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MISCELLANEA I

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Foreword

Aleš Bičan

The present issue of Linguistica ONLINE offers several previously unpublished papers. Though they were or are to be presented elsewhere in certain modifications, they have not yet been published in the form as they appear here. We are particularly happy for the article by Miroslav Černý. The author submitted his paper to our journal, which we warmly welcomed. After anonymous peer-reviewing and the author's feedback we could accept it and publish it. We hope this will be a sign for other linguists who would like to offer their works to our journal. We are heartily welcoming any contributions!

* * *

Miroslav Černý's article "On the Function of Speech Acts in Doctor-Patient Communication" offers, to quote from his annotation, "both quantitative and qualitative interpretation of main functions of speech acts in doctor-patient communication". It is an extensive analysis of the pieces of communication between doctors and their patients. The article is based on a chapter from the author's Ph.D. thesis, which was recently published as *Sociolinguistic and Pragmatic Aspects of Doctor-Patient Communication* in Ostrava, Czech Republic, 2007.

The paper "Studie k dokladům českých místních jmen na *-any* v 11.-13. století" by Michaela Čornejová is a study of Czech place-names ending in *-any*; the data were taken from Czech of the 11th to 13th century. The material is carefully analyzed, compared, and findings are presented in detail. Originally, the paper was a lecture read on a conference *Setkání mladých lingvistů* in Olomouc, Czech Republic, in 2005. Čornejová took the liberty to correct and update the text. Its German modification was already published in *Österreichische Namenforschung* 34 (2006).

The article by Sunil Kumar Bhatt "Indefinite and definite tenses in Hindi: Morpho-Semantic aspects" is a semantico-morphological analysis of the Hindi verbal system, especially a comparison of the verb *honā* "to be" with the rest of the verbs.

Also the article by Svetislav Kostić "Indic $\sqrt{D\bar{A}}/DAD-$, $\sqrt{DH\bar{A}}/DADH-$ and Slavic $\sqrt{D\bar{A}}/DAD-$, $\sqrt{D\bar{E}}/DED-$ " is from the field of Indo-Aryan studies. It focuses on the process of reduplication in Slavic and Indic languages.

The last two articles were both submitted to Linguistica ONLINE, an electronic journal of the Department of Linguistics and Baltic Languages of the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, and *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity*, a printed series of the same faculty. The appearance of the latter is imminent.

The issue is concluded with a reprint of a review by Václav Blažek.

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On the Function of Speech Acts in Doctor-Patient Communication^{†[*]}

Miroslav Černý

Perhaps the most vivid point of convergence between language and social organization arises at the level of speech acts. ... because activities or speech events are built out of particular component actions, speech acts are arguably central to the analysis of all forms of interaction.

Drew & Heritage

1 Introduction

The aim of this article is to analyse the function and the character of speech acts in doctor-patient interaction. The paper consists of two main parts. The first section describes the role of questions and methods of asking. The second section is devoted to a more thorough examination of other speech acts and their sequential properties. Although more studies dealing with the topic have been published in recent years (Gwyn 2002, Humphreys 2002), my findings are based on a comparative analysis of various medical disciplines.¹

My approach is grounded in the speech act theory as proposed by Austin (1962) and elaborated on by Searle (1969). With respect to the classification of speech acts, I have drawn upon several sources, namely Todd (1983) and D'Andrade (n.d.). Concerning the sequential organisation, the findings of the Birmingham discourse analysts (e.g. Coulthard 1977) and the turn-taking analysis of Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) have been consulted. For the background description of the interaction in institutional settings I refer to Drew and Heritage (1992).

The language material for the present inquiry is taken from the corpus of conversational texts recorded in consulting rooms throughout Great Britain and the United States during 1990s, available in the book *English for Doctors* ed-

ited by Mária Györffy in 2001 (see the Works cited).² For the purposes of the analysis I have investigated doctor-patient interviews from five medical specialties, namely, Internal Medicine, Gynaecology, Paediatrics, Oto-rhinolaryngology, and Orthopaedics. The total extent of the material under scrutiny is 725 turns, and the total word stock amounts to 12 000 items.

2 Speech acts revisited

In accordance with the research which has already been completed, I understand **speech acts** as acts of communication “performed by the use of language, either in speech or writing, involving **reference, force, and effect**” (Widdowson 1996: 131). These acts are usually classified into five categories: namely **declarations, representatives, expressives, directives, and commissives** (e.g. Searle 1976). A distinction is also made between **direct speech acts** and **indirect speech acts**.

Despite what the motto at the beginning of the paper suggests, the speech act theory has been heavily criticised.³ Conversation analysts have specifically argued that speech act theorists “do not address a cultural, or contextual, sociological analysis”, and that “the basic unit of analysis used is the self-contained action rather than the interaction unit, where context and the role of all the participants are important” (Todd 1983: 161). Nevertheless, I still find this approach useful as it contributes to a broader view of how power and asymmetry are distributed in the medical encounter.

In order to satisfy the specific needs of doctor-patient communication, Todd's classification of speech acts has been adopted.⁴ As a result, five categories: **statements** (Example 1), **questions** (Example 2), **answers** (Example 3), **directives** (Example 4), and **reactives** (Example 5), have been distinguished. The distinction between answers and reactives consists in the fact that the reactives usually follow the answers and are provided by doctors, who use them to acknowledge the answers provided by patients.

Example 1

D: *Some of the slides that I'll take from you today will be looked at in clinic, and from these I'll decide whether you require treatment or not.*

Example 2

D: *Could you describe what the vomiting is like Mrs Smith, for example, does it clear your lap and land on the floor?*

[†] Previously unpublished. Reviewed before publication. [Editor's note]

Example 3

D: *Was it managerial – did you have a lot of responsibility?*

P: **Yes, I was in charge of a large department.**

Example 4

D: *Now let me have a look at you. **Sit down, open your mouth, head slightly forward.** Let me put this tongue depressor on your tongue.*

Example 5

D: *Have you been abroad to any tropical or developing countries recently?*

P: *Yes, I just came back from Thailand a few months ago.*

D: **I see.**

Compared to Searle's classification, there are a few differences in my approach. Noticeably, besides others, two speech acts, namely **expressives** and **commissives**, have been excluded from the analysis. Although speech acts of these types do emerge in doctor-patient talk, their occurrence is not conspicuous and is rather infrequent (Examples 6 and 7). As Todd (1983: 161) maintains: "Strong emotion is not considered appropriate ... and actions such as vowing and exasperation tend to be played down and absorbed into other acts."

Example 6

D: *Do you have a job at the moment?*

P: *No, I've just been made redundant.*

D: **Oh, I am sorry.** *What was your job?*

P: *I was desk-bound, I'm afraid.* (expressive)

Example 7

P: *Oh, Thank God! No sign of cancer! No sign at all?*

D: *Yes, that's right. But listen for a moment. ... In the future you really must try to stop smoking, as long as you keep smoking you can get more trouble with your voice, and one day it could turn nasty.*

P: **Oh, yes, Doctor. I am trying** – *I've cut down a lot, but you know, it's not easy.* (commissive)

3 Role of Questions in D-P Communication

As has been stated above, this section of the article concentrates on the role of questions and methods of asking, especially how they contribute to asymmetry, the characteristic feature of the relationship between doctors and their patients (Mishler 1984, Fisher and Todd 1983, Müllerová 2002). Moreover, it discusses some differences and obscurities in previous research (e.g. Korsch, Gozzi, Francis 1968, West 1983, Ainsworth-Vaughn 1998), and offers a possible explanation.

"Asking questions is a very important part of your visit to the doctor. By asking questions your doctor can help clear up doubts, concerns, or worries. It is an important way in which you can get things straight." (Roter and Hall 1992: 104). As is obvious, questions are the focal point of any medical encounter. Their centrality is rooted in the fact that they constitute key mechanisms "by which power can be exercised and resisted" (Humphreys 2002: 2). For these reasons questions have often been discussed separately from other speech acts (e.g. Frankel 1990). The structure of the presented article follows this trend.

3.1 Analysis

From 725 turns, 374 questions have been excerpted. In accordance with the research which has been done before (West 1983, Humphreys 2002), I understand the *question* (Examples 8, 9) as "...any utterance requiring a response within the context of the interaction, regardless of form (interrogative, declarative, etc.); any formal question; and any utterance that receives a response as though it were a question" (Humphreys, 2002: 20). The excerpted questions have been categorised into three groups, namely **yes/no questions** (Y/N), **either/or questions** (E/O), and **open questions**.⁵ Furthermore, doctor-initiated and patient-initiated questions have been distinguished and classified according to their place (phase) within the dialogue.

Example 8

D: **How long have you been smoking?**

P: *Since I was about fourteen.*

Example 9

D: **So, you say that you are having problems with bleeding or bruising.**

P: *Yes, I am.*

My classification of questions draws on Quirk *et al.* (1985: 804), who distinguish three major classes of questions according to the different answers expected: **YES/NO questions**, i.e. those that expect affirmation or negation (Example 10); **ALTERNATIVE questions**, i.e. those that expect as the reply one of two or more options presented in the question (Example 11); **WH-questions**, i.e. those that typically expect a reply from an open range of replies (Example 12).

Example 10

D: *Have your waters broken yet?*

P: *Yes, about a half an hour ago.*

Example 11

D: *Are they very painful or do you just feel tightening across the tummy?*

P: *They're really becoming quite sore now.*

Example 12

D: *How often are your contractions coming?*

P: *About every ten minutes at the moment.*

The reason that different terminology for particular question categories is used in my analyses (ALTERNATIVE questions – E/O questions, WH-questions – OPEN questions) rests in the fact that researchers studying doctor-patient communication (e.g. Humphreys 2002, Roter and Hall 1992) frequently apply the same classification as is adopted in this article. Nevertheless, the definitions of E/O questions and OPEN questions correspond to those proposed by Quirk *et al.* (1985) for ALTERNATIVE and WH-questions.

Stenström (1984) applies a different classification of questions. Unlike Quirk *et al.* (1985), who base their categories on semantic and formal criteria, Stenström (1984) classifies questions with regard to their form and function.

Function refers to what type of R (response) is required: <Q: identify> asks for identification (of the referent of the WH-word); <Q: polar> requires a polarity decision; <Q: confirm> asks for confirmation of what is proposed in Q; <Q: acknowledge> asks for acknowledgement of the information prof-fered. (Stenström 1984: 152)

As regards lexico-grammatical forms, Stenström (1984: 152) distinguishes the following categories of questions: **wh questions**, **alternative questions**, **yes/no questions**, **tag questions** (Example 13), **declarative questions** (Example 14), **declarative + tag** (Example 15) and **declarative + prompter** (Example 16). Examples of these categories excerpted from the material that has been researched in the presented article are supplemented below.

Example 13

D: *It's the right side that bleeds more, isn't it?*

P: *Yes*

Example 14

D: *So you say that you are having problems with bleeding or bruising.*

P: *Yes, I am.*

Example 15

D: *Your wife is at home, is she?*

P: *Yes, with my two youngest children.*

Example 16

M: *I've heard different views on this, you know.*

D: *That's quite true, Mrs Smith.*

Stenström's typology of questions is more subtle than Quirk *et al.*'s. However, her approach has not been adopted in the paper as it would be difficult to organise its quantification. A functional description of questions by Tsui (1992) has not been applied for the same reason.⁶

The results of the quantitative analysis are offered in the form of five tables below. Tables 1 and 2 present absolute and relative frequencies of the distribution of questions between doctors and patients. They also give information about the number (percentage) of questions in particular medical specialities with regard to the question types and phases of the D-P interview. Tables 3, 4 and 5 offer results of the F-test.⁷

I have also calculated correlation between particular variables (participants, medical specialities, question types, and phases). However, the only significant correlation ($r=0.33$) is between the participants and phases of the encounter. For example, patients usually raise their questions during the phase of examination and treatment. There are no patient-initiated questions asked during the history-taking phase. Other correlation is not as important.

3.2 Findings

The importance of questions and answers in D-P dialogues is justified because they “introduce, develop and dissolve topics” (Paget 1983: 71), and help to reach the correct diagnoses and treatment. Statistics I have tried to elaborate on show that as many as 649 turns (90%) out of 725 are formed solely by questions or answers. Out of 374 questions, 354 (95%) are initiated by doctors, only 20 (5%) are initiated by patients (see Tables 1, 2). 199 (53%) belong to Y/N questions, 52 (14%) to E/O questions, and 123 (33%) to open questions (see Tables 1, 2). 38 questions (10%) appear during the history-taking phase, 327 (87%) during the examination phase, and 9 (3%) during the treatment phase (see Tables 1, 2).

Table 1: Absolute Frequency of Questions in D-P Interviews

Abs.	Particip		Phase			Question Type			Total
	D	P	Hist	Exam	Treat	Y/N	E/O	Open	
Internal	99	1	24	76	0	43	28	29	100
Gynaec.	65	1	0	64	2	36	8	22	66
Paed.	88	4	13	79	0	45	8	39	92
ORL	55	8	1	61	1	50	7	6	63
Orthop.	47	6	0	47	6	25	1	27	53
Total	354	20	38	327	9	199	52	123	374

Table 2: Relative Frequency of Questions in D-P Interviews

%	Particip		Phase			Question Type			Total
	D	P	Hist	Exam	Treat	Y/N	E/O	Open	
Internal	99	1	24	76	0	43	28	29	27
Gynaec.	98	2	0	97	3	55	12	33	17
Paed.	96	4	14	86	0	49	9	42	25
ORL	87	13	2	96	2	79	11	10	17
Orthop.	89	11	0	89	11	47	2	51	14
Total	95	5	10	87	3	53	14	33	100

Tables 3, 4, 5: Results of the F-test*⁸

F	Participant			
	Gynaec.	Paed.	ORL	Orthop.
Internal	2.00E-08*	1.00E-11*	4.00E-25*	2.00E-22*
Gynaec.		2.00E-05*	8.00E-14*	3.00E-12*
Paed.			2.00E-05*	0.0002*
ORL				0.73

F	Question Type			
	Gynaec.	Paed.	ORL	Orthop.
Internal	0.22	0.2	0.02*	0.14
Gynaec.		0.73	0.004*	0.52
Paed.			0.001*	0.72
ORL				0.001*

F	Phase			
	Gynaec.	Paed.	ORL	Orthop.
Internal	7.00E-13*	0.05*	1.00E-11*	0.02*
Gynaec.		1.00E-08*	0.76	4.00E-06*
Paed.			1.00E-07*	0.48
ORL				2.00E-06*

Considering the findings of previous researchers (Ainsworth-Vaughn 1998, West 1983), these results are surprising. The greatest difference is in the distribution of questions and answers between doctors and patients. As West points out, only 9% of all questions in her material are patient-initiated. The relative frequency of patient-initiated questions in the corpus studied by Ainsworth-Vaughn is much higher (40%). Thus, the very first problem which needs to be solved is to find an explanation for this divergence.

One might suspect that the distinction could be closely connected with the context of the particular medical branch under examination. Patients, as non-professionals, are not acquainted with any of these disciplines, they lack the knowledge of medical terminology, and hardly understand the process of examination and following treatment. However, for some reasons, one may still

believe that certain medical branches (e.g. Paediatrics or ORL) are easier to become familiar with than to understand, for instance, Internal Medicine or Orthopaedics.⁹ As a result, patients are more confident and would rather ask more questions when visiting a paediatrician or an oto-rhino-laryngologist than when seeing an internist.

Such hypothesis would be acceptable if there was no evidence against it. Unfortunately, both West and Ainsworth-Vaughn worked with collections of dialogues between patients and their *family practitioners*, i.e. within the same medical branch. Still, their findings were considerably different. Furthermore, the correlation ($r=0.2$) that has been calculated for my material proves there is no direct correspondence between the medical branch and participants, and even some results of the F-test (e.g. the comparison of ORL and Orthopaedics with regard to participants, $F=0.73$) show that we cannot take the proposed assumption for granted.

Also worth possible investigation is whether the asymmetrical features in the distribution could not be sought in the differences in sex, race, and age of doctors and patients who are studied. However, according to West (1983: 88): “Neither sex nor race (of physician or patient) seemed to influence the distribution of questions between parties.” She also claims that the very same conclusion works for the category of age. Consequently, the explanation must be looked for somewhere else.

The interpretation of D-P questions and answers in the corpus that has been worked with proves that most questions patients ask take place when they really feel deeply concerned about a medical issue. Usually they must undergo an operation (Examples 17 and 18), and they want doctors to explain the operation in detail. They want information about what it involves, whether it is dangerous or not, what possible complications they may expect. Simply, patients wish to hear that the surgical intervention will help them and there is nothing to fear. It does not matter whether such dialogues take place in consulting rooms of ORL practitioners or orthopaedic specialists. It does not matter of which age, sex, or race doctors and their patients are.¹⁰ The most important element that should be taken into consideration when solving the problem of the distribution of D-P questions is the level of patient’s anxiety concerning his/her health problems and their treatment.

Example 17

D: *You’ve got a deviated nasal septum. This part of your nose is cartilage, and instead of being straight it’s twisted and the twist is blocking you on the left side. I’m pleased to say we can fix it for you. We can put it right with an operation to straighten up*

your nose, as there are nomodices or tablets really that will help.

P: *Is it a big operation?*

D: *No, not too big. It’s quite common. If you agree, we’ll bring you into hospital the day before the operation. You can usually go home the day after your operation, or possibly the second day after that. We do it under a general anaesthetic. It’s done through your nostrils, there’s no cuts on your face.*

P: *No black eyes?*

D: *Not for this operation. When you wake up from anaesthetic, you’ll probably have a bandage up both nostrils overnight so, you see, you’ll have to breathe through your mouth that night. Would you like the operation?*

P: *Will it work?*

D: *Yes, we can say that we can make things a lot better than they are now.*

(Oto-rhino-laryngology)

Example 18

D: *Mrs. Wallis, I have the results of your X-rays. These show you have severe osteoarthritis of your left hip. This is due to a congenital dislocation of the hip which you’ve had since birth. I think the best treatment for you would be an operation to replace your left hip.*

P: *Tell me, Doctor, is that a major operation?*

D: *Yes, it is undoubtedly. But you are having so much trouble I do not think there is any other alternative.*

P: *I’m very worried about this, Doctor. What does the operation involve?*

D: *It is a major operation which would require you to be in hospital for about two weeks. You’ll come to hospital a day or two before surgery so that we can examine you and check that you are fit for an anaesthetic. The operation itself involves quite a long cut on the outside of your thigh and then the worn part of your hip will be cut away and replaced with a metal and plastic joint. This should make you more comfortable, and your hip less stiff. But of course, as with any operation, there’s a small risk of complications.*

P: *What are those complications, Doctor?* (Orthopaedics)

3.2.1 Doctor-Initiated Questions As has been mentioned above, doctor-initiated questions are more numerous than those initiated by patients. Out of 354 doctor-initiated questions, 188 (53%) can be classified as Y/N questions, 52 (15%) as E/O questions, and 114 (32%) as open questions (see Tables 6, 7). 38 (11%) questions take place during the history-taking phase, 315 (89%) during the examination phase, and only 1 (0%) during the treatment phase (see Tables 6, 7).

Table 6: Absolute Frequency of Doctor-Initiated Questions

Abs.	Phase			Question Type			Total
	Hist	Exam	Treat	Y/N	E/O	Open	
Internal	24	75	0	43	28	28	99
Gynaec.	0	64	1	36	8	21	65
Paed.	13	75	0	45	8	35	88
ORL	1	54	0	42	7	6	55
Orthop.	0	47	0	22	1	24	47
Total	38	315	1	188	52	114	354

Table 7: Relative Frequency of Doctor-Initiated Questions

%	Phase			Question Type			Total
	Hist	Exam	Treat	Y/N	E/O	Open	
Internal	7	21	0	12	8	8	28
Gynaec.	0	18	0	10	2	6	18
Paed.	4	21	0	13	2	10	25
ORL	0	16	0	12	2	2	16
Orthop.	0	13	0	6	0	7	13
Total	11	89	0	53	14	33	100

Unlike patients, doctors freely take advantage of using all question types. Because the correlation between the question type and the participant is quite low (0.03), there is no significant correspondence between these two attributes of the consultation. What is significant, however, is the fact that 100% of doctor-initiated questions are asked during the history-taking and examination section. Since doctors have on the average only eight minutes to “establish rapport,

discover the reason for a patient’s visit, verbally and physically examine the patient, discuss the patient’s condition, establish a treatment plan, and terminate the exchange” (Paget 1983: 59), these two parts are reserved solely for the gathering of information and to concentrate and diagnose responsibly.

We may see that there is only one doctor-initiated question asked during the treatment phase in my corpus (Example 19). This question appears after a long speech by the doctor concerning the possible treatment, and invites a female patient to raise any questions concerning her problems. As the correlation proves ($r=0.33$), there is a relation between participants and phases in their dialogue. The treatment section is used by doctors to explain the process of treatment or therapy, and for patients to ask additional questions about their diagnosis and following cure (Example 20).

Example 19

D: *Would you like to ask me any questions...?*

P: *Doctor, I wonder how I got these warts.*

Example 20

P: *Is it a big operation?*

D: *No, not too big. It’s quite common.*

In addition to what has been mentioned about the role of doctor-initiated questions during the treatment section, some recent studies refer to a specific sequence of doctor’s talk, which repeatedly appears throughout each medical consultation, especially during the treatment phase (e.g. Humphreys 2002). The sequence consists of a rhetorical question, an answer, and final **interpretation**. As Humphreys (2002: 34) points out:

This Question-Answer-Interpretation sequence places the patient in a position where they could, if they wished, question not only the treatment offered, but the thinking behind it. Therefore, this strategy is significant in balancing the asymmetry between doctors and patients.

On the other hand, Wallen, Waitzkin, and Stoeckle (1979) point out that “less than 1% of total time in information exchange between patient and physician is spent on physicians explanations to patients”,¹¹ and that the D-P interviews are strictly asymmetrical. Nevertheless, since the interpretation phase is also strongly rooted in the corpus that has been worked with within all the medical

branches (Examples 21, 22, and 23), I must confirm the findings reported by Joanne Humphreys.

Example 21

D: *You have been exposed to the genital wart virus through sexual contact with somebody who has genital warts or has the virus in his skin and the genital area. Unfortunately, I cannot tell you how long you have had the virus in your skin or who you could have caught it from, as it does not have to be your present partner but could have been from a partner several years ago... The warts will disappear with treatment, but unfortunately, I can't give you any guarantee that they will not return.*
(Gynaecology)

Example 22

D: *The cardiologist will inform you about the procedure. After you have received the isotope injection, you should eat or drink something containing fat, such as cheese, milk or a sandwich. This is necessary in order to stimulate the substance being passed through the live, so that we can make an accurate image of the blood supply to your heart muscles.*
(Internal medicine).

Example 23

D: *We need to change your tracheotomy tube. We've got the new ready here with an introducer. Let's untie these tapes around your neck and bring them round. That's good. We have the suction running in case we need it. We have to suck out your tracheotomy before we take the old tube as we put it in. It'll only suck as we pull it out. Now take a deep breath for me and we'll pull this tube out. Right, we are putting a new tube in.*
(Oto-rhino-laryngology)

3.2.2 Patient-Initiated Questions The distribution of patient-initiated questions in my corpus is as follows: 11 of them (55%) belong to Y/N questions, no question (0%) could be classified as E/O question, and 9 (45%) belong to open questions (see Tables 8, 9). There are no patient-initiated questions (0%) taking place during the history-taking phase, 12 questions (60%) take place during the phase of examination, and 8 questions (40%) take place during the phase of treatment (see Tables 8, 9).

Table 8: Absolute Frequency of Patient-Initiated Questions

Abs.	Phase			Question Type			Total
	Hist	Exam	Treat	Y/N	E/O	Open	
Internal	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
Gynaec.	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
Paed.	0	4	0	0	0	4	4
ORL	0	7	1	8	0	0	8
Orthop.	0	0	6	3	0	3	6
Total	0	12	8	11	0	9	20

Table 9: Relative Frequency of Patient-Initiated Questions

%	Phase			Question Type			Total
	Hist	Exam	Treat	Y/N	E/O	Open	
Internal	0	5	0	0	0	5	5
Gynaec.	0	0	5	0	0	5	5
Paed.	0	20	0	0	0	20	20
ORL	0	35	5	40	0	0	40
Orthop.	0	0	30	15	0	15	30
Total	0	60	40	11	0	9	100

There are four important points which we should take into consideration when interpreting the patient-initiated questions in my corpus. The first being that there are very few questions (only 20) posed by patients. It is not easy to find a reliable explanation, and I align myself with Tuckett and colleagues (1985), who report that many patients do not want to ask questions. “The lack of question asking may reflect lack of confidence and skill for many patients – but for some patients it may reflect true avoidance of or resistance to information” (Roter and Hall, 1992: 104).

Interestingly, no questions are asked during the history-taking phase (Example 24). At the beginning of the consultation, the interview is usually in doctor's hands. Doctors aim to acquire as much information as possible, and there is no place for patients to raise their questions, even if they want to. To keep this form, doctors make only short pauses so as not to give patients too much time to ask. They also avoid giving them any explicit invitation to do so.

According to Humphreys (2002: 37): “This may indicate a higher degree of consensus to the conventional roles of doctor and patient.”

Example 24

P: *Doctor, I can never breathe out of my left nostril.*

D: ***Have you ever broken your nose?***

P: *Yes, last year.*

D: ***Have you had any bad colds or high temperatures lately?***

P: *No.*

D: ***Are you otherwise well?***

P: *Yes.*

Another interesting point to be noted is that there are no E/O questions on the side of patients. As the sample of patient-initiated questions is very low, it cannot be explained without difficulty. In my opinion, the most probable explanation could be deduced from the type of information patients look for. Patients usually raise their questions when they do not understand what doctors would like to know, what they are actually asking about (Example 25), when they need advice (Example 26), or when they desire direct replies as to relate to their worries and anxieties (Example 27). In all these situations Y/N questions (Example 27) or open questions (Examples 25 and 26) are preferred. Most patients, as lay people, do not have sufficient medical knowledge to offer their doctors more than one alternative, and therefore it is easier and more natural for them to use the other two question types. In addition, some behavioural scientists argue that questions in the form of either/or *force* a choice,¹² and thus patient-initiated questions of this type could be regarded impolite.

Example 25

D: *What is it /the phlegm/ like?*

P: ***What do you mean?***

Example 26

P: ***Well, what should I do in the meantime, Doctor?***

D: *Well, the important thing is to make sure that he has sufficient fluids...*

Example 27

P: ***Will my hearing get better, Doctor?***

D: *Yes, it will.*

The last point to be mentioned here is in a sharp contrast with the findings of Korsch, Gozzi, Francis (1968) and West and Paget (both in Todd and Fischer 1983), whose results show that there is a tendency to ignore patient-initiated questions. For example, according to West, only 87% of questions raised by patients in her corpus were answered. My findings differ rapidly because all questions asked by patients in this material, i.e. in all the medical branches under consideration, are answered. Here I am inclined to agree with Joanne Humphreys (2002: 4) and her explanation that: “Recent social changes have altered the balance of power between doctors and patients through increased openness on the part of the medical profession and greater access to information for patients.” My research, yielding similar results as hers, lays a possible foundation for such an argument. However, it is necessary to add that the shape of doctor-patient interaction from the standpoint of using questions has not been changed in all its aspects, and that the asymmetrical relationship has been preserved.

4 Other Speech Acts in D-P Communication

The purpose of the present section is to develop the discussion started in the first part of the present paper, by examining the function and sequential properties of other speech acts that occur throughout the medical encounter. In the previous section I have attempted to reveal the role of questions in doctor-patient communication. In this section my analysis is aimed at **answers, statements, directives, and reactives**. My investigation is based on the assumption that results of such research may reveal the process whereby power and asymmetry are manifested in the interaction.

4.1 Analysis

To follow the form of the previous section, doctor-initiated speech acts and patient-initiated speech acts have been distinguished and classified according to the phase within the medical interview. The results of the quantitative analysis are presented in the form of tables in order to give a more lucid account of the distribution of speech acts between particular medical branches. Where the results of the F-test or the computation of correlation allow a comparison of the medical disciplines under discussion, then such comparison is elaborated.

4.2 Findings

“Speech act theory offers a means to break the flow of talk into discrete parts” (Todd 1983: 160). In the sample, 622 following speech acts (besides questions)

have been excerpted: 216 (35%) statements, 323 (52%) answers, 20 (3%) reactives, and 63 (10%) directives (see Tables 10, 11). 282 (45%) of these speech acts are initiated by doctors, 340 (55%) are initiated by patients. 65 (10%) are used during the history-taking phase, 390 (63%) during the phase of examination, and 167 (27%) during the treatment section (Tables 10, 11).

Table 10: Absolute Frequency of Speech Acts in D-P Interviews

Abs.	Particip		Phase			Speech Act				Total
	D	P	Hist	Exam	Treat	Sta	Ans	Rea	Dir	
Internal	10	91	22	79	0	7	87	5	2	101
Gynaec.	56	63	0	76	43	48	60	3	8	119
Paed.	38	66	20	67	17	23	67	2	12	104
ORL	119	61	12	92	76	90	58	6	26	180
Orthop.	60	58	11	76	31	48	51	4	15	118
Total	283	339	65	390	167	216	323	20	63	622

Table 11: Relative Frequency of Speech Acts in D-P Interviews

%	Particip		Phase			Speech Act				Total
	D	P	Hist	Exam	Treat	Sta	Ans	Rea	Dir	
Internal	10	90	22	79	0	7	87	5	2	16
Gynaec.	47	53	0	64	36	40	50	3	7	19
Paed.	37	63	19	65	16	22	64	2	12	17
ORL	66	34	7	51	42	50	32	3	15	29
Orthop.	51	49	9	65	26	41	43	3	13	19
Total	45	55	10	63	27	35	52	3	10	100

Tables 12, 13, 14: Results of the F-test

F	Participant			
	Gynaec.	Paed.	ORL	Orthop.
Internal	2.75E-07*	2.60E-06*	1.05E-06*	2.62E-07*
Gynaec.		0.72	0.51	0.99
Paed.			0.81	0.7
ORL				0.5

F	Speech Act			
	Gynaec.	Paed.	ORL	Orthop.
Internal	5.70E-09*	3.50E-10*	1.70E-17*	4.40E-14*
Gynaec.		0.52	2.30E-03*	0.04*
Paed.			2.50E-02*	0.18
ORL				0.4

F	Phase			
	Gynaec.	Paed.	ORL	Orthop.
Internal	0.12	2.70E-04*	4.80E-05*	9.20E-04*
Gynaec.		2.30E-02*	8.50E-03*	0.06*
Paed.			0.92	0.66
ORL				0.55

The analysis, both quantitative and qualitative, has revealed a number of interesting points I would like to comment on. Firstly, the most numerous speech acts (besides questions) are answers. As has already been discussed, 649 (90%) turns out of 725 are manifested solely by questions or answers in the first sample. Moreover, all doctor-initiated questions are answered by the patient, and all patient-initiated questions are answered by the doctor. How such fact influences the phenomenon of asymmetry and its changes has been stressed as well.

More importantly, the qualitative investigation has also revealed the sequential organisation of the speech acts under consideration. As Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) assume, there is a **two-part structure** in conversation between equal participants in **non-institutional settings** (e.g. question-answer, greeting-reply). The interaction in institutional settings, however, is organised in a different manner. According to the Birmingham discourse analysis group, it is a **three-part exchange** (initiation-response-feedback) that is characteristic of the **institutional talk**. “The difference seems to be a consequence of the asymmetry between participants, which produces a third part to the conversation” (Todd 1983: 164).

Originally, the three-part exchange was proposed for the educational setting (Coulthard 1977), only later for the medical setting (Coulthard & Brazil 1992). During the classroom interaction, the third part is initiated by a teacher as an evaluation of a students’ work. In the medical encounter, it is a reactive, which is initiated by the doctor in order to maintain control of the medical encoun-

ter.¹³ What is important, is the three-part structure of interaction, with the reactive at the end, and the way in which it enters doctor-patient talk in all the medical branches (Examples 28, 29, and 30).

Example 28

D: *So you haven't experienced this symptom before?*

P: *No, not that I can remember, Doctor.*

D: ***I see.*** (Internal medicine)

Example 29

D: *How did you feed your children? Breast or bottle?*

P: *I breast-fed all of them but only managed for about the first three months and after that we began to top them up with bottle milk.*

D: ***OK.*** (Obstetrics and Gynaecology)

Example 30

D: *Does it hurt?*

P: *No.*

D: *Does it run?*

P: *No, I just can't hear.*

D: ***Right.*** (Oto-rhino-laryngology)

According to Todd, there are two reasons the doctor uses the reactive. "First, to end the interactional segment and the topic, and second, to bring control of the interaction back to the doctor, allowing the doctor to end that frame and to initiate a new one" (1983: 165). As is obvious from Example 31, by using the reactive *That seems OK*, the doctor acknowledges the patient's reply, ends the topic and the particular part of the interview, and continues with another question. The question introduces a new topic, is answered by the patient, and finally acknowledged by the doctor's reactive *Good*, which fulfils the same function as the previous one.

Example 31

D: *What does the stool look like? Is it yellow or green? Does it smell strong?*

M: *Well, it's very pale but it doesn't smell much.*

D: ***That seems OK.*** *Can you tell me about James's immunisation?*

M: *Yes, he's had his triple, Doctor.*

D: ***Good.*** *How are things generally? Any anxiety about James?*
(Paediatrics)

As is evident from Tables 10 and 11, most speech acts occur during the phase of examination (390; 63%). By comparing the length, the amount of talk, and the structure of turns between the phases of the medical encounter¹⁴, it appears to me that the explanation could be summarised as follows: The examination is the longest part of the interview (²/₃ of total time). The doctor does not only question the patient and receive his/her responses in return, as it is common during the history-taking phase, but he also conducts physical examination and considers the patient's condition (Example 32).

Example 32

P: *Everyday when I wake up, my mouth's dry and I can't talk. I have to have a few drinks or something to get my mouth working. As the day goes on, my voice tires as well and I get hoarse.*

D: ***I'd like to look down your voice box with this mirror. Open your mouth wide. That's lovely. Put your tongue out. Let me hold it with this swab. I've warmed this mirror slightly on the Bunsen burner. It's not hot, you can see that. Breathe through your mouth. Sit up straight. Lean very slightly forward ... lovely. Let me put this to the back of your mouth. Keep your tongue down, that's super, and say "hay" ... You've got laryngitis. Your vocal cords, your voice box, they're all sore. Do you smoke?***

P: *Yes.*

Furthermore, the doctor provides **multiple speech acts** per turn during the phase of examination (Example 33). This feature is not characteristic of the history-taking phase, where both the doctor and the patient utter only one, two, or three speech acts per turn (Example 34). The treatment phase, on the contrary, also consists of multiple speech acts provided by doctors. However, this phase of the medical interview is much shorter than the examination, and there are almost no questions and answers, i.e. the most numerous speech acts, initiated (Example 35).

Example 33

D: *Well, what I'm going to do is I'm going to listen to your breathing. So, could you take a deep breath for me? Right. That's fine. You can just breathe normally now. Now I'm going*

to listen to your heart. Just lie down. I'll just have a look at your tummy. Now what we also need to do is have a little look at your pee so could you put a little bit in this pot here. (Examination)

Example 34

D: *As far as you know, are there any illnesses that run in your family?*

P: *None that I know of, Doctor.*

D: *Nothing like diabetes, high blood pressure, or heart disease, stroke, cancer, mental illness or anything like that?*

P: *Oh, I see! My father had a heart condition, and I have two aunts who have diabetes.* (History-taking)

Example 35

D: *I'll also get you to speak to one of the contact tracers who will give you some information about sexually transmitted infections and how you can prevent them. Before you leave the clinic, could you also please give me a specimen of urine...* (Treatment)

4.2.1 Doctor-Initiated Speech Acts As Tables 15 and 16 show, doctors initiate 283 speech acts (besides questions) in my sample. 183 (64%) of them belong to the category of statements, 19 (7%) to the category of answers, 19 (7%) to the category of reactives, and 62 (22%) to the category of directives (see Tables 15, 16). 27 (10%) of the speech acts occur during the history-taking phase, 97 (34%) speech acts during the phase of examination, and 159 (56%) speech acts during the treatment section (see Tables 15, 16).

Table 15: Absolute Frequency of Doctor-Initiated Speech Acts

Abs.	Phase			Speech Act				Total
	Hist	Exam	Treat	Sta	Ans	Rea	Dir	
Internal	3	7	0	3	0	5	2	10
Gynaec.	0	15	41	45	0	3	8	56
Paed.	8	13	17	22	2	2	12	38
ORL	8	36	75	79	8	6	26	119
Orthop.	8	26	26	34	9	3	14	60
Total	27	97	159	183	19	19	62	283

Table 16: Relative Frequency of Doctor-Initiated Speech Acts

%	Phase			Speech Act				Total
	Hist	Exam	Treat	Sta	Ans	Rea	Dir	
Internal	30	70	0	30	0	50	20	4
Gynaec.	0	27	73	80	0	6	14	20
Paed.	21	34	45	58	5	5	32	13
ORL	7	30	63	66	7	5	22	42
Orthop.	14	43	43	57	15	5	23	21
Total	10	34	56	64	7	7	22	100

In general, doctors initiate the speech acts from all categories selected and in every part of the medical encounter. More interestingly, most speech acts are provided during the treatment section and from the category of statements. As the correlation between the phase and the participant of the interview proves ($r = -0.46$), there is a connection between these two variables. Moreover, the result of the F-test for the comparison of the participant and the phase with regard to the category of speech acts is $1.10E-25$, which also indicates that it is worth considering the significance of the category of speech acts, for their distribution.

As has already been shown, the treatment section is reserved for doctors to explain the process of treatment and therapy to their patients. Naturally, this task can be successfully manifested particularly by initiating statements (Example 36).

Example 36

D: *Here you can see a fracture through the third bone which is called the metacarpal. You can see that the bone is bent and in order for you to be able to use your hand normally, I think we ought to give you an anaesthetic to put you to sleep in order to straighten the bone. We should be able to hold it in the straight position with a plaster, but it is possible we might need to put wires in the bone to hold it in place.*

Aside from statements, another numerous category initiated by doctors are directives. Out of sixty-three directives there were sixty-two provided by doctors. As Todd (1983: 169) suggests, directives provide the doctor with control of the floor as much as the reactives do. In my corpus, directives usually take

place during the examination and treatment sections. More interestingly, they are provided in the form of direct speech acts during the phase of examination (Example 37), and in the form of indirect speech acts during the treatment section (Example 38).

Example 37

D: *I'm going to examine your mouth. **Open your mouth wide for me. Let me put these tongue blades under your lips to look from side to side. Stick your tongue out. Lift it up to the roof of your mouth ... down again ... to your right ... to your left.***

Example 38

D: *Before you leave the clinic, **could you please give me a specimen of urine so that I can test it for any signs of infection? I will also need to take a blood sample from you which will be tested for syphilis which is a routine blood test we do on everybody that attends the clinic. Thank you.***

In addition to what has been said, out of 283 doctor-initiated speech acts 119 (42%) are provided by oto-rhino-laryngologists. As Tables 15 and 16 show and as the results of the F-test for the comparison of ORL and other medical branches with regard to the category of speech acts proves (1.70E-17; 2.30E-03; 2.50E-02), there is a significant distinction between ORL and other medical branches under discussion. The factors underlying this point of divergence are the large number of directives provided by the oto-rhino-laryngologists and the context of their medical branch which forces them to use many directives so frequently.

Significantly, oto-rhino-laryngologists use tools and medical instruments for examining the patient, more than in any other discipline. They must conduct a **physical examination** of subtle parts of a body, and the examination, of course, is not always pleasant for the patient. Generally speaking, the shorter the process of the examination, the better it is for the patient. Therefore, short directives (Example 39, Example 40) are preferred to longer questions, which are characteristic of **verbal examination**. The patient, whose throat is very often checked, would not be able to answer anyway.

Example 39

D: ***Sit up straight. Lean very slightly forward. I'd like to look deep into your throat with this mirror. I've warmed it with a burner. You can see it's not hot. I can touch it and it doesn't***

hurt. Open your mouth wide. Stick your tongue out. I'm going to put a swab round it and hold it. Breathe steadily through your mouth. I'm passing this mirror to the back of your mouth and now say "ee".

Example 40

D: *Right. Nurse, would you come here? ... **Sit on mummy's lap, lie back, let's put this sheet round you, well done. The nurse is going to hold your nose, that's lovely. Now I've got this little magic light. I'm going to look in your nose. Well done! I haven't looked up your nose before. Now wait, I'm putting this little hook down it. Ohh, now it's out. Here we are.***

4.2.2 Patient-Initiated Speech Acts As the quantitative analysis shows, out of 339 patient-initiated speech acts (besides questions), 33 (10%) belong to the category of statements, 304 (90%) to the category of answers, 1 (0%) to the category of reactives, and 1 (0%) to the category of directives (see Tables 17, 18). 38 (11%) appear during the history-taking, 293 (87%) during the examination, and only 8 (2%) during the treatment (see Tables 17, 18).

Table 17: Absolute Frequency of Patient-Initiated Speech Acts

Abs.	Phase			Speech Act				Total
	Hist	Exam	Treat	Sta	Ans	Rea	Dir	
Internal	19	72	0	4	87	0	0	91
Gynaec.	0	61	2	3	60	0	0	63
Paed.	12	54	0	1	65	0	0	66
ORL	4	56	1	11	50	0	0	61
Orthop.	3	50	5	14	42	1	1	58
Total	38	293	8	33	304	1	1	339

Table 18: Relative Frequency of Patient-Initiated Speech Acts

%	Phase			Speech Act				Total
	<i>Hist</i>	<i>Exam</i>	<i>Treat</i>	<i>Sta</i>	<i>Ans</i>	<i>Rea</i>	<i>Dir</i>	
<i>Internal</i>	21	79	0	4	96	0	0	27
<i>Gynaec.</i>	0	97	3	5	95	0	0	19
<i>Paed.</i>	18	82	0	2	98	0	0	19
<i>ORL</i>	6	92	2	18	82	0	0	18
<i>Orthop.</i>	5	86	9	24	76	0	0	17
Total	11	87	2	10	90	0	0	100

In general, aside from questions, patients initiate only two types of speech acts: statements and answers, particularly during the first two parts of the medical encounter. Since the explanation for this fact is easily deduced from what has been said about the speech acts provided by doctors, it not necessary to comment on the issue. What is of greater interest, however, are the figures obtained for patient-initiated reactives and directives.

As displayed by Table 17, only one reactive and one directive are provided by one patient in the sample. They take place during the history-taking phase (R) and at the beginning of the phase of examination (D), and are provided in the surgery of an orthopaedist. Since such a low number limits any reliable interpretation, let me introduce the following situation (Example 41) and consider the process of the interview.

Example 41

D: *How's Mary's health?*

M: *She's usually a very fit girl. She has suffered from asthma in the past, but doesn't take any medicine regularly.*

D: *Is there anyone else in your family who suffered from curvature of the spine?*

M: *Yes, my brother, that's Mary's uncle, was quite severely disabled by curvature of the spine when he was in his teens.*

D: *I see, so you're obviously concerned that the same thing may happen to your daughter.*

M: *Yes, Doctor, that's right.*

D: *What I'd like to do now is to examine Mary if that's all right with you.*

M: *Yes, please go ahead.*

In Example 41, an orthopaedist is visited by Mrs Black and her daughter Mary. It is the first meeting between the doctor and the family. The mother is worried about her daughter's health as she thinks that Mary suffers from curvature of the spine. The doctor initiates the talk by asking Mrs Black questions about Mary's past medical history, and whether or not anyone in the family is disabled. When he finds out that Mary's uncle had a similar problem as a teenager, he utters a reactive *I see*, and continues with a structure, which is rather more of a commentary on the situation than a real question (*so you're obviously concerned that the same thing may happen to your daughter*).

Nevertheless, Mrs Black provides an answer and even proceeds with a reactive. Then, the doctor approaches Mary's examination, which is followed by the permission-seeking *if that's all right with you*. This use of modality can indicate the doctor's sensitivity to 'the delicacy of consulting with a small child'.¹⁵ The permission is, of course, given by Mrs Black; surprisingly, it is provided in the form of a directive *go ahead*.

As Todd (1983: 165) maintains:

The patient's conversation also displays reactives; the patient's reactives, however, differ from those of the doctor in that they occur in single speech act turns. The patient does not usually, in her turn, utter a reactive and continue. Rather, she utters the reactive as both the initiation and the end of her turn and in response to the doctor's utterance.

Patient-initiated directives, on the other hand, are very unusual for doctor-patient communication. From what has been observed I would suggest that it is the personality of Mrs Black that influences the flow of interaction.¹⁶ A highly verbal, assertive, and educated woman, a caring mother. It has been proven (e.g. Roter and Hall 1992) that better-educated patients have more to say and are more assertive. However, as has been stressed, in this particular case we cannot generalise.

5 Concluding remarks

What has been said about the roles and functions of speech acts might suggest that the asymmetrical relationship between doctors and patients has been preserved. However, there is a tendency to "reduce hierarchies and renegotiate roles" (Gwyn 2002: 69). As has been stressed elsewhere (e.g. Todd 1983), more empirical research is needed. Only then we will be able to 'enlighten

theory' and to suggest new strategies for improved doctor-patient communication.

6 Notes

[*] The present paper is based on Chapter 6 of my treatise *Sociolinguistic and Pragmatic Aspects of Doctor-Patient Communication* (see Černý 2007).

¹ This approach is proposed by Müllerová, Hoffmannová, and Schneiderová (1992).

² For anybody who is to continue with the research within doctor-patient interaction it will be, of course, inevitable to investigate much larger and more suitable language material. The corpus under scrutiny suffers several disadvantages: e.g. the incompleteness of dialogues and lack of tagging (for details see Černý 2007). However, when preparing this analysis no better source of conversational texts was available.

³ See, for example, Drew and Heritage (1992).

⁴ Todd's classification of speech acts is based on D'Andrade's Preliminary Speech Act Category System: A. *Statements* (expositives, representatives, assertions) reports / quotes / instantiations / claims / stimulations / inferences; B. *Directives* (requests, orders, exercitives) suggest / request / order / request object / agree as to truth / expression of approval / sympathy / support / commitment / direct action / direct / indirect; C. *Questions* / wh-form / yes/no form / tag form / intonation-only form / information-only versus other uses / D. *Reactives* (various kinds of agreement or disagreement with what has previously been stated) agree as to truth versus disagree as to truth / give attention / accede (agree to commit, or actually do) versus refuse; E. *Expressives* / give approval versus disapproval (sympathy, regret, exasperation, etc.) direct versus indirect (accusation, disagreement, etc.); F. *Commissives* / promise, offer, vow, etc.

⁵ For details about the function of different types of questions in general, see Roter and Hall (1992: 83).

⁶ Tsui (1992: 102-109) claims that elicitations are targeted towards the following functions: information, confirmation, agreement, commitment, repetition, clarification.

⁷ I interpret the results of the F-test in order to make the quantitative analysis more reliable. On the other hand, the F-test is understood as a supplementary device, which has no priority over the qualitative analysis, and is taken into consideration only when the sample discussed is large enough, or when the results of the F-test are so significant that they could provide new insights into the subject under scrutiny.

⁸ I use the asterisk to indicate when the results are of certain significance.

⁹ Here I would see the influence of various TV series and soap operas (e.g. *Chicago Hope*, *Emergency*), which sometimes present surgeons as some supernatural creatures.

¹⁰ Cf. Roter and Hall (1992).

¹¹ This information is acquired in West (1983: 76).

¹² See, for example, West (1983: 67).

¹³ Cf. Mishler (1984: 61) and his structural unit of doctor-patient discourse: a. Physician Question / b. Patient Response / c. Physician Assessment / d. (pause) / e. Next Question.

¹⁴ Cf. the division of the medical consultation proposed by Byrne and Long (1976).

¹⁵ Cf. Gwyn (2002: 82).

¹⁶ Cf. Roter and Hall (1992); especially the chapter "The Influence of Patient Characteristics on Communication between the Doctor and the Patient".

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Studie k dokladům českých místních jmen na *-any* v 11.-13. století^[*] Michaela Čornejová

Úvod

Místní jména zakončená v současné češtině na *-any* (typ *Dolany*, *Kostelany*, *Nemojany*) jsou jedním z nejdůležitějších slovanských toponymických typů (Eichler-Šrámek 1988, s. 47). Vyskytují se na celém slovanském území, byť v různé míře a s různým typem zakončení: slc. *Topolčany*, pol. *Zaleszany*, hluž. *Demjany*, dluž. *Dolane*, na jihoslovanském území převažuje typ *-ane*. Jedná se o místní jména (dále MJ) velmi stará, což dokazuje i fakt, že se vyskytují v Čechách i na Moravě na nejstarším sídelním území (viz mapa na konci textu). Spolu s dalšími typy jmen (např. na *-ice*) bývají řazena mezi *obyvatelská jména* (etnická) a někteří badatelé je označují za *obyvatelská jména par excellence* nebo *jména obyvatelská* v užším smyslu (Spal 1955, s. 274; 1958, s. 5); označují totiž obyvatele určitého místa a většinou bývají od názvu místa utvořena.¹ Původním nominativním zakončením bylo *-ane/-ané* (ve významu „označení skupiny obyvatel“), nč. *-any* bylo přejato z akuzativu poté, co začala být daná *propria* chápána ve významu místa. Uvedená změna je kladena do 13. – 14. století a její počátky do doby kolem r. 1250 (Eichler 1962, s. 362).

Cíl a materiál

V tomto referátu bych se chtěla podrobněji věnovat jedné *jazykové zvláštnosti* českých MJ na *-any*, a sice starobylému tvaru konsonantického lokálu plurálu na *-as*, někdy nazývanému *sigmatický*. Vyskytuje se v nejstarších dokladech toponymických bohemik našeho typu: např. *Plaňas* (dnešní MJ Plaňany), *Oplocas* (dnešní MJ Oplocany). Předmětem zkoumání bude jeho rozšíření v listinném materiálu, ústup a pronikání jiných zakončení. Analyzována jsou MJ uvedeného typu vyexcerpovaná z latinských listin všech vydaných svazků edice českého diplomatáře, jehož pátý díl končí rokem 1278 (dále CDB). Do výběru jsou zahrnuty originální listiny a falza, popř. kopie do 13. stol. Pozdější falza a kopie jsou vyloučeny; nelze u nich spolehlivě určit, do jaké míry odrážejí

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ji mladší písařský úzus nebo opisovačské chyby a informace jimi zprostředkované mohou být zavádějící.

Výchozím tvarem MJ je jejich podoba ve zkoumaném období. U některých jmen došlo v průběhu vývoje ke změně slovtvorného typu, tj. ke změně toponymu: např. dnešní *Mostkovice* na Moravě mají v nejstarším dokladu k r. 1131 podobu *Mostčas*, původní MJ bylo tedy *Most(e)čany*; dnešní *Medlánky* (část Brna) přešly k deminutivu až sekundárně, nejstarší doklad k r. 1237 *Medlan* svědčí o původní podobě *Medlany*.²

Sigmatický lokál

Sigmatický lokál na *-as* je dochován v češtině pouze u některých toponym na *-any*, nikoliv u apelativ, a pravděpodobně je jeho (sporadický) výskyt v starých dokladech lužicko-srbských toponym (Eichler 1962, s. 363; 1980). Jedním z nejcitovanějších příkladů sigmatického lokálu je toponymum v nejstarším českém přípisu z poč. 13. stol. v tzv. zakládací listině litoměřické kapituly: *Pavel dal jest Ploskovicích zem' u. Vlach dal jest Dolas zem' u bogu i sv'atému Štěpánu se dvěma dušnikoma, Bohučēja a Sedlatú* (cit. dle Pleskalová 2001, s. 11). Toponymum *Dolas* představuje zbytek archaického bezpředložkového lokálu a do nové češtiny jej lze „přeložit“ jako „v Dolanech“. MJ na *-any*, od původu substantiva konsonantické deklinace, zachovávala ve staré češtině ještě některé její pozůstatky - podobně jako apelativa typu *zeměnin* (Gebauer 1960, s. 77-78). Jedním z nich je i koncovka *-as*, zákonitý vývojový tvar lokálu plurálu substantiv konsonantické deklinace.³ S pozůstatky sigmatického lokálu se setkáme v některých německých variantách českých MJ na *-any*, např. *Tuřany* – něm. *Turas*; *Obřany* – něm. *Obras*.⁴ Gramatické tvary lokálu plnily často v cizojazyčném textu funkci oficiální (nominativní) podoby toponym a jako takové byly následně cizími mluvčími přejímány, popř. adaptovány do cizího jazyka.⁵

Sporná je kvantita vokálu *a*. Do konce 19. století se badatelé přikláněli k zakončení *-ás*. Josef Zubatý v 90. letech 19. století podobu s *á* odmítá (cit. dle Flajšhans 1926, s. 26-27), jelikož vznikla - dle jeho názoru - analogicky podle vokalického lokálu *-ách*. Není tedy důvodu trvat na nepůvodní kvantitě. Historické gramatiky od Jana Gebauera se přiklání ke krátkému vokálu a zakončení *-as*.

Lokál na *-as* v dosavadních bádáních

Vladimír Šmilauer (1963, s. 102; 1964, s. 300) uvádí, že zmíněná koncovka ztratila životnost koncem poloviny 11. století, ale tam, kde byla vžitá (tj. u MJ vzniklých před tímto datem), se jí užívalo ještě dlouho po jejím zániku. Přiklání se k tomu, že výskyt sigmatického lokálu souvisí se stářím osady: MJ s doloženým lokálem na *-as* jsou soustředěna na nejstarším sídelním území Čech, jak zobrazuje jedna z map ve Šmilauerově Atlasu MJ (1969, č. 200; viz také mapa na konci textu). Někteří autoři vyslovili názor, že výskyt daného lokálu souvisí s jazykovými znalostmi sestavovatelů listin a praxí skriptoria.⁶

Historické gramatiky češtiny (např. Trávníček 1935, s. 302; Pleskalová 2001, s. 58) uvádí, že tyto podoby žily na českém území až do 14. století a jako archaismy dokonce až do 16. století, především v latinských listinách (Flajšhans 1926, s. 33). Udržely se tak dlouho, jelikož se nechápaly jako deklinační tvary, nýbrž jako výrazy adverbialní povahy (Lamprecht – Šlosar – Bauer 1984, s. 149).

Materiál

Analyzovaný materiál obsahuje kolem 120 MJ na *-any* ze sledovaného období, vyloučena jsou MJ nejasná. V dokladech se setkáme se čtyřmi typy zakončení; četnost jejich výskytu v jednotlivých listinách je zachycena v tabulce na konci textu:

1. sloupec = *-as*
2. sloupec = *-an* (mající původ pravděpodobně v gen. pl.)
3. sloupec = *-ané* (původní konsonantická koncovka nom. pl. názvu obyvatel)
4. sloupec = *-any*, graficky většinou *-ani* (koncovka ak. pl.).

Při pohledu na tabulku je nápadný hojný výskyt tvarů s *-as* v listinách do první poloviny 12. stol., a to včetně pozdějších kopií a falz. Do tohoto období spadají listiny s velkým množstvím bohemik: mezi nejvýznamnější patří listina k r. 1131 (listina olomouckého skriptoria) obsahující kolem 200 toponym, listina k r. 1088 (sp. XII) o založení vyšehradské kapituly s téměř 100 toponymy. Srovnatelné počty bohemik neobsahuje žádná mladší listina ze 13. století, a proto se nesetkáme v pozdější době ani s tolika MJ zkoumaného typu v jednom dokumentu.

V listinách po polovině 12. stol. se lokál na *-as* objevuje v naprosté většině u MJ, která jej dokládají i ve starších listinách. Tato skutečnost odpovídá zmíněnému konstatování V. Šmilauera o zachování zkoumaného tvaru u MJ raného původu. Od 2. pol. 12. stol. lze sledovat postupné pronikání a posléze převahu tvarů na *-an*, od původu pravděpodobně koncovky genitivu plurálu.⁷ Méně jsou doloženy tvary s nominativem plurálu na *-ané*, resp. *-ěné* (s přehláskou po měkkém konsonantu, jejíž pronikání od počátku 13. stol. je dobře zřetelné ve třetím sloupci tabulky). Zřídka se objevují akuzativní tvary na *-any*, takže na tomto typu MJ nelze dobře sledovat přejetí akuzativního tvaru do nominativu. K listinám pátého svazku jsou uvedeny souhrnné údaje: nejčastějším zakončením je *-an* (47x), pětkrát nominativ plurálu, a pouze ve dvou případech *-as*. S tvary na *-as* je třeba v tomto svazku zacházet obezřetně, protože v některých případech se doklady týkají už německých podob daných MJ (*Tuřany*, *Obřany*, *Krusičany*, viz přehled na konci textu).

Shrnutí

Na základě údajů přehledně zobrazených v tabulkách lze vyslovit následující shrnutí: (1) v dokladech MJ v listinách do poloviny 12. stol. převládá zakončení *-as*, (2) od této doby výrazně proniká zakončení *-an* a převládá až do konce zkoumaného období, tj. do

70. let 13. stol., (3) zakončení *-as* po 2. pol. 12. stol. zachovávají MJ, u nichž se objevuje ve starších dokladech.

Na materiálu toponymických bohemik do 13. století nelze sledovat vývoj deklinace MJ na *-any*. Není rovněž možné konstatovat, kdy ustoupila zkoumaná koncovka z funkce lokálu. Pravděpodobně ale jako deklinační koncovka v daném období už nefungovala a uvedené tvary se užívaly jako ustrnulé pády - lokálové tvary podléhají ostatně adverbializaci velmi často. O ztrátě povědomí o původu v deklinačním tvaru svědčí i fakt, že tvary s *-as* ustupují nikoliv očekávanému náležitěmu tvaru lokálu (*-anech*), ale genitivnímu *-an*.

Nejstarší doklady některých MJ svědčí o tom, že varianty s *-as/-an* existovaly paralelně vedle sebe, např. MJ *Plaňany* se objevuje v listinách z r. 1219/1222 a z r. 1226 v přídomku *de Planan*, v listině z r. 1225 *de Planas*. Ve všech třech případech se jedná o originální listiny vzniklé s odstupem několika let. V mnoha dalších listinách se setkáme paralelně i se třemi typy zakončení, např. listina č. 378 CDB2 k r. 1227, č. 390 CDB1 k r. 1115 (viz tabulka).

Na závěr bych ráda zmínila ještě jeden pozoruhodný jev. V. Flajšhans ve své studii (Flajšhans 1926, s. 17, s. 36) uvádí, že posledním a jediným zbytkem starého lokálu plurálu na *-as* v českých textech je ve 14. století místní určení *u Polas*. V této souvislosti je třeba citovat A. Profousem (sv. III, s. 368) shromážděné doklady MJ *Plaňany*, které ještě v 18. století svědčí o někdejší existenci lokálu na *-as* (viz seznam dokladů). U tohoto toponyma přetrvával starý lokálový tvar déle než do 14. století, a to i v českých textech. Stal se dokonce základem pro vytvoření paralelního nominativu *Plaňasy*, jenž se dále skloňoval: např. r. 1519 v *Plaňasech*, r. 1649 a r. 1670 na *Planiasech*, Schallerova topografická příručka uvádí k r. 1788 varianty *Planian*, *Planiany*, *Planiasy*.

Poznámky

¹ Podrobnější zkoumání postavení jmen tohoto typu v dosavadních onomastických klasifikacích MJ je předmětem dalšího zkoumání, rovněž i otázka povahy odvozovacího základu (apelativa X propria), v níž panuje v literatuře nejednotnost. Za dosud nejlepší práci o českých MJ na *-any* považuji studii J. Spala (1958), která přihlíží i k rozšíření tohoto typu v ostatních slovanských jazycích.

² V některých stěžejních studiích bohužel takovéto doklady chybí (Spal o.c.), protože autoři vycházeli ze současné oficiální podoby MJ.

³ Tvar *-(j)as* vznikl z bývalého *-(j)an-sъ*: koncovka *-s(ъ)* náležitá pro lokál plurálu se zachovala u kmene souhláskového. U samohláskových deklinačních typů se změnila na *-chъ* a odtud se analogicky rozšířila k souhláskovým (Gebauer 1960, s. 78).

⁴ Některé německé varianty českých MJ se zakončením *-s* (*Komořany/Gudrams*, *Moravany/Morweins* → *Morbes*) vznikly také na pozadí německých MJ s genitivním koncovým *-s* (např. Hosák-Šrámek 1980, s. 94).

⁵ Jako analogickou paralelu k německým MJ typu *Turas* je možno uvést některá jména slovinského (slovanského) původu se zakončením *-ach* na území Rakouska, především ve východním Tyrolsku a Korutanech, např. *Dölach*, *Görtschach*. Některá z nich mají původ v lok. pl. na *-achъ* jmen na *-any* (pův. -'(an)e/-j(an)e): *Dölach* - *dol'ane, *Görtschach* - *goričane (Pohl, 1996, s. 42-47). Podobně jako v případě německých podob českých MJ typu *Turas* jde tedy o ustrnulé tvary konsonantického lokálu plurálu. Na rozdíl od českého *-as* je zde *ch-ové* zakončení, patrně analogické dle vokalických deklinací (Pohl 1999, 1996). Koncovka *-ach* v lokálu plurálu MJ na *-any* se objevuje také v nářečí na středním Slovensku: *f Kľačach*, *Piešťach*, *Sučach*, kde *-ch* vzniklo taktéž vlivem lokálů samohláskových (Trávníček 1935, s. 302).

⁶ Např. polský onomastik S. Rospond v 60. letech vyslovil názor (cit. dle Eichler 1980, s. 240), že tyto tvary vznikly uměle pod vlivem němčiny, užívaly se jako morfologické spisovné formy („Schriftformen“) a existovaly paralelně vedle tvarů na *-ech*, *-ich*, *-ach*. Jeho názor zpochybnili a proti němu odmítavě vystoupili nejen čeští onomastikové.

⁷ Výhradně toto zakončení se objevuje např. v nejstarších dokladech slovenských MJ na *-any* v tzv. Zoborských listinách z let 1111 a 1113: např. *Borscan* – dnešní Borčany, *Costelan* – dnešní Kostol'any (Krajčovič 1988, s. 263-265). Zachovávají ho též MJ slovanského původu v německém prostředí; podle E. Eichlera se zde jedná buď rovněž o původně genitivní tvar, nebo o projev tendence víceslabičná MJ slovanského původu při přejetí zkrátit (Eichler 1962, s. 364). Podobně německé podoby mnoha českých MJ *-any* mají právě zakončení *-an*: *Trnovany-Trnowan*, *Bžany-Webeschan*, *Doksany-Doxan*, *Lažany-Losan*.

Typy zakončení MJ na *-any* v listinách edice CDB

<i>Listiny</i>	<i>Zakončení</i>			
CDB1	<i>- as</i>	<i>- an</i>	<i>-ané</i>	<i>-any</i>
1055/61 (c. XIII)				
1057 (or.), č. 55	1	1		
1057 (c. XIII)	5			
1057 (sp. XIV)	6			
1061/1085 (c. XIII), č. 83				1
1073 (sp. XII), č. 386	2			
1085/89 (c. XIII), č. 91	2			
1088 (sp. XII), č. 387	9			
1115 (sp. XIII), č. 390	4	3	4	
1125/40 (sp. XIII), č. 393	1			
1130 (c. XII), č. 111	1			
1131 (or.), č. 115	17		2	
1142/48 (or.), č. 155				2
1146 (sp. XII), č. 396		1		
1158/69 (or.), č. 245		1		
1160 (or.), č. 208	1		2	
1167 (sp. XII), č. 399	1	1		
1175 (or.), č. 278		1		
1177 (or.), č. 280		1		
1178 (or.), č. 287		1		
1185 (sp. XIII), č. 404		1		
1186 (sp. XIII), č. 405	1	2	1 -ěné	
1186 (sp. XIII,c. XVII), č. 405	4	4	7	
1189 (or.), č. 322		1		
1192 (or.), č. 336		1		
1193 (or.), č. 343		1		
1046 (sp. XII), č. 382	1			

CDB2				
1088 ins. 1222 (or.), č. 229	6			
1201-1202? (sp. XIII), č. 355		1		
1201 (or.), č. 21			1 -ěné	
1203 (sp. XIII, c. XVII), č. 356		2		
1205 (or.), č. 54		2		
1205 (sp. XIII), č. 359	2			1
1207 (sp. XIII), č. 360		2		
1207?(or.), č. 60		1		
1208 (or.), č. 279			1	
1208 (sp. XIII, c. XIV), č. 361		2		
1209 (or.), č. 83	1			
1209 (sp. XIII, c. XIV), č. 362		6		
1210 ? (sp. XIII) č. 363				1
1210 (sp. XIII), č. 364		1		
1213 (or.), č. 106		1		
1216 (or.), č. 125		1		
1219 (or.), č. 188		1		
1219-22 (or.), č. 231		1		
1221 (or.), č. 213		1		
1222 (or.), č. 236				
1222 (or.), č. 237				
1222 (or.), č. 241		1		
1223 (or.), č. 245		1		
1225 (or.), č. 271		1		
1225 (or.), č. 278	1			
1226 (or.), č. 286		8	1 -ěné	1
1226 (or.), č. 288		1		
1226 (or.), č. 289		2		
cc1227 (sp. XIII), č. 378	4		1 -ěné	2
1227 (or.), č. 306	1			
1227 (or.), č. 303		1		

1228 (or.), č. 320		1		
1228 (or.), č. 321		2	1 -ěné	
1228 (or.), č. 322		1		
1228 (sp. XIII), č. 380		2	1	
1229 (or.), č. 332		1		
1230 (or.), č. 339		1		
1230 (or.), č. 338		1		
1230 (or.), č. 345		1		

CDB3				
1231 (or.), č. 14		1		
1232 (or.), č. 26		1		
1233 (or.), č. 40	3		1 1 -ěné	
1233 (or.), č. 51		1		
1234 (or.), č. 76		1		
1234-35 (or.), č. 101	2		6 -ěné	
1235 (or.), č. 103		1		
1237 (or.), č. 167			1 -ěné	
1237 (or.), č. 158		2		
1237 (or.), č. 162		1		
1237 (or.), č. 165		2		
1238 (or.), č. 175			1 -ěné	
1238 (or.), č. 180		1		
1238 (or.), č. 181		1		
1238 (or.), č. 188		1		
1238 (or.), č. 193		1		
1238 (or.), č. 194		1		
1238 (or.), č. 298		1		
1239 (or.), č. 208		1		
1239 (or.), č. 214			1 1 -ěné	
1239 (or.), č. 219		2		

1240 (or.), č. 260		2		
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CDB4				
1242 (or.), č. 16		1		
1243 (or.), č. 34		1		
1244 (or.), č. 42		3		
1245 (or.), č. 71		1		
1247 (or.), č. 107		1		
1247 (or.), č. 128		1		
1249 (sp. XIII), č. 171	1	1		
1249 (or.), č. 172		1		
1249 (or.), č. 169		1		
1250 (or.), č. 183	1	2		
1250 (or.), č. 179		1		
1250 (or.), č. 192a		1		
1250 (or.), č. 194		1		
1250 (or.), č. 196		1		
1250 (sp. XIII), č. 188	1			
1251 (or.) č. 203		1		
1251 (or.), č. 204		1		
1252 (or.), č. 237		1		
1252 (or.), č. 259		1		1
1252 (or.), č. 240		1		
1252 (or.), č. 241		1		
1253 (or.), č. 261		1		
1253 (or.), č. 263		1		

CDB5: celkové počty	2	47	2 3 -ěné	
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Vybrané doklady toponym do r. 1278 s -as

or. = originál; sp. = falzum: sp. XII = falzum z 12. stol.; c. = kopie: c. XII = kopie z 12. stol.

CDB = Codex diplomaticus..., číslo svazku, strana*rok: CDB2 78*1209 = 2. svazek edice, s. 78, listina k r. 1209

Borkovany u Břeclavi

Borcouani (sp. XIII) CDB2 392*1210?
Borkowan (sp. XIII) CDB2 395*1210
Borcowaz (or.) CDB2 78*1209
Borkouene (or.) CDB3 209*1237

Bukovany u Olomouce

Bucouaz (or.) CDB1 120*1131
Bukowan (or.) CDB2 56*1207,237*1223
Bvkowan (or.) CDB2 101*1213
Bokwan (or.) CDB5 r.1275

Hrušovany nad Jevišovkou

Grusouaz (or.) CDB1 123*1131
Grusovan (or.) CDB1 215*1158/69

Libochovany u Litoměřic

Lubochowan (sp. XIII) CDB1 432*1186
Liubochwan (sp. XIII) CDB1 400*1115
Liubohovass (sp. XIV) CDB1 364*1057
Lubohovaz (c. XIII) CDB1 57*1057

Ostrovany, dn. Ostrovánky u Kyjova

Ostrauaz (or.) CDB1 122*1131
Ostrovan (sp. XIII) CDB2 371*1201/02

Trnovany u Litoměřic

Ternovas (c. XIII) CDB1 57*1057
Trrnovass (sp. XIV) CDB1 364*1057

Trnovany u Teplic

Ternovaz (c. XIII) CDB1 58*1057
Trrnovass (sp. XIV) CDB1 365*1057

Trnovany u Žatce

Trinouaz, Trnouaz (sp. XII) CDB1 384*1088
Tirnowaz (or.) CDB2 217*1088?ins.1222
Tirnouan (or.) CDB3 246*1238

Vírovany, dn. Věrovany u Olomouce

Virouaz (or.) CDB1 118*1131
Wyrowan (or.) CDB5 795*1275

Nemilany u Olomouce

Nemilaz (or.) CDB1 118*1131

Nemojany u Olomouce

Nemyiaz (or.) CDB1 118*1131

Blšany u Loun

Blsaz (sp. XIII) CDB2 422*cc 1227
Blsan (or.) CDB5 565*1268

Brňany u Litoměřic

Brennaz (c. XIII) CDB1 58*1057
Breniass (sp. XIV) CDB1 364*1057
Bernan, Bernen (or.) CDB2 285*1226

Brňany u Vyškova

Brennan (or.) CDB5 r.1267
Brunnaz (or.) CDB5 r.1277

Bžany u Teplic

Bsas (or.) CDB5 855*1277

Břežany u Kolína

Bresaz (sp. XII) CDB1 377*1088
Bresaz (or.) CDB2 216*1088?ins.1222

Břežany, dn. Břežánky u Teplic

Bresan (sp. XIII) CDB2 389*1209
Briezín (sp. XIII) CDB2 385*1207

Dolany nebo Dolánky (nejasná lokalizace)		Krňany u Benešova	
<i>Dolan</i> (or.)	CDB1 59*1057	<i>Chrymany</i> (c. XIII)	CDB1 90*1061/1085
<i>Dolas</i> (or.)	CDB1 60*1057	<i>Chrymany</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB2 381*1205
<i>Doleass</i> (sp. XIV)	CDB1 365*1057	<i>Kirnaz</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB2 421*cc1227
		<i>Krinas</i> (or.)	CDB3 38*1233
Dolany u Pardubic		Lašťany u Olomouce	
<i>in villa Dolaz</i> (sp. XII)	CDB1 370*1073	<i>Lazan</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB2 373*1203
Hlubočany u Vyškova		<i>Lasczas</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB4 280*1249
<i>Glubocaz</i> (or.)	CDB1 118*1131	<i>Laschaz</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB4 345*1250
		<i>Laschas</i> (or.)	CDB5 r.1275
Hošťany, nelokalizováno		Lažany u Tábora	
<i>Gozchas</i> (or.)	CDB2 305*1227	<i>Lasaz</i> (or.)	CDB4 334*1250
Dolní Jirčany u Prahy		Libčany u Hradce Králové	
<i>Hercaz</i> (c. XIII)	CDB1 60*1055/61	<i>Liubichas</i> (sp. XII)	CDB1 370*1073
<i>Gehercaz</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB1 397*1115	<i>Lubzan</i> (or.)	CDB4 413*1252
<i>Gierchaz, Gehercaz</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB1 429*1186		
<i>Geherzas</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB1 430*1186	Loučany u Olomouce	
<i>Hercaz</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB2 381*1205	<i>Lucaz</i> (or.)	CDB1 119*1131
<i>Gerchas</i> (or.)	CDB3 118*1234-35	<i>Luchan</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB5 r.1269
Jivňany, dn. Jivany u Stříbra		Lužany u Jičína	
<i>Ivnas, Ivnaz</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB1 403*1115	<i>Lusas</i> (sp. XII)	CDB1 360*1046
<i>Givnaz</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB2 422*cc1227	Líšťany u Stříbra	
		<i>Leschas, Leschan</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB1 399*1115
Komořany u Zbraslavi		Most(e)čany, dn. Mostkovice u Prostějova	
<i>Comoraz</i> (sp. XII)	CDB1 382*1088	<i>Mostcaz</i> (or.)	CDB1 119*1131
<i>Komoraz</i> (or.)	CDB2 216*1088?ins.1222	<i>Mostkowich</i> (or.)	CDB2 262*1225
Kostelany nad Moravou u Uh. Hradiště		Obřany, dn. část Brna	
<i>Kostelaz</i> (or.)	CDB1 122*1131	<i>Obran</i> (or.)	CDB3 83*1234
<i>Costoliz</i> (or.)	CDB4 355*1250	<i>Obersez</i> (or.)	CDB5 r.1278
		<i>Obersas</i> (or.)	CDB5 r.1278
Krusičany a Benešov		Olšany u Olomouce	
<i>Cruzbihsaz</i> (sp. XIII)	CDB5 643*1271	<i>Olsaz</i> (or.)	CDB1 119*1131
		<i>Olsane</i> (c. XIV)	CDB1 261*1180

Olšany u Strakonice
Olsaz (sp. XIII) CDB2 422*cc1227

Oplocany u Přerova
Oplocaz (or.) CDB1 119*1131

Plaňany u Kolína
Holach de Planan (or.) CDB2 220*1219-22
Holach de Planan (or.) CDB2 290*1226
Holac de Planas (or.) CDB2 272*1225

Další doklady shromážděné Profousem:

ok. 1340 *Jan de villa Planyass*

1352 *Planass*

1367 – 85 *Planas*

1519 v *Plaňasech*

1543 *Plaňany ves celú prodal...*

1572 *kostelu sv. Petra w Planiasech*

1592 *ves Planiany*

1623 *ve vsi Planiasech, statku Planiaského...statku Planianského*

1649 a 1670 *na Planiasech*

1654 *Planiany, městys*

1677 v *Plaňanech, z Plaňan*

1788 *Planian, Planiany, Planiasy*

1844 *Planian, Planiany*

Pouzďřany u Břeclavi

Puzrams (or.) CDB4 122*1244

Puzramis (or.) CDB4 238*1248

Puzdram (or.) CDB5 830*1277

Píšťany u Litoměřic

Peschaz (c. XIII) CDB1 57*1057

Pesceass (sp. XIV) CDB1 364*1057

Pehsan (or.) CDB4 445*1253

Sazany zaniklé

Zazane, Zazas (or.) CDB1 121*1131

Dolní a Horní Sekyřany u Plzně

Sechiras (or.) CDB3 118*1234-35

Zekiran (or.) CDB5 r.1253

Zekirene (or.) CDB5 r.1253

Sekyran (or.) CDB5 r.1273

Topolany u Olomouce

Topolaz (or.) CDB1 119*1131

Topolaz (or.) CDB1 196*1160

Thopolan (or.) CDB5 r.1256

Tuřany, dn. část Brna

Turane (or.) CDB2 273*1208

Durans (or.) CDB5 r.1275

Těšany u Vyškova

Tesaz (or.) CDB1 123*1131

Vraňany u Mělníka

Wranah (sp. XIII) CDB2 422*cc1227

Wranas (or.) CDB3 39*1233

Vrbčany u Kolína

Wirbcsaz (c. XII) CDB1 113*1130

Wirbcaz (sp. XII) CDB1 376*1088

Wurbicsaz terra (or.) CDB2 216*1088?1222

Zalažany u Vysokého Mýta

Zalasaz (sp. XII) CDB1 413*1167

Žatčany u Brna

Satcane (or.) CDB1 123*1131

Schezans (or.) CDB4 253*1248

Záblacany, Záblačany zaniklé u Uh.Hradiště

Zablacaz (or.) CDB1 122*1131

Zablazan (or.) CDB3 247*1238

Žiňany u Benešova

Sinaz terra (sp. XII)

Zynias terram (c. XIII)

Sinaz (or.)

Zynias (sp. XIII)

CDB1 376*1088

CDB1 98*1085/89

CDB2 216*1088ins.1222

CDB2 381*1205

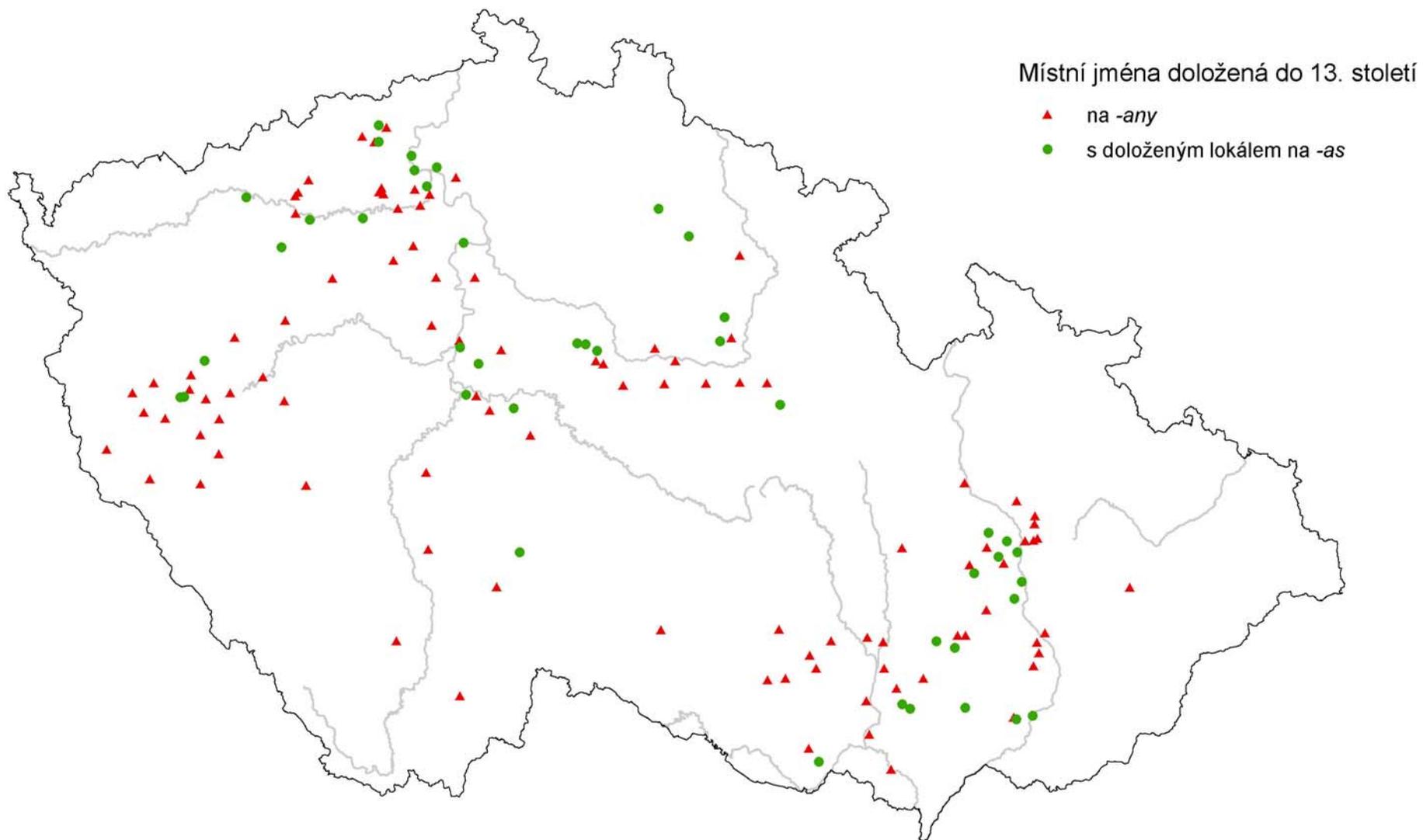
Úhošťany u Kadaně

Ugoscas, Vgoscasaz (sp. XII)

Vgoscasaz (or.)

CDB1 384*1088

CDB2 217*1088?ins.1222



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Indefinite and definite tenses in Hindi: Morpho-Semantic aspects^[*]

Sunil Kumar Bhatt

0. The tense structure in Hindi consists of both synthetic and analytic forms. The analytic tenses are formed with the combination of participles and the auxiliary *honā* 'to be'. In present and past tense and in presumptive only the verb *honā* 'to be' can have the synthetic form; other verbs are not capable to create any synthetic tense form. That obviously is the case with the morphology of the tense system, but the semantics some how has to find the way to express the meaning, which does exist but there is no morphological form. The semantics uses the limited sources (morphology: forms) to fill the gaps in morphological structure, which are the reflections of meanings in the semantic structure.

The aim of the paper is to investigate the fact, how the semantics, in Hindi, copes up with the morphology in expressing all possible tenses, where the special forms do not exist. To make the problem clear I have used a broader classification of the tenses i.e. indefinite and definite tenses. The definite tenses have been further classified into Imperfective, Perfective and Continuative.

In the structure of temporal system the Hindi language has fourfold classification of verbal tenses: Simple, Imperfective, Perfective and Continuative. The perfective, imperfective and continuative belong to the category of definite tenses and the simple tenses are the indefinite one.

Table: 1. Tenses

	Indefinite	Definite		
	Simple	Imperfective	Perfective	Continuative
Participle	-	Imperfective	Perfective	Continuative
Present	Simple Present	Imperfective Present	Perfective Present	Continuative present
Past	Simple Past	Imperfective Past	Perfective Past	Past Continuative
Historic		Historic Imperfective Tense	Historic Perfective Tense	
Future	Simple Future	Imperfective Future	Perfective Future	Future Continuative
Presumptive	Simple Presumptive	Imperfective Presumptive	Perfective Presumptive	Presumptive Continuative
Subjunctive	Simple Subjunctive	Imperfective Subjunctive	Perfective Subjunctive	Subjunctive Continuative
Conditional	Simple Conditional	Imperfective Conditional	Perfective Conditional	Conditional Continuative

One fourth number of all the tenses in Hindi is synthetic and three fourth are analytic. That is because there are three basic tense forming participles i.e. imperfective, perfective and continuative participle.

likhnā 'write'

Imperfective	<i>likhtā</i>	- ¹
Perfective ²	<i>likhā</i>	written
Continuative	<i>likh rahā</i> ³	writing

With the combination of helping verb *honā* and the participles tense formation takes place.

Imperfective Present	<i>vah likhtā hai.</i>
Perfective Present ⁴	<i>usne likhā hai.</i>
Continuative present	<i>vah likh rahā hai.</i>

¹ The English language does not have equivalent participle form for the imperfective participle in Hindi. Imperfective participle denotes a frequentative action.

² Perfective participles of transitive verbs are passive, as is the case with English.

³ Continuative participle is a compound participle made up of two elements; the root of the verb and *rahā*. Together they give the unique meaning of continuativeness of an action

⁴ The construction of the perfective present is Ergative because of the passive nature of the perfective participle.

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In the fourfold classification of the tenses, all three analytic tenses are marked categories and the only synthetic tense i.e. the simple tense belongs to the unmarked category. The markedness and the unmarkedness make the tenses definite and indefinite respectively. It is rather obvious that the marked tenses have to be marked with something, which will make them definite in relation to the one which is not marked and remains indefinite. The indefinite tenses have been characterized and named as non-aspectual tenses by Michael C. Shapiro (1989: 53), although he took only simple future and simple subjunctive for this category. He observed the simple present and the simple past in a role of copula only. Other tenses according to him are marked with different aspects i.e. habitual, perfective and progressive.

Another peculiar feature of the Hindi tenses is the absence of morphological representation of some of the forms by all the verbs except the verb *honā*. The simple present, the simple past and the simple presumptive can be formed only with the verb *honā*. This paper tries to provide answers to the questions, which arise because of this peculiarity of the tense system, such as how the morphological counterpart of an action (except the verb *honā*), which according to its semantics needs to express the indefiniteness of the action in present and past, can be stated? In other words, how can an action in present and past be morphologically expressed, if it is not marked with imperfectivity, perfectivity or continuativity, if it is just unmarked.

It is very difficult rather not possible to define and explain the unmarked member of the classification before the marked ones, although the unmarked member almost always comes first in the classical order. The meaning of the unmarked simple tenses cannot be explained, unless the semantics of all the marked members of the classification are defined.

1. Firstly the nature of the participles, which make the nucleus of whole tense system in Hindi, will be explained here.

1.1. The Imperfective Participle i.e. *likhtā* (verb *likhnā* 'write') denotes a frequentative or iterative action, an action which takes place, whenever there is a chance to happen. Shapiro (1989: 54) categorizes it under the *habitual* aspect and Pořízka (1972: 109) also describes the action formed with the imperfective participles as *habitual*, but justifiably names the tenses as *imperfective* ones. The English language does not have any participle form which semantically coincides with Hindi imperfective participle, but in attributive function the imperfective participle can be translated into English as *-ing participle*. The tenses formed with imperfective participles in translation into English sometimes fall under the category of unmarked tenses in English, which are indefinite or simple tenses or sometimes exclusive phrases describe the nature of the action.

1.2. The Perfective Participle *likhā* (verb *likhnā* 'write') denotes a completed action. The Hindi perfective participle is semantically exact parallel to the past participle *written* in English. While the term "past participle" is not entirely correct because of its empha-

sis on past tense, most linguists prefer the term *-ed/en participle*. While explaining Hindi tense system almost all the linguists agree with the term "perfective participle". Another semantic feature of perfective participle lies on the fact that the perfective participle of transitive verb is passive and of intransitive is active. The perfective tenses of transitive are formed with ergative/agentive construction and perfective tenses of intransitive verb with nominative construction. English as many of European languages i.e. German, Italian also has only passive perfective participle (*-ed/en participle* in English) of transitive verbs, but they deal with it differently, by means of the second helping verb *have*. Since Hindi does not have the verb 'have', it depends on ergative.

1.3. The Continuative Participle *likh rahā* (verb *likhnā* 'write') denotes an action in progress. It is formed with the root of the verb and *rahā* and it has semantically very parallel participle in English, the present participle. As is the case with past participle, the term "present participle" is also not entirely accepted in the linguistic circle, the accepted form is *-ing participle*. Some linguists (Kostić (1999: 65-66) and Pořízka (1972: 261)), take the continuative participle as a form of compound verbs or just or type of verb forms but not as a participle, but mainly it is considered as a participle. Bender (1967: 178) has also called the tenses formed with continuative participles as the continuative tenses. Others have used different terms but the similar meaning all the time. Shapiro's (1989: 54) and Naspital's (1998: 174) *progressive* and Hälsig's (1967: 85) *durative* are also precise and acceptable. Dimsits (1986: 169) has also used the term "continuative" (in Russian *продолженное*).

2. The fourfold classification of tenses is reflected in present tense but the morphological representation of simple present tense is restricted to the verb *honā*. Other verbs do not have any form to depict the semantics of the simple tense. But of course the semantics of the simple present tense of the other verbs do exist. The goal here would be to find out all possible semantic values and their morphological manifestations.

Firstly the semantics of all the definite (marked) tenses will be explained and with elimination method an attempt will be made to correctly understand the characteristics of the indefinite tense and to establish the forms which could accurately express the meaning. In marked definite tenses only primary or main meaning will be considered here, secondary or context-bound meanings will not be of concern.

2.1. The Imperfective Present tense is a marked member of the classification; it is marked with the habitual nature of the action. The primary function of the imperfective present tense is to express a habitual present action. The imperfective present tense is formed with the imperfective participle and the simple present tense (evidently the verb *honā*) in the function of auxiliary. The imperfective participle expresses the habitual action and the auxiliary puts the action in present. The imperfective present tense can also be called as all time present.

hamāre śahar meṁ sardiyom meṁ barf parṭī hai.

In our town it snows in winters.

sabke larke lau-lagan se mihanat-majadūrī karte haiṁ. (Himānsu Joṣī: 13)

Everybody's sons work hard with dedication.

The action is not bound with any particular time; it is extended to all the times, present, past and future.

2.2. The Perfective Present tense expresses a present perfect action. The perfective present is marked with the perfectivity or completivity of the action. The perfective present depicts a completed action in past but in direct bond with the present. This tense expresses a present state, which is the result of a completed action in past. It is formed with the perfective participle and the auxiliary *honā* in simple present. Here the direct bond with the present tense is created by the auxiliary *honā* and the nature of the action (i.e. perfective) is described by the participle.

śor mat karo, baccā abhī soyā hai

Don't make noise, the baby is now sleeping. (lit. has just slept or fallen asleep)

phūl ḍol ke mele meṁ is baras nauṭānkī āī hai. (Himānsu Joṣī: 13)

This year in the festivities of Phool Dol a street play has come.

In the first example the present state of *sleeping* (*soyā hai*) is described by the completed action of *fallen asleep* (*soyā*). The use of the continuative present in English translation clearly depicts the present situation. Same is the case with the second example where the presence of the street play is in present time.

2.3. The Continuative Present tense expresses an action which is in course at present. The marking which makes it definite, is expressed by the continuity of the action and morphologically illustrated by the continuative participle. The auxiliary *honā* in simple present form places the tense in the present.

mujhe taṁg mat karo, main parh rahā hūṁ.

Don't disturb me, I am reading.

ek yuvī gau kī or ā rahī hai. (Jainendra KumXr: 3)

A woman is coming towards the cow.

This tense is often called the actual present tense because of the action being in course right at the present time.

2.4. The Simple Present tense belongs to the unmarked category therefore it can also be named as indefinite present tense. As mentioned earlier, only the verb *honā* has the morphologically represented form of the simple present tense which plays the role of auxiliary in the formation of other analytical present tenses and rest of the verbs form only the analytical present tenses. The question arises, how is it possible to express morphologically the semantics of indefinite present tense of all the other verbs.

Let us examine the situation, the imperfective present tense expresses a habitual frequentative present action, the perfective present tense expresses a completed present action and the continuative present expresses a present action in course. After habitual,

completed and continuative actions being already expressed by definite forms, there is not much left unexpressed. Almost all types of actions have already been expressed, but still there can be situations, where none of the above action can rightly depict the situation.

In the example:

rāt ko bichaune par leṭā hī thā ki dekhtā hūṁ darvāze par darjan bhar baccom ke sāth ek mahilā kharī hai. (Himānsu Joṣī: 23)

At night when I went to the bed, (you know) what **I see (saw)**, there was a women with dozen children, standing at my doorsteps.

If we semantically examine the syntagma *dekhtā hūṁ*, we find, although the form is imperfective present tense, but the action is not habitual or frequentative, neither is it continuative, nor completed. With the elimination of all the possibilities to place it in the definite tenses, it is evident that the semantics of *dekhtā hūṁ* does not belong to any of the analytical tense, it is rather indefinite. One way of expressing semantics of the indefinite present tense is with the help of present imperfective tense. In such cases this phenomenon can be expressed as neutralized imperfectivity, in other words present imperfect tense with neutralized imperfectivity expresses the semantics of present indefinite tense.

This situation can be very clear with modal verb:

Don't give me this job, I **cannot do** it.

With elimination method we see that *cannot do* does not belong to any of the definite tense because of its unique meaning, which is not frequentative, completive or continuative.

mujhe yah kāṁ mat do, main ise nahīṁ kar saktā.

However this use of indefiniteness of the action has been explained as one of the (imperfective present tense) functions by Pořizka (1972: 110). He says, "It (imperfective present tense) expresses a characteristic feature or a general truth".

The situation becomes very interesting and even clearer when the modal verb *must* or *ought* or any semantically similar verb like *have to ...* is taken. Construction with such verbs in Hindi are also typical, the verb *parṇā* or simply *honā* are used as auxiliaries to express such (*must, ought*) meaning and the construction is always dative i.e. the subject is in dative. Both of the verbs in Hindi have very similar meaning in such construction, but neither of them has all the tense forms. In present tense the verb *honā* has only simple present and present imperfective, and the verb *parṇā* does not have the simple present, but it has imperfective present, perfective present and continuative present. The verb *honā* morphologically does have the other two forms i.e. perfective present and continuative present but its use for such construction does not make any sense, e.g.

**mujhe jānā ho rahā hai.*

**mujhe jānā huā hai.*

On the other hand the verb *paṛnā* simply does not have the simple present form.

	Imp. Pres	Per. Pres	Con. Pres.	Simple Pres.
honā	X			X
paṛnā	X	X	X	

The semantics of the verb *paṛnā* would be very clear with the following examples:

jab vah mujhe bulātā hai, to mujhe jānā paṛtā hai.

Whenever he calls me, I have to go.

Here the semantics of form *jānā paṛtā hai* is very clear. The imperfectivity of the verb form expresses a habitual action because of its parallel link with another habitual action. The meaning of the sentence will not be very different, if the verb *paṛnā* is replaced by the other verb *honā*.

jab vah mujhe bulātā hai, to mujhe jānā hotā hai.

In a similar way the perfective and the continuative meaning can be depicted with the different forms the participles of the verb *paṛnā*.

usko pitājī kī bīmārī kī khabar mili isliye use ānā paṛā hai.

He had received the news of his father's illness that's why he had to come.

The perfectivity of the tense is very clearly visible semantically and morphologically in the Hindi sentence, but the English translation is not capable of expressing it morphologically, since the verbs *must* and *ought* simply do not have any present perfect form and the present perfect form of the verb *have* cannot be used for such purpose. The Hindi verb *paṛnā* does have the perfective form and can be used for such purpose. On the other hand the verb *honā*, like in *have* in English, can have that form, but cannot have that meaning.

For expressing the meaning of continuative present again the verb *paṛnā* is used and the verb *honā* cannot be used as mentioned above.

vah ghar jā rahā hai kyom ki usko jānā paṛ rahā hai. uske pitājī bīmār hai.

He is going home because he must. His father is ill.

The English translation has to make some adjustments to express the meaning, even though the meaning would not be able to express the precise nature of the action as in the Hindi sentence.

And finally the indefinite tense, which is morphologically represented by the simple present tense only and the semantics has to find out the ways to express itself. Since the verb *paṛnā* does not have any form to express the semantics of the indefinite present tense and the semantics of the other tenses are very definite i.e. imperfective, perfective and continuative, the only way to semantically represent such meaning is by using the verb *honā*.

In the sentence:

I have a test tomorrow, I **must study** today.

The syntagma **must study** does not express a habitual or completed or a continuative action. With elimination method it becomes obvious that the syntagma **must study** semantically does not belong to imperfective, perfective or continuative, it is just indefinite and could be expressed by the simple present tense only. The simple present tense in this case can only be formed with the verb *honā*.

kal merā imtahān hai, āj mujhe paṛhnā hai.

As it was possible to express the semantics of indefinite present tense with present imperfective in cases (non-modal verbs) mentioned earlier, but it is absolutely not possible with *paṛnā*. The syntagma *paṛhnā paṛtā hai* would give completely different meaning, which is always habitual not at all close to meaning which is needed under these circumstances.

3. In the past tense the whole structure is very similar to the present tense with an additional element of Historic tenses. The definite tenses are formed with their corresponding participles and the auxiliary *honā* in past indefinite tense. Although the situation in past tense is very similar to the one in present tense i.e. in the present tense the morphological representation of indefinite (simple) tense is restricted to the verb *honā*, but in the past tense there is a clear and very fine way to express the semantics of the indefinite tense of the other verbs as well. The introduction of the historic tenses help in past solve this problem in semantic as well as in morphological level.

3.1. The **Imperfective Past tense** expresses a habitual action in past. It is formed with the imperfective participle and the auxiliary *honā* in simple past tense. The English language does not have any special tense to express the semantics of the imperfective past tense; it usually uses the simple past or sometimes explains it with some additional tools.

ek rājā thā jo ek baṛe deś par rāj kartā thā.

There was a king, who ruled in a big country.

vah skūl sāikil se jātā thā.

He used to go to school with bicycle.

jab mām zindā thīm, vah kuch bolī thī, hāmsī thī. (Himānśu Jośī: 114)

When mother was alive, she (her daughter) used to speak and laugh.

The additional tool can be the construction "used to" or simply a context can explain the nature of the action and the tense in Hindi.

3.2. The **Perfective Past tense** expresses a completed action in past. The action is completed sometimes before past tense but it stays in direct bond with past. It is the same action as in present perfective, only happens in past.

Maiṁ jīvan mem pahālī bār unse milā thā. (Jainendra Kumār 4)

I had met him for the first time in my life.

The past perfect tense is not an independent tense; it always has to depend either on context or on some past tense, which makes it perfective to the past i.e. perfective past tense. In the above example it is very clear that the author is talking about past happenings and the meeting with him happened even before the past happenings. The markedness here is perfectivity, only, this time it happens in past.

3.3. The Continuative Past tense is an action in course in past tense. It is exact parallel of English past continuous. The continuity expressed by the participle morphologically marks the tense and makes it definite, and the auxiliary *honā* is in simple past tense.

jab main akhabār parh rahā thā, tabhī telifon bajā.

When I was reading newspaper, the telephone rang.

3.4. The Simple Past tense is indefinite tense because of its unmarkedness and as a rule is formed only with the verb *honā* as is the case with simple present tense. Other verbs do not have this verbal form but the semantics of the simple past tense of other verbs is evident in lots of situations. As in simple present tense after eliminating the possibility of an action being imperfective or perfective or continuative, the action in past would be placed in the category of indefinite, which is simple past tense.

Last night I saw a very good film.

Here in this example the tense of the action is neither imperfective (habitual), nor perfective and nor continuative. Although in Hindi the simple past tense is formed only with the verb *honā*, as shown in the table 1 above, there is another past tense which is capable of expressing the semantics of the indefinite past tense of all the verbs. The **historic perfective tense** semantically does not belong to any of the definite tense, although the name of the tense has “*perfective*” in it.

kal rāt main ne ek acchī film dekhī.

The historic perfective tense is formed only with the perfective participle, in other words to express the semantics of the indefinite past tense perfective participle is used. The nature of the perfective participle depicts the completed action and the auxiliary places the action in present or past. Since there is no auxiliary the perfectivity gets neutralized with its absence. And with the absence of the auxiliary only the completed action remains in the sentence. If the action does not belong to present or past to make it definite, it stays indefinite. Morphologically definite, the perfective participle in an action with neutralized perfectivity because of the absence of auxiliary generates semantically indefinite tense. The term, which suits to express this function semantically and morphologically, would be named as the *preterit* or *simple past tense* instead of *historic perfective tense*.

After understanding the semantics and the morphology of the simple past tense the question arises whether the *preterit* in Hindi is synthetic or not. The straight forward answer would be “yes” the simple past tense is a synthetic tense. And the reason is that the simple past tense is not a compound tense, it does not have an auxiliary to place it in some time zone, present, past or future. But on the other hand there are few arguments to

deny this position. Firstly, the usual feature of a synthetic tense is conjugation of the verb, which is missing here. Instead of the conjugation in the *preterit* the perfective participle is used. The absence of auxiliary stops the tense to be compound, but does it stop it to be analytic? The question remains unanswered. Semantically it corresponds with synthetic tense in past tense in other languages like English (simple past), German (Präteritum), Croatian (aorist) etc. The *preterit* in Hindi lies in somewhere in the border between the analytic and synthetic tense.

The *Historic Imperfective tense* is formed with imperfective participle without any auxiliary. It expresses a habitual action in past. The only morphological difference between the past Imperfective tense and the historic Imperfective tense is the absence of auxiliary in the later one. Semantically it does not differ from the Past Imperfective tense, only it is embellished with the stylistic way of writing. It can always be replaced by the Past Imperfective tense but not the vice versa is not possible.

4. The structure of future tenses is very complex. In Hindi the future tenses are merged with the presumptives. The presumptive is a grammatical mood which expresses an unsure presumed action. Same forms are used to depict the future actions and the presumptive actions. Although the future tense and the presumptive are semantically different kind of actions, but they are very closely linked. Here I will try to explain both types of functions of a same form using context and the reason behind their unique correlation.

The future tense differs from the past and the present because of its special semantics. The future tense does not express a future action as the past tense expresses a past action and present tense a present action. Present and past tenses express the actions which are happening or which happened respectively. For these actions it can be said with surety that they are happening or happened.

On the other hand a future tense cannot express a future action with cent percent surety, the action might happen or it might not happen, but it is not clear with the morphology of a future tense. Lots of the linguists do not feel comfortable to place the future tense in indicative along with the present and the past. Such feature of the future tense is explained as not the future action but as a present or current intention of a future action. The sentence *he will come tomorrow* does not show with the surety that he will be here tomorrow. The information conveyed here is that ‘he intends today to be here tomorrow’. Because of this differentiating feature a conclusion can be made that the elements of presumptive already exist in future tenses. And it is no surprise that the two meanings i.e. the future and the presumptive are merged into one morphological structure.

Unlike above in the present and past tenses, where I have explained definite tenses first and the indefinite tense later on, here because of the unique semantics I will explain future and presumptive in the reverse order, first the indefinite and then the definite.

4.1. The Simple Future tense, unlike the simple present and the simple past, is morphologically represented by all the verbs. The simple future tense is formed with the conju-

gation for future and expresses an indefinite future action. Unless the definiteness (imperfectivity, perfectivity and continuity) of a future action is very significant to keep the context, an indefinite future action represented by simple future is enough to denote all the future actions. This is the reason why the simple future is used most of the time to depict almost all kinds of future actions. And in lots of Hindi grammar books (e.g. Shapiro, 1989; Matišić, 1996) only the simple future is considered a future tense and rest of them are denoted as presumptives, although sometimes they are named as future II, future III and future IV.

The semantics of the simple future in Hindi is parallel to the future indefinite in English.

in garmiyon mein main Bhārat jāūngā.

I **will go** to India this summer.

Indefiniteness of the action lies on the fact that there is no participle used, which could make it definite. The situation is very similar in some other languages as well, where the indefinite future is compound tense but the auxiliaries are just future tense maker and they do not go with participles and keep the tense indefinite e.g. German, Croatian etc.

The simple future tense of the verb *honā* i.e. the indefinite future is always context bound. The future tense meaning and the presumptive meaning both are equally strong in context free situation. In the sentence:

mān kamre mein hogī.

The mother will be in the room.

There is not enough information to decide whether the tense denotes future tense or presumptive. The surface structure of the form *hogī* carries two deep meanings. The deep semantics can be expressed only with addition or expansion of the context.

kal sām ko sāt baje mān kamre mein hogī.

Tomorrow evening at 7 o'clock the mother will be in the room.

This is the example of future tense. The function of the simple future form to express the future is very clear with a little expansion of the context.

On the other hand if the context expanded in this way:

mān kahām hai?

vah apne kamre mein hogī.

Where is the mother?

She must be in her room.

Here the function of the simple future is no more to express future action, rather a presumptive action.

In future indefinite although all the verbs have the same form, but there is noticeable difference in the semantics of simple future of the verb *honā* and the other verbs. The simple future of the other verbs (not *honā*) mainly expresses the indefinite future action. The future tense meaning is dominating. The simple future of other verbs has only that

much shares of presumptiveness, which is usually in a future tense incorporated by just being future tense as a present intention for future action. On the other hand the meaning of the simple future of the verb *honā* solely depends on the context, which makes the tense a future or a presumptive. Neither of the meanings i.e. the future tense and the presumptive is primary or dominating.

4.2. The Imperfective Future tense or sometimes called future II is formed with the imperfective participle and the auxiliary *honā* in simple future tense. Its use to express future action is not possible. It is possible to imagine a situation where imperfective future tense can be used. It would be a situation where a frequentative action happens in future, but the morphological representations (future II) of such kind of actions are always replaced by simple future.

From Delhi he will write you a letter every month.

This is a precise example of a frequentative action in future, but in Hindi translation it will not take the imperfective future tense.

**vah tumko dillī se har mahīne ek ciṭṭhī likhtā hogā.*

Although the sentence above is grammatically correct but it is not in meaning of future, but the imperfective presumptive. It will be replaced by simple future.

vah tumko dillī se har mahīne ek ciṭṭhī likhēgā.

Of course, the frequentativity of the action not erased by the use of the simple future, it is just hidden inside. If the frequentativity of the action is very important for the context, Hindi does have other means to express it. It can be expressed by compound verb frequentative i.e. *likhā karnā*.

vah tumko dillī se har mahīne ek ciṭṭhī likhā karegā.

The imperfective future tense is always used in the meaning of the **imperfective presumptive**. An action, which probably happens in a frequentative manner or sometimes the frequentativity of the probable action is taken as a whole, is depicted by the imperfective presumptive.

vah bahut acchā tennis kheltā hai, zarūr roz abhyās kartā hogā.

He plays very good tennis, probably he practices every day.

In a situation, where the frequentativity of the probable action taken as a whole, the action ceases to be the frequentative or habitual, the imperfectivity gets neutralized and loses its definiteness i.e. imperfectivity and becomes indefinite.

Hīrā kahtā hogā. (Premchand: 42)

Hīrā would say such things.

Although the presumptive does not have the morphological representation of indefinite member in the fourfold classification, but the semantics of indefiniteness is achieved by means of imperfective presumptive as in the present tense.

In the form “imperfective participle + auxiliary in simple future” the semantics of the imperfective presumptive is absolutely dominating, it is not capable of taking the meaning of future tense.

4.3. The Perfective Future tense or sometimes called future III is formed perfective participle and auxiliary *honā* in simple future tense. In case of perfective future tense there is a fine differentiating line between the semantics of the future and the semantics of the presumptive. Since the forms are the same, it is the context that determines the semantics.

The perfective future tense expresses a completed future action.

jab tum vahām pahuñcoge, ve ā gaye hoñge.

By the time you reach (will reach) there, they will have come.

hām, par choñe kā din āegā, tab pūchne kā din jā cukā hogā. (Jainendra Kumār: 8)

Yes, but by the time comes (will come) the day to give up, the day to request will have left.

The perfective presumptive expresses a probable completed action.

Vah kahāñī Rām ne likhī hogī.

Probably Rām has written this story.

itanī dūr se dhūp ghām meñ āe haiñ, pyās to lagī hī hogī.

They have come here in such hot weather, they are probably thirsty (lit. the thirst would have overwhelmed them) (Premcand: 21).

The semantic difference is very clear in between perfective future and perfective presumptive, that's why they should be kept apart morphologically in defining the structure of the Hindi verbal system.

4.4. The Continuative Future tense is formed with the continuative participle and the auxiliary *honā* and it expresses an action in course in future tense. In its presumptive function it expresses probable action in course.

Future tense:

kal subah sāt baje usko fon mat karnā, vo so rahā hogā.

Don't telephone him tomorrow seven in the morning, he will be sleeping then.

Presumptive:

tumhārī mām jī kyā kar rahī hām?

What is your mother doing?

mālūm nahīñ. abhī ghar meñ khāñā banā rahī hoñgī.

I don't know. She is probably at home making lunch.

Like above in case of perfective there is clear difference in the semantics of the continuative future tense and the continuative presumptive and should be kept apart to define the tense system.

5. The Subjunctive mood is used to express a request, command or a wish. All the forms of the subjunctive are very well structured in the system. The morphology and the semantics are in well placed in harmony. The definite marked members of the classification are formed analytically with the participle and the auxiliary *honā* and the indefinite

subjunctive is unmarked and synthetic. In the definite forms the participles determine the nature of the action and the auxiliary *honā* is in the simple subjunctive to determine the mood.

5.1. The Imperfective Subjunctive expresses a habitual subjunctive action. As it has already been seen the habitual action depicted by the imperfective participle can take the meaning of entirety of an action and can, in a way, become indefinite, it can happen in this case too. Then the semantics of the imperfective subjunctive does not differ much from that of the simple indefinite subjunctive.

aisā ghorā lāo jo ghañte meñ das mīl jātā ho. (Guru: 321)

Get such a horse, which walks 10 miles per hour.

5.2. The Perfective Subjunctive expresses a completed subjunctive action.

jaise prakṛti meñ āg ghol diyā ho. (Premcand: 16)

As if the nature has mixed fire in the air.

5.3. The Continuative Subjunctive expresses a subjunctive action in course.

vah aise hañsa rahī thī māno kuch chipā rahī ho.

She was smiling as if she is hiding something.

5.4. The Simple Subjunctive expresses a subjunctive action in its entirety, which is not marked with any of the above mentioned feature and remains indefinite.

Maiñ kyā karūñ?

What shall I do?

It is clear with the example that the sentence above is neither habitual nor completed and nor continuous. It is unmarked and indefinite.

6. The Conditional mood expresses a possible, but unrealized action. The conditional is formed with the help of imperfective participle as main verb in indefinite conditional as well as auxiliary in definite conditionals. The question here is whether the form used to make conditional is really the imperfective participle? Of course, the morphological structure of the form is same as the imperfective participle and it changes as a participle according to the gender, number, but its function in conditional has nothing to do with the semantics of the participle. Its function in conditional is just as a conditional maker.

This feature of the conditional can be explained that the form which is used to make conditional is either not the imperfective participle, although it has the same form as the imperfective participle, but the function is entirely different, it is just the conditional maker, or if the form is the imperfective participle, then the imperfectivity of the participle is neutralized and has taken the function of conditional maker.

6.1. The Imperfective Conditional is formed with the imperfective participle of the main verb and the auxiliary *honā* takes the form of conditional maker. It expresses an unrealized, but possible action, which is habitual. As is the case with the subjunctive, the imperfective conditional action can also take the meaning of conditional action as a

whole and can depict the very similar meaning as the indefinite conditional. But the basic function is to express the habitual frequentative action.

*hamne na pālā hotā, to āj kahīm bhīkh māṅgte hote.*⁵ (Premchand: 44)

If we hadn't fostered you, you would have been begging.

6.2. The Perfective Conditional is formed with the perfective participle and the auxiliary *honā* in the form of conditional maker. It expresses an unrealized, but possible action, which is completed.

agar samaya par paise mil jāte, to uskī jān bac gaī hotī.

If he had received the money in time, his life would have been saved.

6.3. The Continuative Conditional is formed with the continuative participle and the auxiliary *honā* in the form of conditional maker. It expresses an unrealized, but possible action in course.

ṭelifon bajā, nahīm to vah abhī tak so rahā hotā.

The telephone rang, otherwise he would have been sleeping until now.

6.4. The Simple Conditional is formed with the conditional maker form of the verb. It expresses an unrealized, but possible action in its entirety. It is not marked with any of the aspects that makes it indefinite.

agar mere pās paise hote to main duniyā ghūmtā.

If I had money, I would travel the whole world.

After examining the entire structure few specifics can be summed up in investigation of the indefiniteness and definiteness of the Hindi verb system.

In present tense the indefiniteness is morphologically restricted to the verb *honā* and other verbs do not have the morphological representation of indefiniteness, but the semantic function of the indefiniteness of other verbs is fulfilled by the imperfective present with neutralized imperfectivity. In the past tense also indefiniteness is morphologically restricted to the verb *honā*, but unlike in present tense, the indefiniteness is expressed by the historic perfective tense. In historic perfective tense the perfectivity of the participle is neutralized due to absence of auxiliary *honā*. In other words the indefiniteness in the past tense can be expressed morphologically as well. The future tense has all the four member of the classification, but the indefinite future tense has kept the dominating role. Unless the aspectual semantics is vital for the context, the indefinite replaces all the other tenses. The future tense is merged with the presumptive function because of the same form, although they reflect two entirely different functions. The indefiniteness of the presumptive, like present and past, is restricted to the verb *honā*, but the characteristic element (i.e. uncertainty of an action) of the future tense already reflects the seman-

tic presumptivity in the simple future tense. The imperfective presumptive, when expresses action as a whole, also depicts the indefiniteness of the presumptive action. The structure of the subjunctive and the conditional is very clearly defined semantically and morphologically, although in lots of the cases the semantic shift occurs in imperfective subjunctive and imperfective conditional, when they express an action in its entirety and semantically express indefiniteness.

Table: 2. Shift of semantics

	Indefinite		Definite	
	Simple	Imperfective	Perfective	Continuative
Participle	—	Imperfective	Perfective	Continuative
Present	Simple Present	Imperfective Present	Perfective Present	Continuative present
Past	Simple Past	Imperfective Past	Perfective Past	Past Continuative
Historic		Historic Imperfective Tense	Historic Perfective Tense	
Future	Simple Future	Imperfective Future	Perfective Future	Future Continuative
Presumptive	Simple Presumptive	Imperfective Presumptive	Perfective Presumptive	Presumptive Continuative
Subjunctive	Simple Subjunctive	Imperfective Subjunctive	Perfective Subjunctive	Subjunctive Continuative
Conditional	Simple Conditional	Imperfective Conditional	Perfective Conditional	Conditional Continuative

⁵ In Hindi both of the sentences, the one which makes the conditions “*pālā hotā*” and the other which express the conditional “*māṅgte hote*”, are in conditional form. But here we are concerned with the one expressing conditional.

- ▶ - shift of semantics because of the empty spots in the system.
 -----▶ - shift of semantics, but there are no empty spots.

Among the definite tenses; marked members of the fourfold classification, the perfective and the continuative are strictly defined aspects and they do not allow much of the semantic fluctuations, however the imperfective also has well-defined semantic function, but it very often loses its imperfectivity and becomes indefinite. On the other hand the indefinite tenses are the unmarked member, and can only be defined with elimination of all above mentioned aspects or just as an action taken as a whole.

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Indic √DĀ-/DAD-, √DHĀ-/DADH- and Slavic √DĀ-/DAD-, √DĒ-/DED-^[*]

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0. Among the IE verbs there is a class of verbs that form the Present Tense stem by means of reduplication. This means is significant mainly in ancient languages, such as Sanskrit, Latin and Greek. It also takes part in forming the Perfect Tense stem, as well as intensive and desiderative stems, which are typical for Sanskrit. Many of the IE languages, including Slavic, do not use this morpho-phonological means. Nevertheless, there are two verbs *dā-/dad-* to give and *dē-/ded-* to put, which seem to be a kind of remnants or rudiments of the process of reduplication, which probably was very productive in the PIE period. We suppose the reduplication to be one of the very important means of the verb-stem formation. Its lack in modern Slavic languages is compensated by other morphologic means. The two reduplicative stems also serve as a source and motivation for a 'quasi reduplication' in some Slavic dialects.

1.0. In Sanskrit some words or their inflected forms are repeated for the sake of *emphasis* of the basic meaning. Their resulting formations have adverbial meanings of wider distribution of action in time and space. E.g., repetition of Skt. nouns (e.g. *aharahar* 'day by day' < *ahar* 'day'; *dine dine* 'day by day' < *dine-loc.* 'day', *pade pade* 'step by step, lit. at every step', < *pade-loc.* 'step' etc.) has to stress the meaning of these words. Since these nouns denote temporal and spatial units, their repeated inflected forms serve as adverbial phrases of the distributive function.

Reduplication is a very productive morpho-semantic process in ancient IE languages, not only in Sanskrit, but also in Greek and Latin. It appears as grammatical means to coin some verbal forms expressing temporal and aspectual features.

1.1. The reduplication is considered as a main means of the perfective action and especially of the Perfect Tense formation in ancient Indo-European languages such as Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek and Latin.

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As for the phonological processes of this kind of reduplication, they are also common in these old languages and include complex changes of vowels and consonants of the root initial syllable, so that the copied syllable is simpler and it is prefixed or left placed to the (original) root syllable. Thus the reduplication appears as a regressive morpho-phonological process.

The root vowel is weakened, and in the newly formed syllable it is *-e-* in Greek, *-a-* in Sanskrit, and in Latin it is copied root vowel. In some cases it seems to be a kind of augment, which is *e-* in Greek and *a-* in Sanskrit, strengthened by the initial root consonant. The following scheme shows some syllable-structure-changes as a means of the Perfect stem formation:

	Skt.	Gk.
(1)	CV > C ₁ aCV ₁ <i>bhū</i> > <i>bábhū-</i>	CVC > C ₁ eCV ₁ C <i>lip-</i> > <i>lé-loip-</i>
(2)	CVC > C ₁ aCV ₁ C <i>khād-</i> > <i>cákhād-</i>	CCVC > C ₁ eCCV ₁ C <i>troph-</i> > <i>té-troph-</i>

In Latin the original vowel *-e-* is preserved only in several verbs (e.g.: *dō* 'to give' > Perf. *dedī*, *stō-* 'to stay' > Perf. *stetī*), but mostly it is replaced by the vowel of the concrete-root syllable, i.e.: *-i-/-u-/-o-*: *discō* 'to learn' > Perf. *didicī*, *currō* 'to run' > Perf. *cucurrī*, *pungō* 'to sting' > Perf. *pupugī*, *mordeō* 'to bite' > Perf. *momordī* (for parallel instances in Skt. see tab. 6.).

If a verb root begins with a vowel, this vowel and its reduplicated/copied form, prefixed to the previous one, blend to make a long vowel, e.g. in Gk. *orth-* 'to straighten up' > *o* + *orth-* > Perf. stem *ōrth-*; *opl-* 'to arm' > *o* + *opl-* > Perf. stem *ōpl-*; or in Skt.: *an-* 'to breath' > *a* + *an-* > Perf. stem *ān-*; *ah-* 'to say' > *a* + *ah-* > Perf. stem *āh-*; *uc-* 'to take pleasure in' > *u* + *uc-* > Perf. stem *ūc-* etc.

As for the reduplicated consonant, there are restrictions concerning aspirated consonants (3) in Greek, which change into non-aspirated. In Sanskrit the restriction concerns, besides aspirated consonants, also velars (4), which become palatals:

	Skt.	Gk.
(3)	<i>p/ph</i> > <i>p</i> , <i>t/th</i> > <i>t</i> , <i>k/kh/c/ch</i> > <i>c</i> <i>b/bh</i> > <i>b</i> , <i>d/dh</i> > <i>d</i> , <i>g/gh/j/jh</i> > <i>j</i> <i>bhū-</i> > <i>ba-bhū-</i>	<i>p/ph</i> > <i>p</i> , <i>t/th</i> > <i>t</i> , <i>k/kh</i> > <i>k</i> : 1.sg. <i>phainomai</i> > <i>péphēna</i> , <i>thērāō</i> > <i>téthērka</i> , <i>khēō</i> > <i>kékhuka</i> .
(4)	<i>k/kh/c/ch</i> > <i>c</i> ; <i>g/gh/j/jh</i> > <i>j</i> <i>kr-</i> > <i>caḥr-</i> , <i>khid</i> > <i>cikhid-</i>	

According to the above-mentioned restrictions, the representative consonants among occlusives are only unaspirated i.e. [p], [t], [k], [b], [d], [g] in Gk., and unaspirated and non-velar consonants: [c], [j], [t̪], [d̪], [t̪], [d̪], [p], [b] in Skt.

The cluster of the root consonants in Sanskrit may consist even of two, three or more consonants, but the reduplicative consonant is always only one, i.e. the typical or representative consonant for the respective cluster (Šefčík: 26-7): *kṣṇu-* ‘to whet, sharpen’ > Perf. *cukṣṇāva*.

The reduplicated syllable is as a rule short, as it is evident from (1) and (2), but in the Vedic Sanskrit in some 30 verbs it is long, e.g. *kan-* ‘to agree’ > Perf. stem *cākan-*, *nam-* ‘to bow to’ > Perf. stem *nānam-*, *van-* ‘to love, to wish’ > Perf. stem *vāvan-*, *vas-* ‘to dwell, to stay’ > Perf. stem *vāvas-* etc.

The reduplication of the vocalic [r] and [l] is often made with [a/ā], and the reduplication of [a/ā], [i/ī], [u/ū] with [a/ā], [i/ī], [u/ū]:

- (5) *kṛ-* > *cakṛ-*, *ḡṛdh-* > *jāḡṛdh-*, *klp-* > *cāklp-*.
 (6) *budh-* > *bubudh-*, *bhī-* > *bibhī-*.

This scheme has not to show the whole reduplicative process, where the original root vowel takes different forms for the weak, middle and strong forms, which depend on the paradigmatic place in conjugation (person, number). Our aim is to show the shape of reduplicated or prefixed syllable, which has grammatical function of perfectivization, i.e. of the Perfect Tense formation.

1.2. No reduplication as a regular grammatical means of the Perfect Tense is found in Slavic, since the Classical languages’ type of Perfect Tense does not occur in Slavic, but instead of it the Periphrastic Perfect has been developed. Actually, the so-called Aorist Tense in Slavic presents a fusion of the Perfect and Aorist tenses of the PIE. A parallel situation is in Latin, where the Perfect Tense plays the role of the both tenses. In Slavic there are the Aorist forms of the verbs *dā-/dad-* ‘to give’ and *dē-/ded-* ‘to put’, which correspond to the Sanskrit respective roots *dā-/dad-* ‘to give’ and *dhā-/dadh-* ‘to put’. In this treatise, from now further, we are focusing the two verbs in Slavic, Indic and Greek. It is rather difficult to track down the Aorist Tense forms in all Slavic vernaculars, since they are preserved only in some modern languages, mostly in Serbian, Bulgarian and Sorbian. The Slavic Aorist does not distinguish between strong and weak forms. They are formed from the primordial stems *dad-* and *ded-*, e.g. Srb. Aorist of *dad-* ‘to give’: sg. *dadox*, *dade*, *dade*; pl. *dadosmo*, *dadoste*, *dadoše*, and *ded-* ‘to put’: *dedox*, *dede*, *dede*; pl. *dedosmo*, *dedoste*, *dedoše*. Actually, this paradigm has an alternative Aorist paradigm of the non-reduplicative stem, which is more typical for the old stage of Slavic (Weingart: 382) and it is similar to the Greek and Sanskrit Root Aorist, except the augment, which is missing in Slavic.

(7)

	sg.			du.			pl.		
	Skt.	Gk.	OCS	Skt.	Gk.	OCS	Skt.	Gk.	OCS
1	<i>a-dā-m</i>	<i>é-dō-ka</i>	<i>dā-xъ</i>	<i>a-dā-va</i>	–	<i>dā-xově</i>	<i>a-dā-ma</i>	<i>é-do-men</i> (<i>edōkamen</i>).	<i>dā-xomъ</i>
2	<i>a-dā-s</i>	<i>é-dō-kas</i>	<i>dā</i> (<i>dastъ</i>)	<i>a-dā-tam</i>	<i>é-do-ton</i>	<i>dā-sta</i>	<i>a-dā-ta</i>	<i>é-do-te</i> (<i>edōkate</i>)	<i>dā-ste</i>
3	<i>a-dā-t</i>	<i>é-dō-ke(n)</i>	<i>dā</i> (<i>dastъ</i>)	<i>a-dā-tām</i>	<i>e-dó-tēn</i>	<i>dā-ste</i>	<i>a-d-us</i>	<i>é-do-san</i> (<i>édōkan</i>).	<i>dā-šę</i>

Similarly the Skt. verb *dhā-*, Gk. *thē-*, Slav. *dē-* form the Root Aorist: Skt. *adhām*, *adhās*, *adhāt* etc., Gk. *ethēka*, *éthēkas*, *ethēke(n)*; pl. *éthēmen* (*ethēkamen*), *éthēte* (*ethēkate*), *éthēsan* (*éthēkan*) and Slav. *děxъ*, *dě*, *dě*, etc.

In Sanskrit, besides the Root Aorist, other Aorist forms occur too, e.g. *a*-Aorist (*ādat*) and reduplicative Aorist (*adīdadat*) too.

Although in Sanskrit no aspectual difference among past tenses is apparent, some linguists consider it to be evident in the oldest stage of OIA, i.e. in Vedic (Elizarenkova: 286-287). Some IE languages, e.g. Greek and Slavic, clearly distinguish the tenses according to the verbal aspect as perfective and imperfective tenses. The Aorist, besides the perfective action, can also denote an action performed in a moment, or punctual action. Elizarenkova says that in Vedic the Aorist "states an action in the past, which gives a subjective impression of punctuality, independently of the objective course of action" (Elizarenkova: 286). We consider that the formation of the range of different tenses is based not only on the temporal realization, but also on aspectual manners of action. Actually this has to be the feature of the verb stem (i.e. the Aoristic Verb Stem). Some verb-stems are unmarked for any kind of special manners of action, other are marked for phasal (initial and final phase of action), punctual, frequent, and continuous manners. Possibly the primordial difference existed between perfective and imperfective aspects. In most IE languages this feature disappeared, but it is still alive in Slavic, where there are parallel verb lexemes: *imperfective* vs. *perfective*, the second being marked counterpart of the previous one, or in some instances it is formed of suppletive roots.

As for the Perfect Tense reduplication of the two discussed verbs, its evidence is in Sanskrit, as well as in Greek, and less in Latin.¹ The morphologic means for the perfective aspect is reduplication of the root syllable:

¹ There are cases of Lat. Perfect forms that are formed even from the reduplicative present stem, e.g. *gignō*, *gignere* [IE. *gen-i*, Skt. *jan-*] to beget, to procreate, but in Perfect they lose reduplication: *genuī* ‘I have begotten’.

(8)

	sg.			du.		pl.		
	Skt.	Gk.	Lat.	Skt.	Gk.	Skt.	Gk.	Lat.
1	<i>dadāu</i>	<i>dédōka</i>	<i>dedī</i>	<i>dadīva</i>	-	<i>dadimá</i>	<i>dedōkame</i> <i>n</i>	<i>dedimus</i>
2	<i>dadāītha</i>	<i>dédōkes</i>	<i>dedistī</i>	<i>dadāthus</i>	<i>dédoton</i>	<i>dadá</i>	<i>dedōkate</i>	<i>dedistis</i>
3	<i>dadāu</i>	<i>dédōke(n)</i>	<i>dedīt</i>	<i>dadātus</i>	<i>dédotēn</i>	<i>dadūs</i>	<i>dedōkasīn</i>	<i>dedērunt</i>

(9)

	sg.		du.		pl.	
	Skt.	Gk.	Skt.	Gk.	Skt.	Gk.
1	<i>dadhāu</i>	<i>téthēka</i>	<i>dadhīva</i>	-	<i>dadhimá</i>	<i>tethēkamen</i>
2	<i>dadhāītha</i>	<i>téthēkes</i>	<i>dadhāthus</i>	<i>téthēton</i>	<i>dadhá</i>	<i>tethēkate</i>
3	<i>dadhāu</i>	<i>téthēke(n)</i>	<i>dadhātus</i>	<i>tédhetēn</i>	<i>dadhūs</i>	<i>tethēkasīn</i>

2.0. The reduplication process also functions as a means of creating some Present Tense stems, especially in Greek and Sanskrit. The two discussed verbs are reduplicative ‘by nature’, both in Sanskrit and Greek, and belong to a special class, i.e. to the reduplicative class of verbs. In Slavic too, they are reduplicative by origin, although all forms, except 3. pl., are contracted,² i.e. the reduplicated/copied consonant has been elided.

² Some linguists say that PSlav. *damъ*, *dasi*, *dastъ*, *damъ*, *date*, *dadetъ* originate from **dō-mi* etc. (but not from **dō-d-mi*) and the only reduplicative form is 3. pl. (Machek: 111). Others consider all forms to be of the reduplicative and contracted origin (Xaburgaev: 261, 264). The contraction was performed due to elision of *-d-* before labials (*damъ < dadmъ*) and dissimilation of dental occlusive. i.e. by replacing the first placed occlusive by sibilants (*dadtrъ > dastъ*).

(10)

	sg.			du.			pl.		
	Skt.	Gk.	OCS	Skt.	Gk.	OCS	Skt.	Gk.	OCS
1	<i>dadāmi</i>	<i>dídōmi</i> Lat. <i>reddō</i>	<i>damъ <</i> <i>*dadmъ</i>	<i>dadvas</i>	-	<i>davě <</i> <i>*dadvě</i>	<i>dadmas</i>	<i>dídomen</i>	<i>damъ <</i> <i>*dadmъ</i>
2	<i>dadāsi</i>	<i>dídōs</i>	<i>*dasi <</i> <i>dadsi</i>	<i>datthas</i>	<i>dídoton</i>	<i>dasta <</i> <i>*dadta</i>	<i>dattha</i>	<i>dídote</i>	<i>daste <</i> <i>*dadte</i>
3	<i>dadāti</i>	<i>dídōsi(n)</i>	<i>dastъ <</i> <i>*dadtrъ</i>	<i>dattas</i>	<i>dídoton</i>	<i>daste <</i> <i>*dadte</i>	<i>dadati</i>	<i>dídōsi(n)</i>	<i>dadetъ <</i> <i>*dadentъ/</i> <i>*dadontъ</i>

Although this reduplicative verb occurs only in a few modern Slavic languages, in Russ. it is limited only to several forms (*dadit*, *dadūt* ‘they give’), in older times some forms were common in all vernaculars, e.g. OCz. 3. pl. *dadie* (Lamprecht 1987: 101), OCz. 16th century *dadí* (Lamprecht 1986: 232), participle forms: *dada*, *dadūc* (Lamprecht 1986: 232), in Polish 3. pl. *dadzą* (Brückner: 84) etc.

The verb **dhe-/dedh-* has parallel tense forms to those of **dō-/dad-* in Skt. and Gk., but they are less frequent. In Lat. and OCS. Lat. forms of the corresponding verb *faciō*, Inf. *facere* ‘to do’, Perf. *fēcī* are not reduplicative. The OCS has reduplicative forms of the verb *de-žd-* (see tab. 11), but no of them is preserved in modern Slavic languages.

(11)

	sg.			du.			pl.		
	Skt.	Gk.	OCS	Skt.	Gk.	OCS	Skt.	Gk.	OCS
1	<i>dadhāmi</i>	<i>títthēmi</i>	<i>deždō <</i> <i>*ded-jo</i>	<i>dadhvas</i>	-	<i>deždevě</i>	<i>dadhmas</i>	<i>títthemen</i>	<i>deždemъ</i>
2	<i>dadhāsi</i>	<i>títthēs</i>	<i>deždeši</i>	<i>dhatthas</i>	<i>títtheton</i>	<i>deždeta</i>	<i>dhattha</i>	<i>títthete</i>	<i>deždete</i>
3	<i>dadhāti</i>	<i>títthēsi(n)</i>	<i>deždetъ</i>	<i>dhattas</i>	<i>títtheton</i>	<i>deždete</i>	<i>dadhati</i>	<i>títthēsi</i> <i>(n)</i>	<i>deždōtrъ</i>

The so-called Slavic reduplication seems to be formally different from the respective reduplication process in Skt. and Gk. If in all types of reduplication in Skt., Gk. and Lat., including Perfect, Aorist, Present tense reduplications, as well as intensive, frequentative and desiderative derived verb reduplications, the repeated syllable (r) precedes the root (R), then it is evident that in these languages the regressive morpho-syntagmatic process of partial repetition is implemented. The verb root proper also undergoes certain changes

– in Skt. it appears, according to the grammatical persons, as strong in sg. or weak in du. and pl.(see tab. 10). In Slavic the reduplication seems to be an inverse, i.e. a progressive reduplication process, where, instead of the syllable, only the root consonant *-d-* is repeated.

(12)

	Process	R	r+R	R	r+R
Skt.	r-R	<i>dā-></i>	<i>da-dā-mi</i>	<i>dhā-></i>	<i>da-dhā-mi</i>
Gk.		<i>dō-></i>	<i>dí-dō-mi</i>	<i>thē-></i>	<i>tí-thē-mi</i>
		R	R + r	R	R+r
Slav.	R-r	<i>dā-></i>	<i>*da-d-mъ > dāmъ</i>	<i>dē-></i>	<i>*de-d- (de-ž-d-ϕ)</i>
			3. pl. <i>dadęťь</i>		3. pl. <i>deždęťь</i> .

We can also view the so-called Slavic reduplication not as process proper, but rather as phenomenon of the two fossilized verb stems, functionally specialized for punctual or time pointed actions. Moreover the dental *-d-* in most person forms is elided due to the contact with labials *-m* and *-v*, and dissimilated in contact with other dental occlusive (*-t*).

3.0. In Slavic the stems *dad-* and *ded-* are reduplicative by origin and primordially denoted Aoristic or perfective aspect, as well as punctual or time-pointed action (see 1.2.). The reduplication did not evolved as a systematic morphologic means aspect and manner in Slavic, but some other morphologic means took place here, esp. prefixes and suppletive perfective stems. One of the means is the nasal affix *[-n/nu-]* that denotes an initiating action. This affix forms the so called *verba inchoativa/inchoativa* in Slavic and it is akin and historically connected to the respective affix in Greek, that forms the so called *nu*-verbs, and probably to the verbs of Sanskrit *Sunvādi* class (e.g. *su-*, *sumu-/suno-*). In some modern Slavic languages, mainly in Srb. and Bg. the two means, e.g. the reduplicative stems *dad-*, *ded-* and affix *-nu* are blended. Thus we have two parallel forms of Aorist in colloquial Serbian:

(13)

	1. sg.	2. sg.	3. sg.	1. pl.	2. pl.	3. pl.
<i>dad-</i>	<i>da-dox/dadnu</i> <i>x</i>	<i>dade/dadn</i> <i>u</i>	<i>dade/dadn</i> <i>u</i>	<i>da-dosmo/dadnu</i> <i>smo</i>	<i>da-doste/dadnu</i> <i>nuste</i>	<i>dadoše dadnu</i> <i>še</i>
<i>ded-</i>	<i>de-dox/de(d)nu</i> <i>x</i>	<i>dede/de(d)</i> <i>nu</i>	<i>dede/de(d)</i> <i>nu</i>	<i>de-dosmo/de(d)nu</i> <i>smo</i>	<i>de-doste/de(d)nu</i> <i>nuste</i>	<i>de-doše/de(d)nu</i> <i>še</i>

The forms of *ded-* often appear in Srb. dialectal forms as contracted, i.e. with elided reduplicative [*d*] in Aorist: sg. *denux*, *denu*, *denu*; pl. *denusmo*, *denuste*, *denuše*. The two Aoristic stems in Srb. and Bg. are very productive in forming perfective moods: Time-pointed Subjunctive and Imperative:

(14)

	1. sg.	2. sg.	3. sg.	1. pl.	2. pl.	3. pl.
<i>dad-</i>						
Subj.: <i>da let, ako</i>	<i>-dadnem</i>	<i>dadneš</i>	<i>dadne</i>	<i>dadnemo</i>	<i>dadnete</i>	<i>dadnu</i>
if +						
Imper.		<i>dadni</i>		<i>dadnimo</i>	<i>dadnite</i>	

(15)

	1. sg.	2. sg.	3. sg.	1. pl.	2. pl.	3. pl.
<i>ded-</i>						
Subj.: <i>da let, ako</i>	<i>de(d)nem</i>	<i>da(d)neš</i>	<i>de(d)ne</i>	<i>de(d)nemo</i>	<i>de(d)nete</i>	<i>de(d)nu</i>
if +						
Imper.		<i>deni</i> < <i>*dedni</i>		<i>denimo</i> < <i>*dednimo</i>	<i>denite</i> < <i>*dednite</i>	

The contracted forms, i.e. forms with elided [*d*] are as follows: *da/neka* (let), *ako* (if) + *dam*, *daš*, *da*, *damo*, *date*, *dadu*. The elided [*d*] from *ded-* is simply substituted by [*n*].

3.1. Reduplication in Slavic has to emphasize a punctual/perfective action. The Aorist Tense forms are here in place of the Perfect Tense, as the old IE reduplicative Perfect Tense did not evolve in the respective Slavic Perfect tense.

Mixing of the rudimentary reduplicative forms with other morphological means of time-pointed or punctual action, i.e. with *[-nu-]* forms) in Slavic, reminds us of the Greek merger of reduplicative Present forms with inchoative *-sk-* forms, see. Gk. *gignōskō* ‘to know, to perceive’ < *gignōmi* + *gnōskō* (Giannakis 1992: 166-167) and Lat. *discō* ‘to teach’ < *dī-dō-scō*.

Both *-nu-* and *-sk-* markers are common for Skt., Gk. Lat., Slav. and Lith. as well. The Skt. stem-forming morphs: *-nu-*, *-nā-*, *-cch* are parallel to the respective *-nu*, and *-sk-* markers in Gk., which are characterized as manner of action, i.e. Aktionsart means (Hirt: 529), as well as to the respective Slavic *-nu-* marker of inchoative verbs. In Slavic there are several fossilized verbs in *-sk-* too, i.e. in *-šč-*. For more examples see the following table³.

³ Meanings of the cited verbs are as follows: Skt. *stṛ-*, Gk. *stor-*, Lat. *ster-* ‘to spread’, Skt. *kṛ-* ‘to do’, Lat. *cre-* ‘to create’, Skt. *su-* ‘to press out’, Skt. *yam-* ‘to raise, to hold’, Skt. *iṣ-*, *icch-*,

(16)

	-neu- ~ -nu- /-nā- ~ -nī-	vs unmarked	-sk-	vs. unmarked
Skt.	<i>stṛ- 5, stṛṇoti, 9 stṛṇāti</i> <i>kr- 5, krṇoti</i> <i>su- 5, sunoti</i>	<i>stṛ- 1. starati</i> <i>kr- 8, karoti</i> <i>su- 1, savati, 2 sauti</i>	<i>yam- 1, yacchati</i> <i>iṣ- 6, icchati</i> <i>gam- 1, gacchati</i>	<i>yam- 1, yamati</i> <i>gam- 1, gamati</i>
Gk.	<i>stórnumi, strōnnumi</i>		<i>báskō</i>	<i>báinō</i>
Lat.	<i>sternō</i>	<i>strāvī, 1. sg. Perf.</i>	<i>crescō</i>	<i>creō</i>
Slav.	Cz. <i>lehnout, sednout,</i> Cz. <i>tnout, OCS tьnq, 1.</i> sg.	Cz. <i>ležet, sedět,</i> Cz. <i>tít, OCS tęti</i>	<i>iskati</i> Russ. <i>iskatъ > iščēt,</i> 3.sg.	
Balt./ Lith.	<i>einu, 1.sg</i>	<i>eiti, Inf.</i>	Lith. <i>ieškoti, Let. iěškāt</i>	

These are very significant perfective aspect, punctual and phasal manner of action marked verbs.

For marking the imperfective aspect and iterative/frequentative manner of action, Slavic languages have other morphological means, i.e. affix [-ja-]⁴ or [-va-] or alternation of the two morphs, e.g. in OCS (Weingart: 430), *dájati*: Present: *daju, daješi, dajeť*, pl. *dajemъ, dajeťe, dajeť*, du. *dajevě, dajeťa, dajeťe*. The verb *děti/dějeti* has the following iterative forms: *dějō, děješi, dějeť*, and so forth. The Habitual Present forms in Czech include consistently the -va suffix: *dávám, dáváš, dává, dáváme, dáváte, dávají*. In Srb. and Russ. only the Infinitive is in -va: *davats*, other forms are in -ja. E.g. Russ. *daju, daješ, dajeť,ujem, dajeťe, dajeť*, and Srb.: *dajem, daješ, daje, dajeťmo, dajeťe, dajeť*.

The Imperfect Tense in Old Slavic is in -ja- (sg. *dajaxъ, dajaaše, dajaaše*, du. *dajaxově, dajaašeta, dajaašete*, pl. *dajaxomъ, dajaašete, dajaxō*).

In OCS there are also reduplicative Imperfect Tense forms consisting of the reduplicative stem blended with the frequentative affix -ja and the Aorist Tense endings: *dadejaaxъ* 'I was giving, I used to give' *dadejaaše* 'you were giving, you used to give' *dadejaaaše* 'he was giving, he used to give' etc. (Weingart: 382). This fact suggests that the Imperfect Tense can denote an iterative/frequentative action, whereas the Aorist Tense the time-pointed or punctual action (see Dostál: 97). This is the essential difference between the two tenses and simultaneously explains their mutual relation: multiplication or iteration of the single punctual action (Aorist) makes the function of the Imperfective Tense.

Slav. *isk-*, Lith. *iešk-* 'to wish, to desire', Skt. *gam-* 'to go', Gk. *bainō* 'to go', Lith. *ienu* 'to go', Slav. *leg-/leh-/lež-* 'to lie, be lying', Slav. *sed-* 'to sit', Slav. *tьnq* 'to snuff out'.

⁴ For the transcription of Slavic sound [j] we use here the symbol [j].

The regular means of the Imperfect Tense formation is the aspect-neutral stem (*dā-*, *dē-*) expanded by the frequentative or multiple action affix -ja/-va, e.g. in OCS: impf. sg. *dajaašъ, dajaaše, dajaaše*, du. *dajaašivě, daajaašeta, dajaašete*, pl. *dajaašomъ, daajaašete, dajaašō* (Weingart: 430); in Srb.: *davax, davaše, davaše, davasmo, davaste, davaxu*. Thus the reason of existence of two types of the Imperative Tense in OCS is clear: one type, consisting of the reduplicative Aoristic forms, is the Frequentative Imperfect, whereas the second one is the Imperfect Tense proper.

3.2. The need for such a morphologic means as it was the reduplication, is evident e.g. in Srb., where the reduplicative syllable, or rather only consonant *d-* from the verb *dad-*, expands its applicability and appears with other verbs too. E.g. the verbs: *znati* 'to know', *imati* 'to have', *valjati* 'to be valid' etc. affiliate this 'borrowed' marker -d, both for Present and Aorist stems. Thus the new forms have arisen – for Present: *znadem, imadem, valjadem*, Imperfect: *znadijax i imadijax*, and Aorist: *znadox, imadox, valjadox* etc. Also modal verbs have the similar forms: *morati* 'must', *imati* 'to be able to', *smeti* 'may', *hteti* 'to want' in the Present Subjunctive: *da/ako moradem, da/ako smedem, da/ako umadem* and in the Aorist Tense too: *moradox, smedox, xtedox, imadox* etc. (Stevanović: 194). This 'quasi reduplication' also permits variant forms with the nasal-extension to denote time-pointed actions, but only in the Subjunctive: *da/ako htednem, da/ako smednem, da/ako umadnem, da/ako znadnem* etc.

4. The comparison of different forms of Skt. and IE verbs *dad-*, *dadh-* and Slavic *dad-*, *ded-* verbs, leads us to conclusion that they probably are the only evidence of aspect-marked reduplicative verbs common to both languages. The aspect-neutral and non-reduplicated roots are: *dā-*, *dhā* in Skt. and *dā-*, *dē-* in Slavic.

Due to the divergent way of language development of PIE, the reduplication continued to function in Skt., as well as in Gk. and Lat. In Slavic however, there are only its remnants, i.e. the originally reduplicated two Aoristic stems which continue to serve as suppletive stems to denote time-pointed or perfective action. This semantic feature is also evident in the Present and Imperfect Tenses, where it serves to denote the multiple pointed actions.

Otherwise, there is only a little formal difference between Aorist and Imperfect Tenses in Slavic. The first is formed mainly from perfective, and the second from imperfective verbs. Nevertheless the reduplicative verbs *dad-* *ded-*, denoting time-pointed and perfective action, by means of the frequentative affix *ja/-va-* makes the frequentative Imperfect.

In Sanskrit the Imperfect is formed from the Present Tense stem, whereas the Aorist from Aoristic one. Although there is no apparent aspectual contrast between the two tenses, searching more profoundly into the history of OIA reveals that the Vedic Aorist had a perfective function.

As for the verbs *dad-* and *dadh-/ded-*, we can also presume their primordial meaning of the perfective and punctual or time-pointed actions. Probably the whole class of reduplicative verbs had this function. Although the aspect distinction in Sanskrit has no evidence, except, probably, in its oldest stage or in Vedic, there are verb classes, which form the Present Tense stem by different morphological means. Some of the means resemble the respective means in Slavic and Greek. Thus the Skt. stem-forming morphs: *-nu*, *-nā*, *-cch* have their counterparts in Gk. verbs in *-nu*, *-sk-*, which are characterized as phasal verbs, as well as in Slavic *-nu* or inchoative verbs (Cz. *počnu*, *lehnu* etc.) and several fossilized verbs in *-sk-*, i.e. in *-šĉ* (*išču*) etc.

ABBREVIATIONS

Bg. – Bulgarian
 C – Consonant
 C₁ – reduplicative consonant
 Cz. – Czech
 du. – dual
 Gk. – Greek
 IE. – Indo-European
 Imper. – Imperative Mood
 Inf. – Infinitive
 Lat. – Latin
 Let. – Latvian
 Lith. – Lithuanian
 loc. – Locative case
 OCS – Old Church Slavic
 OCz. – Old Czech
 OIA – Old Indo-Aryan
 Perf. – Perfect Tense
 PIE. – Proto Indo-European
 pl. – plural
 PSlav. – Proto-Slavic
 R – Verb Root
 r – Reduplicated syllable or sound
 Russ. – Russian
 sg. – Singular
 Skt. – Sanskrit
 Srb. – Serbian
 Subj. – Subjunctive Mood
 V – Vowel
 V₁ – reduplicative vowel

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Krzysztof Tomasz Witczak: Indoeuropejskie nazwy zbóż. Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2003, 159 s. ISBN 83-7171-712-1^[*]

reviewed by Václav Blažek

The book under review has its origin in the author's dissertation finished in 1995. Naturally, the actual form of the book corresponds with the present state-of-art of Indo-European comparative linguistics. In the **Introduction** (pp. 9-12) the author explains his purposes and methods and describes his sources. In the Chapter I (pp. 13-24) the beginning of agriculture is characterized, including the spreading of the neolithic revolution from the Near East through Asia Minor in Europe. All these events are evaluated from the Nostratic perspective. In the Chapter II (pp. 25-38) the author discusses the agriculture of Indo-Europeans from the point of view of archeology, their agricultural terminology in the light of the linguistic paleontology, the questions of the Indo-European homeland. The chapters III-IX are devoted to designations for both general terms and concrete kinds of cereals: III: **Frumentum** (pp. 39-50), IV: **Hordeum** (pp. 51-63), V: **Avena** (pp. 64-73), VI: **Panicum** (pp. 74-90), VII: **Triticum** (pp. 91-107), VIII: **Secale** (pp. 108-115), IX: **Semen ~ Granum** (116-120). The lexical data collected in the chapters III-IX are analyzed from the point of view of chronology in the Chapter X (pp. 121-124) and of semantics in the Chapter XI (pp. 125-136). The English Summary (pp. 139-142) follows. In the end of the book there are the abbreviations (pp. 143-146) and a very rich bibliography (147-158) with more than 350 titles; the most recent of them are from 2000.

Let us mention the most important lexical data collected by Witczak to reconstruct the Indo-European cereal terminology in its maximal completeness. The protoforms reconstructed by the author are arranged in the alphabetical order (the initial laryngeals immediately follow the *a-). Some additional or critical remarks are from the reviewer.

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***álb^hi** "barley" (pp. 58-59) > Iranian **arbusā* > Khotanese *rrusā*, Wakhi *arbāsi* "Hordeum", Pashto *ōrbūše* "barley" | Greek ἄλφι, pl. ἄλφειτα "barley flour" | Albanian *elp*, -*bi* "barley". The term is usually derived from **alb^hos* "white". The quotation of Poppe's (1960, 87) reconstruction of Altaic **arfa* "barley" is probably from a second hand source, correctly it should be **arpa*, while the form *arfa* is from Manchu. It is not evident, why the protoform **álb^hi* was reconstructed without any initial laryngeal, in contrary to other forms with the initial *a- < **H₂a-*.

***H₂ad-** "grain" (pp. 117-18) > Avestan *ādū-* "grain", Sogdian ʾdʷk [*āduk*] "corn, grain, cereals" | Armenian *hat* "grain" | Lycian *xθθαhe* "hay, fodder" | Gothic *atisk* "grainfield" | Tocharian A *āti*, B *ātiyai* "grass".

***H₂adHor** "Triticum dicoccum" (pp. 101-102) > Hittite *hattar* "a kind of wheat" | Armenian *haēār* "Spelt" | Latin *ador*, -*oris* "wheat Triticum dicoccum". The author accepts Szemerényi's etymology postulating the root **H₂ad-* "grain". The Balto-Fennic (not Uralic!) designation for "barley" cannot be reconstructed **ōtra*, regarding *h* in Finnish *ohra*, *z* in Veps *ozr* and even -*st-* in Karelian *ostra*, besides *ośra*, *oźra*, *ozra* in various dialects. Just the protoform **ostra* (or **oštra* or **očtra*) seems to be primary, cf. Finnish *ihra* ~ *itra*, Veps *izr*, Karelian *isra* "Speck, Schmalz, Fett" < Old Norse n. *ístr* "die Eingeweide umgebende Fettschicht", f. *ístra* id. (Kylstra et al. 1991, 135) or Finnish *kehrä* ~ *keträ* "Rolle, Scheibe; Rad, Spindelwirbel", Karelian *kes(t)rä*, *kežrä*, Veps *kežr*, Estonian *kedr* "Scheibe, Spindel"; Lappic Lule *kiersē* ~ *kärsē* "Spinnwirtel"; Mordvinian Mokša *kšt'ir* "Spindel", Mari KB *šəðər* id. < Fenno-Volgaic **keštrā* < Indo-Aryan, cf. OI *cāttra*- n. "Spindel" (UEW 656).

***H₂aliks** ~ ***H₂alkis** "a kind of wheat" (pp. 102-03) > Hittite *halkis* "corn, grain, barley"; add Lycian *Qelehi* "(god of) grain" (G. Neumann, followed by Melchert 1993, 60) | Greek ἄλιξ, gen. ἄλικος "Speltgrauen" | Latin *alica* "Speltgrauen, Speltmus, Sommerdinkel", if it is not borrowed from the Greek accusative ἄλικα. There is an internal etymology based on the verb **H₂al-* "to nourish", while external comparison (Dolgopolsky 1998, 27) offers the cognates in Arabic *yall-at-* "cereals" and Georgian *yalva* "zu mählende (not mähende) reifes Korn", reflecting Nostratic **galV* (with uvular *g*, not **galV*).

***H₂árg^{wh}ǵ** : ***H₂órg^{wh}eno-** "a kind of millet" (pp. 82-83) > Nuristani **arjana-* > Aškun *azū*, Kati *awī* "millet" | Dardic: Dameli *āāin*, Pašai *aṣṣn*, Kalaša *aṣin* etc. "millet" | Iranian **arzana-* > Persian *arzan*, Ormuri *ažan*, Yidgha *yūzrun*, Wakhi *yīzrn*, Khotanese *eysā*, *āyysam* "millet, Panicum miliaceum" | Greek ὀρφίνη · καλάμη μελίνης (Hesych.) | Old Irish *arbor*, *arbar* m., n., gen. sg. *arbe* & *arbann*, nom. pl. *arbuir* & *orbaind* "corn".

***H₂(a)wiǵ-i-/s^o** "oats" (pp. 66-68) > Iranian **avi[z]-sa-* > Khotanese *hqu* "oats", Yazgulum *wis* "Avena" | Greek αἰγίλος, αἰγίλωψ "wild oats / Aegilops ovata"; cf. the compound αἰγίπυρος "a corn-like plant" | Latin *avēna* "oats *Avena sativa*" | Lithuanian *avižà* "grain of oats", pl. *āvižos* "oats", Latvian *āuza*, pl. *āuzas* "oats"; Old Prussian *wyse*, *wisge* "oats" | Slavic **ovьsь* "oats" > Russian *ovēs* id. etc. According to Starostin (1988,

121) it is a substratal term borrowed from a source related to North Caucasian **HVbVgV* > Avar *ogób*, gen. *abg-il* "rye", Axwax *hagib* id.; Ubykh *bağəna* "oats"

**b^hárs-* "barley" (pp. 57-58) > Ossetic Digor *bor* (*xwar*) "millet"; ?Yazgulam *vrašt* "flour" < **b^hřsta-* | ?Greek (Hesych.) *φῆρος* "food of ancient gods" < **b^harsos* | Albanian *bar* "gras" < **b^harso-* | Latin *far*, *farris* "Dinkel, Spelt", Oscan & Umbrian *far*, Umbrian adj. *farsio* "farrea" | Irish *barr* "harvest" | Old Norse *barr* "Korn, Gerste", Old English *bere* "barley"; cf. the derivatives **b^hars(e)ino-* > Latin *farīna* "flour" | Gothic *barizeins* "of barley", Old English *beren* id. | Slavic **boršyno* > Old Church Slavonic *brašino* "food", Russian *bórošno* "flour of rye"; and **b^harsagen-* > Old Irish *bairgen* "bread", Welsh, Cornish, Breton *bara* id. | Latin *farrāgō*, *-inis* "Mengfutter". The author quotes Semitic **burr-/barr-* "grain, wheat" as cognate, in contrary to Illiè-Svityè (1964, 4-5) or Gamkrelidze & Ivanov (1984, 872, 943) who saw in the Semitic term a source of the Indo-European forms.

**b^hřsdaH₂* "Triticum monococcum" (pp. 97-98) > Albanian *bardhë* "wheat" | Thracian *βρίζα* "a kind of corn, perhaps wheat or rye" | Germanic **bursta-* > Old High German *borse*, Middle high German *porst* "Myrica gale", German *Sumpf-porst* "Ledum palustre" | Lithuanian *birždis*, *birždis*, *brizdis* "heather, Calluna vulgaris". The termination in **-sd-* is common with **g^hersd-* "barley".

**dřwHaH₂* "a kind of millet" (pp. 83-84) > OI *dúrvā-* "sp. millet, Panicum dactylon" | Gallo-Latin *dravoca* "Personacia, lappa", Welsh *drewg*, Breton *draoch*, *dreok* "Lolium termulentum" > French *droue* id. | Middle Dutch *tar(e)we*, Dutch *tarwe* "wheat", Middle English *tāre* "Lolch, Wicke", English *tare* id. < **dorəwā* | Lithuanian *dirvā* "Saatfeld, Getreidefeld", Latvian *dirva*, *druva* "der bestellte Acker, Saatfeld" | Russian *derevki* "place in a forest cleared for agriculture", *derevnja* "Dorf", *pášet derévnju* "bestellt das Feld". Traditionally Thessalian *δάρατος*, Delphian *δαράτα*, Macedonian *δράμις* "bread" have been added too. Witczak also speculates about a connection with some Semitic forms as Ugaritic *drt* pl. "millet" and Arabic *durrat* "grobe Hirse, Maise". But IE **d* does not correspond with Semitic **d* in a frame of the Nostratic hypothesis. This relation can be interpreted only as a Semitic borrowing in Indo-European.

**d^hoHnáH₂* f. "corn" (pp. 39-41) > OI *dhānāh* "corn, grain" | Khowar *dān* "parched grain" | Avestan *dānō-karš(a)-* "körnerschleppend", Khotanese *dāna-* "grain, corn", Sogdian *δ'n* "Getreidekorn" | ?Hittite ^{NINDA} *dannas* "eine Speise", Luwian *tannas* | Lithuanian *dūona* "bread", Latvian *duōna* "crust or slice of bread" ||| Semitic **duḥn-u* "Sorghum vulgare" ||| Dravidian **tin-ay* "Italian millet" < Nostratic **dEqnV*.

**gand-* ~ **skand-* "a kind of wheat" (pp. 96-97) > OI *gōdhūma-* "wheat" | Iranian **gantuma-* id. > Avestan *gaṇtuma-*, Sogdian *gantum* vs. **ganduma-* > Khotanese *ganam*, Pašto *yanəm*, Munjan *γandām* | ?Hittite *kant-* "wheat"? (if it does not derived from IE **knt-* "rye") | Latin *scandala* & *scandula* "Spelt, Triticum spelta". Witczak's comparison with Semitic **hint-(at)-* "wheat" is excluded, because according to the Nostratic

hypothesis, Semitic **h* does not correspond with any Indo-European velar in the initial position.

**g^hHnom* "grain" > corn" (pp. 44; 116-17) > Pashto *zəṇay* "grain" | ?Albanian Gheg *grünë* "wheat, corn" | Latin *grānum* "grain" | Old Irish *grán* "grain", Welsh *grawn* | Gothic *kaur̥n*, Old English *corn*, Old High German, Old Norse *korn* "grain" | Lithuanian *žirnis*, Latvian *ziņnis* "pea", Old Prussian *syrne* "kernel of fruit" | Old Church Slavonic *zrěno*, Russian *zernó* etc. The traditional etymology derives it from the verb **gerH₂-* "aufreiben, alt machen" (LIV 165-66).

**g^hrudom* "grain" (p. 119) > ?Albanian Gheg *grünë* "grain, wheat" < **grūdino-* (but cf. the preceding entry) | Old English *grūt* "grout", Old High German *gruzzi* "Grütze" < **grutjō* | Lithuanian *grūdas* "grain" (the length after Winter's law?), Latvian *gruds* id. Derived from the verb **g^hrud-* "to beat" > Lithuanian *grūsti* : *grūdu*.

**g^hérsd^(h)-* : **g^hříd^h-* "barley" (pp. 55-57) > ?Middle Persian *ǰurtāk* & *zurtāk* "corn", Persian *zurt* & *zurd* "a kind of millet", dial. *ǰurdā* "corn" | Greek *κρῖ* n., gen. *κρῖθος* "barley", f. *κρῖθή* id. = Mycenaean *ki-ri-ta* | Albanian *drith* m. & *drithë* n. "corn" | Latin *hordeum* "barley" | Germanic **gerstō* > Old High German *gersta* "barley", Dutch *gierst* "millet"; while Old English *gorst* "Brombeerstrauch, Stechginster" reflects Germanic **gursta-*.

**kaskos* "barley" (p. 57) > Iranian **kaska-* > Khotanese *chaska-* "corn", Munjan *kosk* "Hordeum", Šughni *čūšč*, Rušani *čošč* "barley" etc., Persian *kašk* id. | ?Armenian *hask* "ear of corn". The correspondence of Armenian *h-* vs. Iranian **k-* is rather problematic. On the other hand, there is an alternative etymology for the Iranian forms, starting from the reconstruction **křša-ka-* (Pachalina 1983, 115), namely its comparison with Slavic **kolsъ* "ear of corn" | Albanian *kallë* "id.; stalk" | Tocharian B *klese* "a kind of food or an ingredient necessary for baking *kanti*-bread"; the unattested Tocharian A counterpart could be identified in the Old Chinese loan **klas* "grain" (Blažek 1999, 79-80).

**knt-* "rye or a similar cereal" (pp. 111-112) > Hittite Hittite *kanta-*, Luwian *kant-* "Einkorn; Triticum monococcum" | Dacian *κοτίατα* "Triticum repens" | ?Lusitanian > Latin *centēnum* "rye, Secale" (first in the Edict of Diocletian from AD 301), continuing in the Ibero-Romance languages: Spanish *centeno*, Portugal *centeio* | Tocharian B *kanti* "a kind of bread or a baked product made of flour". Witczak also thinks about a relation of Fenno-Permian **kñntz* "Getreide, Same" (cf. Blažek 2003, 92-93).

**kērs-* "millet" (p. 82) > Hittite *karas-* n., *karsas-* "wheat Triticum dicoccum or Triticum durum" | Oscan *caria* "bread", Sabine *ceres* n. id., cf. Latin *Ceres*, *-eris* 'goddess of fertility' | Germanic **hersja-* m. "Hirse" > Old High German *hirso*, *hirsī*, Old Saxon *hirsī* id. It is generally accepted to derive this phytonym from the verb **kerH₃-* "to nourish" (cf. LIV 329), not **kēr-*. This etymology represents the only evidence for the reconstruction of the initial **k̑-*. It is tempting to add some of the Dardic designations of "millet": Kalaša *karas*, Khowar *khērāš*, Phalura *kāraž*, Dameli *kāraç* id. (Steblin-Kamenskij 1982, 46). The acceptance of their relationship implies the reconstruction of velar **k-*.

***kop**[*g*] "oats" (pp. 68-69) > OI *šāpa*- m. "treibholz, Trift, Geflößes", m. "angeschwemmtes Schilf" | Alan *zabar* "auena"; Šughni *sip(i)yak* "a kind of millet" (Iranian **sāpar*-ku-), Persian *sabz* "vegetable; grass" (Iranian **sāpa*-čī-), Rošani *sabēc* "pod of bean" (Iranian **sāpaitra*- = OI *šāpeṭa*-) | Hittite *kappara*- "vegetable" | Greek κόπηθρον "a wild vegetable" (Hesych.) | Middle Irish *corca*, *coirce* "oats"; Welsh *ceirch*, Cornish *kerch*, *keirch*, Middle Breton *querch*, Breton *cerc'h* < Celtic **kor(i)kkyo*- < **kop_g*-k_{yo}- | Old Norse *hafri* m. "oats", English dial. *haver*, Old Saxon *haboro*, Old High German *habaro* "Hafer" < Germanic **habrōn* || Lithuanian *šāpas* "Halm, Ästchen, Splitter".

***k̑poryanos** "a kind of wheat" (pp. 99-100) > Armenian *c'orean* "wheat Triticum cartholicum" | Middle Irish *tuirenn*, Irish *tuirend* f. "wheat". Witczak speculates about a relation with Kartvelian **dik̑a*- "wheat", assuming the correspondence of the IE cluster **k̑p*- to the sequence **dik̑*^o in Kartvelian.

***k^ooidyos** "wheat" (pp. 98-99) > Germanic **hwaitja*- "wheat" > Gothic *hwaiteis*, Old Norse *hveiti*, Old English *hwōte*, Old High German *weizzi* | Old Prussian *gaydis* m. & *gayde*, *gaide* f. "wheat" with *g*- instead of expected *k*-, analogously to *girmis* "worm" vs. Lithuanian *kirmis* id. < **k^ormis*. The author does not explain his rejection of the etymology based on Germanic **hwaita*- "white".

***melH-i**, ^o**n-és** "Italian millet" (pp. 77-78) > Khowar *blan* "sp. barley" (after Turner compatible with Sanskrit *mlāna*- "withered, shrivelled, dark-coloured" | Greek μελίνη "Kolbenhirse" | Latin *milium* "Hirse, Rispenhirse" | ?Old Norse *melr* "Elymus sabulosus" | Lithuanian *málna* "Schwaden, Sussgras, Kolbenhirse". Witczak discusses three etymologies: 1) IE **melH*- "to grind, mill"; 2) **melH₂-n*- "black", cf. OI *śyāmāka*- "Indian millet / Panicum frumentaceum" : *śyāmā*- and the semantically opposite counterpart in IE **alb^h-i* "barley", regarding the most probable derivation from IE **alb^ho*- "white"; 3) IE **mél-i-t*, gen. **mel-n-és* "honey". Outside of Indo-European, Witczak quotes Furnée's interesting parallel in Georgian *meleuli* & *meleuri* "zu Gaben gebundene Hirse", which may be interpreted as the collective from the unattested protoform **meli* "Hirse", following the model of *p^ureuli* "Getreidearten, Könerfruchte" vs. *p^uri* "Brot, Korn, Getreide".

***pgHwen**- "a kind of wheat" (p. 103) > Hittite *parhuenas* "eine Art Getreide" | Gallo-Latin *arinca* "wheat Triticum dicoccum" < pre-Celtic *[*p*]arwenkā.

***prokōm** "common millet" (p. 81) > Old Prussian *prassan* "millet" | Slavic **proso* id. Witczak proposes an interesting idea to see here a metathetical variant of **kop_g* "oats". Recently Ivanov (2003, 196-97) has found a more exact cognate in Tocharian B *proksa* "grain", deriving them from **proks-* and further from the root **perk̑*- "to dig", cf. West IE **pyk̑-ā* "furrow".

***pūrós**, **-óm** "Triticum compactum" (pp. 94) > OI *pūra*- m. "cake" | Greek πῦρός "Weizen(korn), Triticum compactum" | ?Germanic *fursa*- > Old English *fyr*s, English *furze* "Quecke, Triticum repens" | Lithuanian m. pl. *pūrai* "Winterweizen", Latvian m. pl. *pūri* id., Old Prussian f. *pure* "Trespe, Bromus secalinus" | Church Slavonic *pyro*

"Spelt", Slovenian m. *pír*, f. *píra* "Spelt", Czech *pýr* "Quecke, Triticum repens", Russian *pyréj* id. Witczak mentions that the Germanic example better agrees in phonetics with Greek πρᾶσον "Allium porrum", Latin *porrum* id. < **p_gsom*. Traditionally, Georgian *p^uri* "wheat, wheat, corn" has been compared too, although its Greek origin cannot be excluded.

***putro**- "grain, corn" (pp. 119-20) > Welsh *wtr* "light corn; light grain" < **putro*- | Lithuanian *putrà* "Grütze", Latvian *putra* id.; Baltic > Finnish *puuro* "porridge".

***rug^his**, ***rug^hyos** "rye" (pp. 110) > Iranian **rujika*- > Šughni *rožj* "ear of rye or rice", Wanetsi *rōžj* "ear of corn" (> Mordvinian *rož*; Komi *rudžeg*, Udmurt dial. *žížeg* "rye"; see Blažek 2003, 93-94) | Germanic **rugiz* > Old Norse *rugr* "rye", Old English *ryge* id. & **ruggan*- > Old Frisian *rogga*, Old Saxon *roggo*, Old High German *rocko* id. | Lithuanian *rugys* "Roggenkorn", Old Prussian *rugis*, *ruggis* m. "rye" | Old Russian *ръžь* m. "rye". Witczak adds the Afroasiatic parallels: Egyptian *rḏrḏ* "cereals" and Hausa *roogo* "cassava" which seem more convincing than the comparison with East Caucasian **rəḏčV* "a kind of cereal (oats, rye), because later this reconstruction looks otherwise (Nikolajev & Starostin 1994, 950: **rḥəḏV* ~ **ḏḥəV* > Avar *roḏḏ* "wheat"; Lezgin *gerg* "oats", Agul *jerg*, Tabasaran, Tsakhur *γaryar* id.).

***sēHmḡ** "grain" (p. 118) > Latin *sēmen* "seed" | Old Saxon *sāmo*, Old High German *samo* "Same" | Old Prussian *semen* "Samen", Lithuanian *sėmenys* pl. "Flachsamt" | Old Church Slavonic *sēmę* "seed, semence".

***seHtlaH₂** "seed" > Albanian *gjollë* "seed-patch" | Old Irish *síl* "seed"; Welsh *hil* "Samen, Nachkommenschaft" < Celtic **sēllo*- | Lithuanian *sėklà* "Saat". But there is no unambiguous evidence about the *tl*-extension. The Albanian and Celtic examples can reflect **sēlo*-/*-ā*. In Lithuanian *paselys* "Aussaat" there is the only *l*-extension, similarly in Hittite *sēli*- "Getreide(haufen)" (Oettinger 1979, 541).

***s^esyā** f., ***s^esyóm** n. "corn" (pp. 41-42) > OI *sasyám* n. "Feldfrucht, Saat auf dem Felde", *sasá*- m. "Nahrung, Speise, Kraut, Gras, Saatfeld" | Avestan *hahiia*- "frumentarius", *haṅhuš*- | Hittite *sesa*- "Frucht" | Celtic **sasio*- & **sasiā* > Hispano-Celtic **sas(s)ia* > Provençal *saisseto* "froment de la plus belle qualité", Catalanian *xeixa* "candéal", Spanish *jeja* "Winterweizen"; Gaulish *asia* "rye"; Welsh *haidd* "barley", Breton *heiz* id. Let us mention Starostin's idea (1988, 125) about a substratal origin of this term, based on his comparison with Eastern Caucasian **sūsV* "rye" > Čečen *sos*, Laq *sus* id., Axwax *šušul* "oats" etc.

***sīto**-, ***sītyo**- "corn" (pp. 45) > OI *sīt(i)yam* n. "corn" (lex.), besides a more frequent meaning "ploughed" attested by Pāṇini | Khowar [not Kati indicated by author] *siri* "barley", Kalasha *šilí* "millet" | Mycenaean *si-to* "corn; grain (of wheat of barley)", Greek σῖτος "Getreide", especially "Weizen, Brot, Speise", Delphian σῖτον. According to Witczak the preserved *s*- could be caused by its hypothetical Pelasgian origin.

***spérnḡ** : ***sporáH₂** (p. 119) > Armenian *sermn* "seed; grain" | Greek σπέρμα "Same" = Mycenaean *pe-mo*, σπορά "Säen, Saat" | Albanian *farë* "seed; clan" (*spórā*). Derived

from the verb **sper-* (LIV 580) attested e.g. in Armenian *sermanel* "to sow", Greek *σπείρω* "to sow; produce, beget, give birth".

**(s)pl̥t-* "Triticum spelta" (pp. 100) > Greek *πόλτος* "Brei aus Mehl" | Latin *puls, pultis* f. "eine Spelzgrütze", Old Italian *polta* "Brühe, Brei" > Old High German *polz* id.; late Latin *spelta* occurs first in the edict of Diocletian AD 301; according to witness of Saint Hieronym it is of Pannonian origin.

**swaH₂raH₂* "common millet" (pp. 79-81) > Iranian *hwārā-* > Alan *huvar* "millet", Ossetic Digor *xwar* "corn, grain, millet", Iron *xor* "corn, barley *Hordeum vulgare*", Sogdian *γwr-* "barley", Middle Persian *xwār* "food" | ?Albanian *egjër* "*Lolium termulentum*" < **ḡ-s(w)ārā* = "non-millet" after Jokl (*Wörter und Sachen* 12, 1929, 78-79) | Lithuanian *sóra*, pl. *sóros* "millet", Latvian *sāre*, dial. *sūra* "Rispenhirse" | Tocharian AB *sāry-* "to plant", *sārm* "seed"; the *n*-derivative is common for Iranian and Baltic: Avestan *x^varəna-* (not *xv^varəna-*) "Nahrung"; cf. the borrowing in Slavic **chorna* "food" | Lithuanian *svirna* f., *svīrnas* m. "Speicher, Vorratskammer". The author admits the *vḡddhi*-formation from the root **swer-* > Iranian **x^var-* "to nourish; defend". But he prefers the Nostratic origin, referring to such forms as Semitic **šū^cār-(at-)* "barley" (lit. "hairy") and Uralic **šōra*.

**wesH₂aros* "spring corn" (pp. 42-43) > Armenian *gari*, gen. *gareoy* "barley" | Welsh *wenith*, Breton *gwiniz* "wheat" | Tocharian A *wsār* "heap of grain", B *ysāre* "grain; ?wheat"; from the word for "spring" reconstructible as **wesH₂*, gen. **wesH₂nos*, cf. Lithuanian *vasar̥niai kviečiai & rugiai* "spring wheat & rye", etc.

**yéwH₁os, -om* "barley" > "corn" (pp. 43-44) > OI *yáva-* m. "barley" | Avestan *yauua-* m. "Getreide", *yauuagha-* n. "Weide"; Ossetic *yāv* "millet" | Hittite *ewan* n. "barley" | Greek *ξειά* "Triticum monococcum", Cretan *δηά* "barley; *Hordeum*" | Old Irish *éorna* "barley" | Lithuanian *jāvas* "Getreideart", pl. *javaĩ* "Getreide" | Earlier Russian *jevin*, Russian *ovin* "Getreidedarre, Riege" | Tocharian B *yap* "millet" < **yewH₁om*.

Comments to the additional comparative material:

P. 46 - Slavic **žito* "corn, cereal", especially "wheat, rye" | Old Prussian *geits & geitko* "bread" | Welsh *bwyd* "food", Old Cornish *buit*, Breton *boed*; Old Irish *biad*. Add Hittite *kuiitta-* "a kind of a bread" (Van Windekens, *Archiv orientální* 57, 1989, 334-35; Puhvel, *HED* IV, 1997, 315).

P. 59 - Slavic **žeb-my* "barley" - following Charpentier (1907, 464), it is possible to connect it with Greek *ῥμπ(ν)η* "Nahrung, Getreide". Starostin (1988, 127) proposed a substratal origin of **Henk^v-/*Honk^v-*, seeking a support in North Caucasian **ʔəlmq̄wV* "barley", reconstructed on the basis of Avar *oq̄*, Bežit *ōX* id., Axwax *ūqa* "oats", Ubykh *X_va* "barley", etc. But later Nikolajev & Starostin (1994, 502-503) changed their reconstruction in **hnārql̥*, regarding Tabasaran *nurχI* "spelt", Agul *nir`X* "ground wheat".

P. 63 - Tocharian *klu* "rice" is derivable from an Old Chinese source of the type **lhū^v ~ *lhū^v* "growing rice, paddy" (Blažek 1999, 82).

P. 106 - Old High German *dinchel, thincil, dinkil* "Dinkel, *Triticum spelta*", with the variants *tinkel, tunkel* from modern dialects, is compatible with Anatolian data: Hittite ^(NINDA)*tuni(n)k-* "a bread", Hieroglyphic Luwian *tunikala* "maker of *tunik*-bread", with the suffix *-ala-* of *nomina agentis* (Tischler III, Lief. 10, 1994, 438-39).

P. 106 - Kartvelian **diḡa-* "wheat" has the closest parallel (source?) in North Caucasian **dīḡwi* "a kind of cereal" (Nikolajev & Starostin 1994, 400).

P. 106 - For Hittite *seppitt-* (& *sappitt-*) "wheat" there are two possible internal etymologies, based on comparison with (i) *sepa-* "Garbe; Getreidebündel"; (ii) *sappis-arahh-* "to make into a cleansed person". In the first case it is necessary to explain the difference between *-p-* and *-pp-*. But cf. two verbs with similar semantics, viz. *sapiya-* "to scrub, rub" vs. *sappai-/sippai-* "to peel, trim; scrape". In the second case the semantic motivation "wheat" = "cleared" is known from Semitic languages, cf. Akkadian *burru* "sorte de céréale", Hebrew *bar* "céréale, blé battu", Arabic *burr*, Sabaic *br*, Sogdian *bor*, Mehri *barr* "froment, blé" vs. Akkadian *barru* "pur", Ugaritic *brr* id., Hebrew *bārār* "purifier", Aramaic *b^erar* id., Minaean *š-brr* id. (Cohen 1976, 87). On the other hand, both the verbs *sapiya-* "to scrub, rub" vs. *sappai-/sippai-* "to peel, trim; scrape" stand in semantics not too far.

Summing up, Witzcak's book represents the most detailed study devoted to the Indo-European cereal terminology. The author has convincingly demonstrated the agricultural past of the Indo-Europeans. Some of the designations of cereals were probably inherited from the preceding, namely Nostratic, period. Others, with transparent Indo-European etymologies, were formed in the various periods of development of the Indo-European dialect continuum. Witzcak's conclusion is in a good agreement with the idea of Illič-Svityč who saw the reason of the disintegration of the Nostratic unity in the neolithic revolution, started in the Near East in the 11th mill. BC according to our present knowledge. For the future research it is necessary to differentiate the inherited terms from the old borrowings.

Misprints:

P. 16, 17, 108 - Schnirelman against Shnirelman in the bibliography (p. 157); better Šnirelman in transcription from cyrillic.

P. 81 - Levin 1974, instead of 1994.

P. 87 - Sarikol. instead of Sankol.

P. 90 & 111 - Komi instead of Kami & Korn respectively.

P. 121 - Semitic **šū^cār-(at-)* "barley" (lit. "hairy") is derivable from the Afroasiatic protoform with initial **č-* (or **š-*), but not **š-*.

P. 153 - L. Isebaert has published his dissertation *De Indo-Iraanse Bestanddelen in de Tocharische Woordenschat*, Leuven, in 1980, not 1970.

P. 155 - Nikolajev, S.L. & Starostin, S.A. have published their article "Severno-kavkazskije jazyki i jich mesto sredi drugich jazykov Perednej Azii" in the volume *Jazykovaja situacija v Perednej Azii v X-IV tysjačiletijach do n.e.* (Moskva: Institut vostokovedenija 1984, 26-34), not in *Jazyki srednej Perednej Azii*.

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