The European Journal of Intercultural Studies

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Editorial correspondence and manuscripts for submission should be forwarded to: Pieter Batelaan, Sumatraalaan 37, 1217 GP Hilversum, the Netherlands.

Books for review, originally written in English, should be addressed to David Coulby, Bath College of Higher Education, Newton Park, Bath BA2 9BN, UK.

Books for review, written in other languages than English should be addressed to Prof. Hans Reich, Universitäet Koblenz-Landau, Markstr. 46, 76829 Landau, FRG.

Correspondence about IAIE membership which includes subscription to the journal should be addressed to IAIE, Sumatraalaan 37, 1217 GP Hilversum, Netherlands. (fax: int# 31 35 239244)

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Summary
This article presents the state of bilingualism and bilingual education following the recent democratic changes in Bulgaria. During the Communist period rule the rights of ethnic groups were not respected, and use of one’s mother tongue was prohibited in the educational system. Since the democratic changes, which effected all of society, some changes have taken place with respect to the educational situation of minority children. This article attempts to document these changes.

Introduction
This article aims to provide information about the linguistic situation in Bulgaria during the post-Communist period, and to inform readers about minority language education in Bulgarian schools.

The first part of the article will outline the ethnic and linguistic composition of contemporary Bulgaria. Part two focuses the readers’ attention on two distinct minority languages: Turkish and Gypsy (Romany). The third part will deal with mother tongue (home) language in the Bulgarian educational system. Finally, I will draw some conclusions.

Composition of the Bulgarian Population
In December 1992, the National Institute of Statistics, carried out the first official population census since the political changes of 1989. The census questionnaires were prepared in such a way that they met UN and UNESCO guidelines. Different questionnaires were designed to collect data on health, housing and socio-demographic conditions. The questionnaire designed to measure socio-demographic conditions included questions pertaining to mother tongue, ethnic identity and religion. The data were collected by means of face to face interviews.

The previous census had been conducted in 1985, authorised by the Communist regime.

However, the results of this census were only made accessible to officials of the Communist party and were never published. As was the case with earlier censuses in the 1950’s and 1970’s, also conducted by the Communist regime, it is believed that the results were modified to fit the official policies of that period.

The results of the 1992 census have been officially published, but most people distrust the results. Many still prefer to rely on estimates or information from abroad. I shall attempt to assess the accuracy of the 1992 census, as well as other sources, by comparing these results with those obtained in 1920 (described in Chankov, 1935), which are generally considered to be reliable. Of course, it is important to point out that circumstances in Bulgaria changed dramatically between 1920 and 1994. Nevertheless, I hope to give the reader a fair idea of the situation of the minority communities in Bulgaria, as well as changes within these communities. On the whole, however we can safely say that the ultimate reliability of the quantitative data pertaining to the Roma and Turkish populations remains questionable.

Table 1 shows that the majority of the population consists of Bulgarians, followed by the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Ethnic composition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarians (non-Turkish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Turkish and Roma presented above ten percentually when they estimates that are reliable. According (1990), there are 800,000 Turks in Bulgaria. A community, Der Spiegel's population of some yield significantly Turkish minority of the population and population.

Language in Bulgaria
Since research on during the Communist era available, Bulgarian society is a diverse mixture of mother tongue is all are not ethnically Greek, Greeks, Jews. Bulgarian has since the beginning 1920, shows this As revealed in tab 1920 for the majorita Turkish at home, b
Table 1: Ethnic composition of Bulgarian population in 1992 (in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic community</th>
<th>Percentage in 1992</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarians (non Muslims)</td>
<td>85.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian Muslims</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turks</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romas</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Turkish and Roma minorities. The results presented above tend to be controversial, especially when they are compared to foreign estimates that are considered to be quite reliable. According to Rudin and Eminov (1990), there are approximately one million Turks in Bulgaria. With respect to the Roma community, Der Spiegel puts their numbers at approximately 800,000. Given Bulgaria’s total population of some nine million, this would yield significantly higher proportions. The Turkish minority would then constitute 11.1% of the population and the Roma 8.5% of the population.

Language in Bulgarian Society

Since research on language was prohibited during the Communist regime, there is no information available on the state of affairs in Bulgarian society concerning language use. In contemporary Bulgarian society, defining mother tongue is a difficult issue because there are ethnic communities that use Bulgarian in daily conversation (at home and in public), yet are not ethnically Bulgarian (Armenians, Gagavz, Greeks, Jews, Romans, Turks).

Bulgarian has been the dominant language since the beginning of this century. Data from 1920, shows this (see Chantov, 1935). As revealed in table 2, the mother tongue in 1920 for the majority of those living in Bulgaria was Bulgarian. A sizeable minority spoke Turkish at home, but other mother tongue lan-

Table 2: Mother Tongue of the Population in 1920 (in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
<td>83.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>11.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romany</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>0.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbian</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Mother tongue of the population in 1992 (in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
<td>86.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romany</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4: Ethnicity and Mother Tongue (in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Mother Tongue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarians</td>
<td>99.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turks</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roms</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
<td>97.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>86.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

languages were a rarity. The same pattern appears in the 1992 census.

Bulgarian is the mother tongue for the vast majority of the population, including those who identified themselves as Turkish, Rom. and Pomak. Turkish is the most sizeable minority language in the country (9.8%). Turkish speakers are found within the Turkish community, but also among some Romas and Bulgarians. The second ranking minority language is Romany (30%). Most Romany speakers identified themselves as Romas, but there are also Bulgarians and Turks who speak Romany as a first language.

There is one clear difference between the 1920 and 1992 data, relating to the number of people who claim another language as their first language. In 1920 this was 4.15% of the population, but this declined to 0.9% in 1992. This shift is essentially due to a process of linguistic assimilation, characterising various communities such as the German, Greek, Russian and French communities. Emigration by, for instance, Greeks and Jews has also influenced this picture.

Mother Tongue and Ethnic Group

When we observe the relationship between mother tongue and ethnicity we see some interesting patterns, as the table above demonstrates (figures from 1992 census).

As can be seen in table 4 the large majority of Tos speak Romany as their first language. Like the Bulgarian-oriented Roma’s, who speak Bulgarian, they tend to be Christian. The Bulgarian speaking Roma’s, however, tend to have forgotten their ancestral language. Close to 8% of the Roma population can be classified as Turkish speaking Muslims.

About a quarter of those labelled ‘Other’ speak Bulgarian, and they tend to be Christian. These are small communities of Wallachians, Russians, Armenians, Czechs, Poles, Slovaks, Greeks, etc. who have ceased to use their original mother tongue, yet still identify as something other than Bulgarian.

Special Focus: Turkish and Romany

The two most important linguistic and cultural minorities in Bulgaria are represented by the Romas and Turks. Together they comprise somewhere between a seventh and a fifth of the total population. Before turning our atten-

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Bilingualism and Bilingual Education in Bulgaria

The Turkish Language

The Turkish populations of Bulgaria live primarily in the north-eastern part of the country (around Razgrad, Shovmen, Targovishte, Dobrich, Varna, Bourgas) and in the Southern part (around Haskovo, Kardjali, Stara Zagora, Plovdiv). These populations speak Turkish dialects which differ from the standard Turkish spoken in Turkey.

At the phonological level we can identify the following differences between the north-eastern and southern Turkish dialects:

North-Eastern sound: Southern sound:

- k - g
- t - d
- s - z

The distinction between the 't' and the 'd' sounds are considerably different in the two dialects (a typical Oghuz characteristic). The strong tendency towards the 'd' sound in the south is also characteristic of Turkmen and Azarbedzhani.

Examples of the 's' versus 'z' sounds are:

Northeastern sound southern sound

tus duz (salt)
kara gara (black)
salata zalata (cucumber)

The Turks living in the north-eastern parts of the country are referred to as 'kakchii' while those in the South are referred to as 'gakchii'. This is a reflection of the 'k' or 'g' pronunciation in each respective dialect.

At other linguistic levels there are also differences. At the lexical level we see, for instance, the use of archaisms within the north-eastern dialect. Syntactically, we can observe word order differences. Whereas the word order in the north-eastern dialect matches Bulgarian (subject — predicate — object), the southern dialect is influenced by

Turkish

The Turkish Community

The Turkish community in north-eastern Bulgaria co-exists with other minority groups — Roma, Gagauzes, Tatars, as well as with Bulgarians. Although the every day language of the members of this community is Turkish, they speak fluent Bulgarian as well.

In contrast to this, the Turkish community in Southern Bulgaria is characterised by a homogeneous language environment. There are few non-Turkish contacts and members of the community speak southern Turkish dialect (they also speak Bulgarian).

The Turkish community in Bulgaria has its own intellectuals (teachers, engineers, physicians), who tend to speak Standard Bulgarian, as well as Modern Standard Turkish. It is a goal within the Turkish community to learn Modern Standard Turkish, spoken in Turkey, since it has more prestige among the Turkish population than the local Turkish dialects.

Frequently, at meetings and conferences, Turks elect to speak Modern Standard Turkish instead of Bulgarian or one of the Bulgarian Turkish dialects.

One finds a great deal of language mixing and code switching within the Turkish community. Turks, especially the younger generations, often do not know the names of some objects in Turkish, and will use Bulgarian words instead (Rubin and Eminov, 1990; Backus and Kutchukov, 1994). It is also common to use Bulgarian words with Turkish endings.
The Romany dialect spoken here (Horahany) represents a mixture of Romany and Turkish (Kutchukov, 1993). Within this population an effort is underway to change its language use. Because of the higher status of Turkish within the community, an attempt is being made to increase fluency in the local Turkish dialect, rather than focus on the Bulgarian language.

Some Romas in the northeastern part of Bulgaria are Turkophonic and do not speak Romany at all. Everyday communication takes place in the northeastern Turkish dialect. Furthermore, the Romas in this region adhere to Islam and co-exist with the Bulgarians and Turks.

In southern Bulgaria the Romas live among Bulgarians and the Pomaks (Bulgarian Muslims). They speak a Romany dialect (Elli), as well as Bulgarian. Both Christianity and Islam are found here. In contrast to the Romas in northeastern Bulgaria their dialect contains elements of Bulgarian, and not Turkish (Kutchukov, 1993). The Bulgarian language has a higher status than the local Romany dialect.

The Romany language
In general, we can say that the Roma population is scattered throughout the country and that the everyday languages of communication are Romany, Bulgarian or Turkish. The Romany language belongs to the Indo-European family of languages, and more particularly to the Indo-Iranian group (Ruhlen, 1987; Katzner, 1977). Romany is characterised by the fact that it is neither unified, nor standardised. Furthermore, it is characterised by a number of dialects.

At the present, an international linguistic committee is working on a writing system that can be used for Romany communities throughout the world.

Recognised features of Romany are:
1. it has a case system;
2. compared to other a simple phoneme change;
3. it has undergone changes, typical for the reconstructed languages: Sanskrit, Gujarati.

As far as its structure is concerned, Romany language is determined by the following factors:

1. Horahany — spoken in the South-West of Bulgaria;
2. Erlij — spoken south-west of Erlij;
3. Vlah — spoken all over Bulgaria, near the Turkish border;
4. Kalderash — spoken in the rural areas of Bulgaria, near the Turkish border;
5. Drandar — spoken in the South-East of Bulgaria.

As far as the Horahany see that it has both elements of Turkish and Romany dialect has been subject to mixing in certain places, for example:

Kac yasinda siy
The first part of this word has been directly borrowed from the Scythian, while the second part is Romance in form in the other dialects.

Kozome breshe
Kitti breshnengor
Bilingualism and Bilingual Education in Bulgaria

Kwtsi breshengo siyan? — Drandar Dialect
Approximately half of the Roma population in Bulgaria has completely forgotten Romany, and speaks exclusively Bulgarian or Turkish. This process of language loss has been facilitated by the fact that Romany is considered to have less status than these languages.

In a large part of the Bulgarian society (among many Bulgarians and Turks), Romany is not accepted and its existence is seen as a threat. This causes conflicts between Romany speakers and others in Bulgaria. In order to avoid conflicts, some people choose not to use Romany in public as well as at home. As a result, children fail to be exposed to Romany and learn Turkish or Bulgarian instead.

Home Language Education in the educational system
Four mother tongues are taught in Bulgarian schools today: Turkish, Romany, Armenian and Yiddish. Textbooks and teaching materials are provided for these languages, and courses are provided for teachers.

Research in the fields of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics shows that mother tongue education should precede second language acquisition (Aarts, 1994). In other words, the transition towards the second language should be gradual rather than abrupt. It is also generally understood that when education is bilingual the mastery of both languages develops simultaneously. Within the context of Bulgarian society and minority education this implies the facilitation of Bulgarian language acquisition through mother tongue education. For the children of minority communities in Bulgaria, Bulgarian tends to be a second language.

In recent years the new Ministry of Education has decided to democratise the field of language education by recognising the rights of all minority group children to obtain language instruction in their own home language.
These languages are taught in primary and secondary Bulgarian schools, where students receive four lessons a week. Language classes are taught by instructors who share the same ethnic background as the students, and courses are regularly organised to train prospective instructors.

Home language instruction starts when children attend the first form of a Bulgarian primary school and continues through the eighth form, the end of primary school. Some larger cities have schools that have been especially established to cater to the Armenian and Jewish minorities. In these schools the main languages used are Armenian and Yiddish, respectively. Despite the existence of such schools, there are at the present moment no special schools for Turkish or Roma children.

Success rates at the University level show wide divergence. Many Armenian, Jewish, and Turkish students proceed to the University, but it is a rare occurrence for a Roma student to finish the University.

Since the beginning of the 1990s various bilingual textbooks were written for students from minority communities. We shall take a closer look at the textbooks used for the language education of Turkish and Roma children.

**Analysis of Turkish textbooks**

Until 1972 Turkish was taught in Bulgarian schools, but was then discontinued until 1991. During the 1991-1992 school year instruction in the Turkish language was reintroduced for all schools with Turkish students. Instruction is intended for students from the third until the eighth form, and students receive four lessons a week.

Before adopting a general policy authorising Turkish language education in all schools with Turkish children, the Ministry of Education conducted a national experiment in 18 schools with predominantly Turkish children. An experimental, bilingual textbook was written specially for this purpose (Yanakev, et al., 1991).

Following the experiment, a ‘real’ textbook entitled ‘ALFABE’ (Beytula, 1991) was written for Turkish students. The book was bilingual and focused mainly on presenting information about Modern Standard Turkish grammar. All texts in the textbook are written in both Turkish and Bulgarian. In this way, children are given the opportunity to acquire second language words and phrases, through the mother tongue that is already familiar to the child. The Turkish texts are written using the Modern Standard Turkish orthography.

A second textbook was published in 1992, intended to improve the oral and writing abilities of children. This textbook contains various culture-related texts that focus on four themes:

1. folk creation;
2. contemporary Turkish literature;
3. classical world literature (translated into Turkish);
4. poems written by Turkish-Bulgarian authors.

The school years 1992-1993 and 1993-1994 saw the introduction of various Turkish language textbooks for primary school children of Turkish descent. These books were published in Turkey. The major idea behind the introduction of these textbooks is to teach students the Modern Standard Turkish spoken in Turkey.

**Analysis of Romany textbooks**

During the 1992-1993 school year the Bulgarian Ministry of Education decided that Roma children had the right to receive mother tongue education in the schools. A special textbook was written to make this possible (Kitchukov et al., 1993a). As was the case for the first Turkish textbook, it was bilingual. The contents provided information about Romany language and culture. Some problems arose while...
the purpose (Yanakiev et al., 1993) was writing the Romany texts for the book: what Romany dialect and what alphabet were deemed appropriate (even though there is an international standard Romany alphabet)? After considerable deliberation the authors decided to select two widely used Romany dialects in Bulgaria: the Laho and Erlij dialects. In order to be able to address all of the sounds present in the various Romany dialects in Bulgaria, the English variant of the alphabet was chosen. Using this variant made it possible to deal with the typical Romany consonants ‘ph’, ‘th’ and ‘kh’, which are written in this way. They are pronounced using an aspiration of ‘h’, instead of the English ‘f’ or ‘j’.

The book described above has an encyclopaedic character. It contains information about Romany language, mathematics, Romany music, Romany history, etc. Special instructions were created for teachers of Romany, which discuss language education in classroom situations and point out how mother tongue education facilitates Bulgarian literacy development in school (Kutchukov et al., 1993b).

Several other Romany books are now in print, like ‘Romany Alphabet’ and ‘Romany Textbook for Reading’. Some of the goals of these new textbooks are to introduce Romany children to writers of Romany in different countries, and to instil in them a sense of pride in order to stimulate their interest in the educational process at school.

Conclusions
In this article I have discussed the following aspects that characterise bilingualism in Bulgaria:

1. Although Bulgaria is a multilingual country, minority languages, cultures and religions were discriminated against during the post WWII totalitarian period. Children from minority communities received lessons in their mother tongue during the 1960s and 1970s, but this was officially prohibited after 1972. Despite the changes that Bulgarian society has undergone in recent years, many teachers, university professors, and scholars hold negative attitudes toward mother tongue education in the schools. There have also been efforts to downplay the importance of mother tongue education for bilingual students in Bulgaria.

2. Due to multiple contact between the Bulgarian language and minority languages, these minority languages have undergone some structural changes. These changes have not been investigated in detail yet.

Several ethno-linguistic groups exist in Bulgaria, each with a distinct history, culture and language, and each occupying a specific position with society’s status hierarchy. The status hierarchy is strongly determined by the attitudes of the majority population towards the language and culture of each group. Attitudes towards the Romas and the Romany language are extremely negative. Individuals who identify themselves as members of the Roma community can expect to immediately encounter a highly negative attitude. Attitudes towards members of the Turkish ethno-linguistic group are less negative. Many Bulgarians fear that Turkish and Romany language instruction will have negative consequences for Bulgarian society as a whole (see eg. Videnov, 1993 to encounter this line of reasoning).

Positive attitudes tend to exist towards those who identify with the Bulgarian ethno-linguistic group.
Publication on Psychology and intercultural education

In 1991 an international congress on psychological issues in intercultural education was held under the auspices of the Council of Europe and in cooperation with the IAIE. The results of this congress are now published in a volume *Psychologie clinique et interrogations culturelles*, edited by Micheline Rey-Von Allmen, who was also the organiser of this conference.

Contributors to the volume are mainly francophone scholars from different cultural and professional backgrounds. The articles focus on three fundamental questions: Which psychological and therapeutic support can be offered by psychologists working in the field of education to children, youth and families of different cultures? When clients' world views, expectations, values, privileged social networks, loyalties and styles of expression diverge widely from the therapists', how can that case misunderstandings be overcome which nest in the relationship between them? And what should one think of psycho-pedagogical tests and the different methods and criteria of assessment and evaluation when applied to pupils whose linguistic and cultural competencies, whose access and attitudes towards school, learning and knowledge may be different from those of the original target groups?

The volume is divided into three parts. The first deals with the fundamental questions in a predominantly theoretical way touching on central aspects of the relationship of psychology to cultures and ethnicity. The second part contains analyses of specific situations such as generation conflicts in Turkish migrant families, identity of Gypsies, psychological problems of Polish refugees, etc. In the third part articles will be found which relate to questions of psychological and therapeutic practice.

The volume is available at: L’Harmattan, 7 rue de l’Ecole Polytechnique, F-75005 Paris (180 FF + 16 F postage); tel. +33 1 43547910, fax: +33 1 43258203.

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**References**


**Address for correspondence:** Dr. Hristo Kyuchukov, Ministry of Education, Bul. Dondukov 2, 1000-Sofia, Bulgaria.