Why Many Dutch Surnames Look So Archaic:  
The Exceptional Orthographic Position of Names

Leendert Brouwer

Netherlands

Abstract

In the 19th century, several scholars in the Netherlands worked on a standardization of spelling of words. Only just after World War II, a uniform spelling was codified. Nobody, however, seemed to care about, or even to think of, an adaptation of the spelling of surnames. In the first decades of the 19th century, due to Napoleon’s enforcement of implementing his Civil Code, all inhabitants were registered with a surname, which from then on never formally changed. This means that the final stage of surname development took place in a period which may be considered as orthographically unstable. For this reason, many names still have many variations nowadays. This often leads to insecurity about the spelling of names. Even someone with an uncomplicated name, such as Brouwer, will often be asked, if the name is written with -au- or with -ou-, although this name is identical with the word ‘brouwer’ (= brewer) and 29,000 individuals bear the name Brouwer with -ou-, while only 40 people bear the name De Brauwer (Brauwer without an article doesn’t even exist).

But we easily accept this kind of inconvenience, because people do not expect names to be treated as words. A surname has a special meaning, particularly when it shows an antique aura.

***
My name is Brouwer. That should be an easy name to spell in the Netherlands, because my name is written exactly as the noun ‘brouwer’, denoting the trade of my forefather, who must have been a brewer: a craftsman who produces beer. But by experience I have learned that my name is a fine example of an insecure attitude with regard to the spelling of surnames. If someone has to write my name down from hearing, I will always be asked how to spell Brouwer: with -a-u- or -o-u-.

The name Brouwer contains a diphthong which has two graphemic representations, so it is not that stupid to ask which one to use. But people who have learned to write the noun ‘brouwer’ at school don’t have to hesitate. The reason why they will hesitate is because they are conscious of the fact that surnames often are not written as the nouns they denote. They even may not be aware that many proper names match common nouns, because actually words and names have been ‘divorced’ long ago. Besides, many names do not refer to familiar words, but to unfamiliar old words, forenames and geographical names, spelled just as fancifully, and they may have been deformed severely through the ages.

However, it is clear to the polite questioner that a name has to be treated differently and with care. Since names have been laid down by law a long time ago and became relicts, people want them to be spelled right. That is quite difficult, because the language from which they were gathered evolved orthographically. Spelling regulations took place in the last two centuries in several stages, but surnames were disregarded.
Figure 1.
Leendert Brouwer, Netherlands

Netherlands (2007)
  Brouwer 26,200
  morpho-syntactical variations: Brouwers 400, De Brouwer 2,200
  spelling variations: Brauwers 47, De Brauwer 38, Debrauwer 11

Belgium (1998)
  Brouwer 140
  morpho-syntactical variations: Brouwers 2,240, De Brouwer 1,200, De Brouwere 100;
  spelling variations: Debrouwer 250, Debrouwere 300, Brauwers 160, De Brauwer 950,
  De Brauwere 200, Debrauwer 200, Debrauwere 110

Figure 2. The name Brouwer in the Netherlands and in Belgium

In figure number 1 you can see that I have 26,000 namesakes in my country. They all have to
spell their name alike: Brouwer, with the sound [au] spelled as <ou>. The name Brauwer with
<au> doesn’t even exist. But when we compare The Netherlands in figure number 2 to Belgium,
where half the country speaks and writes the Dutch language, we will notice that the spelling of
this name actually is more complicated. In Belgium the name De Brauwer with <au> and an
article is quite familiar, opposed to De Brouwer with <ou>, though less frequent than the latter.
So, the transformation from ‘brouwer’ as a noun to Brouwer as a surname in Belgium did lead to
the use of more than one spelling form, which is confusing, and consequently it is understandable
that Belgians do ask whether this name has to be written with <au> or with <ou>.

Of course, this discrepancy dates from the time before spelling regulations took place. When
spelling rules finally were formulated, and when responsible linguists were aware of the
development from the Middle Dutch verb ‘bruwen’ out of Proto-German *breuwan to ‘brouwen’
with <ouw>, the choice for ‘brouwer’ with <ou> was clear. From then on this word was correctly
spelled according to the paradigm of similarly developed verbs and nomen agentis with similar
etymological origins: in Dutch <euw> evolved to <ouw>. The correct spelling of words with
homophonous diphthongs has been etymologically defined.

Although we may verify that the surname Brouwer is spelled in a consistent manner in the
Netherlands, we have to acknowledge, by the spelling of De Brauwer with <au> in Belgium, that
this name is not only known with some morphological variations, but also by several
orthographical versions in the Dutch speaking part of the world.

Concerning this name the borderline between the two countries is not accidental, but in
general it isn’t a sharp dividing line with all the archaic names on the southern side and only
modern names on the northern side. The population of Belgium is familiar with many archaic
names, but the corpus of surnames in the Netherlands also contains an impressive number of
orthographical variations of correctly spelled names, according to current spelling rules.

In figure 3 you will find a column of antiques in the Netherlands and opposite the clean
versions in accordance with the current spelling rules.
Figure 3.

Archaic features in names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ae</th>
<th>Vaessen / Aerts</th>
<th>aa</th>
<th>Vaassen / Aarts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eij / ey</td>
<td>Meijer / Meyer</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>Meier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uij / uy</td>
<td>De Bruijn / De Bruyn</td>
<td>ui</td>
<td>De Bruin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sch</td>
<td>Bosch / Visscher / Mensch</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Bos / Visser / Mens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ee</td>
<td>Peeters</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>Peters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oo</td>
<td>Hoogendoorn</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>Hogendoorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>De Jongh / Van den Bergh</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>De Jong / Van den Berg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td>De With / Veth</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>De Wit / Vet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ck</td>
<td>Beckers / Kock</td>
<td>kk</td>
<td>Bekkers / Kok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Coenen / Custers</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>Koenen / Kusters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ff</td>
<td>De Graaff / Cruijff</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>De Graaf / Kruif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ll</td>
<td>Van der Poll</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>Van der Pol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>Hendrikx</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>Hendriks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>Smit / Voogt</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Smid / Voogd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dt</td>
<td>Smidt / De Wildt</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>Smid / De Wild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>Van der Jagt</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>*Van der Jacht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>Van Thiel / Van Rhijn</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Van Tiel / Van Rijn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most typical features you will find in archaic Dutch names are spelling forms with <ae> instead of <aa>, <ck> instead of only <k>, <sch> instead of only <s>, combinations of <gh> or <th>, double consonants like <ff> and <ll> when only one is enough, and very notorious: the use of <ij> or <y> instead of only an <i> in combination with other vowels in diphthongs like [ei] and [øy].

Figure 5 shows that these old names are present among the most frequent surnames. The point of view comes from a strict spelling reformer. A sensible onomastician won’t be as careless as to qualify names as wrong names.
**Figure 4.**
*Frequency of the most common archaic names in The Netherlands in 2007*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wrong name</th>
<th>Correct name</th>
<th>English / German name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Smit 48,000</td>
<td>Smid 4,200</td>
<td>Smith 3,900 / Schmidt 4,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Smits 26,400</td>
<td>- Smids 600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Meijer 44,400</td>
<td>Meier 1,000</td>
<td>(Mayer) / Mayer 250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Meyer 1,900</td>
<td>- Bruin 3,900</td>
<td>Majier 450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. De Bruijn 19,400</td>
<td>De Bruin 20,000</td>
<td>Brown 700 / Braun 1,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- De Bruyn 780</td>
<td>- Bruin 3,900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bruijn 1,900</td>
<td>- Bruins 4,600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bruyn 80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bruijns 1,170</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Bruyns 30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Van der Heijden 18,800</td>
<td>Van der Heiden 3,400</td>
<td>Heath 50 / [Heide 150]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Van der Heyden 560</td>
<td>- Van der Heide 8,300</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Van der Heijde 900</td>
<td>- *Van de Heide 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Van der Heyde 80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Peeters 15,800</td>
<td>Peters 33,900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bosch 12,400</td>
<td>Bos 40,200</td>
<td>[Wood 70 / Wald 30]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Van den Bosch 11,500</td>
<td>- Van den Bos 6,700</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kuijpers 11,200</td>
<td>Kuipers 15,800</td>
<td>Cooper 180 / Böttcher 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Kuypers 760</td>
<td>- Kuiper 15,400</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Kuijper 3,900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Kuyper 340</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cuijpers 3,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cuypers 300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Cuiper 220</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. De Rooij 10,200</td>
<td>De Rooi 150</td>
<td>[Read 110 / Roth 650]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- De Roo 3,300</td>
<td>- *De Ro 0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- De Roode 1,750</td>
<td>- De Rode 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Verweij 8,600</td>
<td>Verwei 100</td>
<td>Meadows 4 / [Weide 300]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Verwey 500</td>
<td>- Van der Wei 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Van der Weij 1,100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Van Eijk 8,400</td>
<td>Van Eik 150</td>
<td>Oaks 5 / Eich 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Van Eyk 175</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Van Eijck 930</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Van Eyck 130</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On position number one of this figure we have the name Smit ending with the consonant <t>, as it sounds. The correctly spelled name nowadays is Smid ending with <d>, covering the common noun ‘smid’, due to the principle of uniformity, which requires the same consonant in the singular form as in plural ‘smiden’.

Smith with <th> in the third column doesn’t have to be English; it may also be an original Dutch name with archaic spelling.

The very confusing spelling of words with <ij> or <y>, in fact an equal graphemic representation with and without dots, was easily solved by pronouncing that in diphthongs only an <i> had to be used and that the letter <y> could only be used in loanwords. As you can see, in regard to surnames this spelling situation still is very confusing.

On position number five on my list you can see that the wrong name Peeters with double <ee> in the first syllable is less frequent than the correct form Peters with one <e>. But in Belgium Peeters with double <ee> is at the top of the list of all the surnames. Although my data focus on the Netherlands I assure you that in Belgium the spelling of surnames is far more dramatic. You will hardly find any correctly spelled names there. Belgium is one big onomastic antique shop.

We have to go back two centuries in time to realize properly why this peculiar orthographic situation exists and what this implies from an onomastic point of view.

In figure 5 you’ll find some historical dates.

In 1795 the southern regions of the part of Europe where Dutch is spoken, were annexed by the French Republic. The northern regions, formerly known as The Republic of the Seven United Provinces, became a vassal state of the dominating French, named The Batavian Republic. With the constitution of its National Assembly the authorities of this republic were better centralized than before.

If we take a look at the spelling of the Dutch language around 1800, we will notice that it lacks general spelling rules. Clerks and other writers wrote in accordance with several orthographic conventions and ideas, developed by influential scholars during these times, with the translation of the States Bible as an important standardizing landmark.

Consistency was missing. But finally, in 1801, Matthijs Siegenbeek, a professor at the University of Leiden, was assigned to construct a spelling regulation for a standardized Dutch language, which was published in 1804. In his opinion the written language should be a reflection of the cultivated pronunciation, regarding the principles of uniformity, etymology and analogy. He proposed for instance that long vowels such as [a:] should be written with <aa>. The short vowel <a> was repeated by another one, and not lengthened by an <e> as it was usually done before. So, according to this principle the long vowel [o:] had to be written with double <oo> and not with the combination <oe> or <oi> as was also done previously.

In the following years the spelling rules by Siegenbeek were introduced in the sovereign part of the Netherlands, but not in some southern regions and in present-day Belgium. For this part belonged to France at the time. On the other hand, an important measure enforced in the French part was the introduction of the civil administration. This political difference, with administrative progress on one side and orthographic improvement on the other, is the main course of the orthographic divergence in regard to the Dutch surnames, resulting in the observation that today archaic names are characteristic on the south side and modern names in the north.

The French took over the government of the Netherlands as well for a few years, from 1810 until 1813, and the Civil Code was also implemented here, and maintained afterwards. Previously, birth, marriage and death were mostly church matters, but from now on the registration of the population was taken care of by the civil government. This certainly meant that some people had to choose a surname, because in some parts of the country people still were used to an active patronymic system without using fixed surnames. Registration applied to everybody
and this meant orthographic continuity of fixed surnames, because surnames were transferred
from certificate to certificate, and passed through from generation to generation in exactly the
same spelling as it was recorded. Some names were spelled as the name bearers used to spell
them in the old-fashioned way, other names were written according to the modern spelling rules,
and they were often spelled at random the first time at the Registrar’s by a clerk, who didn’t learn
to use the new spelling rules well enough.

After the French were beaten, for a period of fifteen years, the whole Dutch speaking territory
and a French-speaking part in the south were formed as the United Kingdom of the Netherlands.
The new spelling rules were adopted in the south, but this happened too late to correct the
spelling of the surnames. In 1830, Belgium became a nation of its own. Nevertheless spelling
developments took place in common in both countries, thanks to the planning of the Dictionary of
the Dutch Language halfway into the 19th century. For this purpose the compilers, Matthias de
Vries and L. A. te Winkel devised a new spelling with several adjustments to Siegenbeek’s rules,
published in 1863. It became the official spelling in Belgium immediately; in the Netherlands it
took more time to accept these spelling rules officially.

From then on it was required, for instance, to write the unvoiced or sharp fricative [x] in a
word as ‘jacht’, which means ‘hunt’, with <ch>. Previously it was written with <g>; from that
time on the letter <g> was used only as a graphemic representation of the voiced or soft
consonant [ɣ], for example in the verb ‘jagen’ = ‘to hunt’.

But fortunately for lovers of living history the old spelling of this word can still be observed
as a relict in a surname: today 2,400 individuals bear the name Van der Jagt with the letter <g>,
and nobody bears the name Van der Jacht with <ch> in The Netherlands.

Spelling developments didn’t stop. Another round of adjustments followed just after World
War II, already intensively prepared in prewar years. In 1946-47 the governments of Belgium and
the Netherlands agreed to enforce new spelling rules, which implied for instance that
monophthong vowels in open syllables only got one letter instead of two: the noun ‘beek’, which
means brook, had to be written in plural as <beken> with one <e> in the first syllable, and not as
<beken> with double <ee>, as it was written before. That is why Peeters with two <ee>’s in the
first syllable might be considered a wrongly spelled name nowadays. The spelling of Peters with
one <e> in the first syllable proves that around 1800 in large parts of the Netherlands the use of
one <e> in Peters, and also in the first name Peter, was quite normal.

Another adjustment implied that in words as ‘mensch’ and ‘bosch’ the <ch> dropped off;
these common nouns were not pronounced anymore as ‘mensk’ and ‘bosk’, as it must have
sounded once, and not as Mensch (mɛnʃ), as this word is pronounced in the German language.
But, in many surnames, these spelling quirks still exist, for example in Bosch and Visscher.
Figure 5.
Short historical outline

1637 “Statenvertaling”: translation of the Bible directly from the most original sources available at the time ordered by the States General at the Dordrecht synod (1618-1619).

1795 Southern regions of the Low Countries annexed by France, including Limburg and Flanders (the former Austrian Netherlands) Foundation of the Batavian Republic (formerly the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands).

1804 Matthias Siegenbeek: *Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche spelling ter bevordering van eenparigheid in dezelve. Uitgegeven in naam en op last van het Staats-bewind der Bataafse Republiek.*

1810 Annexation of the entire Netherlands by Napoleon’s French Empire. Implementation of the Civil Code.

1815 United Kingdom of the Netherlands, King William I.

1830 Kingdom of the Netherlands and Kingdom of Belgium.


1974 Report by the Committee Damsteegt suggesting a reformation of the spelling of place names (ordered by the government but never considered and published).


I can summarize that by spelling measures from 1800 until now many Dutch words were transformed from old-fashioned hard-to-spell words to words spelled in a modern way that are easier to learn to write by our children, which is an aim of general spelling regulations. But in the meantime our Dutch surnames became relics of the onomastic environment of our great-great-grandfathers, because nobody thought of a reason good enough to modify them as well. In fact they got legally stuck the way they were written once by a decree from French occupiers. You can see it that way. But there are no hard feelings anymore. There are no complaints about hard-to-spell names from the name bearers themselves: if they have a difficult name they are proud of it. Archaic spelled names give an air of gentility, they are chic. And this is respected by others who have ordinary spelled names. Difficult spelling of names is of minor importance compared to the value attached to their antiquity.

Were all categories of proper names ignored by successive spelling committees? No, certainly not. Already in the 19th century philologists discussed, encouraged by the government, how to obtain a uniform spelling for geographical names. Lists of place names have been published according to contemporary spelling rules. I don’t have enough time to dwell at great length on place names, but I can summarize the history of their orthography in The Netherlands as not very successful after all. In contradiction to fruitless attempts to adapt place names to current spelling rules, the fashion of ‘retro-names’ flourished when new names were created for new buildings, parking lots, shopping centres and even for new municipalities.
The Dutch Language Union, founded in 1980, took up an ambiguous position concerning geographical names. This official committee recommended that geographical names should not take part in a general modification of Dutch orthography. But it also acknowledged an unsatisfactory situation and it expressed the wish that the government would find a solution, with the result that peculiarly spelled place names remained peculiar ever since.

In this report by the Language Union, surnames were only mentioned as an example in relation to place names. Surnames are protected by law; to modify them would be a violation of civil rights. The Language Union says: Nobody expects an adaptation of surnames to formal spelling regulations; this would be an intrusion on someone’s privacy and it would bring on juridical problems.

What was probably meant was the notion that surnames belong to individuals or families and place names belong to communities: why should the state interfere when changing names will hurt many feelings and its urgency would be controversial?

I don’t have the intention to start a spelling movement for names either. However, at least from an onomastic point of view, the attitudes to the orthography of names need more attention and should not be neglected. Maybe even distinct onomastic stands should be determined (so that onomasticians may get involved in major committees in the future).

If we realize that we are dealing with an onomastic situation, in the Netherlands and in Belgium and probably elsewhere, which has been accepted by the entire population, so that it even has been looked upon as being a natural situation, while on the contrary it should be regarded as odd! What once was a dynamic naming system simply came to a halt because of a priority to enhance the abilities of controlling a nation and its population. One could consider this a pity. To fix names in an administrative system may once have been necessary, but since we are now also identified by a ‘citizen service number’ one might conclude that we would not have to bother about fixed names anymore.

It is not my intention to strive for a more tolerant system at the moment, but I just try to imagine, from a hypothetical point of view, what might happen if the government or language union would take up the challenge of an orthographic adjustment of surnames. Would it make sense to modify surnames? No, it wouldn’t. Apart from the uproar such a measure would cause, it would be an impossible mission for several onomastic reasons. In the first place it would be very hard to make a difference between original Dutch names and the many names of foreign origin. For instance, if we skip <ch> in the surname Mensch, we’ll possibly adapt a name of German immigrants. In that case this name would coincide with Mens without <ch>, a name which is considered to be a patronymic to the first name Menne ending with a genitive –s. By reducing orthographic features in surnames it would be unavoidable to take care of morphological and dialect features as well. We would probably be in a process of reconstructing all names in the end.

In looking at figure 6 we can admire two names with many variations: Aarts and Van den Boogaard. We just seem to be happy with a lot of names with a few verbal differences among them. No Chinese prospects here with too many people for only a few names.
Figure 6.

**Aarts**  
Patronymic to first name Aart, from Christian name Aarnoud / Arnoldus.

*Variations:*

**Van den Boogaard**  
1. Location: living/working at the orchard;  
2. reinterpretation of patronymic to first name Bogaart, from Christian name Borghardus.

*Variations:*
In conclusion, we may observe that in the past a political decision was made by implementing a statutory regulation to submit our names to a nationally controlled system without taking certain consequences into consideration. We may just say that the administrative fixation of surnames in the first half of the 19th century was a process without orthographical and onomastic reflection. The damage cannot be recovered anymore, but luckily nobody seemed to be hurt. On the contrary, surnames, among other names, are cherished as frozen images of the words they have been long ago.

References


Leendert Brouwer
Meertens Instituut
Joan Muyskenweg 25
1096 CJ Amsterdam
NETHERLANDS
leendert.brouwer@meertens.knaw.nl