From Naming Verb to Copula:
The Case of Wangerooge Frisian *Heit*

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In the now extinct Frisian dialect of the island of Wangerooge, the naming verb *heit* 'to be called' had partially grammaticalized into a copular verb 'to be' competing, to some extent, with the original copula *wízze* 'to be'. In this paper, I discuss the development and the status of the copula *heit* in some detail and consider what it might tell one about the taxonomy of copular clauses (Higgins 1979). I show that the functional change from naming verb to copula initially occurred in identificational copular clauses. From there *heit* spread to classificational and specificational copular clauses, but not to predicational ones. This development suggests a principled distinction between predicational copular clauses on the one hand and identificational copular clauses (conceived as comprising classifying, specifying, and equating ones) on the other. This does not imply, however, that *heit* is an identificational copula or that it selects an identificational small clause. I analyze copular *heit* used with an identificational small clause as a suppletive allomorph of *wízze* 'to be'.[*]

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1. Introduction.

The taxonomy of copular clauses in 1, as originally proposed by Higgins (1979), and the general nature of copular verbs and copular constructions have been the subject of lively debate in syntactic and semantic studies

(see Mikkelsen 2011, Heycock 2013, 2021, den Dikken & O'Neill 2017, and Arche et al. 2019b for some recent surveys).

(1) a. Alice is smart.   predicational copular clause
      b. The winner is Alice.   specificational copular clause
      c. That is Alice.   identificational copular clause
      d. Alice is Miss Jones.   equative copular clause

Various attempts have been made to modify, reduce, or extend the typology in 1 and to clarify the relevant semantic and syntactic principles behind it. While it is commonly agreed that sentences with a postcopular AP (and other bare XPs) are predicational, the question of whether sentences with intentional postcopular DPs, such as *Alice is the winner*, or sentences with classifying postcopular NumPs, such as *Alice is a clever girl*, belong here as well is controversial. [1] Although many consider these to be predicational as well, others would rather classify them as equative (Carnie 1997, Beyssade & Dobrovie-Sorin 2012). Specificational copular clauses are analyzed by some as inverted predicate constructions that are derived from basic predicational (or equative) copular clauses by raising of the predicate to the subject position (Moro 1997, Mikkelsen 2005, den Dikken 2006). Others consider them as a kind of predicational clause with an intensional subject (Romero 2005, Arregi et al. 2021) or as equative clauses (Heycock & Kroch 1999, Rothstein 2001). Identificational copular clauses have been analyzed as predicational (Heller & Wolter 2008), specificational (Mikkelsen 2005) or equative (Heycock & Kroch 1999).

The aim of this paper is not to discuss the taxonomy of copular clauses in detail but to examine it in the light of novel historical data from the now extinct Frisian dialect of the island of Wangerooge. These data suggest a principled distinction between predicational copular clauses and identificational copular clauses in a wider sense, that is, as comprising classificational, specificational, and equative ones (compare

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[1] I consider nominal expressions as DPs (Determiner Phrases), if they contain a definite determiner, and as NumPs (Number Phrases), if they contain an indefinite determiner, but this distinction does not bear directly on the following discussion.

Carnie 1997, Heycock & Kroch 1999, Beyssade & Dobrovie-Sorin 2012).

The Frisian language consists of three dialect branches: West, East, and North. East Frisian, as (originally) spoken in the north of Germany between the rivers Ems and Weser and in the Wursten district on the east side of the Weser, is further divided into the western Ems-Frisian and the eastern Weser-Frisian dialects. This paper is concerned with the now extinct Weser-Frisian dialect of the island of Wangerooge.[2] The 19th-century language of Wangerooge has been documented in considerable detail by Heinrich Georg Ehrentraut (1798–1866), who did fieldwork on the island in the years 1837–1844. Ehrentraut provided not only sophisticated grammatical notes and extensive lists of words and phrases, but also a number of texts on the insular geography and way of life, as well as a small, recorded collection of folk tales from the oral tradition (Mitth. I, II, III). On the night of New Year's Eve in 1854/1855, a storm surge swept away large parts of the sole village on the island of Wangerooge, which in those days had only a few hundred inhabitants. This led to the disintegration of the Wangerooge linguistic community and the decline of the language. Most of the population moved to the settlement Neu-Wangerooge near the village of Varel on the mainland, where Frisian was given up after one or two generations. Those who remained on Wangerooge and rebuilt the island were linguistically assimilated by (Low and High German speaking) newcomers from the mainland. The last speakers of Wangerooge Frisian are said to have died in 1950 in Varel.

The phenomenon of interest here—that is, the grammaticalization of the naming verb *heit* 'to be called' into a copular verb 'to be'—is only found in Eherentraut's records from the first half of the 19th century; the grammaticalization process probably stopped and was reversed during the century of language attrition that followed. In the few Wangerooge Frisian texts from the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century I have not found a single occurrence of the copula *heit*. In Ehrentraut's material, it is, however, robustly represented, so that one may safely assume that in his days it was a well-established linguistic

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[2] For information on Frisian in general, I refer to Munske et al. 2001. For a brief description of the Frisian dialect of Wangerooge, see Versloot 2001.

phenomenon, maybe even still an ongoing grammaticalization process. The corpus contains well over 100 sentences exemplifying the copular use of *heit*.[3] In section 2, I give a general description of the copula *heit* 'to be' in Wangerooge Frisian. Next, in section 3, I try to account for the grammaticalization of the naming verb into the copula. In section 4, I consider what the development of this special Wangerooge Frisian copula might teach one about the taxonomy of copular clauses, and how the distribution of *heit* and *wízze* should be analyzed. Section 5 offers conclusions.

2. The Copular Verb *Heit* 'To Be' in Wangerooge Frisian.

The strong verb *heit* in Wangerooge Frisian was originally a naming verb cognate with German *heißen*, Dutch *heten*, etc.; in fact, it *still* occurred in the language in the sense of both 'to call' and 'to be called' after the emergence of the copula *heit*. In the following example, the verb occurs in both its copular and its original naming sense.

(2)   dan   junġst   deerfón   dan   **hat**   'n   gansen
     the   youngest   there-of   that-one   is   a   very

     grúundúumën,   dan   **hat**   Hans
     ground-stupid-one   that-one   is-called   Hans
     'The youngest of them, he is a very stupid fellow, he is called Hans'
                                         (Mitth. III, 377)

Consider the following paradigm (Mitth. I, 37; Mitth. III, 251):[4]

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[3] This amounts to approximately 1/14 of the copular sentences with a 3rd person singular present tense verb form in Ehrentraut's material (as becomes clear below, copular *heit* is basically restricted to 3rd person singular present *hat*). In the remaining sentences, the original copula *wízze* (3rd person singular present *is*) occurs.

[4] To express Ehrentraut's complicated spelling of Wangerooge Frisian, which uses a large number of (sometimes multiple) diacritics, I use the transcription rules developed by Versloot for the edition of Ehrentraut's material (Mitth. III, lxxxvii-xc). An acute accent in polysyllabic words indicates word stress.

(3) Infinitive   *heit (hait)* 'to call; to be called'
     Past Participle   *híitiin*

	Present	Past
1st singular	iik heit (hait)	iik hiit
2nd singular	duu hatst	duu hiitst
3rd singular	hii/yuu hat	hii/yuu hiit
1st/2nd/3rd plural	wii/yum/yaa héitert (háitert)[5]	wii/yum/yaa híiten

Both syntactic analysis and semantic intuition suggest, however, that, alongside its original naming function (see section 3 for further discussion), *heit* had acquired the function of the common copula BE normally performed by the verb *wízze* (common Germanic +*wesan-*) in Wangerooge Frisian.[6] The use of *heit* (next to *wízze*) was particularly common in copular clauses introduced by the demonstrative pronoun *dait* 'that', which, following Higgins 1979, are usually referred to as identificational copular clauses.[7] In fact, some 90% of the corpus consists of identificational copular clauses, as in the following examples:

(4) a. dait **hat** 'n   uploo$_e$pën see
         that is   an up-running sea
         'That is an oncoming wave'   (Mitth. II, 333)

     b. dait **hat** gaar nain fraig,   dait wetst duu jaa   wail
         that is   at-all no   question, that know you indeed well

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[5] If it is followed by a 1st or 2nd person plural subject, the present plural form *héitert (háitert)* is reduced to *heit (hait)* (see Hoekstra 2001:348–350): Compare *heit wii* in 34c and *hait wi* in 39.

[6] In this paper, I refer to the copular use of *heit* or even to the copula *heit* in order to highlight its relationship with the naming verb *heit*. The use of the infinitive form *heit* is somewhat misleading, however, because, as it turns out, as a copula *heit* occurs almost exclusively in the 3rd person singular present form *hat* (and never as an infinitive).

[7] Other 3rd person neuter singular pronouns in Wangerooge Frisian, such as *dit* 'this' or *dait/'t* 'it', may, however, occur in this type of clauses as well.

'That is no question at all, you know that very well'

<div align="right">(Mitth. III, 138)</div>

c. Dait **hat** de ríucht breid
   that is   the right bride
   'That's the right bride (Cinderella)'   (Mitth. II, 81)

d. un   dan säckel jil,   deer in 'e walt is, dait **hat** híriins
   and the sackful money which in the wood is that is hers
   'And the sack full of money, which is in the wood, that is hers'

<div align="right">(Mitth. III, 200)</div>

In many cases, the copular complement involves a NumP with an evaluative adjective or noun, as shown in 5.[8]

(5) a. dait **hat** 'n wrántiigen hingst
       that is an unruly   horse
       'It's an unruly horse'   (Mitth. III, 170)

   b. dait **hat** good reev,   dait kann wail hool
      that is   good equipment that can   well hold
      'Those are good tools, they can hold something' (Mitth. III, 156)

   c. dait **hat** 'n úunnuckiig wéder
      it   is a rough   weather
      'The weather is rough'   (Mitth. II, 76)

   d. dait **hat** 'n blíksenskínt
      that is   a devil's-child
      'That's a thing of the devil (a bad ship)'   (Mitth. II, 70)

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[8] Both anonymous referees point out constructions of the type *That's what I call rough weather!* and ask about the role expressive semantics could have played in the grammaticalization of *heit*. Due to the limitations of the corpus and the lack of older texts it is hard to make any clear statements on this matter, but in the historical development that I propose in section 3 expressivity is of no relevance.

The demonstrative pronoun *dait* in identificational copular clauses has a number of extraordinary properties with respect to its phonological form, agreement behavior, and reference. It has been analyzed in various ways in the literature. For example, Diessel (1997, 1999:58, 78–86) proposes a special type of "predicative demonstratives", or "demonstrative identifiers." Scholars who take identificational copular clauses to be a type of specificational copular clause with an inverted predicate consider the demonstrative as a (pro-)predicate (Mikkelsen 2005); Rullmann & Zwart (1996) analyze it as a subject having the semantic type of a predicate (that is, <e,t>); Heller & Wolter (2008) argue that it denotes an individual concept; and Moltmann (2013) treats it as a trope-referring element. I do not analyze *dait* in detail here, but I assume that in identificational copular clauses, it is a regular DP subject rather than an (inverted) predicate, and that its special properties are part of the broader phenomenon that 3rd person neuter singular pronouns in Germanic and other languages are underspecified.[9] The demonstrative *dait* can take the default gender value (neuter) and the default number value (singular), and refer to a neuter singular DP/NumP, as in 6a. However, it can also evoke an abstract object (Asher 1993) in the linguistic or discourse context, as in 6b, or some salient entity in it, as in 6c,d.[10] In the latter two cases, *dait* need not agree in gender and number with the DP/NumP that denotes this entity (masculine *dan óoberst* and feminine *djuu íGen*), but it must be referentially identified by the postcopular DP/NumP (*'n góoden mon* and *de druuch kant fon Wangeróoch*).[11]

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[9] See, for example, de Rooy 1970 and Sassen 1972–1973 on "neuter" pronouns in Dutch copular clauses, or, more specifically, Romijn 1996 on the Dutch personal pronoun *het* 'it' and Jäger 2000 on the German interrogative pronoun *was* 'what'.

[10] Note that *dait* in 6b is actually deleted by topic drop (see the discussion below and the examples in 9). Note also that *dai'* in 6d shows phonological reduction (see the discussion below and the examples in 8).

[11] By "referential identification" I mean some kind of feature sharing between the postcopular DP/NumP and the demonstrative, leaving the exact nature of this phenomenon open here. For some concrete proposals in different frameworks, see van der Beek 2003 and van Eynde et al. 2016 on Dutch *dat*, and Bartošová & Kučerová 2019 on Czech *to*.

(6) a. uuz heer Jüüzes Krístus, in ’er nacht as hii farrét   wuurd,
      our Lord Jesus Christ   in the night as he betrayed was

      naum hii <u>dait broo_ed</u>, thónket, breik et, un   roo_et ’er
      took he the bread   thanked broke it   and gave it

      ’t an siin júnger   un   queid: nímmet weg un íttert,
       to his disciples and said: take   away and eat,

      <u>dait</u> **hat** miin liif
      that is   my   body   (Mitth. III, 45–46)[12]
      ‘Our Lord Jesus Christ, in the night he was betrayed, he took the
      bread, thanked, broke it and gave it to his disciples and said: Take
      it and eat, this is my body’   (1 Corinthians 11:23–24)

   b. hi (…) quaa jeen   siin wüüf: “mii is ong,
      he   said against his wife: me is afraid

      <u>mii kumt dit reiz   ’n sweer uungeluk uur</u>. (…)
      me   comes this journey a heavy accident over

      <u>ik kum seléthii’ ni   wíider</u>.” “[<u>dait</u>] **hat** ’n slíuchten troost”,
      I come never   not back.   that is   a bad   comfort

      quaa dait wüüf, “deer duu mii deer rachst.”
      said the wife   which you me there give
      ‘He said to his wife: I’m afraid, a serious accident will happen to
      me on this journey. I will never return. That is cold comfort, that
      you are giving me here, said the wife’   (Mitth. II, 19–20)

   c. daa quaa dan weert,   huu hii dait <u>dan óoberst</u> wéeger
      then said the landlord how he that the captain refuse

      duur, <u>dait</u> **hat** saa ’n góoden mon
      dared that is   such a good   man

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[12] Note Ehrentraut’s curious rendering of the pronoun *et, ’t* ‘it [(ə)t]’ with *’er ’t*
in 6a. This is his attempt to account for the effects of a general phonological rule
of *r*-insertion in the context *tə_t* in Wangerooge Frisian (see Hoekstra 1998). A
similar rule sometimes applies in the context *nə_n* as in *in ’er nacht* (here *’er <
’e* is the reduced form of the feminine article *djuu*).

'Then the landlord asked, how he dared refuse the captain that, he was such a good man' (Mitth. III, 416)

d. <u>djuu íGen dai'</u> **hat** de druuch kant fon Wangeróoch
   the Edge that is the dry   side of Wangerooge
   'the Edge (that is, the southeastern shore of the island), that's the dry side of Wangerooge' (Mitth. III, 39)

If *dait* agrees with a neuter singular DP/NumP or if it refers to an abstract object, it may also occur with an AP, NP, or PP predicate and the copula *wizze*. This is illustrated by the examples in 7a with neutral *dait fät* and 7b with abstract object *all ding mit mait*. However, if *dait* refers to a non-neuter DP/NumP, it is restricted to copular clauses with a DP/NumP predicate. Examples such as the constructed one in 7c, in which the left-dislocated DP *dan fíugel* is masculine, are not found in the material and were probably ungrammatical in Wangerooge Frisian.[13]

(7) a. <u>dait fät</u>   schülpet jaa, <u>dait</u> is nich ful
      that barrel sloshes indeed, it   is not   full
      'But it is sloshing in that barrel, it is not full'   (Mitth. III, 160)

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[13] Such examples are ungrammatical in other mainland West Germanic languages. Compare the West Frisian example in i with ii.

(i) *<u>Dy fûgel</u>, <u>dat</u> is moai
      'That bird, that is beautiful'

(ii) <u>Dy fûgel</u>, <u>dat</u> is in moai   dier
      'that bird, that is a beautiful animal'

Note, however, that an example such as i can be grammatical if *dy fûgel* is interpreted as an abstract object (that is, the situation with that bird). Consider the example in iii.

(iii) <u>Dy   bern</u>,   <u>dat</u> is slim!
      'those children (the situation with those children), that is terrible!'

b. <u>all   ding mit mait,</u>   <u>dait</u> is sweit
    every thing with measure that is sweet
    'Everything in moderation, that is the best thing to do'

                                      (Mitth. III, 99)

c. *<u>Dan fúugel</u>, <u>dait</u> is saum
    that bird   that is beautiful
    'That bird, that is beautiful'

The combination of the demonstrative and the copula in identificational copular clauses seems to have become fixed to some degree in that it shows special phonological reduction: The demonstrative may lose its final *t*, as shown in 8.

(8) a. dai' **hat** 'n dwatsk   minsk
     that is   a recalcitrant person
     'He is a troublemaker'   (Mitth. III, 132)

b. dai' **hat** nich all   mons góo_ediing
    that is   not every man's liking
    'That is not to everyone's liking'   (Mitth. III, 141)

c. dai' **hat** 'n gánsen wíinlüTHuugen rauf
    that is   a very   wind-empty   deckhouse
    'It's a bare room'   (Mitth. III, 150)

d. dai' **hat** 'n naúneers, dan   kann jaa   nicks   mist
    that is   a miser   that-one can really nothing spare
    'He is a miser, he cannot spare anything'   (Mitth. I, 98)

In many cases, the demonstrative is completely dropped, as pointed out by Ehrentraut (Mitth. I, 37): "*dait hat* steht oft für: *dait is*, wobei denn gewöhnlich der Artikel ausgelassen wird, z. B.: *hat 'n a'infolt*, das ist ein Einfaltspinsel" [*Dait hat* often substitutes *dait is*, in which case the article is usually omitted, for example, *hat 'n a'infolt* 'he/she is a simpleton'.][14] Topic drop of *dait* is found in somewhat more than half of

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[14] Translation is mine.

the identificational copular clauses with *heit* in the corpus. Here are some further examples:

(9) a.   **hat** slíucht mackiideríi
      (that) is   bad   making
      'That's a bad product'   (Mitth. III, 272)

   b.   **hat** de koninġ fon siisíilii sin faun
      (that) is   the king   of Sicily his girl
      'She is the king of Sicily's daughter'   (Mitth. III, 375)

   c.   **hat** liifháftiig der düüvel
      (that) is   incarnate the devil
      'He is the devil incarnate (the devil himself)'   (Mitth. III, 134)

   d. wat kírt   dan fúugel, **hat** wis   'n kerstéen.
      what shrieks that bird   (it) is   undoubtedly a tern
      'How that bird is shrieking, it is undoubtedly a tern'
                                                                (Mitth. III, 148)

   Similar phenomena, that is, phonological reduction, as in 10a,b, and topic drop, as in 10c,d, occur in identificational copular clauses with the copula *wízze* 'to be'.[15]

(10) a. **dai' 's** nicks
       that is nothing
       'That's nothing'   (Mitth. III, 395)

    b. **'t** is al   'n héntigen fent
       that is already a smart   boy
       'He's a smart boy already'   (Mitth. I, 94)

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[15] Hoeksema (1985) reports special contraction phenomena in the combination of a neuter (personal, demonstrative, interrogative) pronoun + the copula *is* 'is' in Dutch (*het is* 'it is' > *tis, dat is* 'that is' > *das, wat is* 'what is' > *was*).

c.   **is** 'n slíucht wéder, man sul   nain huun buut
   (it) is a bad   weather one should no   dog   out-of

   der durn jágii
   the door chase
   'It is such a bad weather, one wouldn't send a dog out'

                                       (Mitth. III, 122)

d.   **is** 'n gánsen áisken buur wízziin dan   hää
   (that) is a very   mean   farmer been   that-one has

   sin folk   áltiid sáafel   slain mit de swüüpuu,
   his farmhands always so-much hit   with the whip

   grein un   blau
   green and blue
   'That was a very mean farmer, he always whipped his farmhands
   so much, black and blue'   (Mitth. III, 418)

As the above examples show, all cases of copular *heit* involve the 3rd person singular present form *hat*. In fact, the corpus contains only one case of a 3rd person plural present form of the copula (with topic drop of *dait*):

(11)   **haítert** de kööninġ siin rinġ
   (that) are   the king   his rings
   'Those are the king's rings'   (Mitth. III, 405)

Here the copula shows plural agreement with the postcopular DP. At the same time, one example is found in which singular *hat* is combined with a plural copular complement and where it seems to agree with the singular dropped demonstrative *dait*:

(12)   **hat** óngstkatten
   (that) is   scaredy-cats
   'They are scaredy-cats'   (Mitth. III, 113)

The scarcity of examples with a plural postcopular DP/NumP makes it impossible to say anything more about the agreement behavior of copular *heit*.[16]

The use of *heit* as a copula seems to have been rather common; yet, as has been noticed before, it was still in competition with the far more frequent original copula *wízze*. Ehrentraut explicitly points this out in his examples a few times:

(13) a. dait **hat** (oder **is**) siin
     that is   his
     'It's his'   (Mitth. III, 304)

  b. dait **hat** (oder **is**) al   oo$_e$l wäärk
      that is   really old work
      'It's really a nasty job'   (Mitth. I, 403)

  c. dait **is** 'n hii, oder dait **hat** 'n hii, dait **hat** 'n diu
     that is a he or   that is   a he that is   a she
     'That's a he-bird, that's a she-bird'   (Mitth. I, 406)

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[16] In Wangerooge Frisian identificational copular clauses with the copula *wízze*, however, the verb always agrees with the postcopular DP/NumP:

(i) a. dait sint de kaizder   sin béener
     that are the emperor his children
     'Those are the emperor's children'   (Mitth. III, 398)

  b. e,   qua yu, wut   'er 't twein litk fënter sint?
     yes, said she whether it   two   little boys are

     e,   quiddert ya, dait sint 'er 't
     yes, say   they that are it

     'Yes, she asked, whether they were two boys? Yes, they say, they are'
                                     (Mitth. III, 398)

Note that in the second sentence in ib, the pronominalized predicate (*dait=twein litk fënter*) has been topicalized. For general discussion of the problem of agreement in copular clauses with two nominals, see, among others, Heycock 2012, Béjar & Kahnemuyipour 2017, and Hartmann & Heycock 2020.

The copula *heit* seems to have been used nearly exclusively in the 3rd person singular present form *hat*; with other persons (as in 14), in past tense (as in 15) and with nonfinite verb forms (as in 16), the copula *wízze* is found.[17]

(14) a. <u>iik</u> **sin** nain Brümmer, iik lait mii nicks   uut 'e   haun nímme
        I   am no   Bremer   I   let me nothing out the hand take
        'I'm not a Bremer (inhabitant of the city of Bremen), I don't let
        anybody take something out of my hand'   (Mitth. III, 67)

    b. <u>duu</u> **bist** jaa   'n ríucht duum schépsel
        you   are   indeed a very   stupid creature
        'You are a stupid creature indeed'   (Mitth. I, 389)

    c. <u>wii</u> **sint** two oo$_e$l mínsken
        we are two old   people
        'We are two old people'   (Mitth. III, 433)

(15) un   Jan Tåårfken siin maam haid 'n détte,
       and Jan Tåårfken his   mother had   a sister

       dait **weer** 'n oo$_e$l hex
       that was   an old   witch
       'and Jan Tåårfken's mother had a sister, she was an old witch'
                                  (Mitth. III, 52–52)

(16) a. dait **häb't** sucks two saum   schiir béener **wízziin**
        that have   such   two handsome pretty children been
        'they were two such handsome pretty children'   (Mitth. III, 418)

    b. un   Gaad queid: der   sil   wit   fästens wíze túsken
        and God said: there shall something solid be   between

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[17] Examples of identificational copular clauses with a 1st or 2nd person pronominal predicate, such as *that's me/you*, are not recorded in Wangerooge Frisian.

dait wátter, un   dait sil   'n sche'iTHunġ **wíze**
the   water   and that shall a divide   be

túsken   't   wátter
between   the water
'And God said: Let there be an expanse between the waters to
separate water from water'   (Mitth. III, 49; Genesis 1:6)

Moreover, *heit* only occurs in declarative main clauses in this corpus;
in the embedded declarative clauses, as in 17, as well as in the
interrogative and exclamative clauses, as in 18, the copula *wízze* is used.

(17) yu kan   him aber   gans wail, dat dait
    she recognizes him though very well that that

    dan egenst ritter   **is**, deer hiri fon   hiri for   un   maam
    the same knight is   who her from her father and mother

    aufbroet   hää, dat dait hiri breidgummel **is**
    off-brought has that that her bridegroom   is
    'But she recognizes him very well (and sees) that he is the very
    knight, that carried her away from her father and mother, that he is
    her bridegroom'   (Mitth. III, 375)

(18) a. Wut   **is** dait?
       what   is that?
       'What's that?'   (Mitth. I, 109)

    b. wut **is** dait 'n málen stéevel
       what is that   a crazy boot
       'What a crazy thing is that!'   (Mitth. I, 97)

The restriction of *heit* to the 3rd person singular present form, that is,
the unmarked person, number, and tense, in declarative main clauses and
the reduction phenomena found in *dait + hat* (and *dait + is*) suggest that
the introductory pronoun-copula cluster in identificational copular
clauses tends to grammaticalize into some sort of presentational particle,
that is, a particle highlighting the presentation of new information.
Hoeksema (1985) argues, for example, that Dutch *das* (< *dat is* 'that is')
should be listed in the lexicon and inserted in the complementizer

position. Below (in section 4) I account for the restricted use of *heit* as a copula by analyzing *hat* as a copular particle and as a suppletive allomorph of *wízze*.

Heit occurs predominantly in identificational copular clauses—the context in which it presumably originated (see section 3); but it clearly spread to copular clauses with a full DP/NumP subject and a DP/NumP complement, that is, to classificational sentences such as 19a,b and specificational sentences such as 19c,d.

(19) a. dait torf **hat** keim strunt, deer kumt nain brant oon
        that peat is pure junk there comes no fire in
        'That peat is nothing but junk, it won't burn'   (Mitth. I, 366)

     b. dait Hilgelaún **hat** 'n gróo$_e$ten steinklip
         the Heligoland is a big stone-cliff
         'Heligoland is a big stone cliff'   (Mitth. III, 237)

     c. un dju thrääd **hat** dju maam hírii stjápfaun
         and the third is the mother her stepdaughter
         'And the third is the mother's stepdaughter'   (Mitth. III, 438)

     d. djuu oor siid **hat** de bínnerstsiid
         the other side is the innermost-side
         'The other side is the inside'   (Mitth. I, 89)

However, copular *heit* is never found in predicational copular clauses, that is, in sentences with an NP, AP or PP copular complement; in these cases *wízze* seems to be the only option:

(20) a. yuu **is** eerst <u>kaperóol</u>, un daa <u>féltwääbel</u>, un daa
        she is first corporal and then sergeant and then

        <u>leútnant</u>
        <u>lieutenant</u>
        'First she is a corporal and then a sergeant and then a lieutenant'
                                                    (Mitth. III, 416)

     b. dait is úunkloo$_e$r, daa **sint** nain <u>good frün</u> moo
         it is unclear they are no good friend anymore

'there is discord, they are not friends anymore'   (Mitth. III, 168)

c. hii **is** nich <u>mal</u>,   man klauk liúud   **sint** <u>oors</u>
   he is not stupid but smart people are different
   'He is not stupid, but smart people are different'   (Mitth. III, 99)

d. dan mon **is** <u>in de beenheit</u>
   that man is in the childhood
   'That man is senile (in his second childhood)'   (Mitth. III, 259)

There are no examples of equative copular clauses in the corpus, either with *heit* or with *wízze*, either because equative copular clauses are rare in the first place or because they were not used in Wangerooge Frisian at all.[18] After this survey of the primary data, the question is addressed how the copular verb *heit* could arise in the first place.

3. From Naming Verb to Copula.

There can be no doubt that the copula *heit* in Wangerooge Frisian derives from the naming verb *heit*. This gives rise to the following questions: First, which syntactic and semantic properties of the naming verb may have been conducive to its development into a copular verb? Second, what was the specific syntactic context in which *heit* could have become competitive with the original copula *wízze* 'to be'?

The naming verb *heit* was used in the sense of both 'to call', as in 21, and 'to be called', as in 22.[19]

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[18] The example in i is rather classificational than equative:

(i) nain óntwooert **hat** uk   en óntwooert
    'no   answer   is   also en answer'   (Mitth. III, 103)

[19] Alongside *heit* 'to call', Wangerooge Frisian has a naming verb *nam* 'to baptize, to name', which is far less frequent in Eherentraut's material. It is found in examples such as the following:

(i) a. dan ään wult   yaa Flóorens **nam** lait un dan oor   Líionǵ
      the one wanted they Floris   name let and the other Lion
      'One they wanted to baptize Floris and the other Lion'

                                        (Mitth. III, 405, 25)

(21) a. daa **hiit**   hii hírii:
        then called he her

"Frau Maansroth", un   yuu must him "oll Rinkrank" **heit**
 Frau Maansroth and she must him oll Rinkrank call
'Then he called her "Fru Maansroth" and she had to call him "oll
Rinkrank"'   (Mitth. III, 55)

   b. duu kanst de kat wail puus **hait**
      you can the cat well pussy call
      'You may well call the cat pussy'   (Mitth. III,104)

(22) a. dan mon **hat**   käärsen
        that man is-called Carsten
        'That man is called Carsten'   (Mitth. I, 37)

   b. un   dan breidgummel hä   Dau **hitin**
      and the bridegroom has Dau been-called
      'and the bridegroom was called Dau'   (Mitth. III, 363)

I assume that *heit* 'to call' is a causative verb taking a small clause as
its complement, whereas *heit* 'to be called' is its unaccusative
counterpart, in which the small clause subject is raised to the matrix
clause subject position (see Cornilescu 2007, Matushansky 2008, Fara
2015). [20] The assumed structures are illustrated in the following
(constructed) examples:

(23) a. Yuu **hat**   [sc him Wiltert]
        'She calls   him Wiltert'

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   b. daa **nammet** yaa daa, deer dait dain häbbet
      then name   they those who it   done have
      'Then they name those, who did it'   (Mitth. III, 174)

[20] Historically, the unaccusative variant in Wangerooge Frisian and other
Germanic languages probably derives from an old mediopassive occurring next
to the active variant (Cloutier 2009, chapter 4, 2013; Klein 2020).

b. Hii_i **hat**   [_SC_ e_i Wiltert]
   'He is called   Wiltert'

Here I adopt a quotational view of proper names (Geurts 1997, Bach 2002, Matushansky 2008): First, Ehrentraut sometimes uses quotation marks, which provides a superficial orthographic cue that Wangerooge Frisian proper names in the complement position of *heit* are quotations. Another, more substantial piece of evidence comes from the fact that the name may be preceded by the prepositional quotative marker *fon* (on quotative *van* in Dutch, see Broekhuis & Corver 2015:703–717 and the literature mentioned there; on quotative *fan* in West Frisian, see E. Hoekstra 2011):[21]

(24) a. yaa häb't hírii álltid   **híiten** <u>fon</u>   "swart Ett"
        they have her always called of-QUOT black Ett
        'They always called her Black Ett'   (Mitth. II, 7)

   b. dan sloo_et **híiten** wii <u>fon</u>   de híngstswommels
       that ditch called we of-QUOT the Horse Pond
       'We called that stretch of water the Horse Pond'   (Mitth. III, 37)

Quotative *fon* is only recorded in the corpus with causative *heit* 'to call', not with unaccusative *heit* 'to be called'.[22] Note that the definite article in

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[21] Also, compare the following example with the complex naming expression *'n númme set up* 'to name, to dub' lit. 'to put a name on':

(i) un dait lüürlitk swiin **séttert** yuu **'n númme up** <u>fon</u>   P.
     and that tiny   pig puts   she a name   on of-QUOT P.
     'and that tiny little pig she dubbed P.'   (Mitth. III, 435)

The quotative marker *fon* also occurs with *verba dicendi* in Wangerooge Frisian:

(ii) daa **quaa** hii <u>fon</u>   ee, dait sil 'ii   hab
     then said he of-QUOT yes that shall you have
     'Then he said: "Yes, you shall have that"'   (Mitth. III, 434)

[22] In West Frisian, both the causative naming verb *neame* and the unaccusative naming verb *hjitte* may combine with quotative *fan* (see below).

the hydronym *de híngstswommels* in 24b is part of the name and therefore part of the quotation ("de hingstswommels").

As quotations, proper names are NP predicates (see Pafel 2007, 2011). In argument position, they are embedded in a DP with a covert or overt reference marker (for example, a proprial article), so that the name X in argument position denotes something like "the individual named X" (see Matushansky 2008, Muñoz 2019). In contrast, the proper name as the complement of the naming verb is clearly a bare NP predicate. In languages in which proper names in argument position must be referentially marked overtly by a proprial article or a proprial suffix this marking is absent in the naming construction. The examples in 25 are from southern German dialects; the examples in 26 are from Mooring, a Mainland North Frisian dialect (Hoekstra 2010).

(25) a. Wir haben *(**den**) Peter gesehen.
        we   have   the   Peter seen
        'We have seen Peter.'

    b. Wir nennen ihn (***den**) Peter.
        we   call   him   the   Peter
        'We call him Peter.'

(26) a. We hääwe Pätjer*(**n**) sänj.
        we   have   Peter-REF   seen
        'We have seen Peter.'

    b. We nååme ham Pätjer(***n**).
        we   call   him Peter-REF
        'We call him Peter.'

The question is this: How could the naming verb *heit* 'to be called' become a copula and intrude on the domain of *wízze* 'to be'? Syntactically, both *heit* and *wízze* are raising verbs taking a small clause complement (see Stowell 1978 and subsequent work), with *heit* being originally a (semi)lexical (semicopular) verb and *wízze* a functional (purely copular) verb. Semantically, *heit* 'to be called' differs from the copula *wízze* only in that it has additional naming lexical content. More specifically, I assume that the naming verb is a copula (BE) that

incorporates a name qualifier containing the proprial classifier NAME (by name), so that it might be paraphrased as 'to be by name'.[23] Due to the name qualifier inherent in the semantics of the naming verb, a proper name can be attributed to an individual entity in its particular capacity as a name bearer.[24] At the same time, if somebody is by name X, he or she necessarily has the name X; that is, the naming verb entails a possessive relationship between the name bearer and his or her name (as in *iik heit Wiltert* 'I am called W.' = 'I am by name W.' ⇒ 'My name is W.').

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[23] The name qualifier can be compared with the capacity qualifiers discussed by de Swart et al. (2005, 2007). In Dutch, for example, capacity qualifiers can be used with bare NP predicates, providing the capacity classifier for these predicates:

(i) Zij is **van beroep**   dokter.
    she is of profession doctor
    'She is a doctor by profession.'

Capacity qualifiers can be semantically inherent in copula-like verbs as well. Consider the following examples from German, in which the verbs *arbeiten* 'to work' and *lernen* 'to learn' are combined with an NP predicate and might be paraphrased as 'to be by profession' and '(to learn) to become by profession':

(ii) a. Was **arbeitest** du?   Ich bin Maurer.
       what work   you? I   am mason
       'What is your profession? I am a mason.'

     b. Er hat Bäcker **gelernt**.
       he has baker   learned
       'He learned to be a baker.'

The name qualifier might also be compared with the naming convention that is sometimes assumed to be part of the semantics of proper names and that is supplied by the naming verb or, in the case of proper names used as arguments, by the discourse context (Recanati 1997, Matushansky 2008). Thus, *John* in *John is happy* would be the individual who is by name *John* or who is John by virtue of "the contextually salient naming convention in force between the speaker and the hearer" (Matushansky 2008: 592).

[24] A Google search suggests that in African Englishes, *I am by name X* is rather common for I *am called X*.

Both the name qualifier inherent in the naming verb's semantics and the possessive entailment can be expressed syntactically. It can be argued that they occur independently (that is, without the support of a copula) in the following postmodifying naming constructions in Germanic languages:

(27) a. a boy **by the name of** Peter / a boy, Peter **by name**

    b. ein Junge **namens** Peter   German
       a   boy   name-GEN Peter

    c. ein Junge **mit Namen** Peter   German
       a   boy   with name   Peter

    d. in jonge **mei namme** Piter   West Frisian
       a boy   with name   Piter
       'a boy called Peter/Piter'

The English example in 27a contains the name qualifier. In 27b, German *namens*, a genitive of *Name* 'name' used as a preposition, might be interpreted in the same way. Alternatively, German may use a (comitative-)possessive *with*-PP, as in 27c, which is also found in West Frisian, as in 27d.

The name qualifier inherent in the naming verb and its possessive entailment can also be expressed using adverbial modifier PPs that occur in the naming construction with the verb *to be called*. In Dutch, an overt name qualifier *van naam* can appear in the naming construction with *heten* 'to be called'. The use of a simple proprial classifier normally leads to a tautology, as in 28a, but a modified classifier is fine, as in 28b,c.[25]

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[25] However, in occasional examples, the use of a simple name qualifier does not lead to tautology:

(i) Deze boer   heet   **van naam** ook   Boer
    this   farmer is-called of   name also 'Farmer'
    'This farmer is actually called *Farmer*' (Een merkwaardig grafschrift 2021)

Here the use of the name qualifier highlights the fact that the surname *Boer* is homophonous with the common noun (job title) *boer* 'farmer'.

(28) a. ??Hij heet   Pieter **van naam**.
         he   is-called Pieter of   name
         'He is called Pieter.'

   b. Hij heet   Pieter **van voornaam**.
      he is-called Peter of   forename
      'His first name is Pieter.'

   c. Ik heet   Pietersen **van achternaam**.
      I   am-called Pietersen of   surname
      'My last name is Pietersen.'

It might be argued that the name qualifier is "repeated" overtly here, in order to render modification with *voor-* and *achter-* possible.[26]

    Alongside the name qualifier one can also find a *met*-PP in Dutch, expressing the possessive entailment of the naming verb *heten* 'to be

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A name qualifier with different prepositions is also found in the Scandinavian languages:

(ii) a. Hvad hedder   hun **til fornavn**/**efternavn**?   Danish
       what is-called she   to forename/surname?
       'What is her first/last name?'

   b. Vad heter   hon **i förnamn**/**efternamn**?   Swedish
      what is-called she in forename/surname?
      'What is her first/last name?'

[26] An inherent capacity qualifier can induce similar effects. Consider the following examples from German:

(i) a. ??Was arbeitest du **beruflich**?
       what work   you jobwise
       'What are you doing professionally?'

   b. Was arbeitest du **hauptberuflich**/**nebenberuflich**?
      what work   you main/side jobwise
      'What is your main job/secondary occupation?'

As suggested by an anonymous referee, one might also consider cognate objects here, which are only acceptable when modified: *He died a death* versus *He died a gruesome death*.

called'. Again, a possessive PP with a simple propial classifier is felt to be tautological and is hardly acceptable, as in 29a, but a PP with a modified classifier is allowed, as in 29b–d.[27]

(29) a. ??Hij heet   Pieter **met naam**
            He   is-called Pieter with name
            'He is called Pieter'

   b. Hij heet   Pieter **met (z'n)   voornaam**
      He is-called Peter with   his   forename
      'His first name is Pieter'

   c. Ik heet   Pietersen **met (m'n)   achternaam**
      I am-called Pietersen with my   surname
      'My last name is Pietersen'

   d. Hij heet   Pieter Pietersen **met z'n echte/volle   naam**
      he is-called Pieter Pietersen with his real/ full   name
      'His real/full name is Pieter Pietersen'

In German, the possessive *mit*-PP is the only option in this construction:

(30) a. ??Er heißt   **mit   Namen** Peter[28]

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[27] As a third option, in Dutch it is possible to use a locative PP that refers to the position of the name:

(i) a. Hij heet   Pieter **van voren**.
       he is-called Pieter at-the-front
       'His first name is Pieter.'

   b. Ik heet   Pietersen **van achteren**.
      I am-called Pietersen at-the-back
      'My last name is Pietersen.'

[28] See, however, the following citation from "Deutsche Sagen" by the Brothers Grimm (1816-1818, vol. 2, p. 262):

(i) Wie heißt   er mit Namen?— Er ist genannt von Schenkenburg.
    how is-called he with name   he is   called   von Schenkenburg

he is-called with name   Peter
'He is called Peter'

b. Er heißt   **mit Vornamen** Peter
he   is-called with forename   Peter
'His first name is Peter'

c. Ich heiße   **mit Nachnamen** Petersen
I   am-called with surname   Petersen
'My last name is Petersen'

d. Er heißt   **mit richtigem/vollem   Namen** Peter Petersen
he is-called with right/full   name   Peter Petersen
'His real/full name is Peter Petersen'

It was noted in the previous section that *heit* as a copula was very frequent in Wangerooge Frisian in identificational copular clauses. Higgins (1979:237) actually states that these sentences "are typically used for teaching the names of people or of things." In West Frisian (and in other Germanic languages), a sentence such as 31a with the naming verb *hjitte* 'to be called' can at first sight be paraphrased with an identificational copular clause as in 31b.[29]

(31) a. Hy **hjit**   (fan)   Piter   West Frisian
he   is-called of-QUOT Piter
'He is called Peter'

b. Dat **is** Piter
that is Piter
'That is Peter'

'How is he called by name?—He is called von Schenkenberg'

[29] For lack of fitting Wangerooge Frisian examples, here (and below) I resort to examples from West Frisian as a representative of the (West) Germanic languages (hopefully, including Wangerooge Frisian).

There is, however, a crucial difference between these sentences (see Hengeveld 1992:43–45): In 31a, *Piter* is a quotation (NP predicate), as has been argued above and as the possibility of the quotative *fan* indicates, whereas in 31b, *Piter* is a referential DP. This contrast is clearly manifested in languages in which the referentiality of the name is explicitly marked; the reference marker is obligatory in copular sentences:

(32) a. Das ist *(**der**) Peter   southern German dialects
     b. Dåt as Pätjer*(**n**)   Mooring, Mainland North Frisian

Moreover, the constructions in 31 differ in the kind of subject they allow: The naming verb cannot be used with a demonstrative subject, but it is acceptable with a personal pronoun, as in 33a. In contrast, the use of a personal pronoun subject is marked with the copula, but the demonstrative pronoun in the subject position is fine, as shown in 33b.

(33) a. Hy/*Dat **hjit** Piter   West Frisian
     b. Dat/?Hy **is** Piter

In 33a, *dat* in 33a is ungrammatical because the predicate *Piter* cannot referentially identify the underspecified demonstrative.[30] In contrast, the demonstrative is perfect with the referential DP *Piter* in 33b. In this case, the personal pronoun is infelicitous (note, however, that in English *He is Peter* is acceptable).[31] Considering the lack of syntactic overlap it is unlikely that this is the context in which the naming verb found its way to copular sentences in Wangerooge Frisian.

The naming verb is not only used with proper names, however; it can also take kind names as its complements.[32] Consider the following

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[30] Note that the demonstrative is meant to point out a salient person in the discourse context in 33a. If it agrees with a neuter singular DP/NumP, for example, *it hynder* 'the horse', the use of *dat* in 33a is grammatical.

[31] In 33b, the use of *hy* would be appropriate if *Piter* were a role (for example, in a play).

[32] The name can also be a definite description, as in the following example:

examples from Wangerooge Frisian, with causative and unaccusative *heit* in 34 and 35, respectively.

(34) a. nuu **háitert** yaa 'z   uk   fon   kiiltiis,
now call   they them also of-QUOT jackets

áaber bii ooelen tíiden híiten yaa 'z   píijäcker
but   in old   times called they them pea coats
'Nowadays they also call them jackets, but in the old days they called them pea coats'   (Mitth. II, 43)

b. daa **híiten** wii fon   múurwettel
those called   we of-QUOT parsnip
'We called those parsnips'   (Mitth. II, 57)

c. dait grof (klii) **heit** wii fon   ráagen klii
the coarse bran call we of-QUOT rye   bran
'The coarse one, we call rye bran'(Mitth. III, 196, 12 (FA II, 46))

(35) a. dait fin **hat**   den püünmillii
the fine is-called then pound-flour

un   dat grof **hat**   grant
and the coarse is-called groats
'The fine one (i.e. wheat flour) is called 'pound flour' then and the coarse one is called 'groats''   (Mitth. II, 46)

b. än tóoianker   **hat**   uk 'n wárpanker
a kedge anchor is-called also a grappling hook
'A kedge anchor is also called a grappling hook' (Mitth. III, 167)

(i) un   Gaad **hiit**   dait drúuchens <u>de iird</u>,
and God called the dry   the earth

un dait sámmelt wátter dait **hiit** hii <u>djuu see</u>
and the gathered water that called he   the sea
'And God called the dry land Earth; and the gathering together of the waters called he Seas'   (Genesis 1:10)

Kind names as complements of naming verbs can be nonreferential quotations (NP predicates) like proper names, as quotative *fon* in 34 clearly indicates, but there is evidence from Wangerooge Frisian and other West Germanic languages that they can also be referential (kind-referring) NumPs or rather NumPs embedding a quotation (see Härtl 2020). This is suggested by the fact that they can be accompanied by an indefinite article, as in *'n wárpanker* (['n "warpanker"]) in 35b. [33] Consider also the following examples from German (which I owe to an anonymous referee):

(36) a. So jemanden nennt man Tyrann / *Tyrannen
        so someone   calls one tyrant
        'Someone like that is called a tyrant'

    b. So jemanden   nennt man einen   Tyrannen
       so someone   calls one a-ACC   tyrant-ACC
       'Someone like that is called a tyrant'

In 36a, one finds a bare nonreferential NP predicate (which cannot have accusative case marking), while 36b involves a (case-marked) NumP.

    Moreover, in West Frisian, kind names in the predicate position can have an underspecified demonstrative as their subject, unlike proper names (see 33a). This suggests that the predicate qualifies to referentially identify the demonstrative and, therefore, must be a NumP:[34]

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[33] Bare mass or plural kind names are ambiguous: They can be either simple quotations (["NP"]) or NumPs with a zero indefinite article followed by a quotation ([Ø "NP"]).

[34] The use of the naming verb in identificational clauses with an underspecified demonstrative is also found in other mainland West Germanic languages such as Dutch and Low German. High German is more restrictive. Although it is possible to say *Das heißt Biestmilch* 'That is called beestings', examples such as **Das heißt ein Bluthänfling* 'That is called a linnet' or **Das heißen Heidelbeeren* 'Those are called blueberries' are unacceptable, which suggests that the demonstrative subject in *Das heißt Biestmilch* is not the underspecified *das*, but rather the specified 3rd person neuter singular *das*. This is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of **Solche Milch, das heißt Biestmilch* 'Such milk, that is called beestings'.

(37) a. Sokke molke, dat **hjit** bjist ([Ø "bjist"])
      such   milk   that is-called beestings
      'Such milk, that is called beestings'

   b. Dy fûgel, dat **hjit** in robyntsje ([in "robyntsje"])
      that bird   that is-called a linnet
      'That bird, that is called a linnet'

   c. Sokke beien, dat **hjitte** blebberbeien ([Ø "blebberbeien"])
      such   berries that are-called blueberries
      'Such berries, those are called blueberries'

   d. Wy **neame** dat bjist/in   robyntsje/blebberbeien
      we   call   that beestings/a linnet/blueberries
      'We call that beestings/a linnet/blueberries'

The use of the quotative marker *fan* is not allowed in such cases, as shown by the contrast in 38.

(38) a. Dy fûgel, dy/*dat hjit (fan) robyntsje
   b. Dy fûgel, ?dy/dat hjit (*fan) in robyntsje

In 38a, the NP predicate *robyntsje* (with an optional quotative marker) cannot referentially identify the underspecified demonstrative *dat*; only the specified (common gender, singular) demonstrative *dy* may occur here. In 38b, the NumP *in robyntsje* can referentially identify *dat*; here the quotative marker is disallowed and *dy* is infelicitous. In 38a, one is dealing with attributive predication; the name *robyntsje* is attributed to *dy* (*fûgel*). In 38b, one is dealing with identificational predication; *dy* (*fûgel*) is identified as an instance of the kind named *robyntsje*. This means that naming can be either *name-attribution* (with a bare NP) or *identification by name* (with kind-referring NumPs). On the distinction between attributive and identificational predication in copular clauses, see section 4.

In Ehrentraut's corpus, there is one example with both the unac-
cusative and the causative naming verb *heit* occurring in contexts
comparable to those in 37:[35]

(39) un   den **hat**   er 't 'n   métwurst, man won
      and then is-called it   a "mettwurst" but when

      't   fon 'n kuu is, den **hait** wi 't   fláskwurst
       it from a cow is then call we it "meat sausage"
      'and then it is called a "mettwurst", but when it comes from a cow,
      then we call it "meat sausage"'   (Mitth. II, 46)

Note that the quotative marker is missing with causative *heit* in this case,
although it is quite common when the small clause subject is not *dait* (as
one can observe in the examples in 34). This is expected, considering the
fact that *fláskwurst* (like *'n métwurst*) must be a NumP in order to
referentially identify *dait* (*'t*) and that the quotative marker can only
appear with NP predicates.[36]

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[35] In addition, there is one example with the causative naming verb *namme*:

(i) dait hää 'n riidiimeer   wízin; yaa **nammet** dait uk
    that has a riding_mare been; they call   that also

    'n wóo$_e$lriider
    a stickrider

    'That was a riding mare (witch); they also call that a (broom)stickrider'
                                                    (Mitth. II, 16)

[36] The following example involves both *dait* and the quotative marker *fon*
preceding a name (the toponym *'t ba'ulaun*), so the question arises how *dait* is
referentially identified there:

(i) an de noordersiid fon de wester dúunen
    on the North-side of the West   dune

    dait híiten wii fon   't ba'ulaun
    that called we of-QUOT the Farmland
    'We called the plot of land on the North side of the West dune the Farmland'
                                                    (Mitth. III, 37)

I suppose that in this case, *dait* is a neuter singular demonstrative pronoun
referring to an abstract object (in the sense of Asher 1993), namely, the location

When the complement of the naming verb *heit* is a kind name, there can be a syntactic overlap with *wízze* in identificational copular clauses:

(40) a. Dat **hjit/is** bjist
          'That is (called) beestings'

     b. Dat **hjit/is** in robyntsje
          'That is (called) a linnet'

     c. Dat **hjitte/binne** blebberbeien
          'Those are (called) blueberries'

To call *x* *"y"*, where *y* is the name of a kind, is to state that *x* is an instance of *y* (see Härtl 2020). It may have been this semantic entailment that has led to the use of kind-referring NumPs as complements of a naming verb next to nonreferential quotations (NP predicates) in the first place. In order to account for their use with kind-referring expressions, Härtl (2020) assumes that predicates such as *call* may introduce a copular relation in addition to their naming semantics. I claim that naming verbs such as Wangerooge Frisian *heit* are basically copular verbs (BE) with an additional naming component (the name qualifier),

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expressed by the PP *an de noordersiid fon de wester dúunen*. This pronoun is not in need of referential identification (see 6b).
   Not only locations, but also routes (implicit in iib) can be referred to with *dait*:

(ii) a. **dait** weer wail uur thríiuu fárndeil stuuns too guungen
          that was   well over three quarter hours to go

          fon 't   lauch auf bet naa de westerdúunen too
          from the   village to   the west-dunes   to
          'It was …. a three quarter of an hours walk from the village to the West Dunes'   (Mitth. III, 38)
     b. huu fiir sul   **dait** wail wíze? **dait** hat 'n dii re'izen
          how far should that well be   that is a day traveling
          'How far would that be? That's a day's travel'   (Mitth. III, 156)

Observe that the postcopular element in iib can be either a (*wh*-moved) AP (*huu fiir*) or a NumP (*'n dii re'izen*) here, indicating that *dait* needs no referential identification in this case.

both in their attributive-predicational use with nonreferential NPs (proper names or bare kind names) and in their identificational-predicational use with kind-referring NumPs. In the latter case, however, particularly in identificational copular clauses with the underspecified demonstrative, which, just like clauses with *wízze*, are typically used to introduce the names of people or things (Higgins 1979:237), the naming component of the naming verb can be backgrounded. In other words, the difference between naming (in this case: identification by name) and being (in this case: pure identification) can be blurred here. The development of copular *heit* in Wangerooge Frisian actually shows that in the final stage of the grammaticalization process the naming component can be lost completely.

One finds sentences in Wangerooge Frisian in which it is impossible to discern whether one is dealing with the naming verb *heit* 'to be called' or with the copula *heit* 'to be':

(41) a. wut   deer den auf falt, dait **hat**   heid
        what there then off   falls that is (called) flax tow (pluckings)
        'what falls off then, that is (called) flax tow (pluckings)'

                                                              (Mitth. II, 47)

   b. wat 'er   úurblift,   dait **hat**   wóoi,
      what there over-remains that is (called) whey

      dait kricht 'er 't swiin
      that gets   the pig
      'What is left over, that is (called) whey, that's what the pig gets'

                                                              (Mitth. I, 402)

In ambiguous sentences such as these, *heit* may first have been reinterpreted as a pure copula (and its complement as a regular NumP instead of a NumP with an embedded quotation).

In cases such as 42, with phonological reduction, and 43, with topic drop of *dait*, *hat* can only be interpreted as a copula, since phonological reduction or topic drop of *dait* is restricted to identificational copular clauses in Wangerooge Frisian:

(42)   dait melk fon än   deer iiven eerst melk wúurden is,
        the milk from one who just first milk become is

dai' **hat** bjést
that is   beestings
'The milk from one (that is, a cow) that has just come into milk,
that is beestings'   (Mitth. III, 275)

(43) a. dait melk, won deer 't roo$_e$m auf is,
the milk   when there the cream off is

       hat flíttiin   melk
(that) is   skimmed milk
'Milk from which the cream has been taken, is skimmed milk'
(Mitth. III, 151)

  b. túlken   dait is, won 'n móoget thióo$_e$nt,
sneaking that is when a maid   serves

un   won   yuu den stilkens wit   we' drächt
and when she then sneakily something away carries

naa oors liúuden too—   **hat** túlken
to   other people to (that) is   sneaking
'sneaking, that is when a maid is serving and then sneakily takes
away something to other people—that is sneaking'
(Mitth. III, 166)

In 42 and 43, *heit* is unambiguously a copula, that is, it had definitely lost
its naming component. On the basis of cases such as these, it may have
established itself in all identificational copular clauses, including those in
which a naming interpretation of *heit* is out of the question.[37]

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[37] In one case Ehrentraut suggests *(dait) hat* as an alternative for
presentational/existential *'t racht* 'there is (lit. it gives)' (compare German *es
gibt*):

(i)   wat   roo$_e$st de tak, **'t racht** (oder **hat**) süütelk   wiin
what rages the Tak, it gives (is)   southerly wind
'Whenever the Tak (waterway to the South of Wangerooge) is raging, there
is a south wind blowing'   (Mitth. I, 391)

Consider also the examples in ii.

The final question is how the copula *heit* spread from identificational to other nonpredicational copular clauses (see 19). Here the fact that identificational copular clauses quite frequently show topic drop in Wangerooge Frisian (see 9) might come into play. If *dait* was deleted by topic drop, a left-dislocated DP could be reanalyzed as the subject of the copular clause. Thus, a sentence like the one in 44a might theoretically have developed from the (constructed) example in 44b with left dislocation and optional topic drop.

(44) a. dait oo$_e$l huus **hat** 'n ríucht oo$_e$l kerbúf
         that old house is   a   real   old   hovel
         'that old house is a real old hovel'   (Mitth. III, 146)

     b. dait oo$_e$l huus, (dait) **hat** 'n ríucht oo$_e$l kerbúf

Generalizing from such cases, the use of *heit* was extended from identificational copular clauses with the demonstrative subject *dait* to clauses with a full DP subject, that is, to classificational and specificational copular clauses.

4. Wangerooge Frisian Heit and the Taxonomy of Copular Clauses.

Now it must be considered what the copula *heit* in Wangerooge Frisian, as restricted as its use may be, can tell one about the taxonomy of copular clauses. The distribution of *heit* in Wangerooge Frisian seems to show a distinction between predicational copular clauses, that is, copular clauses with an AP, NP, or PP predicate, and the other copular clause types (classificational, specificational, identificational, and equative);

(ii) a. de wiin **is** … óoeselk …   **hat** 'n góoden óo$_e$sten wiin
         the wind is   eastern …   (it) is   a good   east   wind
         'The wind ist east … There is a fine east wind blowing'   (Mitth. II, 72)

     b. dait wátter mailt,   **hat** strooem
         the water whirls, (it) is   current
         'The water is whirling, there is current'   (Mitth. II, 79)

Whether copular *heit* could also (marginally) spread to the existential domain is hard to say on the basis of these few examples (involving wind direction and water current).

heit is only possible in the latter. Accordingly, the basic distinction would be between copular clauses in which the copula links a (referential) DP/NumP subject with a (nonreferential) lexical projection (AP/NP/PP) and those in which the copula links a (referential) DP/NumP subject with another (referential) DP/NumP. Following Beyssade & Dobrovie-Sorin (2012), I call the former attributive predication and the latter identificational predication.

(45) a. DP/NumP *Copula* AP/NP/PP   attributive predication
     b. DP/NumP *Copula* DP/NumP   identificational predication

Attributive copular clauses attribute the property denoted by the postcopular AP/NP/PP to the subject DP/NumP, whereas identificational copular clauses identify the referent of the subject DP/NumPs as the referent of the postcopular DP/NumP. In the latter case, both referents may be individual entities, as in the identificational-equating clause *Alice is Miss Jones*; but it is also possible for one of them to be an individual concept (an intensional individual) or a kind (a set of individuals).[38] Therefore, I consider sentences with a DP or NumP complement of the copula not as attributive-predicational but as identificational:

(46) a. Alice is the winner.   identificational-specifying
     b. Alice is a smart girl.   identificational-classifying

In identificational-specifying sentences such as 46a, the individual entity denoted by the subject is identified as the binder of the variable provided by the individual concept denoted by the copular predicate. In identificational-classifying sentences such as 46b, the indefinite NumP refers to a kind; the sentence is true if the individual entity denoted by the subject is identified as being an instance of the kind denoted by the copular predicate (Mueller-Reichau 2008, 2011; Beyssade & Dobrovie-Sorin 2012; Seres & Espinal 2019).

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[38] Although I consider the distinction between attributive and identificational copular predication as the basic one, I use the labels *classifying*, *specifying*, and *equating* here with identificational copular clauses to facilitate the comparison with other typologies.

Identificational copular clauses in the sense of Higgins 1979, that is, copular clauses with an underspecified demonstrative subject, may, for the sake of presentation, be referred to as identificational-presentative. In the literature, this type of copular clause is often either left out of consideration or merged with one of the other types of copular clauses. The case of Wangerooge Frisian *heit* suggests that identificational-presentative copular clauses might be more central to our understanding of the typology of copular clauses than previously thought. They provided the breeding ground for the development of the copula *heit* from the naming verb *heit* and served as the springboard for its successive spread to other nonattributive copular clauses. The following data from West Frisian show that, in contrast to sentences with attributive predication, as in 47a, all sentences with identificational predication, including identificational-presentative clauses themselves, can be construed as identificational-presentative clauses with a left-dislocated subject, as in 47b–e.[39]

(47) a. Attributive-predicative

Rixt (*, dat) is fereale / dichter / út   'e   skroeven
Rixt (, that) is in-love / poet   / out the screws
'Rixt (, she) is in love, a poet, exited'

b. Identificational-classifying

Rixt (, dat)   is in ferneamd dichter
Rixt (, that) is a   famous   poet
'Rixt (, she) is a famous poet'

c. Identificational-specifying

Myn leafste   dichter (, dat) is Rixt
'My   favourite poet   (, that) is Rixt'

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[39] Beyssade & Dobrovie-Sorin (2012) point this out for French. In French, the demonstrative *ce* is nearly obligatory in identificational sentences (in the present tense), so that *c'est*, the amalgamation of demonstrative and copula, might be analyzed as copular variant of *être* 'to be' in identificational clauses (see Amary-Coudreau 2012, Amary 2019).

d. Identificational-presentative

Dat   (, dat) is Rixt
'That,   that is Rixt'

e. Identificational-equating

Rixt (, dat)   is Hendrika Akke van Dorssen

'Rixt (, that) is Hendrika Akke van Dorssen'

The fact that identificational clauses with an underspecified demonstrative subject can stand in for classifying, specifying, and equating ones suggests, on the one hand, that all of them must be basically identificational, and on the other hand that there is no room for an independent identificational-presentative reading (perhaps apart from cases of direct deixis). This, in turn, means that the spread of the copula *heit* in Wangerooge Frisian was from identificational clauses with an underspecified demonstrative subject to identificational clauses with a full DP subject, rather than from identificational-presentative clauses to the other nonpredicational copular clauses.

Identificational copular clauses do not necessarily have two referential DPs/NumPs on either side of the copula. First, in tautologies, as those in 48 brought up by Heycock & Kroch (1999) and the ones in 49 from German, both flanking elements can be predicates (bare XPs).

(48) a. When it comes down to it, honest is honest.
    b. In the end, long is long.

(49) a. Versprochen ist versprochen.   German
        promised   is   promised
        'A promise is a promise.'

    b. Mensch   ist Mensch.
        human being is   human being
        'We are all human beings.'

Second, there can be identificational clauses consisting of a DP/NumP and an NP, if the DP/NumP provides the classifier for the NP predicate:

(50) a. Her name is Alice.
    b. Alice is a beautiful name.

(51) a. Har berop   is dokter.   West Frisian
      her profession is doctor
      'She is a doctor by profession.'

    b. Dokter is in swier berop.
      doctor is a hard profession
      'Being a doctor is a hard profession.'

Here the DP/NumP, either the subject or the identificational predicate, provides the classifier (NAME, PROFESSION). These sentences are interpreted as *Her name is the* NAME *Alice*, *The* NAME *Alice is a beautiful name*, *Her profession is the* PROFESSION *of doctor*, *The* PROFESSION *of doctor is a hard profession*, so that one can maintain the claim that semantically, all identificational clauses contain either two referential or two nonreferential expressions.

    It would be interesting to know if it were possible to use the copula *heit* in examples such as 48 and 49 or 50 and 51 in Wangerooge Frisian, as one might expect, if *heit* were generally used in identificational clauses. Unfortunately, there are no exact matches in the material. However, consider the example in 52.

(52) dait **hat** hírii full númme.
    that is   her   full name
    'That is her full name.'   (Mitth. III, 416, 41)

In this clause, *dait* can only refer to a proper name, so in this sense it is comparable to 50b. The presence of *heit* in this example might thus suggest that in this type of identificational clause, this copula can occur as well (at least when the predicate is a DP/NumP).

    How can one account for the fact that *heit* only occurs in identificational copular clauses in Wangerooge Frisian? There are, in fact, several languages that use formally distinct variants of the copula BE (one of which can be zero) in attributive versus identificational clauses, for example, Chinese (Li & Thompson 1977), Polish (Rothstein 1986), Irish (Carnie 1997), Russian (Pereltsvaig 2007), Hebrew (Greenberg

2008), and Thai (Hedberg & Potter 2010).[40] So the question extends to such complex copula systems in general.

One might argue that the copula BE is ambiguous between attributive and identificational meaning, and that it is this ambiguity that lies at the heart of the distinction between predicational and identificational copular clauses (see Mikkelsen 2005, Heller 2005, Heller & Wolter 2008). In that case, the copula *heit* in Wangerooge Frisian might make visible a distinction covertly present in the meaning of *wizze* as well; in other words, *heit* would be a special identificational copula. However, Heycock & Kroch (1999) convincingly argue that the distinction between predicational (attributive) and equative (identificational) cannot be encoded in the copula BE. They show that there are more (semicopular) verbs that, like BE, can occur both in attributive and identificational copular clauses. They mention, for instance, aspectual verbs such as English *become* (inchoative BE) and *remain* (progressive BE).[41] It would certainly be an overgeneralization, if one were to assume that all these verbs have a homophonous attributive and identificational variant. Moreover, as far as I know, there are no languages with overtly distinct forms for attributive and identificational *become* and *remain*. Such a distinction and, more generally, complex copula systems seem to be limited to the semantically void copula BE.

If the attributive versus identificational distinction does not reside in the copula itself, it must be sought in the small clause selected by the copula. In the literature, there are in fact several proposals that posit different structures for attributive-predicational versus identificational small clauses (Carnie 1997, Heycock & Kroch 1999) or a different featural make-up of the supposed small clause head (Citko 2008). I do not discuss these proposals here but note that the semantic distinction between attributive-predicational and identificational copular clauses

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[40] Clearly, it is no coincidence that in many of these languages the copular element appearing in identificational clauses derives from a demonstrative pronoun historically (on this grammaticalization process, see Li & Thompson 1977, Lohndal 2009, and van Gelderen 2011, chapter 4).

[41] And one might add the naming verb *be called* (BE by name) here: *She is called Alice* (attributive-predicational), *That bird is called a linnet* (identificational).

does not necessarily have to correspond with a difference in the structure or the featural make-up of the head of the small clause. Underlying all copular clauses might be a unique small clause, the interpretation of which is determined by the nature of both the small clause subject and the small clause predicate. If the small clause subject is referential (DP/NumP) and the small clause predicate nonreferential (AP/NP/PP), the structure is interpreted as attributive-predicational; in contrast, if the subject and the predicate are both referential or both nonreferential, the structure is interpreted as identificational. However, whatever the nature of attributive-predicational and identificational small clauses may be, is there any reason to believe that the copula *heit* selects an identificational small clause?

If the possibility that copular variants themselves lexically encode the distinction is dismissed (see above), one might consider accounting for their distribution in terms of selection. However, there do not seem to exist verbs other than BE that select either an attributive-predicational or an identificational small clause. Heycock & Kroch (1999:382) explicitly point this out for identificational (equative) small clauses. They (like many others) seem, however, to regard English *consider* as a verb that selects only attributive-predicational small clauses. The following data appear to confirm this:

(53) a. I consider Alice (to be) smart.   attributive-predicational

     b. I consider my best friend *(to be) Alice.

                                             identificational-specifying

     c. I consider that *(to be) Alice.   identificational-presentative

     d. I consider her *(to be) Alice.   identificational-equating

In 53b,c, *consider* cannot embed the identificational small clause unless the copula *be* is inserted. Examples such as in 54 show, however, that certain identificational small clauses are possible as a complement of *consider*.

(54) a. I consider Alice a smart girl.   identificational-classifying
     b. I consider Alice my best friend.   identificational-specifying
     c. I consider that a compliment.   identificational-presentative
     d. I consider a promise a promise.   identificational-equating

Small clauses with a predicate denoting an individual entity such as a proper name or a definite description (as in 53b–d) can never be the complement of *consider*; they seem to be possible only with the copula *be* or a semicopular verb that contains BE as part of its semantics (*become*, *remain*). Individual entities, which are fully saturated expressions, can only become syntactic predicates with the help of the vacuous predicate BE (Beyssade & Dobrovie-Sorin 2012:80–81). Since the predicate of an "inverse" identificational-specifying small clause is always an individual entity, this type of small clause can never be embedded under *consider* (see 53b). However, identificational-classifying small clauses always contain a kind-referring predicate (see 54a), the predicate of "noninverted" identificational-specifying small clauses is an individual concept (see 54b), and identificational-presentative and identificational-equating small clauses can have not only an individual entity as their predicate (see 53c,d), but also a kind name (see 54c,d). Identificational small clauses with such unsaturated predicates are unproblematic as a complement of *consider*. Consequently, there seems to be no evidence that *consider* specifically selects a predicational small clause.

It would appear then that with verbs other than the copula BE, the distinction between attributive-predicational and identificational small clauses may not be captured in terms of selection. Indeed, this unique status of BE would be quite surprising, if one were really dealing with selection here. One would rather expect that a semantically void, functional verb such as BE can only c(ategory)-select a small clause, whereas lexical verbs such as *consider* might be able to s(emantic)-select either an attributive-predicational or an identificational small clause. At the same time, if the interpretation of a small clause as attributive-predicational or identificational is dependent on the referential status of both the subject and the predicate and not on any special (structural or semantic) properties of the small clause itself, as I suggested above, one would not expect selection to be so specific as to distinguish between different types of small clauses. It seems therefore unlikely that the occurrence of *heit* in indentificational copular clauses can be ascribed to selection.

If *heit* is neither an identificational copula nor a copula selecting an identificational small clause complement, how can one account for the distribution of *heit* and *wízze* in Wangerooge Frisian (or, for that matter,

for variants of BE in other languages with complex copula systems)? The solution might lie in the fact that BE is one of the verbs that is most susceptible to suppletion crosslinguistically (Veselinova 2006). In the Distributed Morphology framework (Halle & Marantz 1993 and subsequent work), it is possible to spell out formally distinct copular variants in different morphosyntactic environments, without assuming that copulas have lexical content (den Dikken & O'Neill 2017:25). Following Myler's (2018) approach of analyzing complex copula systems as suppletive allomorphy, I assume that the 3rd person singular present form of *heit* is encroaching on the paradigm of *wizze* in identificational copular clauses.[42] There is only one semantically vacuous copula BE in Wangerooge Frisian, which in the 3rd person singular present is spelled out as *hat* or *is*.[43]

I assume with Myler (2018) that BE heads a vP (a light verb phrase) and that the small clause, which it selects, is a PredP (Predicate Phrase). Since (Wangerooge) Frisian is an OV language, the vP will be left-branching. I further assume that the PredP acquires a categorial feature by percolation from its predicate (N/A/P in the case of attributive-predicational small clauses, D/Num in the case of identificational small clauses). I have shown that copular *heit* is not only restricted to the 3rd person singular present, but also to declarative main clauses (see section 2), that is, it only occurs in the verb-second position. One might therefore

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[42] Myler leaves aside identificational copular clauses in his paper but states in a footnote that his suppletion approach should ultimately be able to account for the copular allomorphy found in these sentences as well (Myler 2018:21, note 28).

[43] As in other Germanic languages, the paradigm of Wangerooge Frisian *wizze* is already highly suppletive:

(i) Infinitive   *wizze* 'to be'
     Past Participle   *wizziin*

	Present	Past
1 Sing.	iik sin	iik weer
2 Sing.	duu bist	duu weerst
3 Sing.	hii/yuu is	hii/yuu weer
123 Plur.	wii/yum/yaa sint	wii/yum/yaa wéeren

It features five (historically three) unrelated stems: *wizz-*, *sin-*, *bi-*, *is*, and *weer-*.

analyze *hat* as an unmarked copular particle that is directly inserted in the C(omplementizer) position. However, for the suppletive allomorphy analysis to work in this case, it must still be local enough with respect to the identificational small clause. This is guaranteed by the fact that the copular particle, by virtue of its lexical specification, effectively "spans" the intermediate heads T(ense) (3rd person singular present) and v (BE), and thus can count as adjacent to Pred$_{D/Num}$.[44]

(55)
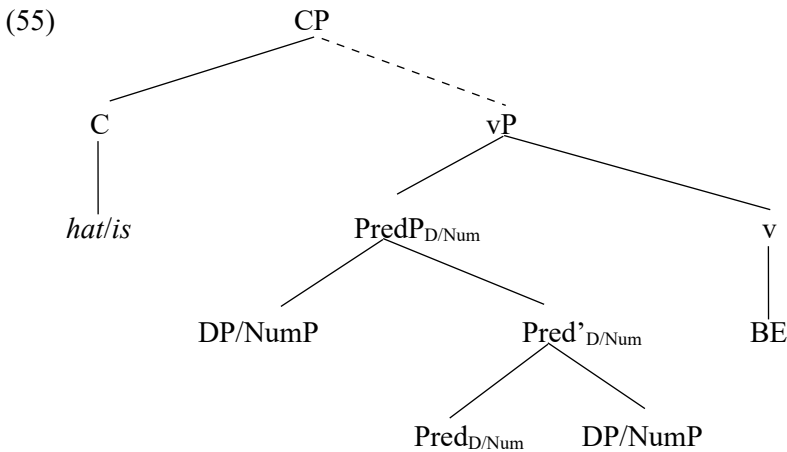
The distribution of the suppletive 3rd person singular present allomorphs of BE can then be accounted for by the following simplified Vocabulary Insertion rules (neglecting the other paradigm members of BE here):

(56) a. [C, BE, 3rd person singular present] ⇔ *hat* | __ Pred$_{D/Num}$
    b. [BE, 3rd person singular present] ⇔ *is*

The 3rd person singular present of the copula BE in the context of an identificational small clause can be realized by the C-particle *hat*. Realization of the 3rd person singular present of BE as *is* is possible in all contexts. This means in effect, that *hat* and *is* can both occur in the C-position: *hat* by direct Vocabulary Insertion, *is* by movement and Vocabulary Insertion. If 3rd person singular present BE has moved to the

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[44] For locality conditions on allomorphy, see Merchant 2015.

C-position of an identificational copular clause, the rules in 56 enter into competition.[45] The variability of *hat* and *is* is thus encoded in the grammar; the sociolinguistic and other usage-related factors determining this variability remain external to grammar and are, in this particular case, virtually unknown.[46]

A suppletive analysis of the copula *heit* in Wangerooge Frisian is attractive from the broader perspective of Frisian dialectology as well. The East Frisian dialects more generally show a somewhat higher amount of verbal suppletion than other Frisian dialects or other Germanic languages (see Hoekstra 2008). The most striking example is the common Germanic strong verb [+]*sehan-* 'to see', Old Frisian *siā*, Wangerooge Frisian *sjoo*. This verb has suppletive past tense and past participle forms in Wangerooge Frisian, which were provided by the weak verb [+]*biilauk* 'to watch (to belook)':[47]

(57)   *sjoo* 'to see'—*blauket*—*blauket*

In another case, originally suppletive forms may have taken over the complete basic paradigm; thus, common Germanic [+]*geban-* 'to give', Old Frisian *ieva*, Wangerooge Frisian *-gívve* has been fully ousted by *reik*, originally 'to reach', in its normal use and is only preserved in a number of derivations and fixed expressions (such as *fargívve* 'to forgive', *too hoo$_e$p gívve* 'to unite in matrimony' lit. 'to give together'). One further case of suppletion, in the paradigm of the highly suppletive verb BE, might thus fit in quite well with this more general tendency to suppletion in East Frisian.

The Distributed Morphology approach to the distribution of the copular variants *heit* and *wízze* might also open another perspective on the analysis of the naming verb *heit*. Klein (2020) proposes to analyze

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[45] The (uninterpretable) C-feature in 56a, that ensures that *hat* is only inserted in the C-position, is assumed not to make the terminal node in 56a more specific than the one in 56b, so that *hat* does not block *is*.

[46] For comparable approaches to variable rules in Distributed Morphology, see, for instance, Adger & Smith 2005 and Nevins & Parrott 2010.

[47] Observe the reduction of the prefix *bii-* in the suppletive forms.

the naming verb (German *heißen*) as a semantically void copula with narrow categorial restrictions with respect to its complement. It is somewhat unclear if a contentless copula can impose narrow categorial restrictions (see the discussion above), but one might recast Klein's proposal in the Distributed Morphology framework and consider the naming verb as a variant of BE used with proper names. Above I analyzed the naming verb as a copula + a name qualifier (by name), but one could alternatively view the name qualifier not as part of the semantics of the verb, but as a function of predication with a proper name—the same function that seems to be active in DPs with a proper name (*der Peter*=the individual by the name of Peter) or in close appositions with a proper name (*mein Freund Peter*=the friend of mine by the name of Peter). If such an analysis is tenable, the spread of *heit* in Wangerooge Frisian would not be so much a case of grammaticalization of the naming verb (semicopula) *heit* into a copula, but rather the extension of the copular variant *heit* from the domain of proper names to the domain of appellative DPs/NumPs (with a limited range of use). However, since an analysis of the naming verb as either a pure copula (BE) or a semicopula (BE + name qualifier) would not fundamentally change my account of the development of the copula *heit* in Wangerooge Frisian, I leave the matter open here.

5. Conclusion.

In this paper, I discussed the exceptional case of a verb intruding on the domain of the common Germanic copula [+]*wesan*-. In Wangerooge Frisian, the naming verb *heit* 'to call; to be called' developed into a copular verb 'to be' in the context of identificational clauses, thus entering into competition with the original copula *wízze* 'to be'. From identificational-presentative copular clauses, that is, clauses with the underspecified demonstrative subject *dait*, *heit* was able to spread to identificational (classifying and specifying) clauses with a full DP/NumP subject, but it did not reach attributive-predicational copular clauses. This suggests a principled distinction between attributive and identificational predication. It does not, however, force the conclusion that *heit* is an identificational copula or that it specifically selects an identificational small clause complement; copular *heit* is probably best analyzed as a suppletive allomorph of *wízze* 'to be' used with identificational small clauses. The historical data from Wangerooge Frisian are

too limited to allow for any far-reaching conclusions to be drawn, but it might open some new perspectives on the analysis of naming verbs and naming constructions as well as on the typology of copular clauses in the Germanic languages.

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