

Description of Phonetic Phenomena in the BulDialects Dataset

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This paper has two aims: to give a description of the main sources from which the material for the Buldialect project will be collected, and to present the criteria for the selection of the words included in the list.

The principle source for the pronunciation data are theses written by graduating students. Each thesis is a complete description of the dialect of a particular village (in almost all cases the native village of the student). The extensive collection of these descriptions began the 1950-s and almost all theses from the initial period were supervised by Prof. Stoyko Stoykov – the leading expert in the field of Bulgarian dialectology at the time. Other theses were supervised by two of his most distinguished students – Prof. Todor Boyadzhiev and Prof. Maxim Mladenov. The theses used for the pronunciation data were written in the period 1950–1985, very few of them later. Stoykov’s basic assumption was that a dialect is a self-contained linguistic system and a satisfactory dialect description should provide a thorough account of all levels of this system, contrary to the practice of collecting and describing only exotic and rare words and features. The theses follow the same model: there are chapters on phonetics (including historical changes), morphology, notes on the syntax, a dictionary and transcribed dialect texts. The phonetic transcription used in the descriptions was developed in its present form primarily by Prof. Stoykov and now is in general use in Bulgarian linguistic publications. It is based on the Cyrillic alphabet with some Latin letters and many diacritics added. This system allows quite detailed record of phonetic variation. For example there are 8 basic symbols for vowel and diacritics for two degrees of vowel reduction, for raised or lowered pronunciation, rounding, and length. Stoykov recommended introduction of new symbol and detailed description for specific sounds. It is important to note that this system can be adequately, and biuniquely, translated into the symbols of IPA.

Published dialect descriptions and dictionaries are another important source. There are two series of such publications – “Bulgarian Dialectology. Investigations and Data” (comprising 10 volumes, 1962 – 1981), and “Studies in Bulgarian Dialectology” (comprising 10 volumes, 1965 - 1984), and also separate books. All villages for which such monograph length descriptions are available are included in the list:

Beglezh 1443, Dobroslavci 2212, Gabare 1379, Govedarci 3519, Hvoyna 4171, Momchilovci 4643, Mugla 4620, Nova Nadezhda 3891, Pavelsko 4172, Radovene 1408, Vojnjagovo 3017.

There are also book-length descriptions of larger areas, e.g. Botevgrad, Godech, Ihtiman, Kyustendil, Razlog, Silistra, Sofia, Strandzha mountain, Teteven, Troyan. They provide complete description of the dialects in the region and pay attention to internal variation. The above mentioned system for phonetic transcription is used consistently in all these books.

Another important source is the archive of the Ideographic Dictionary of Bulgarian Dialects. This project was launched by Prof. Stoyko Stoykov in the middle of the 50-s. If in most dialect dictionaries the dialect words are arranged alphabetically and are explained or translated in the standard language, the Ideographic dictionary reverses that order: the word of the standard language are alphabetically arranged and are followed by the corresponding dialect words. Thus all words meaning 'potato' are in a single entry.

The material for the dictionary was collected from all possible sources: theses and term papers written on the bases of a questionnaire composed by Stoyko Stoykov; abundant material from field work expeditions, which were regularly organized in the summers; all published dialect descriptions and dictionaries; personal archives of other scholars. In addition, the archive of the dialectological section of the Bulgarian Language Institute is also included (in the form in which it existed in 1969; Stoyko Stoykov was the head of the Institute at the time). The material is in the form of index-cards (over two millions), each containing the dialect word, its counterpart in the standard language, and the location. All the materials used for the compilation of the dictionary are transcribed with uniform phonetic transcription. A description of the archive was published in the journal "Bylgarski ezik" in 1969, v. 2. The archive is in the process of transferring the material in computers (the work is completed up to the letter D, also parts of the letters E and ZH).

Tape recordings of dialect speech are another important source. Since 1981 we started to collect a phono-archive. We now have over 250 hours of recorded dialect speech from ca. 100 villages from all part of the Bulgarian language territory.

There is either a thesis or a published description for all but 3 villages (45, 4917, 4923). The files for these villages were filled with material from tapes and the results are quite satisfactory. The inclusion of these villages was necessary in order to keep more adequate geographic network.

Finally, there is always a possibility for field work in villages, for which we find the description unsatisfactory.

The Bulgarian Dialect Atlas is also regularly used to verify the adequacy of our material.

CRITERIA FOR THE SELECTION OF THE WORDS

It is self-evident that the first requirement for the words is availability. The words included in the list are frequent and almost invariably show up in the theses (one quarter of the words are in the Swadesh list). Only words which are expected to show some degree of variation were included, which is why we didn't use the entire Swadesh list. It is also self-evident that words displaying lexical variation were not included. For example the word dyb 'oak' was replaced by a Turkish borrowing in a number of villages.

There is a balance between the different features: the reflexes of all important Old Bulgarian vowels are presented with equal (or close to equal) number of words to prevent skewing of the results. For example there are three words with the reflex of the back nasalized vowel and three words with the reflex of the back jer in the root. In cases where we had to

choose between two frequent words containing one and the same feature, preference was given to the word that displays more than one variation. Thus *pyt* ‘road’ was preferred to *zyb* ‘tooth’ because in addition to the variation of the root vowel there is also variation of the final consonant (the final consonant of *zyb* is also subject of variation, the preservation of final voicing, but it is much more limited and may be judged from other words in the list). The word *sybota* ‘Saturday’ was preferred to *rabota* ‘work’ because apart from the frequent vowel elision (*sypta*) it contains the reflex of the back nasalized vowel.

Some words which were included primarily for one feature contain other features as a side effect, so to speak. Such additional features are also represented in the data. For example the word *zvezda* ‘star’ was included for the initial consonant (fricative or affricate), but it contains three other features: initial or end stress, reflex of *jat* in the first syllable, and generalized accusative case (if the stress is final). The word *vezhda* was included for the reflex of **dj*, but also contains the same three additional features. The asterisk after the number of a feature signifies that the inclusion of the word in the list is subject to some condition. Thus *glava* will be considered for generalized accusative only if the stress is final.

The two lists are cross-referenced. Next to each feature are the numbers of the words which contain that feature, and next to each word are the numbers of the features the word contains. After the features there is a short explanation and examples of possible variants (not always exhaustive). The examples are given in IPA symbols and present variation only with respect to the feature discussed in the current paragraph, except when one variation automatically leads to another, as in the case of stress and *jat* reflexes, e.g. *ˈmljakoto* and *mleˈkoto*, or when two features are geographically incompatible, as the verbal ending *-mo* and *ja* as reflex of *jat*. Bulgarian words in the body text are just transliterated. The letter *ъ* is rendered with *y*, the post-alveolar consonants with the combinations *sh*, *zh*, *ch*.

The stress of the monosyllabic words is indicated in order to distinguish them from the clitics.

The examples are forms known to exist in Bulgarian dialects and not part of the collected material.

1. Reflexes of ‘*jat*’

1.1. Non-palatal environment, stressed: 28, 56*, 80*, 93, 99*, 110, 111*, 121, 134*, 138, 142, 149

This is the well known *jat* boundary, dividing the Bulgarian dialects in two large groups – eastern and western dialect. West of the boundary the reflex is always *e* (this is slightly simplified, as some western villages have open vowel, and in other the reflex is *a* after *r* and *ts*) and east of the boundary the reflex is *ja* or open *e*. The expression non-palatal environment is used when the following conditions are met:

1. There is no post-alveolar consonant after the *jat* reflex or in the following syllable. (The rule is often formulated “there is no post-alveolar consonant in the following syllable”, but the syllabic division in words like *prechka* ‘obstacle’ is not clear.)

2. There is no palatalized consonant after the *jat* reflex or in the following syllable.

3. There is no front vowel in the following syllable.

Strictly speaking, the word njama ‘there is no; will not’ did not have jat in Old Bulgarian but it is included here because in most dialect it is in the lexical set of the jat words’

Examples:

'xl'ap, 'xlep, 'xlɛp

Special cases: 134, 142

After the consonants r and ts the vowel a (without preceding palatalized consonant) is found as a reflex of jat well within the western territory.

Examples:

'ts^jal, 'tsel, 'tsal

1.2. Palatal environment, stressed: 3*, 5, 9, 10, 13*, 19, 59, 78, 86, 88, 99, 104, 106, 146

Palatal environment means that there is post-alveolar or palatalized consonant after the jat reflex or in the following syllable, or there is a front vowel in the following syllable. In such environment the e-reflex is prevailing in the eastern dialect as well.

Examples: as above

1.2. Word-final, stressed: 37, 45, 74, 113

Word-final jat reflexes exhibit irregularities. Although in identical position, old dual forms like rytse ‘hands’ may different vowel than adverbs like dobre ‘well’ (old locative form).

Examples: as above

1.3. Unstressed: 27, 32, 42*, 62*, 100*, 103, 120, 135

The most widespread reflex of unstressed jat is e. However, the degree and the direction of the reduction of that e may be different from the reduction of e as a reflex of other vowels. vowel reduction is often presented as an automatic phonetic rule, but there is a good deal of lexicalization in the dialects.

Examples:

'gore, 'gori, 'gor^jy

2. Etymological ja:

2.1. Non-palatal environment: 1*, 96, 143, 152, 153, 155, 156

The term etymological *ja* refers to the vowel *a* preceded by the palatal approximant *j* or a post-alveolar consonant. Words with *a* after old palatal consonant (*poljana* ‘meadow’) also belong to this lexical set. While the etymological *ja* remains unchanged in most western dialects, there is alternation with *e* in most of the eastern dialects in palatal environment, as explained in 1.1 and 1.2. The asterisk on 1 indicates that the word is subject to this

Examples:

oftʃar, oftʃer, oftʃer

2.2. Palatal environment: 2*, 97

as above

2.3. Unstressed: 89, 154, 155, 157

Examples:

ja'deʃ, e'deʃ

3. Initial prothetic *j*:

3.1. Before *a*: 1, 2, 152, 153, 154, 155

The standard language is similar to the central part of the northern dialects in having prothetic *j* in 152 and its plural form 153, but not in 1 and 2. In the easternmost northern dialects the prothetic *j* is missing 1, 2, and 152. In term of geographic extend the prothesis of *j* in 154 and its plural form 155 is less consistent.

Examples:

'agne, 'jagne

2. 2. Before *e*: 52, 53, 54, 55

This prothesis is favored under stress, but is possible in unstressed syllable, therefore the words in which the initial *e* is normally unstressed are not asterisked.

Example:

e'zik, je'zik

3.3. Before *u*: 135

Unfortunately, in addition to the phonetic variation there is also lexical variation, albeit in very few villages, in which the word for tomorrow comes from another word meaning morning – *zaran*. However, *utre* is only possibility for this feature. The other possibility, the word *um* ‘mind’ displays more inconsistent variation and has been replaced by a borrowed word in many villages.

Example:

'utre, 'jutre

4. j before front vowels: 71

In the standard language the palatal approximant is not allowed before front vowel (with the exception of few rarely used borrowed words) which leads to alternations like pejy – peesh '(I) sing – (you) sing'. In the dialects j may be kept before front vowels, especially e.

In the form kve the consonant v is not a direct replacement of the vowel o. In a number of villages intervocalic j is changed to v (dovi < doji 'milks'). The form is a result of such change (koje - kove) and then deletion of unstressed vowel.

Examples:

ko'e, ko'je (also 'kve)

5. Elision of j: 77, 89, 154, 155, 156, 157

The initial combination ja may result from prothesis of j before a (see 3.1.). It may also result from prothesis of j before the old jat , because after j the jat was changed to a. Such words developed in different way from the ones in 3.1. The word 154 and its plural form 155 are here for the possible loss of the palatal approximant in the middle of the word.

Example:

'neja, 'nea

Special case: 77

The j in majka 'mother' is a result of anticipation of the palatalization of the following consonant, which did not happen in all dialects. Some western dialects have retained the archaic form mati and its indirect case form mater (the word belonged to the r-stem in Old Bulgarian).

Examples:

'majka, 'maca, 'mati ('mater)

6. Reflexes of the back nasalized vowel:

6.1. In the root, stressed: 82, 109, 125

This is one of the most important dialect difference in Bulgarian and is used invariably in dialect classifications. In fact, when groups of dialect are referred to as a-dialects, u-dialects and so on, the names of the dialects come from the reflex of the back nasalized vowel. The areas of the different reflexes are asymmetric (very large areas for y and a, very small for o and ε) but the sound change is remarkably consistent and there is very little, in fact negligible

lexical diffusion. It is possible to predict with great certainty other words on the basis of the three words included in the list.

Examples:

'mɤʃ, 'maʃ, 'muʃ, 'mɔʃ, 'moʃ, 'mɛʃ, 'mɤntʃ

6.2. In the root, unstressed: 74, 82*, 83*, 84*, 112*, 113*

There is less variation in unstressed syllables. The open e and the open o alternate with shwa-like reduced vowel (in only one village the open o alternates with u) in unstressed syllables.

Examples:

ka'de – ku'de

6.3. Alternative Old Bulgarian forms, stressed: 27

This word is attested with each of the two nasalized vowels in Old Bulgarian. Another varying feature in this word is the presence or absence of the consonant n.

Examples:

'vɤtre, u'nutre, 'vnetre, 'natre

6.4. In endings: 4, 40, 91, 101, 116, 143, 147

It is possible to have one reflex in the root and another in various grammatical endings. The verbal endings for 1st person singular and 3rd person plural in present tense contained this vowel, as did the verbal ending for 3rd person past imperfect tense which was transferred in most dialect in the aorist paradigm. Different reflex in endings may be conditioned by the position in purely phonetic sense. In some eastern dialect y is not allowed in word-final position and though the reflex of the back nasalized vowel is y in all other cases, including grammatical endings, it is a in word-final position (me'ta 1st person but me'tyt 3rd person 'sweep'). In other dialects different reflexes in grammatical ending may not be conditioned by their phonetic position.

6.5. Generalized accusative case: 17*, 29*, 57*, 62*, 64*, 111*, 112*, 117*, 120, 134*, 148*

This is a special case of 6.4. Most Bulgarian dialect lost completely their case systems. However, in most of the western dialect the general form of the feminine nouns goes back to the original nominative case, and in most eastern dialects it goes back to the original accusative case, whose ending was the back nasalized vowel. With the exception of 120 all words may appear with root stress, in which case the vowel reduction makes it impossible to judge whether the form is old nominative or old accusative. A number of western dialects have retained one indirect case, which goes back to the accusative case, in active use (glava, glavu 'head'). In such cases the indirect case form is listed as an additional form. In a small group of eastern dialects the feminine animate nouns (the words zhena 'woman', moma 'young unmarried woman' and sestra 'sister') are exceptions in two different ways. They may

have only one form that is the old nominative one (vody ‘water, glavy head, but zhená, sestra). It is also possible to have two forms: direct case (the old nominative) and indirect (the old accusative): zhenata govori na sestry si ‘the woman talks to her sister’.

Examples:

gla'va, gla'vy, gla've

7. Reflexes of the front nasalized vowel

7.1. In the root, stressed: 31, 65, 76, 104

This is also important feature, though it is less often used in classifications. Some of the reflexes (zit) are quite rare. It is also very consistent and there is no lexical diffusion, except in the formation of secondary imperfective verbs, where generalization of various vowel alternations is possible (naredjy – narjadam ‘arrange’ by analogy with sedna – sjadam ‘sit’).

Examples:

'zet, 'zʲot, 'zʲyt, 'zit, 'zent

7.2. In the root, unstressed: 41, 78, 79*

As with jat reflexes, unstressed e as a reflex of the front nasalized vowel may have different unstressed variants from the etymological e or jat.

Examples:

'deset, 'desit, 'desʲyt, 'desat

7.3. Word-final: 2, 19, 42, 68, 114

As above, but no nasal reflexes are recorded in any dialect.

7.4. Merging of the two nasalized vowels: 54, 55, 61

In Proto-Slavic only front vowels were allowed after post-alveolar consonant (part of a rule termed syllabic synharmony). In many dialects, both eastern and western, the regular reflex of the back nasalized vowel appears after post-alveolar consonants instead of the regular reflex of the front nasalized vowel. The same change may be observed after the palatal approximant, yielding forms like jazik, yozik, jyzik, but this change occurs outside the state boundaries.

Examples:

'zɛtva, 'zʲytva, 'zatva, 'zotva, 'zɛtva

8. Reflexes of the back jer

8.1. In the root, stressed: 26, 48, 50*

The development of the back jer is consistent in the areas where the reflex is y (and also ô or ê) and only in stressed root syllable. There is a great deal of lexical diffusion in the southwest and in fact the reflexes must be studied word by word. There is a peripheral area in the southwest where the reflex in the root is consistently a, and moving southwest one finds more and more o reflexes.

Examples:

'dɤʃt, 'doʃt, 'daʃt, 'dɔʃt, 'dɛʃt

8.2. In suffixes: 104, 110, 128

The reflex o in suffixes goes well beyond the area of the reflex o in the root and is found in dialects wjich have a or y: dazhd or dyzhd may be combined with takov.

Examples:

ta'kyf, ta'kof, ta'kaf, ta'kɔf, ta'kef

8.3. In the definite article for masculine nouns: 34, 84, 108

The masculine definite article developed from a demonstrative pronoun attached after the noun – raby ty 'slave this'. The final jer was in the so called weak position and dropped in all Bulgarian dialects. Many dialect also lost the original demonstrative marker t. The final yer of the noun, which was in weak position, turned out to be in strong position when followed by the demonstrative pronoun and in many dialects is the sole marker of definiteness. The vowel in the article is a reflex of the back jer but it has had different development from the jer in root syllable. It is possible to have two variants of the article, conditioned by the preceding consonant: y or o after hard consonant and e after soft or postalveolar consonant. This may be due to vowel alternation, but the e vowel may also be a direct reflex of strong front jer (many nouns ended in front jer in Old Bulgarian). The definite forms of the words grad 'town' and myzh 'man' were included as samples of this variation.

The o article is found not only outside the area of the reflex o in the root, but in fact far away in the northeast, together with instances of o reflexes in the suffix -yk.

The preservation or the loss of the t has nothing to do with the purely artificial (I feel the right word here is "ridiculous") syntactic rule for the full and short article in writing. Nevertheless the preservation of the final t is consistent and salient feature.

Some dialects have developed articles from other demonstrative pronouns in addition to ty: from sь and ony in the Rhodopes, and from ovy and ony in the some westernmost dialects. The phenomenon is known as "triple article". In such cases the t form is listed as basic and the other two as additional.

Examples: as above

8.4. In prepositions: 23, 127

The voicing of the final s before words beginning with voiced obstruents is automatic and is not presensed.

Examples:

sʏs, sos, ʏs

8.5. Loss of weak jer: 50

The distinction between

The jers were weak in word-final position, strong before a weak jer, weak before a strong jer or any other vowel. So if the jers are counted from right to left, beginning at the end of the word, the odd jers will all be weak, and the even jers strong. The weak jers were lost and the alternation of strong and weak jers gave rise to fleeting vowels (gladen - gladni). Weak jers were kept in positions where their deletion would result in inadmissible consonant cluster. A possible explanation for the loss of the weak jer in dyno, found in western dialects, is that these dialects allow more consonant clustering.

Examples:

'dʏno, 'dno

9. Reflexes of the front jer:

9.1. In the root, stressed: 39, 44, 52*, 75, 103, 132, 133

The reflexes of the front jer exhibit even more lexical diffusion than the reflexes of the back jer in a broad area. Only the extreme southeast is relatively consistent in having the reflex e and the extreme west is absolutely consistent in having the reflex y. In the latter case, may other word can be safely predicted on the basis of the words in the list, as there is no lexical diffusion with respect to this vowel. This may be termed conditioned predictability, since only if the reflex is y and is common to all words other words can be predicted.

There is an asterisk on 52 because there were competing forms of the numeral in Old Bulgarian with front jer and with i in the stressed syllable.

The use of the velar nasal before velar stops as in the word tynko ('thin' neuter) is result of automatic rule and there is no variation. However, it may be useful in comparisons with other Slavic languages. Russian, for example, does not have such rule.

Examples:

'tʏŋko, 'teŋko, 'tʲoŋko, 'teŋko

9.2. In the root, unstressed: 115*

The asterisk means that the vowel may be deleted, see 9.4.

Examples:

se'ga, sy'ga, si'ga

9.3. In suffixes: 30, 47, 122

Examples:

'starets, 'starits, 'star'ɣts, 'staryts

9.4. Loss of weak jer: 115

See the explanation of strong and weak jers in 8.5.

Examples:

se'ga, 'zga

10. Epenthesis of jer: 28, 98

The first word ended in Old Bulgarian in back jer and the second in front jer and there was no vowel between the final two consonants in both words. The falling of the word-final, and therefore weak, jer resulted in inadmissible syllabic structure, more specifically, a syllable-final combination of obstruent and sonorant and a vowel was inserted between the two consonants. The inserted vowel in the first word is to a certain degree irregular, as many dialects have inserted e only in this word and y in all other words under the same phonetic conditions. The inserted vowel in the second word is often specific for this word alone.

Examples:

'v'atɣr, 'veter; 'ogɣn, 'oɣin

11. Vowel reduction: all unstressed vowels

Special cases: 12, 102, 106

The vowel reduction is by far more common in the eastern dialects. The vowel reduction in the standard language is interpreted as purely phonetic rule, conditioned by the position of the syllable with respect to the stress. In the dialects however, the vowel reduction is often lexicalized or conditioned by morphological factors. Especially unpredictable is the reduction of unstressed e, which may depend on the consonantal environment. The word pepel 'ash' may have an additional variation – back rounded vowel o in the first syllable.

Examples:

'pepel, 'pepil, 'pep'ɣl

12. Reflexes of jery: 54, 118

Except in two small areas, one of them outside the borders, the Old Bulgarian jery merged with the old i.

Note: In other dialects the vowel i (as reflex of both jery and i) was retracted as a result of chain-shift into a central, close, unrounded vowel (ɨ), which is called jery and

transcribed with ы (is has often been compared to the Ukraine ы). As a result of this change all but the word-initial instances of stressed і in the list may appear centralized.

e'zik e'zɨk

13. Rounding of vowels: 55, 56, 58, 59, 68, 146, 148

Rounding of front vowels occurs in consonantal environments of labial/labiodental or post-alveolar consonants (the articulation of Bulgarian post-alveolar consonants, as in many other languages, involves rounding of the lips). The vowel і is subject to rounding much more frequently. The rounding may be accompanied by retraction all the way to a back vowel, in which case the preceding consonant (with the possible exception of the post-alveolar consonants) is palatalized. The change is found almost exclusively in eastern dialects.

Examples:

'ʒif, 'ʒyf, 'ʒuf

14. Unrounding of vowels: 70

This sound change, the opposite of the one in 13., is less common and found in fewer words, though some of them, like libe 'sweetheart' made their way in the standard language thanks to the fact that the sound change is found in the dialect of Koprivshtica, where several classical writers were born.

Example:

'klʲutʃ, 'klitʃ

15. Alternation o-e: 43, 85, 102

This alternation is another example of the Proto-Slavic syllabic synharmony. After soft and post-alveolar consonants only front vowels were allowed. The alternation lost its phonetic regularity but was preserved in numerous morphophonemic alternations, e.g. the singular ending of the neuter nouns: selo 'village' but vyzhe 'rope'. The alternation is better preserved in western and southeastern dialects. The word 43 is a Turkish borrowing and originally had the vowel e, which was replaced with o by analogy in many eastern dialects. In some Rhodope dialect the same word has morphological variation – it ends in -a and belongs to the feminine nouns.

The word pepel had alternative form popel in Old Bulgarian, obviously result of rounding between to bilabial consonants.

Examples:

'dʒop, 'dʒep

16. Vowel elision: 55, 80, 86, 94, 95, 106, 125, 130

Elision of unstressed vowels is best attested in southeastern and northeastern dialects. The elision may be conditioned by position – in a tri-syllabic word with initial stress the middle vowel is like to be lost ('rapta < `rabota 'work', `sypta < `sybota 'Saturday'). It may

also be morphologically conditioned – the plural ending is lost before the definite article `daskalte < `daskalite ‘the teachers’).

The words included here are the bet candidates for vowel elision rather than exhaustive list.

Examples:

ne'del'a, 'ndel'a

17. Change by analogy: 46

There is no explanation other than analogy with the adverb with the opposite meaning for this change as alternation u – e is not registered.

Example:

'dolu, 'dole ‘down’ (analogy with 'gore ‘up’)

17.1. Stem unification: 101

Verbs from first conjugation (or e-conjugation) whose stem end in velar consonant have alternation of the stem-final consonant in the present tense forms. In 1st person singular and 3rd person plural k and g occur; in all other forms ch and zh occur. Historically the alternation is explained by the first palatalization of the velars before front vowels. In many dialects, predominantly western, the stem was unified and ch and zh occur throughout the present paradigm. The stem unification is regarded as a form of analogy.

Examples:

pe'ky, pe'kyt, pe'tʃy, pe'tʃyt

18. Syllabic liquids

The old syllabic liquids were preserved in many western (especially northwestern) dialects and were replaced by a combination of liquid consonant and vowel (most frequently y, but other vowels are possible) in other dialects. The sequencing of the liquid and the vowel in dialect without syllabic liquids also differ. Some dialects favor fixed order (ry, ly or yr, yl) or even do not permit the other sequence. More dialects have the alternation yr-ry and yl-ly. In monosyllabic words the sequence is usually unpredictable. In polysyllabic word the sequence is condition by the number of the following consonants (dyrzha ‘hold’ – dryzhka ‘handle’; gyltam ‘swallow, imperfective aspect’ – glytna ‘swallow perfective aspect’). The alternation is found in inflection as well as in word-formation. In many dialects the combinations of liquids and the back nasalized vowel merged with the old liquids (tyrsja < trositi ‘search’, kylbo < klobo ‘ball’), but not in the Rhodopes and in the westernmost dialects. The early Old Bulgarian contrast between syllabic liquids and liquids followed by a jer left no traces in Bulgarian dialects.

In many publications on dialects the description of the syllabic liquids is mainly trying to locate an extra-short y-vowel on one side of the liquid (in transcription this is rendered with a superscript y). However, it would be oversimplified to claim that they are unpopular

because they appear un-Bulgarian in a way (there is no syllabic l in standard Serbian). Indeed, the pronunciation of the syllabic liquids, especially near the isogloss, is unstable and they may be replaced by sequences.

18.1. Syllabic r: 8, 20, 21*, 51, 73, 107, 108, 126, 144*, 145*

The asterisk on 21 means that there may be a vowel alternation, and the asterisk on 144 and 145 means that these words may be pronounced with syllabic liquids but do not belong to the same lexical set and there are other conditions.

Examples:

'sʏrp, 'srʏp, 'sɾp, 'sɔrp, 'sɛrp

18.2. Syllabic l: 24, 25, 49, 60, 152, 153

In this case, the place of the articulation of the preceding consonant may play a role. In some dialects in which y is regular reflex, u appears after any labial (bilabial or labiodental) consonant, in others u appears only after bilabial, but not after labiodental consonant. Other dialects have y in all the words. The word vylk 'wolf' is included because of the variation of the velar stop, which may be replaced by a palatal stop.

Examples:

'vʏlk, 'vʏk, 'vɫk, 'vɫk, 'vuk, 'vɔlk, 'vɛlk

19. Reflexes of *tj, *dj: 10, 21, 76, 87, 92, 105, 150

The most common reflexes of this Proto-Slavic clusters are sht and zhd, but other reflexes are found, of which the post-alveolar affricates form a compact area in the west. There are some irregularity in the reflex of the *dj in vezhda, but the other possibilities either display lexical variation, like mezhda 'landmark', or are less available, like prezhda 'yarn'.

Examples:

'leʃta, 'leʃtʃa, 'letʃa, 'leca; 'veda, 'veʒa, 'veʒdʒa, 'veʒa

20. The clusters ЧРЬ, ЧРѢ: 144, 145, 146

The variation in this words concerns the initial consonant (alveolar or postalveolar affricate), and also the vowel, which may also be replaced by a syllabic liquids. The area of the alveolar affricate in cheresha 'cherry' is smaller than the area of the same consonant in cheren and cherven, found not only in western, but in many southeastern dialects.

Examples:

tʃer'ven, tʃer'ven; tʃer'ven, tʃer'ven

21. Epenthetic l: 64

The palatal approximant *j* in Old Bulgarian affected in a variety of ways the preceding consonant, depending of its place of articulation. After the labial consonants *p*, *b*, *m*, and *v* (*f* did not exist in native vocabulary) an epenthetic palatal lateral consonant developed. The process can also be described as a change *j* > *l*. The other possibilities are *j* > *n*, coalescence of the labial consonant and the palatal approximant into a single consonant with secondary palatal articulation, or preservation of *j*. The reverse changes, *l* > *j* and *n* > *j* are also found in Bulgarian dialects, the first being more common. It is not clear whether the epenthetic *l* was lost or never existed in the first place in the dialects where it does not occur.

Examples:

ze'm^ja, zem'l^ja, zem'n^ja

22. Voiced affricates: 43, 56, 62

A group of dialects in the southeast lack the two voiced affricates.

The voiced post-alveolar affricate is more frequent than its alveolar counterpart, despite being found only in borrowed, primarily Turkish words. (It has been suggested that the oldest result of the so called first palatalization of *g* was an affricate, which was later replaced by a fricative, while the result of the first palatalization of *k* remained an affricate.) The sound appears in native vocabulary as a reflex of the of **dj* in some dialects, and in other dialects may be found in the place of *g* before front vowels (the process has been termed “new first palatalization” by Stoyko Stoykov).

The voiced alveolar affricate occurs in very few words in the standard language but is much more common in the dialects. It is accepted that it was the original result of the second palatalization of *g* and is well preserved in the word *zvezda* ‘star’, where the second palatalization took place despite the intervening consonant.

Examples:

'dʒ op, 'ʒop; zve'zda, dʒve'zda

23. Soft consonants: 2, 24, 77, 106, 118, 137, 152, 153

The impressionistic, more precisely synesthetic term “soft” has the advantage of encompassing into a single category two phonetically different groups of consonant: palatal and palatalized consonants. The inclusion of these sounds in a single category is justified by their common phonotactic behavior and phonemic status. It is often claimed that the western dialects have only four soft consonants but that they are softer than the soft consonants in the eastern dialects. In somehow stricter phonetic terms that means that the western soft consonants are palatal (*k*, *g*, *l*, *n*), while the eastern ones are palatalized, and each consonant except the post-alveolar ones is paired with a palatalized counterpart. In fact the soft counterparts of *k* and *g* in the eastern dialects are also palatals, which leaves only the soft lateral and nasal consonants with different pronunciation in the dialects. The standard pronunciation of these soft consonants is *l^j* and *n^j* and the use of palatal consonants may sound regional, though not all speakers are sensitive to such a small phonetic difference.

With very few exceptions Bulgarian dialectologists do not distinguish the two variants (Benyo Conev distinguished *sljana* ‘merged’ and *razdelna* ‘separate’ palatalnost, but defined their geographic distribution in very broad terms). The Bulgarian Dialect Atlas uses two

apostrophes for stronger softness but without full consistency. With so unreliable source we decided to use only the symbols for palatalized lateral and nasal consonants.

The word *majka* ‘mother’ in some northwestern dialects appears in its archaic forms *mati* (nominative case) and *mater* (indirect case). The last word illustrates a rule in some eastern dialects – the alveolar lateral becomes soft before palatal consonant (before that the following velar consonant is replaced by palatal one before front vowel).

Examples:

'agne, 'agn^je; 'majka, 'maca; 'vɫk, 'vɫ^jk; pone'delnik, pone'del^jnik; 'sirene, 'siren^je; 'furna, 'furn^ja; 'jabylka, 'jabyl^jka; 'jabylci, 'jabyl^jci

23.1. Word-final: 39, 41, 54, 55, 65, 72, 98, 102, 109, 119

Soft consonants are not allowed in word-final position but are quite common in the dialects. With exception of the words specified as special case and the word *pepel* ‘ash’, all the words ended in front jer in Old Bulgarian, and such softness is defined as historical.

Examples:

'den, 'den^j

Special cases: 54, 55

In these cases the final softness is not historical and is conditioned by the preceding front vowel. There is similar phonetic rule in Turkish.

Examples:

e'zik, e'zic

23.2. Morphologically conditioned soft consonants: 6, 91, 116

The word *brane* is the verbal noun of the verb *bera* ‘gather, pick’. The verbal nouns have soft consonants in most western dialects. Another possible variation in this form is the retention of the root vowel. The other two verbs are from the second conjugation. In most eastern dialects the verbs from this conjugation have soft consonants before the endings for 1st person singular and 3rd person plural in present tense. The 1st person ending contained *j* in Old Bulgarian. The 3rd ending contained a front nasalized vowel in Old Bulgarian, while the ending for the other conjugations contained back nasalized vowel. In the vast majority of the dialects the back nasalized vowel was generalized for all verbs and the frontness of the vowel was compensated by palatalization of the preceding consonant. It is possible to have soft consonant in the 1st person ending and hard one in the 3rd person ending, though such combination is extremely rare.

Examples:

bra'ne, bra'n^je, be'rane; se'd^jy, se'dy

24. Palatalization of t, d: 33, 35

These words differ morphologically – the first is a plural form of masculine noun and the second is a singular form of a neuter noun, but they follow the same pattern almost invariably. The palatalization, where it occurs, is caused by a palatal approximant following the alveolar stop.

Examples:

'gosti, 'gosce 'gosje, 'gojse; 'grozde, 'grozje, 'grozje, 'grozje

25. Simplification of the clusters str, zdr: 63, 117, 123

This simplification is a feature of some dialects in the southeast and is quite regular – it occurs in all words containing the clusters.

Examples:

se'stra, se'sra

26. Epenthesis of t, d in the clusters sr, zr: 121

This phonetic change, the opposite of the one in 25., is found in the southwest.

Examples:

'sr^jada, 'str^jada

27. The voiceless velar fricative:

In some dialects such consonant does not exist and in others its use is restricted to certain positions. Word-initial and intervocalic seem to be the weakest positions for x. It may be replaced by another consonant (f, w, h) or not be replaced at all. In some dialects the loss of x in word-final position or before another consonant is compensated by lengthening of the preceding vowel.

27.1. Word-initial: 138, 139, 140, 141

Examples:

'xl^jap, 'l^jap

27.2. Word-final: 13, 20, 100, 123, 124

As the examples demonstrate, the replacement of x in some dialects may be conditioned by the preceding vowel: j after front vowel, v after back rounded vowel. The word strah 'fear' may have additional variation: prothetic i (istrax) but this is a rare change.

Examples:

'strax, 'stra; 'orex, 'oref, 'orej; 'sux, 'suv, 'su

27.3. Within the word: 9, 36, 136

Examples:

'b^jaxme, 'b^ja:me, 'b^jajme, 'b^jafme, 'bjawme; 'dadoxa, 'dadoha, 'dadoa

28. The voiceless labiodental fricative: 137

There is no such consonant in the native vocabulary of Bulgarian. It was introduced through borrowings, mostly from Greek. It is still not found in a number of dialects, westernmost and easternmost. The form *fturna*, recorded in one of the villages, is an interesting folk etymology – it was interpreted as coming from the verb *turja* ‘put’ and the preposition *v* ‘in’. In some southeastern dialects voiceless bilabial fricative is used, especially before the vowel *u*.

Examples:

'furna, 'vurna, 'xurna, 'hurna, 'ϕurna

29. Loss of *v* before rounded vowels: 17, 18, 38, 51, 129, 141

This is a good example for the universal preference for combination of more contrasting rather than similar sounds. It is found consistently in the eastern part of the eastern dialects. The change occurs both in stressed and unstressed syllables.

Examples:

'vol, 'ol

30. Prothetic *v* before rounded vowels: 98, 100

This change is opposite to the one in 29. Interestingly, there is at least one dialect (the Erkech dialect in the easternmost part of Stara planina mountain) in which the two lexical sets are completely reversed: all words beginning with *v* followed by rounded vowel are pronounced without *v*, and all words beginning with stressed *o* are pronounced with prothetic *v*.

Example:

'ogʏn, 'vogʏn

Special case: 71

This is not the same change, but it is listed here because the consonant *v* is concerned. In some southeastern dialect the palatal approximant *j* is replaced by palatalized *v* after rounded vowels: *stojy* > *stovjy* ‘stand’. Similar change (without palatalization) is known in western dialects, but it occurs only in the word *tovaga* < *tojaga* ‘twig’. The underlying form of *koe* is *koje* (*j* is lost before front vowels in the standard language and in most dialects). Obviously, *j* did not drop in the dialects, in which the change occurred.

Example:

ko'e (ko'je), 'kve, ku've

31. Voicing of obstruents

In Bulgarian all voiceless obstruents but x are paired with voiced obstruents. The phonemic contrast between voiceless and voiced consonants is possible before vowels, sonorants, and v. The ambivalent position of v is worth noting: it belongs to the obstruents in being paired with voiceless counterpart (f) and in being subject to final devoicing and voicing assimilation to following voiceless obstruent. On the other hand, it is similar to the sonorants in allowing both voiceless and voiced consonant before it, or in other words, not assimilating preceding voiceless obstruents. It was not paired with voiceless consonant in Old Bulgarian and was in the group of the sonorants.

31.1. All voiced obstruents preserved in word-final position: 43, 48, 82, 138

Word-final voiced obstruents are found in some westernmost dialects.

Examples:

'dʒ op, 'dʒ ob

31.2. Only v preserved in word-final position: 58, 63, 73, 128, 140

In a larger area only the voiced labiodental fricative is exception to the rule for the final devoicing of obstruents. In these dialects f does not exist even as a positional allophone of v.

Example:

'ʒif, 'ʒiv

31.3. Lack of devoicing of v before voiceless obstruents: 94, 95, 96, 97

This rather unnatural pronunciation is found in some westernmost dialects and is very salient feature. Place assimilation is also possible, see 33.

Examples:

of'tsa, ov'tsa

32. The preposition and the prefix v: 16, 23

In many dialects, western and northeastern, the preposition and the prefix v are replaced by u. The preposition, on the other hand may appear doubled.

Example:

'vlizam, u'lizam; v, f, vʏf, ʏf

33. Various assimilations and dissimilations: 53, 81, 94, 95, 96, 97, 132

The word mnogo 'much, many' barely exist in this form in the dialects.

Examples:

oftsa, os'tsa; oftʃar, oʃ'tʃar; e'dno, en: 'o, e'no; 'mnogo, 'mlogo, 'mogo, 'nogo, 'fnogo; 'tymno, 'tyvno

34. Nonsystemic changes: 8, 11, 22, 149

These are changes found in individual words. The first two words are old comparative degrees. The third word is derived from *vecher* 'evening', and had weak front jer in the first syllable. After its loss the initial *v* was probably reinterpreted as prefix and replaced with *u* (see 32.). The fourth word had four syllables in Old Bulgarian – *чѣловѣкъ*. The final weak jer was lost everywhere and in different dialects either the syllable with *v* or the syllable with *l* was lost.

Examples:

'byrzo, 'byrʒe; 'vetʃe, 'vece; 'ftʃera, ju'tʃera; tʃo'vek, tʃi'lak

35. Morphophonemic alternations: 16, 21, 105*

The formation of the so called secondary imperfective verbs in many cases involves vowel and consonant alternations. It seems that some dialects favor suffixes, while other dialects, western and southeastern, favor alternations, but a lot of further investigation is needed. In the word *plashtam* 'pay' the reflex of **tj* is found but the alternation was suspended in some dialects.

Examples:

'vlizam, 'vlazam, 'vl'avam; 'vryʃtam, 'vraʃtam; 'plafʃtam, 'platʃam, 'plafʃcham, 'platam

36. Different grammatical endings

36.1. Plural ending of polysyllabic masculine nouns: 97

While many Balkan dialects keep the old plural ending *-i*, many dialects in the west, the northeast, and the southeast use the ending *-e*. The ending in the standard language is *-i*.

Examples:

oftʃari, oftʃare

36.2. Plural form of *myzh* 'man': 83

The plural ending for most monosyllabic masculine nouns is *-ove*, with the variant *-ve* due to vowel elision. In most dialects there are exceptions. Some words, like *rak* 'crayfish' and *hrast* 'bush', form the plural with *-i*, and others, still fewer, with *-e* (*myzhe* 'men', *tsare* 'tsars'). There are dialects in which the ending is *-ove* (or *-ve*) without exception. The plural of *myzh* may be in all three groups of exceptions, though the unstressed *-i* ending may also be interpreted as vowel reduction.

Examples:

mɤ'ʒe, mɤ'ʒje, 'mɤʒi, 'mɤʒve

36.3. Plural of feminine nouns: 95, 153

The majority of the dialects use the ending -i, but the ending -e also exists, albeit in a relatively limited area in the extreme west. A special case is the word oftsa 'sheep', in which the ending -e, transferred from the soft stems, is found well beyond the scope of -e as a regular ending. In the standard language oftsa and oftsi are competing forms.

Examples:

of'tse, of'tsi; 'jabɤlci, 'jabɤlce

36.4. Old dual forms: 113

Many dialects kept the old dual form as plural of ryka 'hand'. In many southeaster dialects however the plural of this word goes back to the regular plural. In some westernmost dialects the ending -e is common to all feminine nouns and, on the other hand, the stem-final consonant alternation was suspended.

Examples:

ry'tse, ry'ci, 'ruce

36.5. Verbal ending for 1st person plural: 9

The verbal ending -mo for all tenses is found in the dialects close to the western border.

Examples:

'bjaxme, 'bexmo

37. Different suffixes: 55, 69

The words kamyk 'stone', echemik 'barley', remyk 'strap' and plamyk 'flame' belonged to the n-stem nouns in Old Bulgarian and developed in three different ways in the dialects. All forms have large and well defined areas. The word echemik may differ from the others. Kamyk was selected because it is the most available word.

Examples:

'kamyk, 'kamik, 'kamen

38. Various forms: 14, 66, 67, 90, 99, 130, 131, 151

The variants of each of these words are derived from a common Old Bulgarian form, so despite the seemingly great phonetic differences they cannot be interpreted as lexical variation.

Examples:

'vie, 'vi, 've; i, ç̣i, ju, voj; im, jim, xmi; 'nie, 'ni, 'ne, 'mi; to'gava, to'gas, to'jis, te'gaj; ja, a, ju

39. Stress

The stress in most Bulgarian dialects is free (it may fall on any syllable in polysyllabic words) and movable (it may be moved on other syllables in inflection and word-formation).

39.1. Bi-syllabic neuter nouns: 7, 15, 42, 51, 79, 136, 139, 154

The stress in many such words is final in the Balkan dialects, and on the first syllable in many western and southeastern dialects. In fact the best way to study the stress is word by word, as only the central part of the southeastern dialects follows this rule consistently.

Examples:

'vino, vi'no

39.2. Same as above, definite: 80

Examples:

'ml'akoto, mle'koto

39.3. Bi-syllabic neuter nouns, plural: 155

The initial stress is again found in western and southeastern dialects.

Examples:

jaj'tsa, 'jajtsa

39.4. Bi-syllabic feminine nouns: 10, 17, 29, 57, 62, 64, 94, 111, 112, 117, 134, 148

These nouns follow exactly the same pattern as described in 39.1. Again the best way to study their stress is word by word.

Examples:

vo'da, 'voda

39.5. Same as above, plural: 95, 113

Examples:

of'tsi, 'of'tsi

39.6. Definite forms of monosyllabic masculine nouns: 34, 84

In fact, the dialects which allow movement of the stress have also monosyllabic masculine nouns in which the stress does not move. It is quite normal to have 'mostyt and gra'dyt in the same dialects. In the dialects next to the western border the stress never moves.

Examples:

gra'dyt, 'gradyt

Verbs:

39.7. First person present: 40, 101, 116, 147

Many southern dialects have the stress consistently moved to the first syllable in all such forms.

Examples:

pe'ky, 'peky

39.8. Stress of бера and the other verbs from the class: 4, 6, 40

Unlike in 39.7., the stress may be initial in all present forms – such stress is found consistently in many western dialects. The initial stress of the verbal noun (4) is found in eastern dialects. As already mentioned in 23.2., the root vowel may be retained.

Examples:

bra'ne, 'brane, be'rane; be'ryt, 'beryt

39.9. Nonsystemic: 3, 13, 56, 83, 86, 87, 98

These are variations in individual words.

Examples:

3 'beli, be'li; 13 vi'd'ax, 'videx; 56 ze'l'azo, 'zelezo; 83 my'ze, 'myze; 86 ne'del'a, 'nedel'a; 87 ne'fte, 'nefte; 98 'ogyn, o'gyn; 100 'orex, o'rex; 110 'p'asyk, pe'syk

1. АЗ	2.1*; 3.1	I
2. АГНЕ	2.2*; 3.1; 7.3; 23	LAMB
3. БЕЛИ	1.2; 39.9	WHITE (pl.)
4. БЕРЪТ	6.4; 39.8	PICK UP (3 rd pl.)
5. БЕШЕ	1.2	WAS, WERE
6. БРАНЕ	23.2; 39.8	PICKING UP (verb. noun)
7. БРАШНО	39.1	FLOUR
8. БЪРЗО	18.1; 34	QUICKLY
9. БЯХМЕ	1.2; 27.3; 36.5.	WERE (1 st pl.)
10. ВЕЖДА	1.2; 19; 39.4	EYEBROW

11. ВЕЧЕ	34	ALREADY
12. ВЕЧЕР	11	EVENING
13. ВИДЯХ	1.2; 27.2; 39.9	SAW (1 st singular)
14. ВИЕ	38	YOU (pl.)
15. ВИНО	39.1	WINE
16. ВЛИЗАМ	32; 35	ENTER (1 st singular)
17. ВОДА	6.5; 39.4	WATER
18. ВОЛ	29	OX
19. ВРЕМЕ	1.2; 7.3	TIME
20. ВРЪХ	18.1; 27.2	PEAK
21. ВРЪЩАМ	18.1; 19; 35	GIVE BACK (1 st sing.)
22. ВЧЕРА	34	YESTERDAY
23. ВЪВ	8.4; 32	IN
24. ВЪЛК	18.2; 23	WOLF
25. ВЪЛНА	18.2	WOOL
26. ВЪН(КА)	8.1	OUTSIDE
27. ВЪТРЕ	1.4; 6.3	INSIDE
28. ВЯТЪР	1.1; 10	WIND
29. ГЛАВА	6.5; 39.4	HEAD
30. ГЛАДЕН	9.3	HUNGRY
31. ГОВЕДО	7.1	BOVINE ANIMAL, BEEF
32. ГОРЕ	1.3; 1.4	UP
33. ГОСТИ	24	GUESTS
34. ГРАДЪТ	8.3; 39.6	THE TOWN
35. ГРОЗДЕ	24	GRAPES
36. ДАДОХА	27.3	GAVE (3 rd pl.)
37. ДВЕ	1.3	TWO
38. ДВОР	29	YARD
39. ДЕН	9.1; 23.1	DAY
40. ДЕРА, ПЕРА	6.4; 39.7	FLAY
41. ДЕСЕТ	7.2; 23.1	TEN
42. ДЕТЕ	1.4; 7.3; 39.1	CHILD
43. ДЖОБ	15; 22; 31.1	POCKET
44. ДНЕС	9.1	TODAY
45. ДОБРЕ	1.3	WELL
46. ДОЛУ	17	DOWN
47. ДОШЪЛ	9.3	HAS COME
48. ДЪЖД	8.1; 31.1	RAIN
49. ДЪЛБОК	18.2	DEEP
50. ДЪНО	8.1; 8.5	BOTTOM
51. ДЪРВО	18.1; 29; 39.1	TREE
52. ЕДИН	3.2; 9.1	ONE (masculine)

53. ЕДНО	3.2; 33	ONE (neuter)
54. ЕЗИК	3.2; 7.4; 12; 23.1	TONGUE
55. ЕЧЕМИК	3.2; 7.4; 13; 16; 23.1; 37	BARLEY
56. ЖЕЛЯЗО	1.1; 13; 22; 39.9	IRON
57. ЖЕНА	6.5; 39.4	WOMAN
58. ЖИВ	13; 31.2	ALIVE
59. ЖИВЕЛИ	1.2; 13	LIVED (3 rd pl.)
60. ЖЪЛТ	18.2	YELLOW
61. ЖЪТВА	7.4	HARVEST
62. ЗВЕЗДА	1.4; 6.5; 22; 39.4	STAR
63. ЗДРАВ	25; 31.2	HEALTHY
64. ЗЕМЯ	6.5; 21; 39.4	EARTH
65. ЗЕТ	7.1; 23.1	SON-IN-LAW
66. И	38	HER - Dative (short form)
67. ИМ	38	THEM - Dative (short form)
68. ИМЕ	7.3; 13	NAME
69. КАМЪК	37	STONE
70. КЛЮЧ	14	KEY
71. КОЕ	4	WHICH (neuter)
72. КОН	23.1	HORSE
73. КРЪВ	18.1; 31.2	BLOOD
74. КЪДЕ	1.3; 6.2	WHERE
75. ЛЕСНО	9.1	EASILY
76. ЛЕЩА	7.1; 19	LENTILS
77. МАЙКА	5; 23	MOTHER
78. МЕСЕЦ	1.2; 7.2	MONTH
79. МЕСО	7.2; 39.1	MEAT
80. МЛЯКОТО	1.1; 16; 39.2	THE MILK
81. МНОГО	33	MUCH, MANNY
82. МЪЖ	6.1; 6.2; 31.1	MAN
83. МЪЖЕ	6.2; 39.9; 36.2	MEN
84. МЪЖЪТ	6.2; 8.3; 39.6	THE MAN
85. НАШЕ	15	OURS
86. НЕДЕЛЯ	1.2; 16; 39.9	SUNDAY
87. НЕ ЩЕ	19; 39.9	DOES NOT WANT (3 rd sing.)
88. НЕЩО	1.2	SOMETHING
89. НЕЯ	2.3; 5	HER
90. НИЕ	38	WE
91. НОСЯТ	6.4; 23.2	CARRY (3 rd pl.)
92. НОЩ	19	NIGHT
93. НЯМА	1.1	THERE IS NO, WILL NOT

94. ОВЦА	16; 31.3; 39.4	SHEEP
95. ОВЦЕ	16; 31.3; 39.5	SHEEP (pl.)
96. ОВЧАР	2.1; 31.3	SHEPARD
97. ОВЧАРИ	2.2; 31.3; 36.1	SHEPARDS
98. ОГЪН	10; 23.1; 30; 39.9	FIRE
99. ОНЕЗИ	1.1; 1.2; 38	THOSE
100. ОРЕХ	1.4; 27.2; 30	WALNUT
101. ПЕКА, СЕКА	6.4; 17.1; 39.7	BAKE (1 st singular)
102. ПЕПЕЛ	11; 15; 23.1	ASH
103. ПЕТЕЛ	1.4; 9.1	ROOSTER
104. ПЕТЪК	1.2; 7.1; 8.2	FRIDAY
105. ПЛАЩАМ	19	TO PAY
106. ПОНЕД.	1.2; 11; 16; 23	MONDAY
107. ПРЪЧ	18.1	HI-GOAT
108. ПЪРВИЯТ	8.3; 18.1	THE FIRST
109. ПЪТ	6.1; 23.1	ROAD
110. ПЯСЪК	1.1; 8.2	SAND
111. РЕКА	1.1; 6.5; 39.4	RIVER
112. РЪКА	6.2; 6.5; 39.4	HAND
113. РЪЦЕ	1.3; 6.2; 36.4; 39.5	HANDS
114. СЕ	7.3	ONE'S SELF
115. СЕГА	9.2; 9.4	NOW
116. СЕДЯ	6.4; 23.2; 39.7	SEAT (1 st singular)
117. СЕСТРА	6.5; 25; 39.4	SISTER
118. СИРЕНЕ	12; 23	CHEESE
119. СОЛ	23.1	SALT
120. СРЕДАТА	1.4	THE MIDDLE
121. СРЯДА	1.1; 26	WEDNESDAY
122. СТАРЕЦ	9.3	OLD MAN
123. СТРАХ	25; 27.2	FEAR
124. СУХ	27.2	DRY
125. СЪБОТА	6.1; 16	SATURDAY
126. СЪРП	18.1	SICKLE
127. СЪС	8.4	WITH
128. ТАКЪВ	8.2; 31.2	SUCH
129. ТВОЙ	29	YOURS
130. ТОВА	16; 38	THIS (neuter)
131. ТОГАВА	38	THEN
132. ТЪМНО	9.1; 33	DARK (neuter)
133. ТЪНКО	9.1	THIN (neuter)
134. ТРЕВА	1.1; 6.5; 39.4	GRASS
135. УТРЕ	1.4; 3.3	TOMORROW

136. УХО	27.3; 39.1	EAR
137. ФУРНА	23; 28	OVEN
138. ХЛЯБ	1.1; 27.1; 31.1	BREAD
139. ХОРО	27.1; 39.1	CHAIN DANCE
140. ХУБАВ	27.1; 31.2	PRETTY (masculine)
141. ХУБАВО	27.1; 29	PRETTY (neuter)
142. ЦЯЛ	1.1	WHOLE
143. ЧАКАТ	2.1; 6.4	WAIT (3 rd pl.)
144. ЧЕРВЕН	18.1; 20	RED
145. ЧЕРЕН	18.1; 20	BLACK
146. ЧЕРЕША	1.2; 13; 20	CHERRY
147. ЧЕТА	6.4; 39.7	READ (1 st singular)
148. ЧЕШМА	6.5; 13; 39.4	FOUNTAIN
149. ЧОВЕК	1.1; 34	PERSON
150. ЩЕ	19	WILL, SHALL
151. Я	38	HER – Acc. (short form)
152. ЯБЪЛКА	2.1*; 18.2; 23	APPLE
153. ЯБЪЛКИ	2.1*; 18.2; 23; 36.3	APPLES
154. ЯЙЦЕ	2.1*; 5; 39.1	EGG
155. ЯЙЦА	2.1; 5; 39.3	EGGS
156. ЯМ	2.3; 5	EAT (1 st singular)
157. ЯДЕШ	2.3; 5	EAT (2 nd singular)