

ЕЗИКОВНО  
L I N G U I S T I C S

THE BULGARIAN PAST FUTURE PERFECT AND ITS SLOVENE  
EQUIVALENTS: A CONTRASTIVE PERSPECTIVE

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**ABSTRACT:** The article identifies and analyses Slovene contrastive (linguistic-systemic) equivalents of the Bulgarian future perfect tense, an infrequently used verb form in contemporary Bulgarian, indicating an action/event posterior with regard to a past time reference point and anterior with regard to another (generally past) time point. The analysis is based on text examples with the past future perfect from various Bulgarian grammatical works and their literal Slovene translations. Slovene contrastive equivalents of the Bulgarian past future perfect include different verb forms (with different temporal-modal meanings), which depend partly on syntactic structures in which they appear: the Slovene conditional (*pogojnik*), the perfect (*preteklik*) and the future (*prihodnjik*) correspond to the Bulgarian past future perfect in simple sentences, as well as relative and causal dependent clauses; the conditional in main clauses modified by conditional clauses and the future in content dependent clauses. The Slovene conditional indicates the (non)realizability of an action/event, the perfect signals its (supposed) completion in the past-time sphere, to which the future adds a prospective view (when used with the function of “flash-forward”); the future tense in content clauses signals posteriority in the past. The retrospective view can be either indicated explicitly by time expressions (sometimes found already in the source-text examples) or it can be contextually and co-textually inferred.

**KEYWORDS:** past future perfect, Bulgarian, Slovene equivalents, literal translation, contrastive analysis, temporality, relative temporality, modality

### 1. Introduction

Slovene and Bulgarian represent the opposite extremes of the South Slavic language continuum and are considered to be the most different South Slavic languages (see Valčanova, 2002, p. 389). This can also be seen in the case of their verb systems. If we look only at the indicative verb forms, the Slovene language has four different verb tenses, whereas Bulgarian has nine (see Toporišič, 2000, p. 388; Herrity, 2000, pp. 160 – 161; Scatton, 1993, pp. 210 – 212; Stefanova, 2007, pp. 200 – 204);<sup>1</sup> if we also took grammatical moods into consideration, the difference would be even greater, mostly due to the so-called *renarrative mood* in Bulgarian, which does not exist in Slovene. Considering the limited number of contrastive-translation studies dealing with Bulgarian and Slovene verb systems (e.g., Deyanova, 1970, analyses compound past tenses in Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian and Slovene; Kutsarov, 1978, and Malakov, 2020, analyse the phenomenon of renarrative mood in Bulgarian and Slovene) and the appeal of this linguistic topic (see, e.g., the differences between the two verb systems), this article analyses a segment of Bulgarian and Slovene verb systems, more precisely, it analyses which Slovene linguistic means correspond to the Bulgarian past future perfect (*бъдеще предварително време в миналото*) or, in other words, which Slovene linguistic means can be used to express the same temporal, modal, etc. relations (see Miklič, 2001) as the Bulgarian past future perfect (the study is primarily contrastive, as it analyses possible Slovene linguistic-systemic – or contrastive – equivalents of the Bulgarian past future perfect). The present article will shed light on a not yet thoroughly researched aspect of the relation between Bulgarian and Slovene languages, i.e., between their verb systems, complementing in such a way the existing contrastive studies between Bulgarian and Slovene.

### 2. Corpus and method

The analysis of Slovene contrastive equivalents of the Bulgarian past future perfect is based on text examples from four Bulgarian grammatical works: Stoyanov et al., 1983; Boyadzhiev, 1999; Antova et al., 2002; Nicolova, 2017. The initial goal of the study also included an analysis of Slovene translation equivalents of the Bulgarian past future perfect, but since the examination of seven Bulgarian

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<sup>1</sup> Bulgarian indicative verb tenses include present, past imperfect, past aorist, future, present perfect, past perfect, future perfect, past future and past future perfect (Stoyanov et al., 1983, p. 289; Scatton, 1993, pp. 210 – 212); Slovene tense system is not as extensive – it consists of present, future, perfect and pluperfect tenses (Toporišič, 1992, p. 15; Herrity, 2000, pp. 160 – 161).

literary works (published between 1951 and 2009), i.e., *Тютюн* (*Tutyun*) by Dimitar Dimov, *Федерация на династронавтите* (*Federatsiya na dinastronavtite*) by Haim Oliver, *Пътуване към себе си* (*Patuvane kam sebe si*) by Blaga Dimitrova, *Нощем с белите коне* (*Noshtem s belite kone*) by Pavel Vezhinov, *Естествен роман* (*Estestven roman*) by Georgi Gospodinov, *Преди да се родя и след смъртта ми* (*Predi da se rodya i sled smartta mi*) by Ivaylo Petrov and *Мисия Лондон* (*Misiya London*) by Alek Popov (see also the list of references),<sup>2</sup> did not produce any occurrences of the past future perfect, the translation part of the analysis was – understandably – abandoned. The contrastive linguistic analysis in the study was carried out in several stages. In the first part of the study, the forms and functions of the Bulgarian past future perfect were examined based on presentations (descriptions) in selected Bulgarian grammatical works (see above); this was followed by a presentation of similar verb forms in English, French and Spanish and their Slovene counterparts, as indicated in linguistic literature. In the following stage, all the examples with the Bulgarian past future perfect were extracted and their Slovene contrastive equivalents were determined (included in the closest linguistic-systemic translation equivalents of Bulgarian text examples; see *literal translation* in Newmark, 1988, Chesterman, 1997).<sup>3</sup> The Bulgarian verb forms and their Slovene counterparts were commented upon from the point of view of temporality, relative temporality, modality, syntactic structures, etc. (for a discussion of different categories that influence the temporalization of extralinguistic situations, see, e.g., Miklič, 1994, Miklič, 2001); the interpretation took into account also the relation between the “past future perfect” forms in selected languages (i.e., English, French and Spanish) and their potential Slovene equivalents.

### 3. Bulgarian past future perfect: forms and functions

The Bulgarian **past future perfect** (*бъдеще предварително време в миналото*) is formed by the past future of the auxiliary verbs *съм* or *бъда* ‘to be’ and the aorist active participle of the main verb; forms of the type *ще бъдех играл*, *ще бъдеше играл*, etc. are, however, very rare today. The negative forms consist of the negated past future of the verbs *съм* or *бъда* ‘to be’ or also the invariable form *нямаше* and the aorist active participle of the main verb; the negative forms of the type *не щях да съм (бъда) играл* are very rare (Stoyanov et al., 1983, pp. 349 – 350; Nicolova, 2017, p. 450). Tables 1 and 2 show the past future perfect forms of the verb *нося* ‘to carry’.

Table 1. Positive past future perfect forms – the verb *нося* ‘to carry’

1 sg. аз щях да съм (бъда) носил, -а, -о	1 pl. ние щяхме да сме (бъдем) носили
2 sg. ти щеше да си (бъдеш) носил, -а, -о	2 pl. вие щяхте да сте (бъдете) носили
3 sg. той, тя, то щеше да е (бъде) носил, -а, -о	3 pl. те щяха да са (бъдат) носили

Table 2. Negative past future perfect forms – the verb *нося* ‘to carry’

1 sg. аз нямаше да съм (бъда) носил, -а, -о	1 pl. ние нямаше да сме (бъдем) носили
2 sg. ти нямаше да си (бъдеш) носил, -а, -о	2 pl. вие нямаше да сте (бъдете) носили
3 sg. той, тя, то нямаше да е (бъде) носил, -а, -о	3 pl. те нямаше да са (бъдат) носили
1 sg. аз не щях да съм (бъда) носил, -а, -о	1 pl. ние не щяхме да сме (бъдем) носили
2 sg. ти не щеше да си (бъдеш) носил, -а, -о	2 pl. вие не щяхте да сте (бъдете) носили
3 sg. той, тя, то не щеше да е (бъде) носил, -а, -о	3 pl. те не щяха да са (бъдат) носили

The past future perfect is used to denote an action/event which is posterior with regard to a certain past reference point, but at the same time anterior with regard to another time interval (or point) which is normally (albeit not necessarily) also located in the past (cf. 1 – 2; Stoyanov et al., 1983, p. 350; Antova et al., 2002, p. 146; Nicolova, 2017, p. 451). The past future perfect can also be used to

<sup>2</sup> These literary works were chosen because of their Slovene translations which would enable a translation analysis.

<sup>3</sup> The cited examples consist of source-text sentences (with the past future perfect or a similar verb form) followed by their English translations in quotation marks; an ‘equal to’ operator is followed by a Slovene contrastive (or contrastive-translation) equivalent of the source-text example and its English translation in quotation marks (my own translations are marked with RG). The Bulgarian past future perfect, a similar verb form in another language or its Slovene contrastive equivalent are written in bold (the English equivalent of the Bulgarian past future perfect is underlined). The wavy-underlined text is used for expressions indicating a time interval/point before which the action/event expressed by the Bulgarian past future perfect or its equivalent happened/occurred. The following language abbreviations are used: Bg = Bulgarian; Sn = Slovene; En = English; Fr = French; Sp = Spanish.

express a possible, hypothetical or even an accomplished action/event (cf. 3; Stoyanov et al., 1983, p. 350; Nicolova, 2017, pp. 450 – 451).<sup>4</sup>

(1) Bg: Той знаеше, че **щеше да е свършил** задачата си много преди полунощ ‘He knew he would have accomplished the task long before midnight’ (Antova et al., 2002, p. 146).

(2) Bg: Ако не бях изпуснал самолета, утре сутринта щях да съм пристигнал ‘If I had not missed the airplane, I would have arrived tomorrow morning’ (Nicolova, 2017, p. 451).

(3) Bg: Само след една година заплахите **щяха да са се превърнали** в действителност ‘Only a year later the threats would have turned into reality’ (ibid.).

According to Stoyanov et al. (1983, p. 350; see also Antova et al., 2002, p. 146; Nicolova, 2017, p. 451), the past future perfect forms are found primarily in complex conditional sentences and are modally marked. The past future perfect is rarely used in contemporary Bulgarian (Antova et al., 2002, p. 146; Nicolova, 2017, p. 451).

#### 4. Past future perfect forms – a contrastive-translation comparison with other languages

The contrastive-translation comparison with other languages is limited to English, French and Spanish verb systems which include verb forms whose primary function (or one of the primary functions) is to denote anterior actions/events in the posteriority in the past-time sphere.<sup>5</sup> For expressing such a temporal relation, two **English** tenses can be used: the *indefinite* and *progressive past conditional* (or *future perfect in the past*); the first tense indicates that the action/event is completed before a reference time point, the second one, on the other hand, highlights the fact that the action goes on for some time before a reference time point (cf. 4 – 5; Blaganje and Konte, 2010, pp. 291 – 293). As the Slovene equivalent of both English *past conditionals*, Blaganje and Konte (2010, pp. 291 – 292) propose the *future (prihodnjik)*, for the *progressive past conditional* – more precisely – the *future of imperfective verbs*.<sup>6</sup>

(4) En: They told me that they **would have repaired** my car by eight o'clock (Blaganje and Konte, 2010, p. 292). = Sn: *Rekli so mi, da bodo moj avto popravili do osme ure* (Sn lit. ‘will repair’; RG).

(5) En: He said that by 1<sup>st</sup> October she **would have been studying** at the university for four years (Blaganje and Konte, 2010, p. 292). = Sn: *Rekel je, da bo ona 1. oktobra na univerzi študirala že štiri leta* (Sn lit. ‘will be studying’; RG).

**French** uses the *conditionnel passé (past conditional)* to indicate a completed action/event which follows a certain past reference point, but is anterior with regard to another past moment;<sup>7</sup> its Slovene counterpart would be the *future* (cf. 6 – 7; Jereb, 2009, p. 134).

(6) Fr: Elle voulait savoir s’il **aurait traduit** ce roman avant l’automne. = Sn: *Želela je vedeti, ali bo ta roman prevedel do jeseni* (Jereb, 2009, p. 135) ‘She wanted to know if he would have translated this novel before autumn’ (Sn lit. ‘will translate’; RG).

(7) Fr: Elle a dit qu’elle viendrait quand elle **aurait terminé** son travail. = Sn: *Rekla je, da bo prišla, ko bo končala delo* (Jereb, 2009, p. 135) ‘She said that she would come when she had finished her work’ (Sn lit. ‘will finish’; RG).

<sup>4</sup> According to Antova et al. (2002, p. 146), the English equivalent of Bulgarian past future perfect is *future perfect in the past*.

<sup>5</sup> A more extensive analysis of all verb forms, which can signal this complex temporal relationship would go beyond the scope of this study.

<sup>6</sup> The English *indefinite past conditional* can also be used in main clauses when the dependent clause denotes an unaccomplished condition in the past; in this case, its Slovene equivalent would be the *past conditional (pretekli pogojniki)*; today frequently replaced by the *present conditional*, i.e., *sedanji pogojniki*; see Herry, 2000, p. 185): En: *If he had seen you, he would have spoken to you* (Blaganje and Konte, 2010, p. 292) = *Če bi te videl, bi te ogovoril* (Sn lit. ‘would see ... would speak’) // *Če bi te bil videl, bi te bil ogovoril* (Sn lit. ‘would have seen ... would have spoken’; RG).

<sup>7</sup> The French *conditionnel passé* is also used to express (1) an unaccomplished, imaginary action in the past: Fr: *Comme j’aurais aimé faire ce voyage!* = Sn: *Kako rad bi bil šel na to potovanje!* ‘How I would have loved to make that trip’ (Sn *past conditional*); Fr: *Si tu avais assisté à cette conférence, tu l’aurais vu.* = Sn: *Ko bi se bil udeležil tega predavanja, bi ga videl* ‘If you had attended that conference, you would have seen him’ (Sn *present conditional*); (2) an uncertain statement about a past action: Fr: *Il a eu un terrible accident de voiture. Le frein à main aurait lâché.* = Sn: *Imel je hudo prometno nesrečo. Menda je popustila ročna zavora* ‘He had a terrible car accident. The handbrake had supposedly failed’ (Sn *perfect*, i.e., *preteklik*, preceded by the particle *menda* ‘supposedly’; see Jereb, 2009, pp. 134 – 135).

In **Spanish**, to denote a posterior past action/event, anterior with regard to another posterior event in the past-time sphere, the *condicional compuesto/perfecto* (*perfect/compound conditional*) is used;<sup>8</sup> Markič and Pihler (2008, p. 115) indicate the *future* as its Slovene equivalent (cf. 8).

(8) Sp: *Nos prometieron que cuando regresáramos ya se habrían ido.* = Sn: *Obljubili so nam, da bodo že odšli, ko se bomo mi vrnili* (Markič and Pihler, 2008, p. 115) ‘They promised us that when we returned they would already have left’ (Sn lit. ‘will leave’; RG).

### 5. Slovene equivalents of the Bulgarian past future perfect

In the examined Bulgarian literary works (see section 2 and the list of references), the Bulgarian past future perfect does not occur, thus confirming the limited frequency (infrequency) of this verb form in contemporary Bulgarian (or, in our case, in contemporary Bulgarian literary texts), as stated by Bulgarian linguists (e.g., Antova et al., 2002; Nicolova, 2017).

In the analysed material, which includes text examples from different Bulgarian grammatical works (Stoyanov et al., 1983; Boyadzhiev, 1999; Antova et al., 2002; Nicolova, 2017), the Bulgarian past future perfect is found in **simple** and **complex sentences**.

In **simple sentences**, the reference time point before which a past posterior action/event occurs, is found in the past (cf. 9 – 12) or non-past (cf. 13); in general, the reference time point is expressed by independent time expressions, e.g., *дотогава* ‘by then’, *преди два дена* ‘two days ago’, *досега* ‘by now’ (cf. 11 – 13), which sometimes do not include an explicit anteriority perspective, e.g., *след толкова години* ‘after so many years’, *след една година* ‘after one year’ (cf. 9 – 10). In the translated examples, the Slovene verbal equivalents of the Bulgarian past future perfect include the conditional (*pogojnik*), the perfect (*preteklik*) or even the future (*prihodnjik*) with different temporal-modal values – the conditional draws attention to the realizability, e.g., *bi pozabila, bi se spoznal* (cf. 9, 11), or non-realizability of the action/event, e.g. *bi dobili, bi prepisal ... pozabil* (cf. 12 – 13; see Toporišič, 2000, p. 395), the perfect emphasizes the (supposed) completion of the action/event in the past, e.g. *je pozabila, so se spremenile, sem se spoznal* (cf. 9 – 11; see Toporišič, 2000, pp. 397 – 398, Miklič, 2000, pp. 216 – 217), while the future – used for finished past actions, the so-called “flash-forward” rhetorical device (see Miklič, 2008) – also adds an explicit prospective view, e.g., *se bodo spremenile, se bom spoznal* (cf. 10 – 11). The retrospective perspective can be indicated explicitly by time expressions such as *do takrat* ‘by then’, *pred dvema dnevoma* ‘two days ago’, *do zdaj* ‘by now’ (cf. 11 – 13), in the case of the time expressions *po toliko letih* ‘after so many years’ and *po enem letu* ‘after one year’ (cf. 9 – 10) the retrospectivity is contextually and co-textually inferable, in some cases (cf. 10) it can be emphasized by the particle *že* ‘already’.

(9) Bg: *Дали щеше да го е забравила след толкова години?* (Antova et al., 2002, p. 145) = Sn: *Ali bi ga pozabila (je ... pozabila) po toliko letih?* ‘Would she have forgotten him after so many years?’ (Sn lit. ‘would ... forget; forgot’; RG).

(10) Bg: *Само след една година заплахите щяха да са се превърнали в действителност* (Stoyanov et al., 1983, 350) = Sn: *Samo po enem letu so se grožnje že spremenile (se bodo ...*

<sup>8</sup> In addition, the Spanish *condicional compuesto* can also be used to denote (1) a probable/possible past action (similar to the *pretérito pluscuamperfecto*, i.e., *past perfect*, with adverbs indicating possibility): Sp: *Habrán dado las doce cuando Cenicienta salió corriendo del palacio y perdió un zapato* (*Probablemente habían dado las doce ...*) = Sn: *Ura je verjetno odbila polnoč, ko je Pepelka zbežala iz palače in izgubila čeveljček* ‘It had probably struck twelve when Cinderella ran out of the palace and lost her shoe’ (Sn *perfect* with the particle *verjetno* ‘probably’); (2) a concessive action/event – the author distances himself/herself from a past action/event (together with adversative adverbs such as *pero, sin embargo, no obstante* ‘but’; temporally it corresponds to the *pretérito pluscuamperfecto*): Sp: *Habría sido sometido a una operación difícil pero no se le notaba* = Sn: *Morda je res imel težko operacijo, vendar se mu to ni poznalo* ‘He could have had a difficult operation, but it did not show’ (Sn *perfect* with the particle *morda* ‘maybe’); (3) a past action that did not happen due to an unfulfilled condition (it could also express a polite apology for it): Sp: *Me habría gustado ir con vosotros al cine pero ya había tomado otro compromiso.* = Sn: *Z veseljem bi bil šel z vami v kino, pa sem imel drugo obveznost* ‘I would have loved to go with you to the cinema, but I had already made another commitment’ (Sn *past conditional*); (4) an unaccomplished past action/event in the main clause of conditional and concessive sentences (it competes with the *pluscuamperfecto de subjuntivo*, i.e., *pluperfect subjunctive*): Sp: *Si hubiera estudiado un poco más, habría aprobado el examen.* = Sn: *Ko bi (bil) študiral malo več, bi (bil) naredil izpit* ‘If I had studied more, I would have passed the exam’; Sp: *Aunque me hubiera invitado a su casa, no habría ido.* = Sn: *Čeprav bi me (bil) povabil k sebi domov, ne bi (bil) šel* ‘Even if he had invited me to his house, I wouldn’t have gone’ (Sn *past or present conditional*; see Markič and Pihler, 2008, pp. 115 – 116).

*spremenile*) *v realnost* ‘Only after one year, the threats would have already become reality’ (Sn lit ‘changed; will change’; RG).

(11) Bg: *Дотогава щях да съм се запознал с всички колеги от отдела* (Antova et al., 2002, 145) = Sn: *Do takrat bi se spoznal (sem se spoznal; se bom spoznal) z vsemi kolegi na oddelku* ‘By then, I would have got to know all the colleagues in the department’ (Sn lit. ‘would get to know; got to know; will get to know’; RG).

(12) Bg: *При редовна поща щяхме да сме получили писмото още преди два дена* (Stoyanov et al., 1983, 350) = Sn: *Po redni pošti bi pismo dobili že pred dvema dnevoma* ‘If it were sent by regular mail, we would have already received the letter two days ago’ (Sn lit. ‘would receive’; RG).

(13) Bg: *Досега щях да съм го преписал и да съм забравил* (Stoyanov et al., 1983, p. 350) = Sn: *Do zdaj bi ga prepisal in pozabil* ‘I would have copied it and forgotten about it by now’ (Sn lit. ‘would copy ... forget’; RG).

The Bulgarian past future perfect is also found in **complex sentences** with different dependent clauses: conditional (in most cases), content, relative and causal. In sentences with **conditional clauses**, the past future perfect is found in the main clause, where it indicates an action/event which could have happened, if the action/event in the dependent clause had occurred (or if it were valid, cf. 15). The time point before which a posterior action/event could potentially occur (after a starting past time point) may be found in the past (cf. 14), the present (cf. 15) or the future (cf. 16); the reference point can be specified by an independent time expression (cf. 15 – 16) or not (cf. 14).<sup>9</sup> In complex sentences with conditional clauses, the Bulgarian past future perfect can be translated using the Slovene conditional, which signals the (non)realizability of a past action/event (see Toporišič, 2000, p. 395; Miklič, 2000, p. 227); the anteriority (or the time range of an action; see note 9) can be indicated by a time expression (cf. 15 – 16) or it can be contextually inferable (*until an unspecified moment*, but the possibility of the action/event being completed was interrupted by another action/event; cf. 14).

(14) Bg: *И щяха да са ме напурили на оня свят, ако не бяха хванали Адила* (N. Haytov; Boyadzhiev, 1999, p. 398) = Sn: *Poslali bi me na oni svet, če ne bi ujeli Adila* ‘They would have sent me to the other world, if they had not caught Adil’ (Sn lit. ‘would send’; RG).

(15) Bg: *Ако имаше търговски способности, досега щеше да е забогатял* (Stoyanov et al., 1983, p. 350) = Sn: *Če bi imel trgovske sposobnosti, bi do zdaj obogatel* ‘If he had trading skills, he would have become rich by now’ (Sn lit. ‘would become rich’; RG).

(16) Bg: *Ако не бях изпуснал самолета, утре сутринта щях да съм пристигнал* ‘If I had not missed the airplane, I would have arrived in Dubai tomorrow morning’ (Nicolova, 2017, p. 451) = Sn: *Če ne bi zamudil letala, bi prispel jutri zjutraj* (Sn lit. ‘would arrive’; RG).

In the two Bulgarian sentences with **content clauses** (cited in Antova et al., 2002), the past future perfect represents the action/event in the dependent clause, which is posterior with respect to the action/event in the main clause, but at the same time anterior with respect to the past reference point, as indicated by the time expressions *много преди полунощ* ‘well before midnight’ and *до пет часа* ‘by five o’clock’ (cf. 17 – 18). In both Slovene translations, the Bulgarian past future perfect could be rendered by the future, which indicates posteriority in the past (see Toporišič, 2000, p. 398; Miklič, 2000, pp. 223 – 224), whereas the retrospective view could be expressed by the time expressions *veliko pred polnočjo* and *do pete ure*, corresponding to the above-mentioned Bulgarian expressions.

(17) Bg: *Той знаеше, че щеше да е свършил задачата си много преди полунощ* ‘He knew he would have accomplished the task long before midnight’ (Antova et al., 2002, p. 146) = Sn: *On je vedel, da bo dokončal nalogo veliko pred polnočjo* (Sn lit. ‘will finish’; RG).

(18) Bg: *Бях сигурен, че до пет часа щях да съм отишъл и да съм се върнал* ‘I was certain that I would have gone there and would have come back by five o’clock’ (Antova et al., 2002, p. 146) = Sn: *Bil sem prepričan, da bom do petih odšel in se vrnil* (Sn lit. ‘will leave ... will come back’; RG).

It the examples with **relative** and **causal clauses**, the Bulgarian past future perfect is found in the dependent clause, where it expresses a past action, anterior with respect to a sequence of past posterior actions/events (cf. 19 – 20); the anteriority is signalled with the help of the time expressions *месеци наред* ‘for months’ (cf. 19) and, more explicitly, *предварително* ‘previously’ (cf. 20). Based

<sup>9</sup> In example 16, the time expression represents the time frame in which the action could occur.

on different temporal-modal interpretations, i.e., the action/event can be viewed as realizable or accomplished in the past-time sphere, the Bulgarian past future perfect can be translated either by the Slovene conditional, i.e., *bi bili*, *bi se skril*, or the perfect, i.e., *so bili*, *se je skril* (see Toporišič, 2000, pp. 395, 397; Miklič, 2000, pp. 216, 228 – 229), with the retrospective relation being indicated by the time expressions *(že) več mesecev* ‘(already) for months’ and *predhodno* ‘previously’.<sup>10</sup> In the first example (cf. 19), the future *bodo* could be used as well – introducing the perspective of “flash-forward” (see Miklič, 2008); in the second example (cf. 20), this is not possible because of the hypothetical realizability of the action (something should have happened, but it did not).

(19) Bg: *Застрахователните премии щяха да спаднат, с работниците по пристанищата щяха да се сключат нови споразумения, защото и те щяха да са стояли без работа месеци наред – а те, господарите на житото, щяха да държат високите цени* (P. Spasov; Stoyanov et al., 1983, p. 350) = Sn: *Zavarovalne premije bi padle, z delavci po pristaniščih bi se sklenili novi sporazumi, ker bi tudi ti bili brez dela (že) več mesecev – ti, gospodarji žita, pa bi ohranjali visoke cene* ‘Insurance premiums would have dropped, new contracts would have been signed with dock workers because they too would have been out of work for months – and they, the wheat masters, would have kept the prices high’ (Sn lit. ‘would be’; RG).<sup>11</sup>

(20) Bg: *Акцията трябваше да се развие по следния начин: когато през нощта диверсантът влезеше в мината, Иванов, който предварително щеше да се е скрил вътре, трябваше да запали лампата и да го залови. Но всичко стана малко по-другояче* (Stoyanov et al., 1983, p. 350) = Sn: *Akcija bi morala potekati na naslednji način: ko bi ponoči diverzant vstopal v rudnik, bi moral Ivanov, ki bi se predhodno skril noter, prižgati luč in ga uloviti. A vse se je zgodilo malo drugače* ‘The action should have proceeded in the following way: when the saboteur entered the mine at night, Ivanov, who would have previously hidden inside, should have lit the lamp and caught him. But everything happened a little differently’ (Sn lit. ‘would hide’; RG).<sup>12</sup>

## 6. Discussion and conclusion

The aim of the article was to determine Slovene contrastive equivalents of the Bulgarian past future perfect (*бъдеще предварително време в миналото*). After an initial presentation of the Bulgarian past future perfect and an overview of similar verb forms in English, French and Spanish, including their Slovene equivalents (as indicated in relevant linguistics literature), the analysis of possible Slovene equivalents of the Bulgarian past future perfect followed; the analysis took into consideration verb forms, other linguistic (textual) means, used for signalling (relative) temporality, syntactic structures and contextual factors. The analysis aims to complement the existing contrastive studies of Bulgarian and Slovene, focusing on the interesting and complex domain of verb forms. The Bulgarian past future perfect is formed by the past future of the auxiliary verbs *съм* or *бъда* ‘to be’ and the aorist active participle of the main verb; forms such as *ще бъдех играл*, *ще бъдеше играл*, etc. are very rare. The negative forms consist of the negated past future of the verbs *съм*, *бъда* ‘to be’ or the invariable form *нямаше* and the aorist active participle of the main verb; the negative forms *не щях да съм (бъда) играл*, etc. are very rare. The past future perfect, which is a rarely used Bulgarian verb form, can indicate an action/event, posterior with respect to a past reference time point, but at the same time anterior with respect to another moment/period (found mostly in the past). In addition, the Bulgarian

<sup>10</sup> Because these options apply not only to the Bulgarian past future perfect, but to other verb forms as well, the examples include all the translation possibilities (the translations with the Slovene conditional are in the main text, the other possibilities are provided in the footnotes).

<sup>11</sup> With the **perfect**: *Zavarovalne premije so padle, z delavci po pristaniščih so se sklenili novi sporazumi, ker so tudi ti bili brez dela (že) več mesecev – ti, gospodarji žita, pa so ohranjali visoke cene* ‘Insurance premiums dropped, new contracts were signed with dock workers because they too had been out of work for months – and they, the wheat masters, kept the prices high’; with the **future**: Sn: *Zavarovalne premije bodo padle, z delavci po pristaniščih se bodo sklenili novi sporazumi, ker bodo tudi ti brez dela (že) več mesecev – ti, gospodarji žita, pa bodo ohranjali visoke cene* ‘Insurance premiums will drop, new contracts will be signed with dock workers because they too will have been out of work for months – and they, the wheat masters, will keep the prices high’ (RG).

<sup>12</sup> With the **perfect**: *Akcija bi morala potekati na naslednji način: ko je ponoči diverzant vstopal v rudnik, bi moral Ivanov, ki se je predhodno skril noter, prižgati luč in ga uloviti. A vse se je zgodilo malo drugače* ‘The action should have proceeded in the following way: when the saboteur entered the mine at night, Ivanov, who had previously hidden inside, should have lit the lamp and caught him. But everything happened a little differently’ (RG).

past future perfect can be used to signal a possible, hypothetical or even an accomplished action/event. Verb forms similar to the Bulgarian past future perfect in terms of their use, i.e., indicating an anterior action/event in the past posteriority, include the English past conditional (future perfect in the past), the French conditional passé and Spanish condicional compuesto/perfecto (all these verb forms have, as expected, also other uses). In the examined Bulgarian literary works (see section 2), there are no instances of the past future perfect, thus confirming its infrequent use, as stated in Bulgarian linguistics literature (e.g., in Antova et al., 2002; Nicolova, 2017). The analysis of Slovene equivalents of the Bulgarian past future perfect was consequently contrastive, since it was limited to Slovene contrastive (contrastive-translation) equivalents of the Bulgarian past future perfect, based on literal translations of Bulgarian examples with the analysed verb form, found in four grammar books (i.e., Stoyanov et al., 1983; Boyadzhiev, 1999; Antova et al., 2002; Nicolova, 2017). The Bulgarian past future perfect has different Slovene contrastive equivalents which depend partly on syntactic structures in which they appear. In simple sentences, relative and causal dependent clauses, Slovene equivalents of the Bulgarian past future perfect include the conditional (pogojnik), the perfect (preteklik) and the future (prihodnjik), which are not interchangeable, due to their different temporal-modal potential: the conditional indicates the (non)realizability of an action/event, the perfect signals its (supposed) completion in the past-time sphere, to which the future adds a prospective view (see the rhetorical device of “flash-forward”). In sentences with conditional clauses, the Slovene equivalent of the Bulgarian past future perfect, which is found in the main clause, is the conditional, signalling the (non)realizability of a past action/event. In content clauses, on the other hand, the Bulgarian past future perfect corresponds to the Slovene future, indicating posteriority in the past. The retrospective view can be indicated by time expressions, sometimes already present in the source-text examples, or it can be contextually and co-textually inferable. The results of the study have thus identified the main Slovene linguistic means corresponding to the Bulgarian past future perfect, which in most cases include a verb form and a time expression with a retrospective meaning. At the end, two possible improvements of the study should be mentioned: firstly, a corpus of authentic Slovene translation equivalents would allow an analysis of the actual linguistic means chosen by translators to verbalize the temporal/modal relations signalled by the Bulgarian past future perfect and, secondly, a broader co-text of examples in the linguistics literature would enable a more efficient analysis of different (e.g., temporal, modal) relations expressed by a verb form and a more precise identification of analogous linguistic means in other languages.

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