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SUMMARY

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2. Humanitarian sciences 2.1. Philology

THE DUBITATIVE IN PRESENT-DAY BULGARIAN

KRASIMIRA ALEKSOVA

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Contents

Introduction

The author's interest in Present-Day Bulgarian verb forms expressing doubt and mistrust (dubitative) first developed over ten years ago in connection with research into subjective evidentials in Bulgarian, resulting partly in publications on the admirative as an emotionally expressive use of the conclusive (Алексова 2003). Despite the numerous publications on evidentiality in Bulgarian the dubitative has received little attention in studies on the Bulgarian language. This justifies the appearance of an in-depth analysis of the dubitative's meaning and its forms and uses in various types of context.

The **topic** of the present study is the dubitative in Present-Day Bulgarian. The focus is on both the content plane: the invariable meaning of the dubitative as part of the four-member category of evidentiality, and the expression plane: the dubitative forms in the various tenses in the active, the reflexive, and the passive voice.

The specific **object** of the analysis includes the meaning of the dubitative, its forms and uses in various types of context and its typological and pragmatic aspects. We believe that the meaning of the dubitative should be analyzed both in a typological perspective in the context of epistemic modality and in the particularist perspective of evidentiality in Bulgarian. In addition to this, attention is given to the various shades of meaning in the various uses of the dubitative and the relationship of the dubitative and other categories of the verb. It has been established in the course of our research, based on a rich corpus of empirical material, that the dubitative paradigm is characterized by incomplete grammaticalization as evidenced by the existence of competing negative forms of the posterior tenses in the active, the reflexive and the passive voice. The existence of a number of deviant forms also supports the view that on the expression plane the grammaticalization process is incomplete.

The **goal** of this study is to examine the dubitative in Present-Day Bulgarian from a grammatical, typological, and pragmatic perspective.

The achievement of this goal requires the performance of the following **tasks**, which determines the logic of the exposition:

- to examine the relationship evidentiality : modality, which on its part requires the establishment of the place of the dubitative in this relationship with regard to a number of typological classifications;
- to analyze the dubitative in a typological perspective and to offer a semantic map, representing in an adequate way the place of the dubitative in the expression of epistemic modality and evidentiality in Bulgarian;
- to establish the invariant meaning of the dubitative in the system of the evidential subcategories in Present-Day Bulgarian;
- to elucidate the meaning of the dubitative in the expression of doubt and mistrust;
- to analyze the relationship between the dubitative and evaluativeness and expressiveness;
- to establish a wide range of dubitative uses in order to present the significant contextual shades of meaning;
- to examine the temporal uses of the dubitative in Present-Day Bulgarian and to discover the trends in the frequency of occurrence of the various temporal and voice forms;
- to pay attention to the degree of reliability, expressed by the four evidentials in Bulgarian, from the perspective of their perception;
- to examine the formal paradigm of the dubitative in Present-Day Bulgarian with a view to variability, the existence of biparticipants, bideteminants and empty cells;
- to examine the problem of defectivity of the dubitative paradigm;
- to search for deviant forms in a wide range of textual material in order to classify them on the basis of significant criteria and to offer comments on their origin;

- to calculate important typological indices for the Bulgarian dubitative – degree of syntheticity, of analyticity, of compositeness and of semantic markedness of paradigm members; to compare the indices with those of the other evidentials and to establish the hierarchy of the four evidentials according to those indices;
- to examine the variability in the dubitative paradigm with a view to C. Lehmann's syntagmatic criteria of grammaticalization and to outline the significant tendencies in the process of grammaticalization;
- to explore the problem of the permeability of the dubitative forms in connection with the degree of their grammaticalization;
- to examine the relationship of the dubitative with the other categories of the verb and to single out the significant types of relation;
- to offer comments on the pragmatic aspects of the dubitative in connected speech with a special emphasis on the uses of the dubitative in reproduced speech;
- to analyze and present the strategies of partnership between the dubitative and the lexical modifiers (markers) expressing degrees of reliability and the emotive markers;
- to extract and comment on data showing the dubitative uses in various types of sentences.

The goals and tasks of the study motivate the choice of the following **methods** of analysis:
- scientific observation, description and analysis of the language material;
- structural-semantic approach in the analysis and classification of the language examples combined with contextual analysis;
- functional-pragmatic analysis of the dubitative uses;
- statistical methods in the calculation of the typological indices for the dubitative forms in Present-Day Bulgarian;
- comparative method applied to the evidential paradigms of the four evidentials based on the values of four typological indices;
- semantic mapping applied in the development of a semantic (mental) map of evidentiality and epistemicity in Bulgarian.

The empirical data, analyzed in the present study have been excerpted from the Bulgarian National Corpus (http://dcl.bas.bg/bulnc/), the Bulgarian National Referential Corpus BulTreeBank (http://www.webclark.org/), the Corpus of Bulgarian Political and Media Speech (http://political.webclark.org/), Parliamentary Corpus ParlaMint-BG 2.1 (https://www.clarin.si/noske/parlamint21.cgi/corp_info?corpname=parlamint21_bg&struct_attr_stats=1&subcorpora=1), the minutes of the National Assembly sessions (http://www.parliament.bg/bg/plenaryst), data from the site for Bulgarian spoken language (www.bgspeech.net), personal database of recordings and internet sources (newspapers, forums, blogs, social networks, etc.). The original spelling and punctuation of all examples has been preserved.

The present study has the following **structure**. Chapter One discusses evidentiality, modality and the place of the dubitative among them according to various typological classifications. It also comments on semantic mapping and offers a semantic map of evidentiality and epistemic modality in Bulgarian, including a clear definition of the place of the dubitative.

Chapter Two deals with the semantics of the dubitative, in the first place with regard to the expression of mistrust and doubt. This is followed by comments on its relation to evaluativeness and emotiveness. A wide range of contextual nuances in the uses of the dubitative forms are outlined, based on

the relationship between the dubitative, unreliability of the message, evaluativeness and emotiveness. Important typological aspects of the dubitative are also dealt with in Chapter Two and the results of an empirical study of the perception of the reliability of the message, as expressed by the four types of evidential forms, are presented and discussed.

Chapter Three is devoted to the formal paradigm of the dubitative. Presented are the form-formation mechanism and the variability, characteristic of the forms expressing doubt in Present-Day Bulgarian. The specific coincidences of the dubitative forms, defined here as biparticipant and bideterminant, are also discussed. The existence of empty cells in the paradigm is pointed out and explanations of their presence are offered. The problem of the defectivity of the Bulgarian dubitative paradigm is raised for discussion and the deviations, discovered in the database, are classified. The temporal uses of the dubitative are illustrated with examples from Present-Day Bulgarian. The dubitative forms are also analyzed with a view to C. Lehmann's syntagmatic parameters of grammaticalization. A special subsection of this chapter is devoted to the discussion of four typological indices, which are calculated for the existing four dubitative micro-paradigms that are in competition in the Bulgarian language. The next sections of Chapter Three deals with the relationship between the dubitative and other grammatical categories, above all with the types of relations described as interconnection and interaction.

Chapter Four discusses some of the pragmatic aspects in the study of the Bulgarian dubitative. The focus is on uses of the dubitative in represented speech and the types of relations between the author of the actual message containing dubitative forms and the author of the underlying message. A separate section of Chapter Four presents the uses of the dubitative in various sentence types, including the limitations that exist in some cases, illustrated with concrete examples.

The present study analyzes and offers comments on 389 examples. It includes 10 tables, 18 charts and 18 diagrams.

Quoted are 235 sources.

This work contains a total of 387 pages.

Chapter One. Dubitative, evidentiality and modality

1. Evidentiality, modality and the place of the dubitative

This section discusses the main opinions on the semantic invariant of evidentiality and comments on several typological classifications of evidential systems, based on the relevant semantic features. The main purpose of the analysis is to establish the adequacy of the various proposals with a view to evidentiality in Bulgarian, and to see if the division of the various system types allows for the inclusion of the dubitative. At the end of this section the main points of view on the relationship between evidentiality and modality are summarized, which is a necessary step in clarifying the place of the dubitative within the evidential system in general and with a view to Bulgarian, as well as in explaining the connection of the dubitative with modality.

A number of various positions on the semantics of evidentiality as a grammatical category have been expressed in the numerous publications on the subject, depending on whether it should include the attitude of the speaker to the trustworthiness of the message, in addition to encoding the source of information. A comparison is made of the definitions offered by Jakobson, Bybee, Kozintseva, Mel'chuk, Chafe and Nichols, Aikhenvald, Lazard, Gerdzhikov, Guentchéva, Nitsolova (Jakobson 1971: 135, Bybee 1985: 184, Козинцева 1994: 92, Мельчук 1998: 199, Chafe 1986, Lazard 1999, Aikhenvald 2004, Герджиков 1977, 1984, Guentchéva 1993, Ницолова 2008). A comparative analysis is offered of the various classifications of evidentiality (Willet 1988, Козинцева 1994, de Haan 2001, Aikhenvald 2004, Плунгян 2011, Храковский 2005) in order to prove that the Bulgarian evidential system cannot be adequately accommodated by any of them, because none of them includes the dubitative as a subcategory of evidentiality.

This section also offers a comparison of the various interpretations of epistemic modality, paying attention equally to the semantics of epistemicity and to the classifications of linguistic modality, in order to outline the place of epistemicity (Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1994, Forker 2018, Wiemer 2018, Nuyts 2006, 2001, Chung, Timberlake 1985, Van der Auwera, Plungian 1998).

The analysis of the various opinions on the semantics of evidentiality and modality and their various classifications aims at establishing the types of interpretation of the relation between evidentiality and epistemic modality. Four types of opinion can be distinguished: 1) independence of the two categories (DeLancey 1986, De Haan 1999, Aikhenvald 2004, Храковский 2005, Wiemer 2018, Макарцев 2014, etc.), 2) including evidentiality within epistemic modality (Willet 1988, Герджиков 1984, Bybee 1985, Aronson 1967) or the reverse – inclusion of epistemic modality within evidentiality (Friedman 1986), 3) partial overlap of evidentiality and epistemic modality (Плунгян 2011, Ницолова 2008, Макарцев 2014, Dendale, Tasmowski 2001), 4) the inclusion of evidentiality and epistemic modality within the superordinate category of epistemicity (Boye 2010). The analysis of the various positions is necessary since the dubitative as a subcategory of evidentiality has undoubtedly epistemic nature.

1.1. The dubitative and the mental maps of evidentiality and modality

This section presents some of the recent achievements of linguistic research in the development of mental maps in order to find out if the dubitative has found its place in any of them in the subdivision of the semantic fields of evidentiality or epistemicity. The text examines the essence of the semantic (mental, implicative, cognitive) maps according to the views put forward by various authors (Haspelmath 2003, Татевосов 2004, Croft 2003, Cysouw 2010, Boye 2010, Zwarts 2010, De Haan 2004), including the nature of their elements: grams/semantic primes/meanings/functions/conceptual values as nodes in the semantic field, information labels, circumscribing curves. The requirements for the development of semantic maps are also presented. The semantic maps of evidentiality and epistemicity (Anderson 1986, Van der Auwera, Plungian 1998, Boye 2010) are discussed in order to establish if the dubitative has found its adequate place in them. An original solution is put forward and motivated, including two types of epistemic categories: logical epistemicity and natural epistemicity. An original semantic map of epistemic modality in its relation to evidentiality in Present-Day Bulgarian is worked out. Its relation to other semantic maps is commented on and the possibility of further development of the map in more concrete terms is pointed out.

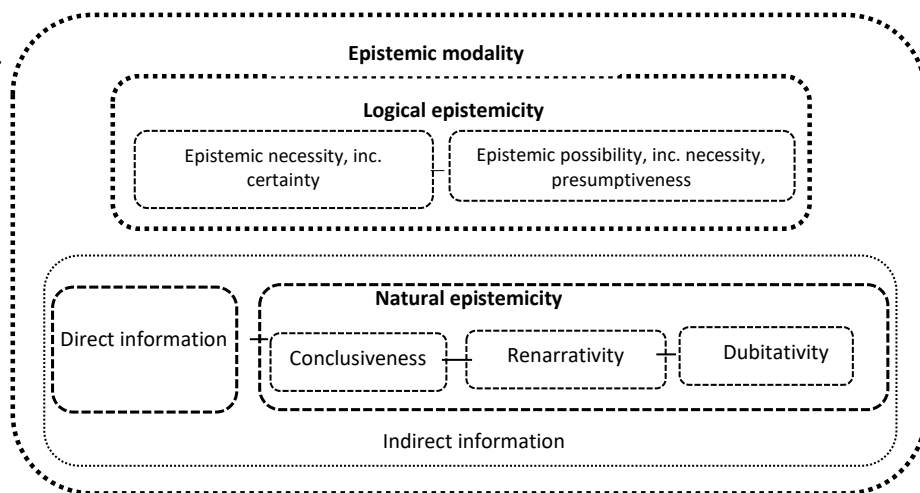**Diagram 1. The Bulgarian dubitative within the framework of epistemic modality**

Figure 1

Chapter Two. The semantics of the dubitative

1. The dubitative and the expression of unreliability and doubt

This subsection of Chapter Two presents the analysis of the concepts of *mistrust*, *doubt*, *unreliability*, *truthfulness*, which are important in the definition of the dubitative meaning in Present-Day Bulgarian. The important clarification is made that mistrust may have two different objects: first, mistrust or doubt in one's own utterance, in the information contained in it and its trustworthiness, which is mistrust in one's own knowledge and, second, mistrust or doubt in someone else's utterance with regard to the trustworthiness of the information in it, including mistrust in the collocutor (see also Ковш 2007: 5, 28). These two objects establish two micro-fields in the sphere of mistrust that could be grammaticalized both separately and jointly. Present-Day Bulgarian grammaticalizes only the second of these micro-fields – mistrust in, uncertainty of the utterance of the other. The isolated attested examples of dubitative forms encoding mistrust in one's own primary utterance (containing an implicit evaluation of one's own previous utterance as false) problematizes the definition of the semantics of the dubitative in Bulgarian: should we accept the broader definition including mistrust, doubt in both one's own knowledge and reservation about, mistrust in the other's primary utterance, or accept the narrow definition of mistrust in the other's previous utterance. Adopting the broader interpretation requires a broader representation not only of the dubitative semantics but also of the semantics of the renarrative – does it render only someone else's previous primary utterance or else it might render one's one primary utterance. In this study we accept the narrow definition of the semantics of the renarrative and the dubitative as representing only someone else's utterance. It follows from this that the uses of the renarrative and the dubitative to invest one's own previous utterance with mistrust or doubt are regarded as cases of grammatical transposition.

Psychological and philosophical interpretations of mistrust are also taken into account (Купрейченко 2008, the online version of the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Леонова 2015, Скрипкина 2000). Various opinions on the components of trust are compared. Presented are also different viewpoints on the concept of doubt (Ревякина 2008, Гоголина 2002, Шатуновский 1991, Тодорова 2022), contemporary interpretations of the problem of truth published in this country are also referred to (Вацов 2016, Иванов 2016, Иванова 2017, Михайлов 2018).

2. Dubitative, evaluativeness and emotiveness

This section first discusses the connection of utterances containing a dubitative form with the semantic category of *evaluation*. This is necessary since by choosing the dubitative verb form the actual speaker represents the primary information as untrue, unreliable or unlikely and this in itself is a subjective evaluation, relying on the speaker's personal experience, system of values, individual viewpoint on the state of affairs. The development of evaluation as part of human cognitive capacity is outlined together with the various opinions on evaluative meaning (Арутюнова 1988, Вольф 2002, etc.), discussed are the elements of an evaluative utterance as understood by various authors (Романова 2008, Погорелова, Яковлева 2017, Вольф 2002, Соловьева 2014, etc.), as well as opinions on the dominant place of the emotional or of the rational aspects of evaluation, since this is crucial in defining the dubitative as a type of negative subjective evaluation on the part of the speaker/writer.

It is important for the present discussion to take into account not only the concept of *evaluation* but also those of *emotiveness* and *emotionality*, because the speaker's distrustful evaluation of the information in the re-presented utterance of the other is often accompanied by a negative emotional reaction. The interconnection between emotiveness and evaluation is pointed out, a distinction between emotiveness and emotionality is defined, and a linguistic perspective on emotiveness and its expression is offered. No doubt, the use of dubitative forms is among the linguistic means of expressing emotiveness.

3. Contextual realizations of the dubitative (semantic shades)

Depending on the context, Present-Day Bulgarian dubitative forms can materialize the invariant meaning in a more concrete way through the appearance of various semantic shades. Disagreement, mistrust, doubt in the trustworthiness of the represented utterance of someone else, may be expressed within a broad continuum, ranging between a relatively non-expressive doubt to emotionally marked strong rejection (ironic, sarcastic) of the reliability of the other's message. Some of the significant contextual realizations are illustrated in this section but they cannot represent a finite set since each use of the dubitative may acquire a new shade of meaning.

3.1. Non-expressive doubt in the possible materialization of the activity referred to in the primary utterance of the other

*(1) Един малък епизод от моя личен живот. В Търново през лятото на 1877 год. Ст. Стамболов [147] ме запозна с един свой влашки „приятел". Дядо Желю се казваше, известен тогаз хайдут-войвода. Срещнахме го на Баждарлъка. Стамболов го спря, попита го за здравето му, кога е пристигнал и какво мисли да прави. Разправя дядо Желю, че събирал чета и с нея **щял бил да отиде** къде Кесарово, където се били появили турци башибозуци.*

*"(1)A small episode from my personal life. In Tarnovo in the summer of 1877 S. Stambolov [147]presented me to one of his Wallachian "friends". Old Zhelyu was his name, a then famous haidut and voivoda. We met him at Badzharlak. Stambolov stopped him, enquired about his health, asked when he had arrived and what he intended to do. Old Zhelyu told us that he was gathering a band of warriors and with them he **would [presumably] go** towards Kesarevo where Turkish bashibozuk had appeared."*

(Д. Ганчев, http://macedonia.kroraina.com/dgs/dgs.htm#7) (12.07.2021)

3.1. Expressive negative evaluation of the activity referred to in second-hand information due to the activity's untimely, infeasible, inefficient, senseless, groundless, unacceptable nature

До всички рибари!

*Гледах в новините някаква важна госпожа от МОСВ, която не знаела точно колко били язовирите. **Щяла била** тепърва **да прави** регистър, ама дали ще смогне преди топенето на снеговете - не е ясно.*

"To all fishermen!

*I saw in the news some important lady from the Ministry of the Environment and Water Resources who didn't know the exact number of the artificial water reservoirs. Only now she **would create** a register but it is not clear if she would manage to do this before the snow thaw."*

(http://www.odit.info/?s=6&i=266581&f=4) (14.07.2021)

*Идва една вечер чичката от тази компания и ми обяснява надълго и нашироко как тяхната била най-евтината, с най-много опции и дъра-бъра. Подивях! Едно, че печах в момента курабийки, и второ 10 пъти (цифром и словом) му плюя в ушите, че ние имаме най-евтината застраховка, а той - Не, та НЕ! **Щял бил да ни даде** 10 евро само да ни **бил сметнел** нашата и тяхната.*

*"This guy from this insurance company comes one evening and tells me in great detail how their insurance was the cheapest, with the largest number of options, blah-blah. I went mad! First of all I was in the middle of baking cookies and then, I spit in his ears 10 times all in all and I tell him that we have got the cheapest insurance but he insist on his NO! He **would give** us 10 euro only **to calculate** our insurance and theirs."*

(https://www.bg-mamma.com/?topic=149783.45) (15.07.2021)

3.3. Disagreement with someone else's proposal, insistence or order

*И аз идвам точно от доки ... Нещо ме смоталеви за болничния - да ми **бил пуснел** 45-дневния 1 седмица по-рано - казах му че не искам така ...*

*"I am coming right back from the doc ...He mumbled something about the sick-leave document – that he **would put the date** of the 45-day one a week earlier – I told him I didn't want it that way ..."*

(http://www.bg-mamma.com/index.php?topic=616335.515;wap2) (15.07.2021)

3.4. Rendering a false statement

*Та нали вий, господин Кишелски, през 1867 година и 1868 година ми препоръчвахте генерал Черняева, че бил добър и желаел да помогне на българите? А ето сега излиза друго. На това генерал Кишелски ми обясни, че уж генерал Черняев **си бил изменил** възглядовете спрямо българите. Прекъснахме разговора.*

*"Wasn't it you, Mr. Kishelski, who, in 1867 and 1868, recommended general Chernyaev who was kind and wanted to help the Bulgarians? And now things turn out to be otherwise. To this, general Kishelski explained to me that allegedly general Chernyaev **had changed** his views about the Bulgarians. We put an end to the conversation."*

(П. Хитов, БНК/BNC)

3.5. Amazement at a groundless/ inadequate statement or question

Та, я сега съм те хванала да попитам, защо пее толкова рано? Спи и пее, защото нали кокошките не виждат в тъмното.... Или греша?

Автор   Mila06 (ветеран)
Публикувано   19.06.13 14:39

*Що **бил кукуригал** рано петелът!? Ми такъв му е биоритъмът ве... биологичния му часовник е такъв - заспива по здрач и се буди в първото развиделяване... забравила ли си, че към 4.00 сутринта има леко развителяване, после отново всичко утихва и между 5-6 пуква зората... и как щял бил да пее спейки... абсолютно си е събуден той... нали затуй се казва "ранобуден петел"...*

"Now that I've got you here let me ask why does he crow so early? He is [still]sleeping and he crows... 'cause hens can't see in the dark, can they...Or am I wrong?

Author   Mila06 (veteran)
Published   19.06.13 14:39

*Why **was** the cock **crowing** early [in the morning]!? That's his biorhythm, isn't it...his biological clock is like this – he falls asleep at dusk and wakes up with the first sign of dawn... don't you remember that about 4.00 a.m. there is a slight appearance of light then everything is quiet and between 5 and 6 dawn*

break for real…and you ask how he could crow in his sleep…he is wide awake [then]…that's why we say cocks are early risers…"

(http://clubs.dir.bg/showflat.php?Board=forty&Number=1952869328&page=&view=&sb=&part =all&vc=1) (14.07.2021)

3.6. Disapproval and rejection of someone else's imaginary but possible utterance

*Винаги когато се е отваряла допълнителна работа, която да ми даде шанс да добавя нещо към доходите си, съм я приемала, независимо дали е "престижна", лека-мека-уютна и т. н. И даже съм се гордяла с това, а не ме е било срам, че комшийката **щяла-била да каканиже** зад гърба ми "и тя за к'во учи толкова - да ниже кошници".*

*"Whenever an additional task would crop up, giving me the chance to add something to my income, I have accepted it no matter if it was "prestigious", nice and easy or whatever. I have even taken pride in it, rather than being ashamed because the next-door neighbor **would mumble** behind my back "why did she receive this education… was it only to weave baskets?!"*

(http://www.bg-mamma.com/index.php?topic=559236.315) (15.03.2015)

3.7. Rejection of someone's insistence accompanied by expression of boredom

*Моят личен психоаналитик Джеймс от сутринта ме е заврънкал да **съм се бил опитал**! Да съм бил направел усилие! –*

*"My personal psychotherapist James has been nagging me sine early morning **to make a try**! That I **should make an effort**!"*

(http://www.librev.com/index.php/2013-03-30-08-56-39/scribbles/prose/1558-2012-04-13-09-12-59) (14.07.2021)

3.8. Ironic rejection of the feasibility of an activity referred to in someone else's utterance
*Партията на новия политик **щяла била да замени** СДС, привидя ѝ се на Весела Драганова.*
*"The political party of this new politician **would take the place of** the Union of Democratic Forces, Vesela Draganova was imagining."*
(https://bg-bg.facebook.com/MediaClubZ/posts/566065933498212) (14.07.2021)

3.9. Doubt in the sincerity of the original utterance's author
*sapuna10: Сега се държа окей, правя и тук там комплименти, оня ден и се обадих извън даскало и после каза, че не е очаквала. Говорихме си , аз имам повод да празнувам , каза , че **щяла била да се радва** ако я покана. Мисля да го направя и да разбера кво става*

*"sapuna10: Now I am behaving myself, I pay one compliment or another, the other day I called her when I was out of school and then she said she didn't expect it. We had a chat, I have an occasion to celebrate, she said she **would be glad** if I would invite her. I think I will do it and see what's going on."*
(http://pickup-project.net/forum/index.php?topic=5095.0;wap2) (14.07.2021)

3.10. Disagreement with and distancing from someone else's evaluation
***Щял си бил да подбудиш** вярващите да не стъпват на богослуженията му, това щяло да го остави като риба на сухо, щото не виреел там, където нямало кой да го гледа… Ти си бил „Амбара от Пловдив", не съм ли те бил знаел? Ако не съм знаел, да съм бил разпитал...*

*"You **would incite** the believers not to go to his service and that would make him feel like a fish out of water because he couldn't survive if there was nobody watching him... You were "Ambara from Plovdiv", didn't I know that? If I didn't know it, I should have asked around."*

(http://le-mousquetaire.blogspot.com/2013/07/blog-post_6657.html) (10.10.2015)

3.11. Rejection of unjust accusation

*Ми ей така, викат ме до патрулката, казват че ще ми пишат акт, взимат ми книжката И талона и ми четат конско, **щял съм бил да сгазя** колегата им и т.н., което не е така защото не съм карал бързо, а просто набих спирачки пред катаджията, който се уплаши.*

*"Just like that, they call me to the patrol car, tell me they are going to fine me, take my driving license, read me the riot act, say **I was going to run** their colleague **over**, which is not true because I was not speeding, I only pressed on the breaks to stop at the traffic policeman who got scared."*

(http://www.renault-bg.com/smf/index.php?topic=164858.0) (14.07.2021)

3.12. Indignation at a threat

*Този път ще отида и ще подам жалба в районния съд за психически тормоз и да и забранят да ме доближава. Тя щяла да ми държи сметка отсега нататък къде отивали парите, които синът и изкарвал (затова дойде), защото аз съм била виновна, че все сме били без пари. **Била съм крадяла**, **щяла била да дойде** с полиция и да влезела с вратата в нас. Хора, това е жена на 65 години напълно с разума си.*

*"This time I will go and make a complaint at the regional law court for psychological harassment and ask she should be forbidden to approach me. From now on she would hold me responsible what happens with the money earned by her son (that's what she came for) because it was my fault we were always short of money. **I was stealing**, she **would come** with the police and would force the door. Mind you, this is a woman of 65 and completely sane."*

(http://www.zachatie.org/forum/index.php?topic=48188.msg940164#msg940164) (15.06.2021)

3.13. Ironic uses of the dubitative

*Главният прокурор заговори за медийните изяви и разпитите на Румяна Ченалова. Пак щели да я разпитват. И, о, небеса, Делян Пеевски също **щял бил да бъде разпитван**, ти да видиш, като свидетел.*

*"The Chief Prosecutor started talking about the media appearances and the interrogation of Rumyana Chenalova. And, Heavens above! Delyan Peevski **would** also **be interrogated** as a witness, can you imagine that."*

(http://www.bgsniper.com/action/7000-1) (14.07.2021)

3.14. Angry indignation accompanied by sarcastic denunciation

*Чухте какво била казала Мутрата-Премиер вчера, нали? Каква наистина безмерна наглост, представяте ли си: **щели сме били** догодина **да не сме** вече най-бедните в Европа, а дотогава, догодина, **щели сме били да се възвисим** дотам, че да сме, предполагам, предпоследни по бедност!*

*"Did you hear what our thug of a premiere said yesterday? Can you imagine the cheek: next year we **wouldn't be** the poorest nation in Europe and by then we **would rise so high** that we would be the second poorest nation, I suppose!"*

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(https://aigg.wordpress.com/2012/09/07/) (14.07.2021)

3.15. Distancing from one's own utterance

*Казах му, че Иван **бил взел** книгата, и не му я дадох.*

*"I told him that Ivan **had taken** the book and I didn't give it to him."*

(Герджиков 1984: 17)

*И му разправям, че уж **съм щял бил да ходя** с нашите, та затова **нямало било да отида** с него.* (Собствена база данни с устна комуникация.)

*"And then I told him that I **was supposed to go** with my family, so I **wouldn't go** with him.* (Personal database, oral communication)

3.16. A brief summary

This section presents various contextual realizations of the dubitative, starting from utterances lacking emotive-expressing markedness and ending up with utterances expressing angry denunciation with a sarcastic colouring. It can be seen that these contextual uses form a broad continuum expressing reservation on the part of the actual speaker/writer with respect to the information contained in someone else's underlying utterance. Full exhaustiveness is not possible here since the context creates innumerable variations. Still, we can summarize that in the continuum of emotive-expressive uses of the dubitative at one end we find weak hesitation, suspicion, and doubt lacking expressiveness, while at the other end there is indignation, angry denunciation, ironic or sarcastic rejection of the truthfulness of the underlying statement. What all the uses enumerated above have in common is the type of epistemic evaluation on the part of the speaker of the truthfulness/ reliability of the indirectly presented information.

4. Typological aspects

The main goal of this section is to present and comment on data about the grammatical means of expressing dubitative meaning in various languages. This makes it necessary to look for typological or language-specific studies linking the dubitative with modality or evidentiality, or both. This is necessary since the comparison with other languages, where the dubitative finds grammatical expression, makes it easier to place the Bulgarian dubitative in a typological perspective.

In this subsection we examine data from A. Aikhenvald's typological study (Aikhenvald 2004), in order to find out if, according to this author's classification, there are language types where the dubitative is either an epistemic extension (type of use) of an indirect evidential, or else it is an independent category. According to A. Aikhenvald type A1 languages have no dubitative uses but in A2 type of systems there are three languages/dialects that have a dubitative mood. distinct from evidentiality (James, Clarke, MacKenzie 2001, James 1984). Albanian and Turkish are categorized as A2 type of languages. More attention is given to Turkish, and we find a comparison of different views on the semantics, the formal expression and the grammatical status of evidentiality (Gül 2006, 2009, 2017, Meydan 1996, Kerimoğlu 2010, Баджанлы 2007, Ótott-Kovács 2021, Герджиков 1984, Ницолова 2008, Нинова 2016). Two positions are prominent here: those of a three-member or a two-member organization of evidentiality in Turkish. The difference between them is that the three-member interpretation regards the dubitative as a separate subcategory of evidentiality.

This subsection also examines languages with a four-member evidential systems where, Aikhenvald claims, indirect evidentials may have dubitative uses, e. g. in Tariana, Piapoco, and Bella Kula.

This author also raises the question in principle whether the dubitative can have the status of an evidential or else it is only an evidential strategy (Aikhenvald 2004: 110).

Bulgarian is a proof that the dubitative can be an evidential subcategory and not only a use of some of the indirect evidentials or a separate category expressing doubt and mistrust. It should be made clear that the Bulgarian dubitative expresses reservation, doubt and mistrust with regard to the information contained in someone else's primary utterance and not doubt in general. In this case the dubitative, together with the indicative, the conclusive (inferential), and the renarrative, forms a four-member evidential category in the Bulgarian language. A. Aikhenvald's typological study misrepresents the Bulgarian evidential system as a two-member one, belonging to type **A1** or **A2**.

5.   The dubitative in the Bulgarian evidential system

5.1. Some opinions

Various opinions on the grammatical status and the forms of the dubitative in Bulgarian, put forward in the literature on the Bulgarian language, are analyzed here (Трифонов 1905, Андрейчин 1938/1976, Дёмина 1959, Маслов 1981, Пашов 1999, Стоянов 1980, Герджиков 1984, Александров 1985, Ницолова 2007, 2008, Търпоманова 2016, Guéntcheva 1996, Герджиков 1984, Нинова 2016, Конедарева 2015, Макарцев 2014, Куцаров, Ив. 2007, Молошная 1995, Aronson 1967). The review of the various positions (that are not as numerous as those on the renarrative and the conclusive, for instance) shows that the Bulgarian dubitative forms have been interpreted as:

- variants of the renarrative (emphatic, stronger renarration forms, doubly renarrative), the renarrative forms being interpreted as a mood or as an independent category;
- renarrated forms of the conclusive mood;
- an independent subcategory within a verb category different from mood, labeled *modus of presentation of the activity*, *evidentiality*, *meditative*, etc.;
- inorganic evidentiality (i. e. a verbal category with an epistemic nature) or a phenomenon in the periphery of evidentiality.

In this study we adhere to the view that the Bulgarian dubitative is a subcategory within the system of the verb category of evidentiality. It is one of the three indirect evidentials, together with the conclusive and the renarrative. From the perspective of grammatical opposition theory it is semantically the most heavily loaded member of the category. We accept G. Gerdzhikov's opinion that the semantic invariant of the dubitative consists of the features [+renarrative] and [+subjective]. The dubitative is opposed to the renarrative with respect to the feature of subjectivity with a shared markedness with the feature of renarrativity. The dubitative is opposed to the conclusive with its markedness for renarrativity, while sharing with it the feature of subjectivity.

The peculiarities of the feature of subjectivity, however, need further analysis because its concrete realizations in the conclusive and in the dubitative acquire specific character. In the case of the conclusive its concrete realization is one of subjective statement based on one's own personal conclusion, generalization or inference, while with the dubitative subjectivity has the nature of reservation, doubt in the information contained in someone else's utterance, combined with a subjective negative attitude. The negative subjective attitude and the reservation on the part of the actual speaker may have various grounds and this becomes clear in this subsection of the present study, dealing with some of the contextual realizations of the dubitative. Here we prefer the term "reservation" to "mistrust" as more suitable to cover all contextual realizations, all the various uses presented above of a wide range of variations of negative

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epistemic evaluation of the utterance of another (doubt in the reliability of the primary utterance of someone else, doubt in the feasibility of the activity referred to in someone else's message, disagreement with someone's offer or insistence, rejection of an unjust accusation, disagreement with someone else's evaluation, indignant reaction to somebody's statement, etc, etc.). It would be possible, of course, to define "mistrust" in a wider sense to encompass all the above uses. This is a matter of giving preference to one term to another but this ought to be based on a close correspondence of the term to the encoded grammatical meaning.

5.2. Perception of the degree of reliability expressed by Bulgarian evidential forms

This section again raises the question of the relation between evidentiality and epistemic modality in the context of the dispute whether the Bulgarian evidential system is modal or not. We addressed this question in the previous sections and here we shall focus on the perception of evidential forms. The present analysis of the degree of reliability, expressed by the four evidential forms in Bulgarian, has been inspired by two publications by S. Fitneva (Fitneva 2001, 2008). We offer a critical analysis of the experiments carried out by S. Fitneva, pointing out that the texts used in her experiments contain conclusive aorist, which coincides in form with the indicative perfect, without any clues in the context allowing to make a choice between the two, which casts doubt on the results of this research. We also criticize the theoretical positions of this author on the features building up the category, which the author does not label as evidentiality. As to the dubutative, Fitneva characterizes it as *report of inference*, which does not correspond to linguistic reality.

Our own experiment does not have as its subjects children aged 6 and 9 but university students in the humanities, before they have been exposed to a theoretical study of evidentiality.

Goal. The main goal of our experiment is to find out if in Present-Day Bulgarian the indicative, the conclusive, the renarrative, and the dubitative are in a hierarchic relationship with respect to the trustworthiness of the message from the perception point of view. The second goal (no doubt, related to the first one) is to establish if there is also a hierarchy between the features of *renarrativity* and *subjectivity* with respect to the trustworthiness of the message from the point of view of the recipient of the message. The answers to these two questions will shed light on whether there is a possible hierarchy of the three indirect evidentials according to the recipients' evaluation of the trustworthiness of the message. We emphasize once again that we are interested in the reception of the utterances containing evidential forms and not in the standpoint of the speaker.

Participants. The subjects in the experiment are 171 university students in the humanities: 34% of them doing Bulgarian studies, 16% Russian studies, 17% Oriental languages, 6% speech therapy, 22% pedagogical studies, and 5% other subjects (German and English). Of them 88% are women and 12% are men. They are all native speakers of Bulgarian.

Preparation, empirical material and administration of the experiment. We chose a text telling a story in which **A** asks **B** and **C** about the place where his friends **D** and **E** will be (see Q1 –Question one). This choice has similarities with Fitneva's first experiment (Fitneva 2001, 2008).

The choice that **A** should be looking for two people is made on purpose so that **B** and **C**'s answers would be in the plural, because we believe that the plural form *ca* [are] is perceived more clearly than that of the singular *e* [is]. In preparing the texts for the experiment we purposefully excluded aorist evidential forms in the utterances of **D** и **E**, which is unlike Fitneva's experiments (Fitneva 2001, 2008), because the conclusive aorist coincides with the indicative perfect. Future evidential forms were selected although the

future indirect evidential forms coincide with the evidential forms of the future-in-the-past. However, this is a temporal distinction and not a difference in evidentiality as in Fitneva's experiments.

Six versions of the experimental materials were prepared so that the four evidentials could be opposed to each other, for instance, in Q1 the opposition in the answers of the two participants is between renarrative and conclusive forms. In all six variants the question the participants have to answer is: „Who did Ivan believe?".

Q1. Иван решава да потърси приятелите си Стефан и Александър, за да разбере къде ще ходят утре сутринта. Среща Мартин и го пита знае ли къде ще ходят Стефан и Александър утре сутринта. Мартин отговаря:

– Щели да ходят на игрището.

Иван продължава пътя си и среща Калоян.

И него го пита дали знае къде ще ходят Стефан и Александър утре сутринта. Калоян отговаря:

– Щели са да ходят на плуване.

На кого е повярвал Иван?

"Q1 Ivan decides to look for his friends Stefan ad Alexander in order to find out where they will go next morning. He meets Martin and asks him if he knows where Stefan and Alexander will be next morning. Martin answers:

'They are supposed to be [renarrative] *at the playing ground.'*

Ivan continues on his way and meets Kaloyan.

He ask him too if he knows where Stefan and Alexander will be next morning. Kaloyan answers:

'They are to go [conclusive] *swimming.'*

Who did Ivan believe?"

The experiment was conducted online via a link to the free access platform *Qualtrics*. Each of the subjects had access to only one of the six versions in order to avoid the possible influence of some of the answers on the other answers. The program selects randomly the version for each respondent as a result of which the number of the answers in the six versions is not absolutely equal.

Results and analysis. The number of respondents for the first version (v1 – opposition of renarrative : conclusive forms) is 25. Graph. 1 shows that 48% of them evaluated as more trustworthy the utterances with renarrative forms, while 52% selected the utterances with conclusive forms. This result supports the hypothesis that in localization of the activity and from the recipient's perception perspective there is no hierarchy between the features of *renarrativity* and *subjectivity*. According to these results it is not possible to claim that the feature *rendering of information from another source* leads to a higher or lower evaluation of the trustworthiness of the message in comparison with the feature *subjective conclusion, inference, or statement*. These results do not correspond to those of Fitneva's first experiment (Fitneva 2001). In the evaluation of the second version, opposing renarrative to dubitative forms, the number of participants was 32. Of them 78.1% preferred as more trustworthy the utterances with renarrative forms, and 21.9% chose the ones with dubitative form. The standard deviation is 0.41234. Since the opposition is between renarrative and dubitative, both of them marked for the feature of *renarrativity*, their possible hierarchization in trustworthiness may be based on their markedness/unmarkedness for *subjectivity*. The third version opposes conclusive and dubitative forms and it has received 27 answers. Conclusive and dubitative forms are marked for the feature *subjectivity*, but unlike the dubitative, the conclusive is not

marked for *renarrativity*. Of the 27 respondents 63% would believe the utterance with conclusive forms and 37% - the utterance with dubitative ones. In verson 2 the opposition is renarrative : dubitative forms, the ratio being 78.1% : 21.9%. The opposition in the third version is conclusive : dubitative forms and the ratio is 63% : 37%. These results make it possible to conclude that with regard to trustworthiness the distance between the renarrative and the dubitative forms is greater than that between the conclusive and the dubitative forms. The fourth version opposes indicative and renarrative forms. The indicative forms are perceived as more trustworthy by 87.5% of the respondents and only 12.5% evaluated the renarrative forms as more trustworthy. The fifth variant opposes indicative and conclusive forms the ratio being this time 89.3% : 10.7%. The data show a clear difference in the degree of trustworthiness between the indicative and the conclusive. It should not come as a surprise that 85.2% of the respondents believed in the messages with an indicative form and only 14.8% in those with a conclusive form.

The results received and commented on confirm the existence of a trustworthiness hierarchy between the four evidentials. From the perception perspective the indicative forms are always perceived as the most trustworthy ones in comparison with any of the three indirect evidentials. However, the problem of the hierarchic relations among the indirect evidentials (conclusive, renarrative and dubitative) is more complicated.

The results of our experiments make it possible to achieve the second goal of seeking an answer to the question if in the perception of a text there is subordination with respect to trustworthiness between the features of *subjectivity* and *renarrativity*. Our answer based on the experiment's results is negative. However, this needs to be verified in a nationally representative investigation. Our results also differ from those of S. Fitneva's first experiment (Fitneva 2001). This author tries to prove that in a question about the location of the activity, the respondents will rely on the manner of receiving of the information – through perception or in a cognitive way (by means of inference). Our results refute this hypothesis.

The fact that the results of the present experiment show the lack of a trustworthiness hierarchy in perception between the renarrative and the conclusive forms, however, poses an important question concerning the organization of the category of evidentiality. Both the conclusive and the renarrative are evidentials with single-markedness, although in a reverse way: the conclusive is marked for *subjectivity* but unmarked for *renarrativity* and the renarrative is marked for *renarrativity* and unmarked for *subjectivity*. What is the place then that they could be given in the organization of evidentiality? Here we are guided by G. Gerdzhikov's position already stated above, namely that subordination can exist not only between the members of one opposition, that not only grammatical categories may be in a hierarchic relation (some categories are more basic than others), but relations of inequality may be also observed between the oppositions within one category (Герджиков 1984: 27–29). Our results do not make it possible to accept the existence of a trustworthiness hierarchy between the renarrative and the conclusive. Diachronic data about the development of the category do not offer help in solving the problem because the renarrative and the conclusive do not emerge successively, it is not the case, for instance, that the renarrative was the first to appear and only then the conclusive on the basis of another feature, rather they are the result of the splitting of the syncretic feature *indirectness of the information* into two (*renarrativity* and *subjectivity*) (Герджиков 1984: 29). No doubt, the coincidence of the renarrative and the conclusive forms in the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural should also be taken into account. In languages with two evidentials – direct and indirect – the indirect evidential has both renarrative and conclusive uses. We can only rely on the fact that (based on the researcher's intuition and not on statistical analysis) that the renarrative is used more frequently than the conclusive, which might be interpreted as a hierarchic relations between the features of *renarrativity* and *subjectivity*.

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Chapter Three. The formal paradigm of the dubitative

This chapter deals with the formal paradigm of the Bulgarian dubitative in the active voice and in the passive. The aim is to shed light on the processes of form-formation, to compare the existing opinions on this matter, to analyze the causes for the coincidences of dubitative forms for each of the direct tenses and the corresponding indirect tense, as well as the coincidence between dubitative and renarrative forms, to offer comments on the existence of empty cells in the dubitative paradigm, to examine the problem of the existing variation in the negative dubitative forms of the posterior tenses, and last but not least to present and to analyze the typologically important indices of the degree of compositeness, analyticity, syntheticity and markedness with grammatical information as applied to the Bulgarian dubitative.

1. The dubitative paradigm
1.1. Form-formation and variability

At first sight the Bulgarian dubitative paradigm seems to be clear, especially with respect to the positive forms. However, the very question of the form-formation mechanism poses the first problem: are the dubitative forms produced from the conclusive ones through renarration of the auxiliary verb *съм* [be] and the omission of *е* [is] and *са* [are] in the 3rd person singular and plural (*четял съм : четял съм бил, четял си : четял си бил, четял е : четял Е бил*) (cf. Герджиков 1984: 40–42), or, alternatively, are they the result of the addition to the renarrated form of one more active aorist participle of the auxiliary *съм* (*бил, -а, -о, -и*) except for the cases it is already there in the renarrated perfect and the renarrated pluperfect, which coincide (cf. Ницолова 2008: 370). If the second opinion is accepted, that would mean on the semantic plane that it is precisely the added participle *бил, -а, -о, -и* that carries the subjective epistemic evaluation (reservation). As a matter of fact *бил* is the renarrated form of *съм* [be] in the 3rd person singular and the view that the dubitative is based on the renarrative with the addition of one more renarrated form of *съм* cannot serve as an adequate description of the semantic component of the form-formation process. Unlike this, the first opinion about the form-formation process is in accordance with the semantic aspect of this process: it is based on the subjectively marked evidential form (the conclusive) and through the renarration of the auxiliary verb it produces a form expressing subjectively marked renarration, expressing more precisely reservation towards the presented information coming from another source. It is because of this correspondence between the form-formation process and the semantic component that we give preference to the first opinion about the formation of the dubitative forms.
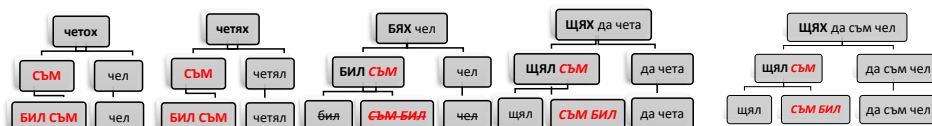

Diagram 1. Form-formation processes of the Bulgarian dubitative

In order to explain better the variability in the Bulgarian dubitative paradigm, the concept of *formal variability* is discussed from a theoretical perspective in this section. Different opinions on various aspects of variability and its codification are presented and compared (Валгина 2001, Жукова 2006, Смирнов

2010, Плунтян 2011, Даниэль, Плунгян 1996, Димитрова 1994, Димитрова 2001, Labov 1966/2006, 1972, Tagliamonte 2006, Станчева 2018).

After a detailed examination of the dubitative uses in the corpora analyzed in the present study we establish the following types of variability:

A) Variability of the dubitative forms conditioned by variability existing in the conclusive and the renarrative forms. This type is observed in the negative forms of 1st and 2nd person singular and plural of the future tense and the future-in-the-past, illustrated by ***нямало съм бил да чета*** : ***нямало било да чета***.

B) Variability of the positive dubitative forms due to form-formation with the auxiliary verbs *съм* [be] or *бъда* [be]. This subtype is observed in all positive dubitative forms of the future perfect and the future perfect in the past, as well as in all positive dubitative passive forms of the posterior tenses, the use of *съм* or *бъда* being a form-formative peculiarity having its origin in the indicative.

C) A combination of two types of variability: conditioned by the variation in the negative conclusive and renarrative forms, resulting in dubitative variants, containing renarrative forms of *няма* [have + negation] with a finite verb *съм* [be] in the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural (*нямало съм/си/сме/сте + бил, -а, -о, -и + да + съм/бъда//си/бъдеш//сме/бъдем//сте/бъдете + aorist active participle*), or by the presence of dubitative variants, containing impersonal renarrative form of *няма*, shaped as 3rd person singular neuter *нямало било* (*нямало било + да + съм/бъда//си/бъдеш//сме/бъдем//сте/бъдете + aorist active participle*), and variability conditioned by the use of *съм* or *бъда*. This type of combined variability is observed in the negative dubitative forms of the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural of the future perfect and the future perfect in the past, as well as in the negative dubitative forms of 1st and 2nd person singular and plural in all posterior tenses.

D) Variability due to the possibility of forming the negative dubitative forms of the future and the future-in-the-past, as well as the future perfect and the future perfect in the past, with the negative particle *не* instead of a form of *няма*.

E) Variability in the 3rd person singular and plural of the negative forms of the posterior tenses in the active and passive voice, due to the fact that the form *бил* can agree in the 3rd person singular in gender and number (*бил*, *била*, *било*), and in the 3rd person plural it can agree in number (*били*) or else to appear in the impersonal form *било* in singular and plural (e.g.. *нямало бил, -а, -о да чете* : *нямало било да чете*, *нямало били да четат* : *нямало било да четат*, etc.).

This study offers the following paradigm of the Present-Day Bulgarian dubitative including the variability described above.

Table1. Dubitative forms in the active and the passive voice

Tense	Active dubitative forms	Passive dubitative forms
Present tense Imperfect	Singular 1 р. бил, -о, -а съм четял, -а, -о 2 р. бил, -а, -о си четял, -а, -о, 3 р. бил, -а, -о четял, -а, -о Plural 1 р. били сме четели 2 р. били сте четели 3 р. били четели Singular 1 р. не съм бил, -а, -о четял, -а, -о	Does not exist

	2 р. не си бил, а, -о четял, -а, -о 3 р. не бил, -а, -о четял, -а, -о Plural 1 р. не сме били четели 2 р. не сте били четели 3 р. не били четели	
Aorist	Singular 1 р. бил, -а, -о съм чел, -а, -о 2 р. бил, -а, -о си чел, -а, -о 3 р. бил, -а, -о чел, -а, -о Plural 1 р. били сме чели 2 р. били сте чели 3 р. били чели Singular 1 р. не съм бил, -а, -о чел, -а, -о 2 р. не си бил, -а, -о, чел, -а, -о 3 р. не бил, -а, -о чел, -а, -о Plural 1 р. не сме били чели 2 р. не сте били чели 3 р. не били чели	
Perfect	No forms	
Pluperfect		

Future tense
 	
Future-in-the-past
	Singular
	1 р. щял, -а, -о съм бил, -а, -о да чета
	2 р. щял, -а, -о си бил, -а, -о да четеш
	3 р. щял, -а, -о бил, -а, -о да чете
	Plural
	1 р. щели сме били да четем
	2 р. щели сте били да четете
	3 р. щели били да четат
	
	Singular
	1 р. нямало съм бил, -а, -о да чета
	    нямало било да чета
	    не съм бил, -а, -о щял, -а, -о да чета
	2 р. нямало си бил, -а, -о да четеш
	    нямало било да четеш
	    не си бил, -а, -о щял, -а, -о да четеш
	3 р. нямало бил, -а, -о да чете
	    нямало било да чете
	    не бил, -а, -о щял, -а, -о да чете
	Plural
	1 р. нямало сме били да четем
	    нямало било да четем
	    не сме били щели да четем
	2 р. нямало сте били да четете
	    нямало било да четете
	    не сте били щели да четете
	3 р. нямало били да четат
	    нямало било да четат
		Singular
		1 р. щял, -а, -о съм бил, -а, -о да съм/бъда мит, -а, -о
		2 р. щял, -а, -о си бил, -а, -о да си/бъдеш мит, -а, -о
		3 р. щял, -а, -о бил, -а, -о да е/бъде мит, -а, -о
		
		Plural
		1 р. щели сме били да сме/бъдем мити
		2 р. щели сте били да сте/бъдете мити
		3 р. щели били да са/бъдат мити
		
		Singular
		1 р. нямало съм бил, -а, -о да съм/бъда мит, -а, -о
		    нямало било да съм/бъда мит, -а, -о
		    не съм щял, -а, -о бил, -а, -о да съм/бъда мит, -а, -о
		2 р. нямало си бил, -а, -о да си/бъдеш мит, -а, -о
		    нямало било да си/бъдеш мит, -а, -о

	не били щели да четат	не си щял, -а, -о бил, -а, -о да си/бъдеш мит, -а, -о

Future perfect	Singular
	1 р. щял, -а, -о съм бил, -а, -о да съм/бъда
	    чел, -а, -о
	2 р. щял, -а, -о си бил, -а, -о да си/бъдеш чел,
	    -а, -о
	3 р. щял, -а, -о бил, -а, -о да е/бъде чел, -а, -о
		3 р. нямало бил, -а,-о да е/бъде мит, -
		    а, -о
		    нямало било да е/бъде мит, -а, -о
		    не щял, -а, -о бил, -а, -о да
		    си/бъдеш мит, -а, -о

Future perfect in the past	Plural
	1 р. щели сме били да сме/бъдем чели
	2 р. щели сте били да сте/бъдете чели
	2 р. щели били да са/бъдат чели
	
	Singular
	1 р. нямало съм бил, -а, -о да съм/бъда чел, -
	    а, -о
	    нямало било да съм/бъда чел, -а, -о
	    не съм бил, -а, -о щял, -а, -о да съм/бъда
	    чел, -а, -о
	2 р. нямало си бил, -а, -о да си/бъдеш чел, -а,
	    -о
	    нямало било да си/бъдеш чел, -а, -о
	    не си бил, -а, -о щял, -а, -о да си/бъдеш
	    чел, -а, -о
	3 р. нямало бил, -а, -о да е/бъде чел, -а, -о
	    нямало било да е/бъде чел, -а, -о
	    не бил, -а, -о щял, -а, -о да е/бъде чел, -а,
	    -о
	
	Plural
	1 р. нямало сме били да сме/бъдем чели
	    нямало било да сме/бъдем чели
	    не сме били щели да сме/бъдем чели
	2 р. нямало сте били да сте/бъдете чели
	    нямало било да сте/бъдете чели
	    не сте били щели да сте/бъдете чели
	3 р. нямало били да са/бъдат чели
	    нямало било да са/бъдат чели
	    не били щели да са/бъдат чели
		Plural
		1 р. нямало сме били да сме/бъдем
		    мити
		    нямало било да сме/бъдем мити
		    не сме щели били да сме/бъдем
		    мити
		2 р. нямало сте били да сте/бъдете
		    мити
		    нямало било да сте/бъдете мити
		    не сте щели били да сте/бъдете
		    мити
		3 р. нямало били да са/бъдат мити
		    нямало било да са/бъдат мити
		    не щели били да са/бъдат мити

Before a detailed analysis of the various types of variability and their illustration with numerous examples, some issues on several problems concerning the scope of the dubitative paradigm have to be clarified. It is pointed out that theoretically dubitative synthetic conditional forms (*ядвал бил*) are not impossible, but such forms have not been attested in the corpora of this study. The problem whether constructions of the type **да съм бил отидел** are dubitative imperatives is also raised and arguments are offered in support of the view that they are *да*-constructions with imperative semantics, present and future forms with an imperative shade of meaning. Various views on the problem of the analytic conditional are presented (Куцаров, К. 2002, Куцаров, Ив. 2007: 314–315, Чакърова 2003, Козинцева 1994, Дёмина 1959, Ницолова 1984, 2008). Imperative forms and construction of the following types: *нека съм бил пишел*, *нека си бил пишел*, *нека бил пишел* and similar forms, *да съм бил пишел*, *да си бил пишел*, *да бил*

пишел and similar forms, *нека да съм бил пишел*, *нека да си бил пишел*, *нека да бил пишел*, *да съм бил пишел*, *дано да съм бил пишел* etc. are not accepted as dubitative. Such constructions do exist but according to our view they are not dubitative imperatives, but constructions with a particle and a dubitative present tense because they do not always expressive imperativeness (not in all persons and in all uses).

1.2. Uses of the dubitative variants

This part of the study aims to find real uses of dubitative variants listed in Table 1 in our own data base and in four language corpora (BNC, BNRC, Corpus of Bulgarian Political and Media Speech, Parliamentary Corpus), in other authors and the Internet. Attested examples are significant in making judgments about the productivity and frequency of occurrence of the variants. It should not be forgotten that the findings about the vitality of variants are valid not for the Bulgarian language in general but for the data analyzed in the present study, since it is impossible to establish all possible occurrences.

The five types of variability established in the Bulgarian dubitative paradigm are richly illustrated with copious examples.

2.   Biparticipants, bideterminants and other formal coincidences
2.1. Biparticipants

A comparison of the dubitative paradigm with those of the other two indirect evidentials (conclusive and renarrative) shows some coincidences of forms. This part focuses on the coincidence of the dubirtative aorist (*бил съм чел*, *бил си чел*, *бил чел*) with the coinciding renarrative perfect and pluperfect (*бил съм чел*, *бил си чел*, *бил чел*) which sheds light on the nature of the dubitative paradigm. This coincidence holds good for both the positive and the negative forms.

The causes for this coincidence of dubitative and renarrative forms with different temporal characteristics are linked with the initial impetus for the appearance of evidentiality: the transposition of the indicative imperfect to the field of the indicative aorist, based on its non-witnessed and narrative uses reconstructing non-witnessed events from the consequences of those events (see Герджиков 1984: 256–257). The result of this transposition is the coincidence of the direct perfect and the indirect aorist in the stage of the evidential category comprising one direct and one indirect (oblique) subcategory, encoding both conclusive and renarrative meanings (the first stage in the first period in the development of the category according to Gerdzhikov). Because of the specific origin of this homonymy G. Gerdzhikov prefers the terms *biparticipants* or *biparticipant forms* (Герджиков 1984: 257), indicating the participation of the forms of the *чел е* type in two paradigms (that of the direct perfect and of the indirect aorist). In the present stage in the development of the evidential paradigm this initial impetus for grammaticalization shows in the coincidence of the indicative perfect (*чел съм*, *чел си*, *чел е*) and the conclusive aorist   (*чел съм*, *чел си*, *чел е*).

As a result of the form-formation mechanism of the renarrative and the dubitative this case of biparticipation produces one more biparticipant pair, that of the dubitative aorist (*бил съм чел*, *бил си чел*, *бил чел*) and of the coinciding renarrative perfect and pluperfect (*бил съм чел*, *бил си чел*, *бил чел*). The members of this biparticipant pair (dubitative aorist : renarrative perfect + plupderfect) differ not only in meaning (dubitative and renarrative) but also in their derivation history. The renarrative perfect and the formally identical renarrative pluperfect (coinciding because of the neutralization of the feature *indirectness* in the indirect evidentials) are the result of the renarration of the auxiliary verb of the periphrastic form of the indirect tense form in the pair, i.e. the renarration of *бях* in the pluperfect form *бях чел = бил съм чел*. The dubitative aorist, on the other hand, is formed through the renarration of the

auxiliary *съм* in the conclusive aorist form (*чел съм*, *чел си*, *чел е*) according to the position adopted here, i. e. in the conclusive aorst *чел съм* the auxiliary *съм* is renarrated to produce the dubitative aorist form *бил съм чел*.

2.2. Bideterminants and other cases of formal coincidence

Bidetermiants represent another specific case of formal coincidence in the paradigm of one single word-class also observed in the dubitative. They are due to the effect of the principle of compensation, which according to Gerdzhikov is „a universal property of paradigms in languages, independent of their genealogical, areal or typological characteristics" (Герджиков 1984: 193).

In the hierarchy of grammatical categories evidentiality is dominant with respect to tense. Within the framework of the indirect evidentials – two sigle-marked ones: the conclusive (marked according to Gerdzhikov for *subjectivity*, but unmarked for *renarrativity*) and the renarrative (marked for *renarrativity*, but unmarked for *subjectivity*), and one double-marked evidential (the dubitative, marked for both *renarrativity* and *subjectivity*), one opposition is reduced among those building up the category of tense, the opposition direct : indirect tenses. In other words, tenses oriented towards the act of communication : tenses oriented towards the past moment spoken about. The neutralization of the feature *indirectness* results in the coincidence of the forms of each direct tense and its indirect corralate in all indirect evidentials: present tense and imperfect, perfect and pluperfect, future and future in the past, future perfect and future perfect in the past, while the aorist for lack of an indirect correlate does not participate in such a pair.

The coinciding forms correspond to two members of the paradigm, two cells in the system and are for this reason defined by G. Gerdzhikov as *bideterminants*. In the case of the dubitative, bideterminants are discovered in the active voice for the present and imperfect – *бил четял*, the future and the future in the past – *щял бил да чете*, the future prefect and the future perfect in the past – *щял бил да е/бъде чел*. The aorist does not participate in the correlation for the feature indirectness, and no bidetermination is observed there (*бил чел* in the dubitative). The perfect and the pluperfect have no dubitative forms, because the conclusive, from which, according to the position adopted here, the dubitative is derived, already contains the form *бил съм, бил си, бил е*. It is clear that there is only one type of passive dubitative forms for all posterior tenses (*щял бил да е/бъде мит*). This is due to the fact that two types of reduction of oppositions of the dominated category of tense occur in the passive voice of the indirect evidentials. On one hand, within the dominating category of voice, and more precisely within the marked passive voice, the opposition is reduced between non-perfect (non-resultative, according to Gerdzhikov non-preliminary/non-anterior) and the prefect (resultative, according to Gerdzhikov preliminary) tenses. On the other hand, within the framework of the marked indirect evidentials the opposition is also reduced between the non-indirect (direct) and the indirect tenses.

If we consider only parts of the sub-paradigms of the described bideterminants - dubitative aorist (*бил чел*) : renarrated perfect + pluperfect (*бил чел*), and those are the forms excluding 3rd person singular and plural, one more coincidence of forms is added to the bideterminants, that of the conclusive perfect and pluperfect excluding 3rd person singular and plural. This is due to the coincidence of the conclusive and renarrative forms except for 3rd person singular and plural, because in them the auxiliary *съм* is omitted in the renarrative. According to G. Gerdzhikov this coincidence of the conclusive and the renarrative forms is the result of the reductive reorganization, which is the other concrete manifestation of the compensation principle, alongside paradigmatic neutralization.

As a result of the combined effect of biparticipation and the reductive reorganization leading to the appearance of bideterminants, forms of the type *бил съм чел, бил си чел, били сме чели, били сте чели*

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(i.e. in 1st and 2nd person singular and plural for the I and II conjugation types) may represent: conclusive perfect, conclusive pluperfect, renarrated perfect, renarrated pluperfect, dubitative aorist.

For verbs of the III conjugation type where temporal stems are lacking, the dubitative aorist turns out to be also homonymous with the coinciding forms of the dubitative present and the dubitative imperfect and not only with the renarrative perfect + pluperfect.

If, however, only 1st and 2nd person singular and plural of the III conjugation type are considered, forms like *бил съм гледал*, *бил си гледал*, *били сме гледали*, *били сте гледали*, may represent: dubitative present tense, dubitative imperfect, dubitative aorist, renarrative perfect, renarrative pluperfect, conclusive perfect and conclusive pluperfect.

3. The problem of the dubitative paradigm defectivity in connection with the missing forms

This subsection deals with the problem of the dubitative paradigm defectivity in order to clarify the connection between the existing coincidences of form (bideterminants, biparticipants, and other formal coincidences) and missing forms (empty cells) in the active and the passive dubitative sub-paradigms in Present-Day Bulgarian, and especially the lack of dubitative forms for the coinciding in the indirect evidentials perfect and pluperfect in the active voice (the impossible *бил бил чел), as well as the lack of passive forms for all non-posterior tenses in the dubitative (the impossible *бил бил четен).

The problem of defectivity of paradigms is discussed in general and the various views of a number of scholars on this issue are taken into account (Baerman, Corbett 2010, Sims 2015, Дешеулина 2008а, 2008б etc.). The terms *defectiveness*, *inflectional defectiveness* are common in the English-speaking world to refer to the lack of forms (*gaps*) (see for instance Baerman, Corbett 2010 and Sims 2015). A number of terms occur in the Russian linguistic tradition in case of absence of a form/forms within a paradigm: *дефектная парадигма*, *морфологически недостаточная*, *неполная*, *ущербная*, *некомплесная парадигма*, some of the authors using them as interchangeable or attaching some differences to them (for a review of this see Дешеулина 2008а, Семиколенова, Чабаненко 2013).

The term *defectivity of the paradigm* is used in the present work, meaning a paradigm or sub-paradigm of a given word-class with missing form(s), i.e. with an empty cell or cells, corresponding to a given combination of grammatical meanings obligatory for this word-class in the given language. This may seem to be a relatively narrow definition of the term, since *defectivity of the paradigm* could be understood in a way to include not only the lack of forms but also the presence of formal coincidences of forms, no matter if they belong to the bideterminant, biparticipant, or other homonymous types, the result of phonetic or other causes in the historical development of the language and in its present state. To the first type of interpretation of paradigm defectivity belong studies, examining and classifying the relationship between defectivity (lack of paradigm members) and syncretism (see for instance, Stump 2010).

The relationship between defectivity and syncrtetism is also analyzed in the text. The problem of the causes of paradigm defectivity is discussed in detail. The position accepted here is that the cause is formal and not the result of the combination of features belonging to the various grammemes, expressed by the given grammatical form of the word or a paradigm of such word-forms. The defectivity analyzed here could be given the working definition of *formal blocking*. In the form-formation process the presence in the active conclusive form of the perfect and of the pluperfect of *бил* in the formant, *бил съм*, blocks the renarration of *съм* in this formant, because this will result in a double appearance of *бил* in the composite dubitative form. The problem of the impossibility of two *бил* forms, although appearing in different syntagmatic positions in the derived dubitative form is also touched upon.

4. Dubitative deviations

This subsection focuses on uses observed in internet communication of verb forms with dubitative semantics which differ from the ones represented in Table 1. These are variants excluded from this table where doublet forms are accepted only for forms sufficiently common, regular and well-integrated in the system of functioning units. Variants that do not meet these requirements should be regarded as *grammatical occasionalisms* or as *deviations*. The choice of term naming the phenomenon discussed here depends largely on how closely the term corresponds to the nature of this phenomenon. That is why in this subsection we analyze the nature of the deviations and occasionalisms and we justify our preference for the term *deviation*.

Two types of deviant dubitative forms can be established from a formal-temporal point of view:

a) deviant forms that are in competition with existing dubitative forms:

- for dubitative future tense, coinciding with the dubitative future in the past in the active voice, the deviant forms containing the imperfect participle instead of a present form in final position (*щял да ходел, нямало било да ходел*),

- for dubitative future tense/ future in the past in the active voice, where in the 3rd person singular the auxiliary *съм* is not omitted (*щяло е било да падне*),

- dubitative forms combining the two preceding deviations (*е щял бил да кажел*);

- dubitative future tense/ future in the past in the active voice with an additional particle *ще* (*ще сме щели да гласуваме*),

- dubitative forms with an additional (i.e. second) *бил*, including in the passive voice (*щял съм бил да съм бил лъган*);

b) deviant dubitative forms appearing in the place of a missing member of the paradigm;

- for the dubitative perfect and pluperfect in the active voice (*бил съм бил забравил*),

- for dubitative passive forms of the non-posterior tenses (*бил си бил уволнен*),

- deviant forms for the dubitative of the verbs *съм* and *бъда*.

From the perspective of intentional seeking of original expression and individual personal style, two types can be established that do not coincide with the preceding dichotomy and can intersect with it:

a) deviations without an element of language playfulness, resulting from a very high degree of expressive disagreement with and rejection of the truthfulness of the represented message,

b) deviations in artistic texts seeking high expressiveness, as well as in texts characterized by secondary orality, representing language games.

We believe that it is possible to hypothesize a cognitive explanation for the deviant dubitative forms with a final imperfect participle instead of the present form. The imperfect participle occurs only in (indirect) evidential present and imperfect tense forms, i.e. it is the less common form which makes it cognitively more salient, marked for the expression of indirect information and an indication of a statement authored by someone else. This makes the choice of the imperfect participle a convenient strategy of emotive and expressive evaluation of the re-presented message of somebody else, in which the actual speaker/writer has serious doubts. The causes for the appearance of the analyzed dubitative deviations include the high degree of semantic loadedness and formal complexity (high degree of derivativeness) of the dubitative temporal-aspectual forms. The appearance of deviant forms is only too natural under the circumstances of an incomplete process of unification and grammaticalization and the existence of competing forms.

6. Tense uses of the dubitative

The main goal of this subsection is to establish through concrete attested examples the uses of the various temporal forms of the dubitative. A statistical study of the relative frequency of the temporal forms is not possible here but some observations are made concerning the analyzed material from our data-bases.

Concrete examples of tense uses in the dubitative are presented, the analyzed language material showing the highest frequency of occurrence of the dubitative future, followed by the dubitative aorist and the dubitative imperfect. Established are also uses, albeit isolated, of the dubitative future perfect and future perfect in the past.

7. Dubitative forms and C. Lehmann's syntagmatic parameters of grammaticalization.

7.1. Grammaticalization and its parameters according to C. Lehmann

The variability in the paradigm of the conclusive, renarrative and dubitative negative posterior tense active forms problematizes the question whether the grammaticalization process of the Bulgarian evidential system has been completed. The problem is not on the level of the meanings expressed, i.e. it is not in the content plane, but in the plane of expression, where we find variants of the same member of the paradigm in the posterior tense negative forms in the active, passive and reflective voice for the three indirect evidentials. This shows that it is not possible to accept that the grammaticalization process is fully completed despite the trends of condensation and unification in sections of the paradigm with extant variants.

It is not our task to review here the vast literature on grammaticalization produced worldwide (see for instance Brinton, Traugott 2005, Bybee 2002, Lehmann 2002, Nicolle 2007, Heine, Kuteva 2002, Heine, Kaltenböck, Kuteva 2013, Hopper, Traugott 2003, Ницолова 2014, Wiemer 2014, reviews in Hristov 2020, Братанова 2020 etc., as well as comments on some problematic definitions in Boye, Harder 2012). The discussions on the nature of grammaticalization make it possible to conclude that this is a process driven by semantic-pragmatic change, which on its turn leads to functional changes connected with syntactic, morphological and phonological changes. It is precisely the strong correlation between phonological, syntactic and semantic-pragmatic changes that M. Haspelmath points out as the most important feature of grammaticalization (Haspelmath 2004: 26). Brinton and Traugott underline that „grammaticalization is a predominantly morphosyntactic, discourse-pragmatic phenomenon" (Brinton, Traugott 2005: 22). A number of other scholars dwell on the specific characteristics of form and meaning in the process of grammaticalization (Bybee 2002, Nicolle 2007, Hopper, Traugott 2003, Ницолова 2014, Heine, Kuteva 2002, Heine, Kaltenböck, Kuteva 2013, Brinton, Traugott 2005). What is important here in discussing the variation of paradigm members in the three indirect evidentials is the view that grammaticalization is a gradual process and is accompanied by variability of both form and function (Bybee 2002: 146–147). In our case what is significant is the variation of form which indicates and on-going and not a completed process of establishment of the paradigm of the indirect evidentials in Bulgarian, proved by the existence of competing variants in members of the negative posterior tense active, reflexive and passive forms. It is in this connection that we seek grammaticalization parameters that characterize the state of variability in expression, described here. In one of his publications C. Lehmann (Lehmann 2002) offers not only pragmatic but syntactic parameters of grammaticalization as well, which are relevant to the problem outlined here. Lehmann's pragmatic and syntactic grammaticalization parameters (Lehmann 2002)

are presented in our text. His syntactic grammaticalization parameters, however, do not include cases of variation of the same member of the paradigm, which is what we observe with the Bulgarian negative posterior tense conclusive, renarrative and dubitative forms in the active, reflexive and passive voice. In our opinion such variability is possible in rich paradigms, characterized by a high degree of compositeness. The variation in the Bulgarian indirect evidential forms prompts us to offer one more syntagmatic grammaticalization parameter that could be called *formal alternativity*. It decreases and disappears with the progress of the grammaticalization process, a stage which the Bulgarian language has obviously not reached yet, as shown by the empirical data, analyzed in this section.

7.2. Permeability of the dubitative forms

The dubitative verb forms, all of them composite, are interesting from the point of view of Lehmann's second syntagmatic criterion called *syntagmatic cohesion* (Lehmann 2002: 140–142). C. Lehmann offers to so-called *expansion test* for syntagmatic cohesion, checking the possibility for insertion of additional lexical material between the grammatical formative and the lexical item it combines with (Lehmann 2002: 134). Lehmann refers to Zwicky and quotes the example of the possible insertion of lexemes between *to* and the infinitive in English in contrast to German, where this is impossible with *zu* („to fully describe" : „vollständig zu beschreiben") (Lehmann 2002: 134).

In connection with this grammaticalization parameter we raise two questions: what is the permeability of the composite dubitative forms, i.e. the possibility for them to be separated by pronominal clitics and by full lexical items, by phrases and clauses, and is there a specific grouping of the micro-elements within these forms in the context of permeability. The maximum number of permeability models are analyzed for the dubitative and the following types are established:

[*бил съм/си/Ø*] + pronominal clitic/particle/full word/free phrase/detached part/parenthesis/subordinate clause + [*imperfect/aorist participle*]

[*щял съм/си/Ø бил да*] + pronominal clitic(s) + [*present tense form*]

[*щял съм/си/Ø бил*] + particle/full word/free phrase/detached part/parenthesis/subordinate clause + [*да + present tense form*]

[*щял съм/си бил да съм/си*] + pronominal clitic + [*aorist participle*]

[*щял бил да*] + pronominal clitic + [*e + aorist participle*]

[*щял съм/си/Ø бил*] + particle/full word/free phrase/detached part/parenthesis/subordinate clause + [*да + съм/си/e + aorist participle*]

[*щял съм/си/Ø бил*] + particle/full word/free phrase/detached part/parenthesis/subordinate clause + [*да + съм/си/e + past passive participle*]

In conclusion, the most common case of permeability, if the dubitative form contains the particle *да*, is in the position immediately before this particle. The exceptions are: [*щял съм/си/Ø бил да*] + pronominal clitic(s) + [*present tense form*] and [*щял бил да*] + pronominal clitic + [*e + aorist participle*], where the particle *да* is within the first micro-complex, and that only in case of pronominal clitic insertion. The reason for this is most likely precisely the clitic nature of the short pronominal forms.

The permeability of the composite dubitative forms is no doubt an indication of incomplete grammaticalization, and here by grammaticalization we actually mean morphologization. P. Asenova points

out that in the forms with imperfect of *ща + да* + present tense , i. e. the future in the past, „the auxiliary verb has a rather independent position in the word order of the sentence", which shows that this auxiliary verb is far from the morphologization achieved by, for instance, *ще*, which has turned into a future tense morpheme (Асенова 2002: 238). The permeability of the dubitative forms (and of many other evidential verb forms) may be the reason for some authors not to accept them as morphological means and treat them as syntactic constructions.

The composite verb forms and the grammatical meanings expressed by them are subjected to theoretical analysis.

8. Some typological indices of the Bulgarian dubitative

8.1. The selected typological indices and their values

This section focuses on yet another aspect of the analysis of the Bulgarian dubitaive, the search for exact mathematical methods in establishing degrees of compositeness, degrees of analyticity, and degrees of semantic markedness of a paradigm member. An opportunity for this is offered by typological indices, something, however, rarely used in linguistic typology.

This section makes use of quantitative analysis of the language phenomena, however not based on textual analysis but on data about the paradigm of the Bulgarian verb. We believe that reliance on paradigmatic data about a given word-class is a more reliable source for the establishment of indices representing the degree of syntheticity, analyticity, compositeness of the forms, of semantic loadedness of the paradigm members, etc. We accept accordingly as the theoretical foundation of the present research the typological indices and panchronic laws of language paradigms developed by G. Gerdzhikov (Герджиков 1990, 1997, 2013).

This section aims to represent and analyze the enumerated typological indices for the dubitative predicates in Present-Day Bulgarian. This determines the object of study in the present research - the paradigm of the Bulgarian dubitative. Since it is important for those indices to receive comments and to be compared with those of the other three members of the evidential category in Bulgarian (the indicative, the conclusive and the renarrative), the expanded object of study is the paradigm of the four Bulgarian evidentials.

A comparison is made of the views of J. Greenberg (Greenberg 1960) and of G. Gerdzhikov concerning the exact typological indices, allowing the comparison of languages belonging to both the same and to different morphological types. The preference given to Gerdzhikov's typological indices is justified by the fact that they are derived from paradigmatic evidence about the respective word-class and are text-independent, the other approach introducing dependency on register, topic, individual author's style, etc. In addition to this we do not accept J. Greenberg's definition of syntheticity, as it actually measures the degree of poly-morphemic structure of the word.

This section analyzes the indices of syntheticity, analyticity, compositeness, and semantic markedness of the paradigm member following the indices theoretically developed by G. Gerdzhikov. In order to fulfil this task we first prepared a full matrix model of the Bulgarian verb, cf. Table 2. The horizontal dimension gives the semantic features, building up the meaning of the obligatory categories of the verb in Present-Day Bulgarian. Presented vertically are all verb forms. The plus sign stands for markedness for a given semantic feature, minuses indicate unmarkedness, and an X sign shows lack of presentation of the given category in the respective verb form.

Table 2. Sample of a matrix model of the Bulgarian verb

време	Форма	Комуникатор	Говорещ	Претъралност	Фактуалност	Натуралност	Центрове-мителност	Писменост	Комманент	Предходност	Неходрежност	Следходност	Перфектност	Производност	Субективност	Пасивност	Волитивност	Евиденциалност	Потенциалис	Дезументалност
6 Изявител Сегашно	1.пиша	+	+	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7 Изявител Сегашно	2.пишеш	+	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8 Изявител Сегашно	3.пише	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9 Изявител Сегашно	1.пишем	+	+	+	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10 Изявител Сегашно	2.пишете	+	-	+	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11 Изявител Сегашно	3.пишат	-	-	+	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12 Изявител Аорист	1.писах	+	+	-	x	x	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13 Изявител Аорист	2.писа	+	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14 Изявител Аорист	3.писа	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15 Изявител Аорист	1.писахме	+	+	+	x	x	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16 Изявител Аорист	2.писахте	+	-	+	x	x	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17 Изявител Аорист	3.писаха	-	-	+	x	x	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18 Изявител Бъдеще вр	1.ще пиша	+	+	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19 Изявител Бъдеще вр	2.ще пишеш	+	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20 Изявител Бъдеще вр	3.ще пише	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21 Изявител Бъдеще вр	1.ще пишем	+	+	+	x	x	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22 Изявител Бъдеще вр	2.ще пишете	+	-	+	x	x	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
23 Изявител Бъдеще вр	3.ще пишат	-	-	+	x	x	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24 Изявител Перфект	1.писал съм	+	+	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Пълна парадигма положит. | Ренаратив положителни | Конклузив положителни | Конклузив отрицат-1 | Конк …

First the number of the members and the number of the micro-wordforms (the elements of the composite form) are given for the 4 dubitative micro-paradigms – positive and 3 negative ones, shaped according to the existing variability in the negative posterior tenses. They are compared with the other 10 evidential micro-paradigms (positive indicative, conclusive and renarrative micro-paradigms, as well as 3 for each of the negative conclusive, renarrative and dubitative micro-paradigms, due to variability in conclusive and renarrative posterior tense forms as well). An attempt is made to establish the place of the 4 dubitative micro-paradigms among the 14 evidential micro-paradigms according to the number of the members of the verb paradigm). The number of the paradigm members and of the micro-wordforms is needed for the calculation of the four typological indices.

The text gives the index values for syntheticity, analyticity, compositeness and degree of semantic markedness for the 4 dubitative micro-paradigms. Presented are also and comments are offered on the hierarchy of the 4 dubitative micro-paradigms according to the 4 indices. The data fully confirm the main hypothesis that the existing dubitative variants, due to the presence of 3 variants of the negative posterior tense micro-paradigm, are arranged in a hierarchy according to the degree of compositeness of the forms, there is a condensed variant of the negative posterior tenses in the three voice forms (a variant with the impersonal formant *нямало било*), which has the lowest degree of compositeness among all three negative variants. It is this variant that is most prominent in our database. The frequency of occurrence of the three variants directly correlates with the degree of compositeness - the highest it is , the lowest the frequency of occurrence. Presented are in a graphic way and comments are offered on the indices of syntheticity, analyticity, compositeness, and degree of semantic markedness of 14 evidential micro-paradigms in order to make conclusions about the place of the dubitative micro-paradigms among the analyzed 14 evidential micro-paradigms.

The analysis of the paradigms of the conclusive, renarrative and dubitative shows the existence of variants of the members of the negative posterior (future) micro-paradigms. The following trends have been noticed in the conditions for competition of forms for the same paradigm member in the negative conclusive, ranrrative and dubitative micro-paradigms:

- as distinct from the positive forms where in the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural the conclusive and the renarrative have the same forms, the negative posterior forms show a certain tendency towards differentiation – for the conclusive to be formed with the impersonal variant ***нямало е*** for all persons, and

for the renarrative - either with the formant **нямало съм** with the auxiliary *съм* agreeing in person and number, or with the formant **нямало** with omission of *съм* in all persons and numbers;

- a predominance of the variant with the formant **нямало е** is observed in the conclusive, which is a kind of unification of the paradigm, since this formant appears in all persons and both numbers;

- for the renarrative and the dubitative a tendency is observed towards condensation of the forms and reducing the degree of compositeness in the variants with the formant **нямало** with the renarrative, and **нямало било** with the dubitative, due to the omission of *съм* in all persons (see more in Алексова 2021).

The calculation of the typological indices shows that the 4 dubitative micro-paradigms are among the five evidential micro-paradigms with the highest index of degree of compositeness, together with the conclusive variant with the negative particle *не* appearing in the posterior tenses as well.

The established condensation in the negative dubitative paradigm with the impersonal formant *нямало било* explains the fifth place of this formant among the 14 micro-paradigms with respect to the property of lowest analyticity index.

Observations on the syntheticity index values of the 14 evidential micro-paradigms show that three of the four dubitative micro-paradigms are among the five evidential micro-paradigms with the lowest syntheticity index value. The exception here is the variant of the negative dubitative micro-paradigm with the impersonal formant *нямало било*, which has the fifth highest syntheticity index. This is due to the lack of agreement in gender for a large number of members and also the small number of members of the micro-paradigm.

According the G. Gerdzhikov the index for markedness of a paradigm member with positive semantic differentiators (features) is an indication of the richness of the paradigm. The three variants of the negative dubitative micro-paradigm turn out to have the lowest value for the degree of markedness among the 14 evidential micro-paradigms, i.e. they are the three poorest (most meagre) evidential micro-paradigms. The positive dubitative micro-paradigm differs from them since it has the fifth highest markedness index. Observations on the matrix model of the Bulgarian verb and the calculation of the 4 typological indices show that it is possible in case of high degree of compositeness of the forms in a given word-class for a tendency to appear towards condensation of the forms, which is observed in the renarrative (with *нямало* and omission of *съм*) and the dubitative (with the impersonal fomant *нямало било* and omission of *съм*), or a tendency towards unification of the forms – in the negative conclusive forms where the formant *нямало е* is established in all persons singular and plural.

In the course of the development of the Bulgarian language from syntheticity towards analyticity a large number of composite/ periphrastic verb forms have appeared, i.e. the compositeness index of the verb has acquired a higher value. However, with the existence of micro-paradigms with a very high index of compositeness (supercompositeness, if we may say so) and of variant of the members, i.e. with lack of a firmly established paradigm, there may appear a tendency, as it has happened in our language, towards domination of the variants with a lower degree of compositeness. In other words, in case of predominance of forms with high degree of compositeness, the opposite trend towards syntheticity may appear.

9. The interrelations between the dubitative and the other categories of the verb
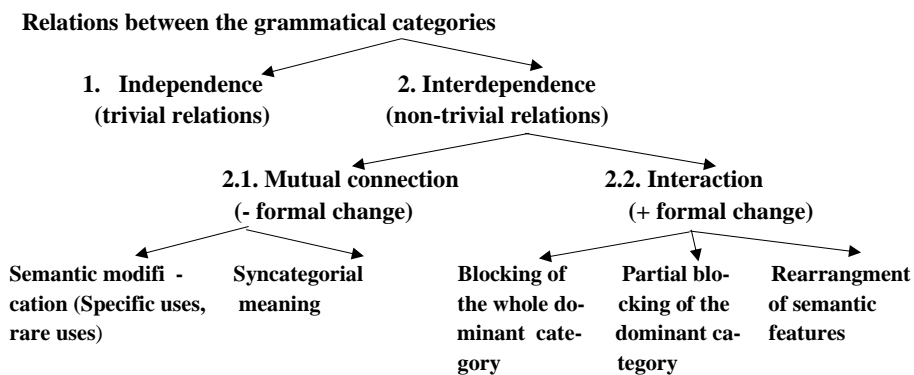
9.1.   Types of interrelation between grammatical categories

This section deals with the interrelation of the dubitative with other categories of the Bulgarian verb. The analysis of these relations rests on several basic theoretical assumptions. The first one is that the connections between grammatical categories that are obligatorily expressed for a given word-class of the language are best represented as relations between semantic features, building up the meanings of the grammemes in the plane of content (see also Алексова 2020). This assumption is based on the fact that the reasons for the appearance of various specific types of relation in combining grammatical categories are semantic (i.e. they belong to the plane of content) and not formal (i.e. belonging to the plane of expression). This position differs from that of V. Khrakovskiy who believes that the interaction between grammatical categories is a syntagmatic type of interaction within the boundaries of a single word-form (Храковский 2003; Храковский, Мальчуков 2016).

The second (not in importance) basic assumption is that the grammeme is a unit of the plane of content and not a bilateral unit, as accepted by Khrakovskiy and Mal'chukov (Храковский, Мальчуков 2016). We follow Gerdzhikov's definition of the grammeme as a diartreme, i.e. a unit of the morphological level, which is member of the division of the common class (of given word-class) based on relevant distinctive features.

The present work adheres to the classification of the type of relation between grammatical categories in Bulgarian presented in Diagram 2 (see Алексова 2020).

Diagram 2. Types of relations between the grammatical categories in Bulgarian (Алексова 2020)

Relations between the grammatical categories

1.   Independence
(trivial relations)

2. Interdependence
(non-trivial relations)

2.1. Mutual connection
(- formal change)

2.2. Interaction
(+ formal change)

Semantic modifi -
cation (Specific uses,
rare uses)

Syncategorial
meaning

Blocking of
the whole do-
minant cate-
gory

Partial blo-
cking of the
dominant ca-
tegory

Rearrangment
of semantic
features

This classification is based on three criteria: existence of non-trivial relations, existence of formal change in the dominant category, existence of semantic modification in the combination of grammemes. The term *non-trivial relations* is used by V. Gusev (Гусев 2003) and Khrakovskiy and Mal'chukov

(Храковский, Мальчуков 2016). In case of trivial relations between grammatical categories (more precisely, between the features of the combined grammemes), there is neither semantic modification, nor changes in the plane of expression, resulting from the combination of grammemes. The term *interdependence* is offered in Diagram 14 for non-trivial relations, and *independence* [*non-interdependence*] - for the trivial ones. *Interdependence*, on its part, can be realized in two ways: as *interconnection* and *interaction*.

We can speak of *interconnection* in case of combination of grammemes on the plane of expression when there is no formal change but we observe:
- semantic modification, specific uses, rare cases, greater intensity of some uses, etc. (e.g., combining the imperative with both aspects of the verb instead of the combination of the the feature conclusive and the feature 1st person singular results in uses encoding a statement about an unconscious or forgotten knowledge on the part of the speaker; there is a limitation on the combination of the imperative and participial passives to uses expressing recommendation, appeal, advice, instructions, etc., etc.,
- appearance of a new, syncategorial meaning (G. Gerdzhikov's term), which is not the sum of the features of the two homogeneous grammemes, e.g. the combination of the features present tense or imperfect with the feature perfective aspect leads to a contradiction resolved by the appearance of iterativity (see more in Алексова, Никова 2003, Алексова 2020).

We speak of *interaction* when the combination of the features, building up the grammemes, results in formal change: blocking of the whole dominant category (e.g. blocking the category of gender in marked plurals of adjectives, pronouns, numerals, and participles in Bulgarian), partial blocking of the dominant category (e.g. in the interaction between indirect evidentials and tense, and also between passive voice and tense) or rearrangement of semantic features in the plane of content, leading again to a formal change (re-grouping of the features of conclusive and renarrative into one general feature of *indirectness of the information*, resulting in the coincidence of conclusive and renarrative in 1st and 2nd person singular and plural, etc., etc.) (see Алексова 2020).

9.2. Relations of the *interconnection* type

Previous research (Алексова 2019a) shows that relations of the *interconnection* type obtain between the dubitative, 1st person and singular number, i.e. the combination of the features of three grammemes. The semantic features of the three grammemes are analyzed with the possibilities of their combination. The combination of the features *subjectivity* and *renarrativity*, on one hand, and of *non-plurality* (building up the meaning of singular number) and of *communicator*, *speaker* (building up the meaning of 1st person), on the other hand, results in a relationship between the three grammemes of the *interconnection* type - a kind of *interdependence*, where the combination of the features of the three categories does not lead to change of the formal paradigm but results in specific uses. In this case the specificity consists in the more intensive use of 1st person singular, in comparison with the same relation between the conclusive and the renarrative and the grammemes of 1st person, singular. The higher frequency of the dubitative in the 1st person singular receives a logical explanation, having in mind that the actual speaker evaluates as untrustworthy the other's statements about his/her own self. The type of use is characterized by higher expressiveness and emotionality of the utterance. These theoretical conclusions find support in a number of concrete uses of the dubitative in the 1st person singular. Examples are also given from typological studies that also confirm the interconnection in this specific case. A. Aikhenvald calls this type of interconnection the 1st person effect in evidential systems (Aikhenvald 2004: 219). Other

observations are also presented (e.g. Johanson 2018, Sun 2018, Guentchéva et al. 1994). The specific nature of the interconnection between the dubitative and the grammemes 2nd person and singular number are also discussed in relation to the opinion that with such uses the speaker may urge the interlocutor to confirm or refute the facts.

9.3. Relations of the *interaction* type

The combination of grammatical categories (better, of the features building up the meaning of the grammemes), leading to a formal change in the paradigm of the dominant category is defined here as *interaction*. This section deals with cases of *interaction* between the dubitative and other categories of the verb in Present-Day Bulgarian. We also try to establish the factors that determine the combinations of grammemes, as well as the reasons for the domination of one category (the dominant one) over another one (the dominated category).

Here we adopt the view that the relations between the imperative and the dubitative is one of *interaction*, since the imperative as a dominant category blocks the expression of evidential meanings. This is based on the position explained in 1.4 that the *да*-construction in imperative use and the constructions with *нека*, *нека да*, *дано*, *дано да* are not imperative forms but syntactic combinations. This leads to treating constructions of the type *нека съм пишел*, *нека си пишел*, *нека пишел,* etc. *нека да съм пишел*, *нека да си пишел*, *нека да пишел,* etc., *да съм пишел*, *да си пишел*, *да пишел,* etc., *дано съм пишел*, *дано си пишел*, *дано пишел,* etc., not as renarrated imperatives but as syntactic constructions with a renarrated present tense form. Correspondingly, uses like *нека съм бил пишел*, *нека си бил пишел*, *нека бил пишел*, etc., *нека да съм бил пишел*, *нека да си бил пишел*, *нека да бил пишел*, etc., *да съм бил пишел*, *да си бил пишел*, *да бил пишел*, etc., *дано съм бил пишел*, *дано си бил пишел*, *дано бил пишел* are categorized here as syntactic constructions with dubitative present tense.

The combination of the analytic conditional and the dubitative is also characterized as *interaction* in our analysis, the dominant category being the conditional mood, while the dubitative (and that applies to the other evidentials) is the dominated category. The non-terminal grammeme *conditional mood* blocks the expression of indirect evidentials in Bulgarian.

Very important in explaining the relations between grammatical categories is the problem of the factors that determine their possible combinations. It has been pointed out in various publications that the combinability : non-combinability of grammemes is semantically motivated (see for instance Malchukov 2009), which is quite evident, but this is not the only relevant factor. Khrakovskiy and Mal'chukov consider *functional compatibilty* to be a significant factor because the reinterpretation or the blocking of the expression of a given recessive grammeme by the dominant grammeme occurs in contexts, where it is functionally inadmissible to combine these grammemes for semantic or pragmatic reasons (Храковский, Мальчуков 2016: 59–60).

Another important factor pointed out by the two authors is *markedness*. Markedness is the central factor in Gerdzhikov's theory: within the range of the marked members of a given category one, several, or all features of the other category are neutralized in order to achieve a relative balance of the semantic loadedness of the paradigm members in a given word-class (which is essentially the principle of compensation). W. Croft also points out markedness as a factor that limits the combinability of a grammeme with grammemes belonging to other categories (Croft 2003). Following Croft, Khrakoskiy and Mal'chukov underline that „a more limited combinability with the grammames of other categories is characteristic of the marked grammeme (the marked member of a privative opposition)" (Храковский, Мальчуков 2016: 60).

Important for the present study is W. Croft's idea about what is called behavioral potential of marked and unmarked members: „With respect to behavioral potential, a cross-cutting grammatical distinction will arise in the typologically unmarked value before or at the same time as in the marked value, and be lost in the typologically marked category before or at the same time as in the unmarked value." (Croft 2003: 241). Applied to the relation between tense and evidentiality (and specifically the dubitative) and tense and voice (passive), this means that the typologically marked indirect evidentials and in the passive a smaller number of oppositions will be observed to build up the meaning of the various tenses in Bulgarian.

According to Mal'chukov and Khrakovskiy another factor that determines the combinability of grammemes is *relevance* (Храковский, Мальчуков 2016: 60). Mal'chukov stresses that this is a functional factor. This author points out that „the regularity of the joint appearance of the members of grammatical categories reflects the degree of their mutual relevance" (Malchukov 2009: 22). The example adduced by Mal'chukov is the more frequent aspectual distinction in the past tenses. Applying this to the material under analysis here, we can say that the temporal distinctions are more fully represented in the indicative and not in the indirect evidentials, and also in the active rather than in the passive voice. This is quite understandable, if we take into account the semantic markedness of the combined grammemes.

Another factors, mentioned among those limiting the combinability of grammemes, is the *redundancy* of some semantic combinations, the Russian term being *избыточность* (Храковский, Мальчуков 2016: 60), imperatives, for instance, do not combine with the future tenses. This factor does not apply to the interaction between the dubitative and tense and the dubitative and the passive voice in the cases analyzed here.

In clarifying the direction of dominance (including cases with the dubitative) relevant are the factors that determine which is the dominant category and which the dominated (recessive) one. Mal'chukov and Khrakovskiy single out as dominant the factors of *scope* and markedness. According to them „other conditions being equal the category with a wider scope of application is dominant, while the unmarked one is recessive" (Храковский, Мальчуков 2016: 60). Mal'chukov underlines that the unmarked grammeme more often turns out to be recessive and the marked members are more often dominant (Malchukov 2011: 250). Gerdzhikov's findings predate those conclusions, since within the theory of grammatical opposition this scholar proves that in the marked modes of utterance (in other words, in the indirect evidentials) the opposition is reduced for the feature of *indirectness*, and in the marked passive voice the opposition is reduced for the feature *precedence*, *resultativeness*, *perfectivity* (cf. Герджиков 1984, 2000).

The issue here is not only if marked or unmarked members turn out to be dominant but also what is it that makes one gammeme dominant and the other dominated (recessive) and also is it fully unmotivated that with a given grammeme it should be precisely another specific grammeme that gets reduced/reinterpreted. Applied to the present study: is it motivated that in indirect evidentials, including the dubitative, it should be precisely with respect to *indirectness* and not another feature that the opposition should be reduced, is it motivated (and if the answer is yes, motivated by what) that in the passive voice the reduced opposition is precisely the one of *resultativeness/perfectivity* and not another one. With a view to the position adopted above, namely that in combining the features building up the meanings of the evidential grammemes and the features building up the meanings of the temporal grammemes, the more significant ones for the speakers of Bulgarian turn out to be the features connected with the indirect nature of the information (no matter based on one's own or someone else's conclusion or inference), in comparison with the feature direct relatedness of the activity to the act of communication or indirect relatedness, i.e. relatedness to a past moment. For this reason it is the evidential grammemes belonging in our opinion to
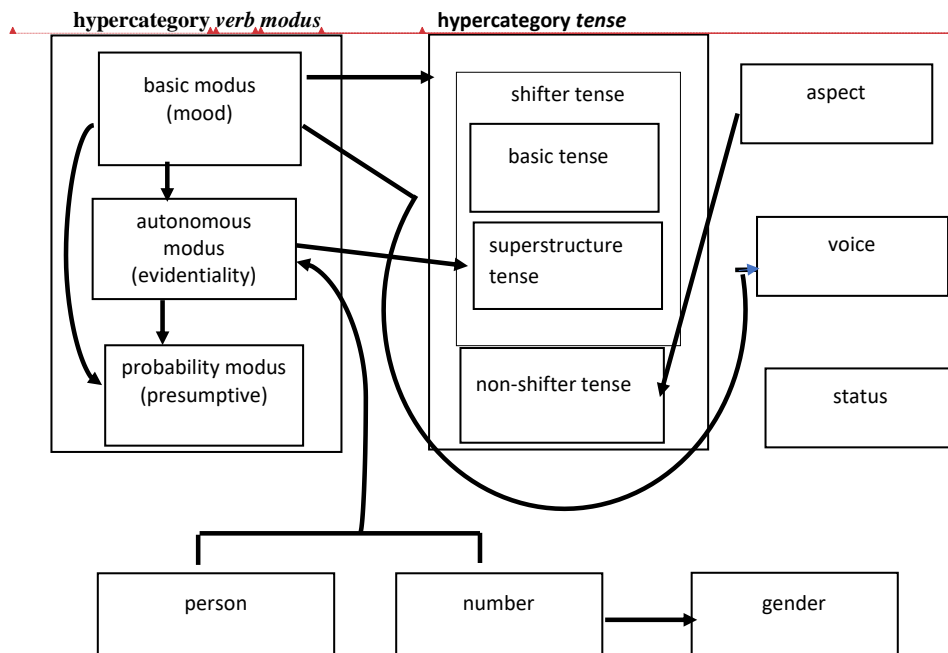
epistemic modality in Bulgarian, and not the temporal ones, that become dominant. It is clear that the direction of domination depends, according to the position adopted here, on cognitive factors, which are the more basic, more salient ones for the speakers of the language.

Let us now address the second question raised above - is it fully arbitrary in the combination of categories that it should be a specific grammeme that enters the relation of *interaction* (i.e. there is a change of form) with a grammeme belonging to another category. In terms of the theory of grammatical oppositions (more specifically, the idea of paradigmatic neutralization as a manifestation of the principle of compensation) the problem is formulated by G. Gerdzhikov as follows: „between which categories, and eventually between which of their oppositions, such paradigmatic interaction is possible" (Герджиков 1984: 197). Applied to the object of this research the issue is: is it motivated that it should be precisely in the indirect evidentials (including the dubitative) that the temporal feature *indirectness* should be reduced in Bulgarian, and also the feature *resultativeness* (*perfectivity*) of the category of tense in the marked passive voice. According to G. Gerdzhikov the reason is the existence of some affinity between the categories that undergo paradigmatic neurtralization in their combination (Герджиков 1984: 197). This affinity the author explains with the help of the classification he offers of the categories of the verb (Герджиков 1984: 154–185). Categorizing the opposition *non-precedence* : *precedence* (in other terms, *non-resultativeness* : *resultativeness*) as a *non-shifter type of tense*, Gerdzhikov points out that it is not by chance that it gets neutralized in the passive voice, as the latter is also a non-shifter type of category. The difference is that the non-shifter tense is actional, while voice is a complex-predicative category. The paradigmatic neutralization of the feature in the indirect modes of utterance (indirect evidentials, in other terms) is explained by the fact that both the opposition *directness* : *indirectness*, defined as *superstructure tense* and the mode of utterance are shifter categories, the first of them non-modal and the second one modal (Герджиков 1984: 197).

The text also adduces examples of the relations between categories discussed in typological studies, e.g. between tense and evidentiality in relation to person, between status, tense, and evidentiality dominating over the combination between person and number (Aikhenvald, Dixon 1998). The relation between evidentiality and other categories is also studied by Aikhenvald, who points out that usually the various moods allow less evidentiality.

The analysis of the relations between the categories of the verb in Present-Day Bulgarian makes it possible to offer the following diagram of the dependencies between them. The arrows in Diagram 2 symbolize the direction of the dependency between the categories, i.e. the relation between dominant and dominated category in Bulgarian.

Diagram 2: Dependencies between the categories of the verb in Present-Day Bulgarian

hypercategory *verb modus* **hypercategory *tense***

basic modus (mood)

autonomous modus (evidentiality)

probability modus (presumptive)

shifter tense

basic tense

superstructure tense

non-shifter tense

aspect

voice

status

person

number

gender

Chapter four. Pragmatic aspects of the dubitative

1. The dubitative and reproduced speech

This chapter analyzes some of the pragmatic aspects of the uses of the dubitative in Present-Day Bulgarian that have not been the main object of specific research so far. They are related to the fact that in uses of the dubitative two utterances enter into a peculiar kind of dialogue: the actual utterance and an underlying (non-actual) utterance reproduced by the actual speaker with mistrust and doubt in its truthfulness and reliability. In addition to this the author of the actual utterance, the author of the underlying utterance and the subject of the dubitative verbal form are also in a complex interrelationship.   These two pragmatic aspects in the study of utterances with dubitative forms predetermine the two sections of the present chapter.

The first part of Chapter Four deals with the empirical facts of the various types of reproduced speech containing dubitative forms. An additional point of interest is the problem of the tripartition of reproduced speech into the following types: citation (quoted speech), indirect speech and semi-direct speech. Our preliminary research into the database under analysis makes it possible for us the raise the hypothesis about the existence in Bulgarian of yet another type of reproduced speech, which we call directly reproduced speech. Its existence is proved not only by the dubitative but by the renarrative uses as well.

The subsequent parts first analyze the relation actual utterance : underlying utterance : reproduced utterance. This is followed by the relationship quoted speech : directly reproduced speech with dubitative forms and then the attention turns to indirect speech with dubitative forms, the focus being on the syntactic shape of the reproduced and of the actual utterance.

1.1. Actual utterance : underlying utterance : reproduced utterance

The theoretical foundation of the analysis of the relationship actual utterance : underlying utterance : reproduced utterance is the classification of the types of speech with a view to the relation between two speech acts: the act of the utterance (writing) and the act of the first/original production of the message. We accept R. Nitsolova's view about actual speech as a coincidence of these two speech acts and of reproduced speech as lacking this coincidence. The term *reproduced speech* is chosen since „in the speech act which is pronounced or written down, the utterance is produced for a second time (because it is the initial product of another speech act)" (Ницолова 1984: 88). In this study we prefer the term *reproduced utterance*. The term *actual utterance* (henceforth AU) is used here as a synonym of *actual speech*, while in the analysis of the properties of reproduced speech with dubitative forms we use *reproduced utterance* (RU). for the underlying message we prefer the term *underlying utterance* (UU). Since the dubitative renders not one's own (the speaker's) original message, in the present work we also introduce the distinction between *author's speech* : *someone else's speech*, based on the relation between the actual speaker and the author of the initial/original message represented by forms with the dubitative, as swell as the relationship *quoted speech (citation)* : *indirect speech* as types of reproduced speech (Ницолова 1984: 87). The research interest is focused here mainly on the way in which UU is rendered in RU, since in our view two types of reproduced speech with dubitative (and also with renarrative) can be established.

The examples show in a convincing way that the utterances with dubitative reproduce someone else's UU, and considerable variation is observed in the combinations of actual author's speech, quoted speech and indirect speech.

[…] *А тия, които казват, че аз* **съм бил разсипал** *КТМ - да пообиколят света и да видят за какво става въпрос."- не проумява евтиния популизъм на опонентите си Калчев*.

" […] And those who say I **was the one who [supposedly] ruined** KTM should travel around the world a bit to see what we are talking about", Kalchev fails to understand the cheap populism of his opponents. (http://www.infotech.bg) (27.03.2022)

Тя щала да ми държи сметка отсега нататък къде отивали парите, които синът и изкарвал (затова дойде), защото аз съм била виновна, че все сме били без пари. **Била съм крадяла**, **щяла била да дойде** *с полиция и да влезела с вратата в нас.*

"From now one she would hold me responsible for what happened with the money her son earned (that's what she came for), because it was my fault we were always short of money. I **was stealing** *and she* **would come** *with the police to break into the house."*

(http://www.zachatie.org/forum/)

1.2. Quoted speech : directly reporoduced speech with dubitative forms

The peculiarities of quoted speech and of indirect speech can be empirically established with the analysis of examples, leading to an adequate classification of the types of reproduced speech. R. Nitsolova underlines the closeness of the the peculiarities of quoted speech to the original actual speech since „the reproduction is in the form produced by the original author in the respective speech situation, subjected to the smallest number of changes in comparison with the other two types of reproduced speech" (Ницолова 1984: 90). Besides, for quoted speech „in the reproduction there is no orientation of the utterance towards

the speech situation at the time of reproduction" (Ницолова 1984: 93), i.e. no pragmatic transformations occur here, unlike in the case of indirect speech (e.g. shifts of logical stress and separations by pause, changes in intonation linked with the change of communicative status of the clauses, substantial referential changes due to reorientation towards a different speech situation, that of reproduction, a number of temporal and modal changes in the verb forms, etc. (see Ницолова 1984: 93 – 102). R. Nitsolova stresses that in addition to the clear distinction in the syntactic structure of quoted and of actual speech, there is also syntactic interpenetration between the two, as for instance when quoted speech is introduced by a subordinate clause or a parenthetic expression (e.g. "According to …"), and also in the insertion of quoted speech only in isolated places in the actual speech (Ницолова 1984: 93). Let us look at these basic differences between quoted and indirect speech in the following example.

*Вчера (т.е. в сряда - 14.07) почиваше и предния ден ми се обади че **щял бил да вземе** детето. Ок си казах, щом имаш желание! Уговорихме се всичко точно. В сряда сутринта ми звъни - кога **съм щяла била да закарам** детето в тях, при условие че уговорката беше да се видим пред кухнята на малкия и от там да го вземе. Изумих се наглостта му и нахалството.*

*"Yesterday (i.e. Wednesday, 14.07) he was having a day off and the previous day he called me to tell me he **would take** the child. Okey, I said to myself, if that is your wish! Everything was agreed to the greatest detail. On Wednesday evening he calls me: when **was I going to bring** the child to his place, this provided we had agreed to meet in front of the kids food centre and he would take the child from there. I was amazed by his cheek and impertinence."*

http://www.svatbata.org/forum/index.php?topic=14851.150;wap2 (10.02.2015)

*Пет години БСП не желае този разговор - **щяла била да се разцепи**, **щяла била да се обърка**, електоратът **не щял бил да разбере** ... Море, всичко разбира електоратът, ама на някой им отърва да не разбира и да не разбере какво става зад перденцето.*

*"For five years now the Bulgarian Socialist Party has been avoiding this conversation - it **would split** the party, the party **would get confused**, the membership **would not understand** ... Quite the opposite! The membership understands everything but it is convenient for some people that it does not understand and does not see what happens behind the curtain."* (http://www.capital.bg/politika_i_ikonomika/1995/09/18/1062843_ideite_sa_bezsmurtni_interesite_-_vechni/) (10.02.2015)

*„**Щял съм бил да правя** остъкляване" или „**Бил съм бил направил** остъкляване" – така биха звучали едни идиотски обвинения в плоскостта на това тълкуване. Припомня ми другарски съд, устроен от всевластващия партиен секретар, или от немуподобния ОФ-махленски председател.*

*"'I **was [supposed to] glaze** it up' or 'I **had glazed** it up' - that would be the stupid accusations if we interpret it like that. That reminds me of the comradely trials organized by the all-powerful party secretary or the likes of him, the Fatherland Front local organization chief for instance."*

(http://www.bgremonti.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=69&t=2791&start=15) (27.03.2022 г.)

1.3. Indirect speech with dubitative forms. Syntactic shape of the reproduced and the actual utterances

The analysis of our database shows that the indirect speech, representing with dubitative forms some UU, is shaped in the majority of cases as a subordinate clause. The author's speech oriented towards the actual communicative act is contained in an adjoined clause with a verbal activity verb, the semantics of the verb corresponding to the communicative function of the clause in the indirect speech   (see

Ницолова 1984: 101). There is a variety of introducing verbs in the adjoined clause, depending on the type of underlying speech act, e.g. *писаха* ("wrote"), *настоява* ("insists") and *твърди* ("claims"), *разбра* ("understood"). The relation between the temporal and the evidential characteristics of the introducing verb and the temporal and evidential features of the verb in indirect speech is also of interest, and so is the transformation of the various moods in the indirect speech, especially the imperative in UU in indirect speech. The relations author of UU : author of AU is also significant.

*След 2 месеца чакане на отговора ми писаха .. и знаеш ли какво ми отговориха? .. отговориха ми да **съм бил пишел** в научни списания*

*"After two months of waiting they wrote back... and do you know what their answer was? ...they answered I **should write** in scientific journals"*

(clubs.dir.bg) (10.02.2015)

*Онзи ден пак – гражданинът Ерменко Василев от Нова Загора в нарочно писмо настоява да **съм му бил кажел**. […] Даже твърди, че ако **не бил получел** отговор, **щял бил да започне** сам да му мисли. Ами `айде, де, откога чакам някой в тази страна най-после да започне сам да му мисли.*

*"The other day, too - the citizen Ermenko Vasilev from Nova Zagora in a letter, written for the purpose, insisted that I **should tell him** . […] He even insists that if he **didn't receive** an answer, he **would start** taking things into his own hands. Come on, let him do it! I have long been waiting for somebody in this country to take things into his own hands at long last."*

 https://www.svobodata.com/page.php?pid=4966) (27.03.2022 г.)

*Докато си сърбаше кафето рано сутринта, целокупният българин разбра от ефира на националното радио, че за една бройка Райчев **щял бил да бъде подслушван** със специални средства.*

*"While they were sipping their coffee early in the morning the entire Bulgarian people learned from the national radio that Raychev's telephone almost **got tapped** with the help of special technical means."*

(БНРК – „Демокрация", 21.04.2000)

*Русия **щяла била да си плати**, ако анексира Крим, изригна президентът на САЩ след срещата си с Яценюк.*

*"Russia **would pay** for it if the Crimea should be annexed, the US President erupted after his meeting with Yatsenyuk."*

(http://www.varnaaction.com/novini-svyat/905-obama-rusiya-shte-si-plati-za-krim-chuvai-muncho-chuvai) (27.03.2022)

1.4. A brief summary

The two subsections of part one of the present chapter present several types of reproduced speech with dubitative forms. The examples problematize the tripartition of represented speech into *quoted speech* : *indirect speech* : *semi-direct speech*. The empirical data clearly support the hypothesis launched here about the existence in our language of one more type of reproduced speech in addition to quoted speech and indirect speech, that of *directly reproduced speech*. Its appearance in our language is conditioned by the existence of the renarrative and the dubitative, containing in their semantics the feature 'rendering someone else's underlying utterance'. This type of reproduced utterance should find its place in the continuum of the various types of reproduced utterances between quoted speech and indirect speech, according to to the feature 'explicitness of the represented underlying utterance authored by somebody else'.

The analysis of reproduced utterances with dubitative forms also makes it possible to examine cases of series of reproduced utterance in the text with various combinations of quoted speech, indirect speech and directly reproduced speech. Veneta Boteva's utterance below is rendered by the journalist as quoted speech, signaled by quotation marks, and within the quotation Veneta Boteva reproduces Dr. Sarafov's UU with the help of renarrative and dubitative forms.

*"Д-р Сарафов, като прегледал в първите дни на болестта гърлото на покойната ми дъщеря Иванка, казал, че в два-три дена **щяла била да оздравее** и нямало нищо опасно", разкрива Венета Ботева.*

*"'Dr. Sarafov, after checking my late daughter's throat in the first days of the illness, said that she **would recover** in two or three days and there was nothing to worry about', Veneta Boteva reveals"*
(http://m.24chasa.bg/Article.aspx?Id=2096718) (27.03.2020)

As it was stressed more than once in this text, reproduced utterances with dubitatives (and with renarratives) make the text multi-voiced, since two utterances are in dialogue in such texts: the actual utterance and the reproduced utterance (no matter if the latter is shapes as indirect speech or as directly reproduced speech). The variation in shaping the reproduced speech with dubitatives and renarratives provides additional material for the studies of mono- and polyphonic speech (see for them Влахова 2000). Utterances with dubitatives no doubt represent a case where the content of the underlying utterance is in the focus of the information flow, because it is precisely the information of the underlying utterance that gets evaluated by the actual speaker as untrustworthy and unreliable, something often accompanied by emotive-expressive evaluation. In addition to this. reproduced speech with dubitatives (no matter if directly or indirectly reproduced) stresses the fact that the information in the actual message is re-produced. It should be pointed out that in dubitative uses the underlying utterance is relatively precisely rendered (this holds good above all for directly reproduced utterances with dubitatives), i.e. the utterance of the other is not fully assimilated in spite of the subjective evaluation of its untrustworthiness or unreliability. We can conclude that both the use of the dubitative in indirect speech and its appearance in directly reproduced speech are cases of a high degree of polyphonicity of the text.

The analyzed examples are arguments in support of the hypothesis that directly reproduced utterances with dubitatives (and with renarratives) are a type of reproduced speech located between quoted speech and indirect speech in the continuum, based on the degree of precision in rendering the utterance of another. The existence of this type of reproduced speech is observed in languages like Bulgarian, that distinguish the category of evidentalirty including renarrative, dubitative, or both.

3. Dubitative and the relation author of the actual utterance : author of the underlying utterance

The main task in this section is to analyze the variants resulting from the combination of the following elements in two communicative situations: *author the the underlying utterance* (Au) and *author the actual utterance* containing a reproduced utterance with dubitative forms, (Aa), no matter if it is shaped as indirect speech or as directly reproduced speech. As already mentioned, the analysis of reproduced utterances with dubitatives supplement the research into the variation in the type of relations between the parameters of the actual and of the underlying communicative situation in rendering someone else's utterance. The achievement of the main task offers a chance to compare two opinions on the semantics of the dubitative in Bulgarian in connection with the authorship of the reproduced speech - is this a case of

only rendering the other's message or else the semantics of the dubitative includes the rendering of both the other's and of one's own speech. The utterances with dubitatives, analyzed in this section, help understand better the continuum of realization of polyphonic speech (see Влахова 2000), since two points of view about the state of affairs clash in the reproduced utterance with dubitative forms, that of Au and of Aa, the latter expressing a negative epistemic evaluation of the reproduced message of Au.

3.1. The main types of relation between the author of the actual utterance with dubitative forms and the author of the underlying utterance

In order the establish the main models of the relations Aa : Au, relevant to the analysis of utterances with dubitative, we take into account the following elements of the underlying communicative situation (henceforth UCS):

- Author of the underlying utterance/speech (Au),
- Underlying utterance (UU),
- Addressee in the underlying communicative situation (henceforth Bu).

A non-particpant or non-participants in the underlying communicative situation are symbolized as Cu.

On the basis of the logically possible combinations we can conclude that in the underlying utterance Au may be talking about him/herself (*Аз ще пристигна "I will arrive"*), about himself and the addressee (*Ние с тебе ще пристигнем "We two [I and you]will arrive"*), about himself and non-participant(s) (Cu) in the UCS (*Двамата с него ще пристигнем "We two [I and him] will arrive"*). Other options are for Au to talk about his co-communicator(s) (*Ти ще пристигнеш/Вие ще пристигнете "You$_{sg/pl}$ will arrive"*), about the co-communicator and himself (described above), about the co-communicator and non-participant(s) in the UCS (*Ти и той ще пристигнете "You and him will arrive"*). The third option is for Au to talk about non-participant(s) in the UCS (*Той ще пристигне/Те ще пристигнат "He/they will arrive"*). These variants are included in the third column of Table 3.

Table 3

Underlying communicative situation (UCS)		
Communicators		**Topic of utterance**
Au – speaker in UCS	Bu – addressee in UCS	In UU Au talks about: - about Au, about Au and Bu, about Au and Cu - about Bu, about Bu and Au (= about Au and Bu), about Bu and Cu, - about Cu (non-participant(s) in UCS)

In the reproduction of the underlying utterance two types of relation are logically possible between the author of the underlying utterance (Au) and the actual speaker (Aa), rendering the underlying speech with a dubitative form:

Type I . Aa renders with dubitative someone else's utterance (i.e. **Aa ≠ Au**). In (307) the grandson renders with a dubitative aorist his grandfather's nagging, while in (308) the writer reproduces with disapproval and a certain irony B. Bonev's words, using the dubitative passive future in the past.

*Докато дядо се тюхкаше, аз затраках със зъби – втресе ме. Тогава взе да ми се кара. Нали ме **бил предупредил**. Защо съм тръгнал подир "гяволетините".*

*"While granddad was moaning and groaning, my teeth were chattering. I had a fever. Then he started scolding me. He **had warned** me, hadn't he. Why had I started doing mischief."*

(D. Zhotev, example from BNC)

*(308) Докато си сърбаше кафето рано сутринта , целокупният българин разбра от ефира на националното радио, че за една бройка Райчев **щял бил да бъде подслушван** със специални средства. Щял, ама не бил, уточни Богомил Бонев.*

*"While sipping their coffee in the morning the entire Bulgarian people learned from the national radio that Raychev's telephone almost **got tapped** with the help of special technical means. Yes, but that didn't really happen, Bogomil Bonev made it clear. "*

(„Демокрация", example from BNRC)

Type II . The actual speaker and the author of the underlying utterance coincide (i.e. **Aa = Au**), this is the rare case when the actual speaker reproduces his own underlying utterance. In (309) Aa renders his own words about the Voivoda and the dubitative and the particle *уж* ("allegedly, supposedly") show that Aa actually admits that in a previous utterance he had told a lie. This is explicitly stated in the following sentence.

*И начевах да им разправям, че уж Войводата **се бил прехвърлил** в Русия, че там го направили генерал и самият император го пратил с три кораба войска по Дунава – да слезне пак при Козлодуй и на път за София да мине през Враца… Тез дене – викам – вапорите ще пристигнат. Народът слуша със зяпнала уста, пуска по нещо в паничката и се разотива, за да разнесе надеждата като зараза… Изстрадал народ се най-лесно лъже…*

"And I started telling them that supposedly the Voivoda **had gone** to Russia where they promoted him to the rank of general and the Emperor himself sent him with an army of three ships on the Danube in order to disembark once again at Kozloduy and on the way to Sofia to stop in Vratsa… The steamships will arrive one of these days, I say. People listen to this gaping, they drop something in the bowl and go away to spread hope as a kind of contagion. A long-suffering nation is easily lied to."

(„The cricket"/ Щурчето", Neda Antonova, http://www.fakel.bg/index.php?t=2641) (15.01.2012)

1.4.1. The actual speaker does not coincide with the author of the underlying utterance (Type I – Aa ≠ Au)

In order to identify in the empirical material the variants of this type (Aa ≠ Au), which is the most frequent one, account should be taken of Bu (the addressee of the underlying utterance) and of Cu (non-participant(s) in the UCS), which produces 44 combinations. Two of the realizations of **Type I Aa ≠ Au** are presented and commented on here:

I.1. **Aa ≠ Au**, Aa is the one Au speaks about in the underlying utterance
I.2. Aa ≠ Au, Aa is not the one Au speaks about in the underlying utterance

The first subtype (I.1) includes, as shown by our analysis of the empirical material, utterances in which the actual speaker renders with a dubitative someone else's utterance about himself. If the actual speaker/writer (Aa) is the addressee in the underlying communicative situation we have variant (**I.1.1**), if not - variant (**I.1.2**).

*А онзи, доктора, профосора ви по медецина, как беше?... А, Живински! Той пък искаше да ми отвори черепа и някаква сонда да ми пусне в мозъка – чужди заповеди да търсел там, че не можело аз така да съм мислел, някой друг ме бил командвал. Добре че ми се размина. **Не съм бил мислел** аз! Сякаш не знам кой съм!? Хайде де...*

*"And that one, the doctor, the professor in medicine, what was his name?... Zhivinski! He wanted to open my scull and to put some kind of probe in my brain - to look for external orders there, because it was not possible for me to think like that, someone else was in command. Thank god I got away with it. It **was not** me **thinking!** As if I don't know who I am!? Come on…"*

http://gfstoilov.blogspot.com/2011/08/blog-post_16.html) (27.03.2014)

The second subtype of utterances with dubitative (**I.2**), belonging to **Type I** (Aa ≠ Au), include uses where the actual speaker is not the one spoken about in UU. Two main variants can be established within **I.2** : **I.2.1**. where Aa and Au are co-communicators in the UCS, and **I.2.2** where they are not co-communicators in the UCS.

In **I.2.1** the actual speaker, who is addressee in the UCS, can express mistrust, doubt in the reliability and the trustworthiness of the information in the underlying utterance of Au, in which Au talks about himself. The next example is part of a text by a young woman, who reproduces, making use of renarrative and then of dubitaive forms, her mother-in-law's words representing in the actual speaker's opinion groundless accusations and then a threat. The dubitative future, 3rd person, singular form *щяла била да дойде* is a representation of the underlying utterance in 1st person, singular (= *аз ще дойда с полиция* ["I will come with the police"], where *аз* (I) = the mother-in-law = Au). The other dubitative form *била съм крадяла* ("I was stealing"), illustrates type **I.1**, where Aa is the one spoken about in the underlying utterance, in which Aa and Au are co-communicators.

*Тя щяла да ми държи сметка отсега нататък къде отивали парите, които синът и изкарвал (затова дойде), защото аз съм била виновна, че все сме били без пари. Била съм крадяла, **щяла била да дойде** с полиция и да влезела с вратата в нас.*

*"From now one she would hold me responsible for what happened with the money her son earned (that's what she came for), because it was my fault we were always short of money. I **was stealing** and she **would come** with the police to break into the house."*

(http://www.zachatie.org/forum/index.php?topic=48188.40) (27.03.2022 г.)

Another variant where Aa is not Au and Aa reproduces with a dubitative Au's underlying utterance, where Au talks about himself and Aa is his co-communicator, are cases with transposition of person of the verb - instead of the 2nd person singular *говорел си бил* we see 3rd person singular *говорел бил*, which in this way demotes the co-communicator to non-co-communicator. The emotional-expressive disagreement, encoded by the dubitative, is re-enforced by the grammatical metaphor used here.

*Мисля, че е време да млъкнеш!!! Стига си ръсил глупости във всяка тема, **говорел бил** той по темата... Стига подлъгва хората, твоите изказвания 80-90% са грешни и не верни... Единични стаи има и в други блокове, хубави стаи има също!!!*

*"I think it's time for you to shut up!!! Enough nonsense on every topic you touch upon, he **was speaking** on the topic … Stop misleading people, 80-90% of your statements are wrong and mistaken… There are single rooms in other buildings too, there are also good rooms too!!! "*

http://www.medfaculty.org/forum/index.php?topic=9.440;wap2) (23.02.2014 г.)

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Let us now with the help of concrete examples examine the second variant of the first sub-type **I.1.2**, which includes actual utterances representing underlying utterances from UCS where Au talks about non-participant in the speech situation (encoded in a verb in the 3rd person singular or plural) and he has as his collocutor the author of the actual utterance. The dubitative form ***бил командвал*** (*А онзи, доктора, профосора ви по медецина, как беше…*"And that one, the doctor, your professor in medicine, what was his name…") is a realization of precisely the second sub-type of combination of the components in the two communicative situations (the underlying one and the actual one) .

Variant **I.2.2** of the second subtype includes reproduced utterances with dubitatives, where Aa is not the one spoken about in the UU, and Aa and Au are not co-communicators. The main realizations of this variant are reproduced utterances, where Aa is different from Au and from the addressee Bu, and Aa reproduces with a dubitative form Au's utterance, who in the UCS talks about himself, about his co-communicator(s), or about non-participant(s) in the communicative situation. Other combinations are also possible, of course, e.g. talking about oneself and the co-communicator(s), about the co-communicator(s) and non-participants in the UCS, etc. The enumerated variants are realized in case Aa is an external observer in the UCS and not a direct addressee, when he heard something or read about it in the media or internet (social networks, forums, blogs, etc.) or leaned about UU from third persons.

If the two communicative situations, the underlying one and the actual one, are compared, it becomes clear that the dubitative form ***щяла била да прави*** corresponds in the UCS to a verb in the future tense, 1st person singular in an utterance produced by "a lady from the Ministry of the Environment and Water Resources" before journalists in a newscast. The author of the reproduced speech (Aa) is neither a co-communicator of the lady from the Ministry of the Environment and Water Resources (Au), nor the one spoken about in the underlying utterance, and the information about UU has been acquired from the media.

Гледах в новините някаква важна госпожа от МОСВ, която не знаела точно колко били язовирите. ***Щяла била*** *тепърва* ***да прави*** *регистър, ама дали ще смогне преди топенето на снеговете - не е ясно.*

*"I saw in the news some important lady from the Ministry of the Environment and Water Resources who didn't know the exact number of the artificial water reservoirs. Only now she **would create** a register but it is not clear if she would manage to do this before the snow thaw."*

  (http://www.odit.info/?s=6&i=266581&f=4) (27.03.2022)

1.4.2. The actual speaker coincides with the author of the underlying utterance (Type II – Aa = Au)

Most Bulgarian studies of evidentials ignore this type. An exception is a work by G. Gerdzhikov, where the author adduces two examples of coincidence of actual speaker and author of the underlying utterance.

Представих им един факт, на който ***съм бил*** *уж очевидец, че в планината* ***съм намерил*** *пет трупа на убити хора, всичките млади момичета... Те* ***били убити*** *от башибозуците наместо мъже – комити, но като* ***отишли*** *да ги разтърсят, що да видят ...*

*"I presented to them a fact which I **was supposed to be** witness of, namely that I **had found** five dead bodies in the mountain, all of them young girls…They **were killed** by bashibozuk in the place of men, of rebels, and when they **went** to have a look, what was their surprise… "*

(З. Стоянов) (Герджиков 1984: 17)

*Казах му, че Иван **бил взел** книгата и не му я дадох.*
*"I told him that Ivan **had taken** the book and I didn't give it to him"*
(Герджиков 1984: 17)

G. Gerddzhikov points out that in this type of utterance „the speaker distances himself from his own utterance, gives up responsibility for it, shows reservation about the utterance he himself had produced" (Герджиков 1984: 17), because his own underlying utterance did not correspond to reality.

As already mentioned, although infrequent, this type of utterance raise the question of the semantic invariant of the dubitative (and also of the renarrative): should it include in dubitative (and respectively renarrative) renarration not only someone else's but also one's own utterance.

G. Gerdzhikov prefers the narrower definition, excluding the renarration of one's own information from the system-determined meaning of the distrustful mode (and of the renarrative mode), although in his opinion the opposite view „leads to no internal contradictions and is fully acceptable" (Герджиков 1984: 18), but it requires a more complicated semantic description because of the non-identity of the oppositions „non-renarrated information" : „renarrated information" and „own information" : „someone else's informaions", since the renarrated information may be somebody else's but also one's own, although very rarely. According to the narrower definition of the system-determined meaning of the dubitative, uses of the type of (309), (280) and (279) are treated as transpositions (Герджиков 1984: 17). In the analysis of the dubitative verbal uses we adhere to the narrower definition.

In case Aa and Au is the same person, Aa may reproduce with dubitatives his own words about:

a) himself (then the verb in RU (reproduced utterance) is in the 1st person singular, e.g. *Казах, че уж **съм бил сгрешил*** "I said that I **had** supposedly **made a mistake**",

b) himself and his co-comminicator(s) – 1st person plural verb in RU, e.g. 1st p. plural verb, *Казах, че с тебе/с вас уж **сме били сгрешили*** "I said that you and me **had** supposedly **made a mistake**",

c) himself and non-participant(s) in UCS – 1st person plural in RU, e.g. *Казах, че уж с него/с нея/с тях **сме били сгрешили*** "I said that I and him/they **had made a mistake**",

d) his co-comminicator(s) (Bu) – 2nd person singular verb in RU, e.g. *Казах, че уж ти **си бил сгрешил*** "I said that supposedly you **had made a mistake**", or 2nd person plural, e,g, *Казах, че уж вие, приятели мои, **сте били сгрешили*** "I said that you, my friends, **had** supposedly **made a mistake** ",

e) his co-communicator(s) and non-participant(s) in the UCS – 3rd person singular verb in RU, e.g. *Казах, че ти и той уж **сте били сгрешили*** "I said that you and him **had** supposedly **made a mistake**", or 3rd person plural, e.g. *Казах, че ти и приятелите ти уж **сте били сгрешили*** "I said that you and your friends **had** supposedly **made a mistake**",

f) non-particpant(s) in the UCS – 3rd person singular verb in RU, e.g. *Казах, че той уж **бил сгрешил*** "I said that he **had** supposedly **made a mistake**", or 3rd person plural *Казах, че те уж **били сгрешили*** "I said that supposedly they **had made a mistake**".

3.2. A brief summary

We can say in conclusion that utterances with dubitative verb forms have the status of reproduced speech, with the actual speaker expressing various degrees of reservation as an epistemic evaluation concerning the trustworthiness and reliability of the information in the reproduced utterance. In reproduced speech with dubitative forms a great number of combinations can be observed between two of the main components in two speech situations, the underlying one and the actual one, entering into a dialogue. Two main types of relation between the author of the actual utterance and the author of the underlying utterance

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are presented and analyzed in this subsection: cases when they do not coincide (Type I), by far the more common situation, and cases when they coincide (Type II), a combination which is much more rare. In the second case the author of the actual message reproduces with a dubitative form his own underlying message. This case is usually ignored in studies of evidentiality in Bulgarian and other specific languages and in typological research. It is, nevertheless, interesting because the dubitative gives grammatical expression to the actual speaker's admission he had told a lie in his own underlying utterance. This is not the case in the use of the renarrative with coincidence of the actual speaker and the underlying speaker. In that case a certain distancing of the actual speaker from his own original utterance is also observed but this is not a grammatically expressed admission that the speaker told a lie in his underlying utterance. The empirical evidence shows that Type II can appear in a number of variants, depending on another two parameters of the underlying communicative situation: the addressee and the topic of the message (i.e. what is talked about in the underlying utterance). These variants are represented by several examples which are much less frequent because of their specific nature - reproduction of one's own untrue underlying utterance - and because of the possibility for the same information in a suitable context indicating representation of someone else's message to be expressed by renarrative or indicative verb forms instead of dubitatives.

The view that rendering one's own underlying utterance by means of the dubitative can be accepted as part of the semantics of the dubitative can be accepted, if the dubitative is defined as expressing reservation about the reliability of the information in the reproduced utterance, most often someone else's, and in much more rare cases, one's own. This leads to the conclusion that the renarrative also renders another utterance, no matter what its authorship is, somebody else's or one's own. Example (319) could be given as an argument in support of this broad interpretation. It reproduces an original non-dubitative actual speaker's own utterance. The form *щял съм да бъда* in (319) is in the renarrative, 1st person singular (keeping in mind the fact that this form coincides with the conclusive, due to the identity of forms in the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural of the two evidentials), the context clearly indicating that this is use of the renartrative in indirect speech after a verbal activity verb in the main clause.

Examples with both renarrative and dubitative reproduction of one's own underlying utterance can be given as an argument in support of the view that the renarration of one's own speech is part of the systemic meaning of the two evidential subcategories in Bulgarian, i.e. part of the common ground for their comparison. As additional evidence in support of this position we can point out the lack of stylistic effect in (319), which would be expected in cases of transposed uses, and G. Gerdzhikov speaks exactly of transposition (Герджиков 1984: 17). If those uses are excluded from the invariant of the renarrative and the dubitative, they have to be analyzed either as deviations or as transpositions.

The acceptance of the narrower or the broader definitions of the semantics of the renarrative and the dubitative should be based on the analysis of the systematic relations between the four evidentials in Present-Day Bulgarain. This, on its part, presupposes a comparison of the system-determined relations (and uses) of the four evidentials with a view to the relationship between the oppositions *not-one's own information* : *own information* and *non-renarrated* : *renarrated information*. G. Gedzhikov believes that there is no identity between the two oppositions since non-renarrataed information is always one's own, while the renarrated information may be either someone else's or one's own, albeit it rarely   (Герджиков 1984: 17– 8). The opposition *not-one's own information* : *own information* is also significant for the conclusive, including its admirative uses. The fact on which the actual speaker bases his conclusions, inferences and genaralizations may be either part of his own information (e.g. *Компютърът и принтерът са в коридора, явно крадците* **са щели** *и тях* **да вземат** "The computer and the printer are in the entrance hall, the thieves **were** obviously **about to take** them as well") , or it may come from someone

else's utterance (e.g. A: *Мария замина*, Б: *(Я гледай,) значи вчера ме **е излъгала**, когато обеща, че няма никъде да ходи* "A: Maria has left, B: (You don't say so!) So she **lied** to me yesterday when she promised she wouldn't go anywhere"). Constructed examples, attested examples from our database of dubitative uses (Алексова 2015), the analyses by a number of authors (see, for instance, Guéntcheva 1996, Герджиков 1977, 1984, Ницолова 2007, 2008, etc.), lead to accepting the narrower definition of the semantics of the dubitative and the renarrative, i.e. accepting that the opposition *not-one's own information : own information* plays a significant role only on the level of contextually dependant uses. Such a decision corresponds to the findings of typological studies observing renarratives based on rendering someone else's utterance. We should also recall the fact that in publicistic and journalistic texts, information from other sources is often rendered by indicative forms, in order to comply with the requirement that news items present the information in a reliable and objective way.

We can also point out in conclusion that the classification presented here of dubitative uses, based on the relation between author of the underlying utterance and author of the actual utterance, does not take into account all possible combinations between the addressee and the topic of the utterance in the underlying and the actual utterance, but it offers sufficient empirical material for arriving at important conclusions about the type of negative subjective attitude of the actual speaker towards the presented information coming from another source.

3. The dubitative, lexical modificators of reliability and markers of emotiveness
3.1. Analysis of partnership strategies of interaction between the dubitative, lexical modificators of reliability and markers of emotiveness

The main object of study in this section are utterances containing dubitative verb forms and the specific task is limited to the interaction within the narrow and wider context of the dubitative, as an evidential subcategory encoding reservation on the part of the actual speaker about the represented information coming from another source, and the lexical modificators, whose dictionary meaning or contextual use expresses negative evaluation about the reliability of the represented utterance, in the majority of cases this evaluation being emotionally tinged. Such an object of the analysis presupposes several possible tasks:

- Through examination of the empirical data observations and analyses can be made about the type of distribution of the dubitative forms as grammatical expression and of the lexical means expressing dubitativeness, bearing in mind that doubt, mistrust in the reliability of somebody else's represented utterance can also be expressed by indicative forms in the suitable lexical surroundings and/or by means of intonation (*А: Иван ще дойде. – Б: Ами, ами, ще дойде, друг път!* "A: Ivan will come. - B: He will come my foot!", with an intonation contour showing rejection of the statement as one containing an impossibility), by means of renarrative forms under the same conditions (*А: Иван ще дойде. – Б: Ами, ами, щял да дойде, друг път!*, and by means of a dubitative (*А: Иван ще дойде. – Б: Ами, ами, щял бил да дойде, друг път!*), accompanied in oral speech by the suitable paralinguistic features. In the course of its realization such a task might verify the hypothesis that the Bulgarian dubitative is a grammaticalized expression of reservation about informaion from another source and reproduced in the actual utterance, instead of being only a dubitative nuance, mostly due to the combination „of intonation and additional dubitative lexical modificators" (an opinion put forward in I. Kutsarov 2007: 325– 326). This hypothesis could be confirmed if in the utterance

with dubitative forms there are no non-grammatical means of expression of negative epistemic evaluation of someone else's represented utterance but the dubitative meaning is still clearly present.

- Another task that follows directly from the concrete object of analysis in the present study is checking the interconnection between the dubitative, evaluativeness and expressiveness, a problem touched upon from a theoretical perspective in part two of Chapter Two. It is obvious that doubt, the reservation about someone else's represented utterance, are a kind of negative evaluation on the part of the speaker, given from the positions of his own (and, in this sense, subjective) understanding of the real state of affairs. This negative evaluation is also based on the norms and values accepted by the speaker. Utterances with dubitative forms contain a clash between two points of view about the state of affairs (that of the actual speaker and of the author of the underlying utterance) and in a great deal of the utterances with dubitatives this clash is accompanied by an emotive reaction on the part of the speaker to one degree or another - varying between the lowest and the highest degree of emotionality, sometimes even leading to the appearance of invectives. This makes it inevitable to analyze the linguistic expression of evaluativeness and emotiveness in utterances with dubitatives.

- From the combination of the first task, leading to analysis of the lexical modificators of reliability in the utterances with dubitatives, and the second task, connected with the non-grammatical means of evaluation and emotiveness in the same type of utterance, there emerges the superordinate task of looking for lexical items that combine epistemic evaluation and emotiveness , in relation to the uses of dubitative verb forms.

A) General evaluation of unreliability

The term "general evaluation of unreliability" includes the models of combining in a wider context of the **dubitative** and a **predicate explicitly stating unreliability** of the type of *Не е вярно "This is not true"*, e.g. (319).

*Не разбирам цялата идея. Който иска да знае правилата, да учи. Който иска да разбере новите думи, да ги потърси в интернеда, в неолог примерно. Заприличва на поредната безсмислена кампания и който министър го **бил направел**, щял да спечели много… Просто не е вярно.*

*"I don't understand the whole idea. He who wants to know the rules should learn [them]. He who wants to understand the new words should look them up in internet, in neologue for instance. This looks like the next useless campaign and whichever minister **would do** it, was supposed to win a lot... This simply is not true."*

(http://eenk.com/standart-kiril-i-metodiy-light) (28.03.2022)

A variant of this model are utterances with the **dubitative and predicatively used evaluative adverbs**. In the next example the adverb *странно* "strangely" in combination with the phrase *меко казано* "to put it mildly", ironically used, and the dubitative future tense expresses not only doubt but also disagreement, rejection by the actual speaker of the possible realization of the activity in the underlying utterance.

Противоречиви и объркани информации плъзнаха след пленума на БСП в сряда, който е в навечерието на техния 47-ми конгрес, насрочен за края на месеца. Ресорните репортери дружно и

*почти навсякъде написаха, че партията столетница **щяла била да се освобождава** от олигарсите в бизнеса. Това е меко казано странно, тъй като у нас олигарси няма, а най-богатите българи гравитират точно около соцпартията.*

"*Contradictory and confused information has been spreading after the BSP plenum on Wednesday, which is on the eve of their 47th congress scheduled for the end of the month. Reporters of this political sector unanimously and almost everywhere wrote that the hundred-year-old party **would be getting rid of the business oligarchs**. This, to put it mildly, sounds strange, since there are no oligarchs in our country and the most prosperous Bulgarians gravitate around the socialist party.*"

(http://novinar.bg/news/bsp-razmaha-prast-na-bogatite-koito-ia-hraniat_Mjc5MzszOQ==.html) (30.06.2016).

B) *Supposedly X, but [actually] Y*

D. Daskalova quotes this as the most frequent variant among the "heterogeneous models", to use her own terminology, i.e. models combining grammatical and lexical expression of the evaluation of reliability (Даскалова 2008, 2014). In our own database we find a significant number of examples with the combination the **particle *уж* + dubitative verb form**. In this case the particle *уж* ("allegedly, supposedly") is realized with two of its meanings, listed in various dictionaries: „**1.** To strengthen the idea of mistrust in someone else's statement. *Казва, че уж бил щял да заминава в чужбина."He said he was supposed to go abroad"*; **2.** To express mistrust in someone else's statement. *Говореше, че уж вземал голяма заплата. "It was rumoured that he received a high salary"* " (Буров и кол. 1994: 911); or with one of those meanings: „3. To express uncertainty with a shade of mistrust in rendering someone else's words or opinion Овчарите разправяха, че уж видели една нощ да пада от облаците огнен змей. "The shepherds said that one night they [supposedly] saw a fiery dragon come down from the clouds" Yovkov/ Йовков" (https://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/уж/) (visited 20.03.2022).

*„Така и не разбрах защо ме уволниха", казва днес Минов: "За това, че **уж съм бил хвърлил** документи, че **уж не съм се обадил** в полицията, заради контактите с Красьо или че не съм изразил съжаление."*

"*'Eventually I didn't understand why I was fired', Minov said today: 'Because I **was supposed to have thrown out** documents, that I [allegedly] **didn't call** the police about the contacts with Krasyu or that I didn't express regret.'*"

(http://forum.abv.bg/lofiversion/index.php/t28888-50.html) (16.06.2016)

B) The actual speaker's evaluation of the reliability of the information in someone else's utterance as the ground for dubtativeness

In this subsection we look at the empirical evidence of the joint use of dubitative forms and lexical modifiers of reliability, expressing a subjective negative evaluation on the part of the actual speaker concerning the reliability of the information in someone else's reproduced utterance. Here we prefer the term *reliability* as a working term, because it points in a more direct way to the actual speaker's evaluation that the reproduced information coming from another source does not correspond to the actual state of affairs according to his own understanding. If we apply to these lexical modifiers D. Daskalova's interpretation that the functional-semantic filed of reliability is based on two central distinctive features: *quality of the knowledge* (connected with the manner of acquiring the initial information and forming the opposition direct : indirect information) and *quantity of the knowledge* (reflecting „the degree of certainty

in the completeness and the quantitative adequacy of the received information" and forming the binary opposition sufficiency : insufficiency of the information (Даскалова 2014: 41, 57–59), it will turn out that the models presented in this subsection include uses of lexical modificators connected with both the quality and the quantity of the knowledge. The first reason for this is that these modificators function in utterances with dubitatives, i.e. the information is always indirect   since the utterance renders someone else's words, and, secondly, these lexical items represent one of the degrees of the actual speaker's conviction about the uncertainty of the information in the underlying situation, i.e. what D. Daskalova presents as *sufficient information* (Даскалова 2014: 58).

Let us now focus on models that include dubitative forms in actual speech and **verbs**, whose denotative meaning contains the semes **'lie', delusion', 'deception'** etc. In example (325) together with the dubitative form we see the verb *заблудя* "deceive", which in its dictionary meaning contains the above-mentioned semes, cf. „ЗАБЛУЖДА̀ВАМ² […] 1. Unwittingly of purposefully create a false impression in someone about something, or misinform him; cheat, lie" – http://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/глупост/).

Защо Енгел да не <u>*заблуди*</u> *някоя дребна риба (до която ние при следствие непременно ще стигнем, както и стигнахме), че тепърва* ***щял бил да се озове*** *на наша земя?*
"Why shouldn't Engel mislead some of the small fry (something that in the course of the investigation we would certainly find out, and we did so) that he ***would*** *only later* ***find himself*** *on our territory ?"* (В. Мутафчиева, БНК/V. Mutafchieva, BNC)

Combining in the text dubitative forms with **verbs denoting false perception** can be regarded as a kind of partnership strategy because this strengthens the impression of a clash between two points of view, one of which, that of the reproduced utterance, does not correspond to the actual state of affairs according to the knowledge and evaluation of the actual speaker. This can be seen in example (326), where the dubitative form ***щяла била да замени*** appears with the metaphorically used verb *привижда ми се* (*привидя ѝ се*) "[it] appeared to me/her". Cf. „ПРИВЍЖДА МИ СЕ *imperf.*; привѝди ми се *perf.*, *intrans.* It seems/appears to me that I can see something that actually is not there, that does not exist." (http://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/привиждам/).

Партията на новия политик ***щяла била да замени*** *СДС,* <u>*привидя ѝ се*</u> *на Весела Драганова*
"The party of this new politician ***would take the place*** *of the Union of Democratic Forces, it appeared to Vesela Draganova"*
(Клуб   Z,   https://bg-bg.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=566065933498212&id=488258274612312) (30.06.2016)

The reservation due to the evaluation of the actual speaker about the reliability of somebody else's reproduced utterance, implying that it contains false or unreliable information, can be reinforced in the wider context by **verbs denoting 'slander'**, i.e. uttering a non-truth, including emotionally coloured verbs as, for instance, *наклепа* in the following example („НАКЛЕПАМ – […] 2. *Disaproving* Present somebody in a bad light, aim accusations at somebody; tell on somebody, frame somebody up" – http://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/наклепвам/).

След месец се прави отчет кой колко е работил и има събрание. На това събрание същата жена стана и каза, че аз ***съм била викала****: "Вие, българите, ли ще ни командвате?" А на*

събранието е директорът на затвора, други началници и понеже тя знае, че съм политическа, решила да ме наклепа.

*"A month later a meeting was held to report what had been done. At this meeting the same woman spoke up and claimed that I **had said**:'Are you, Bulgarians, going to order us about?' Present at the meeting were the director of the prison and other important people and because she new I was a political prisoner she decided to frame me up."*

(http://e-vestnik.bg/4456/фердие-казва-че) (28.03.2022).

A considerable number of examples in the database contain utterances with **dubitatives** combined with **verbal activity verbs plus the plural noun** *глупости* meaning „words or expressions that a senseless, irrational, not serious, stupid; nonsense " (http://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/глупост/).

(328) *Казах му да се разкара, човече, че няма да му дам нищо. И тогава започна да говори глупости. **Щял бил да ни арестува**, да ни вкара в затвора ако не му дадем дрога.*

*"I told him to get lost, that I would not give him anything. And then he started talking nonsense. He **would arrest us**, he would put us in prison if we did not give him some stuff."*

(BNC/БНК – http://dcl.bas.bg/bulnc/).

The emotive-expressive reaction of the speaker who believes that somebody else's reproduced utterance contains untrue, unreasonable, groundless, nonsensical, false statement finds expression the combination of the dubitative with a **metaphorically used adjective + the noun** *глупости* ("nonsense").

Имало било две места за Реформаторския блок. Това са пълни глупости.
*"There **are** [allegedly] two places for the Reformers' Bloc. This is complete nonsense."*
(Radan Kanev/Радан Кънев, bTV, 30.09.2015).

Another case of partnership strategy of reliability markers and dubitative forms occurs in utterances where the dubitative is combined with a **verb denoting non-material activity** and an **evaluative adverb with a connotative seme 'untrue'/'ureliable'**. The adverb *нелепо* („Нелепо – 1. *Adverb* from нелеп; in a stupud manner, nonsensically. […] 2. Usually with the verbs съм (be), изглежда (it seems), вижда ми се (it appears to me), etc. It means that a certain act is evaluated as unreasonable." http://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/нелепо/) is preceded by a renarrative form with a dubitative meaning (*била*). The dubitative future tense form (*нямало било да има*) appears in the next sentence and it is in this modal context precisely that the adverb *нелепо* acquires the connotative seme 'untrue'.

*Второ. Варненска митрополия не е забранила изложбата. Няма и механизми да го направи. Дори Патриархът няма такива механизми. Просто беше отправена молба, която, чакай да се прекръстя, беше уважена. А репликите на г-н Илиев, че това била единствена възможна дата, потвърдени и от самата Общинска галерия, звучат нелепо. **Нямало било да има** повече такива подходящи помещения за въпросните творби.*

*"Second. The Diocese of Varna did not ban the exhibition. There are no mechanisms for it to do it. Even the Patriarch has no such such powers. Simply a request was made, and, cross myself, it was complied with. Mr. Iliev's statement that this was the only possible date, confirmed by the Municipal Gallery itself, is nonsensical. There **would [allegedly] be no** more suitable premises for the works in question."*

(https://conservative.bg/kokimoto/) (28.03.2022)

D. Daskalova points out in her monograph on the lexical items expressing reliability in Bulgarian that the position of the addresser in the actual communicative situation, his evaluation of the truthfulness of the original statement is often expressed „**by combinations of names denoting speech + evaluative adverbs** (*неверни твърдения* "false statements"**,** *неоправдани опасения* "unjustified fears"**,** *несериозни изявления* "unreasonable statements"**,** *мъгляви обяснения* "confused explanations", etc.)“ (Даскалова 2014: 119). The rich database at our disposal contains numerous variations of this model, e.g. **evaluative adverbs** combined with **nouns with the evaluative meaning of untruthfulness**.

Мастагаркова как стоят нещата, днес прочетох <u>*невероятни измислици*</u>*, които уж* **съм бил казал**.
"Mastagarkova, what is going on, I read today some incredible fabrications, things that I **have [supposedly] said**."
(www.moreotlubov.com/?go=home&p=skandal) (16.06.2016)

Dubitative uses expressing the feature 'low degree of reliability' can be combined with **evaluative adjectives** + **nouns with the common seme 'rumour'** („Слух – […] *Figurative.* Hearsay, news that is spread usually unconfirmed" - http://www.onlinerechnik.com/duma/слух). The unconfirmed source of information, rumour and hearsay included, presupposes a lower degree of reliability of the reproduced information, which is the cognitive base for mistrust and doubt. By means of the dubitative future tense *щели били да се освободят* ("they would allegedly get free") the actual speaker shows reservation about the trustworthiness of someone else's reproduced information. This subjective evaluation is expressively underlined also by the metaphorical use of the adjective *зловещи* ("sinister") and the noun *слухове* ("rumour"). The general impression of low reliability evaluation is supplemented by the figurative use of the verb *разнасям* (spread, *literally,* carry around) (see http://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/разнасям/).

Почнаха се пак обири. <u>*Зловещи слухове*</u> *се разнасят, че затворените разбойници от Велешча* **щели били да се освободят**.
"Robberies started once again. A sinister rumour was getting spread that the prisoners from Veleshcha **would get free**."
(D. Bogdanov/Д. Богданов, http://literaturensviat.com/?p=95031) (16.06.2016)

Various **phraseological units** can function as epistemic unreliability markers in utterances with dubitative forms. In private conversations and correspondence, but also in various comments on economic, political and other socially significant current events, phraseological units are used to express the actual speaker's strongly negative evaluation of reliability. This is illustrated in example (338) where the idiomatic expression *бабини деветини* is used („41. Бабини деветини. Colloquial form: Бабини дивотини. Obsolete. Empty talk, fantasies." – http://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/бабин/). The general impression of unreliability is supplemented by the use of nouns whose denotative meaning contains semes such as 'questionable', 'doubtful', 'untrue', e.g. *митологема* („A questionable idea, position, that is established or presented as unquestionable truth." – http://ibl.bas.bg/infolex/neologisms.php) and *инсинуация* "insinuation" („A purposeful invention and spreading of a false rumour about somebody aimed at discrediting them; slander, intrigue." – http://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/инсинуация/).

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*Така че, не преповтаряйте, комунистически митологеми - да имало една партя, иначе народът бил разединен. Респективно, да имало само един Синод, щото църквата **щяла била** иначе **да се раздели**! Бабини деветини и комунистически инсинуации за глупавите и наивни Българи.*

*"So stop repeating communist mythologemes - that there should be only one party, otherwise the nation would be divided. Correspondingly, there should be only one Holy Synod, because otherwise the Church **would be divided**! Stuff and nonsense and communist insinuations aimed at the stupid and naive Bulgarians."*

(http://m.standartnews.com/balgariya-obshtestvo/nov_razkol_v_tsarkvata_-168162.html?comments=1) (16.06.2016)

The negative evaluation of sombody else's utterance reproduced with a dubitative form may be due not only to insufficient reliability of the re-transmitted information but also to moral and ethical reasons – misleading, doubtful, or false statements are subject to moral sanctions. Their emotional linguistic expression include utterances where the dubitative is combined with **pronominal/adverbial intensifiers** + **evaluative nouns of moral assessment**.

*Каква наистина безмерна наглост, представяте ли си: **щели сме били** догодина **да не сме** вече най-бедните в Европа, а дотогава, догодина, **щели сме били да се възвисим** дотам, че да сме, предполагам, предпоследни по бедност!*

*"What an enormous impertinence, indeed, can you imagine this: next year we **would not be** the poorest nation in Europe, and by that time we **would have made so great a progress** as to become the second poorest nation, I suppose."*

(http://aigg.wordpress.com/2012/09/07/1-545/) (28.03.2022)

D) Dubitatives and evaluative emotive expressions of disapproval, discontent, and indignation

Example (340) illustrates a model of dubitative use combined with **verb expressions** that can be categorized as evaluative emotives, because they include both a negative evaluation of the reproduced statement (rational aspect) and the actual speaker's emotional reaction - discontent, indignation, anger, etc. (emotional aspect), which comes to the fore: **видите ли/видиш ли** "fancy that", **(я) гледай ти** "well, I never"**, представи си/представете си** "can you imagine that", **представяш ли си/представяте ли си** "can you imagine that", **моля ти се** "if you please". Analyzed from a syntactic perspective, these are parenthetic expressions, strongly marked emotionally and adding to the expressiveness of the utterance. When used in utterances with dubitative forms, such expressions, containing a semantically bleached verb of perception or another non-material activity, underline the negative evaluation of someone else's reproduced message and in this sense they can be categorized as pragmatic markers (see Тишева 1994).

*НОРМАЛНО ЛИ Е, КАТО САМО БЪРЗА ПОМОЩ И ПОЖАРНАТА ИМАТ ТОВА ПРАВО, ИМАТ ТОВА ЗАКОННО ПРАВО ДА ХВЪРЧАТ (НО С НАМАЛЕНА СКОРОСТ ПРИ ЧЕРВЕН СВЕТОФАР...). ВОЕННИЯТ МИНИСТЪР, ВИДИТЕ ЛИ, **БИЛ ЧЕТЯЛ** ПО ВРЕМЕ НА КАТАСТРОФАТА.. АМИ ШОФЬОРЪТ И ТОЙ ЛИ ЧЕТЯЛ?!??*

*"IS THAT NORMAL IF IT IS ONLY AMBULANCES AND THE FIRE-BRIGADE THAT HAVE THE RIGHT, THE LEGAL RIGHT TO DRIVE AT SUCH A HIGH SPEED (HOWEVER, REDUCED AT THE RED TRAFFIC LIGHT...). THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE, CAN YOU IMAGIN THAT, **WAS READING** AT THE TIME OF THE ACCIDENT... BUT THE DRIVIER, WAS HE READING, TOO ?!??"*

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(http://www.mediapool.bg/nso-opravdava-sluzhitelya-si-za-katastrofata-s-avtomobila-na-voenniya-ministar-news164132.html) (16.06.2016)

*След изпита бях получила и едни заплахи по телефона - от една жена, която ми крещеше, че **съм била имала** връзка с нейния съпруг, представи си!*

*"After the exam I received a telephone threat as well - a woman called shouting that **I was having an affair** with her husband, can you imagine that!"*

(http://www.blitz.bg/news/article/315420) (16.06.2016)

Yet another separate model of partner strategies that involve the dubitative and the context is represented by utterances with **interjections**, e. g. *xa-xa*, *xe-xe*, which are emotives of an affective type (see more in Шаховский 2007, 2008, and on interjections in Петрова 2016). They can express ironic ridicule, behind which there is categorical disagreement with somebody else's reproduced utterance. In (345) the three dubitative future tense forms and the interjection *xa-xa*, showing ironic evaluation, express the actual speaker's negative emotive-expressive assessment of the information coming from someone else.

*[...] на три сесии на СОС се представят три различни доклада с противоречиви половинчати обосновки, че цената е приета с бетонното мнозинство на герб, че **щяло било да се прави** проучване и статистически анализ на трафика и транспортните потоци от чужда фирма (к'во прави две и половина години, кмете, и кой ти пречи?), че **щяло било да се прави** преструктуриране на фирмите, свързани във виртуалното понятие "софийски градски транспорт",че като се построи (прокопае) метрото трафикът **щял бил да се облекчи**, защото шофьорите ще спират колите си в покрайнините и ще се возят в метрото <u>(ха-ха)</u>.*

*" [...]at three successive sessions of the Sofia Municipal Council, three different reports are presented with contradictory and ambiguous motivation that the price has been accepted with the solid majority of GERB, that an investigation **would be made** by a foreign company and a statistical study of the traffic and the transport flow (what have you been doing in the last two and a half years, Mayor, and what stopped you from doing that?), that the companies, connected with the virtual concept of 'Sofia city transport' **would be restructured**, that when the metro would be built the traffic **would be alleviated** because drivers would stop their private cars in the outskirts and would take the metro (ha-ha)."*

(http://boikob.blogspot.com/2008/06/blog-post_13.html) (30.06.2016)

Combined uses of the emotive and expressive marker of unreliability, discussed above, together with dubitative forms are of course also observed in our database. In (346) what is suggested by the dubitative aorist form is reinforces by the interjection *xe-xe*, the epistemic modificator *уж* ("allegedly"), and the pronoun *ква* ("what") functioning as intensifier.

*ох , аз как се разстроих неска, тъпите катажии, ме заснели оня ден край слънчев бряг уж **съм бил превишил** скоростта, <u>хе хе</u> , ква скорос бе с моя двайсгодишен танк*

"oh, I really got very upset today, the other day at Sunny Beach the stupid traffic police took a picture of me speeding, ha-ha, what speeding with this twenty-year-old banger of mine"

(http://forum.abv.bg/lofiversion/index.php/t109104.html) (30.06.2016).

3.2. Brief conclusions

In this section examples were given and commented on which allowed us to establish the main models of partnership strategies, combining the dubitative with evidential modificators of unreliability and emotive expressions in rendering a negative epistemic evaluation of someone else's reproduced utterance. The logical aspect is dominant in some of them, while others are predominantly expressive. These models are by no means a finite number as the language material shows an enormous diversity. In this section we also showed the possibility of combination of models and piling up a large number of lexical expressions, intensifying the evaluation of unreliability also signaled grammatically by the dubitative verb form.

The utterances with dubitative forms and lexical reliability modificators analyzed here can be classified as belonging to the heterogeneous models of epistemic evaluation, unlike the homogeneous ones, built up of grammatical or lexical means only (see Даскалова 2014).

The empirical material allows the establishment of an open working classification of the heterogeneous models in particular, taking into account the meaning and the functions of the lexical epistemic modificators. The first group includes utterances with dubitative forms, where the actual speaker's evaluation of unreliability of someone else's reproduced utterance is directly expressed by means of predicates like *Не е вярно* ("This is not true ") or by equivalent metaphorical expressions.

A separate model, which has a high frequency in our data base, was isolated as *Уж X, а то Y* ("Supposedly X, but [actually] Y"). This partnership strategy of the dubitative and the particle *уж* ("allegedly") deserves to be recognized not only because of its frequency but also because of the fact that in all cases where *уж* occurs with the dubitative (and also with the renarrative), the speaker stresses on the falsehood, the inadequacy of the viewpoint about the state of affairs, claimed to be true in the underlying message.

The third main type contains dubitative verb forms and evaluative verbs, nouns and adjectives, phraseological units and set phrases whose denotative meaning or some of their figurative uses have the seme 'doubtful' and above all 'untrue'. What unites these variants is the evaluation of the information in the underlying message as having a low degree of reliability, i .e. they express an evaluation of what D. Daskalova calls quantity and/or quality of the knowledge. This type of model is characterized by emotionality, but it should be pointed out that it also has a clearly recognizable rational aspect, connected with the evaluation of the information. Because of this these expressions can be defined as evaluative-emotional, unlike the fourth type, which are emotive-evaluative, because of the predominance of the emotional aspect. In other words, emotions, including ironically expressed ones, the emotive reaction of disapproval, discontent and indignation with someone else's reproduced utterance, come to the fore. The fourth type includes variants of utterances with dubitatives and evaluative emotive expressions - interjections and expressions with semantically bleached verbs of perception or other non-material activities. In the spirit of the emotive markedness of the four working models we will offer figurative-metaphoric labels for them: *Просто не е вярно*! ("This simply is not true!"); *Това е само привидно истинно*! ("This is only apparently true!"); *Това са само лъжи*! ("These are nothing but lies!"), *Как пък не, направо възмутитолно!* ("No way, this is simply outrageous! ").

It should be stressed once again that the classification offered here is an open one, based on a database whose diversity cannot be exhausted. The examples analyzed show the combination of several models in the same utterance, the piling up of various expressions of epistemic evaluation and emotiveness, depending on how strong the emotional reaction of the actual speaker is. In such cases the principle of economy of language means („much content, few means of expression") is irrelevant, because the high level of emotions, due to disagreement, requires its full linguistic expression.

The established models   represent the concrete empirical material proving the existence of partnership strategies, combining contextual features and dubitative forms in the expression of the actual speaker's reservation about someone else's (in rare cases, metaphorically, one's own) underlying utterance. The observations made in this section also prove the commonly shared view that the subjective evidentials frequently appear in contexts that make the type of subjectivity more concrete, in this case as a negative attitude towards someone else's reproduced utterance.

4. The dubitative in various sentence types

This section deals with some of the main uses of the dubitative in various sentence types, both with respect to communcative purpose (declarative, interrogative, hortatory, optative, and exclamative sentences) and structure (simple and complex).

4.5. Dubitative uses in sentences with different communicative status

The analysis of our database clearly shows that dubitative verb forms are used in sentences with a declarative communicative status. This includes both cases where the negative evaluation of the reliability of someone else's utterance is not coloured by a clearly expressed emotionality and expressivenss, and cases that are emotionally marked, punctuationally marked with a full stop.

... понеже на разузнаването и държавните служби за сигурност им се дощя те да контролират работата на компютъра. Иначе   **нямало било   да** *го* **пуснат** *до вас, а освен това щели да обявят операция "Комар" в институтите, финансирани от фондацията*

*"...[this is] because the intelligence and the government security services felt like controlling the work of the computer. Otherwise they **would not let** it close to you , and in addition they would launch the 'Mosquito' operation in the institutions financed by the foundation"*

(БНРК/ BNRC)

(350) *Разбра се единствено, че предсрочните избори* **щели били да се проведат** *между 28 септември и 12 октомври, но датата тепърва* **щяла била да се уточнява**.

*"The only thing that became clear was that the early elections **were supposed take place** between September 28 and October 12 but the exact date **was** yet **to be fixed**."*

http://www.temanews.com/index.php?p=tema&iid=818&aid=18466) (12.12.2014)

Contrary to our expectation that the majority of dubitative uses would occur in exclamatory sentences, examples of declarative sentences predominate in the database, no matter if they contain emotive and/or expressive markers.

One of the interesting questions is if dubitative forms can appear in genuine interrogative sentences. Dubitative uses were discovered only in interrogative repetitions (echo-questions) which are not truly interrogative. Their purpose is to express an attitude towards someone else's original utterance, i.e. this is a second function attributed to echo-questions by R. Nitsolova   (in addition to gaining time for understanding the questions): „2. By repeating the question the speaker wants to express his attitude to it, and, in some situations, to the answer related to it " (Ницолова 1984: 126). Similar is the function of the dubitative in the following sentence, where the echo-questions is shaped with a question word.

*Що **бил кукуригал** рано петелът!?Ми такъв му е биоритъмът ве... биологичния му часовник е такъв - заспива по здрач и се буди в първото развиделяване...*

*"Why **was** the cock **crowing** early [in the morning]!? That's his biorhythm…his biological clock is like this – he falls asleep at dusk and wakes up with the first sign of dawn…"*

(http://clubs.dir.bg/showflat.php?Board=forty&Number=1952869328&page=&view=&sb=&part =all&vc=1) (14.07.2021)

These repetitions with a dubitative verb form may be shaped with a question mark in the written language, which is a reflection of the emotive-expressive markedness of the utterance, and also by a combination of a question mark and an exclamatory mark.

Като чуе веднъж човек едно нейно интервю и е достатъчно - то се повтаря навсякъде същото с малки украси според случая.

***Щяла била да е** старши треньор?! На кого?*

"It is enough for you to hear one of her interviews, they are repeated the same everywhere with small embellishments for the specific occasion.

*She **would become** senior coach?! Coaching who?"*

(http://www.rgym.info/forum/viewtopic.php?f=4&t=2256&start=45) (30.03.2022)

No dubitative verb forms were discovered in hortatory sentences. The database contains examples with dubitative forms in *да*-constructions, which render underlying imperatives. The exclamation mark in a dubitative sentence, however, does not indicate an order or insistence, that belongs to the represented utterance originally produced by someone else, but signals the emotive-evaluative nature of the utterance with a dubitative form.

*Разбирам да търся "Полетият поливач" - да, ама става дума за Black Hawk Down! Вече не можел да се намери никъде и да **съм се бил отказел**!*

*"I would understand if I was looking for 'Полетият поливач' but we are talking about Black Hawk Down! This was nowhere to find anymore and I **should give it up**!"*

Re: Ей, хора! [re: Raul Endymion](20.07.04)

4.2. Dubitative uses in complex sentences and in complete texts

The dubitative in Present-Day Bulgarian can be used in both main and in subordinate clauses. Interesting within the complex clause are dubitative uses in indirect speech after an introducing clause with a verb denoting speech activity. As to the realization of the dubitative in connected text, our attention is focused on cases where the initial appearance of the dubitative form is followed by renarratives with a dubitative meaning.

The first case is interesting from the point of view of the interaction between the context and the grammatical category. Two types of relation were outlined when both the context and the grammatical category express the same meaning, encoded in different ways (non-grammatical and grammatical):
- a partnership strategy with the context supporting the grammatically expressed meaning,
- syntagmatic neutralization where, because of the fact that the meaning is expressed in the context by lexical or other situational means, neutralization (non-expression) may occur of the same meaning expressed grammatically.

Well-known are cases where due to the lexical, prosodic and/or paralinguistic means of expressing dubitative meaning, the verb form is renarrative and not dubitative. In the theory of grammatical oppositions this has been called syntagmatic neurtralization of the feature 'subjectivity'. Well-known are also cases where after a speech activity verb in the introducing clause (e.g. *Иван каза* "Ivan said") instead of renarrative forms in the non-past plane (*че Петър щял да дойде след 5 мин*. "that Peter would come in 5 mins.") in the indirect speech (the subordinate clause) we find indicative forms (*че Петър ще дойде след 5 мин*.). This is a case of syntagmatic neutralization of the feature 'renarrativity', which is the more neutral variant, since in neutralization two ways of rendering information from somebody else are available: the speech activity verb in the introducing clause and the renarrative form, which emphasizes the fact of reproducing someone else's utterance that might result in the effect of distancing from the re-transmitted information. We also pose the question if syntagmatic neutralization of the feature 'renarativness' can occur in the indirect speech as a result of the presence in the introducing clause of a verb expressing the re-transmission of information from somebody else, leading to the use in the indirect speech of conclusive forms instead of dubitative ones. This phenomenon is not observed, however, since the feature 'subjecivity' receives different concrete realizations in the conclusive forms (subjecive conclusion, inference, etc.) and in the dubitative (subjective distrustful evaluation). This is confirmed by numerous examples of the use of the dubitative in indirect speech.

*Да. Избухна в сълзи, хвърли се на пода, вкопчи се в полите ми и каза, че **си била мислела**, че вече не я харесвам.*
*"Yes, she burst into tears, threw herself onto the floor, clung to my skirt and told me she **thought** I didn't like her any more."*(БНК/BNC)
*Държавата бедна, народът мизерства, спират ни еврофондовете, министър Орешарски твърди, че излишъкът **щял да почне да се топи**, а то...*
*"The state is bankrupt, people live in misery, the euro-funds are stopping, minster Oresharski claims that the surplus **would begin to diminish**, and then... "*
(http://www.epochtimes-bg.com/2008-03/2008-10-06_07.html#ixzz3D8Clw9b4)

Another interesting case is where the dubitaive appears in the title or in the initial sentences of a text to express reservation about the presented information coming from someone else. This contextual situation is sufficient to allow the use of indicative or renarrative verb forms in the text that follows. From the perspective of grammatical oppositions theory this is neutralization of the feature 'renarrativity' or neutralization of both 'renarrativity' and 'subjectivity'. In example (380) the dubitative is only in the title while the main body of the text contains indicative verb forms.

*Петролна фирма **щяла била да съди** "Сега"*
"Нафтекс Петролеум-България" АД се закани да съди в. "Сега" заради провалена сделка. Шефове на фирмата дадоха пресконференция вчера и заявиха, че ще внесат иска днес.
*"A petrol company **will bring** 'Sega' **to court***
Naftex Petroleum - Bulgaria Co. threatened to bring to court Sega newspaper because of a failed transaction. The executives of the company gave a press conference yesterday and said they would start proceedings today. "
(http://www.segabg.com/article.php?id=217474) (31.05.2000)

When the dubitative form appears in the beginning of the text it adds to the utterance information about the actual speaker's reservation, disagreement, and mistrust concerning the content of the underlying message. This is sufficient to allow in the following sentences the appearance of renarrative forms with dubitative semantics, instead of dubitative ones. From the positions of grammatical oppositions theory this is syntagmatic neutralization of the feature 'subjectivity' which is already expressed in the context (by the first dubitative form). As the following example shows, the initial dubitative form ***щяла била да урежда*** ("she would arrange") two renarrative forms with dubitative semantics are used – ***щял да компрометира*** ("would comment"), ***бил*** ("was").

*****Щяла била да*** го урежда на работа при познати, ама добре че не, щото щял да я компрометира, понеже бил конфликтен.*
*"She **was about to arrange** a job for him with some acquaintances of hers, but it was a good thing that it didn't happen because he would have discredited her, being a very difficult person."*
(http://hotarena.net/samo-v-HotArena-nikoleta-kym-kulagin-shte-ti-srejem-prystite-vsichko-vyv-fakti) (25.09.2013)

Conclusion

The present monograph is a study of the dubitative as one of the three indirect evidentials in Present-Day Bulgarian. From the perspective of grammatical oppositions theory the dubitative is semantically the most heavily loaded evidential since it is marked for both features building up the meaning of the four evidentials: the features *subjectivity* and *renarrativity*. This high semantic markedness has its formal expression expression, since the dubitative verb forms are characterized with the highest compositional complexity among all four evidentials.

In the rich linguistic literature, discussing the relations between evidentiality and epistemic modality, it is hardly possible to find a model offering a classification scheme that would comfortably accommodate the facts of Bulgarian grammar. The main reason for this is that the dubitative is usually either ignored or purposefully excluded from the evidential system. This is so because evidentiality is defined as independent of epistemic modality, which precludes the inclusion of the dubitative among the evidentials, due to its obvious epistemic nature. Various definitions of evidentiality, current in the literature worldwide, including their historical precedence, are presented in Chapter One. It is clear that the predominant view is that evidentiality encodes the source of information, independently of the attitude of the speaker as to the reliability of the information. Several typological classifications of the various kinds of evidentiality are analyzed and it is demonstrated that they are not applicable to the Bulgarian evidential system. This is followed by an overview of the various positions concerning the semantics of epistemic modality and the values that it includes. The aim is to establish the main positions about the relation between evidentiality and epistemic modality. Two of the approaches recognize the links existing between evidentiality and epitemicity - relationship of inclusion or relationship of a partial overlap. Under these approaches the Bulgarian evidential system is categorized as either modal or as partly modalized precisely because of the semantics of the dubitative, which is clearly epistemological. The attempts in linguistics worldwide to represent the related semantic elements that build up a given semantic field and are grammaticalized in different ways in individual languages, have resulted in the development of the so-called semantic maps. The analysis of several semantic maps of epistemic modality and of evidentiality shows that the Bulgarian evidential system cannot be adequately covered by them. It is precisely this that motivated our attempt to develop a semantic map, representing the relations between the semantic components in the sphere of epistemicity and evidentiality in Present-Day Bulgarian. In it the dubitaive finds its place in the area of indirect information of natural epistemicity.

Although in this study we most often use the term *dubitative* to refer to the paradigm of forms of the type of *бил четял*, *бил чел*, *щял бил да чете*, *щял бил да е чел, бил четен, щял бил да е четен*, etc. we accept that the term *distrustful forms* (*недоверчиви форми)* adequately reflects their most important semantic feature - distrust, doubt in the reliability of the re-transmitted information coming from someone else. The presence of this feature requires an analysis of concepts such as *trust* and *distrust*, *doubt* and *unreliability*. That is why the initial part of Chapter Two, devoted to the semantics of the dubitative, offers comments on the psychological and philosophical approaches to trust and distrust/doubt. The position accepted is that the two concepts are not contraries and that the lack of trust does not necessarily mean distrust and the other way about. The aim of the analyses is to show that the dubitative is included among the grammatical means of expressing one of the two types of distrust, and more precisely distrust in the reliability of the re-transmitted utterance authored by someone else, and not distrust in one's own knowledge and its reliability. No doubt, a different approach is also possible, under which the dubitative would cover a wider semantic field – distrust in the represented underlying utterance, no matter if it is

one's own or somebody else's. However,under this approach, in our opinion, we have to include in the semantics of the dubitative also cases of transposed uses. In this section the elements of trust and distrust are analyzed and a linguistic point of view concerning them is presented. The same part also delves into the essence of doubt which has common features with the dubitative semantics, it represents the state of uncertainty of the speaker concerning the reliability of the proposition.

The analysis of our rich database makes it imperative to examine the connection between the dubitative and the semantic categories of evaluation and expressiveness. Representing the information from another source as untrue, unreliable and implausible is one type of subjective evaluation based on the speaker's own experience, his own values and his viewpoint of the state of affairs. This has prompted us to discuss in a separate subsection of Chapter Two the semantic category of evaluation as it is understood by various authors. Outlined are the elements of an evaluative utterance and its componential structure. The evaluation of someone else's underlying utterance as doubtful and unreliable is often accompanied by expressive and affective markedness. The concepts of *emotiveness* and *emotionality* and their essence is also discussed, the first of them interpreted as a linguistic expression of emotionality. The view is accepted that emotiveness can be the result of evaluation of the objects in the world, this being the case with the dubitative – the assessment of someone else's utterance as doubtful, unreliable, implausible can cause emotional reaction, which finds expression among others in the grammaticalized dubitative forms. Being an expression of individual (and not collective, group, social community) evaluation, the utterance with a dubitative form serves not only to present the viewpoint of the speaker but also to influence the hearer/reader. That is why utterances with dubitative forms are often tinged with expressiveness. The nuances of the evaluation expressed, emotiveness (irritation, anger, rage, suffering, disgust, etc.) and expressiveness are the theoretical foundation for the comments in the subsection of Chapter Two, analyzing the various contextual uses of the dubitative. The examples are classified in a broad continuum, the two poles of which are non-expressive doubt, on one hand, and angry indignation, accompanied by sarcasm in rejecting the reliability of someone else's original utterance, on the other hand. Within this continuum there is a gradation of uses expressing disagreement with someone else's evaluation and distancing from it, rejection of unjust accusations, indignation at a threat, ironic dubitative utterances. An interesting dubitative use is the case where the speaker implicitly admits telling a lie in his own underlying utterance. The effect of this is distancing from, disengagement from one's own previous utterance. We consider these to be transpositive uses of the dubitative, from the perspective of the adopted here narrower definition of the semantics of the dubitative in Present-Day Bulgarian. The variety of semantic shades cannot be fully exhausted because of the endless diversity of dubitative uses in written and oral texts.

A subsection of Chapter two is specifically devoted to the typological aspects in the study of dubitatives and their grammaticalization in various languages of the world. This is motivated by the understanding that the place of the Bulgarian dubitative in a typological perspective can be established through a comparison with languages that have grammaticalized expession of dubitativeness. Various language types are presented according to A. Aikhenvald's classification (Aikhenvald 2004), where dubitativeness finds grammatical expression. Special attention is given to dubitativeness in Albanian and Turkish, since together with Bulgarian they belong to the South Europe - Western Asia typological belt including languages that grammaticalize evidentiality. The analysis shows that the dubitative in Albanian and Turkish is most often represented as a contextual use of the indirect evidential, although there are authors who believe that in Turkish the dubitative is a separate evidential, distinct from the indirect evidential with conclusive, renarrative and admirative uses. Stress is laid on the arguments put forward by various authors in the adoption one of the two interpretations of the dubitative in Turkish. The analysis of

the grammaticalized dubitative markers in various types of languages brings us to the conclusion that the dubitative is interpreted in two ways: a wide definition where the dubitative denotes doubt, mistrust in various utterances, including the speaker's own utterance, and a narrow definition where the dubitative is grammaticalized as an expression of doubt in the re-transmitted information coming from someone else. It is also clear that it is possible for the dubitative in some languages to be independent of evidentiality, or else to be integrated in it. Bulgarian belongs to the second type of languages. The first type problematizes the inclusion of the dubitative in evidentiality and this has made some scholars (e.g. A. Aikhenvald) doubt in the grammaticalization of the dubitative and accept the position that it is only an evidential strategy, in other words, a specific use.

Chapter Two also outlines the place the dubitative has in the Bulgarian evidential system. The various views in the Bulgarianist linguistic literature on the semantics and the grammatical status of the distrustful verb forms in Bulgarian is presented and commented on: emphatic variants of the renarrative forms, renarrated forms of the conclusive mood, inorganic evidentiality, an independent subcategory within a four-member grammatical category called *modus of the expression of the activity*, *mediativity*, *evidentiality*. Arguments are given in support of the opinion, accepted by the author, according to which the dubitative is one of the three indirect evidentials in Present-Day Bulgarian.

Chapter Two also presents and discusses the results of an empirical study of the perception of the degree of reliability, expressed by the four types of evidential forms in Bulgarian. These results confirm the hypothesis that the degree of semantic markedness of the four evidentials in Present-Day Bulgarian determines the reliability evaluation in perception of utterances with the different evidential verb forms. In speech perception the indicative forms are always evaluated as the most trustworthy in comparison with any of the three indirect evidentials, and the dubitative forms are perceived as expressing the highest degree of unreliability. The data from the empirical experiment show that in perception there is no hierarchy between the renarrative and the conclusive as to the reliability signaled by them. The preliminary hypothesis that the greatest reliability distance should be between the indicative and the dubitative, i.e. between the absolutely unmarked member and the doubly marked one, is refuted. The three indirect evidentials are equidistant from the indicative, according to the perception of the respondents. We stress that this is valid for the concrete experiment and needs to be verified in a nationally representative investigation.

Chapter Three focuses on the main problems of the formal paradigm of the dubitative in Present-Day Bulgarian. The problems already exist in the very form-formation process, if we consider the opinions of different authors. Our comments present arguments in support of the adequacy of the position adopted here. The first part of Chapter Three aims at proving the existence of variation in the dubitative paradigm in our language, in the negative forms of posterior tenses in the active, reflexive and passive voice. First the existence of variation of linguistic units, as interpreted by various authors, is theoretically discussed. This is necessary in order to justify the distinction between variants and deviations in the dubitative forms. A table of the dubitative forms in Present-Day Bulgarian is offered and arguments are given for the exclusion of constructions like *нека съм бил пишел*, *нека да съм бил пишел*, *да съм бил пишел*, *нека да съм бил писан*, *да съм бил писан*, *дано съм бил намерел* , etc. from the dubitative paradigm.

The analysis of ample empirical material leads to the recognition of five groups of dubitative form variants. Each of the groups is examined in detail and an attempt is made to establish the source of the existing variability. Variation is illustrated with copious specific examples. Proof is given that the existence of three variants of the dubitative posterior negative forms is inherited from the variability of the conclusive and the renarrative posterior forms in the active, reflexive and passive voice. The vitality of the existing dubitative variants is discussed in the analysis of the examples. A subsection of Chapter Three comments

on the coincidences of evidential forms, with an emphasis on dubitatives. Special attention is paid to biparticipants and bideterminants, where coincidences are due to the way in which the category of evidentiality has emerged or to the paradigmatic neutralization of evidential features. Other coincidences, not motivated by the above causes, are also analyzed. The dubitative paradigm poses the problem of defectivity of grammatical paradigms, considered from a theoretical perspective in a special subsection of Chapter Three. The position adopted here is explained, defining defectivity as cases of paradigms with empty cell(s), corresponding to a specific combination of grammatical features obligatory for the respective word class. A distinction is made between the concepts of *defectivity* and *syncretism*, *bidetermination* and *biparticipation*. Causes for the appearance of empty cells in the dubitative paradigm are sought for, taking into account the explanations given by various authors. The concept of *formal blocking* is proposed and explained.

A separate subsection of Chapter Three deals with dubitative deviations. The use of the concept of *deviation* is explained, the term appearing most often in the analyses of fiction and advertisements. The difference between *occasionalism* and *deviation* is established and arguments are given in support of using deviation with reference to the semantics of the analyzed dubitative forms. Seven types of deviant forms are analyzed and illustrated with examples. From the perspective of temporal form two types of deviant dubitative forms can be distinguished: those in competition with existing dubitative forms, and those that appear in the place of a missing member of the paradigm. Deviations are also categorized into those that do not contain an element of language game, and those that are characterized by purposeful expressiveness and ludic element. The causes for the appearance of dubitative deviations are pointed out, including the heavy semantic load and semantic complexity of the dubitative temporal-aspectual forms, the incomplete process of unification and grammaticalization, the actual speaker's negative emotional reaction of evaluation.

Another section of Chapter Three illustrates and comments on the tense uses in the dubitative. The aim is to establish the existence of attested examples of the various temporal uses of the dubitative, with some observations on their frequency of occurrence, although a statistical analysis is not possible due to the open character of our database.

The established variation in the dubitative paradigm in Present-Day Bulgarian raises the question to what extent this category is grammaticalized. The existence of dubitative, and also of renarrative and conclusive variants in the negative posterior tense paradigm supports the view that the grammaticalization process is not complete. At the same time a tendency of condensation of the form and also a higher degree of uniformity is observed in the negative conclusive and renarrative forms in this particular section of the paradigms. The empirical data also convincingly show a trend towards differentiation of the conclusive and renarrative negative posterior forms. In the conclusive the variant with the impersonal formant *нямало е* predominates, while in the renarrative the predominat variant has the element *нямало* with omission of the auxiliary *съм* in all persons, cf. *нямало е да чета, нямало е да съм/бъда чел, нямало е да съм/бъда мит* (conclusive) : *нямало да чета, нямало да съм/бъда чел, нямало да съм/бъда мит* (renarrative). Such a trend of differentiating the conclusive and the renarrative forms in the 1st and 2nd person singular and plural is not noticed in the positive forms of the two evidentials in the active and the passive voice. The tendency established here of condensation of the conclusive, the renarrative and the dubitative negative posterior constructions fits into Lehmann's first syntagmatic parameter of grammaticalization, connected with the **structural scope** (or syntagmatic "weight"), which diminishes with the progress of the grammaticalization process. The described cases of form variation of the indirect evidentials in Bulgarian justify the proposal of one more syntagmatic parameter of grammaticalization that could be called **formal**

alternativity. It decreases and disappears with the progress of the grammaticalization process, a state that obviously has not been reached yet in Bulgarian, as the analysis of the empirical material shows.

The analysis of the dubitaive verb forms, all of them composite, is interesting from the perspective of Lehmann's second syntagatic criterion of **syntagmatic cohesion** or **syntagmatic boundedness** as wells as the testing of the permeability of the composite dubitative forms by means of the so-called *expansion test.* A large number of tests have been done with regard to the insertion within the dubitative forms of clitics, full words, free phrases, detached and parenthetic parts, and whole clauses. The various cases have been categorized and illustrated with actual examples. The results of the *expansion test* (Lehmann 2002) applied to positive and negative dubitative forms in the active and the passive voice show that all dubitative forms can be interrupted by pronominal clitics, particles, full words and free phrases, detached and parenthetic parts, and subordinated clauses. The degree of their permeability varies, however. Insertion is not arbitrary but possible only in some syntagmatic positions in the analytic dubitative form. Two micro-complexes are observed which are impenetrable. Seven models have been established, showing the possible separation of the dubitative forms, and the generalization has been reached that the most common place of insertion is immediately before the particle *да*. The permeability of the analytic dubitative forms is no doubt an indication of an incomplete grammaticalization (actiually, morphologization) process. The composite dubitative forms and the problem of their permeability is part of the more general problem of grammatical vs non-grammatical, of the difference between composite form and syntactic combination and the criteria for their differentiation, of the process of grammaticalization in which originally lexical elements go through a process of desemantization (semantic bleaching), via syntactic constructions, to become analytic and later synthetic forms.

In a special part of Chapter Three a combination of typological and statistical methods makes it possible to compare and discuss four important typological indices of the evidential micro-paradigms in Present-Day Bulgarian, those of syntheticity, of analyticity, of compositeness and of the markedness degree of a paradigm member. Those indices are proposed by G. Gerdzhikov but are calculated, compared and commented on for the first time in the present work. We offer arguments in support of our choice of those typological indices in preference to the ones proposed by J. Greenberg. The main argument is that G. Gerdzhikov's indices rely on paradigmatic data about the specific word-class and are not text-dependant (as in Greenberg), which makes them independent of the author's style, the topic under discussion, the register, and the historically determined preferences in a given language. We first calculate, compare and comment on the indices of degree of syntheticisty, analyticity, compositeness and markedness of the paradigm members for four dubitative micro-paradigms, characterized by variability in the posterior negative forms. In order to do this a complete matrix model of the Bulgarian verb is developed, something done for the first time. The calculation of the typological indices shows that the four dubitative micro-paradigms are among the five evidential paradigms with the highest compositeness index, together with the conclusive variant with the negative particle *не* and in the posterior tense forms. The observed condensation in the negative dubitative paradigm with the impersonal formant *нямало било* explains why this variant has the fifth lowest analyticity index among the 14 micro-paradigms. Observations of the syntheticity index values of the 14 evidential macro-paradigms show that three of the four dubitative micro-paradigms are among the five paradigms with the lowest value. An exception to this is the variant of the negative dubitative micro-paradigm with the impersonal formant *нямало било*, which has the fifth highest value for the degree of syntheticity. This is due to the lack of agreement in gender for many of the paradigm members, and also to the small number of members of this micro-paradigm. It turns out that the three variants of the negative dubitative paradigm have the lowest value among the 14 evidential micro-

paradigms for the degree of markedness, in other words, they are the three most meagre evidential micro-paradigms. The positive dubitative paradigm is not like them: it has the fifth highest markedness index value. The values calculated for the four typological indices indicate that in case of high degree of compositeness of the forms of a given word class it is possible for a tendency towards form condensation to appear, which is observed in the renarrative (with *нямало* and omission of *съм*) and in the dubitative (with the impersonal formant *нямало било* and omission of *съм*), or else a tendency towards form unification - in the negative conclusive forms where the formant *нямало е* is established for all persons singular and plural. In the development of Bulgarian from syntheticty towards analyticity a number of periphrastic (analytic) verb forms have appeared, i.e. the compositeness index goes up. However, in case of micro-paradigms with forms characterized by a very high degree of compositeness (so to speak, super-compositeness) and of variation of the members, i.e. an unstable paradigm, there may appear a tendency towards the domination of the variants with a lower degree of compositeness, which is observed in Bulgarian. In other words, in case of predominance of forms with high degree of compositeness, the opposite trend towards syntheticity may be observed. We see the future development of this analysis in the calculation and discussion of other typological indices, e.g. the index of discreteness of the grammatical information on the level of form. Calculation and analysis of the indices supply valuable information about the development of the Bulgarian language from syntheticity to analyticity and characterize the present state of the evidential forms, which is linked with the degree of their grammaticalization.

In the end of Chapter Three we present the types of interrelations between the dubitative and the other categories of the verb, problems which are by no means less significant. This analysis relies on a classification of the type of relations between grammatical categories, based on the belief that they can be described most adequately as interrelations between semantic features, building up the meanings of the grammemes in the plane of content. The other basic assumption here is that the grammeme is a unit of the content plane and not a bilateral unit. In the initial classification of the types of relations between grammatical categories the first dichotomy is the presence or absence of mutual relation, which is accepted as presence or absence of trivial relations. Interdependence on its part is divided on the basis of presence-absence of formal change in the paradigm of the dominated category into *mutual connection* (absence of formal change) and *interaction* (formal change in the dominated category). Within mutual connection we distinguish cases of semantic modification, i.e. specific uses or limitation to more rare cases, as well as the appearance of syncategorial meaning. Interaction is realized by means of three sub-types: blocking of the entire dominated category, partial blocking of the dominated category, and re-grouping/ reorganization of semantic features (defined by G. Gerdzhikov as reductive reorganization). Relations of the interconnection type between the dubitative and 1st person and singular number are analyzed in this part of Chapter Three. A more intensive use of 1st person, singular is established in comparison with the conclusive and the renarrative uses in the same person, which can be explained by the fact that the actual speaker rejects the trustworthiness of someone else's statement about himself. Comments are offered on typological research into the combination of grammemes. Attention is also given to the combination of the dubitative with other grammatical categories, leading to formal change in the paradigm of the dominated category (i.e. cases of interaction are discussed). The relations between the dubitative and the category of tense with a view to the reduction of the dubitative paradigm and the coincidence of the non-indicative and indicative temporal forms in the active voice are also touched upon. The reduction of the passive dubitative paradigm, due to the neutralization of the feature resultativeness (perfectivity) in the passive voice, is also discussed. Special attention is paid to the causes for the domination of one category over another, one of the most important reasons being markedness, which to a considerable degree determines the limitation on the

combination of grammemes. Another important reason that should not be ignored is the very nature of the features entering in some relation within the same word class. Causes are identified such as *behaviour potential*, *relevance*, *redundancy* of the semantic combinations. The problem of the domination direction is also discussed. Comments are offered on existing opinions (as for instance on the scope of a category) as well as original ideas in support of the view that the main causes are structural and depend on the combination of features in the content plane. A dependency scheme of the verbal categories in Present-Day Bulgarian is presented, which covers the links between two and three categories.

Chapter Four deals with some pragmatic aspects of the dubitative uses: their occurrence in reproduced speech, the main types of interrelation between the author of the actual utterance with dubitative forms and the author of the underlying utterance, and the limitations of dubitatives uses in various types of clauses depending on the communicative goal of the speaker/writer. The problem of the traditional recognition of three types of speech (quoted speech, indirect speech, and direct speech) is raised for a renewed discussion. The analysis of the empirical data makes us propose yet another type of reproduced speech in Present-Day Bulgarian, conditioned by the existence of renarrative and dubitative forms, which we call directly reproduced speech. A detailed analysis is made of the relation between actual utterance : underlying utterance : reproduced utterance, as well as the relation between quoted speech : directly reproduced speech with dubitative forms. Indirect speech with dubitatives is also commented on with reference to the syntactic construction of the reproduced and the actual utterances. The empirical findings allow us to establish a continuum of the types of reproduced utterances ranging between quoted speech and indirect speech. Directly reproduced utterances with dubitatives (and also with renarratives), as well as those with actual author's speech following (in the text) reproduced speech with dubitatives are a proof to this. The study of dubitative uses also makes it possible to analyze cases where within a segment of text (including a single sentence) we find a series of reproduced utterances with various combinations of quoted speech, indirect speech, and directly reproduced speech. The reproduction of speech introduces various voices into the text and the variation of models of reproduced speech with dubitatives adds to the interpretations of mono- and polyphonic speech. On the one hand, text segments with dubitatives place the focus on the underlying utterance content, since it is the information in the underlying utterance that provokes the reservation, the disagreement of the actual speaker reproducing the message. On the other hand, constructions with reproduced speech with dubitatives stress on the fact that the information has already been the topic of an utterance. In uses with the dubitative the underlying utterance is rendered rather precisely, the speech of the other is not fully assimilated, although the actual speaker shows a subjective emotive-expressive attitude to the reliability and the trustworthiness of the information. We can therefore say that the constructions analyzed here are an example of a highly polyphonic speech. The analysis of the concrete examples supports the view that directly reproduced utterances with renarrative and dubitative forms are a type of reproduced speech that in languages with grammaticalized evidential category such as Bulgarian, should be described as an intermediate link between quoted speech and indirect speech.

The second part of Chapter Four examines the variants of reproduced utterances with dubitatives, due to the combination of the following participants in two communicative situations: the author of the underlying message and the author of the actual utterance. First the main types of relation between actual speaker and author of the underlying utterance are analyzed and they are illustrated with examples and comments are offered on the variations of each of them. This classifications takes into account only one component of the communicative situation, the actual speaker and not the addressee(s). Many combinations of the components of two speech situations (underlying and actual) are observed in reproduced speech with

dubitative forms. Two main types of relation between the author of the actual speech and the author of the underlying speech were presented above: type I, where they are two different persons, and type II, where they are the same person. In the second case the author of the actual utterance represents his own words from the underlying communicative situation with the help of dubitative forms. This is a specific case rarely discussed in studies on evidentiality in Bulgarian. This type of represented speech logically leads to an utterance in which, with the help of a grammatical dubitative verb form, the actual speaker/writer indicates that in the underlying situation he told a lie. Type II can appear in different variants, if two more parameters of the underlying communicative situation are taken into account: the addressee(s) and the topic of the message (who/what is discussed in the underlying utterance). We would like to point out that the offered classification of dubitative uses, based on the relation author of underlying utterance : author of actual utterance, although not exhausting all possible combinations of the parameters addresser, addressee, topic of the message in the underlying and in the reproduced speech, nevertheless supplies ample material for categorizing the type of subjective attitude of the speaker to the imparted information. The analyzed uses, together with additional observations on the empirical database, indicate that the meaning of the dubitative in Bulgarian is realized as representing degrees of reservation concerning the trustworthiness of the underlying utterance, as a kind of subjective evaluation by the actual speaker of the reproduced information, and cannot be reduced to doubt and mistrust only. Such an interpretation allows for a large number of contextual realizations and nuances to be encompassed by the invariant meaning, and, the other way round, for the invariant meaning to be explained against the background of a sufficient number of variants.

A separate part of Chapter Four gives concrete data about the realization of partnership strategies between the dubitative and the context. Here the main material for analysis are utterances with dubitative forms and the objective is to examine the interaction within the close and the wider contexts of the dubitative as an evidential subcategory encoding the reservation of the actual speaker about the reproduced information, on one hand, and the lexical modificators whose dictionary meaning or contextual use signal negative evaluation of the trustworthiness of the reproduced message, most often emotionally coloured. Here utterances with dubitative forms, accompanied in the close or wider context by lexical modificators of reliability, are treated as a heterogeneous models of expressing epistemic evaluation, as distinct from the homogeneous ones, employing only grammatical or only lexical means of expression.

The analysis of the empirical data proves the possibility to develop a working classification of the heterogeneous models based on the semantics and the functions of the lexical epistemic modificators. Here the first group includes utterances with dubitatives where the evaluation of the unreliability of someone's utterance is directly expressed by predicates of the type of *Не е вярно* ("This is not true") or a metaphorical expression to the same effect.

The model *Supposedly X, but [actually] Y* is given a separate treatment (as a second model, but not in terms of frequency) and this is due not only to the frequency of the *Paricle уж* ("supposedly, allegedly") + *dubitative* model, but also to the fact that in all cases of *уж* appearing together with a dubitative form (and also with a renarrative) the speaker stresses that the viewpoint on the state of affairs, claimed to be true in the underlying utterance, is actually inadequate, wrong, untrue.

The third main utterance type analyzed here contains a dubitative verb form and evaluative verbs, nouns and adjectives, phrases and idioms, whose denotative or some of their figurative meanings includes the semes 'doubtful' and above all 'untrue, false'. What is common for the variants of this type is the evaluation expressed of the low degree of reliability of the information in the underlying utterance, i.e. evaluation of the so-called quantity and/or quality of the knowledge (D. Daskalova's terms). The models

belonging to this type are characterized by their emotionality but they also have their rational aspect, connected with the evaluation of the information, and for this reason we describe them with the working term *evaluative-emotional*, as distinct from the utterances of the fourth type, more suitably described as *emotional-evaluative,* because of the domination of the emotional aspect; in other words, emotions, including ironically expressed ones, the emotional reaction of disapproval, discontent, indignation, etc., provoked by the reproduced message, come to the fore. The fourth type includes variants of utterances with dubitatives and evaluative emotive words - interjections and expressions with desemantized verbs of perception or another non-physical activity. In tone with the emotional markedness of the four working models we will offer the following metaphoric expressive labels for them: *Просто не е вярно*! ("This simply is not true!"); *Това е само привидно истинно*! ("This is only apparently true!"); *Това са само лъжи*! ("These are nothing but lies!"), *Как пък не, направо възмутително!* ("No way, this is simply outrageous!").

It should be pointed out that the models offered here represent an open type of classification, based on empirical data where the variants of realization are inexhaustible. The analyzed examples also show the possibility of combining several models in a single utterance, the accumulation of various means of epistemic evaluation and emotiveness depending on the strength of the emotional reaction of the actual speaker. In this case the principle of economy of linguistic means of expression („few means, more content") is irrelevant because the high degree of emotionality provoked by disagreement seeks its linguistic expression to the full.

The models established represent concrete empirical material proving the existence of strategies of partnership between the context and the dubitative verb form in expressing the actual speaker's reservation about the content of someone else's (rarely, and metaphorically, one's own) underlying utterance. The findings in this part of the study also confirm the commonly expressed view that the subjective evidentials are often realized in contexts that make more concrete the type of subjectivity, in this case the negative attitude towards the represented utterance of somebody else.

The final part of Chapter Four proves with the support of the empirical material that the dubitative most often occurs in declarative sentences and, in the second place, in exclamatory simple sentences. With the exception of echo-questions, uses of the dubitative have not been discovered in interrogative sentences. Simple hortative sentences with dubitatives have not been found in our database either. Dubitaive forms can function in both simple and complex sentences, with no limitations as to the type of complex sentences.

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Contributions of the dissertation

1. The dubitative in Present-Day Bulgarian becomes for the first time the topic of a book-length monograph from a grammatical, typological and pragmatic perspective.

2. A complete matrix model of the Bulgarian verb is offered, which includes all verb word-forms and shows the unmarkedness or the markedness with respect to the features building up the meaning of the grammemes.

3. Calculated and compared are the typological indices of composedness, syntheticity, analyticity, and semantic markedness of the members of all evidential micro-paradigms, with an emphasis on the place of the dubitative micro-paradigms in the hierarchies based on the four typological indices.

4. A large number of dubitative contextual variants have been analyzed and the difference in the frequency of the dubitative forms in the various tenses in the active and the passive voice is presented.

5. The instability in the negative posterior tense dubitative forms has been proved, something that follows from the existence of variation in the conclusive and the renarrative micro-paradigms. The view has been substantiated with the help of the empirical data that there is condensation and unification of forms in cases of variation of the negative posterior tense paradigm members in the paradigm of the dubitative, the renarrative, and the conclusive.

6. One more, fourth, syntagmatic grammaticalization parameter has been proposed in addition to the parameters offered by C. Lehmann.

7. A semantic map of evidentiality and epistemic modality has been worked out for Present-Day Bulgarian.

8. The existence of biparticipants, bideterminants, and empty cells and also of deviant forms in the Present-Day Bulgarian dubitative paradigm become the object of comments from both theoretical and particularist linguistic angle.

9. The types of interrelations between the dubitative and the other categories of the verb are analyzed for the first time and a full classification of the types of relations between the categories of the verb in Bulgarian is offered.

10. The proposal has been made and substantiated that there exist a fourth type of reproduced speech, defined as directly reproduced speech, something possible only in languages with grammaticalized evidentiality.

11. The relation between the author of the underlying message and the author of the actual utterance with a dubitative form is analyzed for the first time and variants and sub-variants have been established.

12. The strategies of partnership between the dubitative and the epistemic reliability modificators and emotive markers in utterances with dubitatives have been classified from a pragmatic perspective.