

Pickpocket compounds from Latin to Romance

Nielsen Whitehead, B.

Citation

Nielsen Whitehead, B. (2012, April 26). *Pickpocket compounds from Latin to Romance*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/18706

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/18706

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/18706 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Nielsen Whitehead, Benedicte

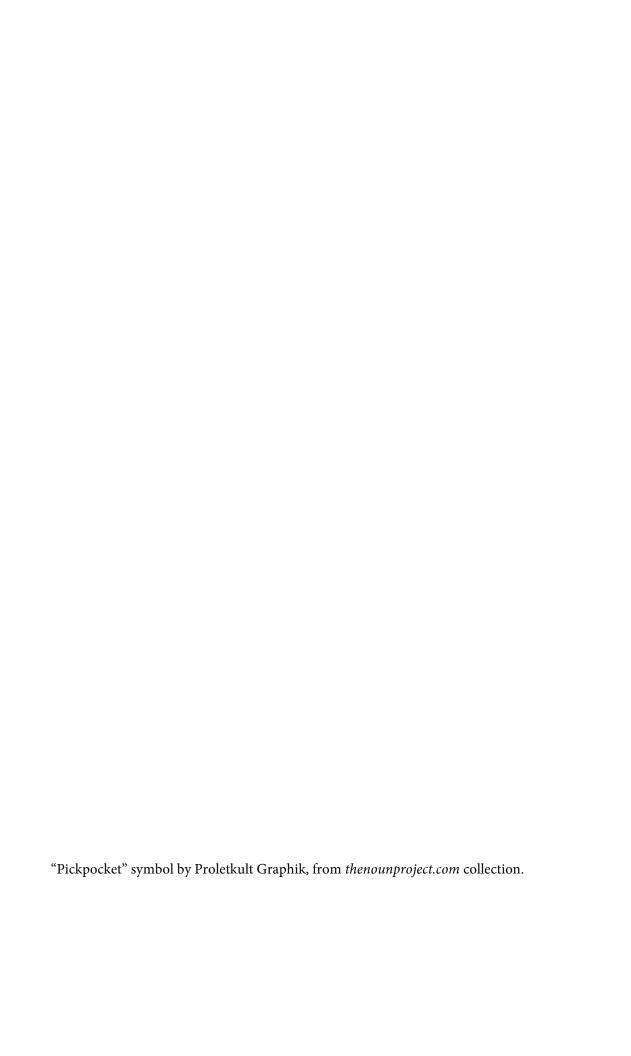
Title: Pickpocket compounds from Latin to Romance

Date: 2012-04-26

PICKPOCKET COMPOUNDS FROM LATIN TO ROMANCE

BENEDICTE NIELSEN WHITEHEAD





PICKPOCKET COMPOUNDS FROM LATIN TO ROMANCE

PROEFSCHRIFT

ter verkrijging van de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden, op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof.mr. P.F. van der Heijden volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties, te verdedigen op donderdag, 26 april 2012 klokke 13.45 uur

door

BENEDICTE NIELSEN WHITEHEAD geboren te Kopenhagen in 1965



Promotiecommissie

Promotor: Prof.dr. A.M. Lubotsky

Overige leden: Dr. Velizar Sadovski (Universität Wien)

Prof.dr. Roberta D'Alessandro

Prof.dr. Geert E. Booij

Prof.dr. Frederik H. H. Kortlandt

CONTENTS

Co	Contents					
Pro	Propositions					
Cu	Curriculum vitae					
Acl	Acknowledgments					
San	Samenvattingen/Summaries					
Ab	Abbreviations					
1 Intro	oduction	1				
1.1	Topic of the thesis	1				
1.2	Terminology	2				
1.3	Scope	3				
1.4	Theories of origin	5				
1.5	Structure	6				
2 Non	2 Nominal composition					
2.1	Determinative compounds	8				
	2.1.1 Internalization of modifiers	9				
	2.1.2 Endocentricity	14				
	2.1.3 Verbal determinatives; incorporation	15				
2.2	Possessive compounds	16				
	2.2.1 Vedic	17				
	2.2.2 Germanic	21				
2.3	Agentive compounds	26				
	2.3.1 Verb–second agentives	27				
	2.3.2 Verb–first agentives	39				
2.4	Constituent order	82				
2.5	Stem compounds and case compounds					

	2.6	Conversion			
	2.7	Summ	nary	97	
3	Latin			101	
	3.1	Introd	uction	101	
	3.2	Nominal composition		101	
		3.2.1	Heritage and adstrate	101	
		3.2.2	Morphology	105	
		3.2.3	Summary	113	
	3.3	PICKPO	оскет compounds	114	
		3.3.1	The first member is a passive participle	114	
		3.3.2	The first member is a verbal stem	129	
		3.3.3	Origin	148	
	3.4	Summ	nary	150	
4	Italia	alian, French & Ibero-Romance		153	
	4.1	Introduction		153	
	4.2	Origin and relationship of the Romance languages			
	4.3	Nominal composition		159	
		4.3.1	Defining properties of Romance compounds	159	
		4.3.2	Constituent order	159	
		4.3.3	Inflection	160	
		4.3.4	Gender assignment	162	
		4.3.5	Morphology of second members	162	
		4.3.6	Verbal nouns in composition	163	
		4.3.7	Summary	164	
	4.4	PICKPOCKET compounds		165	
		4.4.1	Semantic categories	165	
		4.4.2	Morphology	168	
		4.4.3	Summary	192	
	4.5	The history of PICKPOCKET compounds and sentence-names			
		4.5.1	PICKPOCKET compounds	193	

	4.5.2	Phrase- and sentence-names	208		
	4.5.3	The relation between sentence-names and compounds	209		
4.6	Sumr	Summary			
5 Ron	nanian		215		
5.1	Introd	luction	215		
5.2	Nomi	Nominal composition			
	5.2.1	Productivity	215		
	5.2.2	Constituent order	216		
	5.2.3	Gender and inflection	216		
	5.2.4	Morphology of second members	218		
	5.2.5	Summary	218		
5.3	PICKI	PICKPOCKET compounds			
	5.3.1	Semantic categories	219		
	5.3.2	Morphology of the first member	221		
	5.3.3	Summary	226		
5.4	The fa	ate of final $-\bar{e}$ in Romanian	226		
5.5	History of the PICKPOCKET compounds				
	5.5.1	The history of Romanian	232		
	5.5.2	The PICKPOCKET compounds in a comparative perspective	233		
	5.5.3	Romanian phrase- and sentence-names	236		
	5.5.4	Summary	238		
5.6	Sumn	nary	239		
6 Sun	nmary ai	nd conclusion	241		
6.1	The m	norphosyntactic analysis	241		
6.2	2 The historical analysis				
6.3	Histo	rical outlook	251		
Biblio	graphy		255		

Propositions

- The most universal formative principle underlying the PICKPOCKET compounds is that their deverbal first member is an uninflected verbal stem.
- From the point of view of their internal syntactic structure, all compounds have a head-and-nonhead structure, regardless of their endo- or exocentricity.
- The internal syntactic structure of a compounds is determined by its head element.
- The order of the members of a compound is determined by the head element; it corresponds to the word order in a corresponding phrase. Compounds headed by nouns, for instance, display the word order of noun phrases.
- Latin /ē/ yielded /i/ in final syllables in Proto-Romance, reflected as /i/ in Standard Italian, Romanian and Asturian.

•

- Language is designed to convey the sometimes very complex thoughts and sentiments of the human mind. It is a prerequisite for its efficiency that its basic building stones, beginning with its phonology and morphology, are as simple as possible and organized as economically as possible.
- Language history can never be exploited to account for universal phenomena.
- All linguistic research is based on some sort of theory about language, even if some researchers are unaware of it.
- It is always useful to explore the theoretical premises of one's own research.

•

- Music is designed to convey the sometimes very complex thoughts and sentiments of
 the human mind. It is a prerequisite for its efficiency that its basic building stones,
 beginning with its scales and chords, are simple and organized as economically as
 possible.
- It is a common misconception that if something can be deconstructed it means that it is superfluous, false or even fictitious.
- Categorization is a means to an end, not an end in itself.
- The universality of most proverbial truths can be deflated by citing other proverbial truths.

Benedicte Nielsen Whitehead (née Nielsen) was born in Copenhagen in 1965. Having finished *gymnasium* at Rungsted Statsskole in 1984, she studied law at the University of Copenhagen from 1984 till 1986.

In 1987, she enrolled in Indo-European comparative linguistics at the University of Copenhagen, studying under associate professor Jens Elmegård Rasmussen. From 1990-92, she spent four semesters at the University of Vienna, studying comparative linguistics under professors Jochem Schindler and Heiner Eichner. Back in Copenhagen, she finished her MA in 1998.

From 1996-7, she was employed as a part-time bibliographical assistant at the University of Frankfurt-based *TITUS* project under professor Jost Gippert. In 2000-2001, she worked as a research assistant under professor Rosemarie Lühr at the University of Jena.

In 2001, she received a PhD scholarship from the Danish Research Council. Work on the thesis was carried out at the universities of Cambridge, Leiden and Copenhagen under the supervison of Dr. Torsten Meißner, Dr. James Clackson and Professor Alexander Lubotsky. Jens Elmegård Rasmussen acted as a shadow supervisor appointed by the Danish Research Council.

Since 2007, she has been employed at the Copenhagen University-based Programme of Excellence *Roots of Europe - language, culture and migrations*, led by Jens Elmegård Rasmussen and associate professor Birgit Anette Olsen.

She has co-organized and co-edited the proceedings of four conferences, one in Cambridge, three in Copenhagen, and a festschrift. She has published articles on Indo-European accentuation, laryngeal theory and derivational and compositional morphology.

Acknowledgments

My work on the present thesis spans over a decade and was carried out at three universities: Cambridge, Leiden and Copenhagen. Limitations of space allow me to thank only a small selection of countless friends and scholars for their generosity without which this thesis could not have been written at all.

My initial thanks go to the unrelenting enthusiasm and scholarly generosity of associate professors Jens Elmegård Rasmussen and Birgit Anette Olsen, for creating a stimulating environment at the University of Copenhagen, of open-minded, yet strictly logical thinking. I am indebted to them and every colleague at the *Roots of Europe Project* for being a constant source of encouragement and engaging debate.

My interest in the topic of the thesis was spurred during my involvement, from 2000-2001, in *Das Lexikonkonzept des Indogermanischen*, based at the University of Jena. It is my pleasure to thank Dr. Irene Balles and the project leader, professor Rosemarie Lühr, for introducing me to new and inspiring areas of linguistics.

I thank my Cambridge supervisors, Drs Torsten Meißner and James Clackson, the former for having faith in my project at all times, the latter for his thoroughness and insightful engagement. Professor Alexander Lubotsky offered consummate knowledge and authoritative advice, and invaluable support at a critical time.

Working on a thesis is an exercise in the art of writing itself. The poet Richard Burns showed me how to use language creatively, and crime fiction writer Michelle Spring taught me to stick to my plot. I want to express my appreciation for the Royal Literary Fund's Fellowship Scheme for facilitating these consultations. Professor Alexis Manaster Ramer, in addition to reading and providing lucid commentary on a previous version of the thesis, advised me on how to cut my argument short and sharp.

PhD Thomas Olander offered generous help and insight into all matters typographic.

For hospitality and patience I thank my brother and sister-in-law, Nicolaj Nielsen and Birgitte Præstmark, for friendship and philosophy during my Cambridge years, Dr. Alix Cohen, for love and companionship, illogical genious Michael James Whitehead, also known under the moniker, highly topical for this thesis, of Jim Neversink.