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Cloutier, R.A.

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4. Naming Objects

In chapters 2 and 3, I examined the development of directional phrases and relative objects, respectively, in the history of Dutch and English. Directional phrases serve as the control group for the 'normal' development of the position of arguments over time while relative objects, which were described in the literature on (predominantly southern) Middle Dutch as occurring in a VO configuration with an unusually high frequency in comparison to other types of arguments, were investigated as an instance where heaviness plays an important role in determining word order. I now turn to another type of argument that is also often cited in the literature on Middle Dutch as almost categorically appearing to the right of the verb, namely objects of naming verbs, hereafter *naming objects* (see 62a below; Blom 2002; Burridge 1993; De Meersman 1980; Ribbert 2005).

Burridge (1993), among a number of other researchers of Middle Dutch, has noted that naming objects occur almost categorically outside of the sentence brace. These scholars suggest that this phenomenon is related to pragmatics and information structure: naming objects often introduce new information into the discourse, i.e., the name of a participant. We know that these same naming verbs no longer allow their objects to extrapose in Modern Dutch, as can be seen in (62b) and (62c). The only grammatical option is for the object to occur within the sentence brace, as in (62d).[1]

(62) a. **een lant** *dat gheheiten es* **<u>blomevenne</u>**
           a   land that called   is Blomevenne
           'a land that is called Blomevenne' (13C, alke 1293 nov 25)

      b. *__een land__ *dat genoemd wordt* **<u>Blomevenne</u>**

      c. *__een land__ *dat wordt genoemd* **<u>Blomevenne</u>**

      d. **een land** *dat* **<u>Blomevenne</u>** *genoemd wordt*

By conducting a diachronic study of naming objects, I will be able to get a better idea of how the various factors determining word order—namely syntax,

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[1]In the examples throughout this chapter, I use the following conventions: the namer, i.e., the agent of the naming event, is underlined; the namee, i.e., the recipient of the naming event, is in bold; the name, i.e., the object of the naming event, is underlined and in bold; and the verbs and complementizers are italicized. Note that the *name* is not necessarily a proper name but can also be represented by an ordinary noun, as will become clear in some of the examples below. The term *naming object* refers to the name.

heaviness, and newness—interact throughout the history of Dutch. Naming objects lend themselves quite well to a detailed study of newness as a potential factor in word order patterns.[2] If we assume, as suggested in the literature, that newness is the main factor in the extraposition of naming objects, then we should see that the majority of postverbal naming objects are instances of new information and that at some point, its influence over the position of naming objects has to decrease and eventually disappear. Of course, we need to confirm that newness does indeed play a role in the extraposition of naming objects and not that the VO order is just a characteristic of this construction, free from any other factors. Heaviness is also often given as a factor in extraposition phenomena, particularly in the earlier periods of Dutch; we need to confirm whether this is indeed the case with naming objects and if it is, to see how heaviness is defined in Dutch and how it interacts with newness and syntax. However these constraints interact, it is clear from the literature that they combine to cause naming objects to occur postverbally with a high frequency in Middle Dutch.

Given the similar sensitivity of Old English word order to discourse factors (Van Kemenade & Los 2006a), one would expect a situation similar to that in Dutch with respect to naming verbs, yet no such generalization has been made in the literature. This suggests either that the behavior of naming verbs does not differ from other transitive verbs or that this generalization has simply been overlooked. Many of the factors determining word order suggested for Dutch have also been used to describe the Old English system; these include heaviness and newness. Examining naming verbs will not only allow us to determine whether these factors are indeed relevant but will also allow us to more clearly define how these constraints, if they are found to be important, interact with syntax and each other. If Old English treats naming verbs in the same way as Dutch, that is with an unusually high frequency of VO orders in comparison to other types of arguments, we expect to see a relatively high percentage of postverbal naming objects throughout its history, thereby making the major shift in English syntax from OV to VO less dramatic with respect to naming verbs. If this is not the case, then we expect to see a development similar to other types of transitive verbs—i.e., a gradual increase in the postverbal position of naming objects over time.

Combining the data of this chapter with the results of the other types of arguments already investigated, i.e., directional phrases and relative objects, each of which is representative of a different factor, will give an accurate picture of the syntactic shift in Dutch and English by allowing accurate determination of when the word order becomes rigid; this comparison will occur in Chapter 5.

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[2]Note that since naming objects are generally names and hence never indefinite, I use criteria that differ from directional phrases and relative objects to determine whether a naming object is new or given. Refer to subsection 4.3.4 below for specific details of these new criteria.

If we assume that all of these arguments reduce their word order possibilities as the result of the same shifting factors, then, according to the Constant Rate Hypothesis, we also have to assume that they will do so at a similar rate during a similar period (Kroch 1989). Given the high frequency with which naming objects occur postverbally in Middle Dutch, they should continue to occur more often in VO orders than the other two argument types until the shift to a rigid OV grammar is completely implemented.

In section 4.1, I begin with a discussion of the two types of naming verbs under investigation: transitive naming verbs such as 'to name' or 'to call' in subsection 4.1.1 and the inherently passive naming verb derived from the originally transitive proto-Germanic *$haitan_1$ 'to call' (as in Modern Dutch $heten_2$ 'to be called') in subsection 4.1.2. The research questions of the study are formulated in section 4.2. Section 4.3 is an explanation of modifications to the methodology used in collecting and categorizing the data. Sections 4.4 and 4.5 are investigations of the facts for Dutch and English, respectively. The data of the two languages are compared in section 4.6.

4.1. Naming Verbs

The Dutch and English naming verbs investigated in this study can be broadly divided into two types: transitive naming verbs (4.1.1) and the inherently passive naming verb descended from the proto-Germanic *$haitan$ 'to call, to command' (4.1.2).[3] I will use the form *$haitan$ when referring to general properties of this verb that are relevant for all the daughter languages (or at least for both Dutch and English). If I use the language-specific form, i.e., $heten$ for Dutch or $h\bar{a}tan$ for English, I am referring to the specific properties of the verb in that particular language. Moreover, because there are two versions of *$haitan$, namely a transitive and an inherently passive version, I will distinguish the two when necessary through the use of subscripts: subscript 1 as in *$haitan_1$ refers to the original transitive version while subscript 2 as in *$haitan_2$ refers to the later and derived inherently passive version. This subscript distinction will also be used for the language specific versions when necessary. As there is only one inherently passive naming verb, most of the verbs under investigation fall under the first type. For each type, I describe the relevant syntactic properties (the elements forming part of the construction, the ability of the construction to be passivized, etc.), and for *$haitan_2$, I start with a general introductory discussion of the origin and development from proto-Germanic since this contributes to

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[3]There is another type of naming construction, namely 'one's name is', which is not considered in this study. Though this construction is similar to *$haitan_2$ in that both can be analyzed as copulative constructions, it does not occur frequently in the data set of this study. Moreover, it was not mentioned in any of the studies on Middle Dutch as being particularly exceptional with respect to word order.

the unique characteristics of this verb. I will discuss the word order possibilities of these constructions in the language-specific sections below, i.e., section (4.4) for Dutch and section (4.5) for English.

As will become clear in the following sections, the constructions available for the two types differ in that the reflexes of **haitan* develop an inherently passive meaning in addition to its original active meaning, which is eventually lost. Despite this significant difference, however, these two types are investigated together as Burridge (1993), Blom (2002), and Ribbert (2005) all state that the objects of both types of verb occur with an unusually high frequency of VO orders in Middle Dutch.

4.1.1. Transitive Naming Verbs

Transitive naming verbs are what usually come to mind when talking about naming verbs and are the prototypical type of naming verb. They are found throughout the history of Dutch and English and are the only ones found in Modern English (which no longer has a reflex of **haitan*); they include English 'to call' and 'to name' and Dutch *noemen* 'to name'.[4] Other verbs with similar meanings have also been used in this function, such as Old English *cweðan* 'to say'. In this section, I examine general properties of this group of verbs. Like the other verbs in this group, **haitan* begins as an active transitive naming verb but differs in that it develops an inherently passive meaning, which will be discussed in the following subsection.

Transitive naming verbs prototypically have three participants: the doer of the action of naming (the namer), the recipient of the action (the namee), and the name itself (the name). An example of such a construction is given in (63a). In such a construction, the namee and the name both refer to the same individual, i.e., the name gives additional information about the namee. (63b) is an example of the passive version of this construction. Note, however, that only the namee can become the subject of a passive clause and not the name

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[4]Both Dutch and English have reflexes of the verb 'to name'. This verb is derived from the noun 'name', an originally *n*-stem in proto-Germanic. This is exemplified by the Gothic *namō*. In order to form a verb from a noun, proto-Germanic had the possibility of adding the suffix *-jan* to the stem of the noun, a process inherited from proto-Indo-European; in the case of *namō*, this would have been *namn-*. In Gothic, this resulted in *namnjan*. Reflexes of the *n*-stem origin of this word are found in the Middle Dutch form *nennen* and the Old English *nemn(i)an*. Notice the umlaut in the stem resulting from the original denominative suffix *-jan*. We also find a new formation of this verb created from the nominative singular of the noun, a form without the *-n* in the stem, in Middle Dutch *namen* and Old English *namian*. Moreover, Middle Dutch had a verb, namely *noemen*, formed from the lengthened o-grade of the same nominal root. Being derived from a noun, all instances of these verbs are weak, i.e. they form their preterite tense through the use of a dental suffix instead of changes in the stem vowel. The fact that the original noun from which this verb was created remained in the daughter languages probably contributed to its resistance to developing a passive meaning like **haitan₂*.

(63c).

(63) a. We$_{namer}$ named him$_{namee}$ John$_{name}$.

b. He was named John (by us).

c. *John was named he/him (by us).

The relationship between the namee and the name has been variously described (Lunsford 2003; Anderson 2004; Neeleman 1994; Matushansky , 2005, 2006). The multitude of analyses lets us know that this construction is structurally complex. At first glance, one may be tempted to say that the high frequency of VO orders may be due to the complexity of such structures, which seems quite reasonable. The high occurrence of VO orders would be a means to accommodate the structural complexity of this construction. We would then expect, however, that other verbs with a similar structure, for instance 'to consider', also occur with a high frequency of VO orders in the Middle Dutch period, a generalization that has not been mentioned in the literature. Moreover, this does not account for why we find a similarly high frequency of VO patterns with the structurally different *haitan$_2$.

Verbs in this group can also occur with a single direct object, as in example (64). Often, however, these instances have a different meaning than those occurring in the naming constructions discussed above, suggesting a different underlying structure. In this example, for instance, the meaning is 'to list the members of the committee' rather than 'to give the members of the committee names'.

(64) I named the members of the committee.

Moreover, there are few examples of transitive naming verbs with a single direct object in which the object itself occurs in the relevant clause in the data collected for this study. For these reasons, examples of this type are left out of this study and will not be discussed further.

4.1.2. *haitan$_2$

The naming verb that descends from proto-Germanic *haitan 'to call, to command' differs from the transitive naming verbs discussed above in that it develops a passive meaning 'to be called' that, once developed, initially co-occurs with the active meanings, which are eventually lost. Morphological evidence in Old English further supports the fact that this verb not only has unique features but is from the beginning strongly associated with passive voice. Note that there are two versions of this verb in the earlier stages of both Dutch and English: a transitive version (represented by *haitan$_1$) with all of the properties of the transitive naming verbs described above in 4.1.1 and the inherently passive version (represented by *haitan$_2$) described in this section. This divergence is the result of the historical development of this verb, which will now be discussed.

From the first attestations of Germanic, this verb already had a variety of meanings: 'to call by name', 'to name', 'to call to come or do something', 'to bid', 'to command' (OED online). According to the entry on *heten* in the *Etymologisch Woordenboek van het Nederlands* (EWN), it is not entirely clear which of these meanings was the original since they are all found in even the earliest stages of the Germanic languages. One thing that is clear, however, is that we only have **haitan$_1$* in the beginning; the passive meaning of this initially active verbal stem is a later development.

The reflexes of **haitan* are found throughout the Germanic family, and this verb originally starts as a strong transitive verb belonging to a class that forms its preterite by reduplicating part of the verbal stem, a process that is inherited from proto-Indo-European.[5] In Germanic, Gothic is the only language that clearly preserves this, as shown in (65) (OED s.v. 'hight'; EWN s.v. 'heten'; Robinson 1992, 61; Meillet 1917, 138-141; Wright 1966, 146-149; Bennet 1980, 25).

(65)   a.   *háitan* 'to call, to order'
       b.   <u>*haí*</u>*háit* '(s/he) called, (s/he) ordered'

No instances of verbal reduplication are found in the history of Dutch and only a few relics can be found in Old English, among them in the verb *hātan*, as seen in (66b)[6] (Robinson 1992, 214-215 and 161, respectively; Meillet 1917, 138-141). This vestigial reduplicated preterite is found alongside a strong, non-reduplicated preterite, shown in (66c) (Robinson 1992, 161; Meillet 1917, 138-141).

(66)   a.   *hātan* 'to (be) call(ed), to order'
       b.   *heht* '(s/he) (was) called, (s/he) ordered'
       c.   *hēt* '(s/he) (was) called, (s/he) ordered'

The class to which this verb belongs itself, however, does not seem to play a role in its further development. However, the fact that it is one of the few verbs in Old English that preserves this ancient means for forming the preterite contributes to the uniqueness of this verb.

Unlike the other Germanic languages, Gothic preserves passive inflection on most verbs, albeit only in the present tense. The third person singular and plural present passive forms of the verb *háitan*, for example, are *háitada* '(s/he) is called' and *háitanda* '(they) are called', respectively.[7] The other Germanic languages lose this synthetic passive, having as a result to form the passive

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[5]Verbal reduplication was originally a means of expressing the perfect and can be seen, for example, in Sanskrit *riréca* or Greek *léloipa*, both meaning '(I) left' (Meillet 1917: 138).

[6]A few other Old English verbs also retain relic reduplication, for instance *lācan* 'to play', which has *leolc* as its preterite (Robinson 1992: 161).

[7]Given that the passive voice ends in a dental suffix, one may think that it is syncretic with the preterite of weak verbs. This is, however, not the case as exemplified by the third

through periphrasis (Robinson 1992: 39, 62). Curiously enough, however, Old English preserves this older synthetic passive in only one verb, namely *hātan*. According to the OED, there were two forms for singular and plural passive, *hātte* and *hātton* respectively, and these forms were used both for the present and the preterite (OED s.v. 'hight'; Mitchell & Robinson 2001, 111; Robinson 1992, 161-162; Meillet 1917, 126-127, 129). This retention in Old English again suggests the unique properties of this verb; furthermore, it shows that this verb was quite strongly associated with passive voice for Germanic speakers.

As already mentioned, the original Germanic inflection for passive voice is lost in all the daughter languages except for Gothic and only vestigially preserved in Old English *hātan*. The strong association of this verb with passive voice is also evident in Dutch; even though Dutch does not retain a synthetic passive form, this verb most often occurs periphrastically in the passive voice, which contrasts with the verb *noemen* 'to name' where the active voice is more common. In the daughter languages except for Gothic, the passive *meaning* of *haitan, namely 'to be called', combines with the originally active meaning 'to call' despite the loss of the passive inflection. This results in the reflexes of *haitan in the daughter languages meaning not only 'to call' but also 'to be called'. In many of the daughter languages, the passive meaning is so strong that it eventually ousts the original active meaning, as is the case in Modern Dutch and Modern German, a tendency that is evident even in the older stages. In fact, the entry for *heten* in the EWN says that the passive meaning, 'to be named', is the only one found for this verb in Old Dutch, though this is most probably a result of the lack of texts from this period. In Middle Dutch, however, we get both the active and passive meanings again as well as the meaning 'to order/command'. In any case, these facts again show the strong association of this verb and passive voice, even in the languages where the synthetic passive is lost. All of these unique characteristics of this verb probably contribute to the development of its inherent passive meaning.[8]

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person singular forms of the preterite and passive indicative of the verb *nasjan* 'to save', belonging to the first weak conjugation: *nasida* '(s/he) saved' versus *nasjada* '(s/he) is saved' (Wright 1966: 150).

[8]Why this particular verb attains a passive meaning that eventually takes over is not entirely clear. Perhaps a confusion arose between the reflex of the original inflected passive, represented by Gothic *háitada*, and the preterite inflection of weak verbs. For instance, as we saw above, the strong third person singular preterite of Old English *hātan* is *heht* or *hēt* while the third person singular passive is *hātte*. If you compare this passive form with the third singular preterite of the weak verb *mētan* 'to meet', namely *mētte* '(s/he) met', you see that the forms of the infinitives and corresponding passive/preterite parallel one another quite strikingly. After all, when confronted with a phrase as in (1), what is the difference between interpreting *hatton* as the passive form of a strong active verb *hātan*₁ 'to call' and interpreting it as the preterite of a weak verb *hātan*₂ that can have both an active meaning, 'to call', and a passive one, 'to be called'?

1. On **ðæm bocum** *ðe*   *hatton*   **Apocalisin**
   in the   books   which were-called Apocalypse

All of the above mentioned facts contribute to the unique status of *haitan in Germanic. However, one should remember that the inherently passive meaning of *haitan is *in addition to* its active meanings in the early stages of Dutch and English. So not only do we encounter examples of the type found in (67a, Dutch), we also come across examples as in (67b, Dutch).

(67) a. **een lant** *dat   hiet*   **dyhen campe**
          a   land that was-called Dyhen   camp
          'a land that was called Dyhencamp'(13C, koning 1296 aug 15)

     b. **dies   name** *sal*<u>*tu*</u>   *heten* **Jhesum**
         whose name   shall-you call   Jesus
         'whose name you shall call Jesus' (14C, a'damlect)

This means that *haitan not only has its own unique property of inherent passivity, it can also have the properties of the transitive naming verbs discussed above in subsection 4.1.1, namely a namer, a namee, and a name. For instance, *haitan$_1$ can also be passivized, like the other transitive naming verbs, as seen in (68, Dutch).

(68) *dat* **si**   ... *gheheten worden* <u>vanden lieden</u>   **meester**
      that they ... called   become from-the people master
      '... that they ... are called master by the people' (14C, a'damlect)

The following properties distinguish *haitan$_2$ from the transitive naming verbs: *haitan$_2$ occurs with a namee (the subject) and a name (a subject

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'In the books that were called Apocalypse' (c897, Gregory's Pastoralis, taken from OED s.v. *hight*, II.5.)

Though this hypothesis is plausible, it is undermined by the fact that *haitan remains strong in the oldest stages of all of the attested daughter languages. This is not necessarily a problem if the strong preterite coexists with a 'weak preterite' derived from the inflected passive, but this is not the case as no such 'weak preterite' appears to be attested in any of the daughter languages. *haitan seems to become weak only in Dutch (cf. High German *heißen/hieß*, Icelandic *heita/hét*, Danish *hedde/hed*) but not until around the 15C according to the EWN. Moreover, this account does not explain why this semantic shift only occurs with the verb *haitan and not with other verbs since the potential to reanalyze the original passive inflection as a weak preterite, one would assume from this explanation, is just as plausible with other verbs. It does, however, provide a potential pathway for this semantic shift (the addition of the passive meaning).

Another probable (and admittedly stronger) contributing factor to this semantic shift is related to the original semantics of *haitan. As mentioned above, *haitan had two common meanings from the beginning: 'to call' and 'to command'. It is conceivable that in the beginning, a way to distinguish these two meanings was to associate one meaning, namely 'to command', with active voice and the other, 'to call', with passive. This seems to be confirmed in both Middle Dutch and Old English, where instances of *haitan with the meaning 'to call' most frequently occur in the passive (this is actually the case for the other naming verbs as well). This reinforces the idea that this meaning is strongly associated with the passive. Despite this strong association, however, *namnjan* 'to name' resists receiving a passive meaning—this is probably due to its obvious relation to the noun *namō*.

complement); it differs from *$haitan_1$ in that there is no namer nor is it possible for the namer to appear, unlike what is found with the passivized version of *$haitan_1$ in (68) above. I have not come across any examples of *$haitan_2$ in which the namer is expressed, and as far as I can tell, it is ungrammatical in Modern Dutch as seen in (69).

(69) ***Hij** *heet* <u>**Jan**</u> <u>door zijn ouders.</u>
      he   is-called Jan through his parents
      'He is called Jan by his parents.'

This suggests that while the meaning is similar to the passive version of *$haitan_1$, it is actually quite a different construction altogether. In the construction with *$haitan_2$, the name (subject complement) identifies or describes the namee (the subject). *$haitan_2$ is described as a *koppelwerkwoord* 'copula' by *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (ANS) and as an intransitive verb by the OED. Since the subject complement is necessary in this construction and gives more information about the subject of the sentence, 'copula' is a more accurate description and will be adopted for this study. In either case, whether analyzed as a copula or an intransitive verb, *$haitan_2$ cannot be passivized as this process is limited to transitive verbs.

The characteristics of both types of naming verb have been discussed and are summarized in table 4.1. The two types differ in that *$haitan_2$ never appears with the namer. Moreover, *$haitan_2$ patterns more closely with the passivized

	Transitive Naming Verbs	*$haitan_2$
namer	+	−
namee	+	+
name	+	+
passivization	+	−

Table 4.1.: Characteristics of Naming Verbs

version of the transitive naming verbs in that the subject of both constructions is the namee while the name remains the complement. Of course, a final point of difference is that as a verb with an inherently passive meaning, *$haitan_2$ cannot be reformulated into a periphrastic passive, unlike the transitive naming verbs. Because of these properties, I assume that all instances of 'to be' or 'to become' plus the past participle of *$haitan$ are passivized versions of *$haitan_1$.

4.2. Research Questions

The discussion in the previous sections and chapters lead us to five sets of questions regarding the development of the word order possibilities of naming

verbs. In this chapter, we will only be considering the facts regarding naming objects; a comparison of directional phrases, object phrases, and naming objects will be discussed in Chapter 5.

First, given that we are looking at a number of different naming verbs in Dutch and English, what is the distribution of these verbs over time, how does this interact with the development of two types of naming verbs (transitive versus inherently passive), and does either of these have an influence on the word order possibilities of naming objects? In order to answer this, I will count the frequencies of each verb over time and the various functions it fills over time, i.e., whether it occurs in active, periphrastic passive, synthetic passive, or inherently passive contexts. This method should capture any shifts in the behavior of these verbs. In order to see if the lexical properties of the verbs themselves or the type and/or function of the verbs have an influence on word order possibilities, I will also check to see if particular verbs, types or functions correlate strongly with a particular word order.

A second question that arises is how similar (or dissimilar) the development of naming object word order is to other types of arguments. In the literature on Middle Dutch, naming objects seem more prone to extraposition than other types of objects. Does this hold for the Holland dialect of Dutch? At what point does this tendency shift to a more rigid OV order? Do naming objects in the earlier stages of English exhibit a similarly high frequency of VO orders? A frequency count of the word order patterns over time will give us a good indication of the developments in the two languages.

Third, in how far does heaviness play a role in determining word order? In this study, two types of heaviness are examined: lexical and structural. For lexical heaviness, I will look at the distribution of word lengths of naming objects on either side of the verb. This will provide an overall impression of the lexical weight allowed on either side of the verb. If lexical heaviness has any influence on word order, we expect that the word lengths allowed preverbally are shorter than those allowed postverbally. However, given the potential (though in some cases expected) discrepancy in the frequencies of the word orders, I will also examine the structural heaviness of naming objects on either side of the verb. If structural heaviness is an important factor, then we expect that postverbal naming objects are structurally more complex than those that appear preverbally. I will investigate this by looking at the structure of naming objects on either side of the verb. Another related expectation is that structural heaviness has an influence on the position of the (head of the) naming object: structurally complex naming objects occur significantly more often postverbally than preverbally. This will be examined by comparing the distribution of simplex and complex naming objects per position.

Fourth, how important is newness in determining word order? The literature suggests that newness is the reason for the high frequency of postverbal naming objects, but could this word order just be a feature of naming verbs and not

necessarily related to the factor newness? In order to determine this, I will compare the proportion of new to old naming objects per position per century. If newness plays an important role in determining word in any century, then we expect the proportion of new to old naming objects to be significantly higher in the postverbal position than in the preverbal position.

Finally, can we distinguish separate cohesive synchronic syntactic systems by considering word order, heaviness, and newness together? If so, what periods can we distinguish and what characterizes them? If there is a cohesive syntactic system, then we expect that the factors governing word order will be the same in adjacent centuries/periods, i.e., the extent to which heaviness and newness, if relevant factors, influence word order will be the same.

In sections 4.4 and 4.5, I will present the data and results for Dutch and English, respectively. Each of these language-specific sections ends with a subsection where I address the research questions posed here per language and which includes connections between word order, heaviness, and newness. The Dutch and English sections are followed by section 4.6 where I compare and summarize the results for both languages.

4.3. Methodological Considerations

In this section, I will briefly review the way in which I collected and categorized the data and the criteria I used to include or exclude clauses. For detailed information about the texts used in this study, refer to chapter 1.

4.3.1. Naming Verbs

I used the program MicroConcord version 1.0 to find instances of naming verbs (Scott & Johns 1993). I was able to reduce the effects of spelling variation, which mainly effects vowels, by searching for particular combinations of consonants, which remain constant. The program allows wildcards, represented by the symbol $<*>$, allowing one to search for words with a particular string of letters without regard for preceding, intervening, or following letters depending on where the $<*>$ is placed with respect to the letters. For example, the search string $<*n*m*>$ will sort out all words in which the letter $<n>$ precedes the letter $<m>$ with or without letters in the positions where the $<*>$ occurs. This search string is helpful, for instance, in picking out the Dutch words *noemen*, *noemt*, *noem*, *genoemd*, *namen*, *naamt*, *naam* and *genaamd* as well as their spelling variations. Of course, the program included a number of irrelevant words (for instance, forms of the verb *nemen* 'to take'), which needed to be taken out, but these were in general easy to distinguish from the naming verbs. In ambiguous instances where it was not immediately clear whether the word

was an instance of a naming verb, a closer look at more of the context was sufficient to determine the intended word.

As mentioned in section 4.1.1, I only included instances where the naming verb occurred with the meaning 'to give someone a name'. There were a number of instances of the Dutch verb *noemen* with the meaning 'to name the members of a group'. These were excluded.

4.3.2. Word Order

Once the clauses containing naming verbs were collected, they had to meet a number of syntactic criteria in order to be included in the study. As discussed in chapter 1, I did not include main or conjunct clauses that contained only a single finite verb in order to avoid the potential effects of verb second, which would have resulted in increased VO orders. Moreover, instances where the naming object occurred in the first position (i.e., topicalized) were also excluded as the number of possible positions it can occupy is greatly reduced. In addition to these requirements, clauses needed to meet two additional criteria in order to be included: the naming object had to be a full noun phrase and not a pronoun, and the naming object had to occur in the clause containing the naming verb. There are no instances of the naming object being a pronoun, though in some instances the namee was a pronoun. As many of the examples occur in relative clauses, the naming object is occasionally found outside of the relevant clause, as in (70), though this order is rare.[9]

(70) In dien tiden ghinghen Jhesus moeder ende **Joceph** *die* **siin vader**
      in the times went Jesus mother and Joseph that his father
      hiet, elkes jaers in Jherusalem in den dach vander feesten van
      is-called each year into Jerusalem in the day of-the feasts of
      Paesscen.
      Passover
      'In those days, Jesus' mother and Joseph, which was his father's name, went into Jerusalem each year on the day of the feast of Passover.' (14C, a'damlect)

Since the naming object in such examples did not occur in the same clause as the naming verb, they were excluded from the study.

One type of construction, namely a past participle with a naming object as in (71), met the two additional criteria but was excluded. These constructions are generally appositive in nature, giving additional but non-essential information about one of the elements in the matrix clause.

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[9]Note that the examples are taken from the Dutch data, but the same criteria were also used for the English texts.

(71)   neemt **het Fransch Tooneelstukje,** *genaamd* **la Vertu Rouée**
       take   the French   theater-piece   named   La Vertu Rouée
       'take the French theater piece named *La Vertu Rouée*' (18C, tooneel)

These examples were not included in the analysis in order to prevent their possible influence on word order frequencies. Modern Dutch *genaamd*, for instance, seems to have a preference for a VO order despite Modern Dutch being a fairly strict OV language. One could argue that this should not be a consideration because Modern Dutch *genaamd* has lost its verbal characteristics (since the verb *namen* no longer exists) and therefore should not necessarily be a reason to exclude this construction. We cannot be sure, however, when this word order preference was established; it could have been established at a time when *namen* still existed as a verb. For this reason, I have not included this construction in my data.

In determining whether a clause is OV or VO, I looked at the position of the naming object with respect to the verb. In a few instances, the naming object occurred to the left of the verb but was further modified by a relative clause or coordinated phrase to the right of the verb. As the head of the naming object still occurred preverbally, I counted these tokens as OV. These examples were quite rare, however, and should not have a major impact on the frequencies.

4.3.3. Heaviness

I examine heaviness as a factor both lexically and structurally. In order to get an impression of the lexical heaviness of naming objects on either side of the verb per century, I count and compare the distribution of word lengths of naming objects per position. This gives an impression of the number of words allowed on either side of the verb per period. Again, I counted items between spaces as separate words even if they are written together in the modern standard language.

The investigation of the influence of structural heaviness on word order involved two parts: one, an examination and comparison of the structural heaviness of naming objects on either side of the verb and two, a statistical comparison of the position of simplex versus complex naming objects per period. The former gives an impression of any potential structural restrictions in any given period whereas the latter allows one to see if structural heaviness has an influence on the position of the head naming object. To do this, I compared the position of the head naming object according to the complexity of the entire naming object. Naming objects composed of only one phrase as in (72a) were counted as simplex while naming objects that were a coordination of two or more phrases as in (72b) or that were modified by a relative clause as in (72c) were counted as complex.

(72)   a.   **Dat** *mach* **een eendehande vuyle ledicheit** *heiten*
         that may   a sort foul idleness   be-called
         'That may be called a kind of foul idleness' (15C, blome)

         b.   ende **du** *sult werden gheheten* **de delicate zaterdach ende**
         and   you shall become called   the delicate Saturday and
         de heleche glorieuse dach Gods
         the holy glorious day God's
         '...and you shall be called the delicate Saturday and the holy, glorious
         day of God' (14C, a'damlect)

         c.   Du best Symoen Jans   zone, **du** *sals heten*   **Cephas** dats
         you are Simon   John's son   you shall be-called Cephas   that-is
         alse vele   alse Pieter ghesproken
         by   many as   Peter   said
         'You are Simon, John's son; you shall be called Cephas, which is
         pronounced by many as Peter' (14C, a'damlect)

         d.   Doe   het spade was, quam **i rijc mensce** van   Arimathia *die*
         when it   late   was came a rich person   from Arimathea who
         Joceph *hiet*,   die   ooc Jhesus jongre was
         Joseph   was-called who also Jesus' junior was
         'When it was late, a rich man from Arimathea came who was called
         Joseph, who was also Jesus' junior' (14C, a'damlect)

Because of the potential ambiguity of relative clauses, I only counted naming objects as complex if the relative clause was clearly modifying the naming object in question. In (72c), for instance, the relative clause *dats alse vele alse Pieter ghesproken* '...which is pronounced by many as Peter' is clearly a comment on the naming object *Cephas* and was thus counted as a complex naming object. The relative clause *die ooc Jhesus jongre was* '...who was also Jesus' junior' in (72d), however, could be modifying either the naming object *Joceph* or the namee *i rijc mensce van Arimathia* 'a rich man from Arimathea'—in this case, the latter seems more likely. In these examples, I considered the naming object as simplex.

4.3.4. Newness

The final factor under investigation is newness, again examined from a quantitative and a qualitative perspective. I considered the ratio of new to old naming objects per position per period by counting the number of new and old naming objects in my data. I used the following criteria in determining whether a naming object was new or old. If the name did not occur earlier in the text, I counted it as new. If it had occurred earlier in the text, I checked its previous occurrences to see whether the name and the namee were in any

way related or connected. If the name was mentioned in a context where it was clear that the namee and the name referred to the same entity, I counted the name as old; otherwise, I counted it as new. I assume that even if the name itself has already been mentioned, the fact that it refers to the namee will still be new. The qualitative evaluation involved a more detailed examination and comparison of instances in which the same naming object appeared more than once in the same text. By comparing these repeated naming objects, we will be able to observe similarities or differences between the occurrences and to see how these relate to the position of the naming object, if at all. If newness is an important factor, we expect to see that new naming objects occur more often to the right of the verb than old naming objects.

4.4. Dutch

In this section, I will focus on the data from the history of Dutch. The primary concern here is the position of naming objects and how it develops over time. I start with a discussion of the naming verbs considered in this study and their function and show their distribution over time in subsection 4.4.1. This shows how the functions of the verbs shift over time. I then look at the distribution of the frequencies of word orders (OV and VO) over time in subsection 4.4.2 before examining the influence of heaviness (subsection 4.4.3) and newness (subsection 4.4.4) on word order possibilities. It is clear from the developments that these factors have varying and shifting degrees of influence on word order over time. I discuss the evolution of this construction in the history of Dutch in subsection 4.4.5.

4.4.1. Naming Verbs

In Dutch, three different verbs were collected for analysis: *heten* 'to call, to be called', *noemen* 'to name', and *namen* 'to name'. Keep in mind that *heten* can be either transitive or inherently passive. Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of these naming verbs over time. The numbers in this table and graph are not the total number of instances of *heten*, *noemen*, or *namen* per century. Rather, they only represent the total number of instances of these verbs in naming constructions. As mentioned before, these verbs also occur in other functions, but these other functions have been excluded in the present study. Moreover, these numbers do not include instances that were excluded for the reasons discussed above in section 4.3 nor examples of transitive naming verbs with only a single object. What is striking in the graph is the dominance of the verb *heten* in the Middle Dutch period, namely from 13C to 15C; this coincides with one of the periods established in subsection 4.4.2 based on word order frequencies. Equally striking is the paucity of *noemen* during the Middle Dutch period and

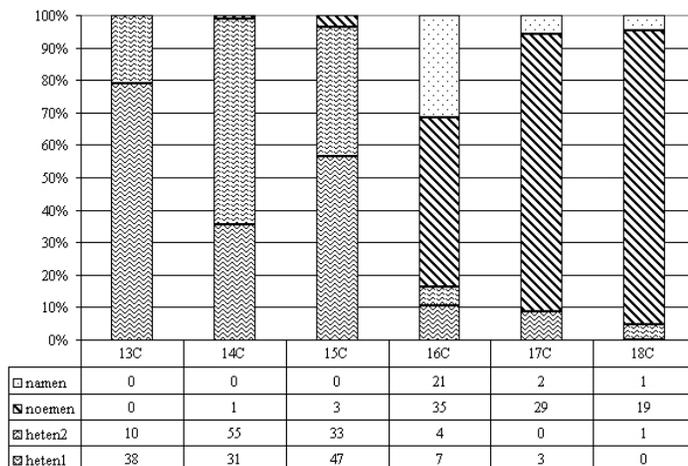|	13C	14C	15C	16C	17C	18C
namen	0	0	0	21	2	1
noemen	0	1	3	35	29	19
heten2	10	55	33	4	0	1
heten1	38	31	47	7	3	0

Figure 4.1.: Distribution of Naming Verbs in Dutch

the complete absence of *namen*. As will be seen in the following discussion of each verb, the evolution of the function and meaning of these verbs is quite evident in these data. I will give a summary of the characteristics of each verb and list the various constructions and frequency thereof I found per verb in my data set. I will also consider the function of each verb per period as established above.

The Dutch verb *heten*, a reflex of **haitan*, is the overall most frequent verb (a total of 228 instances) as can be seen in figure (4.1) and is also the only verb that occurs in all centuries in the data set. It is found in all of the possible constructions discussed above in subsection (4.1.2): *heten*$_1$ occurs in the active voice (73a, 55 instances in 13C–17C) and periphrastic passive (73b, 70 instances in 13C–17C), and *heten*$_2$ occurs a total of 104 times in all centuries except 17C (73c).

(73) a. **dies name** *sal*<u>tu</u>   *heten* **Jhesum**
         whose name   shall-you call   Jesus
         'whose name you shall call Jesus' (14C, a'damlect)

      b. Een besceet van **den vene,**   *dat gheheeten es*, **de Gheer**
         a   border of   the marshland that called   is De Gheer
         'a border of the marshland that is called De Gheer' (13C, hgk 1295 aug 29)

c. **een lant** *dat*   *hiet*   <u>**dyhen campe**</u>
   a   land   which was-called Dyhen camp
   'a land that was called Dyhencamp' (13C, koning 1297 okt 10)

From 13C to 14C, there is a noticeable shift in the use of *heten*: Of the 48 examples in 13C, 34 are active (71%), ten are inherently passive (21%), and only four are periphrastic passives (8%). Of the 87 examples in 14C, only nine are active (10%), 55 are inherently passive (63%) and 23 are periphrastic passives (26%). We see a noticeable decrease in its use as an active transitive verb, which continues into the following centuries and a surge in its use as an inherently passive verb and in periphrastic passive constructions. This shift leaves a gap in the system for an active transitive naming verb, a gap that does not get properly filled until 16C. We can see that it is around this time, i.e., 14C, that *noemen* makes its appearance in these naming constructions, and it eventually comes to dominate in this role.

    Noemen appears in the data set with 87 instances. It also occurs in all the possible constructions discussed above in subsection 4.1.1: active (74a, 69 instances in 15C–18C) and periphrastic passive (74b, eighteen instances in 14C–18C).

(74)   a.   Jan Claezs met **een oudt Man van lxvij. iaer,** *die*<u>men</u>
               Jan Claas with an   old   man   of   67   years who.one
               noemde **<u>Besteuaer</u>**
               called   Besteuaer
               'Jan Class with an old man of 67, who was called Besteuaer' (16C, offer)

        b.   datter   **een** zy,   wtstekende   boven d'ander
               that-there one   may-be exceptionally above the-other
               Bisschoppen, *die* **<u>Aertsbisschop</u>** *ghenoemt wordt*
               bishops   who <u>archbishop</u>   named becomes
               'that there may be one exceptionally above the other bishops who is called archbishop' (17C, heeren)

As we saw in the above paragraph, *heten* is virtually the only verb used in Middle Dutch naming constructions. During this period, *noemen* does occur and actually rather frequently. However, its primary function is as a transitive verb meaning 'to mention' with a single object as in (75a). It also frequently occurs as an adjective describing a noun phrase, for instance 'the above mentioned land' or 'the named lord' as in (75b). As mentioned above, these types of constructions were not included in this studied.

(75)   a.   tote **desen tveen daghen,** *die*   hier voren *ghenoemt zijn*
               until these   two   days   which here before <u>named</u>   are
               '...until these two days that are named before' (13C, d'recht 1291 maa 24)

   b. die zulle wi ghelden ende betalen, desen *voerghenoemden*
      this shall we verify   and pay   this   before-named
      Commendoer van Covelense
      Commander   of   Covelense
      'This we will verify and pay the above mentioned Commander of
      Covelense' (13C, d'recht 1291 maa 24)

Noemen first makes its appearance in naming constructions in 14C. There is only one occurrence, and it is a periphrastic passive. This increases to 3 instances in 15C, one active and two passive. In 16C, it seems to compete with *namen* to fill the gap left by *heten*: there are a total of 23 instances of *namen* and 33 of *noemen*. By 17C, *noemen* has found its niche in the system by successfully filling the gap left by *heten*, namely in the function of a transitive naming verb, to the detriment of *namen*. It occurs most often in active contexts from 16C on (of its 33 occurrences in 16C, 30 (91%) are active and only 3 (9%) passive), and it is by far the most frequent naming verb overall from 17C on. From this data set, however, it cannot be determined why *noemen* beat *namen* in filling the gap. We can, nevertheless, see that the seed of the distribution of the naming verbs in their present-day functions starts in the Middle Dutch period when *heten* loses ground as a transitive verb and that the modern distribution has resolved itself by 17C.

   The least frequent verb is *namen* with 24 instances. It also occurs in all the possible constructions discussed above in subsection 4.1.1, though not necessarily in all centuries: active (76a, 3 instances in 16C) and periphrastic passive (76b, 21 instances in 16C–18C).

(76) a. dan is daar eerst inder waarheyd **een gheweten of**
         then is there first in-the truth   a   conscience or
         medeweten, *'twelck*<u>men</u>   **conscientie** *naamt* in latyn
         knowledge   the-which-one conscientie   names in Latin
         'then there is first a conscience or knowledge in the truth, which is
         called *conscientie* in Latin' (16C, zedekunst)

      b. Ick soude **den Schouten knecht** gaen spreken, *die genaemt is*
         I   should the Schouten boy   go   speak   who named is
         <u>Jan van Delft</u>
         Jan van Delft
         'I was going to speak to the Schouten boy, who is named Jan van
         Delft' (16C, offer)

This verb makes its first appearance in these constructions in 16C and is a competitor of *noemen* for the gap left by *heten*. By 17C, however, *noemen* clearly emerges the victor and *namen* slowly recedes. The consequence of this can be observed in Modern Dutch where *namen* no longer exists as an independent verb, but its past participle, *genaamd*, has survived as an adjective.

4.4.2. Word Order

Figure 4.2 shows the frequencies of the position of naming objects with respect to the verb in Dutch over time. This table gives a clear picture of the development of word order in Dutch. In the Middle Dutch period (13C–15C), there is a high

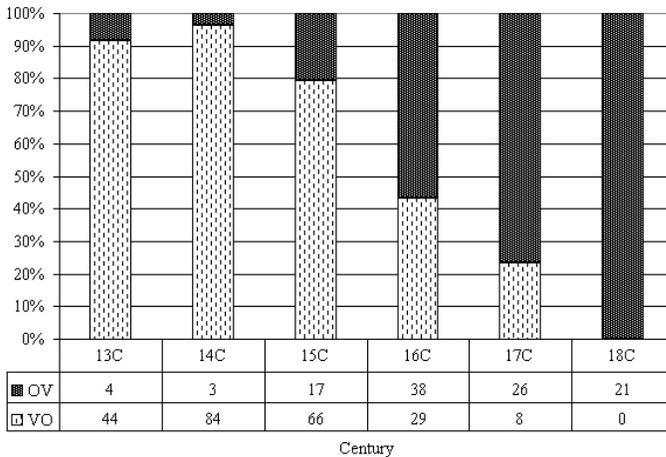|	13C	14C	15C	16C	17C	18C
OV	4	3	17	38	26	21
VO	44	84	66	29	8	0

Century

Figure 4.2.: Position of Naming Objects in Dutch

percentage of VO orders, confirming the findings of previous studies. Given the fact that these centuries all have a similarly high percentage of VO orders and that there is no statistically significant difference between 13C and the other two centuries, I assume that the system underlying their word order possibilities is for the most part comparable, i.e., that any 'rules' or tendencies governing word order should apply in all of these centuries. There is a statistically significant difference between 14C and 15C; however, two factors lead me to treat them together as one period: there is no statistically significant difference between either century and 13C, and the difference between either century and 16C, 17C, and 18C is statistically significant ($p = .00002$, two-tailed), much more significant than the difference between 14C and 15C. This will be more closely examined in the following subsections. In 16C, there is a noticeable drop in VO orders, which continues until this order no longer occurs in 18C. Because 18C has categorical OV order, the system underlying it must be different from that in the preceding centuries. 16C and 17C, however, appear to be a transition period between the two systems. If this truly is the case, then we expect to see that some of the factors operative in the earlier centuries have less and less influence in determining the position of naming objects. Once the factors

determining word order in the Middle Dutch period (13C–15C) are discovered and their interaction determined, we can better understand how they interact during the transition period. This, in turn, may help us to better understand the mechanisms involved in this change. In the following subsections, only the centuries that have variation between OV and VO orders will be considered, namely 13–17C. Because of the few tokens in each century, the data for 13C–15C will be combined as will be the data for 16C–17C. This will allow the statistical tests to be more accurate.

The logistic function of these data is given in graph 4.3 below. Note that the line with the dots represents the raw data whereas the smooth S-shaped line represents the logistic function. According to these calculations, the slope of
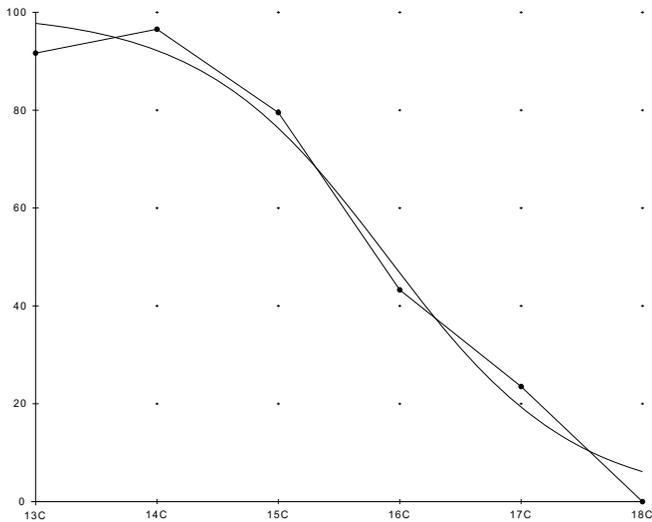

Figure 4.3.: Logistic Function of Naming Objects in Dutch

the curve (i.e., the rate of change) is -1.39; the change takes 4.3 centuries to complete itself, and the midpoint of the change is just before 16C. The negative slope means that there is a decline in VO orders. The range of the change suggests that the change begins near the end of 14C and completes itself at the beginning of 18C.

4.4.3. Heaviness

In the previous section, we saw that 13C–15C had a higher frequency of VO orders than the following centuries. I assume, based on this, that the influence of heaviness on word order, if it is indeed an important factor, will be different in these centuries than the later centuries, though it is not clear how the difference will manifest itself. Based on this assumption, I expect to see differences between the various periods with respect to heaviness, i.e., the preverbal naming objects in Middle Dutch will be structurally less complex than those in the following centuries. When we examine the naming objects in each century, we notice that there are indeed noticeable differences between 13C–15C on the one hand and 16C–17C on the other with respect to the lexical and structural heaviness allowed preverbally.

Table 4.2 below gives an overview of the word lengths of naming objects per position in the centuries where they appear on either side of the verb. Already in this table, we get an indication that lexical heaviness plays a role in the early period and can see that the length of preverbal naming objects gradually increases over time. Whereas preverbal naming objects are noticeably shorter

phrase length	13C–15C		16C–17C	
(words)	OV	VO	OV	VO
1	14	98	34	11
2	9	22	15	3
3	0	31	8	7
4	1	8	2	4
> 4	0	35	5	12
Total	24	194	64	37

Table 4.2.: Word Length of Naming Objects per Position in Dutch

than their postverbal counterparts in 13C–15C, by 16C they can get as long as the postverbal ones. Though there is still a visible preference for preverbal naming objects to be short in 16C and 17C, the fact that much longer ones are allowed shows a departure from the Middle Dutch period. A closer examination of the structural complexity of naming objects confirms that there is a break between these two periods.

The Fisher-Yates test confirms that lexical heaviness influences the position of naming objects, but with varying results depending on the period. In 13C–15C, the distribution of one-word naming objects versus multiple-word naming objects per position is not significantly different, but all other divisions are: one-to-two-word versus the rest ($p = .0006$), one-to-three-word versus the rest ($p = .05$), and one-to-four-word versus the rest ($p = .02$). What is interesting in

all of these cases, however, is that no matter the length, the shorter naming objects and the longer ones have a preference for the postverbal position. The difference lies in the extent of this preference; the longer ones apparently have a significantly greater preference for the postverbal position than the shorter naming objects. In 16C–17C, on the other hand, we find that the distribution of shorter versus longer naming objects per position is significantly different for all possible divisions: one-word versus multiple-word ($p = .04$), one-to-two-word versus the rest ($p = .0002$), one-to-three-word versus the rest ($p = .0006$), and one-to-four-word versus the rest ($p = .004$). In this period, however, the distribution more closely parallels our expectations: the longer naming objects in each division have a preference for the postverbal position while the shorter ones prefer to appear preverbally. We see, then, that despite the statistical significance of lexical heaviness as a factor in extraposition in both of these periods of Dutch, there is quite a difference in how this influence manifests itself in each. This would indicate shifting interactions among lexical heaviness, syntax and/or newness in determining the position of naming objects. Moreover, structural heaviness has an influence on the position of the head of naming objects in the Middle Dutch period but not in the later centuries.

When we examine the naming objects in the Middle Dutch period, we notice that preverbal naming objects have a restriction on how structurally complex they can be: of the 24 preverbal naming objects, fourteen are composed of one word (as in 77a), nine of two words (as in 77b and 77c), and one of four words (as in 77d). Note that the two-word naming objects can be either a noun with a determiner as in (77b) or a complex noun phrase where the head noun is modified by another noun, as in (77c). The structure of these preverbal naming objects never gets more complex than a noun phrase, however, not even the four-word naming object.

(77)   a.   Doe   het spade was, quam **i rijc mensce** van   Arimathia *die*
            when it   late   was came a rich person   from Arimathea who
            Joceph *hiet*,   die   ooc Jhesus jongre was
            Joseph   was-called who also Jesus' junior was
            'When it was late, a rich man from Arimathea came who was called Joseph, who was also Jesus' junior' (14C, a'damlect)

       b.   dat   sii   bi horen ghesuoren eden, souden varen, vp**t**   **vene**
            that they by their   sworn   oath should sail   on-the marsh
            dat **de gheer** *gheheeten es*, ende ghesleghen tusschen aelsmaer,
            that De Geer   called is   and lay   between Aalsmeer
            ende Calfloe
            and   Calfloe
            '...that they would by their sworn oath sail on the marsh that is called De Geer, which lay between Aalsmeer and Calfloe' (13C, hgk 1295 nov 23)

    c. Salich sijn sy   die mynnen ende begheren vrede, want   **si**
       holy   are they who love   and desire   peace because they
       sullen **kinder gods** *heiten*
       shall   children God's be-called
       'Holy are those who love and desire peace because they shall be
       called the children of God' (15C, blome)

    d. **Dat** *mach* **een eendehande vuyle ledicheit** *heiten*
       that may a sort foul idleness   be-called
       'That may be called a kind of foul idleness' (15C, blome)

Despite this seeming restriction, however, some of these preverbal naming objects are modified postverbally as in example (77a). In this example, the naming object, *Joceph*, occurs preverbally and is further modified by a relative clause, *die ooc Jhesus jongre was* 'who was also Jesus' junior', which occurs postverbally. Example (77b) demonstrates this as well, albeit not in the form of a relative clause. The naming object *de gheer* is further modified by the phrase *ende gheleghen tusschen aelsmaer, ende Calfloe.* Of course, since the naming object refers to the namee, it is possible that these actually refer back to the namee and not the naming object; this seems the more appropriate interpretation of (77b). In (77a), however, it is not really clear whether the second relative clause refers back to *Joceph* or *i rijc mensce van Arimathia.* The example in 78 is clear, though; the postverbal modification *ende valsch* should be considered part of the naming object contained within the sentence brace.

(78)   *of*   **hij** *moet* **een verrader** *heiten*   **ende valsch**
       whether he must a traitor   be-called and false
       '...whether he must be called a traitor and false' (15C, blome)

This split naming object as well as the other examples just discussed suggest that there is indeed a heaviness restriction on preverbal naming objects in the Middle Dutch period: they cannot be more structurally complex than a phrase. If the naming object is a coordination of two phrases, as in (78), or modified by a clause, as in (77a) and (77b), then the additional modification has to occur outside of the sentence brace. This contrasts with what we see in the postverbal position, to which we will turn now.

   As is the case with preverbal naming objects, postverbal naming objects in the Middle Dutch period can be either a single noun or a complex noun phrase. We also find naming objects with more structural complexity than those occurring before the verb, including coordinated phrases (79a) and nouns being modified by relative clauses (79b). In (79b), it is clear that the relative clause refers to the naming object itself since the information contained in it addresses the pronunciation of the name mentioned; it cannot modify the namee of the clause.

(79) a. ende **du** *sult werden gheheten* **de delicate zaterdach ende**
         and   you shall become called   the delicate Saturday and
         de heleche glorieuse dach Gods
         the holy glorious day God's
         '...and you shall be called the delicate Saturday and the holy, glorious
         day of God' (14C, a'damlect)

   b. Du best Symoen Jans   zone, **du** *sals heten*   <u>Cephas</u> dats
      you are Simon   John's son   you shall be-called Cephas   that-is
      alse vele   alse Pieter ghesproken
      by   many as   Peter said
      'You are Simon, John's son; you shall be called Cephas, which is
      pronounced by many as Peter' (14C, a'damlect)

These facts further confirm the fact that heaviness plays an important role
in determining the position of naming objects in the Middle Dutch period.
After 15C, however, we see some big changes in the length of preverbal naming
objects.

   In 16C and 17C, we see a difference in the complexity of preverbal naming
objects when compared to the Middle Dutch period. In addition to the simple
or complex phrases occurring preverbally as in the previous centuries, there
are also examples of coordinated naming objects (example 80a) and naming
objects modified by relative clauses (example 80b) where one of the phrases
occurs preverbally while the other part of the naming object occurs postverbally,
reminiscent of the situation in Middle Dutch.

(80) a. en   *magh<u>men</u>* **zulx** in gheender wysen **starckheyd** *noemen*
         and may-one   such in no   ways strength   name
         of dueghde, maar wel   zondelycke onzinnicheyd
         or virtue   but indeed sinful   nonsense
         '...and such things may in no way be called strength or virtue, but
         rather sinful nonsense' (16C, zedekunst)

   b. **Dit** *zyn* dan duysterlinghen ende oock niet t'onrecht
      this   are then obscurantists and also not to-injustice
      duysternissen *ghenaamt* die   des   lichtes niet deelachtigh
      darknesses   named   that of-the light's not participatory
      en   worden
      not become
      'These are then obscurantists and are also not unjustly named
      darknesses, who do not participate in the light' (16C, zedekunst)

We also find naming objects that are more complex than what was found in
Middle Dutch: example (81a), for instance, has four coordinated naming objects,
one of which is a complex noun phrase, occurring to the left of the verb. This

example already shows a departure from Middle Dutch, but what appears preverbally can be even more complex: the example in (81b) has two namees, *dat eerste* 'the first' and *het laatste* 'the last', as well as two separate naming objects per namee, *een weldaad* 'a benefit' and *bermherticheyd* 'charity' for the former and *een mesdaad* 'a crime' and *dronkenschap* 'drunkenness' for the latter, all of which occur preverbally.

(81)   a. *dat* hy **hare verleyder wijnsuyper, Samaritaen, ende**
         that he her   tempter wine-addict Samaritan and

         een inhebber des Duyuels *moeste hieten*
         a vessel of-the devil   must   call
         '...that he must call her tempter, wine-addict, Samaritan and a vessel of the devil' (16C, offer)

     b. *Want*   **dat eerste** beter **een weldaad** dan **bermherticheyd**
         because that first   better a benefit   than charity

         ende **het laatste** beter **een mesdaad** dan **dronckenschap**
         and the last   better a crime   than drunkenness

         ghenaamt moghen worden
         named may become
         '...because the first may be better called a benefit than charity and the last better a crime than drunkenness' (16C, zedekunst)

Admittedly, the namees and naming objects themselves in this example are only simple noun phrases; however, the fact that so many namees and naming objects can be contained within the sentence brace distinguishes this period from the Middle Dutch period. These two examples are not representative of the average preverbal naming object, which remains primarily noun phrases, but they do demonstrate a marked change in the complexity allowed in this position. These data show that heaviness has lost its importance in determining the position of elements.

When we examine postverbal naming objects in 16C, we do not find much of a change from Middle Dutch: simple and complex phrases occur postverbally as well as coordinated phrases (example 82a) and naming objects modified by relative clauses (example 82b).

(82)   a. Deze noemtmen inden Latyne **Continentia ende**
         these name-one in-the Latin   Continentia   and

         Incontinentia, *die*<u>men</u>   eyghentlyck in Nederlandsch *zoude*
         Incontinentia   which-one actually   in Dutch   should

         moghen benamen **tem-lust ende volgh-lust**
         may   name   self-restraint and unstrainedness
         'These are called *continentia* and *incontinentia* in Latin, which should be named *temlust* (self-restraint) and *volghlust* (unstrainedness) in Dutch' (16C, zedekunst)

 b. <u>Men</u> *magh***se**   oock *noemen* **een welgheoeffende krachte**
  one may-them also name   a well-trained power
  die   bescheydelyck de hertstochten beheert met bezatichde
  which clearly   the passions   manages with steady
  gherustheyd
  ease
  'They may also be called a well-trained power that clearly manages
  passion with steady ease' (16C, zedekunst)

In 17C, however, there seems to be a slight change: of the naming objects occurring postverbally, only one is a coordinated naming object, given below in (83). This example is interesting because, though it is a coordination of two noun phrases, they actually form one title since being *Capiteyn Generael* was tied to being *Stadt-houder* in 16C to 18C in the Netherlands.

(83) Den derden is een Brief van Don Ferdinando de Lannoy, *de welcke*
   the third is a letter from Don Ferdinando de Lannoy who
   hem te dier tijden *noemde* **Stadt-houder ende Capiteyn**
   him to the times named Stadtholder and Captain
   Generael over Hollant, Zeelant, Vrieslant ende Vtrecht
   General over Holland Zeeland Friesland and Utrecht
   'The third is a letter from Don Ferdinando de Lannoy, who at that
   time called him Stadtholder and Captain General of Holland, Zeeland,
   Friesland, and Utrecht' (17C, leyden)

In this way, this naming object could perhaps better be interpreted as a complex phrase rather than a coordination of two independent phrases. The fact that both titles are modified by the prepositional phrase *over Hollant, Zeelant, Vrieslant ende Utrecht* seem to provide further support for this analysis of the naming object. If this is indeed the appropriate interpretation of this example, then the postverbal naming objects in the 17C are not more complex than a phrase, which almost seems like a reversal of the heaviness restriction. Given the few examples of postverbal naming objects, however, no definitive claims can be made.

 From the qualitative look at the structural heaviness of naming objects, we see that there is a restriction on how complex a naming object can be when it is preverbal in 13C–15C. However, this does not necessarily mean that the position of the head of these complex naming objects is influenced by its complexity. We need to further examine the data to see if structural heaviness does have an influence on the position of the head of the naming object. If structural heaviness has an influence on the position of the head of naming objects, then we expect the heads of complex naming objects, i.e., coordinated phrases and/or naming objects modified by a relative clause, to occur postverbally significantly more often than simplex naming objects. Table 4.3 shows the distribution

of simplex and complex naming objects per position per period.   Note that

	13C–15C		16C–17C	
	OV	VO	OV	VO
Simplex	21	157	49	21
Complex	3	37	17	14
Total	24	194	66	35

Table 4.3.: Position and Heaviness in Naming Objects in Dutch

naming objects that are OV and complex may be split, i.e., the head is preverbal but the additional coordinated phrase or the modifying relative clause occurs after the verb. In neither period is the difference between simplex and complex naming objects statistically significant nor is the difference in any one century statistically significant. This means that though there is a restriction on the structural complexity of preverbal naming objects, i.e., there is a preverbal restriction, the structural complexity of the naming object does not influence the position of its head, i.e., there is no postverbal constraint.

These facts show a marked difference between the Middle and Modern Dutch periods. In the Middle Dutch period, preverbal naming objects have relatively short word lengths and can be no more than a phrase; if they are further modified or coordinated with another phrase, then the additional modification or coordinated phrase appears postverbally, either with or without the head phrase. In 16C and 17C, we see a change in that naming objects that are coordinated phrases are allowed to appear preverbally. By 18C, the rigid OV syntax of Modern Dutch has set in, and arguments no longer appear to the right of the verb. Though there is a structural heaviness restriction on preverbal naming objects, this structural heaviness does not have a significant influence on the position of the head of the naming object, i.e., the frequency with which both complex and simplex naming objects occur on either side of the verb is not significantly different.

4.4.4. Newness

Newness is the next factor under investigation. To determine if it is a relevant factor in determining the position of naming objects, I will look for whether the naming objects have been mentioned earlier in the text. If newness is an important factor in the position of naming objects, then we expect that a majority of the extraposed naming objects are instances of new information. We also expect that instances of old information will occur more often to the left of the verb.

In 13C, there are four instances of OV order, all of which were new information. One of these instances had a similar parallel in another text with a VO order, suggesting that newness perhaps is not an important factor in determining word order. In (84), I give the two clauses. The two texts concern an agreement made between a group of men (four in the first text and five in the second) and the count of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland. This group of men was charged with discovering the boundaries of a marsh called *De Gheer*. The content of the two texts is quite similar, often with the exact same formulations. The main difference between the two texts is the perspective from which each is written: the earlier text is written from the point of view of the group of men while the later text is from the point of view of the count. Each text contains one instance of a naming verb, which is contained in a relative clause and in which the same entity is named with the same name. The relevant clauses occur after the introduction common in official texts, and the entity being named is being mentioned for the first time in each text. Moreover, both clauses contain more or less the same words in roughly the same order. What is interesting is that when we look at the relative clauses containing the naming verb, we see that the naming object *De Gheer* occurs to the right of the verbal cluster in (84a) while it occurs to the left in (84b).

(84)   a.   dat wi vp onse ziele, Ende bi onsen ghesuoren Eeden,
            that we on our souls and by our sworn oaths
            ondervinden souden, Een besceet   van **den vene,**
            discover should a boundary of the marsh
            dat gheheeten es, **de Gheer**, Ende gheleghen es tusschen
            that called is   de Gheer   and located   is between
            Aelsmaer, Ende Calfsloe
            Aalsmaar and   Calfsloe
            '...that we, on our souls and by our sworn oaths, should discover
            a boundary of the marsh that is called de Gheer and is located
            between Aalsmaar and Calfsloe' (13C, hgk 1295 aug 29)

       b.   dat sii   bi horen ghesuoren eden, souden varen, vp**t**   **vene**
            that they by their sworn   oaths should sail   on-the marsh
            dat **de gheer** *gheheeten es*, ende gheleghen tusschen aelsmaer,
            that de Gheer called is   and located   between Aalsmaar
            ende Calfloe
            and Calfloe
            '...that they by their sworn oath should sail on the marsh that is
            called de Gheer and located between Aalsmaar and Calfloe' (13C,
            hgk 1295 nov 23)

This is quite interesting given the fact that both texts are so similar in other respects. Even the order of 'main verb + auxiliary' is the same in the two

relative clauses, though the subordinate clauses containing these relative clauses themselves have different orders with respect to the main verb and auxiliary: 'main verb + auxiliary' *ondervinden souden* in (84a) and 'auxiliary + main verb' *souden varen* in (84b). The different position of the naming objects in the two texts indicates that though newness is perhaps a motivation for extraposition, it is not as important as a constraint as we saw with heaviness.[10]

Of the 44 examples of VO order, 40 are new information. The four examples that clearly give old information occur in two texts from the Holland Grafelijke Kanselarij dating from 1297 September 29. As in the above two texts, these two texts describe the same situation from two different points of view. In each text, one particular person is mentioned three times, and each time he is mentioned, his title is given by means of a relative clause containing the naming verb *heten*. If the position of the naming object is indeed sensitive to whether the naming object is new or not, we would expect the naming object to occur after the verb at the first mentioning of this person's title and before the verb in the following two instances. Contrary to this expectation, however, we see that the naming object occurs after the verb in all three instances. Example (85a) is the first occurrence, and example (85b) is the second.

(85) a. alle dat ghoet dat **ghisebrecht** *die*men *hiet*
          all the good that Ghisebrecht   who-one called
          here van aemstele, hadde
          lord of Amstel   had
          'All the land that Gijzebrecht, who is called Lord of Amstel, had'
          (13C, hgk 1297 sept 29)

      b. alsen **ghisebrecht** voerseyt   *die*men *hiet*
          as   Ghisebrecht aforementioned who-one called
          here van aemstele, die wile   dat hi een besitter daer of
          lord of Amstel   he may-want that he an   owner   there of
          was
          was
          '...as the aforementioned Gijzebrecht, who is called Lord of Amstel, he may want to be an owner of it' (13C, hgk 1297 sept 29)

I have given the second example because the use of the adjective *voerseyt* 'aforementioned' emphasizes the fact that this occurrence is a repetition. These

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[10]An observation made by Olga Fischer (personal communication) with respect to these two examples is the syntactic parallelism found in (84a) that is lacking in (84b). In (84a), the structure 'past participle + *es*' is repeated and the complement of the verb in both instances appears after the verb. Fischer suggests that the position of the naming object may be influenced by the position of the prepositional phrase of the following verb. In (84b), the auxiliary *es* does not occur with the past participle *gheleghen*; therefore, there is less motivation to make the two structures parallel. This is an interesting observation that requires further investigation to verify it.

examples provide further counterevidence to the idea that newness influences word order.

In the 14C text *A'dam Lect*, we have an indication that newness is a factor in determining word order. There are only three examples of OV order. One of these is an example of new information, but the other two are clearly old information. In fact, they both occur in the same paragraph of the text, given in (86).

(86) *dat* **si** willen ghezien worden vanden lieden, ... ende *gheheten worden* vanden lieden **meester**. Maer **ghi**ne *wilt* **meester** niet *werden gheheten*, want een es u meester, ende ghi sijt alle ghebroedere. ... Noch **ghi**ne *sult* niet **meester** *worden gheheten*, want een es u meester, dat es Cristus. 'that they want to be seen by the people, ... and to be called master by the people. But you do not want to be called master because there is one who is your master, and you may all be siblings. ... Nor will you be called master because there is one who is your master, that is Christ' (14C, a'damlect)

This passage is revealing because the first instance that *meester* is mentioned, it is obviously new information and also occurs to the right of the verb. In the following two instances, it is clearly being repeated, and it occurs to the left of the verb. This seems to support the claim that newness is a factor in extraposition, but given the overall inconsistency of the position of these examples, we cannot conclude that newness plays an important role in determining word order in Dutch.

The previous discussion suggests that newness does not play a consistent role in determining the position of naming objects. In order to test this, I compare the distribution of old and new naming objects per position in each of the two periods. If newness does play a role in word order contrary to what was just observed, then we expect that new naming objects occur significantly more often postverbally than old naming objects. Table 4.4 gives the data for the two periods. The Fisher-Yates exact test indicates that the difference in

	13C–15C		16C–17C	
	OV	VO	OV	VO
Old	4	15	13	0
New	20	179	53	35
Total	24	194	66	35

Table 4.4.: Position and Newness in Naming Objects in Dutch

the distribution of old and new naming objects in 13C–15C is not statistically significant, so newness is not an important factor in the Middle Dutch period.

In 16C–17C, however, newness does play a significant role in determining the position of naming objects ($p = .006$, two-tailed).

The preceding facts again confirm that there is a difference among the periods of Dutch. In 13C–15C, newness does not play an important role in determining the position of naming objects; the distribution of OV and VO in new and old naming objects is not significantly different. In the 16C and 17C, however, newness does become an important factor; only new naming objects appear to the right of the verb. By 18C, the rigid OV syntax of Present-day Dutch has set in, and arguments no longer appear to the right of the verb. These data may suggest that the shift to the rigid OV order first effects instances of old information before spreading to all types of arguments.

4.4.5. Discussion

I will address the research questions posed in section 4.2 above in this subsection. In response to the first set of questions regarding the distribution of the naming verbs over time and the interaction of these in the development of the two types of naming verbs (transitive versus inherently passive), we saw in subsection 4.4.1 that *heten* dominates naming constructions from 13C to 15C, i.e., the Middle Dutch period. Already in the later part of this period, however, we see *noemen* make its appearance in these constructions as it slowly creeps in to take over the function of the transitive naming verb while *heten* loses ground and takes its position as an inherently passive naming verb. In the 16C, *namen* also competes with *noemen* for the function of transitive naming verb but slowly recedes until it is lost as a verb in Modern Dutch. These data give a pretty clear picture of the evolution of naming verbs and the shift in their functions over time.

Is the shift in word order seen in subsection 4.4.2 related to lexical properties of the naming verbs? After all, the high frequency of VO orders in Middle Dutch seems to correlate with the high frequencies of *heten* in the same period. This is particularly suspicious given the fact that both decline rather sharply in the 16C. If the word order is lexically determined, we expect to see an equally high frequency of VO in clauses with *heten* as opposed to either *noemen* or *namen* in 16C and the following centuries. This is not the case, however; of the eleven instances of *heten* in the 16C, nine (82%) are OV and only two (18%) are VO, suggesting that the word order facts are independent of the lexical properties of *heten*.

The second set of questions address the development of the word order possibilities of naming verbs, as discussed above in subsection 4.4.2. It is clear from the data that Holland Middle Dutch, like what was found in the other dialects of Middle Dutch, has a high frequency of VO orders in naming constructions. The 16C seems to be the point where the word order shifts toward a more rigid system: this is the first century where the occurrence of

VO orders is less than 50%. This claim is further supported by the facts with respect to the heaviness of preverbal naming objects discussed in section 4.4.3.

Heaviness is the third research question. The data discussed in 4.4.3 show that there is a difference in the relative word lengths (lexical heaviness) found preverbally in 13C–15C as opposed to the 16C–17C. A look at the structural heaviness on either side of the verb reveals a restriction in the Middle Dutch period: a preverbal naming object cannot have more structure than a single complex phrase. If the naming object is a coordination of two phrases or is modified by a relative clause, the naming object is either split with the head occurring preverbally and the rest postverbally or the entire naming object occurs postverbally. From 16C on, coordinated naming objects are allowed preverbally, suggesting that the restriction on the structural heaviness of preverbal objects no longer influences their position. Despite the presence of this restriction, however, we also discovered that the structural heaviness of a naming object does not have an influence on the position of its head in any period.

Fourth, newness was investigated in subsection 4.4.4. In 13C–15C, there were a few instances where a naming object was later repeated in another naming construction. In some cases, the first naming object appeared postverbally whereas the later instances occurred preverbally as one would expect if newness were an important factor. However, there were more examples where all instances of the same naming object in one text occurred postverbally, which goes against expectation. This shows that newness does not play a consistent role in determining word order. This was confirmed by a statistical test that showed that the distribution of OV and VO in new and old naming objects is not significantly different in the Middle Dutch period, i.e., newness does not play an important role in determining the position of naming objects. In 16C and 17C, however, new naming objects occur on either side of the verb while old naming objects always appear preverbally: this distribution is statistically significant, revealing that newness is a factor in word order in this period.

All of these data taken together suggest three distinct periods in response to the fifth set of questions. The first period, 13C–15C, is characterized by the dominance of *heten* as the naming verb, a high percentage of VO orders, and a preverbal restriction limiting the structural heaviness of preverbal naming objects. The postverbal constraint and newness do not play a role in determining word order in this period. Given the high percentage of VO orders and the inconsistency of newness, we should probably interpret this word order as being associated with naming constructions. The second period, 16C–17C, is characterized by an increase in the use of *noemen* and *namen* as naming verbs, a majority of OV orders, and no clear restriction on the complexity of preverbal naming objects nor is there a postverbal constraint. Newness, however, appears to play a role in word order, in contrast to what we saw in 13C–15C. It is interesting to note this difference in the two periods: in the earlier period,

the influence of complexity on the position of naming objects is clearly visible
while newness does not seem to play a role whereas the opposite is true in
the following period. This may indicate that in the earlier period, the role of
newness is masked by the overwhelming influence of heaviness, and it thus only
become visible once heaviness becomes a less important factor; this should be
investigated in future research. In this later period, the VO order of naming
constructions slowly gives way to the eventual rigidity of OV word order found
from 18C. The naming verbs more or less specialize to their current functions
in the final period, 18C, and OV order is the only one available for naming
objects.

A point of future research is the possibility that the high frequency of VO
orders in the Middle Dutch period may not be a characteristic that is specific
to naming verbs but rather to any verb that takes an object and an object
complement. The observation made in the literature may have been limited to
naming verbs because of the relative frequency with which they occur in Middle
Dutch texts in comparison to other object complement verbs like 'to consider'.
It is, however, quite possible that the structure itself is what lends itself to
VO orders. Another possibility is that the high frequency of VO orders is due
to specific properties of names and not necessarily the verbs or the structure
associated with them.

4.5. English

In this section, I will focus on the data from the history of English. The primary
concern here is the position of naming objects and how it evolves over time. I
start with a discussion of the English naming verbs considered in this study and
their use and show their distribution over time in subsection 4.5.1. Note that
there was only one example found in the OE2 period, so this period has not
been included in this study. Also remember that there are no texts from the
ME2 period because no texts in the appropriate dialect (either the Southwest
or the West Midlands) could be found. I then look at the distribution of the
frequencies of word orders (OV and VO) over time in subsection 4.5.2 before
examining the influence of heaviness (subsection 4.5.3) and newness (subsection
4.5.4) on word order possibilities. It is clear from the developments that these
factors have varying and shifting degrees of influence on word order over time.
I finally discuss the evolution of this construction in the history of English in
subsection 4.5.5.

4.5.1. Naming Verbs

In English, instances of five different verbs were collected though they did not
necessarily appear in each period: *hātan* 'to call, to be called', *nemnian/name(n)*

'to name', *cweðan* 'to say', *clipian* 'to call', and *call*. Collecting so many verbs, most of which are not in any way related to the ones collected for Dutch, brings into question the comparability of the English data with the Dutch (only two of these, namely *hātan* and *nemnian*, are cognate with the verbs collected for Dutch). I decided to collect all of these verbs for two reasons, both purely practical and related: I would not have had enough examples if I had limited myself to *hātan* and *nemnian*, and none of the verbs consistently appears in all periods under investigation in this study. Moreover, the evolution of the naming verbs in English and Dutch show quite different patterns because English has undergone a much more massive re-organization of its vocabulary, further necessitating the investigation of more naming verbs.

The graph in 4.4 gives the distribution of each naming verb over time. Again, the reader should keep in mind that the numbers in this table and graph are not all occurrences of these verbs in each period. Rather, they only represent the instances of these verbs in naming constructions. It does not include instances that were excluded for the reasons discussed above in section 4.3 nor examples of transitive naming verbs with only a single object. There is quite a bit of variation in each period, and no clear patterns seem to emerge. There is no real continuity between the periods. The only verb to occur in all periods is
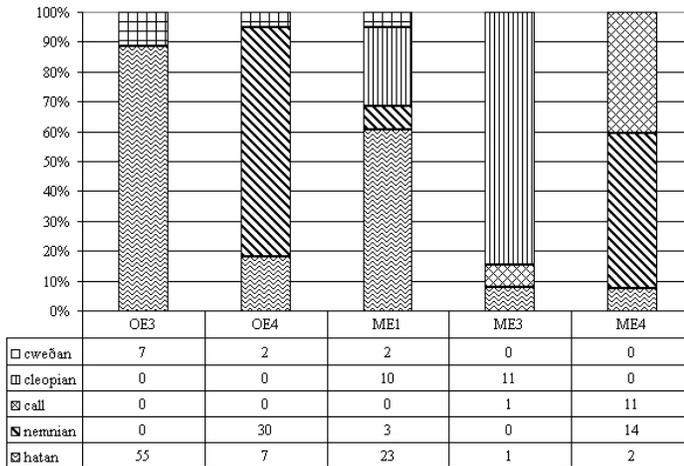

	OE3	OE4	ME1	ME3	ME4
☐ cweðan	7	2	2	0	0
⊞ cleopian	0	0	10	11	0
⊠ call	0	0	0	1	11
◩ nemnian	0	30	3	0	14
▨ hatan	55	7	23	1	2

Figure 4.4.: Distribution of Naming Verbs in English

hātan, but it is only minimally present in the later centuries. It is perhaps not surprising that there is no clear pattern: of the five verbs investigated, only two survive in Present-Day English, one of which is homophonous with the noun

name and the other, *to call*, a borrowing from Scandinavian. The wide variation of naming verbs and the different frequencies in each century are perhaps a reflection of the intense contact English speakers have had with foreigners. The Scandinavian 'to call', which only first appears in ME3, is the result of such contact.

The English verb *hātan* is the overall most common verb, occurring 88 times. The majority, 55 instances in OE3–ME1, are periphrastic passives as in (87a), and twenty found in OE3 and ME1 are active as in (87b). The remaining fourteen instances, spread in OE3–OE4 and ME3–ME4, are ambiguous between a synthetic passive formation and the inherently passive *hātan$_2$* as found in (87c) and (87d).

(87) a. on **þære byrig** *seo wæs haten* __Narmenti__
         into the   town which was called Narmenti
         'into the town which was called Narmenti' (OE4, mart2)

     b. on **þæs deofles** mihte *þe* men *hataþ* **Beelzebub**
         in the devil's might who men call Beelzebub
         '...in the might of the devil, who is called Beelzebub' (OE3, ælhom)

     c. þæt ure Hælend wæs mid **anum Sunderhalgum,** *se hatte*
         that our Healer was with a Pharisee, who is-called
         __Simon__
         Simon
         '...that our Lord was with a Pharisee who is called Simon' (OE3, ælhom)

     d. Sum men makeþ poudur of **a gras** *þat hate* __orygan__
         some men make powder from a grass that is-called oregano
         'Some men make a powder from a grass that is called oregano' (ME3, horses)

What the distribution of *hatan* shows is a shift in function from a transitive verb in OE3–ME1, marked by a majority of periphrastic passives and some active and synthetic passives, to an inherently passive verb from ME3. There is strangely no overlap in these two functions in these data. The most interesting period where there must have been some overlap is of course lacking in the data, namely ME2.

The next frequent verb is *nemnian/name(n)* with 47 instances. It occurs in both the active voice (88a, eight instances in OE4 and ME4) and periphrastic passive (88b, 39 instances in OE4, ME1, and ME4).

(88) a. Ande that yere there was <u>on</u> *namyd* **hym selfe Jacke Sharpe**
         and that year there was one named himself Jack Sharp
         'And that year, there was one who named himself Jack Sharp' (ME4, gregor)

b. þæs bisceopes **gewytennys** *se wæs nemned* <u>**Sanctus Cassius**</u>
the bishop's witness   who was named Sanctus Cassius
'the bishop's witness who was named Sanctus Cassius' (OE4, mart2)

What is noticeable about this verb is that it is the only one that has a gap in its occurrence in the periods under investigation: in this data set, no examples are found in ME3. In OE4 and ME1, the form of the verb is *nemnian*, the most common form in Old English and an originally i-mutated Germanic formation derived from the noun *nama* plus the suffix *-jan* used to derive verbs from nouns. There was another form of the verb in Old English without i-mutation but with the derivational suffix, namely *namnian*[11], but this form was much less frequent and does not occur in the texts of this study. After the gap in ME3 where no instances of either *nemnian* or *namnian* is found, however, we find the newer form *to name* in ME4. This new form and the gap in the use of this verb suggest discontinuity between *nemnian/namnian* on the one hand and *to name* on the other and not just an instance of phonological change: this newer form is derived through conversion directly from the noun without any additional morphology. It is perhaps due to this new word formation process that this is one of the two naming verbs that survives in Modern English; the clear relationship between the noun *name* and the new verb *to name* helps its survival.[12]

Clipian occurs 21 times in my data in both the active (89a, five instances in ME3) and periphrastic passive voice (89b, sixteen instances in ME1 and ME3).

(89) a. with þe gresse of **an erbe** *þat* <u>men</u> *clepuþ* <u>**hemloke**</u>
'...with the grease of an herb that men call hemlock' (ME3, horses)

b. & **it** *is cleped* <u>**þe corn**</u>
'...and it is called the corn' (ME3, horses)

The original and main meaning of *clipian* is 'to speak, cry out, call'.

Call occurs twelve times in my data set and only occurs in periphrastic passive constructions (90, in ME3–ME4).

(90) And that yere ther was **an heretyke**, *that was callyd* <u>**John of Badby**</u>
'And in that year, there was a heretic who was called John of Badby'
(ME4, gregor)

This might be the result of the texts involved; after all, it seems a bit odd for the periphrastic passive version of *call* to exist without an active version. Of course, this is similar to the situation with *hātan*, which originally meant 'to

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[11]This form suggest that the *-jan* suffix was still a productive means of forming new words after i-mutation had occurred.

[12]This also seems to be the case with other verbs, for instance, *lendan* 'to land', formed by the same process as *nemnian* and which was later replaced by the newer from *to land* Tacho (forthcoming).

command' as well as 'to call' and which occurs more often in the passive when it means 'to call'. As mentioned above, this is a loan from Scandinavian and is one of the few verbs that survives into Modern English.

The least frequent naming verb is *cweðan* at eleven occurrences in both the active (91a, 2 instances in OE3 and ME1) and periphrastic passive voices (91b, nine instances in OE3–ME1).

(91)   a. **On þam feowerteogoðan dæge fram his acennednysse,**
       in the forty   days from his birth
       ðe   <u>we</u> *cweðað* on Englisc **Candelmæssedæg**
       which we call   in English Candlemas
       'During the forty days from his birth, which we call Candlemas in English' (OE3, ælhom)

      b. Ic wat þæt **Mæssias** cymð *se ðe ys* **Crist** *gecweden*
       I knew that Messiah   comes who is Christ called
       'I knew that the Messiah, who is called Christ, is coming' (OE3, ælhom)

Again, this verb primarily means 'to say' but can also serve the function of a naming verb.

What is interesting about these naming verbs is that only two of them, *hātan* and *nemnian*, serve primarily as naming verbs.[13] The other verbs are primarily used with other meanings, and their use in naming constructions is only minor. Of the five verbs investigated, only two survive into Modern English: 'to name', which is actually a reformation and should perhaps not be considered the same verb as *nemnian*, and 'to call', which is a borrowing from Scandinavian. Not only have the other verbs fallen out of use as naming verbs, they no longer exist in standard Modern English. Moreover, Modern English no longer has a verb filling the function of an inherently passive naming verb: *hātan*, the verb that initially filled this function, was lost, and no other verb replaced it, thereby resulting in the loss of this function.

4.5.2. Word Order

Graph 4.5 shows the frequency of the position of naming objects with respect to the verb in English over time. We can see from these data that the system in ME3 and ME4 is different from the earlier periods; in these two periods, a rigid VO syntax is clearly what determines the position of naming objects. The percentage of VO orders of naming objects in OE3–ME1 seems to be high. While the frequencies of VO order in OE3 and ME1 are quite similar at just below 80%, OE4, which appears in between the two, has a higher percentage

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[13]*hātan* also has another primary meaning, namely 'to bid/to command', but this is in addition to its function as a naming verb. Both meanings occur from the earliest texts.
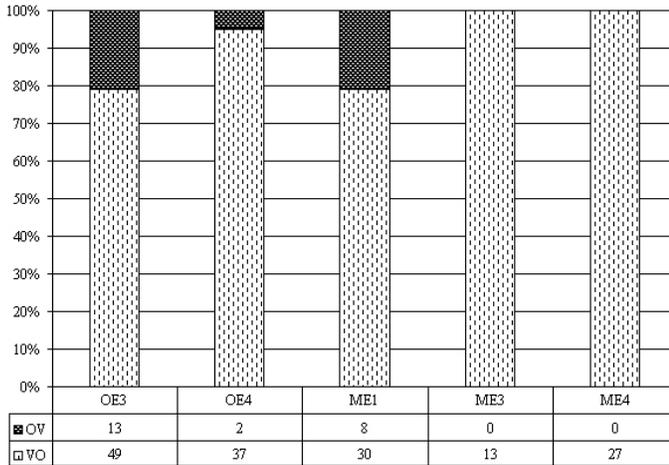
Figure 4.5.: Position of Naming Objects in English

of VO orders at 95%. Conducting a Fisher-Yates test on these frequencies, however, shows that the difference between these three periods is not statistically significant, so I will assume that they form one uniform period where both preverbal and postverbal naming objects are allowed as opposed to ME3 and ME4 where only postverbal naming objects appear.

The logistic function of these data are given in graph 4.6 below. Note that the line with the dots is the raw data whereas the smooth line is the logistic function. According to these calculations, the slope of the curve (i.e., the rate of change) is 0.52; the change takes 11.5 centuries to complete itself, and the midpoint of the change is around 680, in OE2. The range of the change suggests that the change starts in 105 and completes itself in the middle of 13C, at the beginning of ME2. Refer to section 1.4.3 of Chapter 1, however, on the problems with the logistic function.

4.5.3. Heaviness

I investigate heaviness as a potential factor in the position of naming objects by counting and comparing the word lengths of naming objects per position in each period as well as examining the structural complexity of preverbal and postverbal naming objects in each period. On the basis of the data on word order frequencies in the previous subsection, we can distinguish two syntactic systems: the earlier period (OE3–ME1) where both preverbal and postverbal
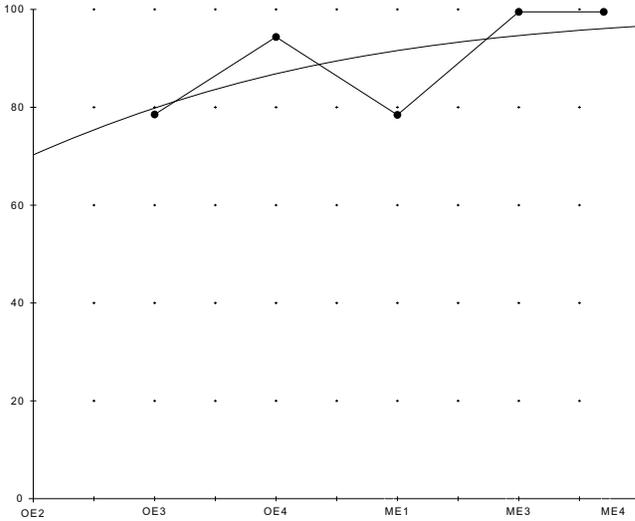
Figure 4.6.: Logistic Function of Naming Objects in English

naming objects occur and the later period (ME3–ME4) where only postverbal naming objects occur. Is there some sort of structural complexity restriction on preverbal naming objects in these three earlier periods? If so, is the restriction the same or different throughout these periods? When we examine the naming objects in OE3–ME1, we will see that there is a heaviness restriction (in terms of structural complexity) and that there is consistency throughout these three periods with respect to this constraint, which shows that all three have one uniform system underlying them.

Table 4.5 below gives an overview of the word lengths of naming objects per position in OE3–ME1, the only periods where naming objects can appear on either side of the verb. We see that the majority of the naming objects are only one word, but even these one-word naming objects have a preference for a postverbal position. The word lengths of preverbal naming objects rarely are much longer than this whereas postverbal naming objects can be composed of more than six words.

The Fisher-Yates test confirms that lexical heaviness influences the position of naming objects. The distribution of shorter versus longer naming objects per position is significantly different for all possible divisions: one-word versus multiple-word ($p = .02$), one-to-two-word versus the rest ($p = .02$), and one-to-three-word versus the rest ($p = .002$). What is interesting in all of these

phrase length	OE3–ME1	
(words)	OV	VO
1	20	71
2	2	12
3	1	2
> 3	0	31
Total	23	116

Table 4.5.: Word Lengths of Naming Objects per Position in English

cases, however, is that no matter the length, the shorter naming objects and the longer ones have a preference for the postverbal position. The difference lies in the extent of this preference; the longer ones apparently have a significantly greater preference for the postverbal position than the shorter naming objects. Moreover, we will see that structural heaviness also has an influence on the position of the head of naming objects.

When examining the 23 preverbal naming objects in OE3–ME1, we see that the vast majority are composed of only one word as in (92a); this is the case for twenty of the 23 preverbal objects (twelve of the thirteen in OE3, both in OE4, and six of the eight in ME1). Further, there are two naming objects composed of two words, given in (92b) and (92c), though these examples may better be considered compounds, and one composed of three, given in (92d).

(92)   a.   on **þæs caseres** arweorðnysse þe **Iulius** *wæs nemned*
       in of-the emperor's honor   who Julius was named
       '...in honor of the emperor who was named Julius' (OE4, mart2)

     b.   We ræadað on **þære bec** *þe*   *is* <u>liber regum</u> *gehaten*
       we consult in the   book which is <u>liber regum</u>   called
       'We consult the book that is called Liber Regum' (OE3, ælhom)

     c.   ah we sculen don nu   al swa þe mon þe   bið efter criste
       but we shall do   now al so   the man who is   after Christ
       selue   **cristene mon** *inemned*
       himself Christian man named
       'But we shall now also do the man who is called a Christian man after Christ himself' (ME1, lambx1)

     d.   **þeos wimmen** þe   þus luuieð *beoð* **þes deofles musestoch**
       these women   that thus believe are   of-the devil's mousetrap
       iclepede
       called
       'these women who believe these things are called the devil's mouse-trap' (ME1, lambx1)

These examples show that the preverbal naming objects are never more structurally complex than a complex noun phrase. These same types of naming objects also occur postverbally, but we only find more structurally complex naming objects after the verb.

Postverbal naming objects, as was the case with their preverbal counterparts, can be composed of a single noun as well as complex nouns. In addition, we find more complex structures postverbally, such as coordinated noun phrases (example 93a) and noun phrases being modified by relative clauses (example 93b). The fact that there are no examples of such naming objects preverbally suggests that heaviness plays an important role in determining the position of naming objects in the earlier periods of English. One particularly suggestive observation is that naming objects that are further elaborated, whether in a relative clause as in (93b), a conjunct clause as in (93c), or an additional explanatory clause, always occur postverbally.[14] These additional explanations of the naming objects appear particularly frequently when the naming object is given in either Greek or Latin and then translated into English.

(93)   a.   se   ðrowode matirdom   mid **twæm mæssepreostum** *þa*
            who suffered martyrdom with two   clergymen   who
            wæron gehatene **Euentius and Theodolus**
            were   called   Eventis and Theodolus
            '...who suffered martyrdom with two clergymen who were called
            Eventis and Theodolus' (OE3, ælhom)

       b.   **sixte** *is ihaten*, **Desida**, þet   is slewðe on englisc
            sixth is called Desida   that is sloth   in English
            'The sixth is called Desida, which is sloth in English' (ME1, lambx1)

       c.   On þone XXI dæg þæs   monðes byð **Sancte Thomas** tyd
            on the   21 day of-the month's is Saint   Thomas   time
            þæs   apostoles, *se   wæs* on Grecisc *nemned* **didimus** ond on
            of-the apostle   who was in Greek   named   Didimus and in
            Romanisc geminus, þæt ys on ure geþeode getwyn
            Latin   Geminus that is in our language twin
            'On the 21st day of the month is the time of the apostle Saint
            Thomas, who is named Didimus in Greek and Geminus in Latin,
            which is 'twin' in our language' (OE4, mart2)

If the elaborating information always occurred in a relative clause, then we would expect a structural relationship between the naming object and the relative clause that would cause the naming object to be considered heavy.

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[14]In examples like (93b) and (93c), I counted the following relative clause or additional information as part of the naming object. Given the fact that these often give more information about the name itself, they contribute to the 'heaviness' of the naming object, which in turn causes the entire entity to extrapose.

However, it does not seem to matter whether the elaborating information (i.e., the translation) is in a relative clause or a coordination; no matter how the additional information is presented, there seems to be some connection between the naming object and the elaborating information, causing the naming object to be considered heavy and hence to appear postverbally. The fact that there are no examples of a naming object occurring in a preverbal position while its elaboration occurs postverbally suggests that there is a close connection between the naming object and its elaborating information. 'Heaviness' in this case is perhaps best interpreted as informational heaviness. The similarity between the English periods in the operation of heaviness as a factor in determining word order suggests that despite the oddity of the word order frequencies in these three periods, they actually represent a similar system.

Another means of avoiding structurally complex preverbal naming objects is placing the adverb *þus* 'thus' to the left of the verb whereas the real naming object (in both instances, they are coordinated noun phrases) to the right.

(94) Ond æfter Cristes   upastigennysse he gecyrde **twa mægða** to Godes
      and after Christ's resurrection   he turned   two tribes   to God's
      geleafan, þa   wæron **þus** *genemned*, **Scyððiam þa mægðe**
      belief   who were thus named   Scythia the tribe
      ond Achaiam þa mægðe
      and Achaiam the tribe
      'And after Christ's resurrection, he converted two peoples to God's belief
      who were thus named: the people of Scythia and the people of Achaiam'
      (OE4, mart2)

This construction occurs twice, once in OE4 and once in ME1. In this way, an OV order can be maintained by *þus* while the heaviness restriction can be met by placing the true naming object to the right of the verb.

We have seen that there is a restriction on the structural complexity of preverbal naming objects; they can be no more than a phrase. This does not necessarily mean that the position of a structurally complex naming object is influenced by its structure. We have to further investigate the data to see if this is the case. If structural complexity does have an influence on the position of naming objects, then we expect structurally complex naming object to occur postverbally more often than simplex naming objects. Table 4.6 shows the distribution of simplex and complex naming objects per word order in OE3–ME1. The Fisher-Yates exact test informs us that difference between the word order distributions of simplex versus complex naming objects is statistically significant ($p = .0003$, two-tailed).[15] This means that in addition to the structural complexity restriction on preverbal naming objects in English,

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[15]The difference between the two types is not statistically significant in OE3 or OE4 but is in ME1.

	OE3–ME1	
Simplex	23	85
Complex	0	31
Total	23	116

Table 4.6.: Position and Heaviness in Naming Objects in English

the position of naming objects is strongly influenced by its structural complexity.

4.5.4. Newness

Newness is the next factor under investigation. To determine if it is a relevant factor in determining the position of naming objects, I will look for whether the naming objects have been mentioned earlier in the text. If newness is an important factor in the position of naming objects, then we expect that a majority of the extraposed naming objects are instances of new information. We also expect that instances of old information will occur more often to the left of the verb.

We see a few pairs of examples where the first instance(s) of a naming object occurs to the right of the verb while the second instance is to the left as seen in (95) and (96). In (95), the actual naming object is not the same in the two examples. However, the first sentence, given in (95a), makes clear that *Mæssias* refers to the same entity as the term *Hælend Crist*. It is also possible that this naming object is postverbal because it is being modified by a relative clause, but this is irrelevant for the placement of the naming object in the second sentence. In (95b), *Mæssias* is repeated, though it appears as the subject, and the name *Crist*, which is again attributed to it, occurs preverbally.

(95)   a. Ic wat   þæt us   cymð **se** *ðe   is gehaten* **Mæssias**, þæt is
          I knew that to-us comes he who is called   Messiah   that is
          Hælend Crist
          healing Christ
          'I knew that he who is called the Messiah, that is the healing Christ,
          is coming to us' (OE4, ælhom)

       b. Ic wat   þæt **Mæssias** cymð *se ðe   ys* **Crist** *gecweden*
          I knew that Messiah   comes he who is Christ said
          'I knew that the Messiah, who is called the Christ, is coming' (OE4,
          ælhom)

It seems then that the repetition may have had an influence on the preverbal position of the naming object in the second sentence.

Example (96) also seems to demonstrate that newness can play a role in determining word order. The clause in (96a) occurs first in the text, and the naming object, *pentecostes*, occurs after the verb. The second instance, given in (96b), occurs fifteen clauses later and has the same naming object occurring before the verb.

(96)   a.   and **þes dei** *is ihaten* <u>**pentecostes**</u> þet is þe fiftuða dei fram
            and this day is called Pentecost   that is the fiftieth day from

            þan ester   tid
            the Easter time

            '...and this day is called Pentecost, which is the fiftieth day from
            Easter' (ME1, lambx1)

       b.   þa   *wes* **þe dei pentecostes** *ihaten* on þere alde isetnesse.
            then was the day Pentecost   called in the old ordinance

            'Then the day was called Pentecost in the old law' (ME1, lambx1)

What occurs between these two clauses is the story of the day itself. Since this particular day clearly remains the topic throughout these lines, it seems safe to assume that the second instance gives old information despite the potential ambiguity of the subject *þe dei*. Another interesting observation about this particular pair is that the two instances seem to delimit the bounds of an episode: the first clause serves the function of introducing a topic, in this case *pentecostes*, which is followed by a flashback, i.e., the story of the origin of the day. The second clause seems to signal to the reader that the flashback is complete, and it is followed by an explanation of the significance of the day in relation to Easter. Of course, this one example is not enough to show that this is the case.

The examples discussed above suggest that newness plays a role in determining the position of naming objects; however, there are also counterexamples, as in the pair of clauses given in (97). The second occurs seven sentences after the first, and in both clauses, the same entity, *deofles*, is attributed the same name, *Beelzebub*. Despite the repetition and being relatively close to one another, the naming object *Beelzebub* occurs postverbally in both instances.

(97)   a.   þæt ure Drihten sceolde þa wundra wyrcan on **þæs   deofles**
            that our Lord   should the miracles work   on of-the devil's

            mihte *þe*   men *hataþ* **Beelzebub**
            might who men call   Beelzebub

            '...that our Lord should work miracles on the power of the devil who
            is called Beelzebub' (OE3, ælhom)

       b.   þæt ic adræfde   deofla of   mannum þurh **ðæs   deofles**
            that I drive-away devils' from men   through of-the devil's

            mihte *þe*   <u>menn</u> *hataþ* **Beelzebub**
            might who men   call   Beelzebub

> '...that I drive away the devils' men through the power of the devil who is called Beelzebub' (OE3, ælhom)

Both of these naming constructions are repeated 29 sentences later, and both of them have the naming object occurring after the verb. This suggests that newness is not an important factor in determining word order in these periods in English. However, these examples also seem to be formulaic, almost like a set expression. In all four cases, the same devil is referred to with the same name expressed with the same relative clause in exactly the same order, so these examples may not be as contradictory as they at first may appear.

Table 4.7 shows the combined distribution of new versus old information per position. While the VO order has a higher percentage of new naming objects

	OE3–ME1	
Old	10	23
New	13	93
Total	23	116

Table 4.7.: Position and Newness in Naming Objects in English

than the OV order, new naming objects make up the majority in both word orders. The Fisher-Yates Exact test shows that newness does play a role in determining the position of naming objects ($p = .036$): a new naming object is more likely to appear postverbally than preverbally.[16]

4.5.5. Discussion

In this section, I will address the research questions posed in 4.2. The first set addresses the distribution of naming verbs and their functions over time. The data discussed in subsection 4.5.1 show that English naming verbs have undergone a major shift: of the five naming verbs investigated, only one occurs in all five periods whereas the others occur in no more than three. Of the different functions, the transitive naming verbs are the only type found in the first three periods: the inherently passive *hātan₂* only occurs in ME3–ME4, so there is no competition to fill the gap left by *hātan*. Because of this constant flux of naming verbs and the consistency of the functions filled by these verbs, word order is independent of these two factors.

The second set of questions address the development of the word order possibilities of naming verbs as was discussed above in subsection 4.5.2. The data

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[16]The combination of the data of the three periods shows that newness plays a role in word order even though this is not the case for any individual period. This is probably due to the fact that there are not enough examples of OV in any given period for accurate statistical tests to be carried out.

show that OE3–ME1 allow OV orders whereas these orders do not appear in ME3–ME4. Despite allowing OV orders, however, OE3–ME1 have high frequencies of VO orders. The proportion of OV to VO orders is not significantly different among these three periods. On the basis of these data, we can distinguish two syntactic systems: on the one hand, we have OE3–ME1 where both preverbal and postverbal naming objects occur, and on the other, we have ME3–ME4 where only postverbal naming objects occur.

Heaviness as a factor in determining the word order of naming objects in OE3–ME1 is suggested in looking at lexical heaviness. A closer examination of structural heaviness reveals that it is an important factor that manifests itself in two ways: a structural heaviness restriction on preverbal naming objects and a higher likelihood that structurally heavy naming objects will occur postverbally than preverbally. The structural heaviness restriction does not allow preverbal naming objects to have more structure than a phrase. If the naming object is a coordination of two phrases or is modified by a relative clause, the naming object occurs postverbally with its supplementary elements. Based on the fact that this structural heaviness restriction on preverbal naming objects seems to apply in all three periods, we can conclude that OE3–ME1 form a cohesive system. From ME3, English shifts to a rigid VO language and preverbal naming objects are no longer allowed. In addition to this restriction, structural heaviness also influences the position of the head of naming objects: complex naming objects occur postverbally statistically significantly more often than simplex naming objects.

In response to the fourth set of research questions, newness does play an important role in determining the position of the naming object, though not to the same extent as structural heaviness. There are a few cases where repeated naming objects go against expectation: all the instances of the same naming object occur postverbally. In some cases, these repetitions seem to be instances of formulaic language, a set expression that almost never changes orders. There are, however, more examples that show the expected pattern: the first instance is postverbal and subsequent instances are preverbal. Moreover, there is a statistically significant difference in the distribution of new and old naming objects per word order, further supporting the claim that newness has an influence on word order in the history of English.

When we consider all of these factors together, we can distinguish two separate periods with respect to naming objects. OE3–ME1 is characterized by the occurrence of both preverbal and postverbal naming objects, a high frequency of VO orders, a restriction on the structural heaviness of preverbal naming objects, and the influence of both structural heaviness and newness on the position of naming objects. ME3–ME4, on the other hand, only has postverbal naming objects and therefore does not have a heaviness restriction.

4.6. Comparison

Now that we have a clear understanding of the evolution of naming constructions in Dutch and English, we can more accurately compare the two and see what this reveals about the two languages themselves as well as about language change in general. I will treat the subsections in the same order as they appear in the previous two sections.

4.6.1. Naming Verbs

In comparing the evolution of naming verbs in Dutch and English, it is immediately clear that the Dutch verbs have much more continuity over time than the English ones. Even though the use and meaning of the verbs change, Dutch keeps the same verbs whereas English is marked by a number of different naming verbs used for varying amounts of time, most of which are eventually lost. Of the English verbs cognate with the Dutch, only 'to name' survives. The major changes in English vocabulary over time can in part be attributed to its intense contact with speakers of other languages. The contact with Scandinavian led to the borrowing of the verb 'to call' and presumably to its use in naming constructions. This hypothesis seems to be supported by the fact that according to both the *EWN* and the *CD-Rom Middelnederlands*, the Dutch verb *roepen* 'to call' was never used in naming constructions. This use in English was perhaps further reinforced by French, where the verb of naming is most often *appeler* 'to call'. The *Middle English Dictionary* (MED online, http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med), for instance, gives an example of the verb *ap(p)elen* used to mean 'to call (sth. by a name)', given in (98).[17]

(98) Fyrst when hertez beþ assembled, And 'herde' hy3t   ys appeled
      first when deer are assembled and herd   is-called is called
      'First when deer are assembled and is called a herd' (c1400 *Femina*
      (TrinC B.14.40), taken from MED s.v. *ap(p)elen*)

We saw that Old English used verbs meaning 'to say' in naming constructions; the Dutch verb *zeggen* 'to say' was also used in such constructions. This suggests that whereas the use of verbs meaning 'to say' in naming constructions is perhaps an inherited feature of at least West Germanic languages if not Germanic languages in general, the use of verbs meaning 'to call' does not seem to be and is most probably the result of contact.

The shift in function among the naming verbs is quite clear in Dutch: *heten*$_1$ and *heten*$_2$ are initially *the* naming verbs in Dutch from 13C–15C, filling the functions of both a transitive and an inherently passive naming verb. Over time,

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[17]Note that this example is a translation of the French: 'Vn herde donq3 est appelle'. As this example is used to illustrate the meaning and use of this word, the fact that it is a translation is not as relevant as for the data in the rest of the study.

*heten*₁ gives way to *noemen* as the transitive naming verb, leaving *heten*₂ to specialize as the inherently passive naming verb. The other competitor for the function of transitive naming verb, *namen*, is eventually lost as a verb, though its past participle, *genaamd*, survives as an adjective in Modern Dutch. The situation in English, in contrast, is confused by the number of and constant shift among the naming verbs. The inherently passive function of *hātan*₂ only emerges in ME3 in these data so there is no major shift in function among the naming verbs. Moreover, *hātan*₂ does not survive into the modern standard language, so it is short-lived. This may have contributed to the eventual loss of most of these verbs as naming verbs in English.

4.6.2. Word Order

The evolution of the word order patterns of naming constructions in Dutch and English have clear patterns. In the early periods of both languages, both OV and VO orders are allowed with a high frequency of VO patterns. In Dutch, there is a change in the 16C whereby OV orders become the dominant order. This pattern continues until the OV order is the only possibility in 18C. In English, the high frequency of VO order eventually gives way to a rigid VO order. The consistently high frequency of VO orders in the early periods of Dutch (13C–15C) and English (OE3–ME1) suggest that the naming construction is associated with the VO order. This hypothesis will be considered in more detail in Chapter 5 when this construction is compared to directional and object phrases.

4.6.3. Heaviness

Heaviness was examined from two perspectives: lexical heaviness gave us an impression of the word lengths allowed in each position over time, and structural heaviness allowed us to determine the extent to which heaviness impacts word order. With respect to lexical heaviness, we observed that in both the Middle Dutch period (13C–15C) and the early stages of English (OE3–ME1), the word lengths found preverbally were much shorter than their postverbal counterparts. This already hints at certain heaviness constraints on the position of naming objects. In Dutch, the preverbal word lengths get longer over time until we no longer find postverbal naming objects whereas in English, preverbal naming objects eventually do not occur.

When examining the structural heaviness of naming objects, we again saw similarities between the early stages of Dutch (13C–15C) and English (OE3–ME1): both have a structural heaviness restriction on preverbal naming objects, which are never more complex than a single phrase. The languages differ, however, in how they deal with this restriction. If a naming object is composed of coordinated phrases or is modified by a clause, both Dutch and English allow

the entire naming object to occur to the right of verb. Dutch, however, also has the possibility of allowing the head of the naming object to remain preverbal while the rest occurs postverbally, thereby splitting the naming object. The possibility of splitting a complex object also occurs in older stages of English as we saw in the previous chapter, but there are no examples of split naming objects. This is probably in part due to the fact that naming objects have a general tendency to be single phrases, though there were not many more complex naming objects in the Middle Dutch period than in the early periods of English: 40 out of 218 for Middle Dutch (18%) versus 31 out of 149 for English (21%). This difference between the two languages may also suggest that even in its early period, Dutch had a stronger tendency toward OV orders than English. After this period of the structural heaviness restriction, each language goes in its own direction: Dutch goes through a transitional period (16C–17C) where both OV and VO orders are allowed without a structural heaviness restriction before becoming a rigid OV language, and English becomes a rigid VO language.

Another difference between the two languages with respect to structural heaviness is its influence on the position of the head of the naming object. As just mentioned, Dutch allows complex naming objects to split while there were no instances of this found in English. A comparison of the position of the head of the naming object and its complexity revealed that structural heaviness does not have an influence on word order in either stage of Dutch while it does play a rather strong role in English. Though the effects of structural heaviness are not statistically significant in either period of Dutch, we can see that the earlier period is more like the earlier stages of English than it is to the later period of Dutch. In the first two instances, complex naming objects clearly have a strong preference for VO orders whereas they have a slight preference for OV orders in the later period of Dutch.

4.6.4. Newness

The qualitative examination of newness as a factor in word order gave contradictory results. On the one hand, there were examples in both Dutch and English of what one would expect if newness played an important role in word order: the first occurrence of a naming object is postverbal while the later occurrences are preverbal. There were also a few examples that undermined this expectation: most of the preverbal naming objects in both Dutch and English present new information, and a few of the postverbal naming objects present old information. Some of these counterexamples could perhaps be attributed to formulaic expressions that always appeared in the same order with the same information. Statistical tests conducted on the two periods of Dutch and OE3–ME1 in English showed interesting results: newness does not play a role in Middle Dutch (13C–15C) word order whereas it plays a rather strong role in 16C and 17C of Dutch and a minor role in the early stages of English.

4.7. Concluding Remarks

The early periods of both Dutch and English are quite similar with respect to the position of naming objects; in both languages, there is a very high frequency of VO orders. However, the summary of the properties of each of the periods investigated given in table 4.8 show that each of the periods has quite distinct properties; no two periods are like one another. The property that both 13C–15C Dutch and OE3–ME1 English, the periods where the majority of the naming objects are postverbal, share is the structural heaviness restriction on preverbal naming objects. All of these facts taken together seem to point

	Dutch		English
	13C–15C	16C–17C	OE3–ME1
Majority VO	+	−	+
Preverbal restriction	+	−	+
Structural heaviness	−	−	+
Newness	−	+	+

Table 4.8.: Summary of Characteristics of Naming Objects in Dutch and English

toward a specific structure, namely VO order, being associated with naming constructions (or possibly with object complement constructions in general). Over time, this structure gives way to the emerging rigid word order patterns in each language, namely OV in Dutch and VO in English. This analysis is further strengthened by comparing naming objects with directional phrases and objects phrases, which I turn to in Chapter 5.