

Auxiliary variation in Bulgarian as perspectivising strategy*

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1. /-participle ± auxiliary

1.1 Grammatical category

- form: separate paradigms

	perfect	re-narrated		conclusive	
	aorist	aorist	imperfect	imperfect	aorist
1Sg	pisal sǎm	pisal sǎm	pišel sǎm	pišel sǎm	pisal sǎm
3Sg	pisal e	pisal Ø	pišel Ø	pišel e	pisal e
1Pl	pisali sme	pisali sme	pišeli sme	pišeli sme	pisali sme
3Pl	pisali sa	pisali Ø	pišeli Ø	pišeli sa	pisali sa

Table 1: homonymous forms (e.g. Nicolova 2008, SBE 1999)

- meaning: ‘re-narrated’; but cf. (1)–(2)
- (1) a. *Spored informacijata na 26 avgust ekspertite **sa razgledali** doklad za Ekologična ocenka.* (www.dnevnik.bg, 28.8.2009)
 ‘According to the information, on August 26 the experts **have examined** an environmental assessment report.’
- b. *V nedelja v predavaneto [...] liderät na ‘Ataka’ V. S. objavi, že Ch. **e säbiral** glasove za RZS v Slivensko i Starozagorsko.* (www.dnevnik.bg, 22.12.09)
 ‘On Sunday in the TV show [...], the leader of ‘Ataka’, V. S., **announced that** Ch. **had collected** votes for RZS [Party Red, Zakonnost i Spravedlivost] in the districts of Sliven and Stara Zagora.’
- (2) – Čuchte li novinata? – izvika Mark Avrelij [...]
 – Kakva novina? – obadichme se vsički.
 – Baj Ganju **se vǎrnal** ot Evropa!
 – Ne može da bǎde!
 – Kak „ne može da bǎde“, be, gospoda, az go vidjach, govorich s nego. [...]
 (Aleko Konstantinov, *Baj Ganju*, 82)
- Have you heard the news? – shouted Mark Avrelij.
 – Which news? – we all said.
 – Baj Ganju **returned** from Europe!
 – Impossible!
 – How, “impossible”, I have seen him, talked to him.

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1.2 Discourse category

- form: generalised paradigm

	confirmative	neutral	non-confirmative
present	—	pravi	—
aorist	pravi	pravil (e)	—
imperfect	praveše	pravel (e)	—
pluperfect	—	beše pravil	bil (e) pravil

Table 2: generalized/neutral past (Friedman 2001, Alexander 2001); *perfektopodoben kompleks* (Ivančev 1988)

- function: discourse based
 - non-confirmativity as chief contextual variant of –aux (Friedman 2001, ...)
 - relation to discourse mode (Fielder 1995, 1999, ...)

direct	indefinite	indirect
Aorist	+aux	–aux
event structure		narrative structure

Table 3: ±aux and discourse mode (e.g. Fielder 1995)

⇒ discourse-conditioned auxiliary variation

2. Discourse

„[T]he value of any given form depends upon the context, that is on the value of the other forms with which it co-occurs.” (Fielder 1997: 171)

⇒ interaction of verb form: narrative planes

‘The narrative [narrative plane, B.S.] is a text-forming system in which aspecto-temporal forms interact to express actions which are posterior, anterior, simultaneous or subsequent to each other.’ (Marovska 2005: 102)¹

- Mutafčiev (1964)
 - plane of visualisation: historical present
 - plane of reminiscence: aorist
- Ivančev (1988)
 - witnessed narrative: aorist + imperfect
 - non-witnessed narrative: *perfektopodoben kompleks* (perfect, re-narrated, conclusive)
- Marovska (2005)
 - neutral narrative: historical present
 - witnessed narrative: aorist
 - distanced narrative: perfect

¹ It is not clear how this relates to other discourse modes such as description or argument (cf. Smith 2003).

- Čakárova (2004)
 - plane of vizualisation: historical present
hidden narrator; reader observes event
 - plane of reminiscence: aorist
omniscient narrator, positioned between event and reader
 - plane of inference: conclusive aorist (+aux)
narrator infers events from the sphere of the past
 - plane of re-narration: renarrated forms (–aux)
lack of actualization; distanced from narrator and reader

- choice of narrative plane

“[T]he availability of synonymous narrative variants in the preterit sphere gives the narrator an opportunity to choose between various narrative strategies and, hence, achieve the desired effect on the recipient. [...] However, there is a certain condition that determines the choice of the narrative plane – it should be in compliance with the specific features of the given style and genre. In other words the author’s position in the preferred plane [...] should be justified in the context of a given genre [...]” (Čakárova 2004)

⇒ important role of narrative plane and genre (cf. also, e.g., Fielder 1997, 2001; Zambova 2000)

- –aux in different genres

(3) fairytale

Imalo edno vreme edin car. V gradinata mu **rasla** edna zlatna jabálka. Vseki den no pladne dǎrvoto **puskalo** cvjat, večer **vrǎzvalo** plod, a prez noštta plodovete **uzrjavali**, no njakoj **idval** i gi **obiral**. Vsjaka sutrin carjat **otival** v gradniata i **ne namiral** ni edna jabálka.

(Zlatnoto ptice, <http://slovo.bg/showwork.php3?AulD=16&WorkID=437&Level=1>, 27.8.2011)

‘Once upon a time there **was** a king. In his garden **grew** a golden apple tree. Every day at noon the tree **bloomed**, in the evening it **gave** fruits and the fruits **ripened**, but somebody **came** and **collected** them. Every morning, the king **went** into the garden and **did not find** a single apple.’

(4) short-story

Kogato se raznese iz selo novinata, že djado Matejko **počinal** – nikoj ne povjarva, zaštoto toj običaše da se šeguva, pa i po-napred takova nešto s nego ne be se slučvalo. Ala kogato baba Jova razpravi za poslednija mu čas, vsički se uvericha, že toja pāt poj ne se šeguva. **Vǎrnal se** čovekāt ot dǎrva, **raztovaril** magarenceto si, **vǎrzal** go, **turnal** mu sence i štom **vljazal** v kǎšti, ta **prisednal** kraj ogǎnja i **zapalil** lulata si, nešto go **prerjaszalo** prez polovinata, toj **legnal**, **zaochkal** i ... (Elin Pelin, *Na onja svjat*, 77)

‘When the news spread in the village, that grandfather Matejko **had died** – nobody believed it, because he loved to make jokes, but something like this had not happened to him before. But when grandmother Jova told about his last hour, everybody was convinced, that this time he was not joking. The man **had returned** from the woods, **had unloaded** his donkey, **had tied** it, **had given** it some hay and when he **had stepped** into his house, and **had sat** by the fire and **had lit** his pipe, a cutting pain **had went** through his body, he **had laid down**, **had started to groan** and’

(5) oral narration

B: A ti kakvo si mislila?

A: Mislja si, kristal, obače ne moga da si predstavja, že karati i, že po povod na tezi karati cenata im e po-viskoka ili niska.

B: Ami razbira se!

A: A toj gi **zanesāl** i gi **prodal**! Možeš li da si predstaviš? Pokrivkite **prodal**. Medal’ona, ja **nabil**, i prǎstena í **vzel** i negovija prǎsten **prodal**, zaštoto toj kato **chodil** tam s ženi, tova-onova, po barove i **zakǎsal** čoveka i tuk kato **došāl** te si iskat parite i budalata, [...] (Hinrichs 2000: 194)

- B: And what have you thought?
 A: I think, crystal, but I cannot imagine carats and, that because of those carats their price is higher or lower.
 B: But of course!
 A: And he **has taken** them and **has sold** them! Can you imagine? He **has sold** the table cloths. The medallion, he **beat** her and **took** her ring and **sold** his ring, because when he **went out** with women, this and that, in bars and the man **got out** of money and when he **came**, they wanted their money and the idiot [...]

(6) newspaper report

Avtobus ot gradskite linii v Pernik letja njakolko minuti bez spirački v naj-strāmnata čast na grada. Šof'orāt uspja da zabie neupravljajemoto vozilo v kupčina pjasāk i da spasi pasažerite ot kārva drama. Dve ženi sa raneni pri infarktnata kaskada.

Dramata **se razigrala** snošti blizo do specializiranata bolnica [...] "Profilaktoriuma". [...]

Avtobus N1 **kačil** njakolko pasažera na krajnata spirka i **započnal** da se spuska kām centāra. Ulicata e s ogromen naklon i točno v opasnija učastāk spiračkite na 20-godišnija rejs **otkazali**.

Šof'orāt **se panik'osal**, no **uspjal** da sājze kupčina pjasāk kraj pavaža i **zabil** tam voziloto. Pri manevrata mašinata edva **ne se obārnala** i **zakovala** v počti vertikalno položenie. Ednata ot postradalite e lekarka [...] i e s tri sčupeni rebra. [...] (www.standartnews.com, 26.08.2011)

'A city bus in Pernik flew without brakes in the steepest part of the town for several minutes. The driver managed to drive the uncontrollable vehicle into a heap of sand and save the passengers from a bloody drama. Two women are injured in the shocking stunt.

The drama **happened** yesterday in the evening close to the Specialised Hospital [...] "Profilaktorium".

After several passengers **boarded** bus No. 1 at the terminal stop it **drove** down towards the centre. The street has a steep incline and right at the dangerous section the brakes of the 20-year old bus **failed to work**.

The driver **broke out in panic**, but **managed** to see a heap of sand at the end of the pavement and **rammed** the vehicle into it. During that maneuver, the bus almost **fell over** and **stopped** in an almost vertical position. One of the injured persons is a physician and has three broken ribs.'

- usage and interpretation
 - as expected in (3), i.e. non-actualization, not quite as expected in (4)-(6)
 - 'non-witnessed' genre (3) — 'witnessed' genre (6)

⇒ common feature? usage condition?

3. Discourse function

- usage patterns of –aux on the discourse level

3.1 Distance

- Fielder (e.g. 1995, 2000; cf. also Chvany 1988)
 - distance narrator – narration
 - –aux: foregrounding of narration
 - +aux: foregrounding of narrator

(7) Tijnejdžari ot Stara Zagora nabicha šof'or i go **izchvārlili** ot kolata. Sled tova **se povozili** i **zarjazali** voziloto v grada. Ekšānāt **e stanal** na okolovrāstnija pāt na razklona za s. Chrišteni [...] prez uikenda okolo 22,00 č, no be oglasen ot policijata dnes.

Naglitate banditčeta, koito **pātuvali** s [...] avtomobil, **blāsnali** otzad sprjalata pred tjach kola 'Reno Laguna'. Jadosani, te **slezli** ot kolata, **izchvārlili** ot 'Reno'-to [...] 26-godišnija šof'or ot s. Dālboki, i **podkarali** kolata mu kām grada. (www.standartnews.com, 10.11.2009)

‘Teenagers from Stara Zagora beat up a car driver and **threw** him **out** of his car. After that, they **drove on** and **left** the car in the city. The action took place on the ring road at the junction to the village Xrišteni during the weekend at around 22:00 o’clock, but has been announced by the police only today. The bold bandits, who **travelled** by car, **rammed** from behind the ‘Reno Laguna’ that was parked in front of them. They angrily **got off** the car, **threw** the 26 year-old driver from the village Dălboki **out** of his ‘Reno’, and **drove** his car towards the city.’

→ *e stanal*: narrator steps in to orient the reader, off-plotline (e.g. Fludernik 1991)

- omniscient narrator with –Aux (cf. (6), (7)):
 - „This interpretation [...] is possible because third person omniscient narration results in the coding of the category of distance on a higher level of abstraction than the third person narration of a character.” (Felder 1997: 96)
- proposal
 - distance as perspectivisation
 - auxiliary variation as shift of perspective from narrator to non-narrator
 - interpretation of ‘non-narrator’ interacts with genre and context

3.2 Perspectivity

- perspectivity as relational concept (Graumann 2002): anchor (point of view), horizon (object), aspect (interpretation)
 - anchor: narrator, non-narrator, person, undefined
 - horizon: state of affairs
 - aspect: non-witnessed, narrated, foregrounded, ...
- different specifications of anchor/point of view
 - ±narrator: –narrator: anchor undefined
+narrator: anchor non-narrator or person
 - discourse level: narrative structure, subordinate structure

(8) anchor: undefined

Vsicki znajat тази история, в която Lora intervjuira по телефона министър Božidar Dimitrov, а той kaza onova za šibanija narod. [...]

Gore-dolu podobni gluposti gi **răsil** ministărăt v intervjuoto, no vse pak to **vărvjalo** v ramkite na priličnata estetika na ljubeznija razgovor. Povodăt bi, če na ostrov Sveti Ivan [...] ekip ot archeoloji **otkil** malăk mramoren sarkofag s kokali, koito săštijat tozi ekip **objavil** za moštite na Sveti Joan Predteča – bratovčed i krăstnik na našija Spasitel i Gospod Iisus Christos. (Vasil Georgiev, *Tri istorii za provala*, 55)

‘Everybody knows this story, in which Lora interviews Minister B. D. on the phone, and he said that about the fucking people. [...]

It was roughly that kind of nonsense that the minister **spread** in the interview, yet it **proceeded** within the limits of the decent aesthetics of a polite conversation. The reason was, that on the island Sveti Ivan, a team of archeologists **detected** a small marble sarcophagus with bones, which the same team **declared** as the remains of Saint Joan Predteča – cousin and godfather of our Savior Jesus Christ.’

(9) anchor: non-narrator

Kogato se raznese iz selo novinata, če djado Matejko **počinal** – nikoj ne povjarva, [...]
(Elin Pelin, *Na onja svjat*, 77)

‘When the news spread in the village, that grandfather Matejko **had died** – nobody believed it.’

(10) anchor: person

Kogato se raznese iz selo novinata, če djado Matejko **počinal** – nikoj ne povjarva, zaštoto toj običaše da se šeguva, pa i po-napred takova nešto s nego ne be se slučvalo. Ala kogato *baba Jova* razprav za poslednija mu čas, vsički se uvericha, če toja păt toj ne se šeguva. **Värnal se** čovekăt ot dărva, **raztovaril** magarenceto si, **värzal** go, **turnal** mu sence i štom **vljazal** v kăšti, ta **prisednal** kraj ogänja i **zapalil** lulata si, nešto go **prerjazalo** prez polovinata, toj **legnal**, **zaochkal** i ... (Elin Pelin, *Na onja svjat*, 77)

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(11) *de re* vs. *de dicto* in indirect speech (Sonnenhauser 2011b; Fielder 2000 on narrating vs. experiencing "I")

Makedonka razfasova măža si, *kazva*, **če bil** na rabota v Italija

M. T. ot makedonskija grad štíp *prizna*, **če e ubila** säpruga si Branko, kojto „**izčeznal**“ predi tri godini.

(www.dnes.bg, 27.12.2009)

'Macedonian woman dismembered husband, *she says that he was* in Italy for work.

M. T. from the Macedonian town Štip *admitted that she had killed* her husband Branko, who "**disappeared**" three years ago.'

⇒ change of perspective: narrative structuring of texts

4. Text-structuring

- usage of –aux in press reports
 - Zambova (2000): subjectification, colloquialisation
 - Levin-Steinmann (2004): commentary vs. narration
 - Fielder (2001): return to original pragmatic function (distance)
- no clear-cut rules, but: typical patterns

(12) yellow press reports

Ženski pitpul napadna i nachapna žestoko 10-godišnjija T.Ž. ot Chaskovo pred oživen supermarket v grada. Po-kăšno sobstvenikăt na pesa to izvede isvăn grada i tam go poseče.

Incidentăt **stanal** predi dva dni, no edva dnes rodnini na deteto mu dadocha glasnost.

Chlapeto **si igraelo** s prijateli, kogato nepoznat mu **vrăčil** kaiškata na pitbula s molba da go podărži, dokato si napazaruva. Decata **započnali** da glajat kučeto, no v edin moment to se **iznervilo** i **trăgnalo** kăm tjach.

Malkijat T. obače **ne otpusnal** kaiškata, pitbulăt **podivjal**, **obärnal se** i go **zachapal** za praseca na levija krak. V tozi moment **se pojavil** stopaninăt, kojto raztvoril sdărvo ustata na kučeto.

T. **bil zakaran** v oblastnata bolnica, kădeto sa mu napraveni 12 ševa na podbedricata.

Sobstvenik na pitbula e 28-godišnjijat Ch. Ch. Ot policijata kazacha, če sled incidenta toj e bil zadăržan za kratko. Pred uniformenite Ch. **kazal**, če kučeto mu e bilo bez namordnik.

Măžat **se opravdal**, če decata go pomolili da si poigrajat s kučeto i za tova im go ostavil.

Sled incidentăt Ch. Ch. sam **umärtil** kučeto. Spored säsedu go **izvel** izvăn Chaskovo i go **posjakäl** tam.

Dnes măžăt **se skri** ot žurnalistite i **izključil** mobilnitate si telefoni. Chazjainăt mu na ul. "Izvor" **objasni** za agencija Standart njuz, če Ch. se nanesäl predi mesec säš semejstvoto si i dvete si kučeta – măžki i ženski pitbul. Sled incidentăt v dvora värzan beše samo măžkijat.

Blizkitate na postradalija T. objasnicha, če šte zavedat graždanski isk sreštu sobstvenika na kučeto.

(www.standartnews.com, 05.08.2011)

5. To conclude

- auxiliary variation as perspectivising device
- interpretation depends on the role of the narrator
- application to other (possibly) perspectivising means: clitic doubling, tripartite article, embedding structures, etc. (cf. Sonnenhauser 2011a)

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