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Ana Kocheva

Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, Bulgaria

ORCID: 0000-0002-4674-2064

Patterns of dative case with meanings of ‘give’ and ‘do someone good’ in the Bulgarian dialects

Słowa kluczowe: przypadki, celownik, dialekty bułgarskie

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Introduction

The Bulgarian **dialectal** language boasts an outstanding originality: in the 9th century it was a classical Slavic language, and today – more or less an original Balkan language already characterized by its caselessness in nominals. However, this feature is not unconditional, because in the Bulgarian dialects across the entire linguistic continuum, certain modern relict (residual) forms of the declension of nominals, which is one of the most essential features of the Old Bulgarian morpho-syntax, continue to function. Today, grammatical cases seem to be the most reliable evidence suggesting that there are a number of Bulgarian dialects which have preserved pieces from old grammar systems. In the recent decades, the comparison of the Modern Bulgarian forms with the Old Bulgarian ones has been thoroughly and successfully conducted at both lexical and lexicographic levels by the Institute for Bulgarian Language at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (cf. the release of the Bulgarian Etymological Dictionary I–VI, 1971–2002, and especially of the Dictionary of Old Bulgarian I–II, 1999–2009), in which comparative material from the two historical forms of Bulgarian language – Old Bulgarian and Modern Bulgarian, is presented. This was not the case with the release of the academic Grammar of the Old Bulgarian Language (1991). In this volume, the Modern Bulgarian dialect material, with very few exceptions, has not been adduced (especially in morphology) in order to make an obvious parallel between the earliest period and the most recent one which, as will become clear later, is represented by an extremely large and previously unsuspected richness of preserved narrative

forms. The Middle Bulgarian period, during which *casus generalis* was formed, is not the subject of this study.

Adducing modern, dialectal narrative material and the analysis of the preserved archaic patterns in contemporary dialects from the entire Bulgarian language continuum seeks, among other things, to reveal the pointlessness of certain attempts of foreign Slav scholars not only at reviving the Pannonian hypothesis, but also at turning it into a Neo-Pannonian one by expanding to a maximum the folk base of the language of Cyril and Methodius through the incorporation of all Slavic languages and dialects in it, including the Russian language. The aim is also to prove with facts that the alleged ‘non-Bulgarian’ traits in the language of Cyril and Methodius, such as ‘Russian,’ ‘Czech,’ ‘Serbian,’ continue to be modern features of a number of living Bulgarian dialects regardless of the transition of the overall Bulgarian language from a synthetic to an analytic grammatical system.

The research methodology in this study was chosen at the pattern level and is limited to one specific pattern of the dative case. The direction of the action – physical (spatial), and abstract – to a particular object (type of *Идѹ врѹзу*) – contains the essential meaning of the dative case. The patterns are mainly of two types: adverbial and adnominal, but there are also examples of simultaneous dependence on both the verb and the nominal.

This paper explores the pattern of the dative case for purpose as an indirect addition to verbs meaning ‘to give’ and ‘to do someone good’: *Dative case for advantage/disadvantage (dativus commodi – incommodi)* **ДАТИ** (and derivatives), **ПОМАГАТИ, РАБОТАТИ** etc.: **И ПРЯЛОМЪ ХЛЯБЫ ДАСТЪ УЧЕНИКОМЪ, УЧЕНИЦИ ЖЕ НАРОДОМЪ**. Mark. Matt. 14. 19.3. (Totomanova, Dobrev, Ikononova 1986: 79) In some examples they coincide with the patterns of the double-dependent dative case. Today, the patterns are found in nouns of the three genders, i.e. masculine, feminine and neuter, and both in singular and plural. The patterns are: a) with a fully preserved inflection; b) with a duplicated inflection in the pronoun declension; c) with partially or completely changed case endings – either of the nominal without the article morpheme; only of the article morpheme; or of both the nominal and the article morpheme. The presented material is excerpted from dialect studies (Videnov: 1969; Boyadzhiev: 1972; Boyadzhiev: 1979; Boyadzhiev: 1991; Keremidchieva: 1993; Kocheva: 2012), with the addition of material personally collected during dialectal expeditions in recent times.

1. Southeastern dialects

From among the Rhodope dialects the morphemes are best represented in the Smolyan dialect. Regarding the nominals in the masculine singular, along with *Дѹдох сѹну* (*брѹту, Стойѹну, кѹн’у, свѹту*), forms with duplicated case endings from the pronoun declension are seen more often: *Дѹйте Иванѹму, Дай брѹт’ѹму да кмсне, Дѹдумѹ ѹднеси дарвѹ* ‘Give to Ivan; Give to the brother; Bring wood to grandfather’; also with the use of the article *Дай вѹлѹсѹму сѹно* ‘Give the ox some hay’; *Нѹс’а стрѹкуму прѹгима*, ‘Bring breakfast to my uncle’; for the feminine singular: *Какѹф армагѹн ште прѹвѹдиш мѹйци си* ‘What gift will you send to your mother’; *Мѹмѹхи дай му хѹро ѹ гиздѹло* ‘Give

the maidens dancing and jewels'. For the neuter singular the forms are similar: without an article – *Дай дѣтѣму (кòпелѣму) нѣшто* 'Give the child something', and with an article – *Дайте дѣтенуму да ни плàчи* 'Give to the child something not to cry'; *Дай дѣтесуму рòка* 'Give the child a hand'. *Да стòрим шьлетому прѣсол* 'To give the lamb to eat'. The already rare construction *Дай дѣтесуму да лàнне* 'Give the child a paw' has been recorded in the area of Ropkata. As to the area of Smolyan, it is also characterized by both types of forms for the feminine singular: *Дай бàби (мàйци, сѣстри, учини)* 'Give to grandmother (mother, sister aunt)'; *Пòмогни да изведе крàвана* 'Help bring out the cow'; *Йди òтвори женѣнех да не седì отпреш вратàна* (from an older form: *женднѣхи*) 'Go, open door for the woman, so she doesn't stand in front of it'; *Мѣтни крàвинѣхи да едѣ* 'Give the cow to eat'. (Kocheva 2012: 110)

The dialect of Momchilovtsi, also belonging to the group of the Smolyan dialects, predominantly displays declension forms with an article like *Главенйцетохи отнѣли гиздйло, а пак бàбѣтохи лòгун'* 'They took from the fiancée her jewelry and from the old woman its ration (feed)'; *Ага дадѣш крàвесохи лòгун', та спуска праснйкан* 'When you give the cow its ration (feed), it gives milk'.

For masculine and neuter plural, records from Momchilovtsi also include *Дайте деверѣмсѣм аглòците; Дòнеси мўлетамсѣм сѣно* 'Give to my husband's brothers...; Bring to the mules...'; and in Smolyan – *Нàгоди децàмтѣм да спòмт.* 'Put the children to sleep'. The already rare construction *Дай т'ѣл'цѣсем с'àну да тўрим* 'Come, let's put some hay for the calves' has been recorded in the region of Ropkata (Keremidchieva: 1993). The record *Ше мѣтна хайвàнемсем трàва* 'I will give grass to the cattle' comes from Zlatograd.

From among Eastern Rhodope dialects, the original dialect of the village of Tihomir, Krumovgrad region, is of particular interest. For nouns in the masculine and neuter singular, the following examples have been recorded: *Кўпи^x мòѣмте сыну молйфче* 'I bought my son a pencil'; *Дàде чулѣку ид'унч* 'Gave the man profit'; *Прòдàл клкòто дрўгумте миджу* 'Sold the same as to the other guy'; *А ѣ кўпих нàшѣмтѣ бубайку джагàры* 'I bought our father cigarettes'; *Дай млàдѣмсе кòпел'у ракййѣ* 'Give the young boys rakija'; *Дàдоо нàшѣмте дѣт'у тетрàткѣ* 'I gave our children a notebook'; *Мустафўте ша дàват китàне* 'They will give books to Mustafa'; *Дай чулѣкусу нѣква орѣшка* 'Give the man some nut'; *Дай чулѣкусу джагàр* 'Give the guy a cigarette'; *Дай тѣлетте зар'ò* 'Give the calves food'; *Дай дѣт'уте бамбòна* 'Give the child candy'. Feminine singular has been recorded with *Фатмит'ѣ ше дàват китàнѣ* 'They will give Fatme documents (with an article)'. The dative case in the plural is presented with examples in the neuter and the feminine genders: *Завòжат ми лѣба ф мисàлетѣ и нòсе^x децàмтѣм* 'They wrap me bread and I bring it to the children'; *Прадàде женѣмте басмыте* 'Sell the women the cloth basma'; *Дай крàвѣмте, казелите зар'ò* 'Give to the cows...'; *Дòнес афцѣмтѣ лйсте* 'Bring to the sheep'; *Дай рыбамтѣ* 'Give to the fish'.

The Eastern Rhodope dialect of Devesilite is very similar to the dialect of Tihomir. The following examples have been found in nominals in the masculine singular: *Прòвòдла кòмпйте Асѣну глѣтему* 'She sent potatoes to the older Asen'; *Стàру бубайку òставит кòштòто* 'He left the house to the old father'; *Градй кòштòто нѣгувуму бàткѣ* 'He

is building a house to his elder brother'; *Ѕењу пр'одо воџно* 'I spin wool to Lenko'; *Ќннес љадџџникате беджу мышкумте* 'Take the refrigerator to the younger brother'.

Usually, with nominals in the feminine singular it is the non-article form that is subject to declension: *Азà дам учинџ, ша т òстав'о* 'After I give to auntie, I'll leave some some for you too'; *Нòси тџџзи айтџез рàбòты* 'Take these things to auntie'; *Ша дам кàки пр'òџото* 'I'll give the yarn to my sister'; *Дàџ џџџото джиджи* 'Give the needle to my sister'; *Àни ша з òставе* 'I'll leave it to mother'; *Кџниџ атòд Àңки големџ* 'He bought halva to the older Anka'; *Àңки дават бибџерете* 'They gave the peppers to Anka'; *Кàти кџпи аннò кòрпо* 'Buy a kerchief to Anka'.

With names in the neuter singular the declensional form is usually the one with an article, e.g.: *Дàџ анòкте нџтету да џедџ* 'Give feed to one of the chicken'; *Мџтни сџно вàшумте мџтету* 'Throw hay to your mule'; *Вàшумте нòву тџтету нàтџ вòду* 'Give water to your new calf'; *Дàџ анòкте бòџнум нџтету да кàтџвџ* 'Give one of the sick chickens to peck'; *Куп чàнто нàшумте зòтџему мòмечџету* 'Buy a purse to our grown-up girl'.

In the plural in all three genders the inflections are one and the same –*ем*, –*им* and –*ам* (more rarely). Their variations are not always motivated by reasons of positional character (*бубàџкем* and *бубàџкам*): *Òстаф з еџтџезем бубàџкем и дàскаџем* 'Leave them to these fathers and teachers'; *Еџсџезем стàрем дàскаџем нòрòчàты да свòршот рàбòтото* 'These old teachers have been assigned to do the job'; *Дòнес даскòто еџсџезем стàрем учениџем* 'Bring the board to these older students' (for the masculine). *Ќннес нàшемте кàким џџдене* 'Take food to our elder sisters'; *Кòсни мòрвечко трџво нàшемте крàвем* 'Mow some grass for our cows'; *Аџсџезем òфџџем нàтџ вòдо*; *Вàшемте кòкòшкем кџниџо зòрна* 'He has bought corn for your hens'; *Еџсџезем зòтџемем мòмем дàџ кòрпо* (for the feminine) 'Give to these big girls a towel'. *Нàшемтем нџтетам збџро да џедòт* 'I gather things for our chicken to eat'; *Тур нџкно еџнџезем нџџџем* 'Give something to those chickens'; *Дòнесте вòдо вàшемтем тџтетам* 'Bring water for your calves'; *Еџтџезем тџџџем з дàво* 'I give these to the calves' (for the neuter).

Dialects of the Rhodope type in Lower Thrace (in modern-day Greece and Turkey) display patterns discussed above, with and without an article, for different genders and numbers: *Дџртòму човàку кòџ са рàдва* (areas of Gyumyurdzhina, Dimotika) 'Who enjoys the old man'; *Деверòтому дàва* (areas of Enikyoi, Xanthi) 'Gives to her husband's brother'; *Т'à дарòва зџтòтому нџшто* (among Thracian refugees in Mandritsa, Kardzhali region) 'She gives something to her brother-in-law' – for the masculine; *Че тогòва нев'àстàтоџи са дàдџт папџџи* (Lizgar, Malgar area) 'Then they will give shoes to the bride'; *К'е зџме, к'е дàдџ калмàнетехи* (among Thracian refugees in Mandritsa, Kardzhali reDervgion) 'Will take, will give to the godmother' – for the feminine.

In the dialect of Sachanli, area of Gyumyurdzhina, as Boyadjiev: 1972 notes, there are recorded forms for the masculine singular such as: *Дàџ свату Кир'àку* 'Give to the father-in-law Kiryak'; for the feminine singular – *Дàџ* (*Мџрџџџки, Мàри, Руси, Тòчки, мàџџи, бàби, бџл'ки, невдсти*) 'Give to (Mariika, Mari, Rusi, Tochki, mother, grandmother, bright)'; for the neuter singular (with an article) – *Дàџте мòмечџџему чумбџрче* 'Give a kerchief to the girl'; *Мџзàретòму дàџте òдџ* 'Give water to the donkey'.

In the dialect of Xanthi, forms with articles have been recorded such as *Исправените дѣти даржѧха со and дѧваха фѣро л'улконоѧ* 'Standing kids held hands and gave strength to the swing'; *Пѧле пѧлетуне ѡку ни испѧда* 'The raven won't reach out at another raven's eye'.

2. Southwestern dialects

Central a–dialects: Though on a relatively smaller territory, mostly in the area of Dupnitsa, the dative case forms ending with *-ти* are found in nominals from the old – (e)nt declension for denoting young beings (the type of *отроч* in Old Bulgarian). In some Southwestern Bulgarian dialects the forms of masculine proper names such as *Ванчѣ, Зарѣ, Курѣ* (and respectively *Ванчѡ, Станчѡ, Минчѡ*) which are the successors of earlier diminutive and hypocoristic forms, remain in the neuter with endings *e* and *o*; however, syntactically they continue to behave as masculine proper names. In the area of Dupnitsa, they display a difference between the dative case and the accusative case: *Дѧйте (Милѣти, Зарѣти, Курѣти Минчѡти, Станчѡти, Цикѡти* – dative case) 'Give to (Mileti, Zareti, Kireti, Minchoti, Stanchoti, Zikoti)', but *Видѡх (Милѣте, Зарѣте, Курѣте, Цикѡте* – accusative case) 'I saw (Milete, Zarete, Kirete, Zikote)'.

Outlying Southwestern dialects: The following types of nominals in the masculine singular have been recorded in the Prespa dialect (in Gorna Prespa and the Resen area): *Му дѧде (Стойѧну, Йѧнку)* 'He gave (Stoyanu, Yanku)' according to an old *o//ѧ* declension; for the feminine – *Однѣсе ѧ ѧе чорабите мѧйке* 'Take to mother'; in the dialect of Debartsa – *Му дал Мѧрку трѡѡ нѧри* – *o//ѧ* declension 'Marco gave him some money'; in the Porech dialect – *Му го даде нѡсуфом Мѧркоѧе* 'He gave the leaflet to Marko'; *Ќднеси му ѧа секѧрана Мил'ѧну* 'Take the axe to Milan'. With nominals in the feminine singular in the same dialect, the following forms have been recorded: *Дѧде (срѧни, тѣтки)* 'Gave to aunt'; *Али му зѣде Сѧрми тафрѧк* 'Ali took for Sirma...'. In the dialect of the Malorekantsi, Debar area – *Вѧне и тѣтке им дѡнесол нѣшкиш, а мѧйке – нѣ!* 'He brought gifts to two of his aunts, but not to his mom!' In the Korca type dialect of the village of Boboshtitsa, Albania, the patterns of the dative case for purpose are found in the following examples: with the nominals in masculine singular: *Зѡшч не му завѣде таткѡ ми лѧн* 'Why didn't you take bread to daddy?'; *Жѡшч не му завѣдой д'ѧду л'ѧн* 'Why didn't they take bread to grandpa'; *И му се поклѡни Ристѡсу* (no article); *Гѡспотому да се стѡри* 'Pretend to be Lord'; *Му товари чов'ѣкутому шест мѧск'ѣ со парѣ* 'He loaded six mules with money to the man'. *И му го даде кеседжийѡтому* 'And gave it to the brigand'; *Конутѡму да м'ублѧчиш кѡжа от нѧкоѧ кон пѡвѡсан* 'Slip on the horse a skin from some dead horse'; *Ежутому му дѧде пѧто* 'He showed the way to the hedgehog' (with an article); with the names in the feminine singular: *Да стѡриш ѧзмет сѣстре Елѣне* 'Do some housework for your sister Elena'; *Маи ѧе... и купи женѧ му ен топ бамбѧк* 'Her husband... bought his wife a bale of cotton' (no article); *И дѧде нѧто гамил'ѧ тѡѧ да б'ѧга* 'And he showed the way to the camel to run away' (with an article); in the neuter singular: *Сѣтне отѧде и завѣде чуп'ѧттѡѧ и вѣли* 'And took to the girl and said' (with an article).

For the plural of all three genders in the dative case when an article is used, one can assume that only the article is subject to declension – this is one of the options (*аргатитим, л’удитим, мариц’атем* ‘to the jenny-asses’, *чупатем* ‘to the girls’). In the second option, though, the consonant *м* might have dropped off – in some Rhodope dialects the consonant remains, but it is skipped in others, i.e. it is possible that originally the dialect of Korca had forms such as *аргатимим, л’удимим, жибамтем, мариц’атем, чупамем*, which were later simplified due to odd reasons (just like it happened in some places of the Rhodopes) – so as to avoid the combination *мт* which is very hard to pronounce. The processes took place in the following sequence: *л’удим+тим > л’удимтим > л’удитим; жибам+тем > жибамтем > жибатем; ма(за)риц’ам +тем > ма(за)риц’амтем > ма(за)риц’атем*. In this way the mark of the dative case was finally confined to the case of the article. Without doubt we can see here a manifestation of the economy principle in language: one and the same grammatical relation (here the dative case) in the same number (plural) is needless to be expressed twice in the same word – once with the dative case ending of the nominal (*л’удим*) and once again with the declension form of the article –*тим* (*л’удимтим*). With the phonetic change (skipping the *м*) the form *л’удитим* is already perceived as the nominative form *л’уди* + declinable article –*тим*. (cf. Gerdzhikov 1987: 32–41). This can explain the quoted forms in the dialect of Boboshtitsa, Korca region: *Ен ден одаше на нива да му заведе аргатитим обет* ‘The other day he went to the field to take bread to the farmhands’; *И л’удитим му подәли нафора* ‘So they gave communion bread to the people’ (masculine); *Бамбакому го дәдой жиб’атем да го тк’ә* ‘They gave the cotton to the frogs to weave’; *Царо му мәше сторено чупатем* ‘The king had done this (thing) to the girls’; *И така т’әм мариц’атем му даде* ‘So he gave them, to the jenny-asses he gave it’ (feminine).

3. Northwestern dialects

In the Kosovo part of the area of Gora, forms in the masculine singular have been recorded: *(Дава) дөверу, ако йе по–стар съджак* ‘(Gives) to her husband’s brother, if he is older’; *Пет ил’аде марке, ако йма тога, че дәде устройнику* ‘If he has five thousand marks, he will give them to the matchmaker’; in the neuter singular: *Күчету че түрим* ‘I’ll put (food) for the dog’; in the feminine singular: *Рәими го дөнесоф джерданот Скөпйе Рәсим* ‘Rasim brought Raima a necklace from Skopje’; *Йди ги днеси Абәзици* ‘Go take these to Abazitsa’; *И дәла нөкойсу цйганки* ‘She gave to some sort old Gypsy woman’.

The following forms have been recorded in **Skopska Crna Gora**: for the masculine singular: *Мөне ми остави ниву, а Стойәнну күк’у* (Gornyuane) ‘He left me a field, Stoyan a house’; *Му ги дал пәрете Трайку Груйовому* (Mirkovtsi) ‘He gave the money to Трайко Гуиров’; *Му дале Вел’ку Трайковому пөнзийу* (Pobozhe) ‘They gave Velko Traikov a pension’; *Ке донесе вино, ке даде күму, па старейку* (Gluvo) ‘He will bring wine, he will give to the godfather, to the old man’; for the feminine singular: *Однөсе йе Рәтке зрөйзе* ‘Bring Radka grapes’; *Дәде йе Рәтке од зрөйзето* ‘Give Radka the grapes’; *Ке йе дам Пәуне, дай е Вөре, нөка рүча* (Gluvo) ‘I’ll give to Peacock, give

to Vera, let her eat!'; *Однеси ги лебав (стрѹнке ти, тетке ти)* (Mirkovtsi) 'Take the breads to your aunt'.

In border regions more uncommon forms for the masculine singular have been found such as: *Дай добрѹтому човѹку* 'Give to the good man'; *Дали влѹтому краставицу* 'They gave the Wallachian a cucumber'; for the feminine singular: *Дай Йѹрди ложѹцѹту* 'Give Jorda the spoon'; *Йе дѹдѹе мѹйке ми (сестрѹе ми)* 'They gave to my mother (to my sister)' (also more uncommon). The main forms are of the type *Дай на човекатѹга (влѹтѹга)* 'Give to the man (to the Wallachian)' – for the masculine singular, and *Йе дѹдѹе на мѹйкѹ ми (на сестрѹ ми)* 'They gave it to my mother (my sister)' – for the feminine singular.

In the Godech dialect more specifically, the following forms have been recorded: *Подвърлѹше Ивѹну два лева за цел дѹн* 'He gave Ivan two leva for the whole day'; *Лѹза га дѹде Петкѹ свѹто* 'Loza gave it to Petko hers'; *Ангѹлу га давѹше бес нѹре* 'He gave it to Angel without money'; *Меткѹ све че дѹдѹ* 'I will give everything to Metko' – for the masculine singular; *Петрѹе нѹма што да чѹпиш басмѹ* 'Ignore Petra'. *Онѹ и тетке че га дѹдѹе надѹкрай* 'I'll give it all to my aunt' – for the feminine singular. As M. Videnov remarks – 'a small group of proper names in the masculine whose nominative form ends with a vowel –a, also display a dative case form obtained with an ending of –u: ... Гѹши дѹдѹеше лѹпѹту' (Videnov 1969: 62).

Conclusion

Based on the presented narrative material, which reflects the relationship between the Old Bulgarian declension and the New Bulgarian relict declension, the following major conclusions can be drawn:

- although coexisting variationally (duplicatively), not independently (i.e. alongside the current analytic nominal system), the New Bulgarian relict declension system displays extremely rich and varied material in a number of dialects;
- it is crystal clear that the dialectal Bulgarian language with the preserved fragments of the old declension erodes the established notions which maintain that the New Bulgarian analytic language is too far removed from Old Bulgarian.

All these features build the originality of the Bulgarian language, which although in terms of grammatical structure has emerged as a unique Slavic language of a different type closer to West European languages grammar-wise, still keeps alive a range of case relicts.

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Patterns of the dative case with meanings of 'give' and 'do someone good' in the Bulgarian dialects

Abstract

In Bulgarian dialects across the linguistic continuum, relict (residual) forms of the nominal declension continue to function, which is one of the most essential features of the Old Bulgarian morphosyntax. Nowadays, grammatical cases allow us to assume that there are a number of Bulgarian dialects that have preserved fragments of old grammatical systems. The methodology of the study was chosen at the model level and limited to one particular pattern of the dative case. This is the pattern of the dative case for purpose as an indirect object in verbs meaning 'give' and 'do good to someone'. The patterns are mainly two types: adverbial and adnominal. They are found primarily in the southeastern and southwestern Bulgarian dialects, which are the most archaic, but examples of their spread to the northwest are also given.

Wzorce celownika ze znaczeniami 'give' i 'do someone good' w dialektach bułgarskich**Streszczenie**

Dialekty bułgarskie w całym kontinuum językowym nadal funkcjonują z reliktowymi formami deklinacji nominalnej, która jest jedną z najważniejszych cech morfosyntaktyki starobułgarskiej. Obecnie kategoria przypadku jest najpewniejszym dowodem na to, że fragmenty starych systemów gramatycznych zachowały się w wielu bułgarskich dialektach. Metodologia badania została wybrana na poziomie modelu i ogranicza się do jednego konkretnego wzorca celownika. Jest to wzorec celownika jako dopełnienia dalszego w czasownikach oznaczających 'give' i 'do someone good'. Wzorce te są zasadniczo dwojakiego rodzaju: przysłówkowe i przydawkowe. Obecnie można je znaleźć głównie w południowo-wschodnich i południowo-zachodnich dialektach bułgarskich, które są najbardziej archaiczne, ale podano również przykłady ich rozprzestrzeniania się na północny zachód.

