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TWELFTH FORUM BULGARIAN GRAMMAR

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The Twelfth Forum *Bulgarian Grammar*, dedicated to **Bulgarian Grammar and the Balkan Sprachbund**, was held in Sofia on 20–21 October 2025. It was organised by the Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Department of Modern Bulgarian Language at St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo.

Welcome addresses were delivered by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Polina Tsoncheva, Dean of the Faculty of Philology at St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo; Assoc. Prof. Dr. Radoslav Tsonev, Dean of the Faculty of Philology at South-West University Neofit Rilski; and Prof. Dr. Svetla Koeva, Director of the Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

The main theme of the Forum, *Bulgarian Grammar and the Balkan Sprachbund*, involved the exploration of a variety of issues relating both to the morphology and syntax of Bulgarian and to its grammatical characteristics from a typological perspective. Discussions focused on the following thematic areas: Bulgarian grammar in a Slavic and Balkan context; analyticism in Modern Bulgarian; the transition from syntheticism to analyticism (from both

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synchronic and diachronic perspectives); the relationship between Balkanisms and analyticism; Modern Bulgarian grammar – including grammatical features of the nominal system, trends in the development of the pronominal system, the category of definiteness/indefiniteness, the formation of degrees of comparison, the verbal tense system, evidentiality categories, subordinate constructions, the subjunctive and remnants of the infinitive; innovations in the grammatical system of Bulgarian in comparison with other Balkan languages; Turkic influence on Bulgarian and other Balkan languages within the Balkan Sprachbund; Bulgarian linguistics and Balkan studies – history, current state, and future perspectives. The objective of the Forum was not merely to provide definitive answers, but to facilitate the exchange of ideas, propose hypotheses, and – continuing the tradition of previous forums – create an environment for direct scholarly dialogue.

The 2026 Supplement of *Balgarski ezik* includes 26 papers presented at the Forum.

The programme for the first day (20 October) featured three plenary talks, two of which – delivered by Stoyan Burov (St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo) and Iliyana Krapova (Ca' Foscari University of Venice) – are included in this Supplement. The plenary lecture *Competition of Linguistic Forms* by Stefana Dimitrova (Institute for Bulgarian Language, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) will be published elsewhere. On the second day, 21 October, plenary talks were delivered by Petya Asenova (Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski) and Christina Markou (Democritus University of Thrace); the latter will also appear in another volume of the Institute for Bulgarian Language.

In her lecture *The Bulgarian Language Area – Slavic Periphery and Balkan Centre*, Petya Asenova convincingly argues that, contrary to expectations based on areal linguistics, Bulgarian represents the most advanced stage of development among the Slavic languages. All characteristic features of the Balkan Sprachbund (Balkanisms), predominantly in the domain of morphosyntax, are concentrated in Bulgarian. Prof. Asenova consistently demonstrates that Bulgarian grammar is fundamentally Balkan in nature, and that Modern Bulgarian is typologically more distant from the Slavic grammatical type than any other modern Slavic language.

In *On the Specificity of Modern Bulgarian Grammar*, Stoyan Burov addresses issues related to syntheticism and analyticism in Bulgarian grammar and examines the correlation between word length and the degree of syntheticism-analyticism. His conclusion, that different parts of speech display an uneven transition from syntheticism to analyticism, discussing this within the

broader Slavic and Balkan context, as well as in relation to the languages of the so-called European Language Area.

Iliyana Krapova's study *Factive Complementisers in Three Balkan Languages* adheres to the classical definition of factivity as a relationship between a factive matrix predicate and the truth value of the embedded proposition. The analysis demonstrates how specific grammatical means reflect semantic distinctions between declarative and factive statements, and how, in Balkan languages, the choice of complementiser is associated with the way in which the truth value is represented and processed.

The programme on the first day of the Forum was organised into five thematic sections.

The joint paper by Valentin Geshev (Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski) and Elisaveta Balabanova (University of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy), *A Persistent Word Order Pattern in Bulgarian: From the Tenth Century to the Present Day*, shows that the discontinuous positioning of the subject and predicate, resulting from the insertion of adverbial modifiers, forms a structural pattern consistently attested from Old Bulgarian through Early Modern to Modern Bulgarian.

In her article *On the Formation of the Degrees of Comparison of Absolute Qualifying and Relational Adjectives in Contemporary Bulgarian*, Verka Sasheva (St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo) examines classes of adjectives traditionally regarded as non-gradable. She interprets the increasing frequency of comparative and superlative forms of these adjectives as evidence of a strengthening tendency towards analyticism in contemporary Bulgarian, driven not only by lexical factors but also by stylistic and pragmatic considerations.

The study by Maria Ilieva and Vladislav Marinov (St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo), *Current Trends in the Use of Certain Forms of Personal Pronouns*, explores the competition between full and shortened accusative and dative forms of first- and second-person singular personal pronouns in Bulgarian. Their comprehensive empirical investigation demonstrates that the shortened forms *мен* and *теб* are preferred to *мене* and *тебе* in both formal and informal contexts and are perceived as more prestigious.

Krasimira Chakarova and Desislava Dimitrova (Paisii Hilendarski University of Plovdiv) present a study on *Negation in Modern Bulgarian and Modern Greek: Instances of Linguistic Symmetry and Asymmetry*. They analyse specific negation modifiers as well as phenomena such as multiple negation and quasi-negation, with the aim of identifying patterns of interlingual symmetry and asymmetry.

In her article *Pronominal Clitic Reduplication of the Type "мене ме", "тебе те"*, Irena Ruseva (Paisii Hilendarski University of Plovdiv) analyses the characteristic features of this type of construction, including its syntactic position, interaction with certain grammatical categories, and possible usage constraints.

In the study *Gender in the Balkan Languages*, Velin Petrov (St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo) examines similarities and differences in the development of the grammatical category of gender in Bulgarian, Albanian, Romanian, and Greek, while also drawing comparisons with other Slavic and Romance languages.

Galina Brusseva and Radostina Koleva (Paisii Hilendarski University of Plovdiv) present their study *Observations on Common-gender Nouns in Contemporary Bulgarian and Greek*. They analyse the formal, semantic, and stylistic properties of nouns with semantic common gender in both languages and explore their origins.

The article *The Bulgarian Category of Definiteness/Indefiniteness as a Matrix for Describing the Article System of the Balkan Languages* by Andrey N. Sobolev (Institute for Linguistic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; Philipps University of Marburg, Germany) and Elena Yu. Ivanova (Institute for Linguistic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; Saint Petersburg State University, Russia) identifies Bulgarian as the base language for investigating the functions of definiteness markers in the Balkan languages and for constructing a matrix to establish Balkan functional correspondences within this grammatical category.

In *Direct Address Phrases with the Particle ма in Modern Bulgarian*, Georgi Georgiev (Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski) explores the means of expressing address in Bulgarian, with particular attention to vocative forms and the behaviour of constructions containing the particle "ма" in direct-address phrases. The study establishes a correlation between the position of the particle within the address phrase and the position of the phrase within the sentence structure.

Bistra Andreeva (Saarland University, Germany), Mitko Sabev (Saarland University, Germany), Christoph Gabriel (Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz, Germany), and Jonas Grünke (University of Regensburg, Germany) explore the intonation of address forms in Judeo-Spanish and Bulgarian in their contribution *Calling Contours in Language Contact between Judeo-Spanish and Bulgarian*. The statistical analyses are based on recorded speech data and consider the effects of three independent variables – pragmatic context, linguistic variety, and gender – leading to conclusions about differences in

intonational contours of address forms among bilingual and monolingual respondents.

Milena Vidralska (Paisii Hilendarski University of Plovdiv) studies classification models of adverbs in grammars from a historical perspective, spanning the period from the Bulgarian National Revival to the present day. Her article *An Overview of Adverb Classification Models from Revival-Era Grammars to the Present Day* examines the influence of semantic, syntactic, and morphological criteria on the development of these classification models, and discusses controversial issues concerning the categorisation of certain groups of adverbs.

The programme for the second day of the Forum also included five thematic sections.

In her survey paper *Balkan Studies and the Balkan Slavic Area from a Diachronic and Synchronic Perspective (with Reference to Standard Languages and Language Standardisation)*, Tsenka Ivanova (St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo) examines the role of standard languages and standardisation processes in preserving or weakening Balkan linguistic features. The conclusions highlight the dependence of standardisation on various extra-linguistic factors – such as state borders, the influence of the educational system, political decisions, emotional self-identification – which together shape the complex landscape of the Balkan Slavic language area.

In his study *The Bulgarian Verbal Category of Conditionality in a Balkan Context and Beyond (The Future-in-the-Past and Conditional Forms in the Bulgarian Translation of George Orwell's 1984 and Their Correspondences in the Serbian, Romanian, Hungarian, and English Versions)*, Ivan Derzhanski (Institute of Mathematics and Informatics, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) offers a comparative analysis of the Bulgarian, Romanian, Serbian, and Hungarian translations of George Orwell's novel *1984* and the original English text, with a focus on the Bulgarian future in the past and conditional forms and their equivalents in the other languages. On the basis of extensive illustrative material and cross-linguistic comparisons, the study draws conclusions about the functional counterparts in the respective languages, particularly with regard to the Bulgarian future in the past, taking into account both its modal and temporal dimensions.

In her article *Some Features of Turkish Loanwords in Bulgarian Dialects*, Jordanka Georgiewa-Okoń (Jagiellonian University, Poland) examines the significance of this lexical stratum for reconstructing contact configurations in the Balkans. Her analysis of various phonetic and prosodic often demonstrates a process of indirect borrowing into Bulgarian mediated by other Bal-

kan languages. Based on these findings, she argues for the necessity of compiling a comparative pan-Balkan dictionary of Turkish loanwords that would provide a comprehensive inventory of phonetic and semantic variants along with precise areal annotations.

Krasimira Aleksova and Ekaterina Tarpomanova (Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski) present a comparative study of the expression of the presumptive in Bulgarian, Greek, Romanian, and Albanian. Through a systematic analysis of semantic, lexical, morphological, and syntactic aspects of the Bulgarian *ще да*-constructions and their counterparts in the other languages, the authors shed light on the interaction between interrogative contexts and the presumptive, which leads to a semantic shift from epistemic probability to epistemic possibility.

Taking Serbian and Croatian as its starting point, the study by Martin Stefanov (Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski) also addresses the presumptive from a comparative perspective. Drawing on Georgi Gerdzhikov's theory of the presumptive as a bipropositional category, Stefanov examines the semantics, paradigmatics, and syntagmatics of presumptive utterances in Serbian and Croatian in comparison with Bulgarian and within a broader Balkan context. He concludes that the presumptive markers in the languages under investigation display a low degree of grammaticalisation.

In the article *Between Prepositional and Prepositionless Constructions: Revisiting Cases of Redundant and Missing Prepositions*, Teodora Rabovyanova (St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo) analyses constructions with missing or redundant prepositions from a morphological and stylistic perspectives. Drawing on diverse illustrative material, she identifies prepositionless and prepositional constructions in both nominal and verbal structures, taking into account factors such as verb transitivisation, preposition competition and grammaticalisation, and functional distinctions, with the examples evaluated against the standard language norm.

In her study *Action as Inaction: On the Non-Standard Behaviour of Certain Manipulative Predicates in Bulgarian*, Elena Yu. Ivanova (Pushkin State Russian Language Institute; Saint Petersburg State University) examines the various semantic realisations of the Bulgarian manipulative verb *оставям* 'leave', ranging from causative-permissive uses to inaction. Building on the view that Bulgarian *да*-clauses in some contexts display infinitive-like semantics and corresponding syntactic properties, she focuses on complement *да*-clauses to analyse the semantic structure and syntactic behaviour of *оставям*, considering its potential to function both as a control predicate and as a raising predicate.

In the article *The Relationship between Lexical and Grammatical Aspects in Bulgarian with a Focus on Biaspectual Verbs*, Svetla Koeva (Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) identifies groups of verbs that, depending on the lexical meaning of the source verb and its derivational aspectual properties, can be unambiguously assigned to one of the situation types: state, activity, accomplishment, or achievement. Koeva notes that for certain verb groups, the situation type can only be determined when the verb is realised in a specific context. Similar classification possibilities are also observed with biaspectual verbs.

In her study *Bulgarian Aspectual Triplets in the Slavic Context*, Elena Karagjosova (Free University of Berlin, Germany) focuses on aspectual triplets in Bulgarian. The article addresses the relatively limited scholarly attention devoted to them compared with other Slavic languages (Russian, Polish, Czech), reviews major theoretical positions concerning aspectual pairs and triplets, and argues for establishing a database of Bulgarian aspectual triplets.

The article *Grammaticalising Have-perfects in Their Balkan and European Context* by Bozhil Hristov (Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski) examines the degree of grammaticalisation of the Bulgarian *имам*-perfect in the context of language contact and its distribution across the Balkans and Europe. The study also traces the spread of these forms from west to east using authentic contemporary language data.

Tsvetana Dimitrova (Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) presents her article *On the Uses of the имам-resultative in the Bulgarian Language*. She examines resultative constructions formed with the verb *имам* 'have' and a passive participle in contemporary spoken Bulgarian, noting that while these constructions cannot be claimed to have undergone grammaticalisation, their usage reveals certain regularities in expressing resultative meaning or the delimitation of situations.

Finally, in her article *The Fate of the Infinitive and Its Functional Counterparts in the Bulgarian Language*, Liudmila Karpenko (Samara National Research University Academician S. P. Korolev, Russia) investigates the disappearance of the infinitive in Bulgarian and the internal systemic factors underlying this phenomenon. The study emphasises that Modern Bulgarian has retained the ability to convey meanings typically expressed by the infinitive, using a variety of lexical and grammatical means.

A concise chronology of the previous editions of the Forum is provided below.

First Forum *Meaning and Structure in Language: Means of Representation*, organised by the Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 27 November 2014.

Second Forum *Grammar and Pragmatics*, organised by St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo and the Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 19 November 2015.

Third Forum *Functional Grammar – Achievements and Prospects*, organised by Paisii Hilendarski University of Plovdiv and the Institute for Bulgarian Language at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 20 October 2016.

Fourth Forum *Interdisciplinary Studies in Bulgarian*, organised by Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski and the Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 26 October 2017.

Fifth Forum *The Dynamics of Ideas in Syntax at the Turn of the 21st Century*, organised by Konstantin Preslavsky University of Shumen and the Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 18 October 2018.

Sixth Forum *Grammatical Systems in Synchrony and Diachrony*, organised by South-West University Neofit Rilski and the Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 17 October 2019.

Seventh Forum *Innovation Processes in the Grammar of Contemporary Bulgarian*, organised by St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo and the Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 22 October 2020.

Eighth Forum *Predication, Predicates, Predicatives*, organised by Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski and the Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 21 and 22 October 2021.

Ninth Forum *The Theory of Parts of Speech – Tradition and Prospects*, organised by Paisii Hilendarski University of Plovdiv and the Institute for

Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 20 and 21 October 2022.

Tenth Forum *The Spoken Language Phenomenon*, organised by Konstantin Preslavsky University of Shumen and the Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 20 and 21 October 2023.

Eleventh Forum *Development and Current State of Word-Formation in the Bulgarian Language*, organised by South-West University Neofit Rilski

and the Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 21–22 October 2024.

The Twelfth Forum *Bulgarian Grammar and the Balkan Sprachbund* brought together more than 80 scholars from various academic institutions: the Institute for Bulgarian Language Prof. Lyubomir Andreychin at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, St. Cyril and St. Methodius University of Veliko Tarnovo, Paisii Hilendarski University of Plovdiv, Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, the University of Architecture, Civil Engineering and Geodesy, and South-West University Neofit Rilski, as well as researchers from Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland, and Russia.

The talks presented at the Twelfth Forum *Bulgarian Grammar* have also been published on the YouTube channel of the Institute for Bulgarian Language, *The Written Word Remains. Write Correctly!*

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