The Verbal Category of Conditionality in Bulgarian and Its Ukrainian Correspondences

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Abstract

Modern Bulgarian shares a conditional mood with the other Slavic languages, but it also has developed a future-in-the-past tense which is structurally analogous to many Western European languages' category traditionally called a conditional mood in their grammars. The distinction between these two forms is sometimes elusive and can be difficult for native speakers of Slavic languages who are learning Bulgarian. In this paper we consider the uses of the Bulgarian conditional mood and future-in-the-past tense in a parallel corpus of Bulgarian and Ukrainian text, examining the corresponding wording in Ukrainian, where the conditional mood is supplemented by modal verbs, and discuss the breadth of choices open to translators when working in each direction.

Keywords: conditional mood, future in the past, tense, parallel corpus, Bulgarian language, Ukrainian language, translation.

1 Introduction

Modern Bulgarian shares with the other Slavic languages a conditional mood whose forms are composed of a specific auxiliary verb (originally one of the aorist series of the copula, inflecting for person and number in some languages and reduced to an invariable particle in others) and the aorist participle of the main verb (inflected for gender and number): *бих казал(а)* 'I (m./f.) would say', *биха казали* 'they would say', cf. Ukrainian *я сказав би / сказала б, вони б сказали*. But it also has in its tense system, which is an atypically large one for a Slavic language, a future in the past and a future perfect in the past, analogous to the future and the future perfect, except that they use an imperfect form of the future auxiliary instead of the present (reduced to a particle in the affirmative): future in the past *щях да кажа* 'I would say, was going to say', cf. future *ще кажа* 'I will say' < *ща (да)*

кажа (originally 'I want to say'). By virtue of combining preterite and future grammar these tenses bear a structural similarity to verb forms of English and the Romance languages which are sometimes included into the tense system (Колпакчи, 1978: 128ff) but are more often termed a conditional mood, cf. French cond. *je dirais* 'I would say' < *dir(e)* 'to say' + *(av)ais* '(I) had', fut. *je dirai* 'I will say' < *dir(e)* + *ai* '(I) have'.

The other Slavic languages have simplified the tense system to various degrees. Modern Ukrainian counts four tenses (pluperfect, past, present, future). Thus the conditional mood (including a past tense form which is to the regular conditional as the pluperfect is to the past: *пішов би був* 'would have gone (sg. m.)', *сказала б була* 'would have said (sg. f.)'; Білодід (1969: 378–9, 392) labels it variably as a conditional past tense of the indicative and a past tense of the conditional mood) and constructions with modal verbs, mostly in the past tense, are the chief grammatical ways of expressing conditionality.

2 Verbal Conditionality in Bulgarian

The conditional mood and the future-in-the-past tense overlap semantically to a high extent:

(1) *Ако трябваше да му правя компания в гроздовата, вероятно щях тъй да се натряскам, та едва ли бих запомнил нещо от уроците.* 'If I had to keep him company in the grape brandy, I would probably get so plastered that I would hardly remember anything from the lessons.[1]' (B. Raynov, *Don't Make Me Laugh*)

Occasionally in translated texts the two forms appear, for no visible reason, side by side in conjoined

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[1]The English glosses of corpus examples are the authors', except where published translations could be found.

clauses where the original has identical grammatical forms:

(2) *Ако не беше синът над шахматната дъс-ка […], ужасът, който отдавна бе залег-нал в душата ѝ, **би се надигнал** отново […] и **щеше да изсуши** безкръвното ли-це на фрау Райхер.* 'If it weren't for her son at the chessboard […], the terror that had long lain dormant in her soul would rise again […] and would dry up Frau Reicher's bloodless face.' ‖ ⟨ru⟩ *Если бы не сын за шахматной доской […], ужас, давно прилегший в душе, **поднялся бы** опять […] и **высушил** бескровное личико фрау Рейхер.* (A. Tolstoy, 'The Hyperboloid of Engineer Garin')

Sometimes, however, such apparent inconsistency may be grounded in the conditional mood's tendency to express an inclination, to present the event as a possible rather than a necessary consequence of a (perhaps unexpressed) condition (Андрейчин, 1942: 310):

(3) *Защото без мене де **щеше да си** ти сега? Какво **би правил**?* 'For without me where would you be? What would you be doing?' ‖ ⟨fr⟩ *Car, sans moi, où **serais**-tu ? que **ferais**-tu ?* (G. Flaubert, *Madame Bovary*)

(4) *А аз на твое място **щях да я намразя**; и не **бих ѝ се подчинявала** ‖* ⟨en⟩ *And if I were in your place I **should dislike** her; I **should resist** her.* (C. Brontë, *Jane Eyre*)

(5) *Ако тоя негодник Ликон се беше нахвърлил върху мен, **щях да го разбера**, дори **бих му простил**…* 'If that vile Lykon had attempted my life I could understand, even forgive him.' ‖ ⟨pl⟩ *Gdyby ten podły Lykon targnął się na moje życie, jeszcze **rozumiałbym**, nawet **prze-baczył**…* (B. Prus, Pharaoh)

In these examples one might sense a slight difference between the two verbs, in that being somewhere, dislike and understanding are less controllable and volitional than doing something, resistance and forgiveness, correlating with the use of the first verb in the future in the past and the second in the conditional mood.

Another difference which can also come up when the forms are coordinated is the future in the past referring to a time following what the conditional refers to:

(6) *Много неща, много дребни случки, които инак **биха останали** незабелязани или **щя-ха да се забравят**, сега се припомваха и се разказваха не за първи и не за втори път.* 'Many things, many minor events that would otherwise have remained unnoticed or would have been forgotten, were now recalled and retold more than once or twice.' (Y. Yovkov, 'Albena')

(7) *Наистина с Георгий Василиович **бих се чув-ствувал** по-спокоен, но при него дълго **щях да си остана** момче за всичко.* 'Of course, I would feel more at ease with Georgy Vasyliovych, but under him I would have remained an errand boy for a long time.' ‖ ⟨uk⟩ *Звичайно, з Георгієм Васильовичем спокійніше, але під ним я довго **був би** на побігеньках.* (V. Drozd, *A Lonely Wolf*)

The temporal meaning of the future in the past is, in the well-known scheme of (Reichenbach, 1947: 288–298), $E > R, R < S$: the time of the event E follows the time of reference R, which precedes the time of speech S (Figure 1). Reichenbach points out (p. 297f) that this configuration does not correspond to a tense in the traditional grammar of English, although in *I did not expect that he **would win** the race* what is classified as a form of the conditional mood functions as a tense in the indicative, as do the 'transcriptions' in *I did not expect that he **was going to win** the race* and *the king lavished his favor on the man who **was to kill** him*; he gives this tense the 'new name' **first, second or third posterior past** depending on whether E precedes, matches or follows S, these three belonging to the same fundamental form. (Ницолова, 2008: 269, 311f) offers the formula $R < S, R < E < S$, which implies that the Bulgarian future in the past is Reichenbach's first posterior past, although this is neither universal nor essential to its being a future ($E > R$) in the past ($R < S$).
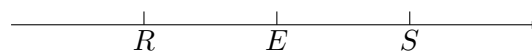

Figure 1: Future in the past: typical temporal meaning

Some examples of its use with this meaning in translated fiction, along with the originals, where the expressions vary from the Italian conditional through the French near future to a German modal verb:

(8) *По-късно Никита **щеше да се смае**, като научи, че този мъж е на повече от шейсет години.* 'Niketas would soon be even more amazed to learn that this man was over sixty years old.' || $\boxed{\text{it}}$ *Niceta **si sarebbe** poi **stupito**, apprendendo che quell'uomo aveva più di sessantanni.* (U. Eco, *Baudolino*)

(9) ***Щеше да се бие** на дуел. Не можеше да го избегне.* 'He was going to fight a duel. He could no longer avoid it.' || $\boxed{\text{fr}}$ *Il **allait se battre** en duel. Il ne pouvait plus éviter cela.* (G. de Maupassant, *Bel-Ami*)

(10) *Но още на другия ден **щеше да бъде изготвен** и редовният договор.* 'But already on the following day the regular contract would be produced also.' || $\boxed{\text{de}}$ *Am folgenden Tag schon **sollte** ein gültiger Vertrag **ausgefertigt werden**.* (J. Krüss, *Timm Thaler, or the Traded Laughter*)

(11) *Беше месец май, следобед **нямаше да има** учебни занимания.* 'It was May, there would be no classes in the afternoon.' || $\boxed{\text{en}}$ *It was May, a half-holiday.* (W. Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*)

The modal (counterfactual) meaning assumes that the future branches at or after the reference time, and the event is located on an alternative (imaginary) timeline, which turns it into a conditional (Figure 2). Here, too, its position in time relative to the utterance is not essential.
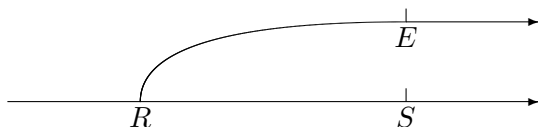

Figure 2: Future in the past: modal meaning

The conditional mood mentions conditionality in its name, but Андрейчин (1942: 306) tellingly only brings it up in the second sentence of the definition of the category, elevating possibility to the status of its principal meaning:

> The conditional mood means an action that is presented as conceivably *possible* in the future. Usually the possibility of performing a certain action is placed in relation to the fulfilment of some condition, therefore this mood is usually found in conditional sentences.

The conditional often replaces the indicative as a means of softening the utterance, with the curious effect that it is more likely to express an unconditional event than the future in the past of the indicative. Compare:

(12) *А аз **бих ви помолил** да останете тук, да ми помогнете.* 'And I would ask you to stay here, to help me.' || $\boxed{\text{ru}}$ *А я вас **попросил бы** остаться здесь, помочь мне.* (V. Shishkov, *Gloomy River*) (In fact he is asking, the conditional merely signalling politeness; an attempt to interpret it as a *bona fide* conditional – 'I would ask if it were not too much trouble for you' – breaks against the addressee's unenthusiastic reply, which proves that he would rather go, but takes the request as made.)

(13) ***Бих ви помолил** да ми дадете заповедта — тя лежи на масата ви — каза кротко Авакум.* '"I would ask you to give me the order—it is on your desk," Avakum said softly.' (A. Gulyashki, 'The Momchilovo Affair') (Again, in fact he is asking.)

(14) *След миг, рече той, **щял да помоли** присъствуващите да вдигнат тост.* (G. Orwell, *Animal Farm*) || $\boxed{\text{en}}$ *In a moment, he said, he **would ask** the present company to drink a toast.* (And in fact at the end of his speech he does ask them to.)

(15) *Искате ли да вземем колите? — Тъкмо това **щях да ви помоля**.* (E. Hemingway, *A Farewell to Arms*) || $\boxed{\text{en}}$ *"[…] Would you like us to take the cars?" "That's what I **wanted to ask** you."* (In the event he won't ask because the other offered it himself, so there was no longer any point.)

(16) ***Щях да помоля** да видим рубините, когато телефонът иззвъня и Гетсби взе слушалката.* (F. S. Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*) || $\boxed{\text{en}}$ *I **was going to ask** to see the collection of rubies when the phone rang and Gatsby took up the receiver.* (And he never does ask because the events take a different course.)

The effect of all this is that the relation between these two forms can be hard to understand for speakers of other Slavic languages, and is worth studying in contrast.

3 On the Parallel Corpus

The working Bulgarian–Ukrainian parallel corpus is composed entirely of fiction (mostly novels, but also short stories), including both original Bulgarian and Ukrainian texts and translations from other languages. The material has been obtained from electronic libraries or from paper editions through scanning, optical character recognition and error correction by *ad hoc* software tools and by hand. The current version is made of ten sectors, each composed of texts with the same original language and counting approximately 1.52 mln words on the Bulgarian and 1.34 mln words on the Ukrainian side. This amounts to a total size close to 28.6 million words. Two sectors contain translations from English and two from Russian (because of the larger amount of text available); the remaining original languages are Bulgarian, French, German, Italian, Polish and Ukrainian. All texts are aligned at sentence level. (See (Derzhanski and Siruk, 2022) and (Держански and Сирук, 2023) for recent examples of uses of the corpus in comparative research of selected grammatical categories in Bulgarian and Ukrainian.)

In the corpus we sought out all occurrences of the conditional mood and the future (perfect) in the past, regardless of evidentiality, on the Bulgarian side. It would have been beneficial to exclude the future (perfect) conclusive and renarrative (*щял съм да разбера* '[apparently or reportedly] I would understand'), but in most forms they coincide with the future (perfect) in the past and are very difficult to differentiate. Non-declarative (conclusive and renarrative) forms constitute 5,76% of the lot. There are 38 occasions on which the mood or tense auxiliary is present but the main verb is absent (elided, or the utterance is cut short). They could have been left out, but we decided not to; that would have had little effect, as they account for just over 0.1% of the data.

A total of 35861 uses of the conditional mood and future-in-the-past tense forms in the Bulgarian texts in the corpus were found. Table 1 presents, in decreasing order of the total number of hits, their distribution by sectors and the number of corresponding *б(и)* (conditional mood markers) in the Ukrainian texts.

The sectors are conspicuously divided into those where the language of the original is a non-Slavic one and those where it is Slavic: in the former there are $\frac{3}{4}$ times more occurrences of the forms we are

Sect	Hits	%*б(и)*	Sect	Hits	%*б(и)*
E1	5120	48.07	Pl	3524	67.14
De	4729	48.76	Bg	2888	64.30
E2	4618	42.38	Uk	2278	73.84
Fr	4305	56.45	R2	2258	75.73
It	4127	43.59	R1	2014	78.55

Table 1: Number of occurrences of the Bulgarian conditional and future in the past by sector of the corpus.

considering, but in the latter the ratio of corresponding *б(и)* is higher by $\frac{1}{4}$.

In this study we concentrate on the examples from the Bulgarian and the Ukrainian sector, that is, the pairs which consist of an original and a translated sentence.

4 The Conditional Mood

As Table 2 demonstrates, the conditional mood is used in Bulgarian original texts ('Bg orig') about 1.5 times more often than in Bulgarian translations of Ukrainian literature ('Bg←Uk'); the columns labelled '+ *б(и)*' and '− *б(и)*' say respectively how many times a corresponding *б(и)* is present or absent in the parallel Ukrainian text. The verb which

	+ *б(и)*	− *б(и)*	Total
Bg orig	1351	480	1831
Bg←Uk	1047	192	1239
total	2398	672	3070

Table 2: Distribution of the conditional mood

appears by far most often in this mood is *мога* 'can, may', followed by *трябвам* 'be needed', *искам* 'want', *съм* 'be' and *кажа* 'say' (Table 3). (The next

Sector	Bg orig	Bg←Uk	Total
мога	493	263	756
трябвам	132	103	235
искам	64	122	186
съм	88	73	161
кажа	101	49	150

Table 3: Verbs most frequently used in the conditional

one on the list, *направя* 'do', has 42 occurrences.) The distribution over the sectors is uneven: the ratio of occurrences in the Bulgarian sector to the Ukrainian one is 2:1 for *мога* and *кажа*, 5:4 for *трябвам* and *съм*, but only 1:2 for *искам*. Even more dramatically, *би следвало* 'it would follow, would be right'

occurs 38 times in original Bulgarian texts and not at all in translations from Ukrainian; its close counterpart and cognate *слід було б* tends to be translated as *би трябвало*.

With its 2398 occurrences the conditional mood is the most frequent Ukrainian correspondence to the cognate Bulgarian category by a wide marge:

(17) *О, това **би било** ужасно.* 'Oh, this would be terrible.' || *О, то **було б** жахливо.* (O. Honchar, *Your Star*)

It is followed by the present, past or future indicative form of the verb (181, 150 and 121 occurrences, respectively):

(18) *Сега помагам на баща си, но **бих искал** да си намеря работа.* 'I help my father for now, but I would like to find a job.' || *Поки що просто батькові допомагаю, але **хочу** знайти десь роботу.* (E. Pelin, *Yan Bibiyan on the Moon*)

(19) *Нищо по-сладко **не би могла** да ми каже Олена.* 'There was no sweeter thing that Olena could tell me.' || *Нічого солодшого для мене **не могла** сказати Олена.* (V. Drozd, *A Lonely Wolf*)

(20) *Какво **бихте казали** за един малък бридж?* 'What would you say of a little bridge?' || *Що ви **скажете** з приводу невеличкого бриджу?* (B. Raynov, *Typhoons with Gentle Names*)

The use of the conditional mood in a conditional subordinate clause, which is very common in other Slavic languages, is largely obsolete in Bulgarian. There are only 18 instances of it in each of the two sectors. In exactly half of these the main verb is in the conditional mood as well. Only on two occasions it is in the future in the past. There are also eight cases when there is no main clause, the sentence expressing longing. In 29 of the Ukrainian sentences there is *б(и)* as well.

(21) *Да **би могъл**, **би отстранил** и **унищожил** и нея.* 'If he could, he would depose and destroy her as well.' || *Коли **б сила та воля**, він і її **усунув би й знищив**.* (P. Zahrebelnyi, *Roksolana*)

(22) *Ако два дни по-рано някой **би ми казал**, че това стройно и безупречно изваяно тяло принадлежи на Грейс, **щях да му предложа** да иде да се удави.* 'If someone had told

me two days earlier that this slender and impeccably sculpted body belonged to Grace, I would have suggested that he go and drown himself.' || *Коли **б** два дні тому хто-небудь **сказав мені**, що це струнке й бездоганне тіло належить Грейс, я **запропонував би** йому піти й утопитися.* (B. Raynov, *The Great Boredom*)

(23) *О, ако **биха били пренесени** на Земята!* 'Oh, if they would be transferred to Earth!' || *О, **якби взяти** все те на Землю!...* (E. Pelin, *Yan Bibiyan on the Moon*)

5 The Future-in-the-Past Tense

We include here the future perfect in the past, but in fact it only occurs twice in these two sectors (out of 34 times in the entire corpus), both times in the same book and with almost the same verb in the same meaning (though translated in different ways):

(24) *Предполагам, че ако познавах по-добре Майнц, и тримата отдавна **щяха да са ме загубили** като спътник* 'I suppose if I knew Mainz better, all three would have lost me as a companion long ago' || *Мабуть, коли б я трохи краще знав Майнц, то ця трійця вже **тільки б мене й бачила** [...]* (B. Raynov, *You Cannot Tell the Day by the Morning*)

(25) *Ако я виждах, вероятно вече **щях да съм ви изгубил** като събеседник.* 'If I saw it, I probably would have already lost you as a conversation partner.' (ibid.) || *Коли б бачив, то, напевне, уже **б змушений був втратити вас** як співрозмовника.* (lit. '... I would have been obliged to lose you'.)

Table 4 attests that the future in the past appears with approximately equal frequency in Bulgarian translations of Ukrainian literature and in original Bulgarian texts. When Bulgarian authors use it, Ukrainian translators use the conditional somewhat less than half of the time. When Ukrainian authors use the conditional, Bulgarian translators are much more likely to use the future in the past than not to.

The verb which appears most often in this tense is *бъда* 'be (perf.)', followed by *съм* 'be (imperf.)', *имам* 'have' and *стана* 'become; happen' (Table 5). (The next one is *видя* 'see', with 32 occurrences.) For some reason, although *бъда* and *съм* in the future in the past are in free variation, the first is a

	+ б(и)	− б(и)	Total
Bg orig	506	551	1057
Bg←Uk	635	404	1039
total	1141	955	2096

Table 4: Distribution of the future in the past

Sector	Bg orig	Bg←Uk	Total
бъда	84	54	138
съм	24	46	70
имам	36	28	64
стана	32	30	62

Table 5: Verbs most often used in the future in the past

good deal more frequent in the Bulgarian sector (84) and the second in the Ukrainian one (46).

A reservation may be made concerning the passive voice, whose building is one of the functions of these two verbs. Although they are 'generally synonymous' there as well (Ницолова, 2008: 239), there is a tendency for the passive with *съм* to describe the result of the event, which happens only once in the Bulgarian and twice in the Ukrainian sector,

(26) *Ако имахте късмет, задачата ви* **щеше вече да е приключена** *и в тоя час навярно щяхте да се движите нейде между Залцбург и Виена […]* 'If you were lucky, your mission would have been completed already and at this moment you would probably be travelling somewhere between Salzburg and Vienna' || *Коли б вам щастило, ваше завдання* **вже закінчилося б** *і в цей час ви вже їхали б десь між Зальцбургом і Віднем […]* (B. Raynov, *You Cannot Tell the Day by the Morning*)

(27) *За приказки със стареца повече подхождаше друго време, когато* **нямаше да е погълнат** *от риболовното си занимание […]* 'Another time was better suited for talking to the old man, when he would not have been engrossed in his fishing activity' || *Для балачок із Катратим вибирай зручніший час, коли він* **не буде поглинутий** *оцим своїм ловецьким заняттям […]* (O. Honchar, *The Cathedral*)

(28) *Да не бе тя […,] сигурно душата му* **нямаше да е претъпкана** *с долни грехове.* 'If it were not for her […], probably his soul would not be packed with vile sins.' || *Коли б не вона*

[…], певне, його нутро **не було б до краю забите** *усяким гріхоплутством.* (M. Stelmakh, *The Four Fords*)

and for the passive with *бъда* to denote the event itself, which is much more common (14 and 15 examples, respectively, in the two sectors).

(29) *Неочакваното излизане на двамата генерали от приема […] скоро* **щеше да бъде забравено**, *ако Фред Барнаби не беше казал на мисис Джаксън […], че се наложило пашите веднага да заминат за фронта.* 'The unexpected exit of the two generals from the reception […] would soon have been forgotten, if Fred Barnaby had not told Mrs Jackson […] that the pashas had to leave at once for the front.' || *Раптовий відʼїзд двох генералів […] швидко* **б забули**, *якби Фред Барнабі не сказав місіс Джексон […], що пашам наказано негайно виїхати на фронт.* (S. Dichev, *The Way to Sofia*)

(30) *Паднеше ли тази най-близка до земята на Османовци твърдина на Хабсбургите, всичко* **щеше да бъде забравено**: *и позорът от неуспехите, и бездарността на сераскера — великия везир […]* 'If this fortress of the Habsburgs, the closest one to the Ottomans' land, were to fall, all would be forgotten: the shame of the failures, the ineptitude of the serasker—the grand vizier' || *Узяти цю твердиню Габсбургів, найближчу до земель Османів, — і* **забудеться** *ганьба невдач, нездарність сераскера — великого візира […].* (P. Zahrebelnyi, *Roksolana*)

The verb *мога* 'can, may', which is the most frequent one in the conditional, with 756 occurrences (Table 3), occurs a total of four times in the future in the past, with different degrees of factuality:

(31) **Щеше ли да може** *да ги види още веднаж?* 'Would he be able to see them once more?' || **Чи доведеться йому** *побачити їх ще хоч раз?* (E. Pelin, *The Gerak Family*)

(32) *Тогава „гърмящото копие"* **нямаше да може** *да пуска невидими стрели и ние щяхме да нападнем хаубау!* 'Then the "thundering spear" would not have been able to shoot invisible arrows and we would have attacked the Haubau!' || *Тоді б вогненний лук* **не зміг пускати** *свої невидимі стріли, й ми вчинили б напад на гаубау…* (G. Ugarov, *In*

the Exile's Footsteps) (context: if the magician had doped the white man)

(33) *Още малко — и **нямаше да можем** да стреляме.* 'A while more—and we would not have been able to shoot.' || *Ще трохи — і **не могли б** стріляти.* (Y. Yovkov, 'A Bulgarian Woman') (context: if the protagonist had not brought water to cool the machine-guns)

(34) *Хома го стисна толкова силно, че ако по-желаеше да разтвори сега пръсти, едва ли **щеше да може**.* 'Khoma squeezed [the bayonet] so hard that if he now wanted to open his fingers, he would hardly have been able to do so.' || *Хома стис його так міцно, що коли б він і захотів розігнути зараз власні пальці, то вже **не розігнув би**.* (O. Honchar, *Guideon Bearers*)

The second in line *трябвам* 'be needed' and the fourth *искам* 'want' do not occur in this tense in the Bulgarian or Ukrainian sector at all (in the rest of the corpus they do so 6 and 26 times, respectively).

The most common counterpart of the Bulgarian future in the past is the Ukrainian conditional mood again (1141 occurrences as per Table 4, including a few where the Ukrainian form is a past conditional):

(35) *— Ако ме беше изслушал, **щеше** всичко **да разбереш**!* 'If you had listened to me, you would have understood everything!' || *Коли б ти вислухав мене, ти **б** усе **зрозумів**!* (P. Vezhinov, *Traces Remain*)

(36) *А още тогава можеха да се намерят и той **щеше да остане** да живее в колибата, **нямаше да се връща** със старите си крака през зимата до Унгария.* 'They would have found one another then, and he, the white-haired one, would have lived next to her, he would not be returning to Hungary now, in the winter.' || *А вже тоді були б віднайшли себе, **був би** він, білоголовий, коло неї **зажив**, нараз тяжкою зимою **не вертав** в Угорщину.* (O. Kobylianska, *On Sunday Morning She Gathered Herbs*)

It is followed by the future indicative of the verb (528):

(37) *Войната **щеше да има** край, а този край можеше да бъде само един — победа.* 'The war would have an end, and this end could

only be one—victory.' || *Війна **матиме** кінець, а цей кінець може бути лише один — перемога.* (M. Marchevski, *Tambuktu Island*)

(38) *Крал Франсоа основа в Париж кралска библиотека, която след време **щеше да стане** Национална.* 'King François founded in Paris a royal library which would become National in time.' || *Король Франціск заснував у Парижі королівську бібліотеку, яка згодом **стане** Національною.* (P. Zahrebelnyi, *Roksolana*)

This example features an interesting interplay of tenses and moods in the original and the translation:

(39) *Аз те знам, ти имаш високо мнение за себе си, но Юлия е по-добра от тебе и ако беше на твоите години, сигурно **щеше да бъде** и по-умна...* 'I know you, you think highly of yourself, but Yulia is better than you and if she were of your age, surely she would be smarter as well…' || *Я тебе знаю, ти високої думки про себе, але Юлія краща за тебе, і коли їй буде стільки років, скільки тобі, вона напевно **буде** розумнішою...* (P. Vezhinov, *Traces Remain*) '… and when she is as old as you are [now], she will surely be smarter'.

Yulia is younger than Pesho, and less smart ($y < p$) only because of this; in the original the speaker considers an imaginary situation in which she is as old as Pesho is (Figure 3), and in the translation the
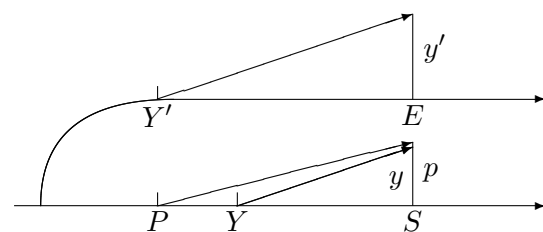

Figure 3: Yulia and Pesho in the Bulgarian original

prospective one in which she will be so old (Figure 4); in other words, the real present Pesho is outsmarted ($p < y'$) by Yulia from the alternative universe where they are of the same age in the original, and by the future Yulia in the translation. Thus the meaning for which Bulgarian uses the future in the past is rendered into Ukrainian without any reference to the past.

The third most frequent choice for rendering the Bulgarian future in the past into Ukrainian is a past
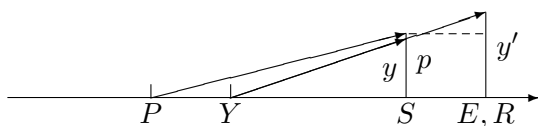
Figure 4: Yulia and Pesho in the Ukrainian translation

tense form of a modal verb plus the infinitive of the main verb (191). The modal verb in the Ukrainian sector is overwhelmingly (47 of 53 times) *мати* 'have to, need to', a verb that in the Bulgarian sector is also the most common one, but accounts for under half of the examples (57 of 138), with *хотіти* 'want' a significant second, followed by *збиратися* 'intend', *могти* 'can, may' and several others:

(40) *Въпреки това вечерта се затътрах към училището където* **щеше да бъде** *театърът.* 'And yet, in the evening I wandered off to the school, where the show was going to be.' || *I все ж таки увечері я поплентався до школи, де* **мав бути** *театр.* (M. Stelmakh, *The Geese and Swans Are Flying*)

(41) **Щеше да каже** *нещо, но погледът му се спря на Митка:* 'He was going to say something, but his eyes stopped on Mitko.' || **Хотів щось сказати**, *але тут його погляд зупинився на Миткові: […]* (Y. Yovkov, 'A Night-time Guest')

(42) **Нямаше да го направя**, *разбира се, но защо трябваше да ме постави в такова неудобно положение.* 'I wasn't going to do it, of course, but why did he have to put me into such an uncomfortable situation." || *Звичайно, я* **не збирався цього робити**, *але чому він ставить мене в таке незручне становище?* (P. Vezhinov, *When You Are in the Boat*)

In other words, Bulgarian translators reach for the future in the past when the Ukrainian modal verb is *мати*, whereas Ukrainian translators consider a wider variety of modal verbs.

A few examples of two conjoined future-in-the-past tenses to which different forms correspond in Ukrainian:

(43) *Колебанието беше между зрелия фасул, което* **щеше да бъде** *по-евтино, и готвеното с месо, което* **щеше да бъде** *по-приятно.* 'The hesitation was between kidney beans, which would be cheaper, and the meat stew, which would be nicer.' ||

Вагалася між квасолею, яка **була б** *дешевша, і м'ясною стравою, яка* **мала бути** *смачніша.* (P. Vezhinov, *An Incident in the Quiet Street*)

(44) *Климент си мислеше изтръпнал за ужасите на войната, но не за ужасите, които* **щеше да види** *след час, а за ония, които* **нямаше да види** 'Kliment was thinking with a shudder about the horrors of the war, but not the horrors he would see within an hour, rather the ones he would not see' || *Климент невідступно думав про жахи війни, але не про ті жахи, які* **мав бачити** *за годину, а про ті, яких йому ніколи* **не судилось побачити** (S. Dichev, *The Way to Sofia*)

(45) *Живееше в Топкапъ като в мраморна гробница. Тук* **щеше и да умре**, *тук* **щяха да замлъкнат** *и нейните песни, и песните за нея.* 'She lived in Topkapi as in a marble tomb. She would die here too, her songs and the songs for her would fall silent here.' || *Жила в Топкапи, як у мармуровій корсті, тут* **мала й умерти**, *тут* **умовкнуть** *її пісні і пісні для неї.* (P. Zahrebelnyi, *Roksolana*)

What makes the relatively frequent occurrence of a modal verb in the past tense in Ukrainian as a counterpart of the Bulgarian future in the past is that from the example of other languages (and by analogy with the Ukrainian synthetic future in *робитиму* 'I will do' < *робити* 'to do' + *маю* 'I have') it is known that this is how the future-in-the-past tense (or 'conditional mood' of Western European languages) is born.

6 Conclusions

There are some interesting asymmetries in the translation of tenses and moods.

The Ukrainian present tense serves for rendering the Bulgarian conditional mood with greater frequency than the Bulgarian conditional mood is used for rendering Ukrainian present tense forms. Mostly this concerns *би могло* 'it could be', to a lesser extent *би трябвало* 'it should be' and some others, which abound in original Bulgarian texts but lose their stylistic palliation in the hands of Ukrainian translators. In the opposite direction the palliation neither exists in the original nor appears in the translation.

The Ukrainian conditional mood is used for rendering the Bulgarian future in the past with lesser

frequency than the Bulgarian future in the past is used for rendering the Ukrainian conditional mood. Here it is harder to name the reasons; the stylistics of the texts in the corpus may be among them, but the issue deserves further study. And certainly so do the Ukrainian conditional mood and its correspondences in Bulgarian in their own right.

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