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About imperceptivity in Bulgarian, Polish and Ukrainian

1. 0. Linguistic literature dedicated to Bulgarian did not address the issue of the semantic structure of imperceptive modality for a long time. The lexical means that express it were not described. Nowadays, the division of Bulgarian tenses into perceptive and imperceptive still existing in Bulgarian grammars is a myth. We expressed our position against the treatment of Bulgarian verbal forms with imperceptive meaning as a separate temporal system opposed to the indicative verbal forms in 1977[2]. "*Преизказни времена*" is a term typical for the Bulgarian grammars that illustrates the named division, from which fact the existence of a "witness voice" and "non-witness voice" in Bulgarian is inferred, cf. the work of Z. Stieber[3]. Some supporters of the division into imperceptive tenses and perceptive tenses go further and claim the existence of a Bulgarian imperceptive mood (*преизказно наклонение*) at the same time, cf. Gerdžikov[4]. There is an evident theoretical contradiction in the interpretation of the discussed problem which lies in the lack of differentiating between the morphological categories of "voice" and "mood", on the other side on the lack of differentiation between a form and its meanings. We have stressed in our earlier works[5] upon the fact that Bulgarian has only 5 (not 9, as it is mentioned in Bulgarian grammars) forms with imperceptive function. They cannot be regarded as forms which comprise "temporal pairs" with correspondent indicative verbal forms.

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[1] In the present paper the issues of imperceptive modality in Bulgarian and Polish have been worked upon by V. Koseska, and in Ukrainian by N. Kotsyba.

[2] V. Koseska-Toszewa „System temporalny gwar Bulgarskich na tle języka literackiego", Wrocław, 1977.

[3] Z. Stieber „Zarys gramatyki porównawczej języków słowiańskich. Fleksja werbalna", Warszawa, 1973.

[4] Gerdžikov, „Preizkazvaneto na glagolnoto dejstvie v balgarskija ezik", Sofija, 1984.

[5] V. Koseska, op. cit and V. Koseska-Toszewa „Javljaetsja li imperceptivnaja modal'nost' turcizmom v bolgarskom jazyke?", Rocznik Slawistyczny XXXVII, p. I, 13 - 17.

Those are the forms like: *дойдел, дошъл, бил дошъл, щял съм да дойда, щял съм бил да дойда*.

A completely different view in the interpretation of the Bulgarian language material concerning the imperceptive modality was presented for the first time by V. Koseska and M. Korytkowska[6] and later in more detail in *Contrastive Bulgarian-Polish Grammar*[7].

2.0. The generally accepted view is that the imperceptive modality expresses the speaker's detachment from the rendered content of the sentence, often by underlining the speaker's "absence" from the events described in the sentence. As it is always the case with the analysis that takes the semantic level as the starting point, it is necessary to precisely formulate the basic semantic components of sentences with imperceptive modality, later to indicate the linguistic means having such meanings, and then to think about the accepted abovementioned characteristics of the imperceptive modality.

The meaning of the imperceptive modality is expressed in Bulgarian by the mood called *преизказно наклонение*, but also with the help of certain lexical means that were not described in the literature. The imperceptive mood is characteristic for Bulgarian and differentiates it from most Slavonic languages. Imperceptivity can be expressed lexically not only in Bulgarian, but also in other Slavonic and non-Slavonic languages.

2.1. We assume that the semantic structure of an imperceptive sentence contains: 1. the semantic component *says that*; 2. *speaker's unawareness*, which can be noted as *the speaker does not know whether...*; 3. the necessity of *the presence of an observer who is not identical with the speaker*, whose opinion is the basis of the speech situation, while the speaker shows doubt concerning the truth of the presented

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[6] M. Korytkowska, V. Koseska „Z problematyki konfrontatywnego opisu warunkowości i imperceptywności (na przykładzie języka bułgarskiego i polskiego)" in „Z polskich studiów slawistycznych", seria VIII, Warszawa 1992, p. 108 - 114.

[7] V. Koseska-Toszewa, V. Maldžieva, J. Penčev „Gramatyka konfrontatywna bułgarsko-polska: tom 6, część 1. Modalność. Problemy teoretyczne". Warszawa, SOW, 1996.
M. Korytkowska, R. Roszko „Gramatyka konfrontatywna bułgarsko-polska: tom 6, część 2. Modalność imperceptywna". Warszawa, SOW 1997.

content; 4. possibility operator *it is possible that*. (Cf. Korytkowska, Koseska 1992, op. cit.)

2.2. It is necessary not only to single out the components of the semantic structure of sentences with imperceptive modality, but also to put them into a proper order (i.e. state the components' place in the semantic structure of a sentence). It is possible to assume that imperceptive sentences contain such a semantic component as: *says that* and that they are preceded by the possibility operator: *it is possible that.* The interpretations of both the first and the second component of the semantic structure of an imperceptive sentence demand several additional explications. A.Bogusławski draws attention to the fact that the impossibility of substituting the expression *says that* with *says* in sentences with the conditional modality seems the key problem for those sentences[8]. It seems to us that this differentiation is equally essential for sentences with the imperceptive modality. Agreeing with Bogusławski that the real basic semantic element in our area is *says* and that that expression is a syntactic unit with the widest scope of application, we assume that the expressions *says that* and *tells about* are derived from *says*. Lack of the speaker's knowledge is the second basic semantic component of imperceptive sentences. It can be recorded similar to Boguslawski in the above mentioned paper about the modality of conditional sentences as: "*the speaker does not know whether P(q)*". It is necessary to take into the consideration the specific feature of imperceptive sentences which is **the existence of more than one agent in their semantic structure.** So, a semantic frame similar to the one proposed by Bogusławski for conditional sentences is too general for sentences with the imperceptive modality. In order to bring to light more details about the essence of the distinctive features of those sentences one should start the analysis from asserting the relation that connects the group of imperceptive sentences with the group of sentences whose semantic structure can be presented as follows:

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[8] A. Bogusławski „Analiza zdań warunkowych a problem funkcji semiotycznych" in „Studia semiotyczne XIV-XV", Wrocław, 1986, p. 215-224.

A) *x says that y says, that z,* where *x* is not identical with *y*.

It is obvious that the structure of type A) does not contain the specific distinctive features of imperceptive sentences which possess a more complex structure in comparison with A), including modal markedness and some restrictions for the subject – *x* and *y* cannot refer to the same object of the reality.

The semantic component *x says that y says that* reflects one of the basic semantic features of imperceptivity, namely – citing somebody else's statements (cf. A) above). This feature is characteristic for all those sentences where the verb that is the predicate of the main clause refers to the informational process, and the subject denotes the speaker, hence e.g. Pol. *On mówi, że to jest źle zrobione; Oni mówią, że to jest źle zrobione; Ktoś mówił (powiedział), że to jest źle zrobione,* etc.; Bulg. *Той казва, че това не е направено добре; Те казват, че това не е направено добре; някой казва, че това не е направено добре; Ани казва, че това не е направено добре*, etc. The realization of the imperceptive meaning by sentences of this type can still raise some discussions, especially because at first sight they do not differ significantly from sentences like Pol. *Powiedziałam jej, że wczoraj byłam w kinie*; Bulg. *Аз и̏ казах, че вчера бях на кино* (i.e. from sentences where *x* and *y* are the same person). However, one should take into the consideration the fact that the use of sentences with lack of denotational identity of the two subjects (the main clause and the intensional clause) is possible when a) the speaker was not the witness of the events described in the intensional clause and b) when the speaker cites somebody else's statement and automatically expresses detachment (distancing) from its truth value. The content in both a) and b) can be connected with the category of modality, since from the fact of not participating in some event and from the fact of distancing from the responsibility for somebody else's statement one can derive the existence in the semantic structure of the content connected with the category of possibility, i.e. modality. However, if no additional formal markedness of modality is found, it is still debatable whether citing itself can be treated as a language form to express modal meanings in an unambiguous way.

Relating sentences of the type *On mówi, że to jest dobrze zrobione* (*He says that that has not been done well*) with imperceptive markedness would have to be followed by the statement that referring to somebody else's statement (without the use of any additional language means) in them is an example of an implicit modal markedness. It seems to us that in such cases sentences in question contain in their deep semantic structure the negation of somebody else's statement. Then the speaker intends to express the meaning like: Pol. *To nie ja, on/ktoś powiedział/stwierdził, że...*, Bulg. *Не аз, но той/някой каза/твърди, че...*, which is not identical with saying *the speaker does not know whether it is true that...*, usually expressed with the help of other formal means.

It follows from the presented above analysis that there is a strict distinction (a dividing line) between sentences that cite statements as "somebody else's" ones and sentences containing an explicitly expressed detachment of the speaker from the truth value of *y*'s statements.

3.0. Bulgarian

As it has been mentioned before, both Polish and Bulgarian language systems include sentences where the speaker cites somebody else's statement but does not express explicitly his detachment from its truth value. However, Bulgarian can express such a detachment explicitly. Apart from such lexical means as *май (че), уж, ужким* this function also belongs to morphological forms, which are verbal forms like: *бил, ходил, бил ходил*. The analysis of Bulgarian sentences of the type: *Вчера Ани била ходила при тях на гости.* allows to claim that their semantic structure can be connected with the structure of Polish imperceptive sentences, i.e. the following paraphrase is valid: *x казва, че не е сигурен дали е истина това, което твърди y, че z.*

Embracing by the analysis the whole set of sentences morphologically marked with respect to imperceptivity and their paraphrases allows us to observe essential differences in the distribution of such sentences in comparison with Polish. Hence, it

appears that Bulgarian sentences like B) bring the possibility of a different interpretation than Polish sentences like: *Jan powiedział, że rzekomo tam był*, cf.:

B) *Иван каза, че вчера бил там.*

Sentences of type B) do not necessarily have such an interpretation that the content coming from Ivan and cited by the speaker has been marked as imperceptive by Ivan. On the contrary – while citing Ivan's statement the speaker expresses his doubt about the truth value of Ivan's statement. So, in such cases an important difference in the distribution of sentences which explicitly express imperceptivity between the two systems comes to light – while Polish is capable of expressing detachment from *y*'s statement, where *y* is anonymous, in Bulgarian it is possible for the speaker to distance from *y*'s statement (which is expressed by grammatical means), and *y* can be either known or anonymous.

The consequence of the difference between the two languages formulated above is such that not all Bulgarian sentences which contain explicitly expressed imperceptive content have Polish correspondents with lexically expressed imperceptivity.

The Polish correspondents of Bulgarian sentences like:

C) *Иван каза, че вчера бил там.*

do not amount to those like: *Jan powiedział, that rzekomo tam był*, but also include:

C1) *Jan powiedział, że wczoraj tam był, ale ja w to nie wierzę (ale mam inne zdanie na ten temat/ ale nie jestem pewien, czy Ivan mówi prawdę,* etc.), cf. also Bulg. *A майка ми заяви, че не било нужно да я изпращаме* Pol.? *A moja matka oświadczyła, że rzekomo nie potrzeba jej odprowadzać.*

Stating that difference between Bulgarian and Polish seems to be significant not only for describing semantic features of sentences expressing imperceptivity in a more precise way, but is important for contrastive descriptions that consider the pragmatics of such structures as well.

3.1. Polish

Polish sentences containing such lexical means as *rzekomo, jakoby, podobno, ponoć,* as well as sentences with composite predicates of the form *mieć + Vinf* belong to the group of those explicitly expressing imperceptivity, e.g. *On rzekomo (jakoby, ponoć, podobno) skończył studia. Ania miała być dobrą lekarką.*

Let us consider the following types of sentences in more detail (cf. Korykowska, Koseska 1992, op. cit.):

D) *Jan rzekomo był w kinie.*

D1) *Ja (x) mówię, że ktoś (y) stwierdził, że Jan być może był w kinie.*

D2) *Ja (x) mówię, że być może ktoś (y) stwierdził, że Jan był w kinie.*

D1) is not semantically identical with D because the modal marker of possibility is included by the speaker *y* but not by the main speaker *x*. The sentence *Jan być może był w kinie* can be implied by D). Also D2) is not obviously semantically identical with D) because in D) the speaker does not question the fact of making a statement by *y* about Jan. The closest semantically to D are sentences questioning the truth value of the reported by *x y'*s statement, cf. D3a-c:

D3a) *Ja (x) mówię, że być może prawdą jest to, co stwierdził ktoś (y), że Jan był w kinie.*

D3b) *Ja (x) mówię, że nie jest pewne to, co stwierdził ktoś (y), że Jan był w kinie.*

D3c) *Ja (x) mówię, że nie wiem, czy jest prawdą to, co mówi ktoś (y), że Jan był w kinie.*

An essential feature of Polish sentences with explicitly marked imperceptivity (i.e. with the help of the mentioned means) is that questioning *y*'s statement by speaker *x* is obligatorily connected with the anonymity of *y*. Thus, paraphrases for such sentences obligatorily contain a non-uniquely (universally) marked phrase, denoting the author of the reported statement, e.g.:

E) *Ania podobno była w kinie.*

E1) *x (= the speaker) says that he does not know whether what someone else/everybody says about Ania having been to the cinema is true.*

It is clear that from the analysis we have carried out by now it does not follow that imperceptive markedness of a sentence is necessarily expressed by the speaker *x* (the author of the whole message). The author of a message can cite somebody else's statement which has been imperceptively marked, cf. e.g.:

 F) *Ania powiedziała, że rzekomo Jan już wrócił.*

In sentence F) the speaker cites Ania's statement. Her statement has been marked imperceptively (that is, Ania cited somebody else's statement and questioned its truth value). It has to be underlined that reporting the fact of marking a content as imperceptive by another speaker is possible, cf. e.g.:

 G) *Ania powiedziała, że rzekomo w Krakowie padał śnieg.*

Here the speaker cites Ania's statement, where Ania cites somebody's statement that had been marked by somebody as imperceptive.

Those features of the semantic structure of sentences like G) lead to certain blockages for personal forms in composite sentences, e.g. sentences like:

 H) *Jan mówi, że rzekomo wczoraj tam był.*

can be felicitous in Polish only under specific conditions – namely, in the case when Jan was not able to state whether the given situation took place or not (he was absent-minded, unconscious, drunk, asleep, etc.), and the speaker cites Jan's statement which has been marked by Jan as imperceptive to distance himself from the truth value of the reported statement of an anonymous author). That is also why a need for such sentences can arise only in specific circumstances. They are judged by Polish native speakers as artificial.

3.2. Ukrainian

The Ukrainian language possesses a wide range of lexical means expressing some of the mentioned semantic features of imperceptivity but few ones containing all of them. Some of the expressions underline the existence of another speaker (*y*) but do not question the truth value of the statement. One may argue though that sometimes the appearance of speaker *y* in a statement is rather connected with

preventing the hearer from doubting it, especially when speaker *y* is presented as an authority or the collective speaker.

While the speaker's doubt about the content of a sentence is often related to the degree of credibility of its source (speaker *y*) or to the fact whether the source itself is identifiable (gossips), his detachment is often shown by underlining the irrelevance of the source but the importance of the reporting situation at the same time.

The use of reporting verbs in the third person plural like *кажуть* (*they say*) or their audio perception counterparts *чула/чув* (*I heard, Have you heard?*) can be compared with the functioning of Bulgarian imperceptive verbal forms in that they bring the effect of distancing the speaker *x* from the responsibility for the truth of P.

I1) ***Кажуть, що*** *вчора приходив Іван.*

I2) ***Чула, що*** *вчора приходив Іван.*

I3) *Ой,* ***чула, чула, чула,***

Ой ***чула чула ти****?*

Любив козак дівчину

 і з сиром пироги.

The form *кажуть* in fact loses its connection with the third person plural subject and is used as impersonal. We can say that it shows a tendency to being lexicalized as an imperceptive adverb in Ukrainian, judging from its behaviour similar to the one of "inserted" metalanguage words. It is commonly used without the relative pronoun *що*, and can appear virtually in any position in a sentence, separated by a comma from the rest of it[9], cf.:

I4) *Вона,* ***кажуть****, приходила вчора...*

I5) *Вона приходила,* ***кажуть****, вчора...*

I6) ***Чула****, вона вчора приходила...*

The reporting expression *мовляв* functions in a similar way:

J) *Буває одружились, а через рік розводяться,* ***мовляв****, не вийшло.*

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[9] Cf. Russian *кажется* meaning „it seems" of the same origin.

Another case of the speaker's detachment is connected with the situation of a chain reporting, where the speaker is not able to identify the original source of information and his detachment is connected with the concern about possible loss of information (gossips, the Chinese whisper phenomenon):

K) *Ходять чутки (плітки), що...*

The character of reporting lexical items also has an impact on the possible implications of the reporting element in the semantic structure of the whole sentence. While the hypernym *казати* is neutral, its hyponym *стверджувати* includes the "certainty" seme and might give rise to some doubts regarding the truth value of P[10]:

L) *Він **каже**, що нічого не бачив.*

*Він **стверджує**, що нічого не бачив.*

Another important hyponym of *казати* which is mostly used in imperceptive contexts is the verb *подейкують*. Its iterative and mitigating character[11] presupposes numerous reporting and the speaker's tendency not to treat the content seriously. This verb is also defective grammatically as it can be used only in the third person. Below are some examples of its use taken from the Internet with the help of the Google search engine:

M) ***Подейкують**, що було дві версії розвитку подій. **...***

***Подейкують**, що ним стане лідер фракції НСНУ Микола Мартиненко.*

***Подейкують**, що українську мову тибетські ченці розуміють без перекладу...*

***Подейкують**, що в момент смерті людина втрачає 21 грам ваги...*

We can see that the contexts used with *подейкують* are alethically specific, they include: statements with the future reference, statements that are difficult to believe and/or difficult or impossible to verify. However, any doubt about the content of such a statement is to be explained by the nature of the statement itself and the discussed form expresses only speaker's detachment from the content.

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[10] Similar cases were described by M. Glovinskaja for the Russian language.

[11] N. Avilova calls this type of Aktionasarten intermittent-softening (*прерывисто-смягчительный*) in „Вид глагола и семантика глагольного слова", Москва, «Наука», 1976, 272.

The linguistic means from the following group express the speaker's doubt about the content of a rendered statement with an implied reporting component: *буцім*, *начебто*, *ніби*, *нібито*. They are similar in their use to Polish *jakoby*, etc.:

N1) *Розкрито шахраїв, що **нібито** встановлювали пластикові вікна.* (= "they told they installed plastic windows")

N2) *В Китаї судять журналіста. **Нібито** за шпигунство.* (= "the court says the journalist is a spy" or "they say the court says the journalist is a spy")

The expression *так званий* (cf. also Pol. *tak zwany*, Bulg. *така наречения*, Fr. (*un actor*) *dit*, Eng. *so-called*) is often used ironically and can show one's doubt about the appropriateness of classifying *x* into a group A. Alternatively, in the spoken language the word in question (classifier A) is logically stressed and accompanied by the demonstrative pronoun *той* with a derogative connotation, while in the written discourse it is normally highlighted by inclusion into parenthesis:

Той "лікар" навіть діагноз не вміє правильно поставити.

As we have already mentioned, the speaker expresses his detachment from the content of a sentence by the explicit use of lexical means that refer to the ways of conveying information. However, in many cases those forms alone are not capable of bringing an imperceptivity effect. Most often they are accompanied by lexical expressions with the meaning of possibility or those underlining unreliability of the source, which reinforces doubt of the speaker, cf. the following examples from the Internet where the additional elements are underlined:

O) ***Подейкують**, буцім через рік прощатиметься зі збірною Шевченко...*
***Подейкують**, ніби іспанський клуб був готовий заплатити за Бєліка 5 млн. євро.*

*Хоча, **подейкують**, шеф-редактор «Високого замку» ... у неофіційних розмовах заявляв, що...*

*У кулуарах влади **подейкують**, що позиції саме цих двох бригад впливових **...***

*Злі язики **подейкують**, що Пустовойтенко вже давно позбувся б посади, якби ...*

*А ще **подейкують**, що МВС також готується до зміни керівника – нібито якраз після... **Подейкують**, начебто на цей предмет вже підготовлено Указ президента.*

*Фінансовий бік не розголошується, проте **подейкують**, що перехід Мельникова став...*

*З неперевірених джерел **дізналися**, що в університеті "вербують" ...*

Безпідставні звинувачення проти України базуються на неперевіреній інформації з сумнівних джерел та є суцільною вигадкою.

*Влада Киргизстану відкликала з прокуратури **аудіозапис**, який начебто **підтверджував** намір **...** Опозиція ж заявляє, що скандальний **диск** із начебто закликами до захоплення стратегічних об'єктів у країні - фальсифікований.*

3.3. Taking into the consideration the conclusions we have come to by now, we shall make an attempt to present a more precise definition of sentences expressing imperceptivity. Thus, sentences that express imperceptivity are those where the speaker or another person expresses detachment from the truth value of someone's statement. Such forms constitute at the same time a verbal system with imperceptive meaning, which gives us the reason to declare the existence of the imperceptive mood in Bulgarian. Bulgarian also expresses imperceptivity with the help of lexical means, which is the main way to render it in Polish and Ukrainian. On the other hand, Ukrainian tends to express the speaker's detachment from the truth value of a sentence without doubting it (*подейкують, кажуть, мовляв*) more often then Polish does, and possesses fewer specific imperceptive linguistic means (*начебто, нібито, буцім(то)* vs Polish *rzekomo, jakoby, ponoć, podobno, mieć + inf*). Imperceptivity proper can be expressed in Ukrainian by means of *буцім(то)* or the sometimes ambiguous *начеб(то), ніби(то)*[12] alone, or by means of a combination of the latter ones with the detachment expressions such as the abovementioned *подейкують, кажуть*.

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[12] In some contexts the reporting element is not included into their meaning.

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4.0. Instead of summing up we propose paying attention to the possibility of net representation of imperceptive sentences[13]. This mostly (but not only) concerns verbal means of expressing imperceptivity in a sentence. Differentiating between states and events, as it is done in Petri nets[14] (Petri 1962, Mazurkiewicz 1986) allows differentiating between imperceptive states and imperceptive events within a sentence, which leads to a more precise semantic analysis of a sentence, cf. e.g.

Bulg. P) *Той четял много* (imperceptivity of a state)

Pol. P1) *On ponoć czyta dużo* (imperceptivity of a state)

Bulg. Q) *Той бил пристигнал вчера* (imperceptivity of an event)

Pol. Q1) *On przyjechał jakoby wczoraj* (imperceptivity of an event).

The examples above show that while imperceptivity of states and/or events in Bulgarian can be expressed in a sentence by verbal forms alone, in Polish it is expressed by lexical means that are correlated with verbal forms.

Modelling of imperceptive sentences with the help of Petri nets is based first of all on the differentiation of a local state in a net, which we are going to elucidate in more detail in what follows, cf. (Koseska, Mazurkiewicz 1988). According to the theory of Petri nets, a whole set of global states correspond to a local state, namely those global states which overlap with the local state in the given fragment of the universe. Global states concern all objects of a situation in question, unlike local states which concern only one or few objects of the same situation, e.g. in the situation: "the door, the windows" the local state is "the door is closed", and the global state is "the door is closed, the windows are open". It is possible to say that a

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[13] V. Koseska, A. Mazurkiewicz "Net Representation of Sentences in Natural Languages" in "Lecture Notes in Computer Science 340. Advances in Petri Nets", Springer-Verlag, Berlin, Heidelberg, New York, London, Paris, Tokyo, 1988, 249-266.
A. Mazurkiewicz, V. Koseska „Sieciowe przedstawienie temporalności i modalnośi w zdaniach języka naturalnego" in „Studia gramatyczne bułgarsko-polskie, t. IV, Modalność a inne kategorie językowe", Warszawa, 1991, 7-25.

[14] A. Mazurkiewicz „Zdarzenia i stany: elementy temporalności" in „Studia gramatyczne bułgarsko-polskie, t. I, Temporalność", Wrocław, 1986, 7-21.
C. A. Petri "Fundamentals of the Theory of Asynchronous Information Flow" in "Proc. of IFIP'62 Congress", North Holland Publ. Comp., Amsterdam, 1962.

global state is a particular case of a local one, because it includes, as we mentioned earlier, all the objects of a situation.

In other words, a **local state** is a property of a certain selected object (or objects) of the described reality. Local states are the interpretation of particular places in a net: marked ones show that the property has been realized, unmarked ones – that it has not. Events get realized locally, i.e. they follow local states. If we intend to describe the reality in a natural language, we have to refer in it to local states; certain modal forms of the natural language reflect the effects of locality of states. Hence the necessity of considering locality of states in the methods of description appears. Let us have a look at net representation of imperceptive sentences in Bulgarian and Polish. We present below a fragment of a net where squares mark events, and circles – states, a circle with the letter S – the state of speech (fig.1). Figures 2 and 3 show the nets where the form of the Bulgarian perfectum expresses declaration (ascertaining, certainty of the speaker about the content of speech) – fig. 2 and imperceptive modality (doubt, uncertainty of the speaker about the truth value of the content of speech.) Both meanings of the perfectum form are modal and can be contrasted, which can be seen from the schemes 2 and 3. The Perfectum with the ascertaining function shows a state or a state and an event that hold at the time of speech as a certain thing from the point of view of the speaker. The ascertaining Perfectum expresses statements but "suspends" the action by means of the inferential meaning, i.e. the process of concluding that can be explicated in the present sentence, e.g. *сигурен съм* 'I am sure' *etc.,* or beyond the sentence in the whole description of the concluding procedure. The ascertaining Perfectum is placed in the area of assertion 'suspenders'. The connection between this meaning of the Perfectum and the Perfectum with the imperceptive meaning can be proved by the fact that the ascertaining Perfectum often "loses" the copula *e*, and the phenomenon is typical for the imperceptive meaning of the Perfectum, which appears without the copula[15]. The meaning of the ascertaining Perfectum is represented by means of a branching net.

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[15] See Koseska 1977, op. cit.

Branching is the main way to express alethic modality in nets and corresponds to the modal operator: *it is possible that*. Fig. 2 and 3 show a branched net with the choice of two mental states: "*I am sure/I am not sure*". Cf. Bulg. *Сигурен съм, че той е прочел тази книга. Той сигурно е прочел тази книга*, Pol. *Jestem pewien, że przeczytał tę książkę. On na pewno przeczytał tę książkę.* We chose the path in the net with the state of reading many books which is simultaneous with the mental state of the speaker „*I am sure*", cf. scheme 2. Scheme 3 shows the mental state „*I am not sure (it is possible that)*", which is the essential difference from scheme 2. Here we have another branching net, but the speaker's state is such that he does not know whether many books have been read or not. Cf. scheme 2 and 3.
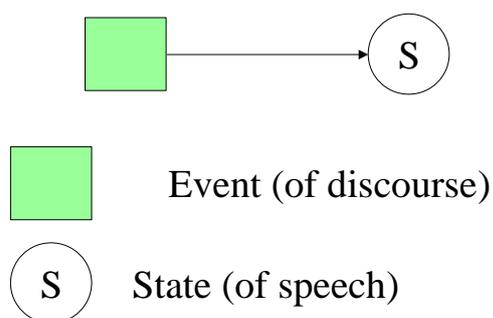

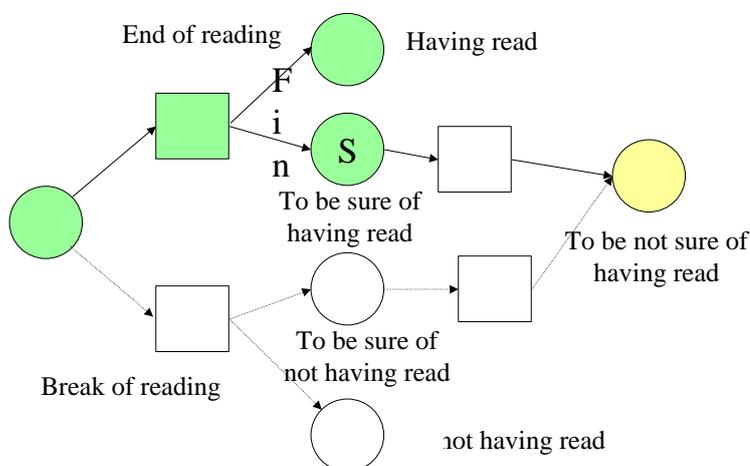Event (of discourse)

State (of speech)

Figure 1

15

Figure 2

Perfectum imperceptive

Той бил прочел тази книга

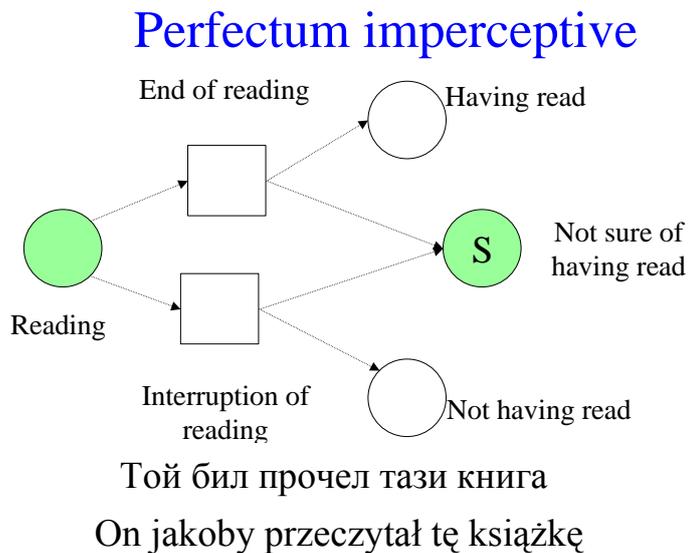On jakoby przeczytał tę książkę

Figure 3

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Abstract

Imperceptivity is understood as expressing the speaker's detachment from the content of the sentence, often through underlining the fact that the speaker was not a witness of the situation spoken about.

The semantic structure of imperceptive sentences contains: 1. the semantic component *says that*; 2. *speaker's unawareness*, which can be noted as *the speaker does not know whether…*; 3. the necessity of *the presence of an observer who is not identical with the speaker*, whose opinion is the basis of the speech situation, while the speaker shows doubt concerning the truth of the presented content; 4. the possibility functor *it is possible that*.

Анотація

Імперцептивність у даній статті описується як семантична категорія, за допомогою котрої автор дистансується від змісту речення, часто шляхом підкреслення, що він не був свідком описуваної ситуації. Семантична структура імперцептивних речень включає в себе наступні компоненти: 1. *каже, що*; 2. *автор не знає, чи*; 3. необхідність *існування відмінного від автора спостерігача*, думка котрого є підставою мовленнєвої ситуації, в той час як автор виражає свій сумнів щодо правдивості представленого змісту; 4. модальний оператор *можливо, що*.