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Modeling epistemic distance: the Croatian l–participle

The Croatian l–participle (inflected for gender and number) is used to form the Perfect Tense (on je otišao), the Pluperfect Tense (on je bio otišao), the Present and Past Conditional (on bi otišao, on bi bio otišao), Future II in dependent clauses (ako budeš otišao), and the Optative (živio). Traditional Croatian grammars (Barić et al. 1990; Katičić 1991) claim that the l–participle symbolically expresses gotovost 'finiteness', i.e. the fact that the action has been completed before some point in time, but that it has ramifications for the point of speaking (cf. e.g. Katičić 1986:203–217; Katičić 1991:45–46). This account is not satisfactory, because it cannot coherently account for the use of l–participle in all the l–participle constructions. We claim that the l–participle expresses epistemic distance, which is related to the l–participle being a viewpoint operator (DeLancey 1981) signaling retrospectivity, and it referring to a property of the first participant in an action chain (Langacker 1987), implying non–permanence of the characteristic attributed by it. Such an analysis of the Croatian l–participle fits in with: (1) the constructions it is used in; (2) its structural characteristics in Croatian (e.g. possible omission of the auxiliary in 3rd person singular in the Perfect Tense); (3) the meanings of the Croatian Present Tense, Aorist and the n–participle; and (4) cross–Slavic evidence. Ultimately, this view suggests that the tense system in Croatian is aspect–based.

1. Introduction

The Croatian *l*–participle is a verbal form inflected for gender and number,[1] which is used mainly in the formation of periphrastic indicative tenses and the conditional mood: the Perfect, the Pluperfect, the Present and Past Conditional, and Future II in dependent clauses, and is available for all verbs regard-

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1   Morphologically, the *l*–participle is formed using the *l*–morpheme added to the verb stem, followed by a gender and number suffix (*–a*, *–e*, *–o*, *–i*): *da–ti* (infinitive) 'give' > *da–la* (fem. sg. and neut. pl.), *da–li* (masc. pl.), *da–le* (fem. pl.), *da–lo* (neut. sg.). The l–morpheme is realized as *–o* in masculine singular *da–ti* (inf.) > *da–o* (masc. sg.) (Barić et al 1990:141, 153). A similar pattern of formation appears in all Slavic languages (Dalewska–Greń 1997:366–367).

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less of their aspect. In all of these cases, the construction is formed by using the auxiliary *be* in its various forms and the *l*–participle of the verb. Here is an example of the Perfect Tense:

(1) *Stiga–o*   *sam*   *iz*   *daleka.*
    arrive.PF–PTCP.SG.M   be.IPFV.PRS.1SG from   afar
    'I arrived from far away.'

As seen in (1), the Perfect Tense is formed using the imperfective Present Tense of the *be* auxiliary along with the *l*–participle of the main verb. The other constructions which use the *l*–participle are formed using other forms of the auxiliary: the perfective Present Tense (for Future II), conditional forms[2] (for the Present Conditional), etc.

Traditional Croatian grammars (Barić et al. 1990; Katičić 1991) claim that the *l*–participle symbolically expresses *gotovost* 'finiteness', i.e. the fact that the action has been completed before some point in time, but that it has ramifications for the point of speaking (cf. e.g. Katičić 1986:203–217; Katičić 1991:45–46). In more familiar terms, "finiteness" is in fact current/lingering relevance (Žic Fuchs 2009:213–214), which would suggest that the *l*–participle symbolically expresses what Givón (2001:283–297) and Dahl (2000) would call perfectness: a form which expresses a completed action anterior to some other action, with current relevance and non–sequential use (cf. Givón 2001:297; Stanojević and Geld 2005:15–17). Thus, in a sentence such as (2) it may easily be argued that the action of waiting has finally come to an end, but that it is still relevant at the point of speaking, as is evident from the adverbial *konačno* 'finally' and the sentence in the present tense following the first sentence.

(2) *Građani našeg grada   konačno* [*su*]   *dočeka–li*
    Citizens our   town   finally be.IPFV.PRS.3PL wait.PF–PTCP.PL.M
    da se krene u   *rekonstrukciju ulica i   pločnika.*
    that REFL start in   reconstruction streets and sidewalks
    Tako   ovih dana djelatnici "Unikoma"   *rad–e*   *na*
    Thus these days employees   Unikom   work.IPFV–PRS.3PL on
    rekonstrukciji pločnika   *u*   *Vukovarskoj*   *ulici...*
    reconstruction   sidewalks   in   Vukovarska   street...

'People living in the city have finally seen the beginning of roadwork on the streets and sidewalks. Thus, "Unikom" employees have finally started working to repair the sidewalk in Vukovarska street...'

This allows the Perfect Tense to be clearly distinguished from the Aorist and Imperfect, which, presumably, cannot express current relevance (but see Stanojević and Geld 2011). Quite naturally, the argument goes that the same logic may be applied to all tenses containing the *l*–participle (e.g. Kumar Bhatt 2002), in effect claiming that the *l*–participle is necessarily a perfect form (Katičić

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2   These forms are traditionally called "unstressed" aoristic forms of the auxiliary *to be* (Barić et al. 1990:151), although diachronically they are a combination of the older optative (optative *bimь*) (Lunt 2001:114), and the more recent aorist form (Huntley 1993:156), which lost its ending in the third person plural in Croatian (*bi* instead of *biše*).

1991:59). Indeed, this is exemplified on the Pluperfect Tense, as in (example from Katičić 1991:60):

(3) *Bi–o*   *je*   *otiša–o*   *k*   *vragu*
     be.PF–PTCP.SG.M   be.IPFV.PRS.3SG   go.PF–PTCP.SG.M   to   hell
     'He had gone to hell'

In (3) it is the fact of him having gone to hell that is relevant for some past point of reference (rather than the actual action of going to hell). Similarly, the Past Conditional is also claimed to express a connection with the reference point, as in the following example from Katičić (1991: 69):

(4) *Proda–o*   *bi*   *bi–o*   *carske*   *odaje.*
     sell.PF–PTCP.SG.M   be.COND.3SG   be.PF–PTCP.SG.M   tsar's   quarters
     'He would have sold the tsar's quarters'

Katičić (1991:69) explains that in (4) the tsar's quarters would have been sold at some point in the past, which means that they would be somebody else's at the reference point. Thus, the claims of perfectness of the *l*–participle produce an orderly system of periphrastic forms with the *l*–participle, where, it would seem, the auxiliary naturally serves to identify the point of speaking, whereas the *l*–participle expresses the fact that the event is related to the reference point (espoused, for instance, in Katičić 1991:50).

However, there are several major drawbacks of such a view. For instance, there are *l*–participle constructions which are not claimed to express "finiteness" at all, such as the Present Conditional (cf. e.g. Katičić 1991:66). Secondly, in some cases "finiteness" is claimed to be "neutralized" (Katičić 1991:53ff), notably in the Perfect (Katičić 1986:177–178; Barić et al. 1990:407; Katičić 1991:53) and the Pluperfect Tense (Katičić 1991:60–61). Thus, in some situations, the *l*–participle forms are not claimed to relate an action to a reference point, but express non–perfect meanings, such as general past or distant past. This is said to simply happen, depending on the speaker/hearer (Katičić 1991:54). Let us illustrate on the Perfect Tense: in (1) there is no indicator that would require a perfect (i.e. currently relevant) interpretation – (1) may only refer to the fact that a person arrived from far away, regardless of what happened next (this explanation is modeled according to the explanation given in Katičić 1986:179). Finally, in Future II, one of the *l*–participle forms, this "neutralization" seems to be impossible – it is not mentioned as a possibility in Katičić (1991) or Barić et al. (1990).

In other words, all *l*–participle constructions are claimed to express perfect along with non–perfect meanings, but the perfect meanings are given as their symbolic value. This can hardly hold in the face of *l*–participle forms (such as the Present Conditional) which do not express a perfect meaning and other forms (such as Future II) which are said only to express perfect meanings. Moreover, Stanojević and Geld (2005) have shown that, in the case of the Perfect Tense, sentences which are claimed to be currently relevant by Croatian grammars systematically contain contextualizing elements (as illustrated by the adverbial *konačno* 'finally' and the second sentence in the Present Tense in (2)).

Therefore, Perfect and the other *l*–participle constructions are at best vague between the perfect and non–perfect meaning, which contradicts the initial claim that the *l*–participle relates the event to the reference point. Thus, the question arises: what do all *l*–participles in the various periphrastic forms have in common and how does this relate to other Slavic languages? We believe that the answers to these questions are inextricably linked, and meaning–based. It has already been claimed that the *l*–participle in Slavic expresses distance (e.g. Lunt in his grammar of Macedonian (Spasov 2003:141)). We believe that this sort of characterization is ultimately true, and that it can be related to DeLancey's (1981) terminal viewpoint or terminal prominence, which we posit as the schematic meaning of the Croatian *l*–participle. The terminal viewpoint account of the *l*–participle fits in with its structural characteristics in Croatian, other Croatian verbal forms (the Aorist and the *n*–participle), structural cross–Slavic evidence, semantic cross–Slavic evidence (the use of the *l*–participle as renarrative in Macedonian and imperceptive in Bulgarian) and diachronic evidence, all of which we will briefly touch upon in the discussion.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 gives an overview of the *l*-participle constructions in Croatian along with their formal and semantic characteristics. Section 3 offers a terminal prominence/epistemic distance analysis of the *l*–participle, basing the account on vantage point and orientation of the conceptualizer and participant configuration. Section 4 explains how the epistemic distance account fits in with other related forms in Croatian (notably the Present Tense, the Aorist and the *n*–participle), and how it fits with cross–Slavic evidence. The last section is the conclusion.

2. L–participle constructions in Croatian

In this section we will look into the available data concerning *l*–participle use in Croatian. We will briefly discuss the most frequent *l*–participle construction – the Perfect Tense, especially focusing on the issue of auxiliary use. Then we briefly turn to the other *l*–participle constructions. The examples have been taken from the Croatian National Corpus, where we performed a search for all *l*–participles, and took a random sample of 978 of them.[3]

2.1 The Perfect Tense and auxiliary use

The most widely used *l*–participle tense is the Perfect Tense (see (1)), formed using the imperfective Present Tense of the auxiliary *to be*, along with the *l*–participle of the main verb. Corpus results show that the Perfect Tense accounts for some 87.5% of the uses in the random sample.

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3   The Croatian National Corpus (CNC; available at http://www.hnk.ffzg.hr) has been fully tagged and currently enables search by particular grammatical form. Since there are still some problems in tagging, we manually checked the 1000 examples, and discarded 22 which were not participles, ending up with a total of 978 examples. Also note that the CNC is not balanced. However, despite these limitations, it is adequate for the purposes of this exploratory study.

The Perfect Tense tends to be used for a general past meaning (cf. e.g. Kretschmer 1995:137; Silić and Pranjković 2005:192). Although it may take on a perfect meaning (whereby the past action is relevant for the moment of speaking), this requires contextual explication, which is why this is not the symbolic value of the perfect (Stanojević and Geld 2005). In the same vein, the Croatian Perfect Tense does not correspond to Dahl's criteria of a perfect tense – the answers on the perfect questionnaire (Dahl 2000:800–809) show that it is a general narrative past tense (Lindstedt 2000:366) rather than a true perfect gram.

Moreover, the traditional characterization according to which the auxiliary functions as grounding and the *l*–participle as connection with the point of speaking is also beset with problems. Notably, there are indications that the auxiliary verb in the Perfect Tense is disappearing in the third person singular under specific circumstances. Thus, when a reflexive verb (marked with the reflexive marker *se*) is used in the third person singular, the corresponding third person singular be–auxiliary form *je* is not used:

(5) *kad se dogodi–lo rukometno zlato.*
when REFL happen.PF–PTCP.SG.N handball gold
'when the handball gold medal was won' lit. 'when the handball gold happened'

Overall, out of a total of 849 examples of the perfect tense that appeared in the random sample, 90.3% appear with the auxiliary, and 9.7% appear without the auxiliary. The auxiliary forms include all persons, and the negative form. All of the auxiliary–less examples are limited to the third person. Most of them (7% of the overall sample) appear with verbs marked with *se*. Similarly, there are examples where the accusative form *me* of the first person singular pronoun *ja* 'I' is used without the third person grounding auxiliary, as in:

(6) *Na faksu su mi pod ruku doš–le*
On college be.IPFV.PRS.3PL me under hand come.PF– PTCP.PL.F
zbirke s temama postmoderne, što me
collection with topics postmodernism what me
zaintrigira–lo.
intrigue.PF–PTCP.SG.N
'In college I got my hands on some collections dealing with postmodernism, which intrigued me.'

The perfect without the auxiliary is also used in newspaper headlines, as in:

(7) *Kostrenjani "peticom" deklasira–li Osječane.*
Kostrenians fiver outclass.PF–PTCP.PL Osijekers
'The Kostrena team outclassed Osijek by 5 goals.'

Similarly, the auxiliary may sometimes be omitted in narratives:

(8) *Ponovno sje–o na teretni vlak i otiša–o*
Again sit.PF–PTCP.SG.M on freight train and went.PF–PTCP.SG.M
za Flin Flon.
for Flin Flon
'He took a freight train again and went to Flin Flon.'

Overall, examples such as (7) and (8) account for some 3% of all perfects in the random sample.

Traditionally, the omission of the auxiliary in the third person is explained by stylistic reasons. When it is omitted with the reflexivizer *se* (as in (5)) this is said to be to avoid two similar sounding syllables in a row (Barić et al. 1990:284–285), which would presumable also work for (6). In newspaper headlines (as in (7)) the lack of the auxiliary (and the tendency to avoid verbs in general) is said to be a feature of the newspaper style (Silić 2006:89). Examples like (8) are said to make the narration more expressive (Barić et al. 1990:284; Katičić 1991:52–53). Both auxiliaried and non–auxiliaried forms are claimed to express the perfect and the non–perfect ("neutralized") meaning (Katičić 1991:52, 56). The issue is further exacerbated by the Optative, defined as the *l*–participle used without the auxiliary, expressing a wish (as in *Dobro nam došli* 'Welcome') or a conditional action in subordinate clauses with some subordinators (Silić and Pranjković 2005:196, 351), such as *makar* 'even if' or *bez obzira* 'regardless', as seen in (9).[4]

(9)   *...te*   *da*   *će*   *sve*   *poduzeti kako*   *bi*
      and   that   will   everything   do   that   be.COND.3SG
      iseljeni   *dio*   *nacije ponovno vjerova–o*   *u*
      removed   part   nation again   believe.IPFV–PTCP.SG.M   in
      budućnost svoje domovine,   *bez*   *obzira osta–o*
      future   their homeland,   without regard remain.PF–PTCP.SG.M
      on vani   ili se vrati–o   *u*   *Lijepu*   *našu*
      he outside or REFL return.PF–PTCP.SG.M   in   beautiful our
      '...and that all efforts will be made for the emigrants to start
      believing in the future of their homeland, whether they remain
      abroad or return to Croatia.'

The non–auxiliaried *l*–participle form is available in Croatian to express the Optative as well as a general past meaning, suggesting that the two forms may have something in common. The other *l*–participle forms always appear with the auxiliary verb *to be* in its various forms (examples follow in the next section): the imperfective Perfect Tense (in the Pluperfect)[5], the conditional form (in the Present Conditional), the entire Present Conditional (in the Past Conditional) and the imperfective Present Tense (in Future II).

As for the role of the auxiliary in the Perfect Tense in Croatian, cross–Slavic evidence may be helpful. The auxiliary is also lost in the third person in Macedonian (Spasov 2003:142) and does not necessarily appear in Bulgarian (Koseska–Toszewa 1977:98). In fact, in this sense it may be an areal phenome-

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4   The Optative does not appear in the random sample, but would have been encountered (albeit in a very small percentage) had a larger sample been taken, as has been done in a study reported by Stanojević and Geld (2007), where on a larger sample of 2322 *l*–participles from the Croatian Weekly subcorpus the Optative appeared in some 0.2% of the cases.

5   Note that the Imperfect Tense of the *be* auxiliary may also be used, but this hardly ever occurs in modern texts.

non (Lindstedt 1994:45) related to narration: the non–auxiliaried forms serve to move the narration forward, as suggested by data from Bulgarian (Fielder 1995) and B/C/S (Grickat 1954). Thus, the stylistic remarks in Croatian grammars are on the right track: moving the narration forward and making it livelier are certainly the effect of this. Nonetheless, the loss of the auxiliary in the third person of the Perfect Tense is by no means limited to the South Slavic area, because it also appears in Czech (Grepl et al. 1996:314) and Slovak (Pauliny, Ružička, and Štolc 1968:283). Similarly, in Polish, where the Perfect Tense is formed using endings which developed from the *be* auxiliary, there is no ending in the third person (Tseng and Kupść 2007). Finally, in East Slavic, the general past tense is formed only using the *l*–participle of the verb without an auxiliary in all persons (Dalewska–Greń 1997:356).

Therefore, regardless of the effects of the loss of auxiliary, there might be a semantic reason making it possible in Croatian, which would relate it to the other cross–Slavic data presented above. Furthermore, why is the auxiliary not lost in any of the other forms which use the *l*–participle in Croatian? Before we can answer this, we have to turn briefly to the forms that use the *l*–participle.

2.2 The other l–participle forms in Croatian

The other forms in which the *l*–participle is used include the Present Conditional, the Past Conditional, Future II in dependent clauses and the Pluperfect Tense. The Present Conditional is the second most frequent *l*–participle form in our random sample, accounting for some 12.2% of the uses. It is generally used to express a wish or a possibility that something will happen:

(10) *Štoviše,   hti–o   bi   Željko biti   i   Lewisov*
Moreover want.PF–PTCP.SG.M   be.COND.3SG Željko be.INF also Lewis'
sparring–partner
sparring partner
'Moreover, Željko would like to be Lewis' sparring partner...'

It may appear in subordinate clauses expressing conditionality, e.g. with the subordinators *kad* 'when', *ako* 'if', etc., as in:

(11) *Prve   zagrebačke   godine, kad   ne   bi   bi–le*
First   Zagreb   years   when   not   be.COND.3SG
be.PF–PTCP.PL.F
studentske,   najradije   bih   zaboravi–la.
student   most gladly   be.COND.1SG   forget.PF–PTCP.SG.F
'My first several years in Zagreb, had they not been the years when I was a student, I would very gladly forget'.

Finally, it may also be used for a habitual action repeated in the past (Silić and Pranjković 2005:195), as in (12).

(12) *Rijetko bi   starica prekida–la   našu šutnju...*
Rarely be.COND.3SG old woman interrupt.IPFV–PTCP.SG.F our   silence...
'It would not be often that the old lady would interrupt our silence...'

As we have said above, the Present Conditional is not claimed to express "finiteness", which corresponds to the data. It simply moves the action to the virtual world (as in (10) and (11)), but cannot signal its perfectness. As we will see later, the reason for this is the epistemic distance of the *l*–participle.

The remaining *l*–participle forms (the Past Conditional, Future II, and the Pluperfect) are very rarely used, as illustrated by our results. The Past Conditional[6] does not appear at all in the random sample, the Future II[7] appears twice, and the Pluperfect[8] appears only once (jointly accounting for some 0.3% of the sample). Importantly, all three of these are chiefly relative forms, used in complex clauses to signal that one action precedes another in a non–real world (the Past Conditional), in a possible future world (the Future II) or in the Past (the Pluperfect). Only the Pluperfect may be used in a non–relative context (as illustrated in footnote), expressing a remote past action, which is a possible cross–linguistic development (Dahl 1985:147). All three tenses are also reported to be replaced by other forms – the Present Conditional (Silić and Pranjković 2005:195), the Present Tense (or even the Future I) (Silić and Pranjković 2005:194) and the Perfect Tense (Silić and Pranjković 2005:192–193), respectively.

In this section we looked at the *l*–participle constructions in Croatian, showing that the Perfect Tense is most frequent by far, and that it can be

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6   Here is an example of the Past Conditional (the result of a corpus search for this particular form):

Da	*nije*		*bi–lo*		*igrača*	*koji*	*su*		*se*
If	not:be.IPFV.PRS.3SG		be.PF–PTCP.SG.N		players	which	be.IPFV.PRS.3PL		REFL

postavi–li	*u*	*moju*	*obranu –*	*odavno*		*bih*	*bio*
set.PF–PTCP.PL.M	in	my	defense	long ago	be.COND.1SG		be.PF–PTCP.SG.M

otiša–o.
leave.PF–PTCP.SG.M

'If some of the players had not come to my defense, I would have left a long time ago.'

7   Here is an example of Future II:

...ako u	*međuvremenu*	*Riječka banka*		*bude*	*iš–la*		*u kupnju*
if in	meantime	Rijeka bank		be.PF.PRS.3SG	go.PF–PTCP.SG.F	in	buying

Istarske	*banke, moći*	*će*		*to*	*učiniti*	*samo*	*uz*	*suglasnost*
Istria	bank, can.INF	want.AUX.PRS.3SG		this	do.INF	only	with	consent

novog vlasnika...
new   owner...

'...if in the meantime the Riječka Bank decides to buy the Istarska Bank, it will be able to do it only with the new owner's consent...'

8   Here is an example of the Pluperfect Tense:

Vidljivo je,		*naime, kako su*		*stanovnici*	*Andautonije*	*bi–li*
Visible be.IPFV.PRS.3SG		namely that	be.IPFV.PRS.3PL	inhabitants	Andautonija	be.PF–PTCP.PL.M

prihvati–li		*rimski*	*način*	*života...*
accept.PF–PTCP.PL.M		Roman	way	life...

'It is clear that the inhabitants of Andautonia had accepted the Roman way of life...'

used with or without the auxiliary. The other *l*–participle forms are far less frequent, and are largely relative, referring to past or virtual action.

3. Epistemic distance and the Croatian l–participle

It is clear from the data given in the previous section that the finiteness account of the *l*–participle cannot systematically explain all the significant issues regarding the *l*–participle constructions, especially the auxiliary use in the Perfect Tense, the use of the Present Conditional, and the gradual loss of the other forms. We propose that the schematic value of the *l*–participle is epistemic distance, which is related to: (1) the *l*–participle being a viewpoint operator, defined as the element which determines the perspective from which an event is seen/conceptualized (cf. DeLancey 1981:617), i.e. the vantage point and the orientation of the speaker (Langacker 1987:123) and (2) the *l*–participle signaling a property of the first participant in an action chain (Langacker 2008:356). As for the former reason, the *l*–participle locates the viewpoint after the terminal point of the event and external to it, which corresponds to its diachronic development from retrospective aspect (Migdalski 2006:19). With regard to the second reason, the active nature of the *l*–participle corresponds to the inability of the conceptualizer to view the action as a permanent feature of the first participant in an action chain. Both of these enable the conceptualizer to "move away", as it were, from the actual event, signaling distance (and terminal prominence). Such a view offers an internally coherent account of all *l*–participle constructions and their features.

3.1 Vantage point and orientation of the speaker

Let us first examine the way in which *l*–participle acts as a viewpoint operator, as illustrated on the two most frequent forms in the corpus, the Perfect Tense and the Present Conditional.

(13) *nakon što su Argentinci* *na* *njihov brod*
after which be.IPFV.PRS.3PL Argentineans on their ship
baci–li *zapaljive* *bombe*
throw.PF–PTCP.PL.M flammable bombs
'after the Argentineans dropped firebombs on their ship'.

In (13) the Perfect Tense signals that the action happened prior to the moment of speaking, i.e. in the past. The *l*–participle indicates that the process of dropping the bombs is viewed in its entirety, after it happened. Thus, the *l*–participle defines the conceptualizer's position relative to the process, but without clearly pinpointing the place of the entire configuration on the timeline, which is done by the grounding auxiliary.

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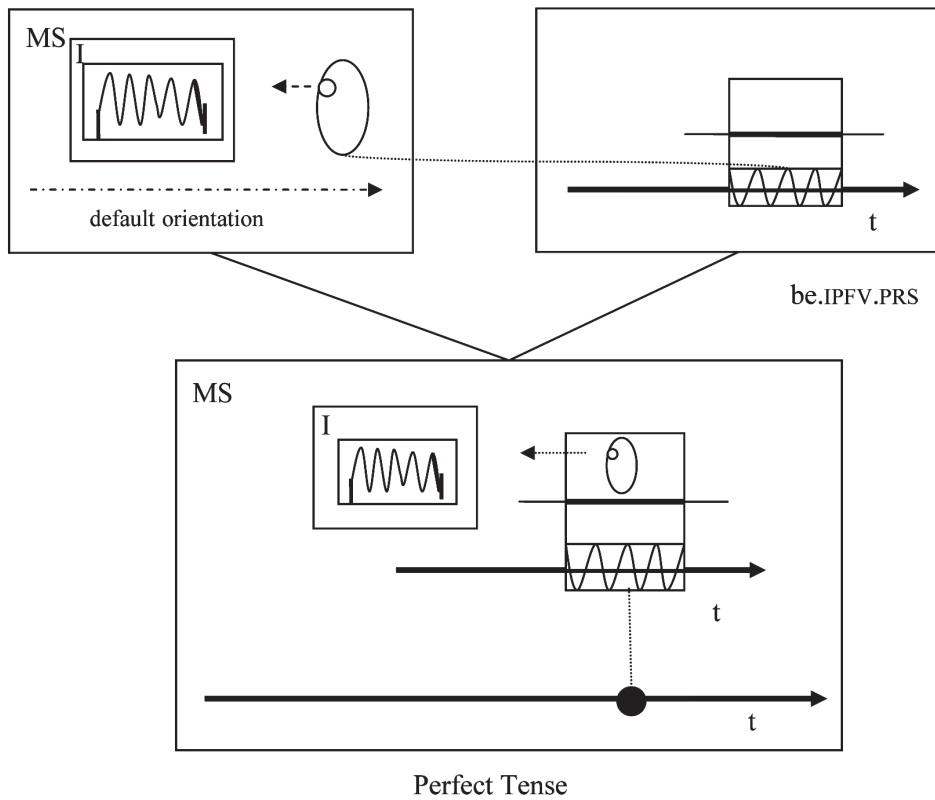
Figure 1. The Perfect Tense

Figure 1 shows the way in which the *l*–participle and the imperfective present of the auxiliary *biti* form the composite structure of the Croatian Perfect Tense. The *l*–participle is depicted as a perfective process (squiggly line in the rectangle dubbed IS (immediate scope)), with terminal prominence (profiling the last part of the process). The conceptualizer (shown as a head with an eye; this convention has been taken from Radden and Dirven 2007) views the action from after it has happened. The default orientation of the process is from left to right. The entire process of dropping the bombs is in the immediate scope of view (IS). The grounding auxiliary locates the imperfective process as simultaneous to the present moment (the convention taken from Langacker (2001:260)). The conceptualizer of the *l*–participle corresponds to the be–auxiliary (shown by the dotted line). Therefore, in the composite structure, the conceptualizer of the *l*–participle is located at the present time signaled by the be–auxiliary, and conceptualizes the action described by the *l*–participle as prior to the present moment. Importantly, the immediate scope

of view does not include the conceptualizer but only the *l*–participle, which enables the conceptualizer to "move away" from the action of the *l*–participle "to any distance" s/he wants. In other words, the Croatian Perfect Tense is relatively objective, i.e. the conceptualizer does not figure as a significant feature of the objective scene (the scene is not subjectified in the Langackerian sense; cf. e.g. Langacker 2000).

The same configuration is evident in the second most frequent *l*–participle form, the Present Conditional, as seen in example (14):

(14) [*Renault pregovara s ... Nissan Motorsom o podjeli proizvodnih*
    kapaciteta Nissanovih tvornica u jugoistočnoj Aziji.]
    Renault bi   tako svoja vozila   proizvodi–o   u
    Renault be.COND.3SG thus its   vehicles produce.IPFV–PTCP.SG.M in
    Nissanovim tvornicama na Filipinima, u Maleziji i   Tajlandu...
    Nissan's   plants   on Philippines in Malaysia and Thailand...

'[Renault is negotiating with Nissan Motors on how to allocate the productive capacity of Nissan's plants in Southeast Asia.] Thus, Renault is looking at using Nissan's plants on the Philippines, in Malaysia and Thailand to manufacture Renaults.'

In (14) the Present Conditional is used to express the possibility that Renault will use Nissan's plants in Southeast Asia to produce Renaults, which is approximated in the translation by the Present Continuous of "to look at". The Present Conditional expresses the virtuality of this situation – it is possible that it will happen under some circumstances. As opposed to the Perfect Tense, where the grounding auxiliary situates the action on the timeline, in the case of the Present Conditional the grounding auxiliary situates the action in virtuality. Therefore, the *l*–participle no longer moves the action into the past, but further away into virtuality[9], as seen in Figure 2. Also seen in Figure 2 is the fact that the *l*–participle *proizvodio* is a non–canonical imperfective, because it "implies limits in terms of its beginning and its end" (Geld and Zovko Dinković 2007:125), although these limits are outside the immediate scope of view (IS). Because of these inherent boundaries, terminal prominence of the last section of the action (signaled by a bolded line of the process) is possible.

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9   In fact, the action is probably removed to a remote virtual plane, as opposed to the immediate virtual plane reserved for the Croatian Aorist and perfective present (cf. Stanojević and Geld 2011:176ff). Also see section 4.
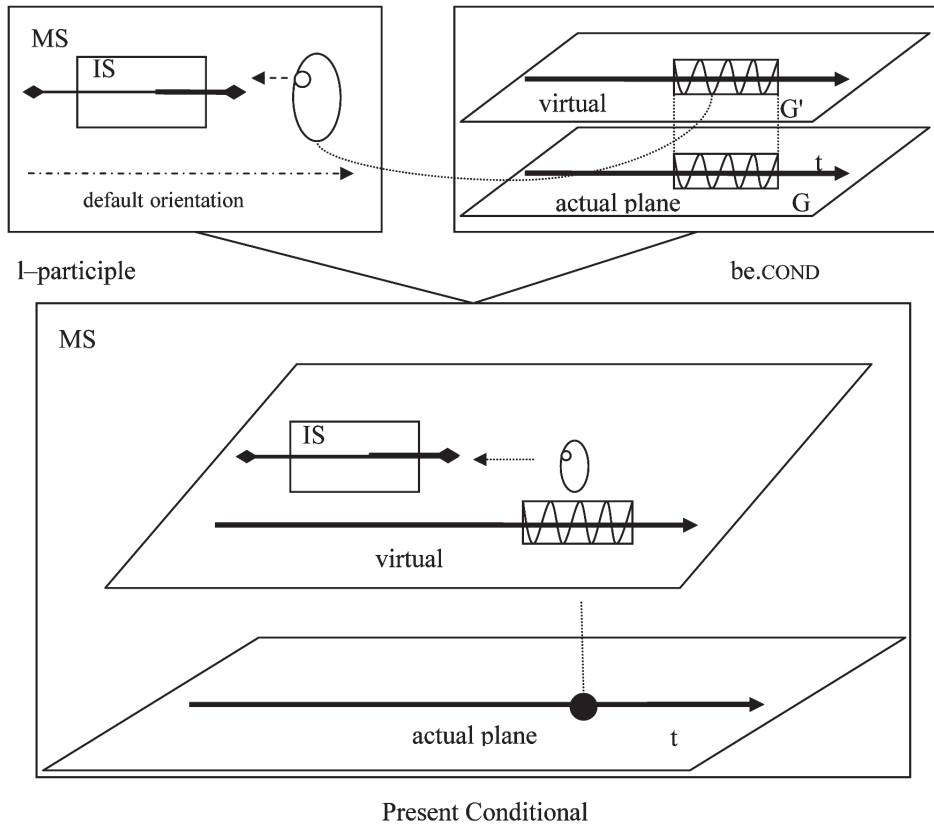
Figure 2. The Present Conditional

Overall, Figures 1 and 2 show that the *l*–participle is a viewpoint operator. It determines the position of the conceptualizer with regard to the default orientation of the process. The default orientation in Figures 1 and 2 is such that the process begins at the far left and ends at the far right (as signaled by the line dubbed "default orientation"). The conceptualizer is situated downstream from the process and external to it (which is in accordance with the development from retrospective aspect). In DeLancey's terms, the *l*–participle signals a marked viewpoint choice – instead of the viewpoint being with the onset of the action, which is the canonical situation, it is located after the terminal point of the action (cf. DeLancey 1981:635–639). This is one of the characteristics of the *l*–participle which brings about distance – if the terminal point of the action is prominent, its other points are less so.

Note that a time line has not been included in the drawing of the *l*–participle in Figures 1 or 2, only a default orientation. The *l*–participle, being developed from the retrospective aspect, is primarily aspectual in nature. There is nothing within the *l*–participle itself that mandates its use as tense, and this is precisely why it can be used in various tense and conditional forms. It

is the grounding auxiliary and the constructional context that determine its possible time value, whereas the l–participle always conveys retrospectivity and distance.[10] The l–participle can be used without an auxiliary because the retrospective orientation of the conceptualizer simply defaults it to the most common distant point – the past (as in the Perfect Tense without the auxiliary, exemplified in (5)–(8)).[11] The Optative (illustrated in (9)) which refers to a virtual plane is the other construction which does not require the auxiliary. However, it appears without the auxiliary by definition, and requires special constructional context (as noted above). Moreover, it is much less frequent in the corpus. All this suggests that it should not be considered a default option. Note that the l–participle in Croatian cannot be used for a simple future action, which is also the result of the retrospective orientation as well as the distance between the conceptualizer and the action. This suggests that the entire tense system in Croatian may be aspectual in nature; cf. section 4.

3.2 Participant configuration

The second factor which enables the *l*–participle to convey the meaning of distance is its participant configuration. We can think of a typical situation involving the *l*–participle as an action chain, with the initial energy source at its left expending energy and transmitting it (through a series of intermediaries) to a final participant on the right (Langacker 1991:283); as illustrated in Figure 3. The upstream participants in the source domain of the action chain roughly correspond to the semantic macrorole of actor, and the downstream participants roughly correspond to the macrorole of undergoer (for the definitions of actor and undergoer see Van Valin 2001:30ff).[12]
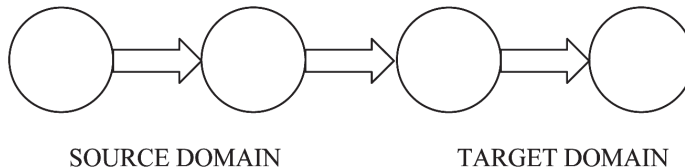

SOURCE DOMAIN   TARGET DOMAIN

Figure 3. The action chain

The *l*–participle is an active participle, which means that it presents the energy having left the source domain. It focuses on the energy as a characteristic of the energy source.[13] By definition, any participant in the source domain

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10 One of the reviewers suggested that the distance of the *l*–participle be explained in terms of the time–as–space metaphor (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson 1999:139–169). This may be so, and might be a deeper conceptual motivation for the phenomenon at hand, but due to space limitations I cannot develop this line of reasoning further.

11 Significantly, the *l*–participle can be used without the auxiliary in the third person only; for an explanation see section 4.

12 I would like to thank one of the reviewers for drawing my attention to the potential benefits of using macroroles in this account.

13 A similar point is mentioned by a Croatian 19th century grammarian August Musić (cf. Pranjković 1989: 19).

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can expend energy, which means that the *l*–participle, in effect, does not describe a defining characteristic of a source domain participant. Furthermore, the energy itself is gone – it is no longer present at the retrospective point where the conceptualizer is located. Therefore, the participant configuration of the *l*–participle combined with the retrospective viewpoint brings about a relative non–permanence of the *l*–participle. Energy leaving the source domain is not specific enough to be a permanent characteristic of the source domain, and this effect is strengthened by the retrospective viewpoint, from which the energy itself is gone. The *l*–participle, because it describes the energy source, does not symbolically profile the result of the action, although its terminal prominence is not inconsistent with resultativity. The fact that there was some energy is available to the conceptualizer, although there is hardly any direct evidence of this, conceptually or grammatically.

Let us explain on an example of the Perfect Tense:

(15) *Izraelski helikopter ispali–o   je   i   dvije rakete*
     Israeli   helicopter fire.PF–PTCP.SG.M be.IPFV.PRS.3SG also two rockets
     na zgradu   u blizini   ureda Jasera Arafata u Ramali.
     on building   in vicinity office Yasser Arafat   in Ramallah.
     'An Israeli helicopter fired two rockets on a building in the vicinity
     of Yasser Arafat's office in Ramallah.'

In (15) an Israeli helicopter fired two rockets on a building. The *l*–participle *ispalio* 'fired', like all *l*–participles, agrees with the subject/the actor in number and gender, clearly showing that the "firing" is a "characteristic" of the first participant in the energy chain, i.e. the Israeli helicopter.[14] The fact of the helicopter having fired the rockets left no mark on the helicopter – some helicopters can fire rockets, and this one did so. Therefore, it is difficult for the conceptualizer to establish an experiential link with the action, because expending energy – described by the *l*–participle – is a characteristic of any participant in the source domain of the action chain. Moreover, this is also why it is difficult for the conceptualizer to establish an experiential link with the action described by the *l*–participle – because the particular action that took place does not have any tangible and specific consequences that the conceptualizer could notice on the source domain participants. Agents performing actions (or other source domain participants expending energy) are simply not specific enough to produce permanent experiential links. This is precisely the reason why it is impossible to take any *l*–participle and use it to premodify a noun. The premodifying position in Croatian is reserved for a thing–like (referential) treatment of an item, and this does not correspond very well with the relational (i.e. verb–like) nature of the *l*–participle (cf. Stanojević, Kryżan–Stanojević and Parizoska in press). In other words, the premodifying position signifies relative permanence of an attribute, and this is not in harmony with the non–permanence expressed by the *l*–participle. For instance, it is impossible to say:

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14 It does not agree with the subject in case, because of its verbal nature – it refers to a
    relation, rather than to a thing (for the definition of thing vs. relation cf. Langacker 1987:
    214–217).

(16) *ispali–o*   *helikopter*
      fire.PF–PTCP.SG.M   helicopter.SG.M.NOM
      lit. 'a fired helicopter' in the sense 'a helicopter which fired'

The *l*–participle *ispalio* in (16) is a non–permanent feature of the agent – it describes a single action of firing at a particular (retrospective) point. Perceptually, it left no visible mark on the agent, nor is it characteristic enough to be construed as such. Grammatically, there is no possibility of case agreement between the *l*–participle and the head noun. All this makes it incompatible with the premodifying position, which expresses a permanent characteristic of a thing (Stanojević, Kryżan–Stanojević and Parizoska in press).

4. Contextualizing the epistemic distance account: how it fits with other related forms in Croatian and other Slavic languages

In the preceding section we have shown how we see epistemic distance as the schematic value of the *l*–participle, which we have related to its viewpoint operator status and its participant configuration. Let us now turn to how it can account for auxiliary loss in the Perfect Tense, other *l*–participle constructions, and its possible interactions with other forms in Croatian, which have been claimed to express epistemic immediacy (the Present Tense and the Aorist) and terminal prominence (*n*–participle).

As has been argued above, the l–participle can be used without the auxiliary because the retrospective orientation of the conceptualizer defaults it to the past, which is the most easily available distant point. Furthermore, note that the auxiliary can only be omitted in the third person singular. Given the distancing function of the *l*–participle, the third person singular is the most natural default point. It is easiest for a conceptualizer to express distance to the third person, which is lowest on the degree of egocentricity (Givón 1984:159), simply because knowledge related to the first and second person tends to be first–hand, whereas knowledge about the third person need not be. Therefore, the third person is the default remote point. This is in line with cross–linguistic evidence suggesting that there is a split between speech–act participants (first and second persons) and the third person (DeLancey 1981), and is in line with the viewpoint operator status of the *l*–participle. This can also account for the cross–Slavic loss of the third person auxiliary, which is happening or has happened throughout the Slavic region, as has been noted in 2.1. Finally, it is also in harmony with the so–called renarrative forms in Bulgarian and Macedonian (cf. e.g. Koseska–Toszewa 1974; Koseska–Toszewa 1977; Spasov 2002; Spasov 2003), which are available mainly in the third person, and also signal distance.[15] Indicatively, diachronic evidence shows that the loss of the auxiliary started out with the loss of the third person before

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15   Regardless whether this is claimed to be an areal phenomenon, the fact is that they signal distance.

spreading onto the entire paradigm in languages such as Russian (cf. Dostál 1954, 606–609). Thus, what is today felt as a special stylistic effect (surprise, moving the narration forward) may be related to the distancing function of the *l*–participle.

As for the constructions where the *l*–participle appears, it is clear from the account in section 2 that all of them exhibit distance. This distance can be temporal, referring to the past or the remote past, as in the Perfect Tense (cf. section 2.1) and the Pluperfect Tense (cf. the example in footnote 8). The distance may also be virtual – as in the Optative (as in example (9)), Present Conditional (see section 2.2) and Past Conditional and Future II (cf. footnotes 6 and 7). Gradual disappearance of the forms which signal relative distance to another form (the Past Conditional, the Pluperfect and the Future II; cf. section 2.2) is not inconsistent with the distance account given here. It means the simplification of a scheme which used to grammaticalize several degrees of distance into a scheme which grammaticalizes distance vs. immediacy.

The distant *l*–participle forms described here are in opposition to epistemically immediate forms signaled by the Croatian Present Tense and Croatian Aorist. It has been shown by Geld and Zovko Dinković (2007) that both temporal and non–temporal uses of the Croatian Present Tense signal epistemic immediacy, similarly to the English Present Tense (Langacker 2001). What connects all the cases is the co–extension of the virtual process on the structural plane with the speech event (cf. Geld and Zovko Dinković 2007:130–143). Hence, regardless of the aspect of the verb,[16] the Croatian Present Tense signals that the event is viewed from within, and this coincides with Comrie's definition of the imperfective (Comrie 1976:24). In other words, the Present Tense is imperfective in its very nature, which seems to be true cross–linguistically (Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994:126). The Aorist in Croatian is also largely aspectual in nature (Lindstedt 1985), and it signals the immediacy of the conceptualizer to the action (Geld and Stanojević 2011). It is different from the Croatian Present Tense because it is perfective in nature: it refers to an action viewed from a point located at the terminal point of the event (cf. Hewson and Bubenik 1997:32), which brings about immediacy, and makes it possible for the Aorist to refer to recent past and immediate future (Stanojević and Geld 2011).

Given that the *l*–participle expresses distance based on its retrospective viewpoint, and if the epistemic immediacy accounts of the Present Tense and the Aorist are correct, this would suggest that the existing Croatian tense system (at least for these tenses) is based on a three–way distinction of imperfectivity, perfectivity and retrospectivity. This corresponds to diachronic evi-

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16 The canonical situation takes place when an imperfective verb in the Present Tense describes and ongoing event, and is modeled as appearing on the actual plane (Geld and Zovko Dinković 2007:130). In non–canonical cases the perfective or imperfective verb in the Present Tense is used non–temporally, in which case it is modeled as appearing on the epistemically immediate structural plane (Geld and Zovko Dinković 2007:132–143).

dence from Old Church Slavonic (Hewson and Bubenik 1997:32), and suggests that the tense system in Croatian is aspectual in nature, which is, in turn, consistent with Lunt's claim that the Present Tense in Old Church Slavonic does not specify time (Lunt 2001: 153), and general claims of the grammaticalization path whereby aspectual markers develop into tense markers (Comrie 1976:99–101; Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994:104–105). The distance account of the *l*–participle also fits with the existing accounts of the *n*–participle (Belaj 2004), whereby the *l*–participle expresses non–permanence, and the *n*–participle expresses permanence of an attribute based on their transitivity status. The *l*–participle implies no transitivity (also compare its probable diachronic development from intransitive and reflexive verbs; Kuryżowicz 1975:235), cannot grammatically code affectedness of the target domain participant, which results in its non–permanence. In contrast, the *n*–participle defocuses the agent (Shibatani 1985) and reverses the energy flow in the action chain (Belaj 2004:35) focusing on the target domain. Thus, it suggests both telicity (cf. Langacker's terminal viewpoint analysis of the English passive (1991:203)) and affectedness of the theme, meaning that the transitivity hypothesis (Hopper and Thompson 1980) applies, and implying permanence of the energy transfer. Based on such an analysis we can predict that the Croatian passive participle, in addition to being used in passive formation, can occur as a premodifier, which proves to be correct (cf. Silić and Pranjković 2005:198). Cf.

(17) r*azbijeno*　　　　　*staklo*
　　　break.pf.ptcp.sg.n.nom　glass.nom.sg.n
　　　'broken glass'

Because of its relation to the target domain participant, rather than the source domain participant, the *n*–participle can become a true adjective, agreeing with the noun in number, gender as well as case. Unlike the *l*–participle, it implies the permanence of an attribute in a situation (Belaj 2004: 22): broken glass remains broken (until some other change occurs, if applicable). Thus, the *l*– and *n*–participles are used for two complementary functions, and their complementarity is clear from the epistemic distance account of the *l*–participle.

On a more general note, the proposed epistemic distance account of the *l*–participle is not incoherent with the view that the existing perfect grams in modern Slavic languages developed from a resultative meaning, as proposed by Lindstedt (2000). Resultativity is a natural development from terminal prominence, i.e. it can develop both from the retrospective aspect (such as the *l*–participle) and the perfective aspect (such as the *n*–participle). The only difference is the participant that the resultative event is said to describe: a source–domain participant or the target–domain participant. When the participle describes a source domain participant (and, perhaps, when it is combined with a *be*– rather than a *have*–type auxiliary), like in Slavic languages, it can easily change into other senses which do not express perfectness. One of the reasons behind this may be the distancing function of the *l*–participle. The *n*–participle also

expresses terminal prominence, and agent defocusing is naturally connected to terminal prominence (Shibatani 1985), naturally bringing about resultativity, predicated of a target–domain participant rather than a source–domain participant. This might be what makes an *n*–participle (and perhaps the *have*–type auxiliary) perfect more natural than an *l*–participle (and the *be*–type auxiliary) perfect. This may be why in modern Polish and Macedonian (Lazinski 2001; Spasov 2002) we are seeing a development of new *n*–participle based *have*–auxiliary perfects.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to show that the *l*–participle in Croatian expresses epistemic distance and not "finiteness" as claimed previously. We show that the "finiteness" account is far from satisfactory, because it is not internally coherent, because it cannot account for the diachronic loss of particular *l*–participle constructions, and does not fit with other evidence. We claim that the *l*–participle is a viewpoint operator, locating the viewpoint after the terminal point of the event and external to it, and that it signals the property of the source domain participant (rather than a target domain participant), which corresponds to the inability of the conceptualizer to view the action as a permanent characteristic of the actor. These features allow the conceptualizer to view the event from a distance. Such an analysis of the Croatian *l*–participle fits in with the meaning of the constructions it is used in and with the loss of auxiliary in the 3rd person singular in the Perfect Tense. Moreover, it is in harmony with epistemic immediacy accounts offered for the Croatian Present Tense and the Aorist, a cognitive grammar account of the *n*–participle, and cross–Slavic evidence regarding *l*–participles and new perfects. It suggests that the tense system in Croatian (and other Slavic languages) is ultimately aspect–based.

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Modeliranje epistemičke udaljenosti: glagolski pridjev radni u hrvatskome

Glagolski pridjev radni u hrvatskome se koristi u tvorbi perfekta (*on je otišao*), pluskvamperfekta (*on je bio otišao*), prvog i drugog kondicionala (*on bi otišao*, *on bi bio otišao*), futura drugog (*ako budeš otišao*) i optativa (*živio*). Neke hrvatske gramatike (npr. Barić i dr. 1990; Katičić 1991) tvrde da glagolski pridjev radni izražava gotovost, odnosno jasnu povezanost prošle radnje (koja je završena) s trenutkom govorenja (usp. npr. Katičić 1986:203–217; Katičić 1991:45–46). Takav opis ne uspijeva na ujednačen način opisati sve upotrebe glagolskog pridjeva radnog u svim konstrukcijama. U ovome radu tvrdimo da glagolski pridjev radni izriče epistemičku udaljenost, i to na dva načina: promjenom uobičajenoga gledišta (DeLancey 1981) u retrospektivno gledište i opisom svojstva prvog sudionika u lancu događaja (Langacker 1987), čime se iskazuje nestalnost navedenog svojstva. Takva je analiza u skladu s: (1) konstrukcijama u kojima se glagolski pridjev radni koristi; (2) strukturnim značajkama konstrukcija u kojima se koristi (npr. mogućnošću neizricanja pomoćnoga glagola u 3. licu jednine u perfektu); (3) značenjem prezenta, aorista i glagolskog pridjeva trpnog u hrvatskome; te (4) podacima iz drugih slavenskih jezika. Na temelju analize tvrdi se da je sustav glagolskih vremena u hrvatskome utemeljen na vidskim razlikama.

Key words: l–participle, Perfect Tense, Croatian language
Ključne riječi: glagolski pridjev radni, perfekt, hrvatski jezik