

**THE SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS
OF VERBAL CATEGORIES
IN BULGARIAN**

Grace E. Fielder

The Edwin Mellen Press
Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Fielder, Grace Elizabeth, 1952-

The semantics and pragmatics of verbal categories in Bulgarian /
Grace E. Fielder.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-7734-9313-1

1. Bulgarian language--Verb. 2. Bulgarian language--Adverbials.
 3. Bulgarian language--Clauses. 4. Bulgarian language--Semantics.
- I. Title.

PG885.F54 1993

491.8'15--dc20

93-28605

CIP

A CIP catalog record for this book
is available from the British Library.

Copyright © 1993 Grace E. Fielder

All rights reserved. For information contact

The Edwin Mellen Press

Box 450

Lewiston, New York

USA 14092

The Edwin Mellen Press

Box 67

Queenston, Ontario

CANADA L0S 1L0

Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd.

Lampeter, Dyfed, Wales

UNITED KINGDOM SA48 7DY

Printed in the United States of America

Chapter 2

An Overview of The Bulgarian Verbal System

2.0. Introduction. The Bulgarian verbal system is one of the most complex, in terms of number of forms, of all the Slavic languages. According to standard descriptions there are nine paradigmatic tenses: the present, aorist, imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, future, future perfect, future preterite (called here the future-in-past), future perfect preterite (here the future-perfect-in-past). Each of these in turn may be formed from either the imperfective or perfective aspect stem. There are also two to three modal paradigms (depending upon the description): the imperative, the conditional and the conjunctive (or *da*-construction). The reported or unwitnessed paradigms, which are similar to the Turkish evidential category, are sometimes considered to be tense forms and sometimes mood forms.⁶ A brief discussion of these paradigms is provided in this chapter so that the reader may become familiar enough with the verbal system in order to follow the argumentation of subsequent chapters. It is based primarily on standard sources (Maslov 1981 and Stojanov 1980), as well as discussions with Molhova. Since the primary purpose of this study is to discuss in detail specific problems relating to the function of TAM categories in a restricted number of verbal forms in a specific type of subordinate construction, this chapter is of necessity programmatic in nature and does not purport to be a complete treatment or analysis. An outline of the morphological forms with examples will be provided, followed by a brief description of their more basic syntactico-semantic functions. Differences in the analysis of particular categories are discussed only insofar as they are relevant to issues that will be raised later. It is convenient here to use the universal descriptive

framework proposed by Chung and Timberlake 1985 primarily because it has the potential for typological applicability and allows an internally consistent discussion of the forms in question without any implication with respect to their systemic relations. This framework defines an event in terms of three components: the PREDICATE, the EVENT FRAME (the interval of time on which the predicate occurs), and the EVENT WORLD (the situation or set of conditions under which the predicate occurs) (Chung and Timberlake 1985:203). In the description of the Bulgarian verbal system, an attempt will not be made to establish abstract invariant meanings for the verbal paradigms and categories⁷, but rather to correlate a paradigm or form with its DEFINITION (i.e. its meaning at the word level which does not necessarily correspond to its meaning with respect to other forms within the system⁸) and its FUNCTION in a context (i.e. in a phrase, sentence or even larger context). The main concern here then might be viewed in terms of what has been called competence (or *langue*, the abstract organization of language) versus performance (or *parole*, the use of language).

Sources for individual topics of interest are provided where appropriate. Readers interested in a more detailed treatment of the Bulgarian verbal system may wish to consult Stojanov 1980 (the standard Bulgarian grammar on phonology and morphology), Maslov 1981 (a Bulgarian grammar by the renowned Russian grammarian) or Scatton 1984 (a primarily generative treatment). Aronson's 1967 article is a structuralist treatment of the Bulgarian indicative. The most exhaustive treatment of the morphology of the Bulgarian verb can be found in volume 2 of the 1983 Academy Grammar.

2.1. Aspect. Since aspect is a category relevant for all verbal forms, it will be discussed first before the discussion of individual tense and modal paradigms. Aspect is a grammatical category that, while not limited to the Slavic languages, is distinctly grammaticalized in them as the imperfective/perfective opposition. Maslov (1959:309) characterizes this opposition in Bulgarian by saying that a perfective verb is used when the speaker views the event as an indivisible whole (*nedelimoe celoe*), and imperfective when there is no reference to the totality of the event (*celostnost'*). The category of aspect thus refers to the TEMPORAL DIMENSION of an event, i.e. the type of space it occupies, as opposed to that of tense which refers to the TEMPORAL LOCATION of an event (typically with respect

to the moment of speech). According to the definition proposed by Chung and Timberlake (1985:213), aspect "characterizes the relationship of a predicate to the time interval over which it occurs". They distinguish four embedded levels at which aspect may be relevant which are outlined in Table 2-1 along with the corresponding English examples.

VERB LEVEL	the verb and its inherent aspectual properties (e.g., states versus processes)	<i>angry</i>
PREDICATE LEVEL	the verb and its major syntactic arguments	<i>John got angry at a stranger.</i>
PROPOSITION LEVEL	the predicate in relation to the event frame (e.g., including temporal adverbs)	<i>John got angry at a stranger on the bus today.</i>
NARRATIVE LEVEL	the proposition in the context of a connected set of propositions	<i>John got angry at a stranger on the bus today, and then apologized.</i>

Table 2-1. Four Embedded Levels of Aspect. (Chung and Timberlake 1985:214)

When it is not necessary (or possible) to make a clear distinction between the VERB LEVEL and the PREDICATE LEVEL, these levels may be referred to together as the LEXICAL LEVEL (Chung and Timberlake 1985:214). Note that it is on the NARRATIVE LEVEL that discourse factors operate, which would place it in the domain of the PRAGMATIC COMPONENT according to the model in Figure 1-1. Since aspect encoding in Slavic tends to be most sensitive to factors on the PROPOSITION LEVEL (Timberlake 1982a; Chung and Timberlake 1985), those features relevant for aspect on this level will be discussed first.

2.1.1. PROPOSITION LEVEL. At the PROPOSITION LEVEL, it is typically the QUALITATIVE feature of CLOSURE, i.e. whether or not an event is bounded or limited within the EVENT FRAME, that is most relevant. Perfective verbs are used for events that are CLOSED, as in example (2.1), imperfective for events that are

OPEN, as in example (2.2). Since this opposition is most clearly demonstrable for past events, the examples cited are in the past. The interrelation of aspect and tense will be covered later in the section on tense (§ 2.2).

- (2.1) No kogato *dojde*^{P.Ao} denjat na zaminavaneto, tja njakak neočakvano *se razstroj*^{P.Ao}, *stana*^{P.Ao} mnogo nežna i go *celuna*^{P.Ao} prodâlžitelno zad uxoto... (PV:MSX:106)

But when the day of departure *came*^{P.Ao}, she somewhat unexpectedly *got confused*^{P.Ao}, *became*^{P.Ao} very affectionate and *kissed*^{P.Ao} him lingeringly behind the car...

- (2.2) Navân be stanalo^{P.Plpf} dosta xladno, vjatârât *mâkneše*^{lu.Im} nisko nad grada žâlti razpokâsani oblaci. (PV:B:10)

It had become^{P.Plpf} quite cold outside, the wind was *carrying*^{lu.Im} yellow, scattered clouds *in* low over the city.

For past events, then, CLOSURE corresponds to such notions as completed events and/or events with a result; while lack of CLOSURE to incomplete, ongoing events that generally have no result.

Also relevant at the PROPOSITION LEVEL are the QUANTITATIVE factors of iterativity and durativity, such that iterative (2.3a) or durative (2.4a) events are typically encoded as imperfective, while unique (2.3b) or punctual (2.4b) events are typically encoded as perfective.

- (2.3a) *Samo ot vreme na vreme* *√pogleždax*^{I.Im/} **poglednax*^{P.Ao} sâvsem diskretno časovnika si, kojto si trakaše vse taka akuratno, bez da se interesuva v kakva kompanija bjax popadnal. (PV:B:10)

Only from time to time would I glance^{I.Im} quite discretely at my watch, which ticked on as accurately as ever without caring about the kind of company I had fallen in with.

- (2.3b) *Tja obârna kâm sosedâ si i az* **pogleždax*^{I.Im/} *√poglednax*^{P.Ao} sâvsem diskretno časovnika si, kojto si trakaše vse taka

akuratno, bez da se interesuva v kakva kompanija bjax
popadnal. (PV:B:10*)

*She turned to her neighbor and I glanced^{P.Ao} quite discretely
at my watch, which ticked on as accurately as ever without
caring about the kind of company I had fallen in with.*

- (2.4a) Ljatoto *√stavaše^{I.Im/} *stana^{P.Ao} vse* po-gorešto.
(PV:B:74*)

The summer *kept getting^{I.Im}* hotter and hotter.

- (2.4b) Minalata sedmica ljatoto **stavaše^{I.Im/} √stana^{P.Ao}* po-gorešto.
(PV:B:74*)

Last week the summer *became^{P.Ao}* hotter.

As is apparent from these examples, however, there is a contrast not only between the imperfective and perfective aspect, but also the imperfect tense paradigm and the aorist tense paradigms. In fact, there are two distinct types of aspect oppositions in Bulgarian: the imperfective/perfective opposition and the imperfect/aorist opposition.⁹ The nature of the imperfect/aorist opposition as temporal or aspectual is controversial and has been addressed by many scholars. Since this opposition is manifested morphologically in tense paradigms, it will be dealt with in more detail below in the section on tense (§ 2.4.7.), but a few preliminary words should be said now. Aronson (1981:198-199) distinguishes the two oppositions by describing the imperfective/perfective opposition as SUPERORDINATED ASPECT, i.e. it occurs higher in the hierarchy than other features, and the imperfect/aorist opposition as SUBORDINATED ASPECT, i.e. it occurs lower in the hierarchy, namely subordinated to the past/non-past distinction. Elson (1981:250) distinguishes the two from a morphological point of view:

The entire inventory of formations [e.g., past and present formations - GEF] defines the conjugational unit. There are two aspectual oppositions: *aorist/imperfect*, which opposes the paradigms within formations, and *perfective/imperfective* (or *terminative/interminative* in

the terminology of Lunt 1952), which opposes conjugations (more properly, verbal stems, i.e. the morphological units representing narrated events).¹⁰

Although the imperfective/perfective opposition will remain the primary concern of this section, reference to the imperfect/aorist opposition will be made when appropriate since, as examples (2.3) - (2.4) make clear, both oppositions interact on the PROPOSITION LEVEL.

2.1.2. NARRATIVE LEVEL. The contrast in CLOSURE is seen most clearly on the NARRATIVE LEVEL where perfective past verbs are used to advance the action or provide foreground information and imperfective past verbs describe or supply background information (2.5).¹¹

- (2.5) Do xiža «Grânčar» *stignaxme*^{P.Ao} s džipka po njakakâv nevâobrazim pâť, izsečen kato s edra, nepoxvatna bradva napravo v skalite. *Izdigaxme*^{L.Im} se vse po-visoko i po-visoko v počti otvesnija planinski sklon; vâzduxât *stana*^{P.Ao} prozračno sin, ploski oblaci *visjaxa*^{L.Im} kato ploči nad gigantskata dolina, gotovi sjakaš vseki mig da ruxnat i da ja smažat. Pâtjat *stavaše*^{L.Im} vse po-tesen, tuk-tame *imaše*^{tu.Im} leki svličanija, taka če masivnite gumi na kolata edva ne *prištipyaxa*^{L.Im} râbovete na propastta. (PV:EM:309)

We *reached*^{P.Ao} the hostel "Grânčar" by jeep along this unbelievable road, cut directly into the cliffs as if with a large, clumsy ax. We *kept going up*^{L.Im} higher and higher into the almost sheer mountain slope, the air *turned*^{P.Ao} a transparent blue, flat clouds *hung*^{L.Im} like slabs over the giant valley, as if any moment ready to crash down and crush it. The road *was becoming*^{L.Im} more and more narrow, there *were*^{tu.Im} small landslides here and there, so that the massive tires barely *squeezed*^{L.Im} the edge of the precipice.

2.1.3. LEXICAL LEVEL. The imperfective/perfective aspect opposition is also relevant on the LEXICAL LEVEL (which consists of the VERB LEVEL and the

PREDICATE LEVEL combined), since it opposes verb stems which have LEXICAL MEANING. Moreover, at the LEXICAL LEVEL, there is a further distinction between DERIVED LEXICAL-ASPECTUAL CATEGORIES and INHERENT LEXICAL-ASPECTUAL CATEGORIES. DERIVED LEXICAL-ASPECTUAL CATEGORIES have to do with the process of deriving imperfective verb stems from perfective verb stems by suffixation, which is a regular morphological process in Bulgarian. INHERENT LEXICAL-ASPECTUAL CATEGORIES refer to the aspectual properties of a predicate which are attributable not to the morphological characteristics of the verb (i.e. morphologically expressed tense or aspect), but rather to the lexical meaning of the stem. The notion of INHERENT LEXICAL-ASPECTUAL CATEGORIES, or SITUATION TYPES as they are more often called, has been treated at length by Vendler 1967[57], Kenny 1963, Ryle 1949 and Dowty 1979. The classification of predicates according to their INHERENT LEXICAL-ASPECTUAL PROPERTIES has been proposed to account for the interrelation of SITUATION TYPES with aspect. Brecht 1985 deals with the form and function of Russian aspect which includes INHERENT LEXICAL-ASPECTUAL PROPERTIES/SITUATION TYPES), as well as morphologically encoded aspect.

Chung and Timberlake 1985 discuss aspect at both the LEXICAL and PROPOSITION LEVELS in terms of the same properties. For the sake of consistency, their framework will be employed. By combining the properties of CLOSURE ("an event comes to an end before some temporal point or within the confines of some temporal interval" (Chung and Timberlake 1985:217); thus past events marked for CLOSURE are viewed as completed) and of DYNAMICITY (whether an event or state of affairs remains constant over successive moments of time, or changes (Chung and Timberlake 1985:214)), it is possible to distinguish four types of predicates. A predicate that is not DYNAMIC is a STATE and typically describes properties, emotions, etc. An example would be the verb *to know*, which cannot be used in the progressive in English: **I am knowing the answer*. A predicate that is DYNAMIC is termed a PROCESS and describes activities such as reading, etc. Both STATES and PROCESSES can be further distinguished using the notion of CLOSURE. The effect of CLOSURE on a STATE is typically a CHANGE OF STATE, or the inception of a new state. The verb *to realize* reflects the transition from the state of not knowing to that of knowing. The effect of CLOSURE on a PROCESS is the opposition between an ATELIC (open) and a TELIC (closed) event, e.g., *John*

drew/was drawing vs. *John drew a circle*, respectively. Here the addition of a direct object in English imposes a telos (end point or completion) on the action. See Table 2-2.

NON-DYNAMIC		DYNAMIC	
OPEN	CLOSED	OPEN	CLOSED
STATE	CHANGE OF STATE	ATELIC PROCESS	TELIC PROCESS
pregnant	become pregnant	travel	travel from x to y
see	catch sight of	burn	burn up/out/through
remain	begin to remain	read	read the book
dead	die	look for	find

Table 2-2. Interaction of CLOSURE and DYNAMICITY. (Chung and Timberlake (1985:218))

These four types of predicates are comparable to those proposed by Vendler 1967[1957], i.e. STATES, ACTIVITIES, ACCOMPLISHMENTS (or CULMINATIONS (Brecht 1985)) and ACHIEVEMENTS. Figure 2-1 (on the following page) was taken by Brecht from a dissertation by Scarborough-Exarhous and is a graphic representation of these predicates or SITUATION TYPES. Typically (although not exclusively) in Bulgarian, ATELIC PROCESSES (or ACTIVITIES) and STATES are coded with the imperfective aspect, while TELIC PROCESSES (or CULMINATIONS) and CHANGES OF STATE (or ACHIEVEMENTS) are perfective. Examples of these predicate types in Bulgarian are given in Table 2-3 (on the following page).

What Table 2-3 also illustrates is that INHERENT LEXICAL-ASPECT (SITUATION TYPE) interacts with DERIVED LEXICAL-ASPECT. The CLOSED perfective forms above were telicized by affixing a prefix that both perfectivizes the OPEN imperfective verb and contributes additional meaning: in *napiša*^P, the notion 'to finish' and in *zagledam*^P, 'to begin'. The fact that INHERENT LEXICAL-ASPECT can interact with the DERIVED LEXICAL-ASPECT further complicates the aspect system of Bulgarian. There are, in effect, two distinct types of aspectual relationships here. To a certain extent, the imperfective/perfective opposition is so regular that it approaches a more inflectional than derivational relationship, and in

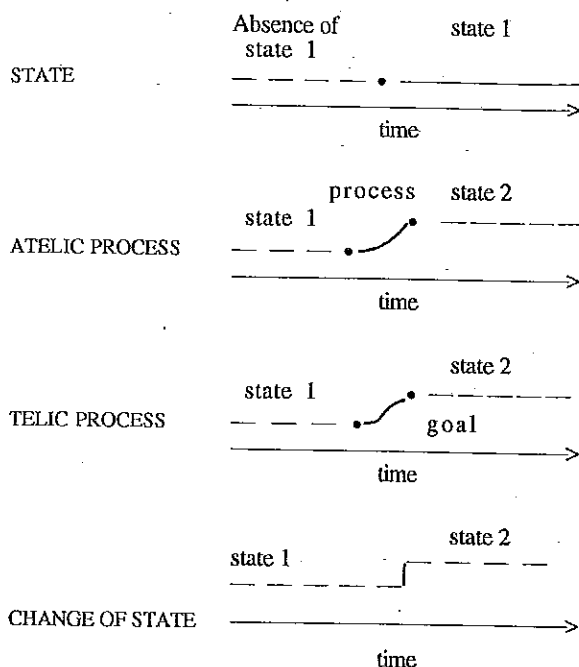


Figure 2-1. Graphic representation of SITUATION TYPES. (Brecht 1985:10)

STATE		CHANGE OF STATE	
<i>gledam</i> ^{lu.}	I look	<i>zagledam</i> ^{P.}	I begin to look
ATELIC PROCESS		TELIC PROCESS	
<i>piša</i> ^{lu.}	I write	<i>napiša</i> ^{P.}	I finish writing <i>x</i>

Table 2-3. SITUATION TYPES in Bulgarian.

fact Aronson (1977:9) compares this regularity of the process of deriving an imperfective verb from a prefixed perfective to that of the inflectional relationship between the singular and plural of nouns. For example, the only difference between *napiša*^{P.} 'to write *x*' and *napisvam*^{I.} 'to write *x*' is that the first is perfective and the second imperfective; in other words, they are distinguished only

by GRAMMATICAL MEANING, not by LEXICAL MEANING. Likewise, *zagledam^P* 'to begin to look, stare' has a derived imperfective *zagleždam^I*, and again there is no difference in meaning between the two stems other than that carried by the perfective/imperfective aspect opposition.

2.1.4. The Status of Unprefixed Imperfectives. There are, however, a number of unprefixed SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVE verbs whose standing with respect to the grammatical category of aspect is less clear. Consider the unpaired SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVE verb *piša^{Iu}* 'to write' from which the perfective *napiša^P* 'to finish writing x' is derived by prefixation. The prefix not only perfectivizes, i.e. telicizes, the verb stem, but also adds lexical meaning. The issue then is whether *napiša^P* is the perfective partner of *piša^{Iu}*, from which it was derived by means of prefixation, or of *napisvam^I*, which itself was derived from *napiša^P* by means of suffixation (which thereby atelicizes it). Note that there are two types of prefixation distinguished by the way in which the meaning of the verb, or its SITUATION TYPE, is modified: "sub-lexical prefixation involves a semantic field which focuses on a component of the situation, whereas lexical prefixation creates a quite different situation entirely." (Brecht MS:216) The *na*- prefix and *za*- prefix add sublexical meaning in that they focus on a component of the situation, namely the end and the beginning, respectively. While the issue of aspectual pairs has been regarded at times as trivial, a distinction between verb pairs such as *piša^{Iu}/napiša^P* and *napisvam^I/napiša^P* must be made in order to account for patterning of TAM categories in the contexts under discussion. For a more detailed discussion of the problem of aspect pairs in Bulgarian, see Aronson (1985:278-81).

This study will accept the arguments of Aronson 1985 and Maslov 1959 as the most persuasive and consider that the SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVES stand outside of the grammatical opposition usually called imperfective/perfective. This means that the SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVES are opposed to the prefixed perfectives with respect to a lexical opposition of *Aktionsarten*¹² as defined by Aronson 1985. That is, the prefixed perfective has additional semantic meaning and thus is opposed to the simplex imperfective in more than just the grammatical category of aspect. Moreover, Aronson has also proposed that there are two grammatical oppositions at work here: the opposition [+P] is found in the relationship between *piša^{Iu}/napiša^P* ([-P] and [+P], respectively), and the opposition [±I] found only in the relationship

between prefixed perfectives and their derived imperfectives, both of which are [+P]. Thus, *napisvām^I* is [+P] [+I] and *napiša^P* [+P] [-I]. Further complicating the situation is the evidence that Maslov (1963:71-2) presents to the effect that SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVES show a tendency to develop into bi-aspectual verbs (and some even into perfectives with their own derived imperfectives). Therefore, for our purposes here, SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVES will be considered to be unpaired for the grammatical opposition of aspect (and designated with ^{Iu}.) and thus to stand outside of this opposition. Likewise, prefixed perfectives that do not have a derived imperfective will be considered unpaired as well (and designated with ^{Pu}.) The claims to be made here concerning the interaction of the grammatical TAM categories are relevant only for aspectually paired verbs. As will be shown, the reason for this is that the roles of the TAM categories hinge crucially on the relationship between tense and aspect, such that if a verb is not paired for the perfective/imperfective opposition, then these factors will not affect its function, rather semantic factors will override them. Data with unpaired verbs are introduced only by way of contrast and are not included in text counts, unless so indicated. If a verb is listed in the 1976 *Bălgarski Tălkoven Rečnik* without an aspectual partner, it is taken to be unpaired aspectually. It should be noted, however, that regardless of whether a verb is aspectually paired or not, it is still crucial to take into account the SITUATION TYPE expressed by the verb stem, particularly whether it is a STATE or CHANGE OF STATE.

The standard works on Bulgarian aspect are Stankov 1980 and Maslov 1959. Problems of derivational aspect are discussed in Maslov 1963.

2.2. Tense. As stated above, there are nine tense paradigms in Bulgarian. By tense paradigms is meant the morphological formations as opposed to the semantic expression of the category of tense. The existence of this many paradigms raises some questions as to the relationship of tense morphology (typically viewed as a two-way distinction of past vs. non-past for Slavic) to the grammatical category of tense, particularly in a language where there are four "past tenses" (i.e. the imperfect, the aorist, the perfect and the pluperfect¹³). Moreover, it has been claimed that the future is not a tense, but rather a mood since it refers to unreal, and therefore non-indicative events (cf. for example, Janakiev 1962, Gołab 1964, Aronson 1967). Since such a division would have the effect of eliminating four

paradigms, this issue has been crucial for any analysis of the Bulgarian verbal system and will be discussed in the section on the future paradigms (§ 2.6.). Another controversy (already mentioned above and to be discussed in detail below) is whether the nature of the opposition between the aorist and the imperfect is aspectual or temporal. The purpose of this section, however, is not to describe the verbal system by establishing invariant meanings for these paradigms, but rather to provide the reader with a working knowledge of the Bulgarian verbal system in order to follow the argumentation in subsequent chapters. The reader will need to have an idea of what tense paradigms are morphologically encoded, what their primary meanings are and, to a certain extent, how they are used. To this end, each section provides a DEFINITION (i.e. the meaning at the word level without regard to its relationship to other forms that may exist in the system) for the particular tense paradigm under discussion and its more frequent FUNCTION(S) (i.e. the meaning in a context) in the language. Readers interested in a systemic analysis of the Bulgarian verbal system *qua* system are referred to Aronson 1967 (for a structuralist, Jakobsonian treatment of the indicative), Stankov 1969 (for a traditional Bulgarian treatment), Lindstedt 1985 (for a Reichenbachian treatment which includes modifications by Comrie 1985) or Chvany 1988 (where a semiotic decomposition of the Bulgarian verbal system into four sets of morphological oppositions is proposed). A modification of the three-point system proposed by Reichenbach 1947 will be used here, in conjunction with the typological framework of Chung and Timberlake 1985. The discussion of morphological formation is based on Stojanov 1980 and the basic uses of the tense forms are taken from Stojanov 1980 and Maslov 1981.

2.2.1. Reichenbach. Reichenbach (1947:287-298) describes tense systems in terms of three points: the point of the event (E), the point of reference (R) and the point of speech (S). Tenses are analyzed in terms of how these points relate to each other in time (represented by a line from left to right). As applied to the English tense system, the result is summarized in Figure 2-2 (on the following page).

The progressive (or extended) tenses, as well as a secondary use of the present perfect and repetition, were depicted by Reichenbach as a segment of line rather than a point. The simple past extended, for example, would be represented by a diagram similar to that in Figure 2-3 (on the following page).

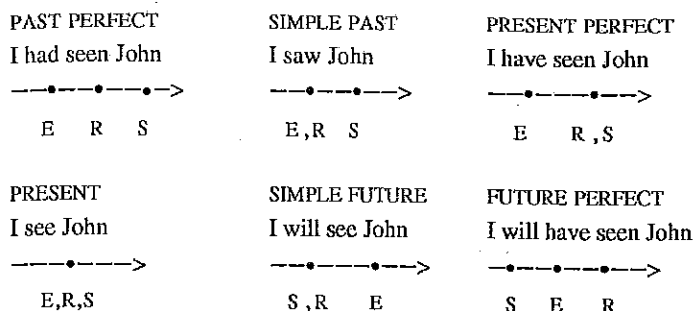


Figure 2-2. Reichenbachian analysis of English Simple and Perfect Tenses.

SIMPLE PAST, EXTENDED

I was seeing John

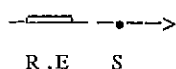


Figure 2-3. Reichenbachian analysis of the English Past Progressive Tense.

I agree with Lindstedt (1985:32), who criticizes Reichenbach's treatment of the progressive. Nevertheless, since the progressive in English is regarded by many linguists as an aspect rather than a tense, dealing as it does with the event's TEMPORAL DIMENSION rather than its location on the time line, this is not necessarily a serious flaw in Reichenbach's analysis. Some revision or expansion of his theory of tense would be necessary, if aspect were to be incorporated. Indeed, several attempts have been made to accommodate Reichenbach's analysis to include aspect (see, for example, Timberlake 1985b and Merrill 1985), but it is unclear whether it is necessary, or even desirable to do so. If the progressive is considered an aspectual category, it falls outside the realm of Reichenbach's classification. A more serious shortcoming of this analysis, however, is that while it can accommodate a future-in-past, a diagram of the future-perfect-in-past, requires more than one reference point (Lindstedt 1985:33-34). As Comrie's 1985 adaptation of Reichenbach's system includes the possibility of more than one reference point, it can accommodate the future-perfect-in-past, namely as E before R₁ after R₂ before S. Compare Figure 2-4 with Figure 2-5.

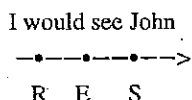


Figure 2-4. Reichenbachian Analysis of English Future-in-Past.

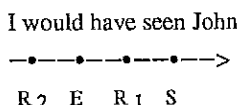


Figure 2-5. Reichenbachian Analysis of Future-Perfect-in-Past.

Comrie raises two other questions with regard to Reichenbach's analysis, namely, the issue of absolute versus relative tense, and the fact that not all verbs explicitly express an R. Comrie's (1985:122-130) notation, which exemplifies this different approach, makes the following distinctions listed in Table 2-4.

ABSOLUTE TENSE (reference point for the location of a situation in time is assumed to be the present moment, unless an adverbial specifies a different R)	
present	E simul S(=R) ¹⁴
past	E before S(=R)
future	E after S(=R)
RELATIVE TENSE (reference point for the location of a situation is some point in time given by the context, not necessarily the present moment, e.g, English and Russian participles and Russian gerunds ¹⁵ ;	
relative present	E simul R ¹⁶
relative past	E before R
relative future	E after R
ABSOLUTE-RELATIVE TENSE (reference point is before or after the present moment and the situation is located before or after that reference point)	
pluperfect	E before R before S
future perfect	S before R after E
future-in-past	E after R before S
future-perfect-in-the-past	E before R ₁ after R ₂ before S

Table 2-4. Comrie's Tense Distinctions.

There are certain problems, however, with Comrie's adaptation. One is that Comrie (1985:32; 1976:52-65) regards the perfect to be an aspect, rather than a tense, and thus does not provide a notation for it. Since the perfect paradigm will be treated as a tense here, the appropriate notation would be **E BEFORE R SIMULS** (Lindstedt 1985:84). Another problem is that relative tense, which Comrie argues eliminates reference to the S, is perhaps better classified as **TAXIS** (cf. also Jakobson 1971[1957], Brecht MS, and Penčev 1985). **TAXIS** is defined by Brecht (MS:30), who uses the notation **ST** for the notion of **SPEECH TIME**, **ET** for **EVENT TIME**, **RT** for **REFERENCE TIME** (which will be used here), as:

the formal signaling of a relationship between two propositions, without reference to the context-of-utterance [...]. The present perfect, past perfect and future perfect combine within themselves the tactic function relating **ET** and **RT** with the tense function relating **RT** and **ST**.

Chvany 1988 defines **TAXIS** as a deictic category that expresses [+DEIXIS TO E^N] where E^N refers to the narrated event.¹⁷ See Brecht 1975 for a discussion of relative tense in embedded structures in Russian, and Smith 1981 for a discussion of temporal specification in embedded structures in English.

Yet another problem with Comrie's analysis is that he claims the temporal specification of a sentence does not involve the relation of all three points to one another. He proposes then that in the specification of any tense involving **ST**, **ET** and **RT**, the **RT** is specified relative to **ST**, and the **ET** is then specified relative to **RT**, while no direct temporal relation is allowed between **ST** and **ET**. Finally, Comrie proposes that, contrary to Reichenbach's assumption, there exist instances where at times the temporal specification of a sentence requires more than one **RT** or possibly none at all.

While a simple tense paradigm does morphologically encode only **ET** and **ST**, as Comrie correctly points out, the temporal specification of an utterance, however, still requires an **RT**, and the **RT** will be assumed here to be **ST**, unless otherwise specified. Typically, the **RT** will be provided by lexical means, that is, with a temporal adverbial. Smith (1981:213) explains this by claiming that "[t]he very basic and general notions of past, present, and future are meaningful only in terms of a particular orientation or anchor". Thus, example (2.6) is felt to be

somehow incomplete and requires more specification, namely, an RT, which is provided in (2.6a) by the temporal adverbial 'yesterday'.

(2.6) I bought some bread.

(2.6a) I bought some bread yesterday.

This is explicable because information about ES is required.

If the interpretation of a sentence containing a shifter [= deictic element] requires information about ES or PS, such a sentence should elicit a WH-question in the absence of adequate contextual information. *I visited Cveta/Xodix u Cveta* elicits *When?/Koga?*, illustrating the shifterhood of the deictic tenses. (Chvany 1988:75)

Thus the RT can be inferred from the larger context, that is, beyond the sentence by appealing to the PRAGMATIC COMPONENT, that component which contains discourse and extra-linguistic information. See (2.6b) where the RT of the second sentence is inferred from the first.

(2.6b) I went to the store yesterday. I bought some bread.

There are, however, tense paradigms that do morphologically encode an RT, such as the present perfect in English (ET BEFORE RT SIMUL ST). Because the RT is already specified (here the moment of utterance), (2.6d) needs no further specification.

(2.66d) I have bought some bread.

2.2.2. The Role of RT in the Temporal Specification of the Utterance. As stated above, the notion of RT is crucial for the temporal specification of an utterance, but not for the grammatical meaning morphologically encoded in a tense paradigm. In the following discussion of the Bulgarian tense paradigms, Comrie's style of notation for absolute (called here simple tenses) and absolute-relative (here tactic) tenses will be used, because of its visual elegance, but Brecht's abbreviations of ET, RT, ST will be preferred. Comrie's argument for relative tenses, i.e. forms which encode the ET/RT relation, but not the ET/ST

relation, is not subscribed to, since the behavior of these forms can be accounted for more adequately by Smith's (1981:221) Sharing and Orientation Principles of interpretation that account for the temporal dependencies that occur in English. The Sharing Principle allows an embedded sentence to share a time specified in its matrix sentence; that is, a time in the first sentence functions as the reference time for the second sentence. See example (2.7). According to the Orientation Principle, a time in the first sentence functions as the orientation time for the second sentence. See example (2.8).

- (2.7) They said last Wednesday that the minister was resigning in three weeks. (Smith 1981)
- (2.8) The minister will announce at midnight that he burned the documents. (Smith 1981)

What Brecht (MS:119) argues is that by "discriminating between the cluster of notions constituting the temporal UV [UTTERANCE VALUE - GEF] and the subset of these which is grammaticalized by the tense forms themselves or by SAR's [i.e. semantic amalgamation rules which correspond in this study to the term INFERENCING STRATEGIES - GEF]", "one can maintain the Reichenbachian system as a fact of UV, while arguing against its direct implementation by means of a specific tense form or set of forms." Brecht's argument will be accepted as a basic tenet of this study. While Comrie's style of notation will be used for describing the morphologically encoded tense forms of Bulgarian (that is, RT is specified only when explicitly coded in the morphology), it is Brecht's interpretation of the Reichenbachian three-point system that will be adhered to as the mechanism for determining temporal reference in an utterance (that is, of a sentence in its context). For this reason, the discussion of each tense paradigm is broken down into DEFINITION (the morphologically encoded information) and FUNCTION (use of the form in a sentence in context).

The following discussion will limit itself to the formation of tense paradigms, their DEFINITION and FUNCTION in independent (i.e. main clause) constructions, since subordinate constructions pose particular problems which are the focus of subsequent chapters.

2.3. The Present Tense

2.3.1. The Present Tense Paradigm. The present tense paradigm in Bulgarian is synthetic and is formed by the concatenation of **stem + vowel + person/number endings**. The shape of the vowel is dependent upon the verb's conjugation type. Although the present is most frequently formed from imperfective verbs, perfective present tense forms do occur.

As a rule, only the forms of the verb 'to write' *napisvam^I/napiša^P*, which belong to the third and first conjugations, respectively, and, when relevant, the forms of the **SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVE** *piša^{Iu}*, a first conjugation verb, will be given. For the present tense, however, it will be useful to provide examples of all three conjugation types: the 1st conjugation verb *piša^{Iu}* 'to write' with its prefixed forms *napisvam^I/napiša^P*; the 2nd conjugation verb *stoja^{Iu}* 'to stand' with its prefixed forms *prestojavam^I/prestoja^P*, and the 3rd conjugation verb *gledam^{Iu}* 'to look' with its prefixed forms *pregleždam^I/pregledam^P*. Note that the derived imperfective forms all belong to the third conjugation.

	<i>piša^{Iu}</i>	<i>napisvam^I</i>	<i>napiša^P</i>
1 sg.	<i>piša</i>	<i>napisvam</i>	<i>napiša</i>
2 sg.	<i>pišeš</i>	<i>napisvaš</i>	<i>napišeš</i>
3 sg.	<i>piše</i>	<i>napisva</i>	<i>napiše</i>
1 pl.	<i>pišem</i>	<i>napisvame</i>	<i>napišem</i>
2 pl.	<i>pišete</i>	<i>napisvate</i>	<i>napišete</i>
3 pl.	<i>pišat</i>	<i>napisvat</i>	<i>napišat</i>
	<i>stoja^{Iu}</i>	<i>prestojavam^I</i>	<i>prestoja^P</i>
1 sg.	<i>stoja</i>	<i>prestojavam</i>	<i>prestoja</i>
2 sg.	<i>stoiš</i>	<i>prestojavaš</i>	<i>prestoiš</i>
3 sg.	<i>stoi</i>	<i>prestojava</i>	<i>prestoi</i>
1 pl.	<i>stoim</i>	<i>prestojavame</i>	<i>prestoim</i>
2 pl.	<i>stoite</i>	<i>prestojavate</i>	<i>prestoite</i>
3 pl.	<i>stojat</i>	<i>prestojavat</i>	<i>prestojat</i>

	<i>gledam^{lu}</i>	<i>pregleždam^l</i>	<i>pregledam^P</i>
1 sg.	<i>gledam</i>	<i>pregleždam</i>	<i>pregledam</i>
2 sg.	<i>gledaš</i>	<i>pregleždaš</i>	<i>pregledaš</i>
3 sg.	<i>gleda</i>	<i>pregležda</i>	<i>pregleda</i>
1 pl.	<i>gledame</i>	<i>pregleždame</i>	<i>pregledame</i>
2 pl.	<i>gledate</i>	<i>pregleždete</i>	<i>pregledate</i>
3 pl.	<i>gledat</i>	<i>pregleždat</i>	<i>pregledat</i>

Table 2-5. Present Tense Paradigms.

2.3.2. Present Tense: DEFINITION and FUNCTION. The present tense paradigm can be DEFINED as expressing the temporal relation **E SIMUL S.**¹⁸ The present tense form in Bulgarian, as in English, is typically used for the expression of a concrete action which takes place at the moment of speech (see example (2.9)).

- (2.9) -- *Xaresva^{l.Pr}* li vi? - *zapiťax az šegovito.*
 -- *Mnogo!* -- *otvárna tja spontanño.*
 -- *A znaete^{lu.Pr}* li kak *se kazva^{l.Pr}*?
 -- *Znam^{lu.Pr}!* -- *otvárna tja prostičko.* -- *Nariča^{l.Pr} se*
 "Kastilski nošti". (PV:B:17)

"Do you *like^{lu.Pr}* it?" I asked jokingly.

"A lot!" she answered spontaneously.

"And do you *know^{lu.Pr}* what it's *called^{l.Pr}*?"

"I *do^{lu.Pr}*!" she answered ingenuously. "It's *called^{l.Pr}*
 'Castillian Nights'."

The present tense may also be used to express a repeated, often habitual and potential, action (2.10), that is, an action which is true at the interval **ST** but not identical with it, or a constant, i.e. atemporal, action (2.11).

- (2.10) I vse po-često noštem *započva^{l.Pr}* da me zastiga^{Da} samotata,
 tova naj-čuždo i naj-neponjatno za men čuvstvo v dosegašnja
 mi život. (PV:B:7)

And more and more often at night loneliness *is beginning^{L.Pr}* to catch up with me, that feeling most foreign and least understandable to me in my life so far.

- (2.11) Tundža *se vliva^{L.Pr}* v Marica. (Maslov 1981:245)

The Tundža [river] *flows^{L.Pr}* into the Marica.

The present tense can also be used for past events, i.e. the "historical present" (2.12), and for future events (2.13).¹⁹

- (2.12) Tri godini sled Târnovskoto carstvo *pada^{L.Pr}* Vidinskoto. (B. Tenev in Maslov 1981:245)

Three years after the Târnovo [kingdom] the Vidin kingdom *falls^{L.Pr}*.

- (2.13) V petâk *zanimavam^{L.Pr}* za Sofija. (Maslov 1981:246)

On Friday I *am leaving^{L.Pr}* for Sofia.

2.3.3. Aspect in Present Tense Forms. Typically, the present tense forms in independent (main clause) constructions are imperfective. The occurrence of perfective present forms is generally restricted to subordinate constructions (if not overtly subordinate, then at least understood to be (Maslov 1959)). Exceptions to this are the "historical present", example (2.12) above, and the iterative present, example (2.15) below.

- (2.14) A orelât vse se *vieše^{Iu.Im}*. *Pljuštne^{P.Pr}* dvaž-triž krile, pa pak *gi prostre^{P.Pr}* nepodvižni i čemi vâv vâzduxa. (I.V. in Maslov 1981:247)

And the eagle kept hovering. He *flaps^{P.Pr}* his wings two-three times, and then again *stretches^{P.Pr}* them out motionless and black in the air.

- (2.15) Električestvo! *Natisneš^{P.Pr}* samo едно бутонче i gotovo.
(S.D. in Maslov 1981:247)

Electricity! You *push^{P.Pr}* only one button and there you are.
(translation from Aronson 1977:23)

2.4. The Simple Past: Aorist and Imperfect.

2.4.1. Simple Past Paradigms. Both the aorist and imperfect are synthetic paradigms and formed by the concatenation of the **aorist and present stem**, respectively, + **vowel** + **person/number endings** which are identical, except in the 2nd and 3rd person singular. While both may be formed from either imperfective and perfective verbs, only perfective aorist [P.Ao] and imperfective imperfect [I.Im] are provided in Table 2-6.

	AORIST	IMPERFECT
	<i>napiša^{P.}</i>	<i>napisvam^{I.}</i>
1 sg.	<i>napisax</i>	<i>napisvax</i>
2 sg.	<i>napisa</i>	<i>napisvaše</i>
3 sg.	<i>napisa</i>	<i>napisvaše</i>
1 pl.	<i>napisaxme</i>	<i>napisvaxme</i>
2 pl.	<i>napisaxte</i>	<i>napisvaxte</i>
3 pl.	<i>napisaxa</i>	<i>napisvaxa</i>

Table 2-6. Perfective Aorist and Imperfective Imperfect Paradigms.

2.4.2. DEFINITION and FUNCTION of Simple Past. Both the aorist and imperfect may be DEFINED as denoting past events (**E BEFORE S**). According to Stojanov, the difference between the two is that the aorist denotes an event

...koeto se e vâršilo i e priključilo v opredelen period ot vreme za govoreštija (resp. pišeštija) predi moment na govoreneto. (Stojanov 1980:380)

...which has taken place and been completed in a definite period of time for the speaker (or writer) before the moment of speech.

while the imperfect denotes an event

...koeto se e vâršilo predi momenta na govoreneto, no ne e bilo zavâršeno v minalija opredelen moment, kâm kojto se otnasja. Sledovatelno minalo nesvâršeno vreme [...] e sâs složna orientacija. Osven kâm glavniija orientacionen moment (moment na govoreneto) to e orientirano i kâm drug, minal moment, s kojto se e izvâršvalo ednovremenno. (Stojanov 1980:385)

...which has taken place before the moment of speech, but has not been completed at the definite past moment to which it relates. Therefore the past imperfect tense [...] has a complex orientation. Besides the main moment of orientation (the moment of speech) it is oriented to another, past moment, with which it takes place simultaneously.

These definitions suggest that the aorist is best characterized without any reference point (**E BEFORE S**), and the imperfect with a reference point in the past (**E SIMUL R BEFORE S**).

Other scholars, however, take issue with these definitions and propose aspectual ones for the aorist and imperfect which focus on the aorist as denoting a completed, or bounded event and the imperfect as an event that is not completed, or unbounded. Alternatively, the imperfect may be said to be durative, while the aorist is not. Maslov, for example, defines the aorist aspectually as denoting a past event

...bez rassmotrenija ètogo dejstvija v samom processe ego protekanija i bez učeta ego otnošenija k položeniju del v moment reči (Maslov 1981:248)

...without consideration of that event in the actual process of its taking place and without taking into account its relationship to the state of affairs at the moment of speech.

and the imperfect as denoting a past event

...v processe ego protekanija ili v ego povtorenii, bez ukazanija vremeni prekraščenija ètogo dejstvija ili ego otnošenija k položeniju del v moment reči. (Maslov 1981:251).

...in the process of its taking place or in its repetition, without an indication of the time of completion of that action or its relationship to the state of affairs at the moment of speech.

Lindstedt (1985:81) also defines the aorist aspectually, but positively as denoting "essentially **bounded** situations (events), each with its beginning and end." The imperfect is then used for **unbounded** events (Lindstedt 1985:79). The properties implied by the term boundedness will be considered consistent with those of the term CLOSURE which is used here.

The controversy concerning the imperfect/aorist opposition as aspectual versus temporal has to do with whether or not this opposition is viewed in terms of its meaning within the system, that is, not as paradigm, but as category. The argument is not so much about which definition is correct, but rather which is more correct, that is, which captures the primary elements of the opposition.²⁰ Before discussing this controversy in more detail, it would be useful to examine the main functions of the aorist and imperfect tenses.

2.4.3. Function of the Perfective Aorist. Examples (2.16) and (2.17) illustrate the typical use of the aorist in narration.

- (2.16) *V toja mig navaljakât pri vratata se raztika^{P.Ao} i dade^{P.Ao} pâť na dvama zakâsneli posetiteli, koito sednaxa^{P.Ao} tîxo na svobodnite stolove. Togava Rada pogledna^{P.Ao} i gi vidja^{P.Ao}. Edinijat, po-starijat, beše nastojateljat — čorbadži Mičo, a drugijat — Kiriak Stefčov. Nevolna tânka blednost pokri^{P.Ao} liceto ò. No tja se postara^{P.Ao} da ne vižda toja neprijaten čovek, kojto ja smuštavaše^{I.Im} i plašeše^{Iu.Im}. (I.V. in Stojanov 1980:380)*

At that moment the snowdrift at the door was pushed^{P.Ao} aside and gave^{P.Ao} way to two late visitors who sat^{P.Ao} down quietly in the empty chairs. Then Rada glanced^{P.Ao} up and

saw^{P.Ao} them. One, the elder, was the warden, the rich man Mičo, and the other - Kiriak Steščov. An involuntary, delicate paleness *suffused*^{P.Ao} her face. But she *tried*^{P.Ao} not to see that unpleasant person who disturbed^{I.Im} and frightened^{Iu.Im} her.

Note that in (2.16) the adverbial *v toja mig* 'at that moment' localizes the event on the time axis which is consistent semantically with the use of the aorist²¹ and the adverbial *togava* 'then, next' indicates a sequential action, also consistent with the aorist. The two actions denoted by imperfect forms at the end of the passage refer to an ongoing state of affairs.

- (2.17) Djado Mosko *poe*^{P.Ao} pismoto, *pročete*^{P.Ao} go otvân, *poprevârtja*^{P.Ao} go između prâstite si, no ne go *otvori*^{P.Ao}, a go *sgâna*^{P.Ao} i go *turi*^{P.Ao} v džoba na žiletkata si. Posle *sedna*^{P.Ao} i *započna*^{P.Ao} da si pravi cigara. (I.I. in Stojanov 1980:380)

Uncle Mosko *took*^{P.Ao} the letter, *read*^{P.Ao} the outside, *turned*^{P.Ao} it over in his hands, but *did not open*^{P.Ao} it, rather he *folded*^{P.Ao} it and *put*^{P.Ao} it in his vest pocket. Then he *sat down*^{P.Ao} and *began*^{P.Ao} to roll himself a cigarette.

As in the previous example, the events in this passage are sequential and serve as foregrounding events that advance the plot line of the story.

An extremely rare use of the aorist, which is contextually determined, is for future actions that are certain to take place (2.18). A similar phenomenon is found in English with the use of present states as a result of past actions to reflect the certainty of future events.

- (2.18) *Otidoxme*^{P.Ao} si, bratko, *izgorjaxme*^{P.Ao} si! -- šepnexa^{I.Im} si sega naj-razpalenite po-predi sâzakljanici. (I.V. in Maslov 1981:249)

"We're dead^{P.Ao}, brother, we're lost^{P.Ao}! [lit. we died, we got lost]" now whispered the previously most fanatical conspirators.

2.4.4. Function of the Imperfective Aorist. While the aorist is semantically most compatible with perfective stems, imperfective aorist forms are found, most typically with unpaired SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVES (that is, of the *piša^{lu}* type, see the discussion above), in what is often called the general-factive meaning (or *konstatacija fakta*, which is semantically the most UNMARKED or general meaning of a predication). In this use, the event is "named" without reference to the aspectual situation. Example (2.19) has an unpaired SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVE in this use, and (2.20) a paired imperfective.

- (2.19) Toj si znaeše^{lu.Im} ednata: Napadnat bjax — *branix^{lu.Ao} se*.
(M.G. in Maslov 1981:249)

He knew only one thing: I was attacked — I *defended^{lu.Ao}* myself.

- (2.20) Što tāj se zabavi^{P.Ao}?... Marijka kāsno li te nameri^{P.Ao}? --
Koja Marijka? -- Kak? Ne *namira^{l.Ao}* li te tja? (Maslov 1981:249)

"Why have you come^{P.Ao} so late? [lit. are you late]... Did Marijka find^{P.Ao} you late?"

"What Marijka?"

"What? *Didn't* she find^{l.Ao} you?"

An imperfective aorist is also used when a repeated event (2.21) or durative event ((2.22) and (2.23)) is bounded. Because the event has an inherent limit set by adverbial expressions of time (*na njakolko pâti* 'several times within a given time period' in (2.21), *do objad* 'until dinner' in (2.22) and *dva dni* 'for two days' in (2.23)), the imperfect is not possible. If the adverbials expressing limit are omitted, then the imperfect becomes possible ((2.21a) and (2.22a)).

- (2.21) *Na nekoliko pātī ?ležeše^{lu.Im/√leža^{lu.Ao}}*, ostanal bez sili, stjagan vse poveče v nadebeljavaštata ledena riznica. Čak kogato nasâbereše energija, trâgvaše otnovo, kâde prav, kâde po kolene. (GA:IU:287)

Several times he lay^{lu.Ao} there, left without strength, bound ever increasingly in the thickening chainmail of ice. Only when he gathered up his strength, would he set out anew, first upright, then on his knees.

- (2.21a) *√Ležeše^{lu.Im/†Leža^{lu.Ao}}*, ostanal bez sili, stjagan vse poveče v nadebeljavaštata ledena riznica. Čak kogato nasâbereše energija, trâgvaše otnovo, kâde prav, kâde po kolene. (GA:IU:287*)

He lay^{lu.Ao} there, left without strength, bound ever increasingly in the thickening chainmail of ice. Only when he gathered up his strength, would he set out anew, first upright, then on his knees.

- (2.22) *††Ležeše^{lu.Im/√Leža^{lu.Ao}}* tâj *do objad* s prazen stomax i prazna glava. Krocše njakakvi otmâštenija, koito bârzo se razpiljavaxa. (PV:MSX:107)

He lay^{lu.Ao} there until dinnertime, with an empty stomach and empty head. He made several plans for revenge, which quickly fell apart.

- (2.22a) *√Ležeše^{lu.Im/†Leža^{lu.Ao}}* tâj s prazen stomax i prazna glava. Krocše njakakvi otmâštenija, koito bârzo se razpiljavaxa. (PV:MSX:107*)

He lay^{lu.Ao} there, with an empty stomach and empty head. He made several plans for revenge, which quickly fell apart.

- (2.23) *Raboteše^{Iu.Im}/~*Raboti*^{Iu.Ao} tãj dva dni, bez da vdigne lice
ot masata. Čertaeše^{Iu.Im}, režeše^{Iu.Im}, lepeše^{Iu.Im}.
(PV:MSX:113)

He *worked*^{Iu.Ao} this way for two days, without lifting his face
from the table. He drew^{Iu.Im}, he cut^{Iu.Im}, he glued^{Iu.Im}.

Example (2.24) illustrates the use of an aorist formed from an unpaired
SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVE stem used to denote an event of some duration, hence
imperfective, but with an inherent limit, hence aorist. The aorist here is consistent
with the function of sequential action; note the adverbial *posle* 'then, next'. In this
context the imperfect is not an option.

- (2.24) Toj *ležeše^{Iu.Im}/~*leža*^{Iu.Ao} ošte njakolko minuti, kato se
boreše^{Iu.Im} sãs sebe si, *posle* stana^{P.Ao} i tixičko se
promâkna^{P.Ao} do legloto ì. (PV:NsBK:16)

He *lay*^{Iu.Ao} for a few more minutes as he struggled^{I.Im} with
himself, then he got up^{P.Ao} and quietly crept^{P.Ao} over to her
bed.

2.4.5. Function of the Imperfective Imperfect. Example (2.25)
illustrates a typical use of the imperfect tense for ongoing background events.

- (2.25) Zazorjavaše^{I.Im} se tixo — s omajata na poslednata utrinna
drjamka. Kato će li majčina rãka *pogalvaše*^{I.Im} i
probuždaše^{I.Im} vsičko živo. (A.Str. in Stojanov 1980:385)

Dawn was *breaking*^{I.Im} quietly — with all the charm of the last
slumber of the morning. As if a mother's hand were
caressing^{I.Im} and *waking*^{I.Im} every living thing.

The imperfect is also used for past durative or iterative events. In example
(2.26), the imperfect characterizes events that are ongoing and simultaneous with
the perfective aorist (*se obârna*^{P.Ao} 'I turned').

- (2.26) Kato se obârnax^{P.Ao}, tja stoeše^{lu.Im} s grâb kâm men i gledaše^{lu.Im} kâm nebeto tâj, sjakaš *se* gotveše^{lu.Im} da poleti^{Da} kâm nego. Tova useštane beše mnogo silno, struvaše^{lu.Im} mi *se*, če vjatârât vseki mig šte ja otvee^{P.F} [...] (PV:B:12-13)

As I turned, she *was standing*^{lu.Im} with her back to me and *looking*^{lu.Im} at the sky as if *preparing*^{lu.Im} to fly up to it. This feeling was very strong, it *seemed*^{lu.Im} to me that any moment the wind would blow her away. [...]

In (2.27), imperfect is used for iterative events.

- (2.27) Tâj ili inače, otkakto Doroteja dojde^{P.Ao} da živee^{Da} u doma, az sjakaš pozabravix^{P.Ao}, če ima i drugi xora po sveta. Moite griži kâm deteto i dosega ne bjaxa na visota. Minavax^{l.Im} *dva-tri pâti mesečno* prez starata si kvartira, pogalvax^{l.Im} go razsejano po glavata, davax^{l.Im} mu ome knalija ot njakolko dni v džoba mi šokolad. I to ne mi obrâštaše^{l.Im} nikakvo osobeno vnimanie, često *se* opitvaše^{l.Im} da me zastrelja^{Da} s dârvenata si puška. (PV:B:39)

One way or the other, since Dorothy came to live with me, it was as if I forgot that there were other people in the world. My attentions toward the child even up to now had not been as they should. *Two-three times a month I would go*^{l.Im} through my old apartment, *pat*^{l.Im} him absently on the head, *give*^{l.Im} him chocolate grown soft from spending several days in my pocket. And he *wouldn't pay*^{l.Im} me any particular attention, he *would often try*^{l.Im} to shoot me with his wooden gun.

Note that only an imperfect is acceptable in iterative contexts which have OPEN (unbounded) iteration. Compare example (2.28a) with an OPEN interval of iteration (*često* 'often') to (2.28b) with a CLOSED (bounded) interval of iteration (*na njakolko pâti* 'a few times (within a given period)'), where the imperfective aorist is strongly preferred.

- (28a) Minalata godina toj često \sqrt{se} napivaše^{I.Im/} * se napiva^{I.Ao}.
(in Ivančev 1971:133)

Last year he *often* got drunk^{I.Im}.

- (2.28b) Minalata sedmica na njakolko pâti toj ? se napivaše^{I.Im/}
 \sqrt{se} napiva^{I.Ao}. (in Ivančev 1971:133)²²

Last week he *got* drunk^{I.Ao} *a few times*.

2.4.6. Function of the Perfective Imperfect. The perfective imperfect does not occur in independent constructions and will therefore be discussed in the subsequent chapters on subordinate constructions.

2.4.7. Imperfect/Aorist Opposition: Aspectual or Temporal Distinction? Before a detailed treatment of TAM categories in subordinate clauses can be attempted, it is necessary to examine the aorist/imperfect opposition as an opposition of categories, rather than as paradigms. How to characterize the aorist and the imperfect according to a three-point system of temporal specification is only one problem presented by the classification of this opposition. Depending upon the operating theory, this opposition can be seen as either an aspectual or temporal one. Essentially, the issue can be reduced to one of whether the basic meaning of the imperfect (generally assumed to be the marked member of the opposition) is that of durativity (an aspectual distinction) or of coordination (a temporal distinction).²³ Typically, non-Bulgarian scholars (e.g., Aronson 1967, 1977, 1985; Friedman 1977; Maslov 1954, 1959) argue that the distinction is aspectual, based on the claim that the basic meaning of the imperfect is durative (implying non-completed), while the aorist is non-durative (implying completed).²⁴ Indeed, there is ample justification for such a claim. Most terms used to describe this opposition are aspectual (e.g., bounded vs. unbounded, completed in the past vs. non-completed). Another significant argument in favor of an aspectual distinction is that in narrative passages the aorist is used for foregrounded actions and the imperfect for backgrounded actions. The aorist is typically punctual (i.e. bounded), while the imperfect is durative, (i.e. unbounded), a feature which frequently is held to subsume the iterative meaning.

Most Bulgarian scholars, as exemplified by Stankov (1967:127; 1969:97), Andrejčin (1978[1944]:233), and the Russian scholar Bunina (1970:91), support the view that this opposition is temporal, based on the interpretation of the imperfect as a coordinated tense, i.e. the imperfect is always coordinated with another event in the past, while the aorist is not. A strong argument in favor of the imperfect as coordinative rather than durative is that aorist forms may be found in both iterative and durative contexts (see examples (2.21) - (2.24), above). At the same time, the fact that iterative and durative meanings are often expressed by an aorist formed from imperfective verb stems might be taken to undermine this stand. Indeed, the fact that both the imperfect and aorist may be formed from either aspect has frequently been cited as a serious counterargument to the claim that the imperfect/aorist opposition is an aspectual one. How to account for two aspectual oppositions in the Bulgarian verb presents something of a challenge. There have been several attempts to do so, for example, in a formal structuralist approach (Aronson 1985) and in terms of the notion of "aspectual nesting" (Lindstedt 1985).

Aronson (1985:275) distinguishes between the imperfective/perfective grammatical opposition and the imperfect/aorist opposition by stating that the former is SUPERORDINATED to the feature [+PAST], while the latter is SUBORDINATED to it.²⁵ As discussed above, not all verbs participate in the imperfective/perfective aspect opposition, but (with the exception of the verb 'to be') all verbs participate in the imperfect/aorist opposition. According to Lindstedt (1985:169-210), the aspectual meaning of a verb form is expressed on more than one layer of sentence structure, hence the notion of "aspectual nesting".²⁶ The layers he proposes are listed in Table 2-7,

1. the inherent aspectual character of the verb
2. the perfective vs. imperfective aspect of the stem
3. the aorist/imperfect/present tense
4. the direct object of the verb (as an argument of the predicate)
5. other actants (such as indirect objects)
6. free adverbials of duration and frequency
7. discourse context

Table 2-7. Layers of Aspectual Nesting. (Lindstedt 1985:171-172)

Since Lindstedt's theory is particularly relevant for the perfective imperfect forms, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, only a summary of his arguments with respect to perfective imperfects and imperfective aorists will be presented at this point. All layers are marked (B) if bounded, or (O) if open, but only if the first layer makes reference to lexical semantic aspectual properties (i.e. SITUATION TYPE) of a verb may it be marked (X), e.g., for TELIC verbs whose aspectual character has not been defined.²⁷ Thus, an imperfective aorist denoting a durative action of limited duration could be rendered as (B(O(X))), indicating that it is open on the imperfective/perfective layer but bounded on the imperfect/aorist layer. Likewise, a perfective imperfect denoting iterative events could be rendered as (O(B(X))), indicating that it is bounded on the imperfective/perfective layer but open on the imperfect/aorist layer. Essentially, Lindstedt is proposing a formalization of the contextual levels relevant for aspect in Bulgarian.²⁸

To a certain extent, then, the imperfective/perfective opposition can be viewed as competing with the imperfect/aorist opposition. Indeed, Aronson (1977:9-10) has claimed that this competition has resulted in certain perfective forms (specifically, the perfective non-past and perfective imperfect) acquiring a more modal than aspectual meaning. One of the primary objectives of this study is to determine the extent to which this claim holds true.

Most attempts at characterizing the imperfect have attempted to reconcile somehow the notions of coordination and durativity since they both play an important role in the imperfect/aorist distinction. The major point of the "coordinationists" is that the imperfect is coordinated (or simultaneous) with another moment (i.e. RT). For other scholars coordination is a sub-meaning of durativity, is parallel to that of the present as coordinated (or simultaneous) with the moment of speech. Some go so far as to characterize the imperfect as a "present-in-past" (Stankov 1969:105; Lindstedt 1985:78-79). While there is a striking parallelism between the syntactic uses of the imperfect and present tense forms that needs to be accounted for, it will be shown here that this parallelism in itself is not sufficient support for the claim that the imperfect is a present-in-past form.

A similar argument is advanced in Chvany 1988 in which the author adheres to the dual aspectual opposition in the Bulgarian verb put forth by Aronson (1977 and 1985). In this article, Chvany discusses the various formal oppositions expressed by the morphology in terms of the Prague School concept of grammatical

sign. Thus, a **marked** (plus-valued) grammatical sign has a **denotative** (i.e. single constant, or invariant) meaning, as well as **connotative** (i.e. contextually determined) meanings, while the **unmarked** has only **connotative** meaning. Aspect is encoded in the extended stem of the verb. There are two stem extenders depending upon the pair type.

In older type pairs, the affix **E** which distinguishes the present-imperfect stem *piše-* (which includes *piše-* and *napiše-*) from the aorist stem *pisa-* and which carries a 'continuative'²⁹ aspectual meaning. In the newer derived imperfectives, the stem extender is **VA**, the marker of a new and competing opposition. (Chvany 1988:69)

Note that while **E** and **VA** are complementary, they are not allomorphs since **E** occurs with either [+P] or [-P] stems, while **VA** is limited to [+P] (here prefixed) stems. The stem extended with **E** is [+continuative] and **denotes** the 'continuative' meaning, while the [-continuative] forms **connote** temporally limited action. The opposition [\pm discreteness] characterizes the newer pairs and **denotes** 'countability' which is encoded in the lexical stem as the 'event-state' distinction. In pairs of the new type both the imperfective and perfective stems are [+discrete], while the SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVES such as *piša^{III}* are [-discrete] and **connote** such notions as 'continuativity', 'stativity' or 'durativity' (Chvany 1988:73). There are then two competing EQUIPOLLENT oppositions in the category of aspect (or rather MANNER which subsumes both aspect and ontological mood (Aronson 1977)). This competition will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

The assumption of the current study is that the imperfect/aorist opposition is primarily an aspectual one in the contemporary Bulgarian verbal system.³⁰ The fact that the imperfect's aspectual characteristic is durative (or continuative in Chvany's terminology) allows it to include or, perhaps more accurately, imply a secondary orientation point (the Reichenbachian RT) and thus perform tense functions. The aorist forms do not include a secondary orientation point, but rather co-occur with a bounded interval for their RT. The inherent or implicit secondary orientation point of the imperfect recalls that of the English progressive: it is infelicitous to use a past progressive tense form in English in a sentence without some other action being understood. The reasons for this could very well rest in the PRAGMATIC COMPONENT, that is, relating to the context, either of the discourse or the extra-

linguistic situation of the utterance. The aspectual nature of the imperfect appears to derive from the fact that the action it represents is simultaneous with its RT, rather than taking place prior to it (as with the perfect tenses) or after it (as with the future tenses). That there should be a conceptual relationship between coordination (or simultaneity) and durativity seems quite reasonable when you consider that tense and aspect are closely related notions. While aspect deals with the TEMPORAL DIMENSION, and tense with the TEMPORAL LOCATION, they are both essentially spatial concepts. After all, it has been argued that tense developed from aspect in Indo-European (Lehmann 1974:139). The difficulty of defining precisely the imperfect/aorist opposition has to do with the fact that this is a domain of the verbal system of Bulgarian where the concepts of tense and aspect merge.

2.4.8. Aspect and the Imperfect/Aorist Opposition. The fact that both the aorist and imperfect may be formed from either imperfective or perfective verb stems must affect the way in which the former opposition is understood. One ramification of the inflectional nature of the aspect opposition is that the imperfective/perfective opposition can be seen as competing with the imperfect/aorist opposition (Aronson 1977:9-10), if the latter is taken to be an aspectual, rather than a temporal opposition. According to Aronson 1977, this competition has resulted in certain perfective forms (e.g., the perfective non-past and perfective imperfect) acquiring a meaning that is more modal than aspectual. He subsumes this under the category of MANNER. Indeed, the fact that the majority of imperfects are formed from imperfective verbs and the majority of aorists are formed from perfective verbs is consistent with the claim that the IMPERFECTIVE/PERFECTIVE opposition is SUPERORDINATE to the imperfect/aorist opposition, which in turn suggests that the imperfect/aorist opposition redundantly specifies aspect. While this "aspectual synharmony" is the more common situation, imperfective aorists and perfective imperfects are not only possible, but even "normal" under certain circumstances. In such situations, aspect and tense appear to have different roles. Since the interaction of tense and aspect in the imperfect is one of the primary areas of investigation in this study, the current discussion will be limited to the aorist.

A further complication is the fact that there can be homonymy in the imperfect/aorist paradigm, especially for derived, secondary imperfectives (but not

necessarily for nonderived imperfectives³¹). See Table 2-8 which provides the forms for the first, second and third conjugations (of the SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVES *piša^{lu}*, *stoja^{lu}* and *gledam^{lu}*, respectively) followed by the forms of the prefixed verbs. Note that the derived imperfective form always belongs to the third conjugation.

	IMPERFECT	AORIST
	<i>piša^{lu}</i> .	
1 sg.	<i>píšex</i>	<i>písax</i>
2 sg.	<i>píšeše</i>	<i>písá</i>
3 sg.	<i>píšeše</i>	<i>písá</i>
1 pl.	<i>píšexme</i>	<i>písaxme</i>
2 pl.	<i>píšexte</i>	<i>písáxte</i>
3 pl.	<i>píšexa</i>	<i>písáxa</i>
	<i>napíša^P</i> .	
1 sg.	<i>napíšex</i>	<i>napísax</i>
2 sg.	<i>napíšeše</i>	<i>napísa</i>
3 sg.	<i>napíšeše</i>	<i>napísa</i>
1 pl.	<i>napíšexme</i>	<i>napísaxme</i>
2 pl.	<i>napíšexte</i>	<i>napísaxte</i>
3 pl.	<i>napíšexa</i>	<i>napísaxa</i>
	<i>napísvam^I</i> .	
1 sg.	<i>napísvax</i>	<i>napísvax</i>
2 sg.	<i>napísvaše</i>	<i>napísva</i>
3 sg.	<i>napísvaše</i>	<i>napísva</i>
1 pl.	<i>napísvaxme</i>	<i>napísvaxme</i>
2 pl.	<i>napísvaxte</i>	<i>napísvaxte</i>
3 pl.	<i>napísvaxa</i>	<i>napísvaxa</i>

IMPERFECT

stojat^{Iu.}

1 sg.	<i>stojáx/stoéx</i>	<i>stojáx</i>
2 sg.	<i>stoěše</i>	<i>stojá</i>
3 sg.	<i>stoěše</i>	<i>stojá</i>
1 pl.	<i>stojáxme/stoéxme</i>	<i>stojáxme</i>
2 pl.	<i>stojáxte/stoéxte</i>	<i>stojáxte</i>
3 pl.	<i>stojáxa/stoéxa</i>	<i>stojáxa</i>

AORIST

prestoja^{P.}

1 sg.	<i>prestojáx/prestoéx</i>	<i>prestojáx</i>
2 sg.	<i>prestoěše</i>	<i>prestojá</i>
3 sg.	<i>prestoěše</i>	<i>prestojá</i>
1 pl.	<i>prestojáxme/prestoéxme</i>	<i>prestojáxme</i>
2 pl.	<i>prestojáxte/prestoéxte</i>	<i>prestojáxte</i>
3 pl.	<i>prestojáxa/prestoéxa</i>	<i>prestojáxa</i>

prestojavam^{I.}

1 sg.	<i>prestojávax</i>	<i>prestojávax</i>
2 sg.	<i>prestojávaše</i>	<i>prestojáva</i>
3 sg.	<i>prestojávaše</i>	<i>prestojáva</i>
1 pl.	<i>prestojávaxme</i>	<i>prestojávaxme</i>
2 pl.	<i>prestojávaxte</i>	<i>prestojávaxte</i>
3 pl.	<i>prestojávaxa</i>	<i>prestojávaxa</i>

IMPERFECT

gledam^{Iu.}

1 sg.	<i>glédax</i>	<i>glédáx</i>
2 sg.	<i>glédaše</i>	<i>glédá</i>
3 sg.	<i>glédaše</i>	<i>glédá</i>
1 pl.	<i>glédaxme</i>	<i>glédáxme</i>
2 pl.	<i>glédaxte</i>	<i>glédáxte</i>
3 pl.	<i>glédaxa</i>	<i>glédáxa</i>

AORIST

pregledam^P.

1 sg.	<i>preglédax</i>	<i>preglédax</i>
2 sg.	<i>preglédaše</i>	<i>pregléda</i>
3 sg.	<i>preglédaše</i>	<i>pregléda</i>
1 pl.	<i>preglédaxme</i>	<i>preglédaxme</i>
2 pl.	<i>preglédaxte</i>	<i>preglédaxte</i>
3 pl.	<i>preglédaxa</i>	<i>preglédaxa</i>

pregleždam^I.

1 sg.	<i>pregležđax</i>	<i>pregležđax</i>
2 sg.	<i>pregležđaše</i>	<i>pregležđa</i>
3 sg.	<i>pregležđaše</i>	<i>pregležđa</i>
1 pl.	<i>pregležđaxme</i>	<i>pregležđaxme</i>
2 pl.	<i>pregležđaxte</i>	<i>pregležđaxte</i>
3 pl.	<i>pregležđaxa</i>	<i>pregležđaxa</i>

Table 2-8. Imperfect and Aorist Paradigms.

The status of forms such as *napísavaxa*, which can be either an aorist or imperfect, must be accounted for in an analysis of the role of tense and aspect in the imperfect/aorist opposition. In the following example (2.29), the situation should be consistent with the choice of the imperfective aorist (note the iterative adverbial phrase *na njaľkolko pãti* 'several times (within a given period)', which allowed a imperfective aorist in examples (2.21) and (2.28b) above). For educated speakers in Sofia, however, there is no stress difference between the imperfective aorist and imperfective imperfect form, and *vkľučvãx^{I.Ao}* was rejected as a non-existent form.³² It is not possible therefore to tell whether in choosing *vkľjúčvax* the speakers were selecting an imperfective aorist or imperfect in example (2.29).

- (2.29) Taka izminaxa^{P.Ao} tri dni ili — po-točno — tri stranni dni.
 Kolkoto i da pâdex^{Da} ot spomenite tova ludo momiče, čast ot
 nego kato če li be ostanala^{P.Pipf} trajno v men. Vse po-često se
 ulavjax^{I.Im}, če vârša^{Iu.Pr} razni drebni gluposti. Na njaľkolko
 pãti sãvsem pogrešno *vkľjučvãx^{I.Ao}/ √vkľjúčvax^{I.Im}/

†vključix^{P.Ao} avtomobilnite skorosti. Pojavix^{P.Ao} se na edin koncert kato bojanski šop — bez vratovrâzka. (PV:B:23*)

Thus passed three days, or more accurately, three strange days. As much as I tried to chase that crazy girl from my memory, it was as if part of her had remained inside me permanently. More and more often I realized that I was doing various foolish little things. *Several times I shifted^{L.Im(?)} the car into the completely wrong gear.* I showed up at a concert like a šop³³ from Bojan - without a tie.

This lack of morphological distinction between the imperfect and aorist for derived secondary imperfective verbs has resulted here in the apparent rejection of what should be the imperfective aorist form (*vklučvâx^{L.Ao}*) in a context where it would be expected. Moreover, there is no way to verify independently whether the choice of *vklučvax* on the part of native speakers was that of the imperfect or the aorist form. It is interesting to note here that in my fieldwork, third person singular imperfective aorist forms (where the aorist and imperfect endings differ) have frequently been interpreted as present tense forms with which the aorist is homonymous, even in a clearly past context. Such responses on the part of native speakers would seem to pose a salient counterargument to the existence of such imperfective aorists in the language.

Because the imperfect/aorist and imperfect/perfective oppositions in Bulgarian are two competing EQUIPOLLENT oppositions, a definitive analysis of the imperfect/aorist opposition, that is, one without counterexamples, remains elusive. It seems reasonable to expect the imperfect/aorist opposition to have a more temporal (or less aspectual) function in the newer type of aspect pairs (i.e. the [+P] verbs such as *napisvam^L/napiša^P*), as compared to the older type (i.e. the [-P] verbs such as *piša^L/napiša^P*). At this point in the development of the Bulgarian verbal system, it also seems reasonable to assume that the imperfect/aorist opposition is more relevant as an aspectual opposition for the older, non-productive pairs such as *piša^L/napiša^P*, but is probably redundant at least to a certain extent for the newer, productive pairs such as *napisva^L/napiša^P*.

2.5. The Perfect Tenses. A perfect tense is traditionally defined as one in which the action takes place prior to its reference point. The perfect tense forms in Bulgarian include the perfect, the pluperfect, the future perfect, and the future-perfect-in-past. The latter two will be treated with the future tense (§ 2.6.).

2.5.1. The Perfect (Indefinite Past) Paradigm. The perfect is formed by the concatenation of the **present tense of the copula + the aorist I-participle**. The aorist I-participle is formed from the aorist of either the imperfective or perfective aspect; the aorist endings (**-x, -ø, -xme, -xte, -xa**) are replaced by **-I-** plus gender/number markers (**-ø, -a, -o, -i**). Just as there are imperfective and perfective aorists, there are also imperfective and perfective perfects. See Table 2-9.

	PF. PERFECT	IMPF. PERFECT
1 sg.	<i>napisal sâm</i>	<i>napisval sâm</i>
2 sg.	<i>napisal si</i>	<i>napisval si</i>
3 sg.	<i>napisal e</i>	<i>napisval e</i>
1 pl.	<i>napisali sme</i>	<i>napisvali sme</i>
2 pl.	<i>napisali ste</i>	<i>napisvali ste</i>
3 pl.	<i>napisali sa</i>	<i>napisvali sa</i>

Table 2-9. Imperfective and Perfective Perfect (Indefinite Past) Paradigm.

2.5.2. The Perfect (Indefinite Past): DEFINITION and FUNCTION. The perfect as a category has always been difficult to characterize. Comrie (1976:62-65) argues that a "true" perfect is actually an aspectual form. There is considerable disagreement as to whether the perfect forms in Bulgarian are perfects in the traditional sense (such as in English), which would entail **E BEFORE R SIMUL S**, or an indefinite (maximally UNMARKED) past. The treatment of the perfect (indefinite past) that follows will be that of the conservative norm which is artificial in the sense that it does not represent the actual use by speakers in Sofia. Since several scholars, for example Aronson 1981 and Friedman 1982, have challenged the traditional distinction between the perfect and the reported, because of its so-called homonymy with the reported forms, this issue will be discussed separately in § 2.8.³⁴

The conservative norm account of the perfect tense form in Bulgarian is that it denotes a past event somehow relevant to the present moment (2.30) and (2.31).

- (2.30) -- Zašto smjate^{I.Pr}, če ne sâm^{Iu.Pr} spokojen? -- popitax^{P.Ao} sdăržano az.

-- Zaštoto taka izgleždate^{Iu.Pr}. Tâj, kako si sedja^{Iu.Pr} na stola, viždam^{I.Pr} u vas seriozni belezi na nevroza.

-- Izvinete^{P.Ipv}, no ne sâm^{Iu.Pr} došât^{P.Pf} tuk da se lekuvam! -- kazax^{P.Ao} az nedruželjubno. (PV:B:25)

"Why do you think^{I.Pr} that I'm^{Iu.Pr} not calm?" I asked^{P.Ao} in a reserved tone.

"Because that's how you look^{Iu.Pr}. So, as I sit^{Iu.P} in the chair, I see^{I.Pr} in you serious signs of neurosis."

"Excuse me^{P.Ipv}, but I have not come^{P.Pf} here to be cured!" I said^{P.Ao} hostilely.

- (2.31) -- A kak se čuvstvuva^{Iu.Pr} sega? -- popita Jurukova.
-- Struva^{Iu.Pr} mi se — mnogo dobre. Izrično me pomoli^{P.Ao} da ja izvinja^{Da}, če ne se e obadila^{P.Pf} dosega. (PV:B:45)

"And how is she feeling^{Iu.Pr} now?" asked Jurukova.

"Very well, it seems^{Iu.Pr} to me. She explicitly asked^{P.Ao} me to apologize^{Da} on her behalf that she has not gotten^{P.Pf} in touch until now."

Note that the adverbial *dosega* 'until now' provides the orientation or reference point (RT) for the perfect in (2.31), while in (2.30), it is the actual speech event, i.e. the conversation, that serves as the RT. Although the perfect form in this use is generally perfective, unpaired imperfectives are not uncommon (2.32).

- (2.32) Makar če sâm živja^{Iu.Pf} blizo četvârt vek v toja kvartal, mnogo rjadko si spomnjam^{I.Pr} za nego. (PV:SK:266)

Although I lived^{Iu.Pf} almost a quarter of a century in that neighborhood, I rarely think^{I.Pr} of it.

While Lindstedt (1985:84) does define the perfect as **E BEFORE R SIMUL S**, he adds that the perfect also implies existential quantification over points of time, e.g., the existential perfect in "Have you ever seen Paris?" (examples (2.33) and (2.34)). In fact, this particular use is more frequently expressed by an imperfective perfect.

- (2.33) -- Kakva rabota? - zapita^{P.Ao} tja ot praga.
 -- Šte pišeš^{Iu.F} noti... *Pisala^{Iu.Pf} li si njakoga?*
 Nikoga! -- otvârna^{P.Ao} tja učudeno. (PV:B:31)

"What kind of work?" she asked^{P.Ao} at the doorstep.
 "You'll transcribe^{Iu.F} notes... *Have you ever transcribed^{Iu.Pf} before?*"
 "Never!" she answered^{P.Ao} amazed.

- (2.34) Ne sâm^{Iu.Pr} naistina, makar će sâm *imala^{Iu.Pf}* takiva pristâpi.
 Razdvoenie na ličnostta, vie *ste čuvali^{I.Pf}*. (PV:B:19)

I'm^{Iu.Pr} not really, although I *have had^{Iu.Pf}* such attacks. A split personality, you've *heard^{I.Pf}* of it.

There are other uses of perfect tense forms such as the resultative perfect (examples (2.35) and (2.36)), where the result of the action rather than the action itself is stressed.

- (2.35) -- Ne se strjaskajte^{I.Ipv} ot njakoi malki recidivi! -- prodâlži tja. -- Ne biva i neja da strjaskate^{Da}. Az sâm ja *lekuvala^{Iu.Pf}* s njakoi silni lekarstveni sredstva. V izvesten smisâl tja e^{Iu.Pr} vse ošte malko zašemetena. (PV:B:48)

"Don't be afraid^{I.Ipv} of some minor relapses!" she continued. "And you shouldn't frighten^{Da} her either. I've *been treating^{Iu.Pf}* her with some powerful drugs. In a sense she is^{Iu.Pr} still a bit dopey."

- (2.36) Njamaše kak, trjabvaše da izpija dokraj gorčivata čaša. Dlâžen bjax^{Iu.Ao/Itn}, štom sâm *trâgnal^{P.Pf}* vednâz po toja pât. (PV:B:49)

There was no other way, I had to drink the bitter cup down to the last drop. I was^{Iu.Ao/Im} obligated, as soon as I *had set*^{P.Pf} off down this path.³⁵

A variant of the resultative perfect is the inferential perfect (examples (2.37) and (2.38)), where an action is inferred to have happened based on the observation of its results. Because resultativity (a variant of the feature of CLOSURE) is involved in both the resultative and inferential perfect, the perfective verb stem is chosen.

- (2.37) -- Ne mnogo često... I Doktor Jurukova nikoga ne mi se sârdi^{Iu.Pr}. No drugite se mrâštjat^{Iu.Pr}, razbira se, osobeno doktor Strezov. Kazva^{I.Pr}, če tova bilo^{Iu.Pr-I} bolnično zavedenie, a ne pansion. Izgležda^{Iu.Pr}, če *sâm se usmixna*^{P.Pf}, zaštoto tja pobârza^{P.Ao} da dobavi:
-- Az znam^{Iu.Pr} — disciplina i prochie. No ne moga^{M.Pr} da ne go pravja. (PV:B:19)

"Not very often... And Dr. Jurukova is never angry^{Iu.Pr} at me. But the others make^{Iu.Pr} a face, of course, especially Dr. Strezov. He says^{I.Pr}, this is^{Iu.Im-I} a medical facility, not a boarding house."

I *must have smiled*^{P.Pf} because she hastened^{P.Ao} to add:

"I know^{Iu.Pr} — discipline and so on. But I can't^{M.Pr} not do it."

- (2.38) I sleze^{P.Ao} ot kolata. No kato vidjax^{P.Ao} nejnata ubita, njakak nesvjastna poxodka, ne razbrax^{P.Ao} kak *sâm izljazâh*^{P.Pf} navân. Kato ja nastignax^{P.Ao}, tja plačeše^{Iu.Im}, bezmâlvno naistina, no sâlzite obilno tečexa^{Iu.Im} po liceto ì. (PV:B:12)

And I got^{P.Ao} out of the car. But when I saw^{P.Ao} her beaten down, rather swooning walk, I didn't know^{P.Ao} how I *got*^{P.Pf} outside. When I caught^{P.Ao} up to her, she was crying^{Iu.Im}, silently in fact, but the tears were flowing^{Iu.Im} copiously down her face.

One disagreement over the perfect, like that over the imperfect/aorist opposition, concerns the "basic" meaning (invariant meaning, *Gesamtbedeutung*). Bulgarian grammarians most often refer to the perfect as the past indefinite, and Borodič (1957:436) claims that indefiniteness is the basic meaning of the perfect (as does Stankov 1969) because the past action is unspecified or indefinite.³⁶ Andrejčin 1957, however, argues for resultativity as the more basic meaning, since the meaning of indefiniteness could have developed from resultativity (as can be seen in the development of the Old Russian perfect into the Contemporary Standard Russian past tense). Aronson (1977:88), Janakiev (1962:432) and Friedman (1982:159-160), however, all argue that the perfect is the UNMARKED past (with respect to the other past tenses) and hence may be used for a number of meanings, including that of an unwitnessed or reported event (see § 2.8.). If we regard the perfect as a perfect in the traditional sense, however, then the question of whether or not the perfect is a tense or an aspect needs to be addressed.

2.5.3. Perfect: Aspect or Tense? Chung and Timberlake (1985:219-20) characterize the perfect as an aspectual category that "describes an event that occurs before the event frame and leaves a result that continues to hold up to the frame" or "an event whose predicate occurs over some interval disjoint from and anterior to the event frame". Typically, languages use a perfect to "characterize the temporal relation of the frame rather than the predicate *per se*", which can account for why most languages do not allow definite temporal adverbs (e.g., "at 3 o'clock") to combine with perfects. Bulgarian, however, does allow such combinations (2.39).

(2.39) Sâbudil sâm^{P.Pf} se dnes v 5 časa.

I woke up^{P.Pf} today at 5 o'clock. (Andrejčin 1957:59)

Chvany 1988 considers the perfect to be tactic, i.e. the morphological feature [+L] **denotes** [+DISTANCE] with respect to the narrated event. The morphological feature [-X] **denotes** [-DEIXIS] which accounts for the indefiniteness of the perfect in contrast to the definite past forms, i.e. the imperfect and aorist which have the morphological feature [+X]. According to Chvany (1988:79), the reason that the English perfect does not allow a definite temporal adverbial is that it is additionally specified [+proximate], which "expresses a more constant relation to the moment of speech than does the Bulgarian perfect."

Aronson 1988 has argued persuasively that the difficulties in assigning an invariant meaning to the perfect stem from the fact that it belongs to two systems: the BASIC SYSTEM which opposes the [+PAST] to the [±NONPAST] and in which the perfect is opposed to the aorist and imperfect as an unmarked³⁷ past (in other words, an indefinite past), and the PERFECT SYSTEM (which is opposed to the [±PERFECT] BASIC SYSTEM) within which the perfect (which is unmarked [±NONPAST]) is opposed to the pluperfect (which is marked [+PAST]). Note that in both systems the perfect is unmarked for tense, i.e. [±PAST], and should therefore be considered a present perfect. These two systems coexist because the Bulgarian perfect is in transition: moving from an indefinite past form back to a perfect form (Aronson 1986). Aronson's claim, which will be shown to be consistent with the view of grammar as EMERGENT, will serve as the working definition for this study: namely, the perfect is an indefinite past in contexts where it is opposed to the definite past, that is, within the BASIC SYSTEM, but in other contexts it may have perfect functions, that is, it expresses TAXIS, when functioning within the perfect system which includes the pluperfect. This assumption will prove crucial for understanding the function of the perfect tense in subordinate clauses.

2.5.4. The Pluperfect Paradigm. The pluperfect is formed by the concatenation of the **imperfect/aorist copula + the aorist I-participle**. Since the aorist I-participle may be either imperfective or perfective, there are imperfective and perfective pluperfects (see Table 2-10). Imperfective pluperfects tend to be restricted to SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVE stems, although this is by no means the rule.

	PF. PLUPERFECT	IMPF. PLUPERFECT
1 sg.	<i>napisal bjax</i>	<i>napisval bjax</i>
2 sg.	<i>napisal beše</i>	<i>napisval beše</i>
3 sg.	<i>napisal beše</i>	<i>napisval beše</i>
1 pl.	<i>napisali bjaxme</i>	<i>napisvali bjaxme</i>
2 pl.	<i>napisali bjaxte</i>	<i>napisvali bjaxte</i>
3 pl.	<i>napisali bjaxa</i>	<i>napisvali bjaxa</i>

Table 2-10. Imperfective and Perfective Pluperfect Paradigm.

2.5.5. The Pluperfect: DEFINITION and FUNCTION. The Bulgarian pluperfect tense corresponds to what is conceived of as a traditionally perfect tense category (which is why Aronson 1988 has proposed the PERFECT SYSTEM for CSB). It refers to an event which is past with regard to some other past action, or, **E BEFORE R BEFORE S**. It may also refer to a state in the past which is caused by another past action (i.e. a result state), in which case it is formed only from perfective verbs. The pluperfect form is also typically found in the protasis of counterfactual conditionals (see Chapter 5). Example (2.40) illustrates the more usual past perfect meaning of a pluperfect (note the adverbial phrase *predi dva dni* 'two days before'), while (2.41) illustrates the resultative stative use.

- (2.40) Pozamislix^{P.Ao} se malko. *Predi dva dni bjax zavâršil^{P.Plpf} neštičko i vse ošte ne znaex^{lu.Im} kak izgležda. Naročno go bjax ostavil^{P.Plpf} nastrana za njakoe vreme, kolkoto da pouzree^{Da} samo, pâk i az da se otdaleča^{Da} ot nego.* (PV:B:16-17)

I stopped^{P.Ao} to think for a moment. *Two days ago I had finished^{P.Plpf} a little something and still didn't know^{lu.Im} how it looked. I had deliberately put^{P.Plpf} it off to the side for a while, as much to ripen^{Da} on its own as to distance^{Da} myself from it.*

- (2.41) Čeloto mu beše^{lu.Im} runtavo, kosmite *se bjāxa zavili^{P.Plpf} na malki kolelca.* (K.G. in Maslov 1981:256)

His forehead was^{lu.Im} shaggy, the hairs *had twisted^{P.Plpf} themselves into little ringlets.*

2.6. The Future Tenses. There are four future tenses: the future, the future perfect, the future-in-past, and the future-perfect-in-past. While the classification of the future as a tense is problematic as a whole, the latter two tenses pose special difficulties.

Despite numerous convincing arguments that the future is actually a mood rather than a tense, it will be considered a tense here. This decision is based on the view of the theoretical distinction between form and function which gives the former priority over the latter. The future tense in Bulgarian is a morphologically

expressed temporal category that makes reference to a point in time subsequent to the moment of speech. As it turns out, however, this category overlaps with the notion of IRREALIS, which characterizes events as non-actual (actuality is taken as the definition of mood here; see § 2.7.), since future events have not yet taken place and are thus potential, rather than actual. Chung and Timberlake (1985:243) define the future as

a semantic category where tense and mood merge. In practice many languages do not distinguish morphologically between future tense and potential (irrealis) mood. Where a difference is made, the future tense is used for events that are presumed to be certain to occur, and the irrealis mood for events that are potentially possible but not presumed to be certain.

Since Bulgarian does have a morphologically encoded potential or hypothetical mood (the conditional mood; see § 2.7.3.) which is distinct from the future, the future tense will be regarded as a tense. The question of how the future tense and potential mood interrelate in Bulgarian, however, will be addressed at length in Chapter 4.

2.6.1. The Future Paradigm. All future forms are periphrastic constructions with a form of the modal particle *šte*³⁸ (which is historically derived from the verb *xotěti* 'to want'). The simple future is formed by the concatenation of the modal particle *šte* + the present tense; it is formed from both perfective and imperfective verbs. See Table 2-11. To form the negated future, *šte* is usually replaced by *njama da* (e.g., *njama da napiša* 'I will not write').

	PF. FUTURE	IMPF. FUTURE
1 sg.	<i>šte napiša</i>	<i>šte napisvam</i>
2 sg.	<i>šte napišeš</i>	<i>šte napisvaš</i>
3 sg.	<i>šte napiše</i>	<i>šte napisva</i>
1 pl.	<i>šte napišem</i>	<i>šte napisvame</i>
2 pl.	<i>šte napišete</i>	<i>šte napisvate</i>
3 pl.	<i>šte napiшат</i>	<i>šte napisvat</i>

Table 2-11. Imperfective and Perfective Future Paradigm.

2.6.2. The Future: DEFINITION and FUNCTION. The future tense is used to refer to events subsequent to the moment of speech (E AFTER S), and this is perhaps the most frequent use of future tense forms in Bulgarian. The perfective aspect is found for unique events (examples (2.42a) and (2.43)), while the imperfective is more common for iterative (2.42b) or durative (2.44) events.

(2.42a) *Utre šte se vârna^{P.F} v kâšti vednaga sled rabota.*

Tomorrow I will come back^{P.F} home right after work.³⁹

(2.42b) *Vseki den šte se vrâštam^{I.F} v kâšti vednaga sled rabota.*

Every day I will come back^{I.F} home right after work.

(2.43) -- Slušaj, Doroteja, az trjabva da vârvja na sâbranic. *Šte se vârna^{P.F} kâm devet. Ti si raboti^{lu.Ipv} tuk. I me čakaj^{lu.Ipv}...šte otidem^{P.F} sled tova da večerjame^{Da} njakâde.*
(PV:B:33)

"Listen, Dorothy, I have to go to a meeting. I'll return^{P.F} towards nine. You work^{lu.Ipv} here. And wait^{lu.Ipv} for me. We'll go^{P.F} out after that and have dinner^{Da} somewhere."

(2.44) -- Razbira se, *šte bâde^{lu.F} čudesno! Šte brodim^{lu.F} iz planinata, šte berem^{lu.F} gâbi, az gi poznavam^{I.Pr} vsičkite, sto mandži moga^{M.Pr} da sgotvja ot tjax... A, leljo Dime, xajde!*
(GA:PI:45)

"Of course, it will be^{lu.F} wonderful! We'll wander^{lu.F} around the mountain, gather^{lu.F} mushrooms, I know^{I.Pr} them all, I can^{M.Pr} make hundreds of things to eat from them. Oh, Aunt Dima, let's go!"

The future can also be used for iterative events that are not necessarily future (cf. the English iterative expressions with *would*). See example (2.45).

- (2.45) Ponjakoga tja bivaše^{lu.Im} prikazлива, ponjakoga *šte mine*^{P.F} pokraj čoveka i njama da go pogledne^{P.F}. (J.J. in Maslov 1981:259)

Sometimes she would be^{lu.Im} talkative, sometimes she will walk^{P.F} past a person and not even give^{P.F} him a glance.

Example (2.46) illustrates the use of the future form with the modal meaning of supposition (*gadatel'nost'* (Maslov 1981:259)).

- (2.46) -- A az koj sâm? Poznaváš^{I.Pr} li me?
-- De *šte* te poznavam^{I.F}, efendi? (J.J. in Maslov 1981:259)

"And who am I? Do you know^{I.Pr} me?"

"Where would I know^{I.F} you from, effendi⁴⁰?"

Lindstedt (1985:256-7) explains interrogative examples such as (2.46) as cases of epistemic possibility, versus non-interrogative sentences which are closer to epistemic necessity. As support, he cites an example from Pašov (2.47).

- (2.47) Toj prekara^{P.Ao} edna godina v Anglija, ta *šte znae*^{lu.F} anglijski. (Pašov 1981:106)

He spent^{P.Ao} a year in Britain, so he must know^{lu.F} English.

2.6.3. The Future Perfect Paradigm. The future perfect is formed by the concatenation of the modal particle *šte* + the perfect tense (i.e. the copular auxiliary⁴¹ + aorist I-participle). See Table 2-12 (on the following page). The negated future perfect is formed either with the construction *njama da*: (e.g., *njama da sâm napisal*) or, more rarely, the negative particle *ne* (e.g., *ne šte sâm napisal*).

2.6.4. Future Perfect: DEFINITION and FUNCTION. The future perfect tense denotes an event that is past with respect to a moment future to the moment of speech (E BEFORE R AFTER S). The Bulgarian future perfect form is typically found in subordinate constructions, such as example (2.48).

	PF. FUTURE PERFECT	IMPF. FUTURE PERFECT
1 sg.	<i>šte sâm napisal</i>	<i>šte sâm napisval</i>
2 sg.	<i>šte si napisal</i>	<i>šte si napisval</i>
3 sg.	<i>šte e napisal</i>	<i>šte e napisval</i>
1 pl.	<i>šte sme napisali</i>	<i>šte sme napisvali</i>
2 pl.	<i>šte ste napisali</i>	<i>šte ste napisvali</i>
3 pl.	<i>šte sa napisali</i>	<i>šte sa napisvali</i>

Table 2-12. Imperfective and Perfective Future Perfect Paradigm.

- (2.48) Dori ako čovčestvoto se izpravi^{P.Pr} vnezapno pred njakvoja neočakvana i nevázvratima biologična gibel, to pak njama da sâzdade^{P.F} svoje izkustveno prodâĺženie, svoje čovčopodobie, izgradeno vârxu drugi principi. To šte znae^{lu.F} veče istinata za svojata sâštnost. I šte izčezne^{P.F} v nebitieto, kaktó *šte sa izčeznali*^{P.Fpf} predi nego mravkite. (PV:B:104)

Even if humanity were to be suddenly faced^{P.Pr} with some unexpected and irrevocable biological annihilation, it would not give rise^{P.F} again to its own artificial creation, its own anthropomorphism, organized along different principles. It will already know the truth concerning its essence. And it will disappear into non-existence, just as the ants *will have disappeared*^{P.Fpf} before it.

It can also be used in a modal sense to refer to a supposition relating to a past moment (2.49).

- (2.49) Toj *šte e patil*^{lu.Fpf}, siromaxât. (Maslov 1981:260)

He *must have suffered*^{lu.Fpf}, poor guy.

2.6.5. Future-in-Past Paradigm. The future-in-past is formed by the concatenation of the **imperfect** conjugated form of *šte* + **da** + **present tense**.⁴² See Table 2-13. The negative is formed either by replacing the imperfect of *šte*

with *njamaše* (e.g., *njamaše da napiša*) or, more rarely, by simply adding the negative particle *ne* (e.g., *ne štjx da napiša*).

	PF. FUTURE-IN-PAST	IMPF. FUTURE-IN-PAST
1 sg.	<i>štjx da napiša</i>	<i>štjx da napisvam</i>
2 sg.	<i>šteše da napišeš</i>	<i>šteše da napisvaš</i>
3 sg.	<i>šteše da napiše</i>	<i>šteše da napisva</i>
1 pl.	<i>štjaxme da napišem</i>	<i>štjaxme da napisvame</i>
2 pl.	<i>štjaxte da napišete</i>	<i>štjaxte da napisvate</i>
3 pl.	<i>štjxax da napišat</i>	<i>štjxax da napisvat</i>

Table 2-13. Perfective and Imperfective Future-in-Past Paradigm.

2.6.6. Future-in-Past: DEFINITION and FUNCTION. The future-in-past form refers to an event that is future with respect to a moment prior to the moment of speech and can be thus characterized as **E AFTER R BEFORE S**. The future-in-past form in Bulgarian is used primarily in a modal function, but can also be used to denote an event which according to Maslov (1981:26) "*ob"ektivno bylo predstojaščim v kakoj-to moment prošlogo (buduščee po otnošeniju k ètomu prošlomu momentu)*" 'objectively was forthcoming at some moment of the past (future with respect to this past moment)'. The modal use of this form is essentially the same, according to Maslov, but without its indicative character, in other words, it denotes an action that was to happen, but in fact did not. The future-in-past is most frequently found in the apodosis (main clause) of a counterfactual sentence. Precisely for this reason, Gołab (1964:83-93) makes a convincing case for considering the future-in-past not as an indicative form, but rather a conditional **IRREALIS**. The **IRREALIS** function of the future-in-past will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. (2.50) is an example of the future-in-past with an indicative function and (2.51) with a modal function in a contrary-to-fact proposition. As these examples demonstrate, the distinction between the indicative and modal uses is context-determined.

- (2.50) Mnogo po-kâšno, kogato tova nemito i neskoposno momiče
po edin ili drug način stana čast ot života mi, taja nejna

primirena pokornost *šteše da kâsa^{lu.FiP}* iz den v den sârceto i
nervite mi. (PV:B:12)

Much later, when this unwashed and rather clumsy girl in one
way or another became part of my life, this resigned
submissiveness of hers *would* day after day *tear^{lu.FiP}* at my
heart and my nerves.

- (2.51) -- A zašto pone ne i se obadi ot Borovec? ... Edna dobra
duma *šteše* nepremenno *da i pomogne^{P.FiP}*.
-- Da, da, mina^{P.Ao} mi prez uma, razbira se. No
trjabvaše^{M.Im} da se svârža s neja prez gradskata centrala, tja
šteše da razbere^{P.FiP}, če ne sâm v Plovdiv. (PV:B:96)

"And why didn't you at least call her from Borovec?... One
kind word *would* certainly *have helped^{P.FiP}* her."

"Yes, yes, it occurred^{P.Ao} to me, of course. But I would have
had^{M.Im} to phone her through the main exchange, she *would*
have realized^{P.FiP} that I wasn't in Plovdiv."

There is an interesting contrast of meaning between (2.50) and (2.51) with respect
to the reality of the event. In (2.50) the implication is that the event did eventually
take place, the girl's submissiveness did tear at his heart and nerves. This is what
is typically referred to as the non-modal use of the future-in-past and is cited as
proof that it is a tense rather than a mood. In (2.51) the implication is that neither
event took place: she never heard the kind word that might have helped her, nor did
she realize he was not in Plovdiv. This is the modal, and more frequent, use of the
future-in-past.⁴³

2.6.7. Future-Perfect-in-Past. The future-perfect-in-past is formed by the
concatenation of the imperfect form of *šte* + auxiliary *da* + perfect tense.⁴⁴
See Table 2-14. The negative is usually formed by replacing *štjax* with *njamaše*
(e.g., *njamše da sâm napisal*) or, more rarely, with the negative particle *ne* (e.g., *ne*
štjax da sâm napisal).

	PF. FUT.-PERFECT-IN-PAST	IMPF. FUT.-PERFECT-IN-PAST
1 sg.	<i>štjax da sâm napisal</i>	<i>štjax da sâm napisval</i>
2 sg.	<i>šteše da si napisal</i>	<i>šteše da si napisval</i>
3 sg.	<i>šteše da e napisal</i>	<i>šteše da e napisval</i>
1 pl.	<i>štjaxme da sme napisali</i>	<i>štjaxme da sme napisvali</i>
2 pl.	<i>štjaxte da ste napisali</i>	<i>štjaxte da ste napisvali</i>
3 pl.	<i>štjaxa da sa napisali</i>	<i>štjaxa da sa napisvali</i>

Table 2-14. Perfective and Imperfective Future-Perfect-in-Past Paradigm.

2.6.8. Future-Perfect-in-Past: DEFINITION and FUNCTION. According to Comrie's system, this tense denotes an event that has taken place prior to an event future to a past event (E BEFORE R₁ AFTER R₂ BEFORE S). The future-perfect-in-past is, in fact, rarely used in Bulgarian. It is usually replaced by a future-in-past form (Stojanov 1980:400). Example (2.52a) has been taken from Maslov 1981; note that in this particular context the future-in-past may not be substituted for future-perfect-in-past. The relational nature of the adverbial *do snošti* 'by last night' demands a perfect (i.e. tactic) form, while the non-relational adverbial *snošti* 'last night' does not (2.52b).

- (2.52a) *Do snošti √štjax da sâm se vârnal^{P.FpfP} / *štjax da se vârna^{PFiP}*, no edna druga rabota mi popreči. (Maslov 1981:260)

I would have [was to have] returned^{P.FpfP} by last night, but another piece of business kept me.

- (2.52b) *Snošti *štjax da sâm se vârnal^{P.FpfP} / √štjax da se vârna^{P.FiP}*, no edna druga rabota mi popreči. (Maslov 1981:260*)

I would have returned^{P.FiP} last night, but another piece of business kept me.

Example (2.53) shows that native speakers will not accept a future-perfect-in-past in the apodosis of a counterfactual, but rather require a future-in-past.

- (2.53) Napukanata terasa i domašnata rakija gi sâbiraxa rjadko i prividno. I vse pak. "Ako predi deset godini mu bjax spomenat^{P.Plpf} za takova nešto, *šiteše da me e ubil^{P.FpfP/} ~~šiteše da me ubie^{P.FiP}~~ -- pomisli Stojan. -- Ostarjava. "Ako predi deset godini mi beše spomenat^{P.Plpf} za takova nešto, *štjx da sâm go ubil^{P.FpfP/} ~~štjx da go ubija^{P.FiP}~~ -- iznenadvašto za sebe si pomisli i Nestor. -- A sega... Ostarjavam, ostarjavam." Dali se razbraxa v tozi moment, ne stana jasno. (BT:RzD:11)

The cracked terrace and homemade brandy united them rarely and then only on the face of it. And yet. "If ten years ago I had reminded^{P.Plpf} him of such a thing, he would have killed^{P.FiP} me," Stojan thought. "He's getting old." "If ten years ago he had reminded^{P.Plpf} me of such a thing, I would have killed^{P.FiP} him," Nestor thought surprised at himself as well. "And now... I'm getting old, getting old." Whether or not they understood each other at that moment was not clear.

2.7. Mood. The definition of mood here differs from that cited by Jakobson 1957, where he adheres to the traditional view of mood, namely

(PnEn/Ps) mood characterizes the relation between the narrated event and its participants with reference to the participants of the speech event: in Vinogradov's formulation, this category "reflects the speaker's view of the character of the connection between the action and the actor or goal". (135)

This view of mood has been challenged by Gołab 1964, Janakiev 1962 and Aronson 1977, among others. The issue is whether mood characterizes the speaker's view of the event as real or unreal (a subjective evaluation), or the ontological evaluation of the event as real or unreal (an objective evaluation). Aronson 1977 proposes that mood (like aspect) is a non-shifter and should be represented as Eⁿ (what Jakobson 1971[1957] termed the category of STATUS and which has been reinterpreted by Aronson as a shifter, i.e. Eⁿ/P^s, and characterized

as the reported or evidential (see § 2.8.). The distinction between aspect and mood is that aspect is a QUANTIFIER and mood a QUALIFIER, both of which are subsumed under the category of MANNER.

While Jakobson's definition appears suitable for the imperative and other types of deontic modality which clearly involve a source (i.e. it involves reference to participants), it does not provide an adequate account of epistemic modality. The definition of mood as "the speaker's view of the event" is simply too nebulous and could easily be used to describe other phenomena, such as aspect.⁴⁵ Moreover, the definition of mood as characterizing the actuality of the event promises to provide a more adequate account of modal phenomena in Bulgarian. The ramifications of this particular definition for the Bulgarian verbal system and its correlation with Aronson's definition of mood as a QUALIFIER (versus aspect as a QUANTIFIER) will be discussed in more detail in the subsequent chapters.

The definition of mood in this study then will be the characterization of an event that is unreal or nonactual. As defined by Chung and Timberlake (1985:241),

[m]ood characterizes the actuality of an event by comparing the event world(s) to a reference world, termed the actual world. An event can simply be actual (more precisely, the event world is identical to the actual world); an event can be hypothetically possible (the event world is not identical to the actual world); the event may be imposed by the speaker on the addressee; and so on.

Bulgarian has three ontological moods (other than the indicative): the imperative, the conditional and the conjunctive (a term that is used to refer to the modal uses of the *da*-construction). As already stated, the reported forms (§ 2.8.) will be considered to fall under the category of STATUS, which involves the subjective evaluation of the event.

2.7.1. Imperative Paradigm. The simple imperative is the most common form and is formed by the concatenation of the **present stem + i/ø in the singular and +e/ø + te in the plural**. See Table 2-15. The negative may be formed by adding the particle *ne* (e.g., *ne pišī*) or an auxiliary form *nedej* plus a vestigial form of the infinitive (e.g., *nedej(te) pisa*, *nedej(te) xodi*, *nedej(te)*

gleda).⁴⁶ The imperative may be formed from both imperfective and perfective verbs, unless negated in which case only the imperfective is used.

	1ST CONJUGATION	2ND CONJUGATION	3RD CONJUGATION
sg.	<i>piši</i>	<i>xodí</i>	_____
pl.	<i>pišéte</i>	<i>xodéte</i>	_____
sg.	<i>pěj</i>	<i>stój</i>	<i>glédaj</i>
pl.	<i>péjte</i>	<i>stójte</i>	<i>glédajte</i>

Table 2-15. Imperative Paradigms.

Analytic imperative (and quasi-imperative⁴⁷, i.e. non-second person) forms also exist and consist of *da*, *neka*, or *neka da*, plus the present tense. See Table 2-16. The negative of quasi-imperatives is formed by adding the particle *ne* (e.g., *da ne piša*, *da ne pišeš*; *neka ne piša*, *neka ne pišeš*; *neka da ne piša*, *neka da ne pišeš*). The quasi-imperative may be formed from both imperfective and perfective verbs, unless negated in which case only the imperfective is used.

	1ST CONJUGATION	2ND CONJUGATION	3RD CONJUGATION
1 sg.	<i>neka piša</i>	<i>da stoja</i>	<i>neka da gledam</i>
2 sg.	<i>neka pišeš</i>	<i>da stoiš</i>	<i>neka da gledaš</i>
3 sg.	<i>neka piše</i>	<i>da stoji</i>	<i>neka da gleda</i>
1 pl.	<i>neka pišem</i>	<i>da stojim</i>	<i>neka da gledame</i>
2 pl.	<i>neka pišete</i>	<i>da stoite</i>	<i>neka da gledate</i>
3 pl.	<i>neka pišat</i>	<i>da stojat</i>	<i>neka da gledat</i>

Table 2-16. Quasi-Imperative Paradigms.

2.7.2. Imperative: DEFINITION and FUNCTION. The imperative belongs to the deontic mode which "is concerned with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents" (Lyons 1977:823). The imperative is generally used for commands, that is, situations imposed by the speaker on the addressee (2.54). (2.55) is an example of a negative command, which is always imperfective (Maslov 1981:280).

- (2.54) -- Drugarju Manev, zašto se pravite^{Lu.Pr} nasila durak! -- razsârdi^{P.Ao} se tja vnezapno. -- *Opitajte^{P.Ipv} se da mislite^{Da} malko po-sâvremenno. Tova ne e mistika, ni ludost! Tova e nauka!* (PV:B:89)

"Drugar⁴⁸ Manev, why are you pretending^{Lu.Pr} so hard to be stupid!" she suddenly got^{P.Ao} angry. "Try^{P.Ipv} to be a little more modern in your thinking. This is not mysticism, nor madness! This is science!"

- (2.55) -- I v nikoj slučaj ne biva da trevožite^{Da} Doroteja. *Ne ja pitajte^{Lu.Ipv}, ne ja razubeždavajte^{L.Ipv}. Estestveno tja vjarva^{Lu.Pr} v tova, koeto pravi.* (PV:B:89)

"And under no circumstances should you alarm Dorothy. Don't question^{Lu.Ipv} her, don't argue^{L.Ipv} with her. Naturally she believes^{Lu.Pr} in what she is doing."

The imperative is also found in generic statements (2.56).

- (2.56) *Daj^{P.Ipv} mu xljab v râcete, priberi^{P.Ipv} go kato svoj i éto go sega naviril^{P.Pf} e rogata si kato poštrâkljal vol.* (K.V. in Maslov 1981:279)

Give^{P.Ipv} him a living, take^{P.Ipv} him in as if he were your own son and here he's lifted^{P.Pf} his horns like an enraged ox.

(2.57) is an example of a quasi-imperative.

- (2.57) Cvetančo, poveče dârva turi^{L.Ipv}, *neka da stane^{P.Ipv} goljam ogânjat.* (I. Vazov, in 1983 Academy Grammar 2:267)

Cvetančo, put^{L.Ipv} more wood on, let the fire *get^{P.Ipv} big.*

2.7.3. Conditional Paradigm. The conditional is formed by the concatenation of an aorist form of the copula (*bix, bi*, etc.) + the aorist I-participle (Scatton 1984:200). See Table 2-17. While a simple form consisting

of the imperfect of secondary imperfectives also exists, it is considered non-literary by the normative grammars and will not be discussed here.

	IMP. CONDITIONAL	PF. CONDITIONAL
1 sg.	<i>bix pisal</i>	<i>bix napisal</i>
2 sg.	<i>bi pisal</i>	<i>bi napisal</i>
3 sg.	<i>bi pisal</i>	<i>bi napisal</i>
1 pl.	<i>bixme pisali</i>	<i>bixme napisali</i>
2 pl.	<i>bixte pisali</i>	<i>bixte napisali</i>
3 pl.	<i>bixa pisali</i>	<i>bixa napisali</i>

Table 2-17. The Conditional Paradigm.

2.7.4. Conditional: DEFINITION and FUNCTION. The conditional is an example of the epistemic mode which "characterizes the actuality of an event in terms of alternative possible situations, or worlds" (Chung and Timberlake 1985:242). The conditional is used to denote possible or hypothetical events (2.58), especially in conditional sentences (although more frequently in the apodosis, than in the protasis; see Chapter 5). In the speech of educated people and in *belle lettres*, it is also used for polite *uverždenie*, that is, confirmation, e.g., *bix kazal*^{P.Cd} 'I would say' (Maslov 1981:281) and other performative utterances (2.59).

- (2.58) -- Kazax^{P.Ao} ti zašto! Taja nošt nie za pôrvi pâť prekaraxme^{P.Ao} zaedno. No ti nadali *bi mogât*^{M.Cd} da razbereš^{Da} kolko tova me raztârsi^{P.Ao}. Vse pak tja ne beše obiknoveno momiče, s obiknovena sâdba. Az iskax^{lu.Ao} da sâbera^{Da} malko mislite si, da se uspokoi^{Da}. (PV:B:95-96)

"I told^{P.Ao} you why! That night was the first we spent^{P.Ao} together. But you *could*^{M.Cd} hardly understand^{Da} how much that shook^{P.Ao} me up. Anyway, she wasn't an ordinary girl, with an ordinary fate. I wanted^{lu.Ao} to collect my thoughts, to calm down."

- (2.59) -- Ne, razbira se. I vse pak ne sâm^{Iu.Pr} siguren v sebe si. I zalova, kocto kazax^{P.Ao} dosega, i za vsičko ostanalo... Bix vi pomolil^{P.Cd} da posetim^{Da} ošte vednâž terasata. V sâštija čas i pri sâštite obstojateljstva. Može bi obstanovkata šte mi podskaže^{P.F} nešto. (PV:BG:214)

"No, of course. And yet I'm^{Iu.Pr} not sure of myself. Both about what I've said^{P.Ao} up until now, and about all the rest. I would ask^{P.Cd} you [to let] us visit^{Da} the terrace once more. At the same time and under the same conditions. Perhaps the setting will suggest^{P.F} something to me."

2.7.5. *Da*-Constructions. An infinitive as such no longer exists in Bulgarian.⁴⁹ In most syntactic functions understood to be infinitival (predicates embedded under auxiliary verbs, etc.), it has been replaced by the so-called *da*-construction. It is formed with the particle *da* + the present tense (typically the perfective), although the perfect, aorist and imperfect may be found, albeit rarely (Genadieva-Mutačieva 1970). The present tense form agrees with the subject of the embedded clause. See the following examples.

- (2.60) -- Iskam^{Iu.Pr} nešto *da* ti kaža^{Da + P.Pr} -- tixó se obadi^{P.Ao}
Stojan Patronev. (BT:RzD:9)

"I want^{Iu.Pr} to tell^{Da + P.Pr} you something," Stojan Patronev announced^{P.Ao} quietly.

- (2.61) Posle idvaše^{I.Im} mladijat milicioner Lazo i gi nakarvaše^{I.Im} *da*
vârnat^{Da + P.Pr} pejkite na mjasto v alejata. (BT:RzD:10)

Later the young policeman Lazo would come^{I.Im} and make^{I.Im} them *return*^{Da + P.Pr} the benches to their place in the alley.

- (2.62) Nie ne možexme^{M.Im} *da* si predstavim^{Da + P.Pr} dori kak toj, nevzračnijat ergen, c otišâl^{P.Pf} pri majkata na Janina, kak e poiskâl^{P.Pf} râkata na Janina i kak majkata c kazala^{P.Pf} "da" na едно толкова glupavo predloženie i kak samata Janina ne se e

xvârlila^{P.Pf} v naj-dâlbokija vir na rekata Tixana -- Nestor se usmixna. (BT:RzD:21)

"We couldn't^{M.Im} even *imagine*^{Da + P.Pr} how he, this ill-favored bachelor, had come^{P.Pf} to Janina's mother, how he had asked^{P.Pf} for Janina's hand and how the mother had said^{P.Pf} "yes" to such a stupid proposal and why Janina herself had not thrown^{P.Pf} herself into the deepest pool of the River Tixana," Nestor grinned.

- (2.63) -- Tja, tvojata Mira, trjabva^{M.Pr} *da e napravila*^{Da + P.Pf} njakoj goljama pakost. Taka li? (BT:RzD:10)

"Your Mira, she must^{M.Pr} *have done*^{Da + P.Pf} something really terrible [lit. 'it must be that she has done']. Is that it?"

The *da*-construction, however, has uses other than the infinitival function. As Maslov (1981:285-290) points out, all of its uses as what he terms an independent construction are modal (for example, introducing subordinate clauses with an optative (2.64) or subjunctive (2.65) function), and he has claimed therefore that *da* is used to mark mood, namely the conjunctive mood.

- (2.64) *Da trâgvame*^{Da + I.Pr}, majko!

Let's go^{Da + I.Pr}, mother. (AT:P:35)

- (2.65) Râševite si zakupixa cvetna televizija s vrâzka, a ti mi domâkna u kâštata taja kranta, *ta da staneme*^{Da + P.Pr} za rezil... (AT:P:41)

The Râšev family bought themselves a color television with connections, and you bring me home that piece of junk, *so that we can disgrace*^{Da + P.Pr} *ourselves*...

Rudin (1985:53-63) summarizes the debate among linguists as to whether *da* is an independent word, i.e. a conjunction and/or particle⁵⁰ (or clitic), or a morphological element or affix that marks mood. Rudin herself presents persuasive

syntactic evidence for considering *da* to be an auxiliary and points out that its limitation to immediately preverbal position is shared by the morphologically invariable verbs *šte* 'will', *njama* 'will not' and *biva* 'ought'. Note that the notion of the infinitive construction as a modal construction is not new (See Fielder 1983 and Brecht 1972 for accounts of the Russian infinitive; Rudin cites Pullum 1982 who proposes that English *to* is a non-finite auxiliary verb).

2.8. The Reported. This section will discuss the so-called reported forms first according to the traditional, conservative norm and then it will address certain discrepancies in the actual use.

2.8.1. The Reported Paradigm. From an historical point of view, the reported (also known as the indirect or re-narrated tense, as well as the unwitnessed, or evidential mood) developed on the basis of the inherited perfect forms. Recall that the perfect paradigm (§ 2.5.1.) consists of the aorist I-participle plus the present tense copular auxiliary 'to be'. By contrast, the reported forms consist of the **aorist or imperfect I-participle** plus the **present tense copular auxiliary** in the first and second persons, *but not in the third person*. See Table 2-18 (pp. 73-4). The aorist I-participle construction is used for "reported" events that would otherwise be presented in the aorist tense, and the imperfect I-participle construction for events that would otherwise be presented in the imperfect (or present). Note that verbs from the 2nd and 3rd conjugations which do not have distinct aorist and imperfect formations also do not have distinct aorist and imperfect I-participles. For example, the 2nd conjugation verb *stojá* 'to stand' has *stojáx* for both the aorist and imperfect (although the imperfect *stoéx* also exists); and *stojál* for both the aorist and imperfect I-participle (although the imperfect *stoél* also exists), and the 3rd conjugation verb *gledam* 'to look' has *glédax* for the aorist and imperfect and *glédal* for the aorist and imperfect I-participle.⁵¹

While some grammarians posit a complete paradigm for reported, e.g., a future perfect and future perfect-in-past (cf. Table 2-19 on page 75, with corresponding negative forms), Maslov (1981:244) dismisses these as theoretically possible, but not naturally occurring.

piša^{Iu.}

	AORIST	AORIST REPORTED	PERFECT
1 sg.	<i>pisax</i>	<i>pisal sâm</i>	<i>pisal sâm</i>
2 sg.	<i>pisa</i>	<i>pisal si</i>	<i>pisal si</i>
3 sg.	<i>pisa</i>	<i>pisal</i>	<i>pisal e</i>
1 pl.	<i>pisaxme</i>	<i>pisali sme</i>	<i>pisali sme</i>
2 pl.	<i>pisaxte</i>	<i>pisali ste</i>	<i>pisali ste</i>
3 pl.	<i>pisaxa</i>	<i>pisali</i>	<i>pisali sa</i>
	PRESENT	IMPERFECT	IMPERFECT REPORTED ⁵²
1 sg.	<i>piša</i>	<i>pišex</i>	<i>pišel sâm</i>
2 sg.	<i>pišeš</i>	<i>pišeše</i>	<i>pišel si</i>
3 sg.	<i>piše</i>	<i>pišeše</i>	<i>pišel e</i>
1 pl.	<i>pišem</i>	<i>pišexme</i>	<i>pišeli sme</i>
2 pl.	<i>pišete</i>	<i>pišexte</i>	<i>pišeli ste</i>
3 pl.	<i>pišat</i>	<i>pišexa</i>	<i>pišeli</i>

napiša^{P.}

	AORIST	AORIST REPORTED	PERFECT
1 sg.	<i>napisax</i>	<i>napisal sâm</i>	<i>napisal sâm</i>
2 sg.	<i>napisax</i>	<i>napisal si</i>	<i>napisal si</i>
3 sg.	<i>napisax</i>	<i>napisal</i>	<i>napisal e</i>
1 pl.	<i>napisaxme</i>	<i>napisali sme</i>	<i>napisali sme</i>
2 pl.	<i>napisaxte</i>	<i>napisali ste</i>	<i>napisali ste</i>
3 pl.	<i>napisaxa</i>	<i>napisali</i>	<i>napisali sa</i>
	IMPERFECT	IMPERFECT REPORTED	
1 sg.	<i>napišex</i>	<i>napišel sâm</i>	
2 sg.	<i>napišeše</i>	<i>napišel si</i>	
3 sg.	<i>napišeše</i>	<i>napišel</i>	
1 pl.	<i>napišexme</i>	<i>napišeli sme</i>	
2 pl.	<i>napišexte</i>	<i>napišeli ste</i>	
3 pl.	<i>napišexa</i>	<i>napišeli</i>	

	AORIST	<i>napisvam</i> ^{1.} AORIST REPORTED	PERFECT ⁵³
1 sg.	<i>napisvax</i>	<i>napisval sâm</i>	<i>napisval sâm</i>
2 sg.	<i>napisva</i>	<i>napisval si</i>	<i>napisval si</i>
3 sg.	<i>napisva</i>	<i>napisval</i>	<i>napisval e</i>
1 pl.	<i>napisvaxme</i>	<i>napisvali sme</i>	<i>napisvali sme</i>
2 pl.	<i>napisvaxte</i>	<i>napisvali ste</i>	<i>napisvali ste</i>
3 pl.	<i>napisvaxa</i>	<i>napisvali</i>	<i>napisvali sa</i>
	IMPERFECT	IMPERFECT REPORTED	
1 sg.	<i>napisvax</i>	<i>napisval sâm</i>	
2 sg.	<i>napisvaše</i>	<i>napisval si</i>	
3 sg.	<i>napisvaše</i>	<i>napisval</i>	
1 pl.	<i>napisvaxme</i>	<i>napisvali sme</i>	
2 pl.	<i>napisvaxte</i>	<i>napisvali ste</i>	
3 pl.	<i>napisvaxa</i>	<i>napisvali</i>	

Table 2-18. Past Reported Paradigms.

	FUTURE/FUTURE-IN-PAST REPORTED	FUTURE PERFECT/FUTURE PERFECT-IN-PAST REPORTED
1 sg.	<i>štjal sâm da napiša</i> (<i>njamalo da napiša</i>)	<i>štjal sâm da sâm napisal</i> (<i>njamalo da sâm napisal</i>)
2 sg.	<i>štjal si da napišeš</i> (<i>njamalo da napišeš</i>)	<i>štjal si da si napisal</i> (<i>njamalo da si napisal</i>)
3 sg.	<i>štjal da napiše</i> (<i>njamalo da napiše</i>)	<i>štjal da e napisal</i> (<i>njamalo da e napisal</i>)
1 pl.	<i>šteli sme da napišem</i> (<i>njamalo da napišem</i>)	<i>šteli sme da sme napisali</i> (<i>njamalo da sme napisali</i>)
2 pl.	<i>šteli ste da napišete</i> (<i>njamalo da napišete</i>)	<i>šteli ste da ste napisali</i> (<i>njamalo da ste napisali</i>)
3 pl.	<i>šteli da napišat</i> (<i>njamalo da napišat</i>)	<i>šteli da sa napisali</i> (<i>njamalo da sa napisali</i>)

Table 2-19. Future Reported Paradigms.

The existence of the forms in Table 2-20 below, however, are not in dispute. Standard Bulgarian grammars such as Stojanov 1980 designate them as perfect and pluperfect reported forms. These forms, however, are homonymous with those of a separate category called the dubitive, or emphatic reported form (Maslov 1981:242-3). They consist of the aorist reported (although the imperfect/present reported in this use is acceptable (Friedman 1986b:170)) plus the aorist I-participle of the verb 'to be' (*bil*). The dubitive forms are generally used to express the speaker's surprise or doubt.⁵⁴

	DUBITIVE	AORIST REPORTED
1 sg.	<i>bil sâm napisal</i>	<i>napisal sâm</i>
2 sg.	<i>bil si napisal</i>	<i>napisal si</i>
3 sg.	<i>bil napisal</i>	<i>napisal</i>
1 pl.	<i>bil sme napisali</i>	<i>napisali sme</i>
2 pl.	<i>bil ste napisali</i>	<i>napisali ste</i>
3 pl.	<i>bil napisali</i>	<i>napisali</i>
	DUBITIVE	IMPERFECT REPORTED
1 sg.	<i>bil sâm napisval</i>	<i>napisval sâm</i>
2 sg.	<i>bil si napisval</i>	<i>napisval si</i>
3 sg.	<i>bil napisval</i>	<i>napisval</i>
1 pl.	<i>bil sme napisvali</i>	<i>napisvali sme</i>
2 pl.	<i>bil ste napisvali</i>	<i>napisvali ste</i>
3 pl.	<i>bil napisvali</i>	<i>napisvali</i>

Table 2-20. Dubitive and Reported Paradigms.

2.8.2. The Reported: DEFINITION and FUNCTION. There are several problems with the normative grammars' presentation of the reported forms. One has to do with the actual nature of the category in Bulgarian, that is, whether it is a temporal or modal category (or some other category such as STATUS which would include the meaning of evidentiality). Another has to do with the validity of a systemic distinction between the perfect forms on the one hand and the reported aorist and imperfect reported forms on the other, since both sets of forms are isomorphic except for the use of the present auxiliary in the perfect and its omission in the reported in the third person. A further complication is the fact that there are

numerous attestations of perfect forms without the auxiliary, as well as reported forms with the auxiliary. To a certain extent, both issues are of necessity interconnected.

The *preizkazno vreme* ('re-narrated tense'), as it is called in Bulgarian grammars, has been considered by many to be an example of the epistemological mood which

...evaluates the actuality of an event with respect to a source. The event may be asserted to be actual, or else its actuality may be dependent on the source in one of several ways. Some of the relevant submodes here include: (i) experiential, in which the event is characterized as experienced by the source; (ii) inferential or evidential, in which the event is characterized as inferred from evidence; (iii) quotative, in which the event is reported from another source; and (iv) the submode in which the event is a construct (thought, belief, fantasy) of the source. (Chung and Timberlake 1985:44)

Note that the term "source" here should be read as P^s (i.e. the speaker or narrator). All these submodes have been cited as relevant for the witnessed (submode (i)) versus non-witnessed-reported (submodes (ii-iv)) opposition. It is in sub-modes (ii), the inferential, and (iv) event as construct, where the perfect and reported verb forms cooccur. This cooccurrence has been cited as the motivation for the development of the reported from the inherited perfect. Whether this cooccurrence should be taken to represent a merger (or identity) of these forms (reflected in their homonymy), or simply as a corollary of the development of reported forms from the perfect is controversial and not a determination crucial for the purposes here. What is of concern here is the importance of this category not necessarily as a morphological (or morphosyntactic) category, but as a linguistic category (most probably in the PRAGMATIC COMPONENT) that is relevant in the production of utterances.

All four of Chung and Timberlake's submodes are consistent with the category of STATUS (in the sense of Aronson's (1977:13) redefinition of Jakobson's 1971[57] category) as a shifter (E^s/P^s) which expresses "the subjective evaluation of the narrated event by the speaker".⁵⁵ This category, Aronson 1967 argues, is realized in the definite past (imperfect and aorist) as [+CONFIRMATIVE],

i.e. the speaker asserts, and in the 3rd person I-participle forms without the auxiliary as [+REPORTED], i.e. the speaker reports. This category of STATUS accounts for the contextual variants of the definite past versus the indefinite past (or perfect) which is [\pm CONFIRMATIVE], and the reported forms versus the indefinite past (or perfect) which is also [\pm REPORTED]. Note that this analysis assumes an EQUIPOLLENT opposition between the [+CONFIRMATIVE] forms and [+REPORTED] forms.⁵⁶ Aronson (1982:55-57) has questioned the "naturalness" of such an EQUIPOLLENT opposition between CONFIRMATIVE and REPORTED and states that it would be more consistent with universal tendencies for the REPORTED opposition to be SUBORDINATE to the CONFIRMATIVE, especially since it is expressed only in the third person forms. Thus, the 1st and 2nd person forms of the I-participle plus auxiliary would be [\pm CONFIRMATIVE], and the 3rd person forms with the auxiliary [\pm CONFIRMATIVE] [\pm REPORTED] and without the auxiliary [\pm CONFIRMATIVE] [+REPORTED]. Aronson has further raised the question of the validity of the opposition [\pm REPORTED] in general.⁵⁷

Friedman 1982 and 1986b has challenged the validity of REPORTED forms (i.e. in addition to CONFIRMATIVE forms) based on the fact that even in the 3rd person, the distinction between the perfect with the auxiliary and reported forms without the auxiliary is not consistently maintained by educated speakers. Roth 1979 presents an impressive body of data which supports his challenge (although her conclusions do not). Even normative grammars acknowledge that the auxiliary may be used with the reported (to express the *predpoložitelno* 'suppositional mood', e.g., *Toj e pišel sega nov roman* 'He is now writing (as might be inferred) a new novel' (Maslov 1981:193)) and eliminated from the perfect (when it is used simply to establish facts (Stojanov 1980:389)). Friedman 1982 argues that the reported is merely a stylistic variant of the indefinite past.⁵⁸ He views the presence versus absence of the auxiliary not as morphologically encoding an evidential category, but rather as part of a larger syntactic change in many Slavic languages, namely, the loss of the third person auxiliary.⁵⁹

Finally, Chvany (1988:81-84) argues against the need for additional categories such as Aronson's STATUS, by claiming that the use of reported versus non-reported forms can be accounted for within her framework of "metacategories", if different discourse registers are considered. Forms marked both [+L] (the feature marking the perfect I-participle) and [+Ø] (marking the

absence versus presence of the auxiliary) are doubly distanced, i.e. [+DISTANCE from Eⁿ] and [+DISTANCE from DS (the discourse situation)], respectively. Her position, therefore, is that the reported is expressed morphosyntactically; the absence of the auxiliary in so-called reported forms has the effect of additional distancing (not only from Eⁿ, but also from DS). Thus her analysis considers the reported to be a deictic category involving TAXIS both to narrated event and discourse event, but not explicitly the speaker (although this is implied by reference to the discourse event). For other treatments of the reported forms, see Borodič 1963; Demina 1959; Geržikov 1984; Stankov 1969 and 1980.

I choose to retain Aronson's category of STATUS, not only because it seems to account more elegantly for the particular problems presented by the "reported" forms, but also because, as will be shown, there is further evidence for its existence as a category in the subordinate clauses to be discussed in subsequent chapters. While both Friedman 1982 and 1986b and Roth 1979 are correct in their assertions that the omission of the auxiliary does not consistently correspond to a morphological expression of an evidential category, there do seem to be some underlying principles employed by educated speakers in the auxiliary use with the I-participle. While I believe that Chvany's metacategory of DISTANCE is in principle correct, preliminary research has shown that any explanation of auxiliary use must also make explicit reference to the speaker (or narrator) and therefore necessarily involves Aronson's category of STATUS (Fielder 1988c and 1990).⁶⁰ Consider the following examples taken from Bulgarian prose where the I-participle occurs both with and without the auxiliary (its absence indicated by 'ø' in the text) in the same passage. The first example (2.64) is one of direct speech, where a psychiatrist is explaining the problems of her patient.

- (2.64) -- Da, šte vi kaža i tova -- otvârna tja neoxotno. -- Naistina e po-dobre da go znaete. Kato momiče tja *e preživjata*^{P.Ao-I} dve mnogo silni duševni sâtresenija. Na edinajsetgodišna vâzrast leka kola *e pregazila*^{P.Ao-I} nejnija bašta prosto pred očite i. I ø *počinat*^{P.Ao-I} na mjasto. Majka i ø *se omâžila*^{P.Ao-I} otnovo, životât v novija dom škoro ø *stana*^{P.Ao-I} sâvsem nevâzmožen... Tja ø *otišla*^{P.Ao-I} da živee pri čičo si. Kogato ø *bila*^{tu.Im/Ao-I} na trinajsetgodini, edva v zorata na svoeto

devičestvo, kakto se kazva, toj *ø posegnal*^{P.Ao-I} na neja. [...] -- Spored men ne točno tova *e pričnilo*^{P.Ao-I} nejnoto zaboljavane -- prodálži tja. -- I vse pak tija nešta sa svárzani. Kakto sam se dosetixte, tuk igrajat rolja i njakoi nasledstveni faktori... (PV:B:26-7)

"Yes, I will tell you even that," she replied reluctantly. "It's actually better that you know it. As a girl she *experienced*^[+aux] two very strong mental shocks. When she was eleven, a car *ran over*^[+aux] her father before her very eyes. And he *died*^[-aux] on the spot. Her mother *remarried*^[-aux], life in the new home soon *became*^[-aux] completely impossible. She *went*^[-aux] to live with her uncle. When she *was*^[-aux] thirteen, scarcely in the dawn of her maidenhood, as they say, he *molested*^[-aux] her." [...]

"In my opinion it wasn't precisely that which *caused*^[+aux] her illness," she continued. "And yet these things are connected. As you yourself have guessed, some inherited factors also play a role here."

Although she has witnessed none of these events, the psychiatrist begins her story with the I-participle with the auxiliary, switches to the I-participle without the auxiliary, and then concludes with the auxiliary form to express her own opinion. The place of the switch is itself most interesting since both events have clearly not been witnessed by the psychiatrist: the girl's father was hit by a car (I-participle with auxiliary) and he died on the spot (I-participle without auxiliary). The transition could be interpreted as a shift from facts to impressions. This particular example suggests that the presence or absence of the auxiliary could be interpreted more as a stylistic variant than the expression of a grammatical category (cf. Friedman 1982).

The next example is taken from a story told in the first person in which the narrator is reminiscing about his grandmother. The events took place before his birth and were thus not witnessed by him. For the most part these sections of the story are retold in what look to be reported forms. Yet there is an alternation

between the I-participle with and without the auxiliary in many of the passages, sometimes within the same sentence. The following excerpt (2.65) is representative of this type of shift in auxiliary use.

- (2.65) I vse pak, kakto po vsiĉko liĉi, djado mi Manol *e biľlu.Im/Ao-I* dobroduřen ĉovek. Na trapeza s rodnini i prijateli *biľlu.Im/Ao-I* dori vesel. Štom *ø pijnel^{P.Im-I}* njakolko ĉaški, belite mu buzi *ø ĉáľvali^{I.Im-I}* kato makove. <<Zašto ti sa takiva pembjani buzite, Manole!>> -- *šeguvaliľu.Im/Ao-I ø se* negovite akrani. <<Ot ĉitaška kráv! -- *otvráštali^{I.Im-I}* *ø* bezzlobno djado mi. -- Ako ja povârna navednâž, Topolnica šte poteĉe kârvava. (PV:I:205)

And yet, everything points to the fact, that my grandfather Manol *was^[+aux]* a good-natured man. At the table with relatives and friends he *was^[-aux]* even gay. As soon as he *drank^[-aux]* a few glasses, his white cheeks *would blossom^[-aux]* like poppies. "Why do you have such crimson cheeks, Manol?" his buddies *would joke^[-aux]*. "From [drinking] Turkish blood!" my grandfather *would retort^[-aux]* good-naturedly. "If I were to vomit it up all at once, the Topolnica [river] would run red."

This passage is presented entirely using I-participles without the auxiliary, except for the first sentence. While all the other sentences relate events obviously told to the narrator, the first sentence expresses what the narrator believes to be true about his grandfather, albeit based on what he has heard. After expressing his own opinion, he then cites events told to him as support for his belief. The effect of the auxiliary in this opening sentence then is to lessen the DISTANCE of the narrator with respect to the proposition.

Examples (2.64) and (2.65) suggest that the author is manipulating the use of the auxiliary in order to play with the notion of DISTANCE, specifically the distancing of the narrator from the narrated events. In (2.64) the auxiliary is omitted as the events become more distasteful (moving from sudden death to child molestation) which could be interpreted as a device to mirror the narrator's desire to

be more dispassionate and objective in relating them. In (2.65), none of the events have been witnessed personally by the narrator. Yet the narrator distinguishes between what he believes is true about his grandfather by using the auxiliary and what he has been told about him (and what presumably represents the opinion of others) by omitting it.

It can be argued then that auxiliary use has a stylistic or narrative function when the context already indicates whether or not the events have been witnessed, i.e. if the context already signals [+REPORTED], the omission of the auxiliary may then signal narrative DISTANCE. While it can be argued that the use of the I-participle with and without the auxiliary is not consistent enough to be categorized as the morphological encoding of an evidential category, it can also be argued that the presence versus absence of the auxiliary does have the linguistic function of denoting evidentiality, although perhaps this is more appropriately viewed as a pragmatic (rather than morphological or morphosyntactic) function.⁶¹

While the preceding examples seem to support the assertion that a morphosyntactic distinction between the perfect (indefinite past) and reported is dubious, the following example does provide some basis for asserting the existence of such a distinction in the pluperfect series (cf. Friedman 1986b:179). Example (2.66) is taken from an extended passage that has not only aorist and imperfect reported forms (i.e. I-participles without the auxiliary), but also pluperfect and future-in-past reported forms (see Tables 2-20 and 2-19 above) used in a counterfactual construction.

- (2.66) I napravo ot učilišteto sâs strâv izletjalo^{P.Ao-I} sreštu partizanîte. Bâlnuvalo^{lu.Im-I} za nov red, a na nemski dobavjalo^{lu.Im}. „Arbajt maxt fraj“, rabotata te pravî^{I.Pr} svoboden. Tvârdjalo^{lu.Im-I}, že ako Xitler (*proiznasjalo^{I.Im-I}*: „Xitla“ kato istinski nemec) bil uči^{lu.Plpf-I} generalštabna akademija, Germanija štjala da si ostane^{P.FiP-I} Xindenburgova, žalka i unižčna, a ne takava, kakvato ja viždame^{I.Pr} sega. (BT:RzD:37)

And straight from the school he rushed^{P.Ao-I} off furiously against the partisans. He would rave^{lu.Im-I} about the new order, and in German would add^{lu.Im-I}: „Arbeit macht frei“,

work makes^{L.Pr} you free. He would insist^{lu.Im-1} that *if Hitler*
(he would pronounce^{L.Im-1} it "Hitler" just like a real German)
had studied^{lu.Plpf-1} at a staff college, Germany would have
remained^{P.FiP-1} Hindenburgian, pitiful and humiliated, and not
as we see^{L.Pr} it now.

Here too the use of these forms *bil učil^{lu.Plpf-1}* 'had studied' and *štjala da si ostane^{P.FiP-1}* 'would have become' is consistent with the definition of these forms as denoting the narrator's DISTANCE (actual or psychological) from the events.

The foregoing examples support Aronson's notion of the category of STATUS which specifies reference to the speaker/narrator, as necessary for Bulgarian. Strictly speaking, STATUS is neither tense, aspect nor mood as these concepts have been defined here, and as such, could be seen as going beyond the scope of this study. At the same time this definition of STATUS corresponds rather closely to the traditional one of mood (Jakobson's E¹/P⁵) and as such merits inclusion.⁶²

2.9. Summary. As can be seen from this programmatic and somewhat simplified account, the Bulgarian verbal system is relatively complex. Unlike the other Slavic languages, which have simplified their verbal systems to varying degrees (and in various ways), Bulgarian has increased the number of oppositions (or at least has a greater number of contextual meanings). For example, while Russian has developed the category of aspect at the expense of tense (having only one past tense form), Bulgarian has expanded its system by increasing the number of tense and mood forms, and at the same time has developed and refined the category of aspect. The goal of this chapter has been two-fold: to familiarize the reader with the Bulgarian verbal system and to demonstrate that the TAM categories are integrally related. One example of this interrelationship is the future tense forms, which have modal functions in varying degrees. This interaction may account for the difficulty structuralists have had in establishing invariant meanings for the various categories, especially a tense system based on Comrie's distinctions. Moreover, while the future-in-past can be described in temporal terms, it functions primarily in modal contexts. It has therefore been classified by some as a mood, rather than a tense. This explains, perhaps, why most structuralist studies have

concentrated on indicative forms. It is ironic that while linguists tend to agree on how a form is used, they do not always agree on what it means. Chvany 1988 has come the closest to an integrated structuralist interpretation of the Bulgarian verbal system from the point of view of morphology, although the status of the imperfect and present remains problematic, ostensibly due to the fact that there are two aspectual distinctions, one older and non-productive, the other new and productive.

One of the assumptions of this study is that the traditional categories of tense, aspect and mood need to be considered as generalized, typologically oriented concepts that are implemented in different ways in different languages. While Bulgarian clearly has tense, aspect and mood, in the traditional sense, it also has the category of STATUS. This category is clearly DEICTIC in that it reflects the relationship of the narrated event and the speaker. One is tempted to view the categories of tense (E^D/E^S), TAXIS (E^D/E^D) and STATUS (E^D/P^S) as three different manifestations of a deictic category (in Chvany's (1988:72) sense of DEIXIS as a metacategory) which I will tentatively call DISTANCE. This category of DISTANCE (which subsumes tense, TAXIS and STATUS) could be viewed as the corollary to the category of MANNER (which subsumes aspect and mood).⁶³ By the same token, tense and TAXIS can be viewed as categories that QUANTIFY events (with respect to E^S or E^D), while STATUS QUALIFIES events (with respect to P^S). Such a verbal system might look something like that in Table 2-21.

DISTANCE [+DEIXIS]			MANNER [±DEIXIS]	
qualified (E^S)	quantified		quantified (E^D)	qualified (E^D)
	+ E^S	± E^S ⁶⁴		
STATUS	TENSE	TAXIS	ASPECT	MOOD

Table 2-21. Hierarchy of Bulgarian Verbal Categories.

All predications in Bulgarian include at least one DEICTIC and non-DEICTIC category. DEICTIC categories necessarily make reference either to the speech event and/or to the participant of the speech event. DEICTIC QUANTIFICATION characterizes the narrated event in terms of location in the temporal-spatial continuum. By contrast, DEICTIC QUALIFICATION characterizes the narrated event

in terms of its relationship to the speaker/narrator. From a cognitive point of view, the speaker always figures in the placement of the events of the utterance, either explicitly or implicitly. Thus E^s implies P^s . What is unusual about Bulgarian in the Slavic context is that this reference to the speaker can potentially be reflected in the verbal morphology. In [\pm DEICTIC] categories, the narrated event itself is either QUANTIFIED or QUALIFIED. Just as the distinction between the QUANTIFIER aspect and the QUALIFIER mood can be neutralized in certain contexts so that these two categories merge into a single category of MANNER (Aronson 1977:14), so too can the distinction be neutralized between the [$+$ DEICTIC] QUALIFYING category (i.e. STATUS) and [$+$ DEICTIC] QUANTIFYING categories (especially, but not exclusively that of TAXIS). Moreover, the distinction between DEICTIC and non-DEICTIC categories may be neutralized in certain contexts, specifically in subordinate clauses of time and condition as will be seen in subsequent chapters.

A second assumption of this study is that the Bulgarian verbal system is in transition (or EMERGENT (Hopper 1987), a concept which is discussed further in Chapter 6), at least for speakers of the educated Sofia dialect. This transition is due partly to the fact that the normative language (Standard Literary Bulgarian) is in fact an artificial construct that was assembled by grammarians based on various dialect features (predominantly northeastern). Some of the distinctions prescribed are what Aronson 1982 calls "unnatural" or artificial; this applies, in particular, to the distinction between the reported and perfect forms and imperfective aorist/imperfect forms of the third conjugation. Other forms prescribed in the 1983 Academy Grammar, such as the future perfect-in-past and reported future forms, are in fact not used by most educated speakers and do not appear in literary prose (or if they do, they are quite rare). This study will discuss i) how the traditional semantic categories of tense, aspect, and mood interrelate in subordinate clauses of time and condition (and what role the non-traditional categories of STATUS and TAXIS play); ii) what consequences this semantic and pragmatic interrelationship might have for the verbal system as a whole, and iii) what implications this interrelationship might have for a more precise understanding of the conceptualization or cognitive nature of verbal categories themselves, not only in Bulgarian or the Slavic family, but ultimately in any language.

Notes to Chapter 2

⁶For example, Chvany 1988 refers to these forms as indirect tenses which distance the narrative both from a narrated event and from the discourse situation. Aronson 1977 considers them to be neither temporal nor modal, but rather to express the category of STATUS. The classification of these forms will be discussed in § 2.8.

⁷This has already been done, for example, by Chvany 1988 and Aronson 1967.

⁸Since the DEFINITION, or meaning at word level, does not necessarily correspond to its meaning within the system, it is possible to refer to a present tense form, rather than a non-past which is opposed to a past. Traditionally in structuralist studies, the present has been referred to as an unmarked non-past, which, along with the future, is opposed to the marked past tense.

⁹Macedonian also has both aspectual oppositions. While the two distinctions are quite restricted in Contemporary Standard Serbian and Croatian, they become more vital in the more southern dialects. Although Upper Sorbian/Lusatian has imperfect and aorist forms, all imperfects are imperfective and all aorists are perfective; the opposition therefore is that of the perfective/imperfective.

¹⁰Although Elson is discussing Macedonian here, this distinction is relevant for Bulgarian as well since both languages have the imperfect/aorist and imperfective/perfective opposition.

¹¹For a discussion on the relationship of aspect to the distinction of foreground/background in discourse, see Hopper 1982b, Hopper and Thompson 1980 and Chvany 1985.

¹²For a discussion of the relationship of SIMPLEX IMPERFECTIVES with respect to the imperfective/perfective opposition and the role of *Aktionsarten*, see Forsyth 1970 and Isačenko 1960. Note that the term *Aktionsarten* has been used for different notions by different authors. It is used here only in the sense of Aronson 1985.

¹³The future-in-past, future perfect, future perfect-in-past are grouped with the other future tenses.

¹⁴For those who prefer characterizing the present as a non-past, the notation would be **E not-before S**.

¹⁵For a discussion of the problems of tense reference in gerunds (i.e. adverbial participles), see Rappaport 1984.

¹⁶Likewise, relative non-past would be **E not-before R**.

¹⁷This notation is taken from Jakobson's 1971[1957] article where E = event, P = participant, and S = speech, ^N = narrated. Thus, E^S = speech event, E^N = narrated event, P^S = participant in speech event and P^N = participant in narrated event.

¹⁸The present is an apt illustration of how the DEFINITION of a tense differs from the meaning of a tense category in a language. Galton 1976, for example, argues that the present tense is actually timeless, i.e. outside the temporal plane, since a present action may extend back into the past or forward into the future. Most analyses (e.g., Aronson 1967; Friedman 1977) describe the present tense as an unmarked non-past whose meaning is not specified as past, and therefore can be used for both past and non-past.

¹⁹The fact that verbs of motion are used in the present tense form with future meaning appears to be a TYPOLOGICAL UNIVERSAL in the sense used here. For a discussion on the progressive paradox, see Dowty 1979:133-38.

²⁰See, for example, Friedman 1977 where he claims that in Macedonian the imperfect is marked for durativity, i.e. its invariant meaning is durative, while the aorist is the unmarked member of the opposition. See also fn. 23.

²¹The adverbial *v toja mig* 'at that moment' also provides an RT for the event, in this case a contextually specified RT.

²²The perfective aorist *se napi^{P.Ao}* is also acceptable with *na njakolko pāti* in order to summarize the repeated events as a whole.

²³For a more thorough discussion of this problem, see Friedman (1977:24-33). Friedman suggests subsuming coordination under durativity to account for data where the imperfect expresses durativity but not coordination. Friedman, however, does not view coordination as necessarily

temporal, since it accounts for the simultaneous (versus sequential) use of the imperfect and can therefore be taken as aspectual. Chvany 1988 also argues that the [+CONTINUATIVE] feature of the imperfect implies a reference point. See also Friedrich 1974 for data on Greek.

²⁴Friedrich 1974 argues this quite convincingly for Homeric Greek.

²⁵See also M. Elson 1981.

²⁶This is essentially a modification of the framework of different levels found in Timberlake 1982a and later Chung and Timberlake 1985.

²⁷By this is meant verbs which are potentially telic, but which, taken out of their context, do not specify whether or not the telos has been reached.

²⁸For a review of Lindstedt 1985, see Friedman 1986a and Chvany 1987.

²⁹This term has been adapted from Janakiev 1962.

³⁰This is regardless of the situation at earlier stages of this language.

³¹Aronson 1982 discusses this problem of homonymy extensively. There is an accentual distinction in non-derived stems, viz. stem stress in the imperfect versus end stress in the aorist, but this distinction exists only in the Western, not the Eastern dialects of Bulgarian. At the same time this stress shift is codified in the literary language, based in the main on the Northeastern dialects. Thus, the derived form *napisvax* is both the imperfect and aorist form, while the non-derived form *gléda* is the imperfect, and *glédd* is the aorist. Thus, the norm allows, but does not require a contrast.

³²The 1983 *Pravopisn rečnik na sávremennija bǎlgarski knižoven ezik* is used for the source of all forms in this work and it lists *vključvax* as the appropriate imperfective aorist form. It is interesting to note that both *vključvax* and *vklúčvax* are listed as possible forms in the 1975 *Pravogovoren rečnik na bǎlgarski ezik*.

³³A peasant from the region around Sofia.

³⁴The crux of this problem is whether or not the presence versus absence of the copular auxiliary in the third person forms (i.e. I-participle plus or minus the third person form of the verb 'to be') consistently distinguishes the perfect versus the reported.

³⁵Note that English rules of sequence of tense require a pluperfect here.

³⁶There is also much disagreement as to which of these terms is more appropriate. Lindstedt 1985 argues for non-specificity, Stankov 1969 for indefiniteness.

³⁷Aronson uses the term marked here to refer to the presence of a feature, that is, a plus specification.

³⁸*Šte* is referred to here as a modal particle, although its morphosyntactic status has not yet been established in the sense of a particle versus an auxiliary. Other scholars, Perčev (1984:50-53), for example, consider it to be an auxiliary. For further discussion, see Chapter 4, § 4.3.

³⁹As in English, the future particle may be omitted and the imperfective present used to indicate an imminent future event: *Utre se vrāštam vednaga sled rabota* 'Tomorrow I am coming back home right after work.'

⁴⁰The now archaic Turkish borrowing *effendi* is a respectful term of address used either for educated Turks or any member of the intelligentsia.

⁴¹The future copula *bāda*, *bādeš*, *bāde*, *bādem*, *bādete*, *bādam* may also be found.

⁴²See Rudin 1985 for a discussion of the status of *da* as an auxiliary.

⁴³It is also interesting to note that English distinguishes these two senses with two distinct tenses: the future-in-past in (2.50) 'would tear' (or, more colloquially, 'was going to tear') and the future-perfect-in-past in (2.51) 'would have helped' and 'would have understood'. As will be seen in the next section, Bulgarian replaces the future-perfect-in-past in this function with the future-in-past.

⁴⁴As with the future perfect, the copular auxiliary *bāda* may be used instead of *sām* here.

⁴⁵For example, the Russian term for aspect is *vid*, which can be translated as 'view'.

⁴⁶In the colloquial variant, *nedej* is used with the second person present tense form (e.g., *nedej da pīeš*).

⁴⁷These forms, which, strictly speaking, are not imperatives when they do not refer to the second person, have also been considered examples of *da* as a modal particle or the conjunctive mood. See § 2.7.5.

⁴⁸*Drugar* is the Bulgarian equivalent of the Russian "Comrade".

⁴⁹There are, however, some rare traces, for example, the vestigial infinitive form in negative imperatives, e.g., *nedej govori* 'don't say that!' mentioned in § 2.7.1. and after the verbs (*ne*) *moga* 'to be able' and *ne smeja* 'not dare to', e.g., *Ne smeja napravi tova* 'I don't dare do that' (Scallan 1984:349).

⁵⁰Joseph 1988 has suggested that an analysis of *da* using the criteria suggested by Zwicky 1985, which argues against the category of particle, and a notion of Rule Constellation (Janda and Joseph 1986 and [forthcoming]) might be useful in accounting for *da*.

⁵¹The Western dialects, however, allow ending-stress for the aorist forms versus stem-stress for the imperfect. Thus, the norm permits a distinction based on stress: aorist: *gledáx, gledál*, and imperfect: *glédax, glédal*. As Aronson 1982 points out, however, the Western dialects lack the imperfect I-participle. Therefore, the norm codifies an artificial system that does not exist in any Bulgarian dialect.

⁵²Note that the imperfect reported forms are homonymous with the present reported forms. The problem of homonymy is discussed by Aronson 1986.

⁵³Although these forms (technically the imperfect I-participle plus the 3rd person auxiliary) are not found in the standard grammars, Friedman 1986b cites their use by educated speakers. See also Aronson 1986.

⁵⁴Friedman (1986b:178-9) points out that an "indefinite pluperfect", the I-participle plus the 3rd person present auxiliary 'to be' plus *bil*, is acceptable to educated speakers as a neutral form, while the reported pluperfect "without the present auxiliary is limited to reports, deductions, statements of doubt and disbelief, etc."

⁵⁵The tendency to refer to these forms as evidential is due at least in part to the putative influence of the Turkish forms in *-miş*, which are used for evidential modality (Slobin and Aksu 1982). The actual degree of Turkish influence on this category in Slavic is debatable (see, for example, Fielder *forthc.*)

⁵⁶Stankov 1980 has argued in favor of such an EQUIPOLLENT opposition in explaining the evidential uses of the perfect, present and future by virtue of their lack of marking for both oppositions, which he terms [WITNESSED] and [UNWITNESSED].

⁵⁷Another possible variation would be the elimination of the [±CONFIRMATIVE] opposition in favor of the [±REPORTED] opposition.

⁵⁸Friedman has borrowed the term indefinite past (cf. fn 36) from traditional Bulgarian grammars as a convenient cover term for what is called here the perfect and what he has sometimes referred to as simply the I-participle [PC].

⁵⁹Friedman (1986b:179) does point out that current use suggests that the confirmative/non-confirmative opposition in the pluperfect forms has been sharpened to the point of being an equipollent opposition.

⁶⁰It should be kept in mind that Chvany's features are intended as the minimum necessary to generate the morphology of the Bulgarian verb, rather than to account for the utterance value of Bulgarian sentences, as is the intention here. Naturally her term DISCOURSE SITUATION should be taken to include reference to the speaker.

⁶¹Andersen (1980:12), however, suggests that auxiliary loss enabled Bulgarian to adapt the inherited perfect forms by exploiting what was *formerly* a stylistic difference.

⁶²The problem of these forms as examples of the category of STATUS is the subject of research in progress on the pragmatic function of auxiliary use with the I-participle (Fielder MS).

⁶³These two categories of MANNER and DISTANCE parallel Chvany's two overarching categories of Manner of action and Status of the utterance which divide the Bulgarian verbal system. Manner is non-deictic and status is deictic (Chvany 1988:83). The term distance was selected because of

the pervasiveness of the notion of distance as a cross-linguistic metaphor, cf. Fleischman 1989 and Dahl 1983. See also Lunt 1952.

⁶⁴Where the feature $\pm E^s$ implies that the quantification is mediated through another E^n , in other words, E^n/E^s .