



Vladiměr and *vertigolova* - two strata of Slavic 'pickpocket' compounds

Benedicte Nielsen Whitehead

Roots of Europe – language, culture and migrations

Department of Nordic Studies and Linguistics



'Pickpocket' compounds

- that is: compound agent-nouns with a verbal first member

English *pickpocket* sums up the basic characteristics of such a compound: it is made up of a verbal first member *pick* and a second member *pocket* that refers to the object of that verb

The compound itself refers to the agent of the verbal act



The Slavic pickpocket compounds

Compounds of the pickpocket type are found in all Slavic languages and are generally thought to reflect a PIE word-formation pattern

As will be shown, they fall in two chronological layers, only one of which seems inherited



The archaic, Slavic pickpocket compounds

Archaic, compound personal names

SC *Vladi~slav* 'RULE~FAME'

Orus *Ja~voloda* 'SEIZE~POWER'



Compound names in Slavic

The verb+noun type is only one among many; other examples:

N+N	Pol	<i>Bogu~sław</i>	'GOD~GLORY'
N+V	Pol	<i>Bogu~chwał</i>	'GOD~PRAISE'
Ad+V	Cz	<i>Dali~bor</i>	'AFAR~FIGHT'

Heroic names that bring to mind battle and bravery; most certainly related to epic poetry

Compound/double names were a feature of PIE: the very same features are found in Baltic, Germanic, Greek and Indo-Iranian

The compound names thus seem to indicate an ancient isogloss encompassing the said languages, presumably dating back to before the emergence of the Slavs in Europe



Compound names of the verb+noun structure

A poorly researched area; Dickenmann (1934: 352) still holds true:

„Es wären in den einzelnen slavischen Sprachen umfassende Sammlungen der betreffenden Nomina propria (mit ausführlichen Quellenangaben) erforderlich, die uns gestatten würden, die einzelnen komponierten Personennamen nach ihrem erstmaligen Auftreten auch weiterhin in ihrer Entwicklung zu verfolgen. Erst dadurch würde es möglich, die im Slavischen alten Personennamen mit imperativischem Vorderglied systematisch zu untersuchen“

Dickenmann, E. (1934). *Untersuchungen über die Nominalkomposition im Russischen*. 1: Einleitung und Material. Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1968.



Compound names of the verb+noun structure

Pohl (1973) has gathered a comprehensive list of compound names that could, in his opinion, date back to Proto-Slavic

Pohl, H. D. (1973). "Verbale Rektionskomposita mit regierendem Vorderglied im Slavischen und anderen indogermanischen Sprachen". *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 18: 190-202



The morphological analysis

The 'imperative' analysis

The first member is an imperative: Dickenmann (1934: 347 f.), Leskien (1899: 389 ff.), Leskien (1914: §568) and Vaillant (1974: 765 f.)

Leskien, A. (1899). *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 21: 389ff.

Leskien, A. (1914). *Grammatik der serbo-kroatischen Sprache*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.

Vaillant, A. (1974). "La formation des noms". *Grammaire comparée des langues slaves* 4 Paris: Éditions Klincksieck



The morphological analysis

The 'imperative' analysis

A highly influential analysis that has been seen to apply across the board in Indo-European languages where we often find formations that seem to display imperatives as their first member

Bewildering, since these compounds do not have imperative semantics; and because inflected forms are generally illicit in nominal morphology



The morphological analysis

The 'root' analysis

The first member was originally a verbal root, later reinterpreted as a verbal stem: implicit in the treatments of Vaillant (1974: 765), Blanár (1996: 1195), and Rymut (1995: 807) and made explicit in Pohl (1973, esp. 200 f.)

Blanár (1996). "Morphologie der ältesten Personennamen: Slavisch". *Name Studies* 2. 1193-1198

Rymut, K. (1995). "Westslavische Namen". *Name Studies* 1. 805-811



The morphological analysis

The 'root' analysis

As can be seen a likewise widely accepted theory. Is based on the assumption that a similar word-formation pattern was inherited from PIE; but the evidence for such forms is scant



The morphological analysis

The 'stem' analysis

The first member is the infinitive stem: Miklosich (1927: 20):

“wir [...] bemerken, dass regelmässig diejenige Form eintritt, welche dem Infinitiv zu Grunde liegt, und zwar in der Bedeutung eines Substantivum verbale”

Miklosich, F., Ritter von (1927). *Die Bildung der slavischen Personen- und Ortsnamen : drei Abhandlungen*. Heidelberg: C. Winter



The morphological analysis

The 'stem' analysis

Probably the least accepted analysis but as we shall see the one that is best supported by the material

It is furthermore in good accordance with the most general principle of derivation in Slavic and in Indo-European in general: derivation from the uninflected stem



The material

The material of Pohl (1973) will be presented here, with supplemental information from Miklosich (1927), Dickenmann (1934) and the on-line resource of Wickenden of Thanet (2007)

The compound names will be compared to the corresponding base verb in OCS

The names themselves are from individual Slavic languages; but a comparison with OCS yields regular and thus reliable result

Wickenden of Thanet, P. (2007). *A Dictionary of Period Russian Names (and some of their Slavic roots)*. <http://www.sca.org/heraldry/paul/>.



Presentation of the material

The Slavic verbal system is based on an **infinitive stem**, on which the infinitive, aorist, supine, past participles and imperfect are formed, and a **present stem**, on which all forms of the present, including the crucial imperative, are formed

In the following, I will present the material in the following format:

(1) *xotěti* 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)*xošti*)
Cz. *Hotě~bor* < **xotě*



Presentation of the material

The Slavic verbal system is based on an **infinitive stem**, on which the infinitive, aorist, supine, past participles and imperfect are formed, and a **present stem**, on which all forms of the present, including the crucial imperative, are formed

In the following, I will present the material in the following format:

- (1) ***xotěti*** 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)*xošti*)
Cz. *Hotě~bor* < **xotě*



Presentation of the material

The Slavic verbal system is based on an **infinitive stem**, on which the infinitive, aorist, supine, past participles and imperfect are formed, and a **present stem**, on which all forms of the present, including the crucial imperative, are formed

In the following, I will present the material in the following format:

- (1) *xotěti* 'desire' (***xoštetъ***; (*vъs-*)*xošti*)
Cz. *Hotě~bor* < **xotě*



Presentation of the material

The Slavic verbal system is based on an **infinitive stem**, on which the infinitive, aorist, supine, past participles and imperfect are formed, and a **present stem**, on which all forms of the present, including the crucial imperative, are formed

In the following, I will present the material in the following format:

(1) *xotěti* 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)***xošti***)

Cz. *Hotě~bor* < **xotě*



Presentation of the material

The Slavic verbal system is based on an **infinitive stem**, on which the infinitive, aorist, supine, past participles and imperfect are formed, and a **present stem**, on which all forms of the present, including the crucial imperative, are formed

In the following, I will present the material in the following format:

(1) *xotěti* 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)*xošti*)

Cz ***Hotě~bor*** < **xotě*



Presentation of the material

The Slavic verbal system is based on an **infinitive stem**, on which the infinitive, aorist, supine, past participles and imperfect are formed, and a **present stem**, on which all forms of the present, including the crucial imperative, are formed

In the following, I will present the material in the following format:

(1) *xotěti* 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)*xošti*)
Cz. *Hotě~bor* < ****xotě***



Presentation of the material

The Slavic verbal system is based on an **infinitive stem**, on which the infinitive, aorist, supine, past participles and imperfect are formed, and a **present stem**, on which all forms of the present, including the crucial imperative, are formed

In the following, I will present the material in the following format:

- (1) **xotěti** 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)*xošti*)
Cz. *Hotě~bor* < **xotě*



Presentation of the material

The Slavic verbal system is based on an **infinitive stem**, on which the infinitive, aorist, supine, past participles and imperfect are formed, and a **present stem**, on which all forms of the present, including the crucial imperative, are formed

In the following, I will present the material in the following format:

- (1) *xotěti* 'desire' (***xoštetъ***; (*vъs-*)***xošti***)
Cz. *Hotě~bor* < **xotě*



Type (a): unambiguous infinitive stem in the first member (nine verbs)

(1) *xotěti* 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)*xošti*)

Cz. *Hotě~bor* < **xotě*

(2) *gorěti* (*goritъ*; *gori*) 'burn (intr.)'

Pol *Gorze~chow* < **gorě*



Type (a): unambiguous infinitive stem in the first member (nine verbs)

(1) *xotěti* 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)*xošti*)

Cz. *Hotě~bor* < **xotě*

(2) ***gorěti*** (*goritъ*; *gori*) 'burn (intr.)'

Pol *Gorze~chow* < **gorě*



Type (a): unambiguous infinitive stem in the first member (nine verbs)

(1) *xotěti* 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)*xošti*)

Cz. *Hotě~bor* < **xotě*

(2) *gorěti* (*goritъ*; *gori*) 'burn (intr.)'

Pol *Gorze~chow* < ****gorě***



Type (a): unambiguous infinitive stem in the first member (nine verbs)

(1) *xotěti* 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)*xošti*)

Cz. *Hotě~bor* < **xotě*

(2) ***gorěti*** (*goritъ*; *gori*) 'burn (intr.)'

Pol *Gorze~chow* < **gorě*



Type (a): unambiguous infinitive stem in the first member (nine verbs)

(1) *xotěti* 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)*xošti*)

Cz. *Hotě~bor* < **xotě*

(2) *gorěti* (***goritъ***; ***gori***) 'burn (intr.)'

Pol *Gorze~chow* < **gorě*



Type (a) continued

(3) *~děti* (*~deždqtъ; ~deždь*) 'put, perform'

Pol *Źdże~sław* < **sъ-dě*

Przedzie~sław < **per-dě*

(4) *dati* (*dastъ; daždь/daždi*) 'give'

OCz *Da~mir* < **da*

Neda~mír < **da*

Pol *Zda~wuj* < **sъ-da*

SCr *Da~bog* < **da*



Type (a) continued

(3) ~*děti* (~*deždŏtŭ*; ~*deždŏ*) 'put, perform'

Pol *Źdŏze~sław* < **sŏ-dě*
Przedzie~sław < **per-dě*

(4) *dati* (*dastŭ*; *daždŏ*/*daždi*) 'give'

OCz *Da~mir* < **da*
Neda~mír < **da*
 Pol *Zda~wuj* < **sŏ-da*
 SCr *Da~bog* < **da*



Type (a) continued

(3) ~**děti** (~*deždōtŭ*; ~*deždŭ*) 'put, perform'

Pol *ŹdŹe~sław* < **sŭ-dě*

Przedzie~sław < **per-dě*

(4) **dati** (*dastŭ*; *daždŭ/daždŭi*) 'give'

OCz *Da~mir* < **da*

Neda~mír < **da*

Pol *Zda~wuj* < **sŭ-da*

SCr *Da~bog* < **da*



Type (a) continued

(3) ~*děti* (~**deždŏtŭ**; ~**deždŭ**) 'put, perform'

Pol *Źdŕe~sław* < **sŭ-dě*

Przedzie~sław < **per-dě*

(4) *dati* (**dastŭ**; **daždŭ/daždi**) 'give'

OCz *Da~mir* < **da*

Neda~mír < **da*

Pol *Zda~wuj* < **sŭ-da*

SCr *Da~bog* < **da*



Type (a) continued

(5) *znati* (*znajetъ*; *znaji*) 'know'

PS **Zna~měъ* **zna*

(6) *byti* (*estъ*; *bъdi*) 'be'

Pol *Przyby~sław* < **pri-by*

OCz *Uby~slav* < **u-by*

ORus *Sby~slavъ* < **sъ-by*

(7) *stati* (*stanetъ*; *stani*) 'stand up, take a stand'

OCz **Sta~mír* < **sta*



Type (a) continued

(5) *znati* (*znajetъ*; *znaji*) 'know'

PS **Zna~měъ* ***zna**

(6) *byti* (*estъ*; *bъdi*) 'be'

Pol *Przyby~sław* < **pri-by*

OCz *Uby~slav* < **u-by*

ORus *Sby~slavъ* < **sъ-by*

(7) *stati* (*stanetъ*; *stani*) 'stand up, take a stand'

OCz **Sta~mír* < ***sta**



Type (a) continued

(5) **znati** (*znajetъ; znaji*) 'know'

PS *Zna~měrъ *zna

(6) **byti** (*estъ; bȳdi*) 'be'

Pol *Przyby~sław* < *pri-by

OCz *Uby~slav* < *u-by

ORus *Sby~slavъ* < *sъ-by

(7) **stati** (*stanetъ; stani*) 'stand up, take a stand'

OCz *Sta~mír < *sta



Type (a) continued

(5) **znati** (**znajetъ**; **znaji**) 'know'

PS *Zna~měrъ *zna

(6) **byti** (**estъ**; **bōdi**) 'be'

Pol *Przyby~sław* < *pri-by

OCz *Uby~slav* < *u-by

ORus *Sby~slavъ* < *sъ-by

(7) **stati** (**stanetъ**; **stani**) 'stand up, take a stand'

OCz *Sta~mír < *sta



Type (a) continued

(8) *čajati* (*čajetъ*; *čaji*) 'hope for'

Pol *Cza~sław* < *ča



Type (a) continued

(8) *čajati* (*čajetъ*; *čaji*) 'hope for'

Pol *Cza~sław* < ***ča**



Type (a) continued

(8) *čajati* (*čajetъ*; *čaji*) 'hope for'

Pol *Cza~sław* < *ča < **čaja**



Type (a) continued

(9) **čajati** (*čajetъ; čaji*) 'hope for'

Pol *Cza~sław* < *ča < čaja



Type (a) continued

(9) *brati* (~*borjetъ*; *borji*) 'fight'

Metathesis of liquids caused the root **bor* to vary between
bra/_C; / *bor_V* or *j*

Pol *Zbro~sław* < **sъ-bor*



Type (a) continued

(9) *brati* (~*borjetъ*; *borji*) 'fight'

Metathesis of liquids caused the root **bor* to vary between
bra/_C; / *bor_V* or *j*

Pol *Zbro~sław* < **sъ-bor*



Type (a) continued

(9) *brati* (~*borjetъ*; *borji*) 'fight'

Metathesis of liquids caused the root **bor* to vary between
bra/_C; / ***bor_V*** or ***j***

Pol *Zbro~sław* < **sъ-bor*



Type (a) continued

(9) *brati* (~*borjetъ*; *borji*) 'fight'

Metathesis of liquids caused the root **bor* to vary between *bra/_C*; / *bor_V* or *j*

Pol *Zbro~sław* < **s**b**-bor*



Type (a) continued

(9) **brati** (*~borjetъ; borji*) 'fight'

Metathesis of liquids caused the root **bor* to vary between *bra/_C; / bor_V* or *j*

Pol *Zbro~sław* < **sъ-bor*



Type (b): present or infinitive stem in the first member (two verbs)

From verbs with an unsuffixed vocalic present *and* infinitive stem

(1) *jęti* (*imetъ*; *imi*) 'take'

The root varies between *ję/_C*; *im/_V*

Pol *Otję~sław* < **otъ-ję*

ORus *Ja~volodъ* < **ję*

Izja~slavъ < **iz-ję*

Pereja~slavъ < **per-ję*

(2) *(na)čęti* (*načъnetъ*; *načъni*) 'begin'

The root varies between *čę/_C*; *čъn/_V*

OCz **Če~radъ* < * *čę*

Pol *Naczę~mir* < **na-czę*



Type (b): present or infinitive stem in the first member (two verbs)

From verbs with an unsuffixed vocalic present *and* infinitive stem

(1) *jęti* (*imetъ; imi*) 'take'

The root varies between ***ję/_C***; *im/_V*

Pol *Otję~sław* < **otъ-ję*

ORus *Ja~volodъ* < **ję*

Izja~slavъ < **iz-ję*

Pereja~slavъ < **per-ję*

(2) (*na*)*čęti* (*načъnetъ; načъni*) 'begin'

The root varies between ***čę/_C***; *čъn/_V*

OCz **Če~radъ* < * *čę*

Pol *Naczę~mir* < **na-czę*



Type (b): present or infinitive stem in the first member (two verbs)

From verbs with an unsuffixed vocalic present *and* infinitive stem

(1) *jęti* (*imetъ*; *imi*) 'take'

The root varies between *ję/_C*; ***im/_V***

Pol *Otję~sław* < **otъ-ję*

ORus *Ja~volodъ* < **ję*

Izja~slavъ < **iz-ję*

Pereja~slavъ < **per-ję*

(2) *(na)čęti* (*načъnetъ*; *načъni*) 'begin'

The root varies between *čę/_C*; ***čъn/_V***

OCz **Če~radъ* < * *čę*

Pol *Naczę~mir* < **na-czę*



Type (b): present or infinitive stem in the first member (two verbs)

From verbs with an unsuffixed vocalic present *and* infinitive stem

(1) *jęti* (*imetъ*; *imi*) 'take'

The root varies between *ję/_C*; *im/_V*

Pol *Otję~sław* < **otъ-ję*

ORus *Ja~volodъ* < **ję*

Izja~slavъ < **iz-ję*

Pereja~slavъ < **per-ję*

(2) *(na)čęti* (*načъnetъ*; *načъni*) 'begin'

The root varies between *čę/_C*; *čъn/_V*

OCz **Če~radъ* < **čę*

Pol *Naczę~mir* < **na-czę*



Type (b): present or infinitive stem in the first member (two verbs)

From verbs with an unsuffixed vocalic present *and* infinitive stem

(1) *jęti* (*imetъ*; ***imi***) 'take'

The root varies between *ję/_C*; *im/_V*

Pol *Otję~sław* < **otъ-ję*

ORus *Ja~volodъ* < **ję*

Izja~slavъ < **iz-ję*

Pereja~slavъ < **per-ję*

(2) *(na)čęti* (*načъnetъ*; ***načъni***) 'begin'

The root varies between *čę/_C*; *čъn/_V*

OCz **Če~radъ* < * *čę*

Pol *Naczę~mir* < **na-čę*



Type (c): infinitive stem plus linking vowel in the first member (three verbs)

(1) *xotěti* 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)*xošti*).

Cz *Hoti~voj* < **xot-i*

(2) *želěti* (*želějetъ*; *želěji*)/*želati* (*želajetъ*; *želaji*) 'wish'

Rus. *Želi~slav* < **žel-i*

(3) *kazati* (*kaza*; *kažetъ*; *kaži*) 'show'

Cz *Kazi~mír* < **kaz-i*



Type (c): infinitive stem plus linking vowel in the first member (three verbs)

(1) *xotěti* 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)*xošti*).

Cz *Hoti~voj* < ***xot-i**

(2) *želěti* (*želějetъ*; *želěji*)/*želati* (*želajetъ*; *želaji*) 'wish'

Rus. *Želi~slav* < ***žel-i**

(3) *kazati* (*kaza*; *kažetъ*; *kaži*) 'show'

Cz *Kazi~mír* < ***kaz-i**



Type (c): infinitive stem plus linking vowel in the first member (three verbs)

(1) *xotěti* 'desire' (*xoštetъ*; (*vъs-*)***xošti***).

Cz *Hoti~voj* < **xot-i*

(2) *želěti* (*želějetъ*; ***želěji***)/*želati* (*želajetъ*; ***želaji***) 'wish'

Rus. *Želi~slav* < **žel-i*

(3) *kazati* (*kaza*; ***kažetъ***; ***kaži***) 'show'

Cz *Kazi~mír* < **kaz-i*



Type (c): infinitive stem plus linking vowel in the first member (three verbs)

(1) **xotěti** 'desire' (xoštetъ; (vъs-)xošti).

Cz *Hoti~voj* < *xot-i

(2) **želěti** (želějetъ; želěji)/želati (želajetъ; želaji) 'wish'

Rus. *Želi~slav* < *žel-i

(3) **kazati** (kaza; kažetъ; kaži) 'show'

Cz *Kazi~mír* < *kaz-i



Type (c): infinitive stem plus linking vowel in the first member (three verbs)

The stem vowel is lost before a vocalic suffix

(1) *xotě + i → xot-i*

(2) *želě + i → žel-i*

(3) *kaza + i → kazi*



Type (d): imperative (six verbs)

(1) *gorěti* (*goritъ; gori*) 'burn (intr.)'

Pol *Gorzy~sław* < **gori*

(2) **bajati* (**bajetъ; *baji*) 'narrate' (a reconstructed vb.)

Rus *Bai~bol* < **baji*

(3) *strěšti* (*strěžetъ; strěži*) 'protect, watch over'

Cz *Strězi~miř* < **strěži*

(4) *vlasti* (*vladetъ; vladi*) 'rule'

Rus *Vladi~měr* < **vladi*



Type (d): imperative (six verbs)

(1) *gorěti* (*goritъ*; *gori*) 'burn (intr.)'

Pol *Gorzy~sław* < ***gori**

(2) **bajati* (**bajetъ*; **baji*) 'narrate' (a reconstructed vb.)

Rus *Bai~bol* < ***baji**

(3) *strěšti* (*strěžetъ*; *strěži*) 'protect, watch over'

Cz *Strězi~miř* < ***strěži**

(4) *vlasti* (*vladetъ*; *vlati*) 'rule'

Rus *Vlati~měr* < ***vlati**



Type (d): imperative (six verbs)

(1) *gorěti* (*goritъ*; ***gori***) 'burn (intr.)'

Pol *Gorzy~sław* < **gori*

(2) **bajati* (**bajetъ*; ****baji***) 'narrate' (a reconstructed vb.)

Rus *Bai~bol* < **baji*

(3) *strěšti* (*strěžetъ*; ***strěži***) 'protect, watch over'

Cz *Strězi~miř* < **strěži*

(4) *vlasti* (*vladetъ*; ***vlati***) 'rule'

Rus *Vlati~měr* < **vlati*



Type (d): imperative (six verbs)

(1) *gorěti* (*goritъ; gori*) 'burn (intr.)'

Pol *Gorzy~sław* < ***gor-i**

(2) **bajati* (**bajetъ; *baji*) 'narrate' (a reconstructed vb.)

Rus *Bai~bol* < ***baj-i**

(3) *strěšti* (*strěžetъ; strěži*) 'protect, watch over'

Cz *Strězi~miř* < ***strěž-i**

(4) *vlasti* (*vladetъ; vladi*) 'rule'

Rus *Vladi~měr* < ***vlad-i**



Type (d): imperative (six verbs)

(1) **gorěti** (*goritъ; gori*) 'burn (intr.)'

Pol *Gorzy~sław* < **gor-i*

(2) ***bajati** (**bajetъ; *baji*) 'narrate' (a reconstructed vb.)

Rus *Bai~bol* < **baj-i*

(3) **strěšti** (*strěžetъ; strěži*) 'protect, watch over'

Cz *Strězi~miř* < **strěž-i*

(4) **vlasti** (*vladetъ; vladi*) 'rule'

Rus *Vladi~měr* < **vlad-i*



Type (d) continued

(5) *stati* (*stanetъ; stani*) 'stand up, take a stand, stop'

Orus *Stani~slav* < **stani*

(6) *bъrati* (*beretъ; beri*) 'carry'

SCr *Beri~voj* < **beri*



Type (d) continued

(5) *stati* (*stanetъ; stani*) 'stand up, take a stand, stop'

Orus *Stani~slav* < ***stani**

(6) *bъrati* (*beretъ; beri*) 'carry'

SCr *Beri~voj* < ***beri**



Type (d) continued

(5) *stati* (*stanetъ*; ***stani***) 'stand up, take a stand, stop'

Orus *Stani*~*slav* < **stani*

(6) *bъrati* (*beretъ*; ***beri***) 'carry'

SCr *Beri*~*voj* < **beri*



Type (d) continued

(5) *stati* (***stanetъ***; *stani*) 'stand up, take a stand, stop'

Orus *Stani~slav* < **stani*

(6) *bъrati* (***beretъ***; *beri*) 'carry'

SCr *Beri~voj* < **beri*



Type (e): entirely ambiguous (countless verbs)

From *i*-verbs

Such forms are frequent, surely because the *i*-verbs are mainly transitive. These are but a few of numerous examples:

Rus	<i>Radi~gostь</i>	OCS <i>raditi</i> `care for`
	<i>Xvali~bog</i>	OCS <i>chvaliti</i> `praise`
	<i>Msti~slavь</i>	OCS <i>mьstiti</i> `avenge`
Pol	<i>Budzi~sław</i>	OCS <i>buditi</i> `awaken`
Slov	<i>Hrani~slav</i>	OCS <i>chraniti</i> `protect`
	<i>Desi~mir</i>	OCS <i>desiti</i> `find`
	<i>Druži~mir</i>	OCS <i>družiti se</i> `be friendly`
CSI	<i>Vlasti~mil</i>	OCS <i>vlastiti</i> `rule`

First member could be either the stem of the infinitive, the stem of the present or the present imperative.



Type (f): undisputed imperative (one form)

(1) *dati* (*dastъ*; *daždь/daždi*) 'give'

SCr	<i>Daj~bog</i>	< * <i>daj~</i> = imperative
Orus	<i>Dažь~bogь</i>	< * <i>dažь</i> < imperative
Pol	<i>Dazbóg</i>	< * <i>dažь</i> < imperative



The origins of this Slavic theonym are disputed, as is the analysis of each individual member

Type (f): undisputed imperative (one form)

(1) *dati* (*dastъ*; ***daždь/daždi***) 'give'

SCr	<i>Daj~bog</i>	< * <i>daj~</i> = imperative
Orus	<i>Dažь~bogь</i>	< * <i>dažь</i> < imperative
Pol	<i>Dazbóg</i>	< * <i>dažь</i> < imperative



The origins of this Slavic theonym are disputed, as is the analysis of each individual member

Summary of the findings

If we assume that ambiguous forms are based on the infinitive stem rather than the present stem, and that *-i* is a linking vowel, then we can divide the material into two groups according to whether the first member is

- (1) an unmodified infinitive stem
- (2) a infinitive (or, in two cases, present) stem with a linking vowel, *-i*

In other words, Miklosich's observation was true



Advantages of Miklosich's stem analysis

This analysis has the advantage (over the imperative analysis) of accounting for the material in an economical and systematic way



Advantages of Miklosich's stem analysis

Moreover, the derivational principle also underlies the morphology of suffixal nouns derived from verbs, compare the agent-nouns in *-telj*.

Like most other nouns, these are generally derived from the stem of the infinitive; in addition, they display a linking vowel, *-i*; thus

xotě-teljь ← *xotěti*

sъdě-teljь ← *děti*

prědъsta-teljь ← *stati*

da-teljь ← *dati*

With *-i-*:

съnabъd-iteljь ← *bъděti*

strastotrъp-iteljь ← *trъpěti*



Modern Slavic pickpocket compounds

In modern Slavic we find pickpocket compounds that are formed according to the same principles as the compound names; they are derived from verbal stems, sometimes with an added linking vowel



Modern Slavic pickpocket compounds

For collections of relevant forms, see:

Vaillant 1974: 765-7

Dickenmann 1934: 356-371

Grimm 1826: 957-8. *Deutsche Grammatik*. 2, Wortbildung.
Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann

Osthoff 1878: 225-35. *Das Verbum in der Nominalcomposition im Deutschen, Griechischen, Romanischen, und Slavischen*.
Jena: H. Costenoble



Modern Slavic pickpocket compounds

Progovac, L. (2006). "Fossilized imperative in compounds and other expressions: possible implications for historical and evolutionary studies". *Online Proceedings of the First Meeting of Slavic Linguistics Society (SLS), Bloomington, IN, September 2006 (November 2006)*

Unbegaun, B. O. 1972: 143; 167 f. *Russian surnames*. Oxford: Clarendon

Vondrák 1906: 502-3. *Verlgeichende slavische Grammatik*. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht



Modern Slavic pickpocket compounds

In modern Slavic we find pickpocket compounds that are formed according to the same principles as the compound names: they are derived from verbal stems, sometimes with an added linking vowel

They fall in two groups:

Group 1: agent-nouns

Mostly nicknames and terms for misers, cutthroats, pickpockets, womanizers and general trouble-makers

Group 2: instrument-nouns

Botanical names of medieval origin

Names of tools, generally of modern origin



Serbocroat

Displays a form that is identical with the imperative throughout

<i>gazi~blato</i>	`TREAD~MUCK' <i>gaziti (gazi; gazi)</i>
<i>jebi~kobila</i>	`FUCK~HORSE → womanizer' <i>jebati (jebe; jebi)</i>
<i>raspi~kuća</i>	`SQUANDER~HOUSE → spendthrift' <i>rasipati (rasipa; raspi)</i>
<i>vuci~batina</i>	`PULL~WHIP → tramp, good-for-nothing' <i>vuće (vuči; vuci)</i>
<i>deri~koža</i>	`RIP~SKIN → person who rips you off' <i>derati (dere; deri)</i>
<i>vrti~guz</i>	`SPIN~BOTTOM → restless person' <i>vrtiti (vrti; vrti)</i>
<i>muti~voda</i>	`MUDDY-WATER → troublemaker' <i>mutiti (muti; muti)</i>



Serbocroat

Displays a form that is identical with the imperative throughout

<i>gazi</i> ~blato	`TREAD~MUCK' <i>gaziti</i> (<i>gazi</i> ; <i>gazi</i>)
<i>jebi</i> ~kobila	`FUCK~HORSE → womanizer' <i>jebati</i> (<i>jebe</i> ; <i>jebi</i>)
<i>raspi</i> ~kuća	`SQUANDER~HOUSE → spendthrift' <i>rasipati</i> (<i>rasipa</i> ; <i>raspi</i>)
<i>vuci</i> ~batina	`PULL~WHIP → tramp, good-for-nothing' <i>vuće</i> (<i>vuči</i> ; <i>vuci</i>)
<i>deri</i> ~koža	`RIP~SKIN → person who rips you off' <i>derati</i> (<i>dere</i> ; <i>deri</i>)
<i>vrti</i> ~guz	`SPIN~BOTTOM → restless person' <i>vrtiti</i> (<i>vrti</i> ; <i>vrti</i>)
<i>muti</i> ~voda	`MUDDY-WATER → troublemaker' <i>mutiti</i> (<i>muti</i> ; <i>muti</i>)



Serbocroat

Displays a form that is identical with the imperative throughout

<i>gazi~blato</i>	`TREAD~MUCK' <i>gaziti</i> (<i>gazi</i> ; <i>gazi</i>)
<i>jebi~kobila</i>	`FUCK~HORSE → womanizer' <i>jebati</i> (<i>jebe</i> ; <i>jebi</i>)
<i>raspi~kuća</i>	`SQUANDER~HOUSE → spendthrift' <i>rasipati</i> (<i>rasipa</i> ; <i>raspi</i>)
<i>vuci~batina</i>	`PULL~WHIP → tramp, good-for-nothing' <i>vuće</i> (<i>vući</i> ; <i>vuci</i>)
<i>deri~koža</i>	`RIP~SKIN → person who rips you off' <i>derati</i> (<i>dere</i> ; <i>deri</i>)
<i>vrti~guz</i>	`SPIN~BOTTOM → restless person' <i>vrtiti</i> (<i>vrti</i> ; <i>vrti</i>)
<i>muti~voda</i>	`MUDDY-WATER → troublemaker' <i>mutiti</i> (<i>muti</i> ; <i>muti</i>)



Czech

Reveals that -i is a linking vowel

hryzi~kůrka 'GNAW~CRUST → a miser'; *hryzat* (*hryže; hryžej*)~ *hrýzt* (*hryze; hryž*)
kazi~svět 'DESTROY~WORLD → thug'; *kazit* (*kazí; kaž*)
hubi~len 'EXTERMINATE~FLAX → flax dodder (*bot.*) *hubit* (*hubí; hub*)
vydři~duch 'SCRAPE-OUT~SOUL → usurer'; *vydřit* (*vydře; vydři*)



Czech

Reveals that -i is a linking vowel

hryzi~*kůrka* `GNAW~CRUST → a miser'; *hryzat* (*hryže*; *hryžej*)~ *hrýzt* (*hryze*; *hryž*)
kazi~*svět* `DESTROY~WORLD → thug'; *kazit* (*kazí*; *kaž*)
hubi~*len* `EXTERMINATE~FLAX → flax dodder (*bot.*) *hubit* (*hubí*; *hub*)
vydři~*duch* `SCRAPE-OUT~SOUL → usurer'; *vydřit* (*vydře*; *vydři*)



Czech

Reveals that -i is a linking vowel

hryzi~kůrka `GNAW~CRUST → a miser'; *hryzat* (*hryže; hryžej*)~ *hrýzt* (*hryze; **hryž***)
kazi~svět `DESTROY~WORLD → thug'; *kazit* (*kazí; **kaž***)
hubi~len `EXTERMINATE~FLAX → flax dodder (*bot.*) *hubit* (*hubí; **hub***)
vydři~duch `SCRAPE-OUT~SOUL → usurer'; *vydřít* (*vydře; vydři*)



Polish

Likewise

bawi~dam-ek `ENTERTAIN~WOMEN(dim.) → ladies' man'; *bawić* (*bawi*; *baw*)
gryzi~krupa `GNAW~PEARL BARLY → stingy person'; *gryźć* (*gryzie*, *gryż*)
mąci~woda `STIR~WATER → trouble-maker'; *mącić* (*mąci*, *mąć*)
rzezi~mieszek `CUT~PURSE → cut-purse; pickpocket'; *rzezać* (*rzeże*, *rzeż*)
łami~główka `BREAK~HEAD → puzzle' *łamać* (*łamie*, *łam*)



Polish

Likewise

bawi~*dam-ek* `ENTERTAIN~WOMEN(dim.) → ladies' man'; *bawić* (*bawi*; *baw*)
gryzi~*krupa* `GNAW~PEARL BARLY → stingy person'; *gryźć* (*gryzie*, *gryż*)
mąci~*woda* `STIR~WATER → trouble-maker'; *mącić* (*mąci*, *mąć*)
rzezi~*mieszek* `CUT~PURSE → cut-purse; pickpocket'; *rzezać* (*rzeże*, *rzeż*)
łami~*główka* `BREAK~HEAD → puzzle' *łamać* (*łamie*, *łam*)



Polish

Likewise

bawi~dam-ek `ENTERTAIN~WOMEN(dim.) → ladies' man'; *bawić* (*bawi*; ***baw***)
gryzi~krupa `GNAW~PEARL BARLY → stingy person'; *gryźć* (*gryzie*, ***gryż***)
mąci~woda `STIR~WATER → trouble-maker'; *mącić* (*mąci*, ***mąć***)
rzezi~mieszek `CUT~PURSE → cut-purse; pickpocket' *rzezać* (*rzeże*, ***rzeż***)
łami~główka `BREAK~HEAD → puzzle' *łamać* (*łamie*, ***łam***)



Modern Slavic pickpocket compounds

The word-formation pattern occurs mainly in West Slavic

The very same type of word-formation pattern flourished in
Medieval Romance and surrounding Germanic languages:
Middle High German and Middle English

That word formation pattern is thus rare in East Slavic and
virtually absent in Baltic, Saxon and the Scandinavian
languages

Hence, it reveals an isogloss that outlines an linguistic area that
had its center in the Romance languages



General conclusions

The Slavic languages do not support the idea of a universal principle of deriving pickpocket compounds from imperative clauses

What they do support is a universal tendency for derivation from uninflected stems

Any similarities with pickpocket compounds in other European languages cannot necessarily be taken to illustrate universal tendencies, as the modern type is an areal feature

The modern type cannot be exploited to postulate a PIE type, since it is an areal phenomenon that spread in the Middle ages





Indo-European matters even more. 13 october 2011
Dias 85

