus on different subcategories of the general property of attenuation of *-eln* verbs. These annotations were mainly based on descriptions in the lexical entries in the dictionary. For example, the use of adverbs such as *schwach* 'weak', *klein* 'small' or *leicht* 'light', or adverbs such as *ein bisschen* 'a little' were taken to be indicators of attenuation-related features of the verb under consideration. They divided the different flavors of semantic attenuation on the one hand and

pragmatic attenuation on the other hand in five subcategories each. As for semantic attenuation, the subcategories they propose are 'low intensity', 'iteration', 'small pieces', 'playful-tentative' and 'playful-pretentive'. The order of the subcategories is in line with their prominence. As for the pragmatic attenuation, the subcategories are 'language of proximity', 'contempt', 'affection and sympathy', 'trivialization' and 'euphemism'. Again, the order lines up with the prominence of these pragmatic features in the data set. Note that Weidhaas & Schmid do not suggest that these subcategories are unrelated, but rather that they form a semantically and conceptionally coherent network (Weidhaas & Schmid 2015: 203).

In order to investigate the extent to which there is a relation between the base types and the semantic and pragmatic features of *-eln* verbs, Weidhaas & Schmid present the following overview table.

	Type I base without -I-	Type II base with -l-	Type III 'non-derived'
Semantic attenuation	82%	23%	91%
Pragmatic attenuation	46%	36%	77%
Both	36%	10%	68%
Neither	7%	51%	0%

Table 2. Semantic/pragmatic attenuation in the three types of verbs (Weidhaas & Schmid 2015: 198)

The data in the table show that semantic and pragmatic attenuation is in fact the most frequent in type III verbs, followed by type I verbs. Weidhaas & Schmid state that 'these results are highly unexpected because the monomorphemic, non-derived structure of the Type III verbs seems to exclude the possibility that there is a link between -I- and either the semantico-pragmatic complex of attenuation or, for that matter, any other meaning possibly shared by these verbs' (2015: 198). However, the fact that type III verbs in their study have such high percentages of semantic and pragmatic attenuation is only surprising if one follows their analysis of these verbs being non-derived verbs, in which -I- is not a verbal suffix. If one, in contrast, assumes that these verbs are derived from non-lexical roots to which this verbal suffix is added, with its attendant notion of attenuation, these results are what one would expect. From here on, we will assume that what Weidhaas & Schmid call 'non-derived verbs' are in fact verbs derived from non-lexical roots and the verbal suffix (cf. also Audring et al. (2017) above).

Another observation that can be made based on the data in table 2 is that the frequencies of semantic and pragmatic attenuation in type II verbs is much lower than in the other two types of verbs. As already mentioned in the introduction, Weidhaas & Schmid are reluctant to assume that there is a homophonous -I- suffix in (especially) the nouns from which their type II verbs are derived, as proposed by Audring et al. (2017) in the case of Dutch. They are reluctant to do so, because they think such an account would fail to explain why semantic and pragmatic attenuation also occurs for this type of verb. However, they note themselves that the low frequencies for semantic and pragmatic attenuation in type II verbs 'supports the homonymy view to some extent' (2015: 208). We will take up this issue by including Weidhaas & Schmid's type II verbs in the current study on the -eI and -er suffixes in Dutch, to see to what extent this type of verb behaves similarly in its semantics and pragmatics compared to the other types of verbs in Dutch and Afrikaans.

To conclude, Weidhaas & Schmid present a detailed dictionary- and annotation study into German -eln verbs. Setting aside the fact that we do not follow their assumption that their

type III verbs are non-derived verbs, their study is a valuable methodological example for our own dictionary- and annotation study, and their German results are a useful base to compare the Dutch and Afrikaans results to.

2.3 Creemers et al. (2018)

One of the main goals of Creemers et al. (2018) is to propose a more fine-grained division in the typology of derivational affixes than the classical two-way division of level I and level II affixes (Siegel 1974; Kiparsky 1982 et seq.; Selkirk 1982; Giegerich 1999 a.o.). In the classical two-way division, level I affixes are stress-shifting affixes and level II affixes are stress-neutral affixes. Furthermore, level I affixes may attach to bound stems (non-lexical roots), whereas level II affixes cannot. The order of the two types of affixes with respect to each other is that level II affixes can only occur more peripherally than level I affixes. Two other less prominent criteria to distinguish the two types of affixes that have been put forward are productivity and semantic transparency (Creemers et al. 2018: 49). That is, level I affixes are generally less productive than level II affixes, and level I affixes often have a less transparent meaning than level II affixes. Creemers et al. partly adopt this classical division of suffix types, however, they propose that affixes that belong to category level I can in fact be split up into two subcategories, which they label level Ia and level Ib affixes. An important criterium for an affix to fall in either of the two subcategories is their categorial flexibility. Both De Belder (2011) and Lowenstamm (2015) observe that in Dutch and English respectively, the same derivational affix can sometimes result in the creation of an adjective and sometimes in that of a noun. Examples for both languages from Creemers et al. (2018: 46-27) are given in (21) and (22).

(21) shows that the Dutch suffix -aat can both result in an adjective ('accurate') and in a noun ('candidate'). Similarly, (22) shows that the English suffix -ian can either create an adjective ('reptilian') or a noun ('librarian'). These suffixes are far from the only affixes with such categorically flexible behavior (Creemers et al. 2018: 47). They are furthermore always level I suffixes under the classical two-way division, since they can affect the stress pattern of the stem. For instance, in the case of (22a), reptile has its main stress on the first syllable (réptile), but in reptilian the main stress has shifted one syllable to the right (reptílian).8 However, given that there are also level I affixes which do not show categorial flexibility, Creemers et al. propose to divide the set of level I affixes into a subcategory that shows categorical flexibility

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⁷ We follow the glossing convention of Creemers et al. (2018). That is, bound lexical morphemes are glossed in small caps. These include both non-lexical roots and the affixes themselves. Independent forms (lexical roots) are glossed with the English translation and lexical category (V for verbal, N for nominal and A for adjective).

⁸ Note that stress shift can only be seen when an affix attaches to a lexical stem. In cases in (21) and (22b), the stem is a non-lexical root, for which the stress pattern prior to suffixation thus cannot be established. Stress shift is also excluded when the affix itself cannot bear stress, as in the case of affixes whose vowel is a schwa, for instance. See Creemers et al. (2018) for more discussion.

(level Ia) and a subcategory that does not (level Ib). The overview of the properties of the three types of affixes Creemers et al. propose is given in Table 3.

Properties	Level-I		Level II	
	Level Ia	Level Ib		
Can be stress shifting?	YES	YES	NO	
Categorially flexible?	YES	NO	NO	
Can attach to bound stem?	YES	YES	NO	
Relative position w.r.t. stem)	1	2	3	

Table 3. Overview of properties of three types of affixes (Creemers et al. 2018: 50)

Let us consider an example affix for each level type. (23) illustrates the case of level Ia suffix -iek. This suffix can be stress shifting – the first property of a level Ia suffix – which can be seen when the stem is an independent lexical item. For instance, in (23b), the stem is the noun canón `canon', which has the main stress on the second syllable. The derived adjective canoniek 'canonical', however, has the main stress on the suffix. (23) also shows the second property of a level Ia suffix, namely that it is categorically flexible. That is, in (23a) the suffix -iek derives a noun, in (23b) it derives an adjective, and in (23c) it can either derive a noun or an adjective. The third property of level Ia suffixes, being able to attach to a bound stem, is shown in (23a) and (23c) – both pan- and ant- are non-lexical roots. The final property of level Ia suffixes – its relative position w.r.t. the stem) will be illustrated below.

(23) a	iek] _{N.}	b <i>iek</i>] _A	c <i>iek</i>] _{N/A}
	pan <i>-iek</i>	canon-iek	ant-iek
	PAN-IEK	canon _N -IEK	ANT-IEK
	'panic'	'canonical'	'antique'

In (24) the suffix -(e)lijk is used to illustrate the properties of level Ib suffixes. The first property, being able to shift stress, can be illustrated with the derived words in (24a) and (24b). The verbal stem $\acute{a}\acute{a}nhoud$ 'continue' in (24a) has its main stress on the first syllable, but after the suffix -elijk is attached, the stress shifts: $aanh\acute{o}\acute{u}delijk$ `continuous'. The nominal stem vijand 'enemy' in (24b) has the main stress on the first syllable. With the suffix -lijk, the stress shifts: $vij\acute{a}ndelijk$ 'hostile'. The second property, not being categorically flexible, can be seen in (24): all words derived by the suffix -(e)lijk have an adjectival status. The third property, being able to attach to bound stems, is illustrated in (24c), where the suffix attaches to the non-lexical root vro-.

(24) a. <i>-(e)lijk</i>] _A	b. <i>-(e)lijk</i>] _A	c. <i>-(e)lijk</i>] _A
aanhoud-elijk	vijand-elijk	vro-lijk
continue _V -LIJK	enemy _N -LIJK	VRO-LIJK
'continuous'	'hostile'	'cheerful'

Now that we have determined that -iek is a level Ia suffix and -(e)lijk a level Ib suffix, we can illustrate the fourth property of these suffixes, namely their relative order with relation to the stem. According to Creemers et al., level Ia suffixes directly follow the stem. Level Ib suffixes

⁹ All examples are taken from Creemers et al. (2018), except (25c), as they only provided two examples to illustrate the suffix *-heid*. See their paper for more examples per affix type.

can also directly follow the stem, but when there is also a level Ia suffix in the derived word, the level Ib suffix will always occur outside of the level Ia suffix. This latter fact is illustrated in (25) (Creemers et al. 2018: 60).

(25) a. *publ-iek-elijk* PUBL-IEK-LIJK 'publicly'

b. *publ-(e)lijk-iek PUBL-LIJK-IEK

In (26) the suffix -heid is used to illustrate the properties of level II affixes. The first property, being stress neutral, can be seen especially in case of (26c): in the adjective belééfd 'polite', the main stress is on the second syllable. The position of stress remains the same after suffixation of -heid: belééfdheid 'politeness'. The second property, being categorically rigid, can be seen in all three examples: the output is always a noun. The third property, not being able to attach to a bound stem is illustrated by all the stems being individual lexical items (schoon 'clean', scheef 'askew', beleefd 'polite').

Finally, the fourth property of level II suffixes is illustrated in (27), namely the fact that they can only occur in a more peripheral position than level Ia and level Ib suffixes. (Creemers et al. 2018: 60).

(27) a. publ-iek-elijk-heid
PUBL-IEK-LIJK-HEID
'the state of being public'

b. *publ-heid-iek-elijk

c. *publ-iek-heid-elijk PUBL-IEK-HEID-LIJK

This concludes our discussion of Creemers et al. In our analysis of the verbal -el and -er suffixes in Dutch and Afrikaans in section 5, we will use their three-way division of affix types. Since they did not include the -el and -er suffixes in their typology of Dutch affixes, our study will thus expand their typology of Dutch affixes and apply it to the Afrikaans affixal domain.

3. Methodology

3.1 Data collection

A list of -el verbs and a list of -er verbs was collected from the Van Dale Groot Woordenboek van de Nederlandse Taal for Dutch and the Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal and the Handwoordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal for Afrikaans. For Dutch, the data collection proceeded in the following two steps. First, a search was done in the online version of the dictionary using a function that makes it possible to trace verbs ending in -elen or -eren. Second, the lists of verbs were manually checked for irrelevant or incorrect hits. Following the methodology of data collection of Weidhaas & Schmid (2015), we also manually filtered out all -el and -er verbs with an additional prefix. This was done in order for the semantic and pragmatic annotation not to be potentially influenced by the meaning of such additional prefixes. For Dutch, the data collection resulted in a list of 299 -el verbs and 109 -er verbs. For Afrikaans, the online version of the dictionary unfortunately does not provide a function to

search for a specific part-of-speech ending in a specific morpheme. This means that the data collection for Afrikaans proceeded differently from Dutch. As a first step, we manually checked whether the verbs on the Dutch lists of *-el* and *-er* verbs also occur in the *Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal*. As a second step, one of the authors of the paper who is a native speaker investigated jointly with other native speakers whether there are *-el* and *-er* verbs in Modern Afrikaans that did not occur on the list of Dutch verbs. This data collection resulted in a list of 130 *-el* verbs and 53 *-er* verbs in Afrikaans.

3.2 Annotation

The data were annotated by one native speaker per language – two of the authors of the paper – in combination with information provided by the language specific dictionaries. One sociolinguistic and three categories of linguistic properties were annotated for. The sociolinguistic factor concerned 'standard versus colloquial/dialectal' status of the verbs. That is, in some cases the dictionary indicated a verb as 'colloquial' or 'dialectal'. In such cases, these verbs were annotated for as 'non-standard'. If no such indication was given, verbs were annotated as 'standard'.

The three categories of linguistic properties that were annotated for are morphological, semantic, and pragmatic. The morphological annotation category concerned the morphological base type of the *-el* and *-er* verbs. We adopted the five morphological base types as proposed by Audring et al. (2017) (see section 1 and 2). The five types are given here in (28)-(32). The labeling of the types is ours. Note that this labeling is different than the order in which the base types are presented in Audring et al. We have changed the order in such a way that the types with a nominal base – our type II and III – follow each other in the order. In (33)-(37) respective abstract examples are given for Dutch. The same base types exist for *-er* verbs in Dutch, and for both *-el* and *-er* verbs in Afrikaans.¹⁰

(28) <i>X</i> √-el-en	X is unambiguously a verb	Туре І
(29) X(- <i>el</i> included) _N -en	X is unambiguously a noun, which ends in -el	Type II
(30) <i>X</i> _N −e <i>l</i> −en	X is unambiguously a noun	Type III
(31) <i>X-el-en</i>	X has no category, i.e. it is a non-lexical root)	Type IV
(32) X _{V/N} -el-en	X is ambiguous between a noun and a verb	Type V

Concrete examples, as given above in the introduction, are repeated here respectively for clarity.

- (33) hink_V-el-en 'to hop repeatedly' hink_V-en 'to limp'
- (34) $moff_N$ -el-en 'to cover up mof_N 'sleeve'
- (35) kabb-el-en 'to ripple (of water)' no lexical base
- (36) krass_{V/N}-el-en 'to scrape lightly' krass_V-en 'to scrape' kras_N 'scratch'
- (37) circel_N-en 'to circle' circel_N 'circle'

The semantic annotation category comprised two subcategories. The first subcategory was the property of *iterativity*. That is, for each verb we annotated whether it has a semantic component of iteration or not. We adopted Weidhaas & Schmid (2015)'s annotation strategy for semantic properties to decide whether a verb has an iterative component or not. That is, the *-el* or *-er* verb is either compared to the verbal base verb if such verb exists in the language

 $^{^{10}}$ In the case of Afrikaans, infinitival -en is absent, cf. footnote 1.

(i.e. in the case of morphological base type I, cf. (28)). If the dictionary indicated an iterative component for the -el or -er verb that was not present in the base verb, the -el or -er verb was annotated as iterative. As an example, consider again (33). The -el verb hinkelen has as its entry in the dictionary zich met kleine prongetjes voortbewegen 'to move oneself forward in small jumps'. The entry for its verbal base hinken is mank lopen 'to limp'. In the entry for hinkelen the nominal constituent kleine sprongetjes 'small jumps' is used, the occurrence of 'jumps' in plural indicating an iterative event. This meaning component is not present in the entry for hinken; it is part of the semantics of hinkelen itself. Therefore, hinkelen was annotated with a 'YES' for iteration. If the -el or -er verb did not have a verbal base, we compared it to its closest synonym. For example, in the case of (39), the -el verb zwendelen does not have a verbal base. Its closest synonym is frauderen 'to fraud' (40).

(39) zwendelen 'to scam/fraud' (40) frauderen – 'to fraud'

The dictionary entry for zwendelen is oneerlijk zijn in de handel 'be dishonest during the trade'. The entry for frauderen is fraude plegen 'to execute something fraudulent'. There is no indication of a semantic component of iteration in either of the two entries. The verb zwendelen was therefore annotated with a 'NO' for iteration. The second semantic subcategory was intensity. A property that -el and -er verbs have in common, but that has not been investigated in any detail in Weidhaas & Schmid (2015) for German or Audring et al. (2017) for Dutch, is that they can both indicate either low intensity (also labeled attenuation) or high intensity. We included the direction of intensity in our annotation to get a more detailed picture of the semantic range of these suffixes. We used the same annotation strategy as we did for iteration. That is, if there was a verbal base for a particular verb, it was assessed whether the verb with suffix was of a higher or lower intensity than the verb without suffix. In the case of verbs with other morphological base types, we compared them to the closest synonyms. An example of a Dutch -el verb that was annotated as 'LOW INTENSITY' is given in (40), an example of a verb that was annotated as 'HIGH INTENSITY' is given in (41), and a verb that was annotated as 'NEUTRAL' for intensity is given in (42).

(40) pruttelen 'to simmer' (41) buffelen 'to beaver away' (42) knevelen 'to muzzle'

The pragmatic annotation category involved the positivity or negativity of the evaluation of the event expressed by the *-el* or *-er* verb. That is, we annotated for the verb being able to signal *endearment* (a positive evaluation) or *pejorative meaning* (a negative evaluation). Given that this is subjective (see also Weidhaas & Schmid 2015), we only annotated a verb as 'YES' for either endearment or pejorative meaning if the dictionary entry contained an adjective or adverb that was clearly positive or negative, or if we as native speakers had a very strong judgment about the presence of an endearing or pejorative meaning. If we had a slightly less strong judgment or if our intuition was that a particular context was needed for the verb to signal endearment or pejorative meaning, we annotated the verb as 'POSSIBLE' for the type of pragmatic meaning under consideration. In all other cases, we annotated the verb as 'NO' for the type of pragmatic meaning under consideration. An example of a Dutch *-el* verb that was annotated as 'YES' for endearment is given in (43). The dictionary entry for this verb is *speels bewegen* 'to move playfully', the adverb *speels* 'playfully' indicating endearment. An example of a Dutch *-el* verb that was annotated as 'YES' for pejorative meaning is given in (44).

The dictionary entry for this verb is *vervelend praten* 'to talk in an annoying way', the adverb *vervelend* 'annoyingly' indicating pejorative meaning.

(43) dartelen 'to frolic' (44) wauwelen 'to waffle'

This concludes our presentation of the methodology of our dictionary and annotation study. The next section presents the results of this study.

4. Results

Let us first look at the sociolinguistic factor, namely whether a verb is part of the standard language or not. The numbers and percentages are given for the *-el* and *-er* verbs in both languages in Table 4.

	Dutch		Afrika	Afrikaans	
	-el	-er	-el	-er	
Standard	240 (80,6%)	95 (86,2%)	112 (86,2%)	50 (94,3%)	
Non-standard	59 (19,4%)	14 (13,8%)	18 (13,8%)	3 (5,7%)	
Total	299 (100%)	109 (100%)	130 (100%)	53 (100%)	

Table 4. General overview of frequencies of standard/non-standard verbs

As can be seen from the table, the majority of the data set is part of the standard language. Only smaller subsets of *-el* and *-er* verbs in both languages were indicated as 'colloquial' or 'dialectal' in the respective dictionaries.

Let us now move on to the more narrowly linguistic categories. The first category we consider is the morphological base type of the verbs. Table 5 gives the frequencies per base type for the -el and -er verbs in both languages. Recall that type I verbs are verbs whose base is a verb, type II are verbs whose base is a noun which ends in -el/-er, type IV are verbs whose base is a non-lexical root, and type V are verbs whose base is ambiguous between a verb and noun.

		Dutch		Afrikaans	
	-el	-er	-el	-er	
Type I	35 (11,7%)	15 (13,8%)	14 (10,8%)	9 (17,0%)	
Type II	51 (17,1%)	2 (1,8%)	31 (23,9%)	8 (15,0%)	
Type III	10 (3,3%)	3 (2,8%)	3 (2,3%)	3 (5,7%)	
Type IV	128 (42,8%)	76 (69,7%)	75 (57,7%)	29 (54,7%)	
Type V	75 (25,1%)	13 (11,9%)	7 (5,3%)	4 (7,6%)	
Total	299 (100%)	109 (100%)	130 (100)	53 (100%)	

Table 5. Frequency overview of morphological categories

The following observations can be made from table 5. A first observation is that for both *-el* and *-er* verbs in both languages, the largest set of verbs is of type IV – verbs whose base is a non-lexical root. This is in stark contrast with the German results as reported by Weidhaas & Schmid (2015), where the set of non-lexical roots as bases comprises only 8% of the total set of *-eln* verbs (see table 1). However, these data nuance the claim of Audring et al. (2017) that the large majority of the Dutch *-el* verbs are of this base type. That is, a percentage of 42,8% cannot be seen as 'the large majority', and the percentages of type I (11,7%), type II (17,1%) and especially type V (25,1%) are higher than one would expect if the large majority were of

one type only. A second observation is that type III is by far the smallest set of verbs in both languages for both the -el and -er verbs. A third observation is that type V is rarer in Afrikaans than in Dutch, whereas the reverse holds for type II. Besides these two differences in frequency patterns, all other frequencies are very similar in the two languages.

Next, we consider the semantic category and its two subcategories, namely iteration and intensity. The frequencies are given in table 6 for both languages and both the -el and -er verbs.

	Dutch		Afrika	ans
	-el	-er	-el	-er
iteration	240 (80,6%)	95 (86,2%)	110 (84,6%)	47 (88,7%)
no iteration	59 (19,4%)	14 (13,8%)	20 (15,%)	6 (11,3%)
low intensity	170 (56,9%)	45 (41,3%)	73 (56,2%)	23 (43,4%)
high intensity	52 (17,7%)	55 (50,5%)	27 (20,8%)	28 (52,8%)
neutral	76 (25,4%)	9 (8,2%)	30 (23,0%)	2 (3,8%)
Total	299 (100%)	109 (100%)	130 (100)	53 (100%)

Table 6. Frequency overview of semantic categories

The table shows the following relevant patterns. First, it can be seen that the large majority of -el and -er verbs in both languages have the semantic component of iteration. Second, we see in both languages that low intensity is more frequent with -el verbs compared to -er verbs, whereas the reverse holds for high intensity. However, low intensity is still quite frequent in -er verbs, high intensity with -el verbs being much lower in comparison. In other words, low intensity is quite a common property of both -el and -er verbs in both languages, whereas high intensity is a more prominent property of -el verbs than of -er verbs.

Let us now turn to the pragmatic annotation category and its two subcategories endearment and pejorative meaning. The frequencies are given in table 7.

	Dutch		Afrikaans	
	-el	-er	-el	-er
endearing	21 (7,0%)	2 (1,8%)	6 (4,6%)	2 (3,8%)
possibly endearing	78 (27,1%)	32 (29,6%)	28 (21,5%)	8 (1,9%)
not endearing	199 (65,9%)	75 (68,6%)	96 (73,9%)	43 (94,3%)
pejorative	74 (24,7%)	13 (11,9%)	17 (13,1%)	9 (17,0%)
possibly pejorative	78 (27,1%)	30 (27,5%)	52 (40,0%)	16 (30,2%)
not pejorative	146 (48,2%)	66 (60,6%)	61 (46,9%)	28 (52,8%)
Total	299 (100%)	109 (100%)	130 (100)	53 (100%)

Table 7. Frequency overview of pragmatic categories

We can observe the following from this table. First, both pragmatic features are present in a subset of both *-el* and *-er* verbs, and in both languages. Second, pejorative meaning is slightly more frequent overall than endearment. Third, especially the subset of *-er* verbs in Afrikaans has a very low frequency of endearment as a pragmatic feature.

Having looked at all linguistic categories separately, let us now investigate the relation between the morphological base type of the verbs on the one hand, and on the other their semantic and pragmatic properties on the other. Let us first examine the frequency tables of the semantic and pragmatic features per morphological base type for each subset of verbs in

turn.¹¹ Table 8 gives the frequencies of the semantic and pragmatic features per morphological base type of the subset of Dutch *-el* verbs, table 9 for the subset of Dutch *-er* verbs, table 10 for the subset of Afrikaans *-el* verbs and table 11 for the subset of Afrikaans *-er* verbs. What is important to notice from tables 8 to 11 is that for all subsets of verbs, and for all morphological base types, at least a subset of verbs shows the semantic features and/or pragmatic features we have considered. This is in line with the findings of Weidhaas & Schmid (2015) for the semantic and pragmatic features of German *-eln* verbs of different base types. Indeed, in their German data too a subset of all the morphological base types considered showed the semantic and pragmatic features related to attenuation.

	Semantic			Pragmatic	
	Iteration	low intensity	high intensity	Endearment Pejorative to	tal
Type I	34 (87,1%)	27 (77,1%)	7 (20,0%)	20 (57,1%) 17 (48,6%) 35 (100)%)
Type II	33 (64,7%)	12 (23,5%)	4 (7,8%)	4 (7,8%) 17 (33,3%) 51 (100)%)
Type III	9 (90,0%)	4 (40,0%)	3 (30,0%)	1 (10,0%) 3 (30,0%) 10 (100)%)
Type IV	95 (74,2%)	82 (64,1%)	8 (6,25%)	37 (28,9%) 55 (43,0%) 128 (100)%)
Type V	69 (92,0%)	45 (60,0%)	18 (24,0%	25 (33,3%) 25 (33,3%) 75 (100)%)

Table 8. Frequencies semantic/pragmatic features per base type: Dutch -el

	Semantic			Pragm	Pragmatic		
	Iteration	low intensity	high intensity	Endearment	Pejorative	total	
Type I	15 (100%)	3 (20,0%)	12 (80,0%)	1 (6,7%)	4 (26,7%)	15 (100%)	
Type II	1 (50,0%)	1 (50,0%)	0 (0,0%)	1 (50,0%)	1 (100%)	2 (100%)	
Type III	2 (66,7%)	1 (33,3%)	1 (33,3%)	2 (66,7%)	2 (66,7%)	3 (100%)	
Type IV	57 (75,0%)	37 (48,7%)	32 (42,1%)	27 (35,5%)	30 (39,5%)	76 (100%)	
Type V	13 (100%)	3 (23,1%)	10 (76,9%)	3 (23,1%)	5 (38,5%)	13 (100%)	

Table 9. Frequencies semantic/pragmatic features per base type: Dutch -er

	Semantic			Pragmatic		
	Iteration	low intensity	high intensity	Endearment	Pejorative	total
Type I	14 (100%)	10 (71,4%)	3 (21,4%)	6 (42,9%)	5 (35,7%)	14 (100%)
Type II	25 (80,6%)	10 (32,3%)	6 (19,4%)	3 (9,7%)	11 (35,5%)	31 (100%)
Type III	3 (100%)	0 (0,0%)	1 (33,3%)	0 (0,0%)	0 (0,0%)	3 (100%)
Type IV	62 (82,7%)	49 (65,3%)	15 (20,0%)	23 (30,7%)	51 (68,0%)	75 (100%)
Type V	6 (86,7%)	4 (57,1%)	2 (28,6%)	2 (28,6%)	2 (28,6%)	7 (100%)

Table 10. Frequencies semantic/pragmatic features per base type: Afrikaans -el

	Semantic			Pragmatic		
	Iteration	low intensity	high intensity	Endearment	Pejorative total	
Type I	9 (100%)	5 (55,6%)	3 (33,3%)	0 (0,0%)	2 (22,2%) 9 (100%	<u></u>
Type II	5 (62,5%)	5 (62,5%)	3 (37,5%)	4 (50,0%)	5 (62,5%) 8 (100%)	6)
Type III	3 (100%)	0 (0,0%)	2 (66,7%)	0 (0,0%)	0 (0,0%) 3 (100%)	6)
Type IV	26 (89,7)	13 (44,8%)	16 (55,2%)	6 (20,7%)	17 (58,6%) 27 (100%)	%)
Type V	4 (100%)	0 (0,0%)	4 (100%)	0 (0,0%)	1 (25,0%) 4 (1009	%)

Table 11. Frequencies semantic/pragmatic features per base type: Afrikaans -er

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¹¹ For ease of exposition, the three-way annotation for the pragmatic features as 'YES', 'POSSIBLE' and 'NO' is collapsed in a two-way presentation. That is, all verbs annotated as 'YES' and 'POSSIBLE' have been counted as 'YES' in the tables 8-12.

Finally, table 12 presents the frequencies of all four subsets of verbs combined in one overview table. As we have seen in detail in the tables 8-11, table 12 gives us an immediate picture of the fact that for all morphological base types, a subset of verbs shows the semantic properties of iteration, low intensity and/or high intensity. The same goes for the pragmatic features of endearment and pejorative meaning. In sum, all morphological base types contain instances of these semantic and/or pragmatic meanings after suffixation of *-el/-er*. This suggests that the *-el* and *-er* verbs with morphological base type II – that is, a nominal base that already contains an *-el* or *-er* morpheme – should receive a similar analysis as the *-el/-er* verbs with any of the other morphological base types (cf. Weidhaas & Schmid 2015; *pace* Audring et al. 2017).

	Semantic			Pragmatic		
	Iteration	low intensity	high intensity	Endearment	Pejorative total	
Type I	72 (98,6%)	45 (61,6%)	25 (34,2%)	27 (37,0%)	28 (38,4%) 73 (100%)	
Type II	55 (66,6%)	28 (30,4%)	13 (14,1%)	12 (13,0%)	34 (37,0%) 92 (100%)	
Type III	17 (89,5%)	10 (52,6%)	7 (36,8%)	6 (31,6%)	5 (26,3%) 19 (100%)	
Type IV	240 (78,45)	181 (59,2%)	71 (23,2%)	93 (30,4%)	153 (50,0%) 306 (100%)	
Type V	92 (92,9%)	52 (52,5%)	34 (34,3%)	30 (30,3%)	33 (33,3%) 99 (100%)	

Table 12. Frequency overview of semantic/pragmatic features per base type (all)

5. Analysis: -el and -er as level la suffixes

In order to determine what type of suffixes the -el and -er suffixes are, the properties per suffix type from Creemers et al. as mentioned in subsection 2.3, are repeated here for convenience.

Properties	Lev	Level II	
	Level la	Level Ib	
Can be stress shifting?	YES	YES	NO
Categorially flexible?	YES	NO	NO
Can attach to bound stem?	YES	YES	NO
Relative position w.r.t. stem?	1	2	3

Table 13. Overview of properties of three types of affixes (Creemers et al. 2018: 50)

The first property, being able to shift stress, is not a testable property in the case of the *-el* and *-er* suffixes. All morphological bases of the verbs in the dataset are monosyllabic, meaning that the suffix itself is the only morpheme to which stress could potentially be shifted. Since the only vowel in these suffixes is a schwa, which can never bear stress, stress shift onto the suffix can therefore never take place. The second property, being categorially flexible, can be either true or false in the case of the *-el* and *-er* suffixes, depending on whether one assumes the existence of a homophonous *-el* and *-er* in morphological base type II, or not. If one takes the homophony path, one assumes there to be a verbal suffix *-el* and verbal suffix *-er* for the other morphological base types, and a homophonous nominal suffix *-el* and nominal suffix *-er* for type II verbs. In such an analysis, the answer to the question whether the suffixes *-el* and *-er* are categorically flexible should thus be 'no', and therefore lead to the analysis of these suffixes as either level Ib or level II suffixes. However, if one assumes that the *-el* and *-er* suffixes are always the same suffixes in all morphological base types, one would analyze them as level Ia suffixes, given their ability to derive both nouns (type II bases, from which an *-el* or *-er* verb can be derived by null suffixation) and verbs (all other types). By looking at the third

property, being able to attach to a bound stem, we cannot decide between the two analyses, because this property is expected by both. Note also that this third property forces the homophony analysis to decide on level Ib status, since level II suffixes cannot attach to a bound stem. For the fourth property, the position of the suffix relative to the stem, the two analyses make different predictions, which means we can use that property to determine which analysis is correct. That is, the homophony analysis, in which the *-eI* and *-er* suffixes are level Ib suffixes, predicts that *-eI* and *-er* cannot co-occur with other level Ib suffixes. The uniform analysis of *-er* and *-eI* as level Ia suffixes, which due to their categorical flexibility can both derive type II verbs and all other verb types, predicts that *-eI* and *-er* should be able to occur inside level Ib suffixes. A suffix that is categorized as level Ib suffix by Creemers et al. (2018: 53-54) is *-ig.* In Afrikaans, this suffix is *-(e)(r)ig.* As in the case of *-eI* and *-er*, for *-ig/-(e)(r)ig.* it cannot be shown that they are stress shifting – the first property of level Ib affixes – since the vowel of the suffix is a schwa. The second property of level Ib affixes, being categorically rigid is illustrated for Dutch *-ig* in (46), and in (47) for *-(e)(r)ig.* Both suffixes always derive an adjective.

(46) aig] _A	b <i>ig</i>] _A	c <i>ig</i>] _A
netel-ig	nootlott-ig	zuin-ig
nettle _N -IG	fate _N -IG	ZUIN-IG
'precarious'	'fatal'	'stingy'
(47) aig] _A	b <i>ig</i>] _A	c <i>ig</i>] _A
netel-ig	noodlott-ig	suin-ig
nettle _N -IG	fate _N -IG	SUIN-IG
'precarious'	'fatal'	'stingy'

The fourth property, the relative order with respect to the base, is shown in (48)-(49) for Dutch -ig and in (50)-(51) for Afrikaans -(e)(r)ig. Recall from subsection 2.3 that -iek is a level Ia suffix, and that -heid is a level II suffix. The examples thus show that -ig/-(e)(r)ig follows level Ia suffixes, and precedes level II suffixes, meaning that its relative position is that of a level Ib suffix.

(48) a. ant-iek-ig _A	b. *ant-ig-iek	(49) a. zuin-ig-heid	b. *zuin-heid-ig
ANT-IEK-IG	ANT-IG-IEK	ZUIN-IG-HEID	ZUIN-HEID-IG
'antique-like'		'stinginess'	
(50) a. pan-iek-erig	b. *pan-erig-iek	(51) a. suin-ig-heid	b. *suin-heid-ig
PAN-IEK-IG	PAN-IG-IEK	SUIN-IG-HEID	SUIN-HEID-IG
'panicky'		'stinginess'	

Having illustrated the level Ib status of -ig/-(e)(r)ig, let us now examine the relative order of those suffixes and the -el and -er suffixes. In both Dutch and Afrikaans, -ig/-(r)ig can appear after suffixation of -el or -er, whereas the reverse order is ungrammatical. This is illustrated in table 14 for all verb types for both the -el and -er verbs, and in both languages. ¹²

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¹² Note that in the ungrammatical orders of *-ig* and *-er*, we target the ungrammaticality of this order with *-er* as the verbal suffix, which should not be confused with the comparative morpheme *-er*. For example, *blikkiger* is

		Dutch	Af	rikaans
	-el	-er	-el	-er
Type I	hakk-el-ig	knapp-er-ig	hakk-el-rig	glibb-er-ig
	*hakk-ig-el	*knapp-ig-er	*hakk-rig-el	*glibb-ig-er
Type II	cirk-el-ig	modd-er-ig	korr-el-rig	sluim-er-ig
	*cirk-ig-el	*modd-ig-er	*korr-rig-el	*sluim-ig-er
Type III	kring-el-ig	blikk-er-ig	spikk-el-rig	snipp-er-ig
	*kring-ig-el	*blikk-ig-er	*spikk-rig-el	*snipp-ig-er
Type IV	aarz-el-ig	treit-er-ig	babb-el-rig	stott-er-ig
	*aarz-ig-el	*treit-ig-er	*babb-rig-el	*stott-ig-er
Type V	drupp-el-ig	snott-er-ig	hobb-el-rig	knipp-er-ig
	*drupp-ig-el	*snott-ig-er	*hobb-rig-el	*knipp-ig-er

Table 14. Order of -el/-er w.r.t. stem and level Ib suffix -ig/-rig

The fact that -el and -er precede the level Ib suffixes -ig/-(e)(r)ig, indicates that the former should be analyzed as level Ia suffixes rather than level Ib suffixes. Thus, the relative order of the -el and -er suffixes with relation to the stem and other suffixes works in favor of the uniform analysis of -el and -er, whereas it does not for the homophony analysis. We therefore assume that the uniform analysis of the -el and -er suffixes, which takes these suffixes to be level Ia suffixes, and hence categorically flexible, to be on the right track. Furthermore, the advantage of a uniform analysis of the -er and -el suffixes for all base types, makes it easier to account for the fact that a subset of verbs of base type II also show the semantic and pragmatic features present in a subset of other verb types. The fact that not all -el and -er verbs show exactly the same set of semantic features is also in line with the level Ia analysis of these suffixes, as level Ia affixes are taken to be less semantically transparent compared to affixes of other levels, with level II suffixes being the most semantically transparent (Creemers et al. 2018: 49).

In sum, a uniform analysis of *-el* and *-er* suffixes in *-el* and *-er* verbs of all base types, in which these suffixes have level la status and are therefore categorically flexible, is supported by the relative order of *-el* and *-er* with respect to the stem and other suffixes, and by the fact that they can attach to non-lexical roots. Such an analysis makes it easier to understand why a subset of type II verbs show the same semantic and pragmatic properties as the verbs of other base types: since they contain the same suffix, it is not unsurprising they are able to signal the same semantic and pragmatic behavior. However, since level la suffixes in general have less transparent semantics than higher level suffixes, we can still account for the fact that not all *-el* and *-er* verbs have exactly the same set of semantic and pragmatic features. The analysis of *-el* and *-er* suffixes in Dutch (and Afrikaans) as level la suffixes is an interesting expansion of the typology of Creemers et al. (2018:59), given that they claim that there are no level la verbal suffixes in Dutch. This study thus suggests that this claim should be revised.

6. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was two-fold. Descriptively, this study has aimed at enriching the typological description of Germanic -el and -er suffixes and the types of verbs they derive. This was executed by means of a detailed dictionary- and annotation study on -el and -er verbs in

grammatical as a comparative form of the adjective *blikkig* 'can-like', but not as the deverbal adjective of *blikkeren* 'flikker'.

Dutch and Afrikaans, in which the morphological, semantic and pragmatic properties of these verbs were investigated. Following Audring et al. (2017) we included five types of morphological bases in the data set. The same five base types were also found for the Dutch -er verbs, Afrikaans -el verbs and Afrikaans -er verbs. The results of the annotation study have shown that in both -el and -er verbs and in both languages, type IV verbs (based on a non-lexical root) are the most frequent. As for the semantic features, our study showed that the large majority of verbs has an iterative meaning component. In addition, both -el and -er verbs in both languages can have a semantic component of high or low intensity, with high intensity more frequent for -er verbs than for -el verbs. Concerning the pragmatic features of -el and -er verbs, the study has shown that in both -el and -er verbs, and in both languages, endearment and pejorative meaning is possible, though the former is less frequent overall than the latter. Finally, the descriptive part of the study has also shown that the semantic and pragmatic features under consideration are present in a subset of all morphological verb types in both languages.

On the analytical front, this study aimed at determining whether one uniform analysis of -el and -er suffixes in verbs of all morphological base types was to be preferred over a homophony analysis of two homophonous suffixes for both -el and -er, and to analyze the level of the -el and -er suffixes. We have argued for a uniform analysis for -el and -er in all five morphological base types, and hence do not take the -el and -er suffixes in type II verbs – in which the -el and -er morphemes are part of the nominal base – to be different from the -el and -er suffixes in the verbs with other morphological base types. In terms of the three-way division of affix-types in Creemers et al. (2018), the -el and -er suffixes were shown to be level la suffixes, which challenges Creemers et al. (2018)'s claim that there are no verbal level la suffixes in Dutch.

Even though this was only a first detailed dictionary- and annotation study into Dutch and Afrikaans -el and -er verbs, we hope to have shown that the -el and -er suffixes are interesting morphemes from a morphological, semantic and pragmatic perspective. Interesting future research would include corpus and experimental studies (on the semantic and pragmatic properties of these verbs), as well as further detailed morphological investigation of the small set of Dutch and Afrikaans verbal suffixes and their position in the Dutch and Afrikaans affix systems.

7. Appendix

The appendix lists all the verbs in the data set of this study. First, all Dutch -el verbs are listed in alphabetical order, second all Dutch -er verbs, third all Afrikaans -el verbs, and last all Afrikaans -er verbs.

Verb	Language	Suffix	English translation	Base type
aarzelen	Dutch	-el	to doubt	Type IV
babbelen	Dutch	-el	to babble	Type IV
bazelen	Dutch	-el	to twaddle	Type IV
bedelen	Dutch	-el	to beg	Type IV
beitelen	Dutch	-el	to whittle	Type II
bengelen	Dutch	-el	to dangle/swing	Type II
boemelen	Dutch	-el	to pub-crawl	Type IV
bokselen	Dutch	-el	to beaver away	Type I

bommelen	Dutch	-el	to hum/zoom	Type III
borrelen	Dutch	-el	to bubble	гуре V
bottelen	Dutch	-el	to bottle	Type II
brabbelen	Dutch	-el	to babble/mumble	Type IV
braggelen	Dutch	-el	to spill	Type IV
breidelen	Dutch	-el	to restrain	Type II
briezelen	Dutch	-el	to betray	Type II
brijzelen	Dutch	-el	to crush	Type IV
broddelen	Dutch	-el	to work badly	Type IV
brokkelen	Dutch	-el	to crumble	Type III
bubbelen	Dutch	-el	to bubble	Type II
buffelen	Dutch	-el	to beaver away	Type II
buitelen	Dutch	-el	to summersault	Type IV
bundelen	Dutch	-el	to bundle	Type II
bungelen	Dutch	-el	to dangle	Type II
circelen	Dutch	-el	to circle	Type II
dartelen	Dutch	-el	to frolic	Type IV
debbelen	Dutch	-el	to twiddle	Type IV
dekselen	Dutch	-el	to surpass	Type II
dinkelen	Dutch	-el	to go robbing	Type IV
dobbelen	Dutch	-el	to play dice	Type IV
doddelen	Dutch	-el	to stutter	Type IV
doezelen	Dutch	-el	to faint away	Type IV
dommelen	Dutch	-el	to drowse	Type IV
dompelen	Dutch	-el	to douse	Type IV
drentelen	Dutch	-el	to stroll	Type IV
dreutelen	Dutch	-el	to linger	Type IV
drevelen	Dutch	-el	to float	Type IV
dribbelen	Dutch	-el	to dribble	Type IV
droedelen	Dutch	-el	to doodle	Type IV
druppelen	Dutch	-el	to drip	Type V
duikelen	Dutch	-el	to fall	Type V
duimelen	Dutch	-el	to do nothing	Type V
duizelen	Dutch	-el	to feel dizzy	Type IV
dutselen	Dutch	-el	to drowse	Type IV
dwarrelen	Dutch	-el	to whirl	Type IV
eikelen	Dutch	-el	to nark	Type III
fazelen	Dutch	-el	to murmur	Type I
femelen	Dutch	-el	to gossip	Type IV
fikkelen	Dutch	-el	to cut clumsily	Type IV
foefelen	Dutch	-el	to deceive/hide	Type II
foetelen	Dutch	-el	to do something in secret	
foezelen	Dutch	-el	to do shady business	Type II
fonkelen	Dutch	-el	to sparkle	Type V
frazelen	Dutch	-el	to start talking (of kids)	Type IV
fribbelen	Dutch	-el	to twiddle	Type IV
friemelen	Dutch	-el	to fiddle with	Type IV

frommelen	Dutch	-el	to twiddle	Type IV
frutstelen	Dutch	-el	to fiddle with	Type IV
gaffelen	Dutch	-el	to work with a gaff	Type II
garrelen	Dutch	-el	to walk unsteadily	Type IV
geselen	Dutch	-el	to whip	Type II
giechelen	Dutch	-el	to giggle	Type V
gniffelen	Dutch	-el	to chuckle	Type V
gobbelen	Dutch	-el	to spurt	Type IV
grabbelen	Dutch	-el	to grab	Type V
grommelen	Dutch	-el	to mutter	Type V
guichelen	Dutch	-el	to act crazy	Type IV
hakkelen	Dutch	-el	to stutter	Type I
haspelen	Dutch	-el	to mess up	Type IV
heibelen	Dutch	-el	to quarrel	Type II
hinkelen	Dutch	-el	to hop	Type I
hobbelen	Dutch	-el	to bump	Type V
hoddelen	Dutch	-el	to work clumsily	Type IV
hoetelen	Dutch	-el	to mess up	Type IV
hommelen	Dutch	-el	to buzz	Type II
huichelen	Dutch	-el	to feign	Type IV
huppelen	Dutch	-el	to skip	Type I
husselen	Dutch	-el	to shake	Type I
jengelen	Dutch	-el	to whine	Type V
jeuzelen	Dutch	-el	to complain	Type I
joechelen	Dutch	-el	to cheer	Type I
joggelen	Dutch	-el	to joggle	Type IV
jubelen	Dutch	-el	to jubilate	Type V
kabbelen	Dutch	-el	to gurgle	Type IV
kachelen	Dutch	-el	to stroll	Type IV
kekelen	Dutch	-el	to talk loudly	Type IV
keutelen	Dutch	-el	to do unimportant things	Type V
keuvelen	Dutch	-el	to chat along	Type IV
kibbelen	Dutch	-el	to quibble	Type IV
kiepelen	Dutch	-el	to pinch	Type I
kietelen	Dutch	-el	to tickle	Type V
kinkelen	Dutch	-el	to shatter	Type V
klepelen	Dutch	-el	to clapper	Type II
klingelen	Dutch	-el	to jingle	Type I
klommelen	Dutch	-el	to mess up	Type IV
klungelen	Dutch	-el	to skimp	Type V
knabbelen	Dutch	-el	to nibble	Type V
knevelen	Dutch	-el	to muzzle	Type II
knibbelen	Dutch	-el	to pettifog	Type IV
knoedelen	Dutch	-el	to crinkle	Type IV
knoefelen	Dutch	-el	to mess up	Type IV
knuddelen	Dutch	-el	to spill	Type IV
knuppelen	Dutch	-el	to club	Type II

kokkelen Dutc		to strum	Type V
konkelen Dutc	_	to gossip	Type II
korrelen Dutc		to granulate	Type II
<i>krabbelen</i> Dutc		to scratch	Type V
<i>krakelen</i> Dutch		to shout	Type I
<i>kramakkelen</i> Duto	ch -el	to suffer	Type IV
<i>krasselen</i> Duto	ch -el	to scratch	Type V
<i>krekelen</i> Dutcl	h -el	to mutter	Type I
<i>krengelen</i> Dutc	h -el	to haggle	Type IV
kreukelen Duto	ch -el	to scrunch up	Type V
<i>kriebelen</i> Dutc	h -el	to itch	Type V
<i>krijzelen</i> Dutc	h -el	to grind	Type IV
krimpelen Duto	ch -el	to ripple	Type V
kringelen Dutc	h -el	to form circles	Type V
<i>kronkelen</i> Dutc		to twist	Type V
kruimelen Duto		to crumble	Type V
kuchelen Dutch		to cough lightly	Type V
kukelen Dutch		to crow	Type V
kwakkelen Dutcl	_	to suffer from illness	Type V
kwanselen Dutc		to trade messily	Type IV
kwebbelen Duto	_	to tattle	Type V
kwetelen Dut		to gossip	Type IV
kwezelen Dutc		<u> </u>	= =
kwikkelen Dutc		to act excessively pious to shake	Type IV
			Type IV
kwispelen Duto		to waggle	Type V
lepelen Duto		to spoon	Type II
lummelen Duto		to do nothing	Type V
maggelen Dutc		to write badly	Type IV
metselen Duto		to build with bricks	Type IV
<i>meuzelen</i> Dute		to nibble	Type I
<i>miegelen</i> Duto		to drizzle	Type IV
<i>moffelen</i> Dutc		to whisk	Type III
<i>mokkelen</i> Dutc		to appease	Type IV
mompelen Dute		to mumble	Type IV
<i>monkelen</i> Dut	ch -el	to laugh mockingly	Type IV
<i>morrelen</i> Dutc	h -el	to fumble	Type IV
<i>murmelen</i> Dutch	-el	to mumble	Type IV
<i>nestelen</i> Dutch	n -el	to make a nest	Type V
<i>neutelen</i> Dutch	-el	to linger	Type IV
neuzelen Dutch	-el	to whine	Type V
nibbelen Dutch	-el	to nibble	Type IV
orgelen Dutch	-el	to play on an organ	Type II
paggelen Dutch	-el	to waggle	Type IV
pappelen Dutch	-el	to try to heal oneself	Type IV
		with homemade remedies	- •
<i>peddelen</i> Dutch	-el	to paddle	Type II
<i>peuzelen</i> Dutch		to nibble	Type IV
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piepelen Duto	ch -el	to trick someone	Type II
<i>pikkelen</i> Dut	ch -el	to limp	Type IV
<i>pimpelen</i> Dut	:ch -el	to drink excessively	Type IV
<i>pingelen</i> Du	tch -el	to haggle	Type V
<i>poedelen</i> Dut	ch -el	to play in the water	Type V
<i>poekelen</i> Dut	ch -el	to talk excessively	Type IV
popelen Dut	ch -el	to lurk	Type IV
<i>pratelen</i> Duto	ch -el	to chat	Type I
preukelen Dut	ch -el	to fiddle with	Type IV
prevelen Dute	ch -el	to murmur	Type V
<i>priegelen</i> Dut	ch -el	to do very detailed work	Type IV
<i>prikkelen</i> Du	tch -el	to prickle	Type V
<i>pronselen</i> Du	tch -el	to blunder	Type IV
<i>prutselen</i> Du	tch -el	to mess up lightly	Type I
<i>pruttelen</i> Du	tch -el	to simmer	Type V
<i>puikelen</i> Du	tch -el	to harm	Type IV
<i>pungelen</i> Du	tch -el	to smuggle	Type II
<i>puzzelen</i> Dut	:ch -el	to puzzle	Type II
<i>rabbelen</i> Dut	ch -el	to talk frantically	Type IV
rammelen Du	tch -el	to clatter	Type V
raspelen Du	tch -el	to rasp	Type V
<i>ratelen</i> Dut	ch -el	to talk frantically	Type V
<i>razelen</i> Dut	ch -el	to shake	Type V
<i>remelen</i> Dut	:ch -el	to wiggle	Type IV
<i>reutelen</i> Dut	ch -el	to rattle	Type V
<i>reuzelen</i> Dut	ch -el	to rustle	Type IV
<i>revelen</i> Dut	ch -el	to talk nonsense	Type IV
riedelen Dute	ch -el	to play music	Type V
<i>rijmelen</i> Duto	:h -el	to make meaningless rhymes	Type V
<i>rimpelen</i> Dut	ch -el	to ripple	Type V
rinkelen Dute	ch -el	to clatter	Type V
ritselen Duto	ch -el	to rustle	Type V
rochelen Dute	ch -el	to rattle	Type V
<i>roddelen</i> Dut	ch -el	to gossip	Type V
roefelen Duto	:h -el	to pluck	Type IV
rommelen Du	tch -el	to rumble	Type V
<i>ronkelen</i> Du	tch -el	to snore	Type I
ronselen Du	tch -el	to recruit	Type IV
<i>ruggelen</i> Dut	tch -el	to doubt	Type IV
<i>ruiselen</i> Dut	ch -el	to rustle	Type V
<i>rutselen</i> Dut	ch -el	to hustle	Type IV
<i>ruzelen</i> Dut	tch -el	to moult	Type IV
	ch -el	to suckle	Type V
	ch -el	to hardly manage to get by	Type IV
<i>schaffelen</i> Du		to stroll	Type IV
	ıtch -el	to scrounge	Type V
<i>schemelen</i> Du	tch -el	to flicker	Type IV

<i>schoffelen</i> Dutch -el	to hoe	Type II
<i>schotelen</i> Dutch -el	to serve on a plate	Type II
schrerelen Dutch -el	to walk with big steps	Type IV
schrafelen Dutch -el	to scrape together	Type IV
schravelen Dutch -el	to scratch	Type I
schrobbelen Dutch -el	to card	Type I
schrompelen Dutch -el	to ripple	Type V
schuifelen Dutch -el	to shuffle	Type V
semmelen Dutch -el	to nag	Type IV
sijpelen Dutch -el		Type V
	to seep	
,	to waggle	Type IV
sjaukelen Dutch -el	to back and forth while praying	Type IV
sjoemelen Dutch -el	to cheat	Type IV
sjouwelen Dutch -el	to chat	Type IV
sleutelen Dutch -el	to tinker	Type II
<i>slungelen</i> Dutch -el	to slouch	Type V
smiespelen Dutch -el	to whisper	Type IV
<i>smikkelen</i> Dutch -el	to enjoy eating	Type IV
smoezelen Dutch -el	to stain	Type IV
smokkelen Dutch -el	to smuggle	Type V
snabbelen Dutch -el	to chatter	Type V
sneukelen Dutch -el	to enjoy eating	Type IV
sneuvelen Dutch -el	to perish	Type IV
snorkelen Dutch -el	to snorkel	Type II
snuffelen Dutch -el	to sniff	Type V
sobbelen Dutch -el	to limp	Type IV
spatelen Dutch -el	to put on with a spatula	Type II
speekselen Dutch -el	to induce hypersalivation	Type II
spikkelen Dutch -el	to speckle	Type II
sportelen Dutch -el	to do sport recreationally	Type I
sprankelen Dutch -el	to sparkle	Type III
•	-	
•	to sprinkle	Type V
sprikkelen Dutch -el	to speckle	Type IV
sprokkelen Dutch -el	to collect	Type V
stamelen Dutch -el	to stammer	Type V
stechelen Dutch -el	to cheat	Type IV
stempelen Dutch -el	to stamp	Type II
stendelen Dutch -el	to make music going from	Type IV
	café to café	
stevelen Dutch -el	to walk at a high pace	Type IV
<i>stijfselen</i> Dutch -el	to take through starch	Type II
stippelen Dutch -el	to speckle	Type V
stoetelen Dutch -el	to make a mess	Type IV
stokelen Dutch -el	to push	Type I
stommelen Dutch -el	to stumble	Type IV
streuvelen Dutch -el	to be confused	Type IV
stribbelen Dutch -el	to except	Type I
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strompelen Dutch -el	to stumble	Type V
strubbelen Dutch -el	to bicker	Type IV
struikelen Dutch -el	to trip	Type V
stuivelen Dutch -el	to blow	Type V
stuntelen Dutch -el	to waggle	Type IV
suizelen Dutch -el	to whizz	Type I
sukkelen Dutch -el	to suffer from illness	Type V
tafelen Dutch -el	to dine	Type II
tegelen Dutch -el	to put tiles	Type II
teutelen Dutch -el	to chat	Type I
	to cling	Type V
tinselen Dutch -el	to tease	Type IV
tintelen Dutch -el	to tingle	Type V
tippelen Dutch -el	to hook	Type V
<i>tjaffelen</i> Dutch -el	to stumble	Type I
<i>tokkelen</i> Dutch -el	to strum	Type V
<i>toortelen</i> Dutch -el	to mess up	Type II
<i>trakelen</i> Dutch -el	to stumble	Type II
<i>trampelen</i> Dutch -el	to frolic	Type IV
<i>trappelen</i> Dutch -el	to stamp	Type V
trentelen Dutch -el	to linger	Type IV
treutelen Dutch -el	to linger	Type IV
treuzelen Dutch -el	to linger	Type IV
<i>triefelen</i> Dutch -el	to talk nonsense	Type IV
trippelen Dutch -el	to tiptoe	Type V
troggelen Dutch -el	to trick	Type IV
trommelen Dutch -el	to drum	Type V
truntelen Dutch -el	to frolic	Type I
trutselen Dutch -el	to linger	Type I
tuimelen Dutch -el	to linger to tumble	
		Type V
tuttelen Dutch -el	to fuss	Type I
twinkelen Dutch -el	to twinkle	Type V
veugelen Dutch -el	to pick at	Type II
vendelen Dutch -el	to pace up and down	Type IV
<i>waffelen</i> Dutch -el	to chat loudly	Type II
<i>waggelen</i> Dutch -el	to waggle	Type V
<i>wamelen</i> Dutch -el	to show signs of pregnancy	Type IV
<i>wankelen</i> Dutch -el	to shake	Type IV
warrelen Dutch -el	to whirl	Type IV
wauwelen Dutch -el	to waffle	Type V
<i>weifelen</i> Dutch -el	to doubt	Type IV
wemelen Dutch -el	to teem	Type V
wentelen Dutch -el	to wallow	Type V
wervelen Dutch -el	to whirl	Type V
wichelen Dutch -el	to foresee the future from signs	Type IV
wiebelen Dutch -el	to wiggle	Type V
wiegelen Dutch -el	to wiggle	Type V
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wiekelen Dutch -el	to flap to stay in a position (o	f birds) Type V
wispelen Dutch -el	to waggle	Type IV
wriemelen Dutch -el	to wriggle	Type V
wrikkelen Dutch -el	to pry	Type I
wroetelen Dutch -el	to root	Type I
zemelen Dutch -el	to nitpick	Type IV
zengelen Dutch -el	to tingle	Type IV
zwatelen Dutch -el	to waffle	Type I
zwendelen Dutch -el	to scam	Type V
zwijmelen Dutch -el	to swoon	Type V
zwirrelen Dutch -el	to whirl	Type I
<i>bakeren</i> Dutch -er	to bask	Type IV
<i>blikkeren</i> Dutch -er	to flicker	Type III
<i>blubberen</i> Dutch -er	to speak unclearly	Type III
<i>bulderen</i> Dutch -er	to roar	Type IV
dabberen Dutch -er	to paw on the ground	Type I
daveren Dutch -er	to bellow	Type IV
denderen Dutch -er	to rumble	Type IV
dobberen Dutch -er	to rock while floating	Type IV
dodderen Dutch -er	to be sleepy	Type IV
donderen Dutch -er	to thunder	Type IV
<i>flabberen</i> Dutch -er	to hang messily (of clothing)	Type IV
<i>fladderen</i> Dutch -er	to waver	Type IV
<i>flakkeren</i> Dutch -er	to flare	Type IV
<i>flikkeren</i> Dutch -er	to flicker	Type IV
<i>flubberen</i> Dutch -er	to be flabby	Type III
<i>fluisteren</i> Dutch -er	to whisper	Type IV
foeteren Dutch -er	to scold	Type IV
gabberen Dutch -er	to steal	Type I
<i>gakkeren</i> Dutch -er	to twaddle	Type IV
genotteren Dutch -er	to enjoy intensely	Type III
<i>gibberen</i> Dutch -er	to giggle	Type IV
<i>glibberen</i> Dutch -er	to slither	Type IV
<i>glimmeren</i> Dutch -er	to glimmer	Type I
<i>glisteren</i> Dutch -er	to sparkle	Type IV
<i>glitteren</i> Dutch -er	to glitter	Type V
<i>haperen</i> Dutch -er	to flag	Type IV
<i>hotteren</i> Dutch -er	to waggle	Type IV
<i>jakkeren</i> Dutch -er	to rush	Type IV
<i>kekkeren</i> Dutch -er	to hiss (of cats)	Type IV
<i>kiekeren</i> Dutch -er	to whistle (of certain birds)	Type IV
<i>kieperen</i> Dutch -er	to fall	Type I
kladderen Dutch -er	to blot	Type I
<i>klakkeren</i> Dutch -er	to clack repeatedly	Type I
<i>klapperen</i> Dutch -er	to clapper	Type V
<i>klateren</i> Dutch -er	to gurgle	Type IV
<i>klauteren</i> Dutch -er	to clamber	Type IV

<i>klefferen</i> Dutch -er	to clamber	Type IV
kleisteren Dutch -er	to glitter	Type IV
klepperen Dutch -er	to rattle	Type V
<i>kletteren</i> Dutch -er	to clatter	Type IV
kleuteren Dutch -er	to hammer	Type IV
klunderen Dutch -er	to rumble softly	Type IV
knapperen Dutch -er	to crackle	Type I
knetteren Dutch -er	to sizzle	Type IV
kneuteren Dutch -er	to sit together and chat	Type IV
knipperen Dutch -er	to blink	Type I
knisperen Dutch -er	to rustle	Type IV
koteren Dutch -er	to pick	Type IV
kudderen Dutch -er	to be sickly	Type IV
kuieren Dutch -er	to stroll	Type IV
kwabberen Dutch -er	to tremble (of flesh)	Type V
kwetteren Dutch -er	to twitter	Type IV
labberen Dutch -er	to slowly move up and down	Type IV
lanteren Dutch -er	to loaf around	Type IV
	to lap up	= =
	to chat	Type V
		Type IV
	to hang loosely (of clothing) to laze out	Type II
		Type IV
luimeren Dutch -er	to slumber	Type IV
luisteren Dutch -er	to listen	Type IV
<i>lunderen</i> Dutch -er	to loiter	Type IV
mekkeren Dutch -er	to bleat	Type I
<i>mijmeren</i> Dutch -er	to muse	Type IV
modderen Dutch -er	to fiddle around	Type II
mopperen Dutch -er	to grumble	Type IV
<i>motteren</i> Dutch -er	to drizzle	Type IV
<i>murmuren</i> Dutch -er	to murmur	Type IV
oeteren Dutch -er	to go about clumsily	Type IV
otteren Dutch -er	to have a hard time	Type IV
<i>paloeteren</i> Dutch -er	to deceive	Type IV
<i>peuteren</i> Dutch -er	to finger	Type IV
<i>plapperen</i> Dutch -er	to babble	Type IV
<i>pletteren</i> Dutch -er	to crush	Type I
<i>ploeteren</i> Dutch -er	to plod	Type IV
<i>poperen</i> Dutch -er	to move restlessly	Type IV
<i>pulkeren</i> Dutch -er	to finger	Type I
schetteren Dutch -er	to blast	Type IV
schitteren Dutch -er	to twinkle	Type IV
schobberen Dutch -er	to stroll	Type IV
schodderen Dutch -er	to rock	Type I
sidderen Dutch -er	to shudder	Type IV
slenteren Dutch -er	to saunter	Type IV
<i>slidderen</i> Dutch -er	to slide	Type IV

Jilligeren	Dutch -er	to swing	Type V
slofferen	Dutch -er	to shuffle	Type V
sluieren	Dutch -er	to drag	Type V
sluimeren	Dutch -er	to snooze	Type IV
smoddere	n Dutch -er	to spill	Type IV
snateren	Dutch -er	to cackle	Type V
snipperen	Dutch -er	to shred	Type IV
snotteren	Dutch -er	to sniffle	Type V
speieren	Dutch -er	to shine intensely	Type IV
spetteren	Dutch -er	to spatter	Type V
spodderei	n Dutch -er	to walk fast	Type IV
sputteren	Dutch -er	to sputter	Type IV
stotteren	Dutch -er	to stutter	Type V
stuiteren	Dutch -er	to bounce	Type I
sudderen	Dutch -er	to simmer	Type IV
tetteren	Dutch -er	to rant	Type V
teuteren	Dutch -er	to linger	Type IV
tjakkeren	Dutch -er	to make loud sounds (of birds)	Type IV
toeteren	Dutch -er	to honk	Type V
tokkeren	Dutch -er	to pluck	Type I
trompette	eren Dutch-er	to trumpet	Type V
utteren	Dutch -er	to work slowly	Type IV
wapperen	Dutch -er	to flap	Type I
wipperen	Dutch -er	to hop	Type I
zinderen	Dutch -er	to vibrate with heat	Type IV
zwabbere	<i>n</i> Dutch -er	to swab	Type IV
babbel	Afrikaans -el	to babble/chatter	Type IV
basel	Afrikaans -el	to talk nonsense	Type IV
bedel	Afrikaans -el	to beg	Type IV
bengel	A C 11		
	Afrikaans -el	to ring (a bell)	Type II
boemel		to ring (a bell) to waste time	Type II Type II
boemel borrel			
	Afrikaans -el	to waste time	Type II
borrel	Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble	Type II Type II
borrel bottel	Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble to bottle	Type II Type II Type II
borrel bottel brabbel	Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble to bottle to talk unintelligibly	Type II Type II Type II Type II
borrel bottel brabbel breidel	Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble to bottle to talk unintelligibly to control	Type II Type II Type II Type II Type II Type II
borrel bottel brabbel breidel broddel	Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble to bottle to talk unintelligibly to control to produce bad work to break in pieces to tumble	Type II
borrel bottel brabbel breidel broddel brokkel	Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble to bottle to talk unintelligibly to control to produce bad work to break in pieces to tumble to bind (a book)	Type II Type II Type II Type II Type II Type II Type IV Type IV
borrel bottel brabbel breidel broddel brokkel buitel	Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble to bottle to talk unintelligibly to control to produce bad work to break in pieces to tumble	Type II Type II Type II Type II Type II Type II Type IV Type IV
borrel bottel brabbel breidel broddel brokkel buitel bundel	Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble to bottle to talk unintelligibly to control to produce bad work to break in pieces to tumble to bind (a book)	Type II Type II Type II Type II Type II Type IV Type IV Type II
borrel bottel brabbel breidel brokkel buitel bundel bungel dartel dobbel	Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble to bottle to talk unintelligibly to control to produce bad work to break in pieces to tumble to bind (a book) to swing back and forth/wobble to frolic/skip joyfully to gamble	Type II Type II Type II Type II Type II Type IV
borrel bottel brabbel breidel broddel brokkel buitel bundel bungel dartel dobbel doesel	Afrikaans -el Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble to bottle to talk unintelligibly to control to produce bad work to break in pieces to tumble to bind (a book) to swing back and forth/wobble to frolic/skip joyfully to gamble to sleep lightly	Type II Type II Type II Type II Type II Type IV Type IV Type IV Type II Type II Type II
borrel bottel brabbel breidel brokkel buitel bundel bungel dartel dobbel dommel	Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble to bottle to talk unintelligibly to control to produce bad work to break in pieces to tumble to bind (a book) to swing back and forth/wobble to frolic/skip joyfully to gamble to sleep lightly to slumber	Type II Type II Type II Type II Type II Type IV
borrel bottel brabbel breidel brokkel buitel bundel bungel dartel dobbel dommel dompel	Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble to bottle to talk unintelligibly to control to produce bad work to break in pieces to tumble to bind (a book) to swing back and forth/wobble to frolic/skip joyfully to gamble to sleep lightly to slumber to dunk (in water)	Type II Type II Type II Type II Type II Type IV
borrel bottel brabbel breidel broddel brokkel buitel bundel dartel dobbel doesel dompel drentel	Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble to bottle to talk unintelligibly to control to produce bad work to break in pieces to tumble to bind (a book) to swing back and forth/wobble to frolic/skip joyfully to gamble to sleep lightly to slumber to dunk (in water) to walk slowly	Type II Type II Type II Type II Type II Type IV Type II Type II Type II Type II
borrel bottel brabbel breidel brokkel buitel bundel bungel dartel dobbel dommel dompel	Afrikaans -el	to waste time to bubble to bottle to talk unintelligibly to control to produce bad work to break in pieces to tumble to bind (a book) to swing back and forth/wobble to frolic/skip joyfully to gamble to sleep lightly to slumber to dunk (in water)	Type II Type II Type II Type II Type II Type IV

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druppel	Afrikaans -el	to drip	Type V
duikel	Afrikaans -el	to dive	Type I
duisel	Afrikaans -el	to feel dizzy	Type IV
dwarrel	Afrikaans -el	to move in an irregular manner	Type IV
femel	Afrikaans -el	to talk in a boring manner	Type IV
friemel	Afrikaans -el	to play with the fingers nervously	Type IV
frommel	Afrikaans -el	to play with the fingers nervously	Type IV
gaffel	Afrikaans -el	to lift/pick up	Type II
gesel	Afrikaans -el	to hit	Type II
giggel	Afrikaans -el	to giggle	Type IV
grabbel	Afrikaans -el	to grab	Type IV
grommel	Afrikaans -el	to rumble	Type I
hakkel	Afrikaans -el	to stutter	Type I
haspel	Afrikaans -el	to move with effort/difficulty	Type IV
hinkel	Afrikaans -el	to play	Type I
hobbel	Afrikaans -el	to hop up and down	Type V
huigel	Afrikaans -el	to pretend/be a hypocrite	Type IV
huppel	Afrikaans -el	to skip	Type I
jubel	Afrikaans -el	to express exuberant joy	Type II
kabbel	Afrikaans -el	to ripple (water)	Type II
kekkel	Afrikaans -el	to cackle	Type IV
kibbel	Afrikaans -el	to bicker	Type IV
kietel	Afrikaans -el	to tickle	Type IV
klepel	Afrikaans -el	to ring a bell	Type V
klingel	Afrikaans -el	to jingle	Type I
klungel	Afrikaans -el	to make metal-like sounds	Type II
knabbel	Afrikaans -el	to bite/nibble	Type IV
knibbel	Afrikaans -el	to nibble	
	Afrikaans -el	to hit	Type IV
knuppel			Type II
konkel	Afrikaans -el	to conspire	Type IV
korrel	Afrikaans -el	to pick grapes	Type II
krabbel	Afrikaans -el	to scribble	Type V
kreukel	Afrikaans -el	to wrinkle	Type II
kriebel	Afrikaans -el	to fidget	Type IV
kringel	Afrikaans -el	to move circularly	Type I
kronkel	Afrikaans -el	to move with sharp turns	Type II
kruimel	Afrikaans -el	to crumble	Type II
krummel	Afrikaans -el	to crumble	Type II
kwansel	Afrikaans -el	to trade	Type IV
kwispel	Afrikaans -el	to move back and forth (a tail)	Type IV
lepel	Afrikaans -el	to spoon	Type II
moffel	Afrikaans -el	to mute/dampen sound	Type IV
mompel	Afrikaans -el	to mumble	Type IV
murmel	Afrikaans -el	to murmur	Type IV
nestel	Afrikaans -el	to be cosy	Type IV
peusel	Afrikaans -el	to snack	Type IV
pimpel	Afrikaans -el	to drink strong alcohol	Type IV

pingel	Afrikaans -el	to back-fire (a car)	Type IV
popel	Afrikaans -el	to be overwhelmed	Type IV
prewel	Afrikaans -el	to mumble	Type IV
prikkel	Afrikaans -el	to prick	Type V
prutsel	Afrikaans -el	to be mean	Type IV
prutsel	Afrikaans -el	to simmer	Type IV
rammel	Afrikaans -el	to make a rumbling noise	Type I
ratel	Afrikaans -el	to rattle	Type II
rinkel	Afrikaans -el	to jingle	Type IV
ritsel	Afrikaans -el	to rustle	Type IV
roggel	Afrikaans -el	to gurgle	Type IV
rommel	Afrikaans -el	to make a rumbling noise	
ronsel	Afrikaans -el	to lure/entice	Type IV
ruisel	Afrikaans -el	to make a rustling sound	Type IV
	Afrikaans -el	to rhyme	Type I
rymel sirkel	Afrikaans -el	to circle	Type I
skarrel	Afrikaans -el		Type II
		to scurry	Type IV
skoffel	Afrikaans -el	to work with a spade	Type II
skottel	Afrikaans -el	to bath	Type II
skuifel smokkel	Afrikaans -el	to walk slowly, dragging feet	Type I
	Afrikaans -el	to smuggle	Type IV
sneuwel	Afrikaans -el	to die	Type IV
snorkel	Afrikaans -el	to snorkle	Type V
snuffel	Afrikaans -el	to sniff	Type IV
spikkel	Afrikaans -el	to speckle	Type III
sprankel	Afrikaans -el	to sparkle	Type IV
sprenkel	Afrikaans -el	to sprinkle	Type IV
sprokkel	Afrikaans -el	to gather wood	Type II
stamel	Afrikaans -el	to stutter	Type IV
stempel	Afrikaans -el	to stamp	Type II
stippel	Afrikaans -el	to make dots	Type III
stommel	Afrikaans -el	to fidget	Type IV
stribbel	Afrikaans -el	to argue	Type IV
strompel	Afrikaans -el	to walk in an unstable manner	Type IV
struikel . ,	Afrikaans -el	to stumble	Type IV
suisel	Afrikaans -el	to make a hissing sound	Type I
sukkel	Afrikaans -el	to struggle	Type IV
swendel	Afrikaans -el	to scam	Type II
swymel	Afrikaans -el	to get dizzy	Type II
sypel	Afrikaans -el	to seep	Type IV
tinkel	Afrikaans -el	to tinkle	Type IV
tintel	Afrikaans -el	to prickle	Type II
tokkel	Afrikaans -el	to play an instrument with fingers	Type IV
trappel	Afrikaans -el	to step	Type I
treusel	Afrikaans -el	to work slowly	Type IV
trippel	Afrikaans -el	to run with short steps	Type IV
trommel	Afrikaans -el	to drum	Type III

tuimel	Afrikaans -el	to roll over	Type IV
vonkel	Afrikaans -el	to sparkle	Type V
vroetel	Afrikaans -el	to fidget	Type IV
waggel	Afrikaans -el	to waddle	Type IV
wandel	Afrikaans -el	to walk	Type IV
wankel	Afrikaans -el	to walk unsteadily	Type IV
warrel	Afrikaans -el	to whirl	Type IV
weifel	Afrikaans -el	to be indecisive	Type IV
wemel	Afrikaans -el	to teem	Type IV
wentel	Afrikaans -el	to turn	Type IV
werwel	Afrikaans -el	to move around a central point	Type IV
wiebel	Afrikaans -el	to move back and forth	Type IV
wiegel	Afrikaans -el	to move back and forth	Type I
wiggel	Afrikaans -el	to predict the future	Type IV
wriemel	Afrikaans -el	to teem	Type IV
blikker	Afrikaans -er	to flicker	Type IV
bulder	Afrikaans -er	to rumble	Type IV
dobber	Afrikaans -er	to float (on waves)	Type II
donder	Afrikaans -er	to thunder/rumble	Type II
flabber	Afrikaans -er	to flap	Type I
fladder	Afrikaans -er	to flap (wings)	Type IV
flakker	Afrikaans -er	to flicker	Type IV
flikker	Afrikaans -er	to flicker	Type III
fluister	Afrikaans -er	to whisper	Type II
foeter	Afrikaans -er	to beat	Type IV
glibber	Afrikaans -er	to slip	Type I
glimmer	Afrikaans -er	to glimmer/shine	Type I
glinster	Afrikaans -er	to glisten	Type IV
jakker	Afrikaans -er	to run around	Type IV
klakker	Afrikaans -er	to make a clacking sound	Type I
klapper	Afrikaans -er	to make a clapping sound	Type V
klater	Afrikaans -er	to clatter	Type IV
klepper	Afrikaans -er	to make a clapping sound	Type V
kletter	Afrikaans -er	to make clashing sounds	Type IV
klodder	Afrikaans -er	to work in a messy manner	Type IV
klouter	Afrikaans -er	to climb	Type IV
knapper	Afrikaans -er	to crackle	Type I
knetter	Afrikaans -er	to crackle	Type IV
knipper	Afrikaans -er	to blink	Type V
knister	Afrikaans -er	to crackle softly	Type IV
kuier	Afrikaans -er	to visit	Type II
kwetter	Afrikaans -er	to chirp	Type IV
leuter	Afrikaans -er	to babble	Type IV
luier	Afrikaans -er	to relax	Type IV
luister	Afrikaans -er	to listen	Type IV
mopper	Afrikaans -er	to complain	Type I
mymer	Afrikaans -er	to think deeply	Type IV

peuter	Afrikaans -er	to tinker around/tamper	Type IV
ploeter	Afrikaans -er	to struggle/be unenthusiastic	Type IV
sidder	Afrikaans -er	to shudder	Type II
sketter	Afrikaans -er	to make a loud, shrill sound	Type IV
skitter	Afrikaans -er	to shimmer	Type IV
slenter	Afrikaans -er	to move slowly	Type IV
slinger	Afrikaans -er	to move in an unstable manner	Type II
sluier	Afrikaans -er	to cover	Type II
sluimer	Afrikaans -er	to slumber	Type II
snater	Afrikaans -er	to cackle/honk (geese)	Type IV
snipper	Afrikaans -er	to cut in pieces	Type III
snotter	Afrikaans -er	to sniff	Type I
spetter	Afrikaans -er	to spatter	Type I
sputter	Afrikaans -er	to spit	Type IV
stotter	Afrikaans -er	to stutter	Type IV
teuter	Afrikaans -er	to move very slowly	Type IV
toeter	Afrikaans -er	to hoot (car)	Type V
trompette	r Afrikaans -er	to play a trumpet	Type III
verpletter	Afrikaans -er	to destroy	Type IV
wapper	Afrikaans -er	to blow in the wind	Type IV
wipper	Afrikaans -er	to flutter	Type I

8. References

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