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**OF ALL THE SLAVS MY FAVORITES**

**IN HONOR OF HOWARD I. ARONSON  
ON THE OCCASION OF HIS 66TH BIRTHDAY**

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## Hunting the Elusive Evidential: The Third-Person Auxiliary as a Boojum in Bulgarian

“Just the Place for a Snark!” the Bellman cried,  
As he landed his crew with care;  
Supporting each man on the top of the tide  
By a finger entwined in his hair.  
“Just the place for a Snark! I have said it twice:  
That alone should encourage the crew.  
Just the place for a Snark! I have said it thrice:  
What I tell you three times is true.”

— (Carroll 1876: 3)

### 1. Landing

The significance of Howard I. Aronson’s seminal work on verbal categories—with particular but not exclusive reference to Bulgarian and Georgian—is seen in the fact that four of the articles in this collection are devoted to some aspect of that topic.<sup>1</sup> It was Aronson (1967: 87) who first pointed out that the term WITNESSED does not capture the invariant meaning of the synthetic simple preterites of Bulgarian and who proposed the term CONFIRMATIVE, which he considered an example of Jakobson’s grammatical category STATUS, defined by Jakobson (1957: 4/1971: 134) as a qualifier of the narrated event without involving participants in the narrated event or reference to the speech event.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, Aronson (1977: 13–14) pro-

<sup>1</sup> It is inevitable that there should be some overlap among the articles in providing background. Since each article should be able to stand on its own, however, I beg the reader’s indulgence if some passages utilize the same material as Alexander (2002), Fielder (2002), and McClain (2002).

<sup>2</sup> We should note, however, as does Jakobson (1957: 13 and 1971: 135), that Lunt (1952: 93) used the term *vouched-for* for this same phenomenon in Macedonian, which is Bulgarian’s closest linguistic relative. The description of such a phenomenon in terms of literal witnessing is first attested, for Turkish, in the 11th century (Dankoff 1982: 412). Stankov (1967) also recognized that ‘witnessed’ could not function as the literal invariant meaning of the Bulgarian past definite and that it can be used for the personal confirmation of unwitnessed events, but he

posed that Jakobson's definitions of the categories MOOD and STATUS be altered to define MOOD as the (ontological) qualification of the narrated event and STATUS as the relationship of the participant in the speech event to the narrated event. It was in line with this thinking, as well as on the basis of my own research (Friedman 1982a, 1986a) that I concluded that auxiliary omission in the Bulgarian perfect (indefinite past) was not constitutive of a morphologically marked *reported mood* in Bulgarian, and that 'reportedness' was in fact a contextual variant meaning of the unmarked past deriving from its opposition to the marked, confirmative past.<sup>3</sup> In this article honoring the many achievements of Howard I. Aronson, I wish to return to the theme of Balkan verbal categories, which he first encouraged me to pursue as part of my dissertation research in a conversation we had at the Woodlawn Tap (informally known as "Jimmy's," after its first owner). One of the keystones of the argument that there is a paradigmatically distinct evidential category in Bulgarian is the apparent neutralization of tense in the auxiliariless third person (see Alexander 2002). I have argued that every use of the unmarked past with apparent present meaning contains a past reference, *i.e.*, marking for past tense is not neutralized in the auxiliariless unmarked past (*e.g.*, Friedman 1986a, 1988a). Here I shall add to that evidence by adducing the fact that present admirative questions can be asked in Albanian but not in Bulgarian, Macedonian, or Turkish.

## 2. Evidential Speech

Before turning to the data, however, I would like to address the general question of EVIDENTIAL as a category in Bulgarian (also addressed by Alexander 2002 and Fielder 2002). In his study of the contrast between prescription and description in relation to the Bulgarian norm, Aronson (1982: 55) points out that the prescribed *jat*-alternation, unlike the alternation actually occurring in Northeast Bulgarian dialects, is neither phonologically conditioned nor correlated with any morphological function but is rather an unpredictable, artificial normative creation. In a footnote to this observation he adds: "The very existence of a category of 'reportedness' in Bulgarian (*i.e.*, the existence of a formal and semantic opposition between forms with the auxiliary *e, sa* in the third person and those without) may be yet another example of a category im-

argued that only certain types of unwitnessed events can be felicitously rendered by the past definite, *e.g.*, generally known facts, events treated "as if witnessed," etc.

<sup>3</sup> Moreover, I argued that the new auxiliaries using *l*-participles (*štjal, bil, etc.*) were involved in the STATUS opposition as marked nonconfirmatives rather than as constitutive of a totally independent category EVIDENTIAL. Fielder (2002) takes a similar approach when she writes: "I use the term EVIDENTIAL, as a subvariety of STATUS ...."

posed upon Bulgarian from 'without' and one not naturally existing within the system of Bulgarian. For this, see the article by Victor Friedman in the present volume [Friedman 1982a]." In that same article, while discussing the artificial exclusion of the imperfect *l*-participle plus auxiliary from various normative descriptions of Bulgarian, Aronson (1982: 56) also writes: "But, in reality, the opposition reported/non-reported is only weakly implemented in the overall system of the Bulgarian verb, if it is present at all [...] The fact that 'non-reported' forms (*e.g.*, the traditional 'perfect') are attested without the third person auxiliaries (*e, sa*) indicates that the opposition is marginal, if it exists at all. For details see, among others, Andrejčin (1949: §262), Maslov (1956: 225) and especially Roth (1979: 126–29) and Friedman in the present volume." Later still, with special reference to Georgian, Aronson (1991) built on Jakobson (1957/1971), greatly expanding on Jakobson's initial, incomplete set of universal verbal categories and, among other things, accepted my argument for resultativity as a distinct category (Friedman 1977: 98, Aronson 1991: 126–27). In that article, Aronson (1991: 116–17) repeats the standard Andrejčinian/Jakobsonian interpretation of evidentiality in Bulgarian, although he characterizes that analysis as "highly suspect" and adds: "see Friedman 1982[a] for a more realistic interpretation of the Bulgarian data." (Aronson 1991: 129). Aronson (1991: 129–30) continues in another note: "The notional meaning of 'evidential' is easily derivable from the grammatical category of STATUS (as Friedman has demonstrated for a number of languages), rendering a category of EVIDENTIAL unnecessary. I agree with Friedman and know of no language that has a grammatical category that has evidential as its invariant meaning. Evidential is given in Table I, but all the evidence indicates that it should not be." Although I have adduced dozens of examples in various articles (Friedman 1982a, 1986a, 1988a, 1999, 2000) to demonstrate the point that Aronson concurs with, various grammars and analyses of Bulgarian continue to treat third-person auxiliary omission in the unmarked past as a grammatical (*i.e.*, paradigmatic) rather than a discourse-pragmatic phenomenon.

## 3. A Paradigm's Tale

Fielder (2002 and previous work cited there) has contributed greatly to understanding the conditions under which the third-person auxiliary is likely to be present or absent in Bulgarian (and also in the closely related eastern Macedonian dialects). However, the characterization of SCREEVE (Fielder 2002) misses the fact that the term (from Georgian *mc'k'rivi* 'row') takes the notion of paradigm as a given. Šanidze (1973: 215–18) uses *mc'k'rivi* precisely for defining a paradigmatic set defined by a unified grammatical meaning and differentiated only by person and number. A given group of

*mc'k'rivebi* 'screeves' unified by some other morpho-syntactic feature(s) constitute a *seria* 'series,' which is a larger group of paradigmatic sets. Aronson uses SCREEVE to avoid the ambiguity of English TENSE, which sometimes means 'temporal verbal category' and other times 'paradigmatic set.'<sup>4</sup> Although it is true that the opacity of *screeve* will not raise any association for linguists who do not know Georgian, it is nonetheless the case that a screeve is a kind of paradigm (pace Aronson as cited in Fielder 2002).<sup>5</sup> It is indeed true, as any linguist who does field work involving morphology knows, that the notion of paradigm is a linguistic abstraction whose "reality" in "the mind of the speaker" is not a conscious one. Moreover, we do need a term for non-paradigm-forming variation. I would therefore suggest a term wholly divorced from paradigmaticity: *boojum*. The *boojum* is defined in *Webster's New International Dictionary* (second edition, 1954: 380) as "a species of snark the hunters of which 'softly and silently vanish away.'" By a process of metonymy, I apply the effect of the *boojum* to the *boojum* itself when using it as a linguistic term and define it as a grammatical element signifying discourse-pragmatic variation rather than paradigm-formation. A linguistic *boojum* is thus capable of "softly and silently vanishing" without forming the paradigm that its hunters seek.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4. Hunting the Standard

In this regard, both Aronson (1982: 61) and Fielder (2002) raise the problem that standard languages which create new distinctions by combining elements from different actually existing diasystems produce a disjuncture between prescription and usage that results in endless counterexamples to ("violations of") prescriptive rules. Already in Friedman (1982a: 150), I hinted at an ideological basis behind Andrejčín's complexification of the analysis of the Bulgarian verb, a point that Fielder (2002) also makes. Fielder (2002) notes my earlier citation of Kazandžiev (1943) in Friedman (1982a: 150). In his work, Kazandžiev makes a connection between the complexity of the Bulgarian verbal system and Bulgarian linguistic (and by explicit extension, "racial") superiority over precisely the languages of the Allies and the Axis (English, French, Russian, German, Italian). From the point of view of com-

<sup>4</sup> Šanidze (1973: 215) introduces the term *mc'k'rivi* owing to exactly the same sorts of ambiguities in Georgian *dro* 'tense' and *k'ilo* 'mood.'

<sup>5</sup> This definition takes for granted that all the other elements of grammatical meaning shared by the members of the screeve can be defined in terms of Jakobsonian invariants.

<sup>6</sup> Although this idea occurred to me independently, it turns out that a similar usage is to be found in physics for a singularity that can form in superfluid helium-3. For more details, see Gardiner (1981: 34).

parative grammar, the book is silly, but as an example of linguistic ideology (in the sense of Friedrich 1989, Silverstein 1979, Woolard and Schieffelin 1994, Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity 1998; cf. Friedman 1994a, 1997), it is instructive:

To the great honor and glory of the Bulgarian language, the Bulgarian verb surpasses the verbs of the most cultured languages, and moreover surpasses them *brilliantly*. The verb is the crown of the Bulgarian language ... (Kazandžiev 1943: 210)<sup>7</sup>

Another point worth remembering is that Andrejčín's/Andrejczin's (1938, 1944, 1949, 1983) analysis of the Bulgarian verb, which is the basis of the norm as it has been promulgated both within Bulgaria and outside it since World War II (see Alexander 2002 for detailed bibliographic discussion), was not universally accepted immediately upon being proposed. To the contrary, Andrejčín's analysis, which involved numerous near-homonymous, totally homonymous, and even non-existent paradigms (see Deržavin in Andrejčín 1949: 5; cf. also Guentchéva 1996: 49), was bitterly opposed by some Bulgarian linguists.<sup>8</sup> Thus, in answer to Aronson's (1982: 57) question concerning prescription vs. description in Bulgarian grammar cited by both Alexander (2002) and Fielder (2002), let us consider the following quotation from a Bulgarian grammarian whom I referred to in an earlier work (Friedman 1982a: 151). Popželjazkov (1962: 89–90), after citing many counterexamples to Andrejčín's analysis, writes:

"From all that has been adduced until now, it is clear that the basis for the creation of the reported mood is not the actual existence of special grammatical forms in the structure of our language, hidden until now from the gaze of our earlier grammarians and only now captured by the delicate sensibilities of the new grammarians and identified and

<sup>7</sup> In the original:

"За голѣма честь и слава на българския езикъ, българскиятъ глаголъ превъзхожда глаголитъ на най-културнитъ езици и то ги превъзхожда *блѣскаво*. Глаголътъ е вѣнца на българския език, ..."

<sup>8</sup> Andrejczin (1938: 57) gives a symmetrical table made up of three series of nine screeves each for a total of 27. Of these 27 screeves, seven are 100% homonymous with other screeves. Leaving those to one side, of the remaining 20 screeves, five are distinguished only by the presence or absence of a third-person auxiliary. Among the screeves still cited despite the lack of evidence for their existence are those illustrated by 3 sg. masc. *štjal bil da e pravil* and *štjal e da e pravil* (Guentchéva 1996: 49; cf. Tables 3 and 4 below). Andrejczin (1938: 57) also includes two screeves represented by 3 sg. masc. *bil bil pravil*, and many other interesting curiosities, but their examination must be saved for a future article on creativity in prescriptive paradigm formation.

arranged into a new grammatical category—the reported mood. These forms existed earlier both in our language and in our grammars, their place was in the indicative mood and they were analyzed there and explained. Their current separation and isolation into a separate grammatical category—the reported mood—constitutes an ill-considered creation, the fruit of a chance whim, constructed not to enrich and explicate our forms of verbal expression but rather to sow extraordinary confusion in the grammatical explanation of our language and to establish in our schools a kind of living hell, a horrible violence against the scholastic spirit—not only for pupils in middle school and high school, but also college students and even the teachers themselves, who, as in the tale of “The Emperor’s New Clothes,” must vouch for something that they themselves cannot figure out, insofar as they would not be able to support it with concrete, clear, examples from our living language, through which they would hopelessly search for texts illustrating the reported mood in the 1 and 2 sg and pl of all the reported tenses, as for identical forms in the various tenses.

Insofar as a mood is being created, so to speak, for the sake of one form—that of the 3 sg and pl (and yet our linguistic reality rejects in certain instances even this, as was made clear in the texts taken from “The Spring of Belonoga—P.R. Slavejkov, “Spring”—Vazov, “Mama’s Little Baby”—L. Karavelov, and others), and, moreover, it brings such chaos into the study of the verbal forms of moods—such a mood, poor in its forms, incomprehensible in its essence, artificial in its construction, does not have the right to exist among the other grammatical categories of our language. It is ballast, an unjustified, noisome ‘novelty’ for the burdening of pupils, who even without this learn the complete system of grammatical material only with great difficulty, whence comes constant lamentation over their feeble success in the study of grammar.”<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> I have attempted to translate Popželjazkov’s Bulgarian in a way that will be true to both the meaning and spirit of the original, *i.e.*, I have tried as best I can to balance the idiomatic and the literal. I give here the original Bulgarian, so that those who can read it can judge my efforts for themselves:

От всичко, изложено дотук, става ясно, че основанието за създаване на преизказното наклонение не е реалното съществуване на особени граматически форми в строежа на нашия език, останали скрити досега от погледа на предишните наши граматичници и обособени и подредени в новата граматическа категория — преизказното наклонение. Тези форми са съществували и порано както в езика, така и в граматиките ни, тяхното

When Popželjazkov’s invective against Andrejčín’s analysis is compared with the relative unity that has prevailed in Bulgarian linguistic circles (but see also Fielder 2002 on post-1989 Bulgarian usage in the popular press), one is tempted to suggest that, like Noam Chomsky in the United States or Nikolaj Marr in the Soviet Union, Ljubomir Andrejčín was a linguist engaged in a power struggle for the hegemony of his ideas and analyses, and like those other linguists, Andrejčín was successful.<sup>10</sup> In Marr’s case, the victory only lasted as long as Stalin; in Chomsky’s, it is interesting to speculate how long it will last. Although there is much hagiographic and critical literature on Chomsky, the following web site addresses contain particularly interesting analyses:

място е било в изявителното наклонение и там са бивали разглеждани и обяснявани. Сегашното им отделение и обособяване в отделна граматична категория — преизказно наклонение — се явява като едно недостатъчно обмислено творение, плод на случайно хрумване, създадено не за да обогати и изясни изразните форми на нашата реч, а да внесе едно необикновено объркване в изясняването на граматичния строеж на езика ни и да настани в училището една жива мъка, едно ужасно насилие над учениковия дух — не само за учениците от средния курс, но и за ония от горния курс и за студентите, пък и за самите преподаватели, които, както в приказката “Новите дрехи на царя”, са длъжни да твърдят неща които сами не могат да отгадаят, тъй като не биха могли да ги подкрепят с конкретни, ясни примери из живата ни реч, из която безнадежно биха търсили текстове, що се отнася до случаите с формите за преизказване за 1 и 2 л. ед. и мн. ч. на всички преизказни времена, както и за еднаквите форми на различните времена.

А щом като едно наклонение се създава, така да се каже, само за хатъра на една форма — тая за 3 л. ед. и мн. ч. (пък езиковата ни действителност отрича в известни случаи и нея, както бе изяснено с взетите текстове из “Извора на Белоногата” — П. Р. Славейков, “Пролет” — Вазов, “Маминото детенце” — Л. Каравелов и др.) а, от друга страна, внася такава хаотичност при изучаването на глаголните форми на наклоненията — такава наклонение, бедно по форми, неразбираемо по същина, изкуствено по съзидане, няма право на съществуване между другите граматически категории в нашите граматички. То е един баласт, една пакостна, с нищо неоправдана “новост” за обременяване на учениците, които и без това изучават с мъка изобщо цялата система на граматичния материал, от което идват постоянните оплаквания от техния слаб успех при граматичното обучение.

<sup>10</sup> See Fielder (2002) and Alexander (2002) for more discussion of the role of power in grammatical analysis.

<<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Delphi/8389/metal3.htm>>  
 <<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Delphi/8389/phunding.htm>>  
 <<http://www.wernercohn.com/Chomsky.html>>.<sup>11</sup>

For more on Marr, see Cherchi and Manning (Forthcoming). The problems posed by Andrejčin's work illustrate the belief that theory supersedes data. Thus, when something does not fit the theory, the data are excluded rather than the theory being modified. As Chafe (1970: 122) writes: "When introspection and surface evidence are contradictory, it is the former which is decisive."

Consider in this regard another quotation which, while aimed at a different language, also works for Bulgarian:

"With regard to marketing your theory, this is a cinch because of the way the academic world works. Your theory won't work, even for English, right? That's a foregone conclusion. But for twenty or thirty years, other people will make such a good living patching it up that they'll praise you as a genius even while they're bashing the daylight out of you, since without you, where would they be?"<sup>12</sup>

Thus, the "violation," "overuse" and "experimentation," noted by Fielder (2002) in current Bulgarian journalism can be interpreted as a return to the actual situation as described by Popželjazkov in 1962 (see also Stankov 1967: 330–31).

### 5. The Imperfect Participle's Lesson

Aside from the problem created by the fact that the third-person auxiliary in the past indefinite is a boojum and not constitutive of a paradigm, there is the problem created by the fact that Andrejčin's system explicitly excludes the imperfect *l*-participle with third-person auxiliary despite the fact that this form is used by all educated Bulgarians, including Andrejčin himself (Aronson 1967: 91). As Fielder (2002) cogently observes: "since language is inherently a human based activity, then an idealized theory that excludes usage cannot provide a satisfactory account." Alexander (2000: 299–300) attempts to overcome the difficulties created by Andrejčin's success in imposing a model of the Bulgarian verb that leaves out actually existing forms by positing yet another paradigmatic set, which she calls the GENERALIZED PAST. This set of paradigms, which, she writes: "I am hesitant to call a 'paradigm'..." (Alexander 2002), is totally homonymous with past-tense

<sup>11</sup> I am indebted to Howard I. Aronson for bringing these URLs to my attention.

<sup>12</sup> <<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Delphi/8389/metal3.htm>>.

forms already described except for one feature: the occurrence of the auxiliary in the third person with the imperfect *l*-participle. These paradigms do not fit into Alexander's (2000: 293) synoptic table, and in her earlier work she described them as "stand[ing] outside and above all three of the parameters which structure the Bulgarian verbal system—tense, mood, and aspect" (Alexander 2000: 299–300). In terms of mood she describes it as "neither indicative nor renarrated but something in between." Alexander (2002) clarifies her position by stating that mood is neutralized. In terms of tense she writes: "it means simply 'past' in the most generalized sense and does not participate in the complex set of semantic oppositions whereby other past tenses are opposed to each other." The view that "in terms of aspect, it is formed only from simplex unpaired verbs, which by definition do not participate in the aspectual oppositions so pervasive throughout Bulgarian" (Alexander 2000: 300) is corrected and clarified in Alexander (2002), where she writes: "[T]he generalized past is frequently encountered in simplex imperfective verbs." I would suggest that "unmarked past," as I have described it elsewhere (*e.g.*, Friedman 1986a, 1999), fits the facts quite nicely—and in this I concur with Alexander (2002).

### 6. Standardization's Dream

Fielder (2002) suggests that "the path of grammaticalization can be reversed, a possibility not allowed in canonical interpretations of grammaticalization theory, one of the tenets of which is unidirectionality (Bybee *et al.* 1994). Alternatively, it is possible that the supposed grammaticalization was never fully achieved, but rather was artificially frozen in some sort of arrested state of development by early codification (or, perhaps, because of different relative chronology with respect to the acquisition of confirmativity by the definite past)." She also notes that: "external factors are crucial components in the process of grammaticalization, specifically codification and the attitudes towards codification (see also Friedman 1994a)." In Friedman (1993: 25) I made the following comparison between Macedonian and Albanian, on the one hand, and Bulgarian, on the other, with regard to the role of notions of dialectal compromise and time of codification:

"In morphology, [codifiers of] both Macedonian and Albanian have made conscious efforts to integrate forms from outside the region serving as the dialectal base [for the standard language]. Here, too, innovative forms seem to be favored, as is the case with the Macedonian third person singular present marker  $-\emptyset$  as opposed to the Western  $/-t/$  or the Albanian first person singular present marker  $/-j/$  as opposed to North Tosk  $/-nj/$ . On the other hand, Macedonian

has integrated the Eastern (and older) shape of the masculine definite article with the Western (and newer) tripartite distinction on the basis of the relatively broad range in which these two phenomena occur, whereas Albanian has not integrated dialectal variation in the shape of the definite article because the variants were too marginal. Variation in the Albanian indefinite article was also excluded, but out of consistency with the dialectal base. [...] Faik Konica proposed that Geg *nji* be used for feminine nouns and Tosk *një* for masculine, [a gender distinction that never occurs in Albanian,] but his proposal was not accepted (Byron 1976). In the codification of Literary Bulgarian, which is older than the codified standards of the languages of Macedonia, the one-member article system was chosen in connection with the northeastern dialectal base (three-member systems are restricted to the Rhodian dialects and a small pocket around Trăn near the Serbian border), but an entirely artificial distinction was created in order to incorporate both shapes of the masculine definite article [—one ending in /-t/ and one ending in a vowel—], which have a complex dialectal distribution. It was declared that the form in a consonant would be used in nominative functions and that in a vowel in oblique functions, despite the fact that no such distinction occurs in any Bulgarian dialect. [See Mayer 1988: 60–70 for discussion.] These morphological phenomena demonstrate a correlation between the time of codification and the incorporation of variants. In Bulgarian, where the fixing of standard norms was achieved earlier, an artificial grammatical solution was codified into the language whereas in Albanian, which achieved a unified standard at a later date, a choice was made and only one form entered the standard, although the Geg indefinite article is still in common use by Geg speakers even in formal situations. The Macedonian standard achieved integration without [creating] artificial distinctions, while in Romani the process of selection is still underway.”

Already in Friedman (1986b: 299) I suggested that third-person auxiliary omission in the past indefinite is no more grammaticalized in Bulgarian than the oblique masculine indefinite article.<sup>13</sup> Just as the latter was an artificial creation intended to incorporate dialectal compromise into a standard language that was being constructed at the same time that Greek was subjected to

<sup>13</sup> To be sure, auxiliary deletion occurs in dialects whereas the nominative/oblique article distinction does not, and moreover, the value assigned to it in standard Bulgarian has a basis in the grammatical categories of the language. Nonetheless, the standard rules do not represent actually occurring usage.

the diglossia of Katharevousa/Dhimotiki and Konica suggested his *një/nji* compromise, and just as Katharevousa has ended up with its own influences on actual Greek colloquial usage (cf. Kazazis 2002), so, too, Bulgarian auxiliary variation was codified and taught in such a way that, on the one hand, it must be viewed as an artificial creation, but on the other it has to some extent become “naturalized” (which is not to say, however, “grammaticalized”). The evidence thus supports Fielder’s (2002) second conclusion. McClain (2002) also adduces evidence from child language acquisition for the analysis of third-person auxiliary loss as an ongoing process.

### 7. The Auxiliary’s Fate

Having cited so many examples demonstrating the fact that third-person auxiliary omission does not mark the source of information (e.g., Friedman 1982a, 1986a, 1988a, 2000), I will not repeat myself but cite a new and concise illustration. The following example comes from a narrative I heard in Sofia in September 1999. The speaker was recounting a local legend from the 17th century about a wealthy Aromanian boy who had run off to Korçë (Albania) with a poor Macedonian girl and had gotten married and built a church there:

- (1) *Imalo e edin pop, i go oženil.*  
‘There was a priest, and he married him [to her].’

From the context, it is clear that the source of all the information is a single report, and yet the auxiliary is present for the background information and absent for the foregrounded information.<sup>14</sup> This is entirely in keeping with Fielder’s (2002 and references therein) arguments. Another example worth citing is an imperfect *l*-participle with auxiliary that cannot possibly have any non-confirmative (unwitnessed, inferred) nuances:

- (2) *Ami az pomnja majka mu, bre, tja mi e splitala kosite na plitki, učela me e pesni da peja ...* (Stankov 1967: 341).  
‘Hey, but I do remember his mother, she used to plait my hair in braids, she taught me songs to sing ...’

The example is in keeping with Alexander’s (2002) generalized past (my unmarked past). See Alexander (2000: 301–03) for many more excellent examples.

<sup>14</sup> It is interesting to note that Andrejčín (1983: 320) claims that the auxiliary can be omitted from the past indefinite with a stative meaning, which seems to be the opposite of what one would expect.

There are three uses of the unmarked past (usually but not always without the auxiliary) which have the potential to be interpreted as presents and are adduced for such interpretations, *i.e.*, for the argument that EVIDENTIAL neutralizes the present/past-tense opposition and is therefore an independent grammatical category: reported, dubitative, and admirative. A typical reported example would be the following.

- (3) V Sofija vremeto *bil*o hubavo ‘  
[It has been said that] in Sofia the weather *is* nice.’  
(conversation, September 1988).

Consider, however, the following example that is equally “present” reported in its meaning but has the third-person auxiliary:

- (4) ... srešnahme edna babička, nosi dva gäläba ... Kupih gi—kazva ... Momčeto mi *e bolno*, uplašä se, če šteše da go pretäpče kon, ta mi kazaha da vzema särce ot gäläb dokato e ošte živ, i da mu go dam da glätne. Ej bože, kato počervenja onzi hadži Petär, kato kipna ... —Ti—kazva—kakva si, ne te li e sram ... Daj sam gäläbite ... Babata raztrepera, dade gi.—A kato ti *e bilo bolno* deteto—kaza hadži Petär, nä ti pari da go ceriš (Demina 1959: 322, n. 36).  
‘... we met a little old lady carrying two pigeons ... I bought them—she says ... My boy *is sick*, he got frightened because he was almost trampled by a horse, so they told me to take the heart of a pigeon while it was still alive and give it to him to swallow. Oh Lord, how that Hadži Petär flushed, how he seethed... —You—he says—what [kind of person] are you, aren’t you ashamed ... Give the pigeons here ... The old woman began to tremble and gave them up.—And since your child *is sick* (*i.e.*, since you said your child was sick)—said Hadži Petär—here’s money for you to heal him.’

The use of a past tense to refer to a statement that was made in the present tense but is now ontologically past, however, is not the same thing as the neutralization of tense, as can be seen in the English sequence of tenses:

- (5) She forgot to tell me that she didn’t eat meat.  
(6) He asked if I was the new girl and I said I guessed I was.

In these examples, the present-tense clauses ‘I don’t eat meat’ and ‘I guess I am’ have been transposed to the past tense to “agree” with the pastness of the verb of reporting. In other words, a speech event that originally occurred in the present tense has been transposed to refer to its pastness relative to the moment of report. The same argument can be applied to any Bulgarian neutral

reported with an apparent present-tense meaning. Regardless of whether the verb of reporting is present or not, the reported speech event itself will always be past. The fact that the third-person auxiliary is a boojum in such contexts reinforces this interpretation.<sup>15</sup>

Dubitative usage always involves the sarcastic repetition of a real or implied previous statement as in the following example:

- (7) —Az dori ne ja *poznavam*!  
—Ne ja *poznaval*! Cjal svjat ja poznavä, toj ne ja poznaval!  
“I don’t even *know* her!”  
“He [said he] doesn’t *know* her! The whole world knows her, but he [said he] doesn’t *know* her!” (Maslov 1955: 314; cited in Aronson 1967: 95, 1991: 117)

Unlike the admirative and reported, for which auxiliated examples exist, I have not come across a dubitative with the auxiliary. Of the three types of usages, however, the dubitative is the most expressive, and this may account for the consistency of auxiliary deletion.<sup>16</sup> In any case, dubitative usage with apparent present meaning always involves the principle “replication invalidates” (Haiman 1995: 338). The same arguments that apply to a neutral report also apply to the dubitative, namely it must refer to a previous (hence past) statement. In sentence (7), for example, one could also translate the retort as ‘[He just said] he didn’t know her! ...’

Admirative usage in Bulgarian (and Macedonian, Turkish, and other Balkan languages) is the expression of surprise at a newly discovered fact (as we shall see, always a pre-existing state of affairs), most frequently with the verbs ‘be’ and ‘have.’ It was Conev (1910/11: 15–16) who was the first to ob-

<sup>15</sup> It is worth noting that the verb of reporting is not inherent in the verb form itself. Given the sentence ‘They say Bobi did it, but I don’t believe it,’ in Bulgarian one must say *Kazvat, če Bobi napravil tova, ama ne mi se vjarva*. It is not acceptable to say \**Bobi napravil tova, ama ne mi se vjarva* as a neutral report followed by the speaker’s evaluation. Note also that a present inference or future report or inference will not employ an *l*-participle unless some reference to the ontological past is involved (see Footnote 24 on similar restrictions on the use of *imiš* in Turkish).

<sup>16</sup> The admirative, too, has an element of expressivity, but while admirative usage may express mild surprise, dubitative usage is never mild (although it can be humorous). In a sense, I would suggest a situation that is the inverse of that proposed by Darden (1977), where it is suggested that admirative usage is an expressive dubitative. Darden argues that the dubitative is an expressive reported and the admirative is an expressive dubitative. I made a similar argument for the connection between admirativity and non-confirmativity in Friedman (1981). I would argue now, however, that while both the neutral reported and the admirative contain an element of acceptance as well as reservation, the pure rejection of the dubitative might account for greater consistency in auxiliary deletion.



serve in print the correspondence between Bulgarian and Turkish admirative expressions, although he did not offer any semantic or terminological elucidations.<sup>17</sup>

- (8) The use of the past indefinite is due to Turkish influence in instances such as:

*toj bil dobār čovek!*

'[It turns out that] he is a good man!'

*To bilo daleko!*

'It [turns out that it] is far!'

Cf. Turkish *ey* [modern standard *iyi*] *adam imiş, ozak* [modern standard *uzak*] *imiş*<sup>18</sup>

Conev did not distinguish perfect and reported paradigms. He was aware of the phenomenon of omission of the auxiliary, but interpreted it in a fashion precisely the opposite of Andrejčin's.<sup>19</sup> Thus, for Conev the admirative use of the Turkish indefinite past in *-miş* with a meaning of present surprise influenced the use of the Bulgarian past indefinite in *-l* with the same meaning.

Weigand (1923/24) was the first comparison of the Bulgarian "perfect" used with an apparent present meaning to express surprise in a manner reminiscent of the Albanian present admirative.<sup>20</sup> Weigand did not distinguish between a past indefinite tense and a reported mood but rather treated the [old] perfect as a single paradigm regardless of the presence or absence of the auxiliary. The first example comparing Bulgarian and Albanian is the following:

<sup>17</sup> Gołąb (1960) first observed the same parallels between Macedonian and Turkish.

<sup>18</sup> На турско влияние се дължи и употребата на минало неопределъно време въ случай като: *той билъ добъръ човекъ! То било далеко!* Срв. тур. *ей адам имиш, озак имиш.*

<sup>19</sup> To illustrate his conception of the difference, Conev (1911: 13) cites the following two sentences:

- (i) a. *Rekata pridošla.*  
b. *Rekata e pridoša.*  
'The river has risen.'

According to Conev, (1a) is used for a report or at the sight of the swollen river, *i.e.*, as a reported or as a purely resultative perfect, while (1b) is used for a deduction, *e.g.*, on the basis of the noise made by the river, or if the report is doubted, *i.e.*, the form *without* the auxiliary carries, according to Conev, a greater degree of conviction of the truth of the statement.

<sup>20</sup> The term "admirative" itself is based on Dozon's (1879: 226) French translation of Kristoforidhi's Greek term ἀποδόχητοι 'unexpected.' The Albanian term is *habitore* from *habi* 'surprise.' The Albanian admirative has a full range of nonconfirmative (reported, inferential, dubitative, etc.) functions. See Friedman 1981, 1999.

- (9) I meet a friend wearing a new coat:

*Ti si imal novo palto!*

'Oh, so you're wearing a new overcoat!'

(Albanian: *pas-ke* [modern *paske*] *tallagan të ri*).

Another example worth citing because of its striking relevance to recent events in the Balkans is the following:

- (10) *Ti si bil bogat čovek!*

'You are a rich man now,'

one says to a war profiteer.

(Albanian: *kjen-ke* [modern *qenke*] *njeri i pasëm* [modern standard *pasur*]).

Another of Weigand's examples illustrates, potentially, a crucial difference between eastern and western Bulgarian (*cf.* Fielder 2002):

- (11) *Toj govovil mnogo hubavo.*

'The man *speaks* really well, better than I thought he would.'

Here the form *govovil* is identified by Romanski (1926) as a mistake for *govorel*. It is possible, however, that Weigand was working with an informant from western Bulgaria, where, as Fielder (2002) and Andrejčin (1983: 353) correctly point out, the imperfect *l*-participle never developed (on the actual isogloss, see Friedman 1988b).<sup>21</sup> If this was indeed the case (and there is independent evidence in the form of ekavism in examples in Weigand's 1923/24 version), then this example demonstrates that admirative usage is not tied to the evolution of the imperfect *l*-participle but rather to the development of confirmativity in the synthetic past series. As I have argued elsewhere (Friedman 1981), admirative usage in Bulgarian (and, *mutatis mutandis* and *ceteris paribus*, Macedonian and Turkish) references the unmarked nonconfirmative nature of the so-called past indefinite. The meaning can be rendered as 'I did not expect it to be the case that X but it turns out that—contrary to what I would have been willing to confirm in the past and up to the moment of my discovery—X has been true all along.'

Another indication that admirative usage, like reported usage, involves past reference and not tense neutralization is the fact that the third-person auxiliary can occur, albeit rarely, as seen in example (12):<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> It is interesting to speculate that since the imperfect *l*-participle developed in both Macedonia and in eastern Bulgaria, western Bulgaria represents an extension of Serbian conservatism in this respect.

<sup>22</sup> Stojanov (1964: 382) gives the following context for this example:

- (12) Gledaj, gledaj kakāv čovek *e bil* toj, deto e napisal taja knižka!  
(Stojanov 1964: 382).

'Look, look at what kind of person this *is* who wrote this book[let]!'

Turning back now to Weigand's comparison with Albanian, like Dozon (1879: 226–27), Weigand confuses the diachronic origin of the Albanian admirative with the synchronic results. Dozon (1879: 226) only describes the synthetic admiratives, present and imperfect, which he labels imperfect and preterite, respectively, although one of his examples is actually a perfect admirative:

- (13) shpirti im *pasëka qenurë* shumë i ndershim sot ndë sytë të tu (Dozon 1879: 227)<sup>23</sup>

'my life *has been* very honored today in your eyes = you have saved my life'

In fact, however, the Albanian present admirative is a true present, albeit diachronically derived from an inverted perfect. It is thus related to but quite different from the Balkan Slavic uses of the unmarked past and the Turkish uses of *-miş* to signal nonconfirmativity.<sup>24</sup>

Table 1 gives the first-person singular of the present and past indicatives of a maximal Albanian paradigm demonstrating how the admirative is based on an inverted perfect, *i.e.*, the auxiliary 'have' (1 sg. pres. *kam*) of the active perfect is suffixed to a reduced short participle, which can then become an auxiliary and form new screeves. It is interesting to note that while both the present and imperfect auxiliaries can be used to form the admirative, the aorist cannot.<sup>25</sup>

Формата *e bil* е за преизказно сегашно време. Това личи от контекста, в който се намира тя, и от положението, че авторът на книжката (Л. Каравелов), е бил жив в момента, за който Т. Г. Влайков говори, и това обстоятелството му е било известно.

'The form *e bil* is for the reported present tense. This is clear from the context in which it occurs, and from the fact that the author of the book[let] under discussion (L. Karavelov) was alive at the moment about which T.G. Vljajkov is speaking, and this circumstance was known to him.'

<sup>23</sup> In modern standard Albanian: *Shpirti im paska qenë shumë i ndershëm sot në sytë të tu.*

<sup>24</sup> Aksu-Koç and Slobin (1986: 161) make the point that when Turkish (*i*)*miş* is suffixed to a non-past verb, the meaning can only be hearsay not inference, *i.e.*, the reference must have an element of the ontological past and cannot be a true non-past.

<sup>25</sup> The "double" and "second" perfects and pluperfects are marginal in the literary language, and the details of their use and meaning need not concern us here. Although the admirative is treated as a mood (*mënyre*) in traditional Albanian grammar, I have argued (Friedman 1981) that the category it marks is status, which is not itself modal, although it can interact with

Table 1. 1 sg. Indicative 'have' in Albanian

	Nonadmirative	Admirative
Present	kam	paskam
Perfect	kam pasur	paskam pasur
Imperfect	kisha	paskësha
Pluperfect (impf.)	kisha pasur	paskësha pasur
Double Perfect	kam pasë pasur	paskam pasë pasur
Double Pluperfect	kisha pasë pasur	paskësha pasë pasur
Aorist	pata	—
2nd Pluperfect (aor.)	pata pasur	—
2nd Double Pluperfect (aor.)	pata pasë pasur	—

In Friedman 1982b, I compared the Albanian and Turkish translations of *Baj Ganjo* with the Bulgarian original (Konstantinov 1895/1973, Konstantinov 1972, 1975) focusing specifically on the correspondence of Albanian admirative forms to the usages in Turkish and Bulgarian. The results are reproduced here in Table 2:

Table 2. Admiratives in Albanian, Bulgarian and Turkish<sup>26</sup>

	Present admirative	Present tense	Nothing	Some form of past tense (Blg. in- <i>l</i> Turk. in- <i>miş</i> )
Albanian	59	—	—	—
Bulgarian	—	44	9	6
Turkish	—	42	10	7

As can be seen, the 59 Albanian present admiratives correspond to ordinary Bulgarian present tenses in 44 instances (and in 42 in the Turkish). Based on these comparisons together with other data, I concluded that Bulgarian and Turkish admirative usages of perfect forms invariably referred to states that existed prior to the moment of speaking although the speaker had not been aware of them until the moment of speech. Thus, as indicated above, in Bulgarian and Turkish usage the following meaning is invariably present: "I

mood. Among the data from Albanian grammar that can be adduced to support this argument are the facts that the admirative takes the indicative negator *nuk* rather than the modal negator *mos*, and, moreover, that the admirative can occur in modal as well as indicative constructions, *e.g.*, in analytic subjunctive constructions in *të* (*cf.* Fiedler 1966: 563, Lafe 1977: 480–81, Sytov 1979: 112–11). If the admirative were itself a mood, it would require a double layer of modality to account for such usage. Since the admirative marks status, however, it can be both modal and nonmodal.

<sup>26</sup> The statistics for Macedonian (Konstantinov 1967) are approximately the same as for Bulgarian and Turkish.

did not think that it was so, but now I see that it has been so and continues to be so!"

Among the data supporting the difference between the Albanian admirative series and admirative usage of etymologically perfect participles in Bulgarian and Turkish is the fact that in the case of a newly discovered pre-existing state, Albanian permits not only the present admirative but any of the past admiratives, as can be seen from examples (14)—(17).

- (14) Bravo, be Gunjo —provikna se baj Ganjo, —ti *si bil* cjal Bismark. (Konstantinov 1895 [1973]: 109) [Blg.]  
 Bravo be Gunyo! dedi. Sen maşallah büsbütün bir Bismark' *muşsin* be. (Konstantinov 1972: 188) [Turk.]  
 Bravo ore Guno —thirri baj Ganua i entuziazmuar —ti *qënke* një Bismark i vërtetë. (Konstantinov 1975: 123) [Alb.] [present admirative]  
 'Bravo Gunjo—exclaimed Baj Ganjo—you *are* a veritable Bismark.'
- (15) Brej! Hepten magare *bil* toj çiljak (Konstantinov 1973: 89)  
 Vay anisn! dedi. Bu herif hepten de eşekmiş be! ... (Konstantinov 1972: 146)  
 Bre! gomar i madh *paska qënë* ky njeri! (Konstantinov 1975: 99) [perfect admirative]  
 'Hey, what a complete ass that guy *is*!'
- (16) Brej, hepten magare *bil* tozi çovek! (Konstantinov 1973: 88)  
 Vay namussuz vay! Bu herif hepten de eşekmiş be! (Konstantinov 1972: 144)  
 Ore, fare gomar *paskësh qënë* ky njeri! (Konstantinov 1975: 98) [pluperfect admirative]  
 'Hey, what an utter ass that guy *is*!'
- (17) Ama prosta rabota tezi nemci. (Konstantinov 1973: 31)  
 Şu Nemçelileri analayan turp yesin. (Konstantinov 1972: 28)  
 Ama njerëz fare pa mënd *qënkëshin* këta austriakët! (Konstantinov 1975: 24) [imperfect admirative]  
 'What simpletons these Germans *are*!'

Moreover, even for Bulgarian it is claimed that a pluperfect non-confirmative can be used as an apparent present admirative—and again the examples clearly involve pre-existing states. Andrejčin (1983: 362) gives two examples, albeit ones that do not occur in actual texts but are rather transformations of real examples (the real examples were with *imalo* and *zrael*, respectively):

- (18) Bože moj, kakvi nizosti *bilo imalo* [= ima] po sveta!  
 'My God, what baseness there *is* in the world!'
- (19) Ti *si bil zrael* [= znaeš] mnogo nešta, a mälčiš.  
 'You *know* a lot of things, but you are silent.'

Let us now consider some examples that do not appear to involve stative verbs such as 'be,' 'have' and 'know,' but nevertheless still involve reference to a pre-existing state of affairs.

- (20) Razbrah, ama kášno, i to sled kato drugite bratuški mi izjadoha cjala svinja. "Katleti" *značelo* päržoli. (Demina 1959: 326)  
 'I found out, but too late, only after the other dear brothers had devoured a whole pig of mine. "Katleti" *meant* (*means*) pork chops.'
- (21) —Nali i papá e tãrgovec—na spirt. A pãk spirt *se pravel* ot carevica i kartofi. Predstavete si—čak sega naučih tova. (Demina 1959: 327)  
 "'And isn't papa a merchant too—of grain alcohol. And alcohol *is made* from corn and potatoes. Imagine that, I just found out.'

In these examples, 'meaning' and 'be made' are general facts of whose existence the speaker became aware contrary to expectations. Nonetheless, the 'meaning' and the fact of 'being made' themselves existed prior to the moment of discovery. Similarly, if I enter a room and, seeing that my friend is speaking Japanese and exclaim: "*Ah, ti si govorel japonski,*" the meaning is 'You speak Japanese' and not 'You are speaking Japanese,' *i.e.*, 'I did not know that you know Japanese (a state of being that existed in the past prior to my knowledge whose existence I have just discovered; cf. 11 above).

Support for this analysis is to be found in present interrogatives, where the Albanian admirative can function as a true present tense, whereas as such usage is unacceptable in Bulgarian and Turkish. This is made especially clear by the comic (see the following page) from the Kosovar newspaper *Rilindja* (8 June 1982, p. 8), reproduced with the kind permission of the author, Agim Qena. As the comic opens, a man walks into a barber shop and sees the barber's apprentice but is surprised that the barber himself is not in his shop. He asks, in Albanian: "*Çun, ku qenka mjeshtri?*" 'Where is the master, lad,' thus indicating that he is surprised at the very moment of speech. In such a context, however, he cannot ask in Bulgarian "*Kãde bil majstorãt?*" nor can he ask in Turkish "*Usta neredeymiş?*"<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> This is an important difference between admirative usage and dubitative usage. If the customer were to ask, *e.g.*, in Turkish, "*Usta nerede?*" and the apprentice were to answer that he didn't know, that he wasn't around, that he wasn't at home, etc., and the exasperated



Where is the boss, lad? He went out on some business. Thanks anyway. I don't have my health insurance. If you would like a shave, please have a seat. I don't have my health insurance booklet with me.

Figure 1

From the articles of Conev and Weigand onward, Bulgarian linguists have been primarily concerned either with demonstrating that the admirative is a usage of the so-called reported mood (e.g., Andrejčin 1944: 311, Kucarov 1994: 153), despite the fact that it involves witnessing, or with arguing that it is a usage of the indefinite past (indicative mood, e.g., Demina 1959: 328, Gerđžikov 1984: 110), despite the fact that it has a present-tense interpretation and the auxiliary verb is absent in the third person.<sup>28</sup> In this regard, it is worth noting that, as is the case with Conev and Weigand, Romanski, too, does not distinguish the presence or absence of the auxiliary in the third person of the indefinite past and treats expressions such as *Toj e umrël* 'he (has) died' and *Tja bila hubavica* 'She turns out to be a beauty' as equally perfect or reported. He points out that the resultative character of the perfect allows it to express the speaker's surprise in instances of discovering something unknown prior to the moment of speech. This is very close to the position I have taken for decades (Friedman 1981, 2000). I would argue that the comparison with Albanian in interrogative clauses is decisive in demonstrating the pastness of Bulgarian (and, *ceteris paribus* and *mutatis mutandis*, Macedonian and Turkish) admirative usage as opposed to the genuine present meaning of the Albanian present admirative. This fact, in turn, combined with the other

customer did not believe him, he could then exclaim: "Iyi be, usta neredeymiş?!" 'OK, then, where is the master?!', but this quotation would be an exclamation of sarcastic exasperation at the apprentice's previous responses rather than a genuine question. The same holds true for the Bulgarian equivalent.

<sup>28</sup> See Friedman 1980 for a bibliography relevant up to that year. Alexander (2002) and Fielder (2002), while not discussing admirative usage *per se*, nonetheless give many relevant later sources.

foregoing arguments (especially Example 11) means that the so-called present reported is neither present nor reported. Rather, it is an unmarked past that can display specific types of nonconfirmative meaning in connection with its resultative origin and its opposition to the marked confirmative.

## 8. The Vanishing

The same year that Aronson (1967) published his analysis of the Bulgarian verb basing himself primarily on Andrejčin's concept of the norm, Stankov (1967) published an analysis which, like Aronson, did not consider the relevant oppositions to be modal, but one which also integrated the imperfect *l*-participle plus auxiliary into a coherent system that, although relying on third-person auxiliary deletion for its organization, did not require as many totally homonymous paradigms as Andrejčin's. A version of this system is given in *Table 3*.

Table 3. 3 sg. (masc.) 'do' in Bulgarian (Based on Stankov 1967: 344)

	Personal-narrated	Neutral	Renarrated
Present	—	pravi	pravel
Future	—	šte pravi	štjal da pravi
Anterior fut.	—	šte pravil	štjal da e pravil
Aorist	pravi	pravil e	pravil
Imperfect	praveše	pravel e	pravel
Pluperfect	beše pravil	bil e pravil	bil pravil
Past future	šteše da pravi	štjal e da pravi	štjal da pravi
Past anterior fut.	šteše da e pravil	štjal e bil da pravi	štjal bil da pravi

The victory of Andrejčin's model is seen in sources as varied as Alexander (2000) and Guentchéva (1996: 49), which continue to take it as their starting point. Note, however, that even in Stankov's model there are still homonymous reported present and reported imperfect paradigms.<sup>29</sup>

I would argue with Fielder, however, that third-person variation is a boojum (in my terms) rather than a paradigm-forming element. As such, it can be placed in parentheses and the three series of screeves (confirmative, neutral, and [marked] nonconfirmative) depicted as in *Table 4* (each screeve is represented here by the third-person singular [masculine] for the sake of conciseness).

<sup>29</sup> The homonymy of the aorist and present in this table does not occur in the other persons, whereas the present and imperfect renarrated do not meet Šanidze's criteria for distinct 'screeves', since their forms are identical in all persons and both numbers, and they do not possess any morphosyntactic differentiation.

**Table 4.** 3 sg. (masc.) 'do' in Bulgarian—Revised

	Confirmative	Neutral	Nonconfirmative
Present	—	pravi	—
Future	—	šte pravi	—
Anterior fut.	—	šte (e) pravil	—
Aorist	pravi	pravil (e)	—
Imperfect	praveše	pravel (e)	—
Pluperfect	—	beše pravil	bil (e) pravil
Past future	—	šteše da pravi	štjal (e/bil) da pravi
Past anterior fut.	—	šteše da (e) pravil	štjal da (e) pravil

In terms of markedness relations and neutralizations, we see that the present, as the least marked tense, does not enter into status oppositions. The marked confirmative is limited to the synthetic past (simple preterite), which did not develop corresponding marked nonconfirmatives. Rather, nonconfirmativity becomes the chief contextual variant meaning of the unmarked past in contrast to the marked confirmative. The marked nonconfirmative series was created using new future and the pluperfect auxiliaries based on the *l*-participle and interacting with modality (Aronson's [1977] MANNER). The neutral screeves all make use of inherited material, except for the neutral imperfect, which evolved as the old perfect evolved into the neutral aorist.<sup>30</sup>

The unacceptability of present-tense questions for Bulgarian (and, *mutatis mutandis* and *ceteris paribus*, Macedonian and Turkish) unmarked (nonconfirmative) pasts helps demonstrate that they must always refer to a pre-existing state or event, *e.g.*, to the speaker's surprise at something newly discovered but already existing in the past. These screeves therefore always have a past reference, *e.g.*, in admirative usage the meaning is 'to my surprise, it has been the case all along that ...' They differ therefore from the Albanian admirative, which has a fully grammaticalized set of paradigms including a true present tense. Moreover, unlike Bulgarian (and, *mutatis mutandis* and *ceteris paribus*, Macedonian and Turkish), Albanian admiratives (like those of the Frasherote dialect of Aromanian; see Friedman 1994b) do not occur in

<sup>30</sup> In Friedman (1986a) I adduced evidence from educated Bulgarian usage demonstrating that the old pluperfect is neutral and not markedly confirmative. The screeves using *šte* by the very fact that they involve a markedly modal grameme (*cf.* Janakiev 1962, cited in Aronson 1967) cannot be truly marked confirmatives. Any screeve using an *l*-participle has some sort of past reference. In the nonconfirmative series, TAXIS (*i.e.*, the opposition past/anterior) is neutralized. Placement in Table 4 is based on morphology.

connected narratives.<sup>31</sup> These facts (and the additional data demonstrating that the Balkan Slavic unmarked past and Turkish *miş*-past with apparent present meaning have past reference) support the analysis that as simple preterites develop into confirmatives, nonconfirmatives develop from perfects owing to their focus on present results of past actions. However, as these nonconfirmatives develop into admiratives, their range of usage expands in sentence types but narrows in discourse. Thus the Balkan Slavic and Turkish unmarked pasts are used nonconfirmatively in pragmatically determined discourse functions, whereas the Albanian admirative is a fully grammaticalized verbal category.

Fielder (2002) defines EVIDENTIAL as "a subvariety of STATUS, to refer to one discourse-conditioned instantiation of the prototypical semantic category of DISTANCE, a deictic category, or shifter, that operates on different levels of context to encode not only the category of STATUS, the subjective evaluation of the reality of the event by the speaker, but also other distinctions such as the discourse notion of FOREGROUNDED *vs.* BACKGROUNDED events, *e.g.*, events that advance the narrative *vs.* those that provide supportive or descriptive material." In the context of the Balkan languages, I would agree and further argue that there is a fundamental difference between the true evidential markers of languages such as those of North America for which the term was originally hinted at in Boas 1911 and actually introduced in Boas 1947 (237, 245; see Jacobsen 1986: 4), on the one hand, and the category of status and related Balkan discourse-pragmatic strategies to which Jakobson (1957/71) applied the term EVIDENTIAL, on the other. As Alexander (2002) points out, in my previous work (Friedman 1988a: 126) I compared the appearance and disappearance of the third-person auxiliary of the Bulgarian unmarked past to the Cheshire cat of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*. Fielder (2002 and previous work cited there) has adduced explanations in terms of discourse phenomena—rather than morphologically marked grammatical categories—that reveal the hidden puzzle. Still, like the Bellman in *The Hunting of the Snark*, prescriptivists and their allies continue to repeat Andrejčin's schema leaving out or separating out the imperfect *l*-participle plus auxiliary and/or paradigmaticizing homonymous or non-existent forms, while EVIDENTIAL continues as the operative general linguistic term. Aronson's (1967, 1977, 1982, 1991) original insights, however, stand. For in Bulgarian EVIDENTIAL *is* a BOOJUM, you see.

<sup>31</sup> Interestingly enough, the inverted perfect of Megleno-Romanian, which parallels the Macedonian unmarked past (rather than the Frasherote Aromanian admirative), can occur in connected narratives (*cf.* Atanasov 1990: 220 and Capidan 1928: 103–04).

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## Attitudes to Macedonian Conditional Formation: The Use of *dokolku* and *bi*

### 1. Introduction

Modal systems are an area of language where one finds considerable flux or change. Diachronic evidence shows, for example, that languages gain and lose modal forms with relative ease and rapidity;<sup>1</sup> it appears that the subjective nature of modality fosters a fluid relationship between form and meaning. The Macedonian conditional system is essentially a hybrid one, and it exemplifies this more general property of modal systems. On the one hand it contains (inherited) *Slavic*-type conditional structures, by which I mean a conditional with the particle *bi* + *l*-form of the verb in both the *if* and *then* clauses. At the same time, Macedonian has conditional constructions of the (innovating) *Balkan*-type: the particle *ke* (historically from the verb 'to want') + the imperfect form of the verb. There is a certain inherent tension present in such a system and this can be illustrated by examining the changing fortunes of the various elements employed in the formation of conditional constructions. In this paper I compare data from a questionnaire administered to first-year students at the Kiril and Metodij University of Skopje, Macedonia in 1992, and again in 1997. The questionnaire was designed to elicit these students' opinions about a range of conditional constructions which are deemed marginal *vis-à-vis* the literary norm. In this paper I focus on two features of conditional formation for which there is considerable discrepancy between the prescribed norm and actual usage: the use of the conjunction *dokolku* 'if' and the use of the modal particle *bi*. The paper seeks to answer the following questions: To what extent is the system in flux? And, what do the data on competing conditional forms suggest about the relative status of the literary standard vs. a more colloquial norm?

<sup>1</sup> See Bybee *et al.* 1994 and Fleischman 1982.