

# Kontaktlinguistik Contact Linguistics Linguistique de contact

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## 178. Bulgarian – Macedonian

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## 1. Geography and demography

Bulgaria's population as of December 1992 was 8,472,729. Since according to the first official reports of the Bulgarian 1992 census there are no Macedonians in Bulgaria, figures on the Macedonian population are taken from the *Encyclopedia Britannica World Book 1992* even though these figures are based on a high estimate of total population. The Macedonian population makes up 2.5% of the population estimated at 9,005,000 people. Furthermore, the *World Book* gives the following figures for mother tongue in Bulgaria: Bulgarian 7,680,000; Turkish 770,000; Macedonian 230,000; Romany 230,000; Armenian 30,000; Russian 20,000; other 50,000.

The territorial definition of Macedonia is generally not disputed. Macedonia covers a geographic region divided into three parts following the Balkan wars of 1912–1913 including: The Republic of Macedonia (Vardar Macedonia, formerly a republic of Yugoslavia), much of northern Greece (Aegean Macedonia) and the southwestern corner of Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia). The Pirin Region of Bulgaria is located in the southwest corner of Bulgaria and includes the Struma and Mesta river valleys. Major towns and cities in the region include Blagoevgrad (formerly Gorna Džumaja), Goce Deltčev (formerly Nevrokop), Petrič, Sandanski and Razlog. While this discussion will focus on the Pirin (Blagoevgrad district, formerly Gorna Džumaja) region, there is also a large Macedonian population in the capital city Sofia and there are Macedonians living in other parts of Bulgaria as well.

Bulgarians and Macedonians were part of the migration of Slavs into the Balkan peninsula in the sixth and seventh centuries AD. The Macedo-Bulgarians have occupied this south-eastern corner of the Balkans since.

The exact borders between Greek and Slav territory as well as between Macedonian and Bulgarian territory have been the subject of much antipathy in the region. The most significant modern migrations of Macedonians into Bulgaria include the exchange of population with Greece during the early part of this century when, in accordance with the Treaty of Neuilly, thousands of Macedonians were resettled in Bulgaria. Another notable migration into Bulgaria took place in 1912–1913 when Macedonians left Vardar Macedonia to escape Serbian domination (→ Language Map H).

## 2. Territorial history and national development

There is little to be said about contact between Macedonian and Bulgarian prior to the codification of the modern standard languages in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It has been remarked elsewhere (for example Lunt 1959, 21, 1984, 92, Friedman 1975, 89) that there is no clear linguistic boundary between Bulgarian and Macedonian. Rather, dialects shade into one another as one moves from Macedonian north into Serbo-Croatian linguistic territory or east into Bulgarian linguistic territory. The modern history of contact between Bulgarian and Macedonian can be said to begin during the nineteenth century with the awakening of nationalist feeling amongst the south Balkan Slavs and the concomitant debate over the codification of a standard language. During the nineteenth century the question of standardizing a written language arose. As Friedman (1975, 91) argues, at this time the Macedonians sought common ground with the Bulgarians in a unified struggle against the use of Greek. Macedonian intellectuals envisioned a compromise between various Macedonian and Bulgarian dialect features in the creation of a Macedo-Bulgarian language. The most frequently cited problems in such a unified language were those of understanding between speakers of Macedonian and eastern Bulgarian dialects. The newspaper *Pravo* in 1869 (v. Venediktov 1993, 154) wrote that Macedonian Bulgarians understood Danubian Bulgarians and vice versa worse than either understood Church Slavonic; as a re-

sult there was no consensus on the choice of dialect base for a joint standard language.

By the early 1870s with the establishment of the Bulgarian exarchate the Bulgarians had fully rejected a linguistic compromise and they "publicly adopted the attitude that Macedonian was a degenerate dialect and that Macedonians should learn Bulgarian" (Friedman 1975, 88). Macedonians such as Shapkarev publicly espoused a linguistic compromise but published textbooks based on purely Macedonian features. The most comprehensive statement for the codification of the Macedonian language was written by Krste Misirkov and published in Sofia in 1903. Most of the volumes were destroyed but the work remains as evidence of an active debate beginning in the nineteenth century leading to the codification of a standard Macedonian language.

Events of the early twentieth century solidified the development of a separate Macedonian language. At the close of the second Balkan war the Treaty of Bucharest (10 August 1913) partitioned Macedonia among Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia. This treaty thwarted all attempts at Macedonian linguistic and cultural unity. Rossos (1991, 282) emphasizes that this event resulted in the division of the region which had, since the era of warring dynastic states in the Medieval Balkans, comprised an economic and ethno-cultural union. The linguistic result was that the Macedonian language continued to develop in Vardar Macedonia, while it was cut off from further development in both Pirin and Aegean Macedonia. Although the Serbs permitted the publication of so-called dialect literature in Macedonian (v. Friedman 1975, 90) the official language in Vardar Macedonia was Serbian which was used in all official spheres of public life, including schooling, which led the local population to become clear in the view that they were not Serbs (Lunt 1984, 112).

In the late twenties the Balkan Communist Parties recognized the separateness of the Macedonians but it was not until 1934 that the Comintern ruled that the Macedonians had a right to exist as a separate people with a separate language, a policy which led ultimately to the recognition of the Macedonian standard language. In April 1941, however, the Bulgarian royal government was allowed by Hitler to occupy most of Macedonia. At first the local population welcomed the Bulgarians as their liberators from the Serbs.

Nevertheless, the liberators were soon seen as new colonial oppressors and the Partisan movement gained strength in Macedonia.

In December 1943 a document was issued by the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) which seemed to call for a return to the Comintern line of the mid-twenties, i. e. for an independent Macedonia within a Balkan federation. The Macedonian People's Republic was proclaimed with Macedonian as the official language on August 2, 1944. The Macedonian Literary language was thus codified after nearly a century of debate and was not, as suggested in Bulgarian scholarship, the result of a language born by proclamation and developed artificially by committee.

From 1944 through 1946 governments of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria and the respective Communist Parties discussed the possible unification of Macedonian territories. In 1946 the Bulgarian government headed by Georgi Dimitrov, both of whose parents were Macedonian, recognized Macedonian as a separate ethnicity with a separate language. This recognition is reflected in newspaper articles and scholarly works of the period.

With the new political reality began more serious steps for the affirmation of the Macedonian literary language in Pirin Macedonia. In 1947 Macedonian language, literature and national history were taught in all elementary schools and gymnasia in Pirin, in which there were approximately 32,000 students enrolled. Teachers and student exchanges were carried out between Pirin and Vardar Macedonia. Ninety-six teachers were sent from Vardar Macedonia and 148 students were sent to Skopje to study. Also in 1947 the first Macedonian bookstore opened in Gorna Džumaja followed by the opening of bookstores in Petrič and Nevrokop. The book stores sold Macedonian literary works, magazines, readers, and school books. The newspaper *Nova Makedonija* sold more than 2,000 copies, *Mlad Borec* 2,500, and *Pionerski Vesnik* 7,200 (*Nova Makedonija*, May 29, 1990, p. 4). The first Macedonian regional theatre opened in Gorna Džumaja in 1947 with the play *Peč-albani*. In 1949 a Macedonian amateur theatre opened with the same play in Sofia.

By the end of 1947 all attempts to solve the Macedonian question through a Yugoslav-Bulgarian federation broke down. Stalin declared that the time was not right to change the status quo. The cultural exchanges and the development of Macedonian

as an official language in Pirin Macedonia came to an end with the Tito-Stalin break in 1948 which led to the deterioration of relations between Bulgaria and Macedonia. While some recognition of a separate Macedonian language and ethnicity persisted through 1956, as seen in the census figures for that year, Bulgarian policy returned to its earlier denunciation and campaign against the language. This situation continues to the present with the Želev (Zhelev) government which has explicitly stated that while it recognizes a politically independent state of Macedonia, it does not recognize a separate language and ethnicity.

### 3. Politics, economy and general cultural and religious situation

In September 1946 Bulgaria was declared a People's Republic and by 1948 the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) was completely in control. The BCP remained in complete control until late 1989 when events in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in eastern Europe swept into Bulgaria. In December 1989 the Mladenov government voted to reverse Živkov's policy of assimilation. While some degree of recognition was granted to the Turkish minority, the ongoing political shifts did not change the official government view that there was no ethnic Macedonian minority. Despite the official attitude of party leaders, Macedonian political activity in Pirin continued. In 1989 the Macedonian organization *Ilinden*, claiming to represent 250,000 ethnic Macedonians, organized a rally in Sofia demanding cultural and national autonomy. Further evidence of political activity in Pirin was documented in a series of articles in the Macedonian newspaper *Nova Makedonija* in 1990 entitled "Among the Macedonians in Pirin Macedonia". The articles focused on individual lives touched by Macedonian-Bulgarian relations as well as a general profile of the region. There were reports of imprisonment and of discrimination in employment against Macedonians. Many of those interviewed stated that democratic processes sweeping Bulgaria did not have relevance for the Macedonians of Pirin and for their organization *Ilinden*. The United Macedonian Organization *Ilinden* continues to agitate for recognition of ethnic Macedonians. The Bulgarian government views this activity as Skopje intervention in its national affairs.

What may be a representative example of this conflict was the attempt by Macedonians in the spring of 1993 to lay a wreath at the grave of the revolutionary hero Jane Sandanski (1872–1915) and the subsequent crackdown by police.

The Orthodox Church represents another battle ground for ethnic loyalties between Macedonians and Bulgarians. Recent figures on religious affiliation in Bulgaria may not be accurate, but figures from 1982 were as follows: 64.5% atheist; 26.7% Orthodox; 7.5% Moslem; 0.7% Protestant; 0.5% Roman Catholic. Bulgarians and Macedonians belong to the Orthodox Church, but the Bulgarian exarchate does not recognize the authority of the Macedonian autocephalous church. The archbishop recently claimed he would recognize the authority of that church when the Serbian archbishop did so – an event not likely to take place.

### 4. Statistics and ethnoprofile

In order to approximate the numbers of ethnic Macedonians in Bulgaria it is helpful to look at statistics from several different censuses. The population figures for the 1946 census were never made public by the Bulgarian authorities but several works attempt to provide this data. Poulton (1991, 107), noting the conflicting figures in successive censuses, gives the following figures of the 1946 census taken from Yugoslav sources. In 1946 252,908 people claimed themselves to be Macedonian. This population lived predominantly in the Pirin region as reflected in the data from Kiselinovksi (1987, 101) who gives the following percentages for Macedonians by region: Petrič 85–90% Macedonian; Sveti Vrac 80–85%, Nevrokop 60–65%, Razlog 55–60%, Gorna Džumaja 45–50%. A document containing a survey of schools, pupils and teachers in Pirin Macedonia from 1946–1947 cited in *The Historical Truth* also reflects a high number of Macedonian students, for example in the survey there were 32 399 Macedonian students enrolled, 3074 Bulgarians, 383 Turks, 581 Romanies, 32 Jews, 3753 Macedonian Mohammedans, 61 other.

The following figures are from the 1956 census: Pirin Macedonia had 281,015 inhabitants. Of this 178,862 persons or 63.7% declared themselves to be of Macedonian nationality.

According to the 1956 census, Macedonians also lived in the Varna region (423), in the Plovdiv region (1,955), in the Pleven region (326), and in the Sofia region (4,046).

In the 1965 census according to Poulton (1991, 107) the number of people declaring themselves to be Macedonian dropped to 8750 and in the Blagoevgrad district less than 1% claimed to be of Macedonian ethnicity. For other estimates compare section 1 above.

### 5. Sociolinguistic situation

During the nineteenth century codifiers of an eastern-dialect-based Bulgarian standard language spoke of Macedonian dialects with derision. Almost no Macedonian features were adopted, the most notable exception being the gerund in *-jki* (Lunt 1984, 89). Lunt points out that the Bulgarians adopted a particularly narrow view of state. They sought to become a homogeneous, monolingual state by denying the linguistic rights of minorities. Minorities were not recognized and with the exception of limited instruction in Turkish (see Eminov/Rudin 1993, 45) there has been almost no mother-tongue instruction in minority languages. During the late 1940s Macedonian became, along with Bulgarian, official in Pirin. During this period Macedonian was used in many social and cultural functions. Books were published, journals and newspapers were circulated, cultural events were staged in Macedonian and the standard language was taught in the schools (v. Kiselinovski 1987). Macedonian retained this de facto official status until 1958 when the Bulgarian Communist Party changed its policy. Although there were political changes involving the Macedonian question in the years 1948–1958, the BCP continued to recognize the Macedonian name and language as can be seen in the census figures of 1956 in which 63.7% of the population in Pirin declared itself Macedonian.

After 1958 Macedonian lost its official status and in Pirin again became a language restricted to use only in the home. Since the late fifties Bulgarian influence has spread and become, particularly through the influence of schools and mass media, the second family language. This pervasive linguistic influence, according to Kiselinovski (1987, 110), erodes both the language and ethnicity of Macedonians in Pirin. However, Macedonian is still spoken within the home. Kiselinovski (1987,

110) cites an article from *Rabotničko delo* 30. 10. 1987:

“The carriers of the traditional local dialect are the oldest people in the village (...) School-aged children also switch to the local dialect when speaking among themselves (...) During breaks between classes, in the same classrooms, in the school yard, in the corridors, conversations begin which are interwoven with dialect words or are carried on completely in dialect. In the family, between parents, acquaintances, friends, i. e. outside of school, the percentage of dialect words used by the students in conversation is growing (...)”

The Bulgarian scholarly community considers all Macedonian dialects to be Bulgarian. As Lunt (1984, 90) and others have pointed out, linguistic factors are readily available to support this ideology. Since both Macedonian and Bulgarian shared in developments separating them from the rest of the Slavic languages, including the loss of declension and infinitive, the development of a post-posed article, the restructuring of the comparative, and certain morphological developments of the verb, Bulgarian linguists have claimed that all dialects with these features are de facto Bulgarian.

The Macedonian literary language is referred to in scientific literature as a written regional variant. This view, expressed most completely in the 1978 publication of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAN), republished as a separate booklet in English in 1980, has not changed in recent years. A collection of articles on various aspects of nationalism in the Balkans, *Nation. Problems in the Balkans* (1992), gives the most complete recent statement concerning the status of Macedonian which given the attitudes of the Želez government is unlikely to change soon (cf. 8).

### 6. Language political situation

Various governments since 1878, and especially during the Živkov regime, attempted to achieve cultural homogeneity through assimilation of minorities (see Eminov/Rudin 1993, 45). Language policies have reflected this view. Bulgaria has had various official attitudes toward the Macedonian language and the recognition of a separate Macedonian ethnicity. It does not now recognize Macedonian ethnicity although it has in the past particularly in the years between 1946 and 1956. The official Bulgarian censuses have shown ever decreasing numbers up to the 1992 cen-

sus when questions of ethnicity were addressed, but Macedonian was not recognized as a separate ethnicity.

The Bulgarian census of December 1992 asked questions concerning ethnicity for the first time since 1965. Bulgarian nationalists protested that this was divisive and would lead to a splintering of the nation along ethnic lines (Nikolaev 1993, 59). Despite these fears, the census contained questions concerning ethnicity, but Macedonian was not one of the allowable choices. The Želev government recognizes the independent state of Macedonia, but continues to deny the existence of a separate Macedonian ethnicity.

The ethnic Macedonian organization *Ilinden* in Pirin complained to a number of international organizations over the Bulgarian refusal to include Macedonian as a separate ethnicity. *MAKNEWS* (a listserv news service covering news from the Republic of Macedonia, published by MILS News bureau of the Australian Macedonian Society, Inc.) stated that in early reporting in the region of Petrič and Sandanski up to 30% of the population declared themselves as Macedonian and it was reportedly announced on Bulgarian television that 20–30% of the population in Sandanski and Petrič declared themselves on the census as Macedonians. On *MAKNEWS* #238 (Feb. 3, 1993) the Bulgarian president was reported to have told *Nova Makedonija* that there were problems with the census in the Pirin region saying that tens of thousands had stated they were another nationality. Želev did not say what that other nationality was. Other incidents have been reported from Pirin where, for example, on 4 December 1992 police arrested an activist of *Ilinden* as he put up a poster calling on Bulgarian Macedonians to declare themselves as an ethnic unit distinct from Bulgarian.

It is unlikely that official Bulgarian policy will change soon. Bulgarian recognition of an independent Macedonia may provide, however, a base for eventual recognition of Macedonian as well. There have been meetings between government and cultural delegations. Želev, for example, went to Skopje in early 1993 to participate in the launching of the Macedonian translation of his memoirs.

### 7. General contactlinguistic portrait

There have been no studies to my knowledge on language contact between Bulgarian and Macedonian in Bulgaria for obvious political

reasons. There has been one article on Bulgarians in Macedonia by Ugrinova in *Makedonski Jazik* 1968, another by Todor Dimitrov in *Literaturen Zbor* (1968) and brief mention is given in Kiselinovski (1987, 111). This situation may change now that some students from Pirin Macedonia are studying at the University of Kiril and Metodij in Skopje. It is clear that dialect speakers in Bulgaria, while knowing standard Bulgarian, continue to use non-standard dialect speech in certain situations as evidenced by the *Rabotničko Delo* article cited above.

Further evidence of the persistent use of dialect can be gleaned from works prepared for teachers of standard Bulgarian to detect non-standard usage amongst their students. These handbooks which strive to teach prescriptive norms provide telling evidence of the types of interference most likely to occur from inter-language contact. All of these cited errors could serve as the basis for a more formal study of language contact in the Pirin region.

In one such handbook the teachers say that dialect forms are more evident in spoken than written work. Of all the errors in class VII in the Blagoevgrad region 61% of errors in written work are dialectal based. This percentage drops to 42% by Class VIII. The following were cited as the most common types of interference from local dialect (data reported by teachers in the Blagoevgrad region). Approximately 90% of students make mistakes in the definite form of masculine nouns. Students made errors in the realization of syllabic l and r, for example in place of standard Bulgarian *pŕvi* 'first', *cŕkvi* 'church' and *vŭlci* 'wolves' students use *prŭvi*, *crŭkvi*, *vlŭci*. Standard Macedonian has a syllabic liquid in these words: *prvi*, *crkvi*, *vpci*.

There is evidence of the loss of initial x in both native words and words of Turkish origin, a feature widespread in Bulgarian dialects as well as in standard Macedonian, for example: *leb* 'bread', *ubavo* 'beautiful', and *ajde* 'come on!' for standard: *hljab*, *hubavo*, *hajde*.

Bulgarian has shifting stress whereas standard Macedonian has fixed ante-penultimate stress. Differences in accent are mentioned in the following verb forms. In all instances the dialect form has antepenultimate or, in bisyllabic words, penultimate, where standard Bulgarian has final stress. The following were examples cited: *chEtalchetA*, *bEralberA*, *nAp-iša*, *dOnesa*, imperative *pIši*, *kAži*.

Morphological interference includes the use of the Macedonian future particle *ke* instead of *šte*.

The most frequently studied area of interference has been in the lexicon. According to Kiselovski, Macedonians try to preserve the purity of their dialect and will point out Bulgarianisms to Macedonian speakers. Nonetheless, according to Kiselovski, there are numerous lexical borrowings, for example Bulgarian *zaxar* 'sugar' for Macedonian *šeker* and *botuš* 'boot' for Macedonian *čizmi* (see Kiselovski 1987, 110 f for additional examples).

There are no grammars of Macedonian written in Bulgaria. Macedonian is mentioned but only as a dialectal variant of standard Bulgarian in numerous works, for example the dialect atlas of Bulgarian published by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences as well as numerous handbooks on standard Bulgarian. These works include all regions of Macedonia in the dialect descriptions of Bulgarian. There is one Macedonian-Bulgarian dictionary published in Skopje. Otherwise, there is little work which looks at the two languages from either a contact or comparative aspect.

One should give special mention to a number of authors who are claimed by both Bulgaria and Macedonia as national writers. These include all nineteenth-century writers who wrote in Macedonian such as Dimitar and Konstantin Miladinov and Žinzifov, as well as the twentieth-century writers Venko Markovski who defected to Sofia and Nikola Vapcarov, president of the Macedonian Literary Circle in Sofia. Although Markovski was on the one hand hailed by the Bulgarians as an example of Bulgarian nationalist writers, on the other he was criticized for translating his works into 'Macedonian dialect' since he claimed his countrymen would not understand him if he wrote in Bulgarian (Ristovski 1989).

#### 8. Critical evaluation of sources and literature used

The works by Lunt and Friedman on the sociolinguistics of Macedonian and the history of its codification are the most comprehensive works in English on these questions. There has been an ongoing exchange between Bulgarian and Macedonian scholars on various questions, much of which is treated by

the aforementioned authors. Recent articles include the works cited below in *National Problems in the Balkans*. The work by Venediktov on the history of the codification of Bulgarian contains many citations by a wide variety of nineteenth-century Slavic intellectuals and so places the discussion in historical context. The emigré community itself is divided on the issue. The Newspaper *Macedonian Tribune*, a publication of the MPO, the pro-Bulgarian Macedonian Political Organization in the United States, contains two articles on the Macedonian language in the Jan. 28, 1993 issue. One article, published in both English and Bulgarian, emphasizes the separateness and distinctness of the Macedonian language. A different article restates the Bulgarian view that Macedonian was created by decree in 1944 and was imposed by terror and force.

Given the current level of debate it seems unlikely that a careful study of language contact can be carried out. It seems likely that speakers of Macedonian in Bulgaria know standard Bulgarian as well as their native Macedonian. A careful study of the ways in which the languages interact would be of significant research interest.

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## 179. Bulgarisch – Türkisch

1. Geographie und Demographie
2. Geschichte
3. Politik und allgemeine kulturelle Lage
4. Ethnoprofil
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### 1. Geographie und Demographie

Die türkischsprachige Bevölkerung Bulgariens bietet unter ethnischen und religiösen Aspekten ein vielschichtiges Bild: die mit Ab-

stand größte Gruppe stellen die Türken, Nachfahren von Kolonisten in osmanischer Zeit. Nach den Ergebnissen der Volkszählung von 1992 beträgt der Anteil der Türken, der größten Minderheit des Landes, an der Gesamtbevölkerung 9,7% (gegenüber 8,6% 1956), während der Anteil der Moslems, zu denen neben Türken und Zigeunern auch die bulgarischsprachigen Pomaken zählen, 12,7% der Gesamtbevölkerung ausmacht. Ballungsgebiete türkischer Bevölkerung sind das Deliorman (Ludogorie) in Nordostbulgarien (Varna, Šumen, Razgrad, Silistra) und die östlichen Rhodopen (Haskovo, Kärđžali),