

UDC 80

ON THE QUESTION OF THE NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE IN CONTEMPORARY BULGARIAN

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Abstract. *The article presents information about the forms and the syntactic variants of the Bulgarian negative imperative including the dialects and with respect to their historical development.*

Keywords: *Bulgarian language, history of the Bulgarian language, negative imperative.*

I. Introduction

Summarizing retrospectives in a diachronic or synchronic aspect on the topic of the negative imperative in Bulgarian, as well as on its peculiarities in different periods in the history of the Bulgarian language, have been published (Stoykov 1964: 435-438; Mirchev 1965; Mirchev 1978: 227-230; Mladenov 1979: 288-289; Zlatanova 1986: 202-203; Stoykov 1993: 247-248; Haralampiev 1992: 187-188; Feuillet 1999: 104; Chakarova 2009). Articles have been devoted to some of its constructions (Galabov 1986; Kondov 1989; Iliev & Petkov 2017; Iliev & Petkov 2018, etc.), some of its individual peculiarities have been shown in the Bulgarian Dialectal Atlas (BDA 1964, BDA 1975, BDA 1981) or in monographs dedicated to Bulgarian linguistic history and dialectology (Boyadzhiev 1991; Mladenov 1974; Mladenov 1993; Toncheva & Iliev 2016; Kyuchukova & Iliev 2016, Iliev & Georgieva 2015, etc.). However there isn't an exhaustive study, which would present all (or a maximum number) of forms and structural types of the descriptive negative imperative in the Bulgarian language, including its dialects, together with hypotheses of their origin and their areas of distribution, because of which there is definitely more to say about the negative imperative in the Bulgarian language! The article presented here will hardly be exhaustive – we have no such pretensions, but we will try to show a more complete presentation of the phenomenon and to make some refinements of individual questions.

The first two aspects from which we will consider the descriptive negative imperative constructions, are the auxiliary element, with which the construction is formed and the syntactic structure of the latter. After that, we will specify the difference between the imperative *май-* constructions from the Bulgarian dialects in European Turkey and Romania.

II. Classification of the Negative Imperative Constructions according to the Type of their Negative Elements

From the above mentioned studies, it is clear that in the Bulgarian language and its dialects, in addition to the simple constructions of prohibition of the type *не четѝ* 'don't read' (singular), *не четѝме* 'don't read (plural)', descriptive ones of different kinds are also used, as well as imperative forms in which instead of the negative particle *не* 'don't' there is another element. In Stoykov (Stoykov 1993), Mirchev (Mirchev 1978), Haralampiev (Haralampiev 1992) and in BDA (BDA 1964; BDA 1975; BDA 1981) – in the atlas much more thoroughly than with the authors listed above, the basic types of prohibition constructs are presented, with which we will begin our presentation and which will be supplemented by the variants not mentioned in the studies cited. The negative

element in the construction is, in principle, of verbal origin and usually it itself is an imperative verb form with singular and plural variants (*недѣй – недѣйте, немѡй – немѡйте* ‘don’t’, and so on). In other cases, there is a third-person verb form (*стѣга* ‘enough’), a Greek loan word (*ми, мѣте* ‘don’t’) or Turkish one (*сакъ н* ‘avoid doing’), and adverbial negative (prohibitive) elements can be seen too (*дѡста* ‘enough’).

Below, you can see the existing types of prohibitive constructions according to the negative element used in them.

1. A Construction with the negative element *недѣй(те)* ‘don’t’

It comes from the Old Bulgarian NE ДѢН(ТЕ) ‘don’t do’. It is found in various places in North-Eastern, North-Western and South-Eastern Bulgaria, as well as in Romania (including Banat region) and Bessarabia (in Ukraine). The element *недѣй(те)* ‘don’t’ is also observed in the variants *нед’аѣ – нед’аѣти, недѣ, нед’ѣй, нѣг’ѣй, ндѣй, н’дѣй, дѣй – дѣйти, ндѣ – ндѣт, дѣ – дѣт, нидѣ – нидѣт* (see Stoykov 1967: 246; Iliev & Petkov 2017; BDA 1981: 187-188; Mladenov 1993: 346 and others).

2. With the negative element *немѡй(те)* ‘can’t’

It comes from the Old Bulgarian NE МОЗИ(ТЕ) ‘can not’. The construction is widespread in the South-Western, the Rhodopian and some South-Eastern dialects, but is also occasionally found in the Svishtov and Elena districts (Galabov 1986: 373). The form *немѡй* ‘don’t’ also comes with variants *нѣмѡй, мѡй, мѡ* (see Iliev & Petkov 2017). In the village of Voden (Elhovo district), the form *нѣм* is noted (BDA 1964: 131-132).

3. With the negative element *не мѡш* ‘you can’t’

L. Miletich (Miletich 1989: 131) mentions that in Stara Zagora, instead of *недѣй прѣви* ‘don’t do’ one also says *не мѡш прѣви*. The formal distinction between *немѡй прѣви* and *не мѡш прѣви* with the same meaning is clearly visible. While the former comes from the Old Bulgarian negative imperative (NE МОЗИ ПРАВИТИ), the latter comes from the second person singular form of the present tense *не можеш* ‘you can’t’.

4. With the negative element *н’алай(те)* ‘don’t’

It comes from the Old Bulgarian NE ДѢЛАН(ТЕ) ‘don’t do’ (Stoykov 1993: 247) or from the dialect form *не (х)алай* ‘do not start’, ‘don’t work’ (BED 2012: 731). It is found in the Topolovgrad region, Dobrudja and the Edirne region of Turkish Thrace. *Н’алай* can also be seen the forms *налай, н’ъл’ѣй*.

5. With the negative element *некаѣй(те)* ‘don’t say’

From the Old Bulgarian NE КАЖИ(ТЕ) ‘don’t say’. The area of distribution is narrow – in North-Western Bulgaria, for example in Podgoritsa, Belogradchik district (BDA 1981: 187-188).

6. With the negative element – the Greek loanwords *ми(те), мѣца* ‘don’t’

It is found in the southernmost Bulgarian dialects (see farther down). The elements *ми, мѣте* are found in the dialect of Enikyoy (Krastopole), in the Xanthi district (Vitanova 1986: 17), too, as well as in the Doganhisar, Dedeagach region (Georgieva 2012: 47). *Мѣца* in South-Eastern Bulgaria is probably a variant of *ми* (see Stoykov 1993: 248).

7. With the negative element derived from the impersonal verb *стѣга(те)* ‘it’s enough’

Attention to this syntactic turnover was paid by V. Savov (Savov 1931: 30), the compilers of the BDA (see below), Kiril Mirchev (Mirchev 1978: 235), Ivan Haralampiev (Haralampiev 1992: 205), N. Radeva (Radeva 2012: 199), El. Ivanova (Ivanova 2017: 517-519), Kr. Chakarova (Chakarova 2009: 64) and others: *стѣга си спал – стѣга сте спали, стѣга спа – стѣга спакте* ‘don’t sleep’, ‘stop sleeping’ (by an analogy to the first person of the aorist for the last form). Al. Teodorov Balan gives the expression *Стѣгате клевети своите подобни!* ‘don’t slander those like you’ (Teodorov-Balan 1954: 357).

8. With the negative expression *не бѣва* ‘must not’

In the dialect of the village of Suvorovo, Izmail district (Bessarabia), in Ukraine, another interesting construction is discovered for the formation of the negative imperative – with *не бѣва*

‘you must not’: *ни бива да гу б̀араи!* ‘don’t touch it!’ (Bernstein & Zhuravlev 1953: 149). During a visit to the village in 2017, we heard in person that this way of expressing a negative imperative was still being used there. A housewife scolded her dog, who barked at us, saying: *ни бивъ дь л̀айи!* ‘don’t bark!’ The context and meaning of the usage made it clear that it was an imperative and not the modal expression ‘you should not bark’. In 2018, we heard the same construction in the Bulgarian village of Kairaklia in Southern Moldova – as we were entering the house of a woman to interview her, she said: *ни бивъ дь съ съб̀увъи!* ‘don’t take your shoes off!’ According to personal information, this is also the case in Malomirovo, Elhovo district, in Bulgaria, where Suvorovo's population originates.

9. With the negative element *не трябва* ‘must not’

We encountered the phenomenon in the village of Izvoarele, Alexandria district, in Southern Romania, where in a similar manner to the above-mentioned construction with *не бива*, we were told with a commanding intonation: *Ни тр̀авъ дь съ из̀увъи!* ‘don’t take your shoes off!’ As Gusev also noted (Gusev 2005: 56), in Russian, expressions with verbs like *не надо шуметь* ‘you are not supposed to make noise’, are often used instead of *не шуми(те)* ‘don’t make noise’ without any difference in meaning. This obviously also applies to Bulgarian.

10. With the negative element *доста(тъчно)* ‘it’s enough’

This method occurs in different variants and corners of the Bulgarian language territory, which will be presented below when explaining the different syntactic variants. In fact, *доста* is a synonym of *стига* ‘that’s enough’ and the latter form can be used alone, with significance ‘stop’: ... *доста робство и тиранство, всички на оръжие!* ‘... enough slavery and tyranny, all in arms!’ D. Chintulov (DBL 1984: 323-324); *Доста препирни!* ‘enough bickering.’ P. P. Slaveykov; *Ша го бия, доде рече: „Доста!”* ‘I will beat him until he says ‘Enough’.’ P. R. Slaveykov (DBL 1984: 323-324); *Достатъчно си пил!* ‘you have drunk enough’ (Chakarova 2009: 67).

11. With the negative element *спри* ‘stop’ and its synonyms

Chakarova (Chakarova 2009: 67), in addition to *стига* and *достатъчно* lists other similar prohibition structures: *Спри да м̀рмориш вече!* ‘stop muttering already!’, *Престани да се шегуваи!* ‘stop joking!’ Contrary to *стига* and *доста*, the element *спри* cannot be used in constructions with an “-l-” participle.

12. With the negative element *сак`ън* ‘avoid doing’

This Turkish loanword is a second person singular imperative form of the verb *sakınmak* ‘to avoid (doing something)’, except that it can be used on its own – similar to *недей*, *немой*, *доста*, *стига*, it is found in combinations with other negative forms, too (See below).

13. With the negative element *с̀о̀с* ‘don’t’

An even more interesting and difficult to explain form is presented in M. Vitanova's dissertation on the speech of the village of Enikyoi (Krastopole), Xanthi district in Greece (Vitanova 1986: 17) – *с̀о̀с* ‘don’t’. For examples, see farther down.

14. With the negative element *м̀ани, м̀а̀:ни* ‘let it go’

Zlatanova (Zlatanova 1986: 203) notes the phenomenon in the Pazardzhik and Sofia districts, even interpreting its origin: *м̀ани* (← *махни* ‘let it go’). For example: *м̀ани (да) рѐв̀еи!* ‘don’t cry’. Previously, these forms have also been featured in BDA for North-Western Bulgaria (BDA 1981: 187-188) – see the respective syntactic subtypes farther down.

15. With the negative element *м̀ай(ме)* ‘let it go’

A hitherto unknown way of expressing a negative order in the Bulgarian language has recently been discovered (see: Iliev & Petkov 2017; Iliev & Petkov 2018) – with the particles *м̀ай*, *м̀айте* ‘don’t’ (probably also derived from the Old Bulgarian verb *махати* as noted in the appropriate place) and shortened infinitive: *м̀ай сед̀е* ‘don’t sit.’; *м̀ай мь идус̀в̀а* ‘don’t make me angry’ and so on in the dialect of the Bulgarian Muslims from Uzunkyopryu district in European Turkey, who migrated there from the Teteven and Lukovit districts after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878. The same forms were also found in the village of Galata, Teteven district, which is not mentioned in the BDA (BDA 1981: 187-188) and in the studies on the dialect of the Lovech Pomaks (Miletich

1899, Savov 1931, Baychev 1996), nor in the dialectology of Stoykov (Stoykov 1993) and elsewhere. The newly discovered forms are undoubtedly variants of the aforementioned forms from North-Western Bulgaria (from where the Lovech Pomaks migrated to European Turkey), Pazardzhik and Sofia, of the type *м̀ани не ров̀и* ‘don’t cry’, *м̀ани да ревѐш* ‘don’t cry’, *м̀а:ни не н̀имай* ‘don’t ask’, *м̀ани иттин̀и* ‘don’t pinch’ and so on. But, by contrast, they are formed by the short infinitive of the main verb and with a negative element from the imperfective verb *м̀ахам* ‘to remove’, ‘to let something go’, without the suffix ‘-н’, instead from the perfective verb *да м̀ахна*.

16. With the negative element *в̀арай* ‘leave it’

In the BDA (BDA 1981: 187-188) for the village of Slavovitsa, Pleven district, the expression *м̀и в̀арай тв̀а* ‘leave it’, ‘don’t’ is shown, but it is actually a synonymous form of *недѐй*, *нем̀ой*, *сак`ьн*, *до̀ста*, *ст̀ига* ‘don’t do’, and not a sub-type of a negative construction with a hitherto unmentioned element.

17. With the negative element *бѐз* ‘without’

It is not uncommon to use a negative element *бѐз* ‘without’ connected to a *да*-construction or a verbal noun: *Ѐй, бѐз да се б̀иеме!* ‘don’t fight!’ (plural) Kardzhali – literally ‘without fighting!’; *бѐз да б̀агаи!* ‘don’t run’ Kardzhali; *бѐз б̀агане!* ‘don’t run’ Varna (Personal information).

III. The Classification of Negative Imperatives according to their Syntactic Structure

1. With the negative element + infinitive

These variants are rare – for example in Beslen, Gotse Delchev district: *нем̀ой свир̀ети* ‘don’t play’ (BDA 1975: 169-170). Or in the Thracian dialects: *ним̀ой (м̀и, м̀ите) пла̀кѝти* ‘don’t cry’ (Boyadzhiev 1991: 94).

2. With the negative element + (semi) abbreviated infinitive

A variant with a semi-abbreviated infinitive is noted in the dialect of Enikyoy (Krastopole), Xanthi district, in the above mentioned dissertation of M. Vitanova (Vitanova 1986: 17): *ним̀ой з̀имѝт* ‘don’t take’, *ним̀ойте ка̀зѝт* ‘don’t say’, *м̀и н̀итат* ‘don’t say’, *с̀ос ир`ыкат* ‘don’t cry!’. Or in other Thracian dialects: *ним̀ой пла̀чит* ‘don’t cry’ (Boyadzhiev 1991: 94).

Variants with a short infinitive are the most common. They are also formed with a variety of negative elements.

With *недѐй(те)* and such: *недѐй рева̀*, *нидѐй пла̀ка* ‘don’t cry’ and so on (BDA 1964: 131-132; BDA 1981: 187-188, etc.);

With *нем̀ой(те)* and such: *нем̀ой рева̀* ‘don’t cry’, *нем̀ой в̀ика* ‘don’t yell’ *ним̀ой пла̀ка* ‘don’t cry’, *ним̀ой забел`а̀зва* ‘don’t pay attention’, *нем̀о са кара̀* ‘don’t quarrel’ (BDA 1964: 131-132; BDA 1975: 169-170 and others);

With *не мош*: the above mentioned *не мош пра̀ви* ‘don’t do’ (literally ‘you can’t do’) from the Stara Zagora district (Miletich 1989: 131);

With *ми(те)*: *м̀и прика̀зва* ‘don’t talk’, *м̀ите гл̀еда* ‘don’t look’ Chernomorets, Burgas district; *м̀и пла̀ка* ‘don’t cry’, *м̀ите са изла̀га* ‘don’t be ridiculous’ Zidarovo, Burgas district (BDA 1964: 131-132);

With *ст̀ига*: *ст̀ига сна̀* ‘don’t sleep’ Teteven and Lukovit districts (Savov 1931: 30); *ст̀ига ров̀а* ‘don’t cry’ Bogyovtzi, Slivnitsa district (BDA 1981: 187-188) and so on.

With *до̀ста*: ... *до̀ста, Марко, кеседѝя оди!* ‘don’t be a brigand anymore, Marko’ (BF 1961: 322); *Леле, Радо Радобилке, до̀ста носи ален пояс ...* ‘Oh, Rada, stop wearing a red sash anymore’ A Folk song (DBL: 1984-324);

With *май(те)*: *май седѐ* ‘don’t sit.’ *май м̀ь идусва̀* ‘don’t make me angry’ Uzunkyopryu district (Iliev & Petkov 2017; Iliev & Petkov 2018);

With the other negative particles: *н`алай ч̀ете* ‘don’t read (sg.)’, *н`алайте ч̀ете* ‘don’t read (pl.)’; *нека̀й ч̀ете* ‘don’t read (sg.)’, *нека̀йте ч̀ете* ‘don’t read (pl.)’; *мѝца ч̀ете* ‘don’t read’ and so on.

3. With the negative element + *da*-construction

With the negative element *недей(те)*: *недèй да ревèш* ‘don’t roar’, ‘don’t cry’, *нидèй да читèш* ‘don’t read’ (BDA 1964: 131-132; BDA 1981: 187-188 and so on);

With the negative element *немой(те)*: *немòй да плàчеш*, *нèмой да плàчиш* ‘don’t cry’, *немòй да викаш* ‘don’t shout’, and so on (BDA 1975: 169-170; BDA 1981: 187-188; Hristova 2003: 209 etc.);

With the negative element *некай(те)*: *некайте да одите* ‘don’t go’ Oshane, Belogradchik district, and so on (BDA 1981: 187-188);

With the negative element *ма(а)ни*: *мàни да ревèш*, *мàни да ровèш* ‘don’t cry’, *маани да плàчеш* ‘don’t cry’ Belogradchik, Vidin and Vratsa districts (BDA 1981: 187-188);

With the negative element *не бива*: the above mentioned *ни бива да гу бàраш!* ‘don’t touch it!’ (Bernstein & Zhuravlev 1953: 149) and *ни бивь дь лàйш!* ‘don’t bark’ (personal observations) from Suvorovo, Izmail district; *ни бивь дь сь събўвьш!* ‘don’t take your shoes off’ Kairakliya, Moldavia (personal observations);

With the negative element *без*: *бèз да б’àгаш!* ‘don’t run’ Kardzhali; *Èй, бèз да се бивете!* ‘don’t fight’ Kardzhali (personal observations).

4. With the negative element + the personal form of the verb

This is a rare construction, but it is nevertheless witnessed in the Thracian dialects: *нимòй плàчиш* ‘don’t cry’, *нимòй рўкаш* ‘don’t call’ (Boyadzhiev 1991: 94, *мь рўкаш* ‘don’t call’ Doganhisar, Dedeagach district (Georgieva 2012: 47) as well as in the Pazardzhik district (BDA 1975: 169-170) – in the villages of Menkyevo (*немòй плàчеш* ‘don’t cry’) and in Simeonovets (*немòй ревèш* ‘don’t cry’).

5. With the negative element + the imperative form of the verb

This construction is directly influenced by the simple imperative forms with *не*: (*не плачи* ‘don’t cry’ и and so forth). Here too, there are many variants depending on the element involved. With *недей*: *нидèй ший* ‘don’t sew’ (BDA 1964: 131-132); *недèй реви* ‘don’t cry’ Staliiska Mahala, Lom district (BDA 1981: 187-188), *нидèй с’àдай* ‘don’t sit’ Kazanlak district (personal information), and others.

With *немой*: *нимòй отивай* ‘don’t go’, Susam, Haskovo district, *нимòй забел’азвай* ‘do not pay attention’ Sarnitsa, Haskovo District, *нèм плàчи* ‘don’t cry’ Voden, Elhovo district (BDA 1964: 131-132), *нимòй плачи* ‘don’t cry’ Boyantsi, Asenovgrad district, *нимòй ма закачай* ‘don’t bother me’ Radilovo, Peshtera district, *немòй чàкайте* ‘don’t wait’ Brezhani, Blagoevgrad district, *немòй бàрай* ‘don’t touch’ Osenovo, Razlog district, *немòй играй* ‘don’t play’ Dospey, Samokov district, *немòй плàчи* ‘don’t cry’ Dolno Kobile, Kyustendil district (BDA 1975: 169-170), *нимò глèй* ‘don’t look’ in the Thracian dialects (Boyadzhiev 1991: 94);

With *ми*: *мь бàрай* ‘don’t touch’ Chernomorets, Burgas district (BDA 1964: 131-132);

With *мани*: *мàни штини* ‘don’t pinch’ Dolna Verenitsa, Montana district (BDA 1981: 187-188);

With *доста*: *dòsta zbòrvi*, *dòsta zbòrvite* ‘don’t talk (sg. and pl.)’ in Macedonian dialects, from which it has passed as a syntactic calque into the Greek dialects of the Kastoria district: *φάιν’ κρέντις*, *φάιν’ κρέν’τι* (Papadamou & Papanastassiou 2013: 395);

Дòста викай бре, дèти, глàвата т’ьпан ми а напрай ‘don’t shout, child, I have a headache’ Kaylyar dialect (Aegian Macedonia).

6. With the negative element + the verb *to be* + an *-l-* participle

The most typical of this syntactic subspecies are the forms with *стига*, widespread in both literary as well as colloquial Bulgarian: *стига си спàл*, *стига сте спàли* ‘don’t sleep (sg. and pl.)’. Или пък *стига си с’акъл* ‘don’t chop’ Nikolaevo, Pleven district (BDA 1981: 187-188), etc. However the construction also occurs after *доста*: *Доста ми си досаждал!* ‘don’t bother me’ (Gerov 1975: 351); *Барем една седмица няма да гася лампите. Доста сме стояли на тъмно, ... доста сме си вадили очите вкъщи* ‘I won’t put out the lamps for at least a week. Enough of staying in the dark! (said in two different ways)’ Kr. Grogorov (DBL 1984: 323-324).

7. With the negative element + *da* + the verb *to be* + an *-l-* participle

An interesting example of this kind is registered in Gabra, Elin Pelin district: *немой да си писал* 'don't write' (BDA 1975: 169-170).

8. With the negative element + and an *-l-* participle

The registered examples are after the negative form *стига*: *стига окъл* 'don't call anymore' Rezhantsi, Breznik district (BDA 1975: 169-170), *стига викало* 'don't call', *стига кинало* 'don't tear' Bogyovtsi, Slivnitsa district (BDA 1981: 187-188).

9. With *da ne* + the verb *to be* + *-l-* participle

These are forms of this type: *Да не си ми стъпил в къщата!* 'don't step into my house' Y. Yovkov (Nitsolova 1981: 191), which come from old subjunctive (optative) usages (see: Iliev 2013).

10. With the negative element + *da ne* + the verb *to be* + an *-l-* participle

An illustrative example is found in N. Gerov: *Сакън да не си направил тая глупост!* 'don't do this stupidity!' (Gerov 1978: 110).

11. With a negative element + aorist form in plural

In such examples, which are quite piecemeal, there is a rethinking of singular forms such as *недей/немой сна/стига сна* 'don't sleep' (meant to be aorist forms) and a replacement of the shortened infinitive with a plural aorist in the 2nd person plural due to the convergence of the shortened infinitive and the 2nd person singular: *недей закачайте* 'don't tease (someone)' Dolno Levski, Panagyurishte district, instead of **недейте закача*. In the spoken Bulgarian language, we have also heard forms of the type *стига снахте* 'don't sleep'. But because of the linguistic analogy present in such constructions, the statements made by P. Pashov (Pashov 1983), Rå Hauge (Rå Hauge 1999) and others are not based on linguistic facts (according to the latter, in combinations of the type *стига/недей сна* 'don't sleep', the element *сна* ('to sleep' but also 'he or she slept') is a personal conjugated verbal form, and not a shortened infinitive.

12. With the negative element + a verbal noun/gerund

Such an example is, let's say, *бѣз б'агане!* 'don't run' (Varna) where there is a coincidence with English examples of the type *no smoking!*

13. With the forms of the negative future tense

This variant has been mentioned in previous studies on the negative imperative in the Bulgarian language, for example by Iv. Haralampiev: (Haralampiev 1992: 188): *няма да слизаш* 'don't go down', *няма да говорите* 'don't talk'. Other examples may be shown:

нема да викаш 'don't shout' Stanyovtsi, Breznik district (BDA 1975: 169-170);

нема да кинеш 'don't tear' Mokresh, Lom district (BDA 1981: 187-188);

Нема да збървате, бебето спи 'don't talk, the baby is sleeping' Kostur (Kastoria) district (Personal information) and so on.

14. With two different negative elements

There are also combinations of two different negative elements, such as *не, не викай!* 'don't shout' (literally 'no, don't shout'); *недей, не идвай повече!* 'don't come anymore', including negative elements not-mentioned above. For example:

немой не кини 'don't tear' Saparevo, Dupnitsa district (BDA 1975: 169-170);

немой не викай 'don't shout' Stanovtsi, Breznik district, Smolcha, Godech district, or Dobroslavtsi, Sofia district. (BDA 1975: 169-170; BDA 1981: 187-188);

к'ути не плачи 'don't cry' Kosovo, Kyustendil district (BDA 1975: 169-170);

мани не кини 'don't tear' Gyurgich, Belogradchik district, *мани не питай* 'don't ask' Gaitantsi, Vidin district (BDA 1981: 187-188);

трай не .../отрай се не ... 'don't ...' (BDA 1975: 169-170);

сък ън, ни бъръй! 'don't touch' Malomirovo, Elhovo district (Iliev & Henzelmann);

сак ън, ни мой да кажеш! 'don't tell (anyone)' Gevgelija district, North Macedonia (personal observations);

Немай, сине, не ой на чужина 'don't go to a foreign land, son'; *Немай, не е идосвай*

майка ти ‘don’t upset your mother’; *Немай, чендо, не плачи* ‘don’t cry, my child’; *Немай, не ми ѝа бѹчи глѹвата* ‘don’t make noise, I am tired of you’ Kostur (Kastoria) district (Shklifov 1973: 100; Personal information).

IV. On the *май*-forms of Uzunkyopru district in Turkey and the *май*-forms in Southern Romania

It was mentioned above that in the dialect of the Lovech Pomaks from European Turkey in Uzunkyopru District, as well as in Galata, Teteven district, there are negative descriptive forms of type *май седѐ* ‘don’t sit’, *май мѹ идусвѹ* ‘don’t make me angry’, formed by the particle *май(ме)* + shortened infinitive. In the Bulgarian dialects in Romania, homonyms of the recently discovered forms are also found, but they have different origins and meanings. In Maxim Mladenov's book on the Bulgarian dialects in Romania (Mladenov 1993: 346), in the Paulician Bulgarian dialect of the village of Cioplia near Bucharest, there are examples such as *Дѐ май ревѹ!* ‘don’t cry’; *Дѐ май с’ѹка дѹрвѹ* ‘don’t chop wood!’ Mladenov’s translation of the second example – ‘don’t chop wood anymore’ makes it clear that the real imperative here is *дѐ ревѹ!* ‘don’t cry’; *дѐ с’ѹка дѹрвѹ* ‘don’t chop wood!’, and the *май* particle is just a Romanian loanword for the adverb ‘already’, ‘anymore’. From the examples in the Iskar-Vit Bulgarian dialect (Ibid: 185) it becomes clear that the Romanian loanword *май* ‘no longer’ is not required, because along with *недѐй май оратѐме* ‘don’t talk!’ there are forms with only *недѐй*: *недѐй оратѐме* или *недѐй играй* ‘don’t play!’, *недѐйте тѹрѹйте* ‘don’t put’. In addition, from the aforementioned Iskar-Vit dialect in Romania (Ibid: 185), it can be seen that the *май* particle (‘no longer’) is used not only for the negative imperative, but also for the formation of negative present verb forms: *не май нѹсѹт сѹка* ‘they do not carry anymore’, *не го май закопѹват* ‘they don’t bury it’. It is the same in the Moesian Bulgarian dialect in Romania (Ibid: 284), where it is explicitly emphasized that *май* = *вече* ‘already’, ‘no longer’: *Ни май мѹже да приказвѹм* ‘I can no longer talk’, *Не май знѹм* ‘I no longer know.’ In the Nicopol Bulgarian dialect in Romania (Ibid: 216), *май* ‘no longer’ is also registered in the aorist and imperfect tenses: *Не май дерѐа, мѹ аз зѹпѹвни, чи ги дерѐа* ‘they did not use to skin them but I remember that used to do it before’; *Нѹнкум май тр`ѹси, па ни нѹмѐри* ‘later he or she was looking but did not find’.

V. Conclusions

The article has made an attempt to show the variety of descriptive forms of negative imperative in the Bulgarian language. Although it has no pretensions to completeness, it is evident that the grammatical category under study is one of the riches of the Bulgarian language and its dialects. In the second volume of BDA (BDA 1966) no place is given to the phenomenon described, and more similar structures should have been found there, as probably in Macedonia. It would also be interesting to see what the situation is in the other Slavic languages.

Abbreviations

BDA: Bulgarian Dialectal Atlas;
BED: Bulgarian Etymological Dictionary;
BF: Bulgarian folklore;
DBL: Dictionary of the Bulgarian language.

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Материал поступил в редакцию 10.06.20

К ВОПРОСУ ОБ ОТРИЦАТЕЛЬНОМ ИМПЕРАТИВЕ В СОВРЕМЕННОМ БОЛГАРСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

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***Аннотация.** В статье представлены сведения о формах и синтаксических вариантах болгарского отрицательного императива, в том числе, в диалектах и с учетом их исторического развития.*

***Ключевые слова:** Болгарский язык, история болгарского языка, отрицательный императив.*