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MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL CHALLENGES IN A HUNGARIAN KINDERGARTEN

Doctoral (PhD) dissertation

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MULTILINGVÁLIS ÉS MULTIKULTURÁLIS KIHÍVÁSOK EGY MAGYAR ÓVODÁBAN

Doktori (PhD) értekezés

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I dedicate this PhD dissertation to the ever-living memory of the deceased members of my family: my dearest grandparents, my loving godmother and my bilingual father. I have always had the inspiring and soothing feeling that one day I will finish what they started.

Ezt a PhD-disszertációt eltávozott családtagjaim örökkön élő emlékének ajánlom: drága nagyszüleimnek, szerető keresztmamámnak és kétnyelvű édesapámnak. Mindig megvolt bennem az az ösztönző és megnyugtató érzés, hogy egy nap majd befejezem, amit ők elkezdtek.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CLIL Content and Language Integrated Learning

CPH Critical Period Hypothesis

EAL English as an Additional Language

ELT English Language Teaching

FL foreign languageGT Grounded Theory

H hypothesis

L1 first language

L2 second language

LOC locus

MCE multicultural education

MTE multicultural teacher education

NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization

PM Pápa Model

RQ Research question

SAC Strategic Airlift Capability

TÁMOP/ Társadalmi Megújulás Operatív Program/
SROP Social Renewal Operational Programme

TPR Total Physical Response

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If you talk to a man in a language he understands, that goes to his head.

If you talk to him in his language, that goes to his heart."

Nelson Mandela

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

1.1.1 Rationale

"Barbarians." This is how ancient Greeks stigmatised people who spoke a different language from their own (Bakker, 2010, p. 282). Today, however, from sociolinguistic point of view bilingualism or multilingualism is considered to be more an asset than a disadvantage. It is especially valid in our modern age where cultural, social and economic interdependence is not an abstract concept but tangible reality. Additionally, modern migration gives multiculturalism and multilingualism a peculiar background that is worth revisiting not only from social but also from linguistic and pedagogical aspects. Considering the fact that at present 6909 living languages are recorded in the world (Lewis, *et al.*, 2014), multilingualism or linguistic diversity, both on individual and social levels, is a widespread occurrence.

As a language learner I have always been interested in what a language is made up of: I was fascinated by the different elements of languages and how they are developed into a sophisticated system. At the same time, I was also eager to see the system in action, i.e. how it operates in its varied manifestations, furthermore, how it is related to the other segments of human life, society and culture. Therefore, I was lucky to be given the opportunity to enter the new paths of language teaching while editing an intercultural course book with co-authors (Andrews, *et al.*, 2001 a, b; Kitzinger, 2002) to deal with a new facet of sociolinguistics by examining European multilingualism (Kitzinger, 2009 c) and to take part in a pioneering programme of introducing early childhood English language development in the kindergarten teacher training education at the University of West Hungary (Kitzinger, 2010, 2014).

All the phases of my professional career added together and gave me the impetus as a doctoral student to do research into a language educational topic that is not yet elaborated in Hungarian literature due to the pure fact that the setting and the situation are new in the

Hungarian education system. This atypical educational atmosphere provides the basis of the following research.

1.1.2 Theoretical background

As long as languages exist the question of bilingualism or multilingualism will be in the limelight of linguistics. Multilingualism has been widely examined from the aspect of linguistics, just like early childhood education from the side of pedagogy. There are researchers also in Hungary who deal with bilingualism (e.g. Bartha, 1999; Navracsics, 2007, 2008, 2010), childhood language acquisition (e.g. Kovács, 2002, 2008, 2009), or multiculturalism (e.g. Cs. Czachesz, 1998; Torgyik, 2005; Varga, 2006), yet the social situation and the educational setting is so novel in Hungary that a gap in the discussion can be noticed.

Basically, the present research belongs to linguistic studies as the core of the theme is provided by languages *per se*. The study especially focusses on the official languages prescribed by the given kindergarten programme, i.e. on Hungarian and English: how they were chosen as the languages of education, how they function among the actors of the research, how they are formed, developed, acquired and learned, and how they interact. At the same time, languages in this analysis cannot be dealt in an isolated, art for art's sake way, but the spectrum of the exploration should be extended to related fields, too, in order to give a more detailed view of the subject in the described socio-educational setting.

In this case, other branches of sciences need to be involved. If applied linguistics as "the study of language and linguistics in relation to practical problems" (Richards *et al.*, 1992, p. 19) serves as a starting point, in this setting it clearly interfaces with pedagogy, sociology and even law. Major contextual segments of pedagogy here are early childhood education and language education as the research is taken place in a kindergarten and it deals with kindergarteners' acquired language competences. Sociology, too, is a relevant subject, as the study of different cultures and their manifestation in early childhood cannot be neglected in a multicultural environment. As children come from several countries and they, due to their special status, might be labelled as 'migrant', it is also worth clarifying a number of legal terms along with the accompanying language educational policies, which might be categorised into the area of law. Although the above mentioned scientific fields do not add the same weight to our subject, it is relevant to pinpoint that this type of investigation is interdisciplinary (Figure 1).

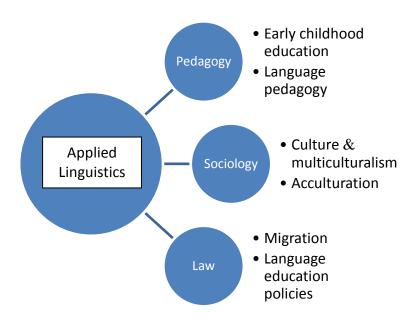


Figure 1. Linguistics and its implications in the present research

Due to the multifaceted features of the problem (cf. 1.2), the underlying theories to the empirical research had to be chosen from the different disciplines. Therefore, in the present research Krashen's (1981) language acquisition and language learning distinction, Lenneberg's (1967) Critical Period Hypothesis and Cummins's (1979) Thresholds Theory give help to understand early childhood language development from linguistic and educational aspects (cf. 2.2.2.1 and 2.2.3). From another point of view, i.e. sociological side, Berry's (2008) acculturation strategy and its interpretations (Feischmidt, 1997; Rédei, 2007; Kitzinger, 2009 a, b) are worth taking into consideration (cf. 2.3.4). Some of the theories also stimulated the birth of new assumptions like The gift culture – gift language theory, The language puzzle theory and The language self – cultural identification theories which will be discussed in the related chapters (cf. 2.6).

1.2 Research problems

As far as the actual context is concerned, some information is provided about the setting. Since September 2008 the children of foreign families working at the air base of Pápa have been going to the local Fáy András Kindergarten, which was appointed to be their host institution by the self government of the town. Families came from NATO members and two Partnership for Peace nations in the frame of the Strategic Airlift Capability programme called SAC/C-17 (Strategic, 2013). Families are usually made up of young parents and their children who go either to school or to the kindergarten. Their delegation lasts approximately for 1,5-4 years. The multilingual-multicultural kindergarten in Pápa hosts 23 foreign families' children from 6 different countries and from the host country, namely from Sweden, Bulgaria, Poland, Norway the Netherlands, the United States, and Hungary, naturally. Apart from Hungarian, mother tongues of the children are Swedish, Bulgarian, Polish, Norwegian, Dutch and, in the case of the American families, English, Filipino and Spanish. The setting is exceptional as NATO bases establish their own international schools elsewhere in the world. The town of Pápa, Hungary is, however, the first place where foreign children are trying to adapt to the local community from linguistic, social, educational and cultural aspects.

The situation is special because of its complexity which resides in linguistic, cultural and pedagogical features of the setting. Linguistic, as children's mother tongue vary, which, especially at the beginning, might cause problems in communication both with the kindergarten teachers and the peers. Cultural, as children come from various socio-cultural backgrounds. Pedagogic, as they might have different educational experiences, if any, moreover, their own countries' education systems may vary to a great extent.

Problems might appear for each actor of multilingual-multicultural education, thus

- for children
- for parents
- for kindergarten teachers and
- for educational decision-makers.

Therefore, the kindergarten has to guarantee suitable language pedagogical circumstances. In order to meet the manifold requirements, the institution had to revise its educational programme as far as the new concepts, objectives, tasks and methods are concerned. First of all, they had to agree on the linguistic (mono-, bi- or multilingual) and the pedagogical (separate or integral education) bases. They also had to improve personal

conditions such as kindergarten teachers' language competence and material conditions, for instance, technical equipment, just like their relationship with Hungarian and foreign parents.

Besides linguistic and pedagogical questions, cultural and social issues appear. Families, who wish to integrate in their workplace, in the educational institutions and in the town, have to be given support. Kindergarten teachers had to invent and learn various methods to be supportive with children and parents in their daily routine. Special strategies and sources became indispensable to alter a monolingual kindergarten into multilingual. The research deals with the problems mentioned above and it shows and discusses the different approaches developed under the auspices of multilingual-multicultural education.

1.3 Hypotheses

To give appropriate answers to the problems, hypotheses are formulated at the beginning of the dissertation which will be either confirmed or rejected at the end of the research. Hypotheses, just like the theme itself are interdisciplinary, thus the three major aspects, linguistic, pedagogical and cultural aspects are embedded. The hypotheses are as follows:

- H 1. There are theoretical issues that generate debate in early childhood language development.
- H 2. The pedagogical and material conditions of starting multillingual-multicultural education in the kindergarten were given.
- H 3. Integrated language education is applied in the kindergarten (vs. separated education) which is manifested in parallel Hungarian–English language use.
- H 4. a) All participants of multilingual-multicultural education in the kindergarten have to face linguistic, cultural and pedagogical challenges.
 - b) Children whose mother tongue is neither English nor Hungarian have to face the most challenges.

- H 5. a) Children will not become automatically bilingual under institutional circumstances.
 - b) Children can become bilingual with the help of a carefully elaborated educational programme.
- H 6. The multilingual-multicultural group gives the opportunity for children and kindergarten teachers to
 - a) create language self, i.e. which language(s) they can identify with and
 - b) develop cultural identity, i.e. which culture(s) they accept and belong to.

1.4 Aims and research questions

In consequence of the complexity of the theme, the aim and expected results of the research cannot be one-dimensional: therefore, interdisciplinary approach must be noticed also in connection with the research aims. Basically, a solid theoretical background has to be established with the help of relevant literature in the field of linguistics, education and sociology. This framework has to serve the basis of the empirical research, the aim of which is to observe, conceive and interpret the complex language educational situation. The primary aim of revealing the theoretical background and carrying out the empirical research is to see how kindergarten teachers, children, parents and educational decesion-makers form a common linguistic, cultural and pedagogical basis for communication in their very complex setting. Besides understanding and introducing the given linguistic community, the aim of the research is also to decipher new meanings, discover and reveal linguistic and pedagogical coherence that had been hidden till the establishment of this multilingual-multicultural kindergarten in Hungary.

In order to achieve the research aims it is essential to work with questions that must be addressed at the beginning of the actual research. The research questions, referring to the theoretical background and the empirical research, are as follows:

RQ 1. What are the major language educational theories that serve the bases for early bi- or multilingual education?

- RQ 2. How is multilingual-multicultural education manifested in the material conditions of the kindergarten?
- RQ 3. Which languages are used in the kindergarten and how are they developed?
- RQ 4. What language pedagogical methods are applied and what is the role of the kindergarten teacher?
- RQ 5. How do language and nationality take part in children's social relations and how are different cultures present in the kindergarten?
- RQ 6. What kind of educational philosophy do kindergarten teachers follow in their everyday practice?
- RQ 7. What are the most important advantages and drawbacks of multicultural education?

1.5 Expected results

Research results should harmonize with the objectives set beforehand (cf. 1.4) and should contain the perspectives that are opened by the present research. Above all, the outcomes should mirror the validity and relevance of the examinations and should prove the necessity and application of the results. On the one hand, the dissertation will serve as a better understanding of literature, and will collect and explore it in a targeted manner. Besides, it will find new meaning of relevant literature written on the topic up to now and it will not only show but fill the gaps noticed. In connection, one of the expected results is to complete up-to-date literature on the topic in Hungary. On the other hand, the research, made with several different types of methods, will put a unique phenomenon in the academic limelight. Thus, it will broaden the theoretical background while examining the setting as a sociolinguistic 'laboratory'. Finally, besides academics, professional teachers' and stakeholders' attention will be directed into the actual problems. Moreover, with the help of deciphering these problems, discussions can be generated and results can be promoted in early childhood education. In Europe, more and more countries introduce multicultural education in teacher

training. The dissertation's overt aim and presumable result will be to revisit the urge of this kind of education at university level also in Hungary.

1.6 Content of subsequent chapters

The dissertation can be divided into five major parts which can also be divided into further chapters. Up to this point in Chapter 1, i.e. the Introduction can be read which explains personal and professional motivation and designates the place of the theme in the language educational field. An interdisciplinary approach is applied and complementary research theories are overviewed. The following pages describe the unique background to the topic and put the subject matter into the valid context. Related to the setting, special problems are mentioned and forwarded. Key and specified hypotheses are formulated and expected research results are outlined. Research aims are also specified with the help of preliminary research questions.

Theoretical background is outlined in Chapter 2 which is manifested in the Literature review. Literature is collected and discussed in four different categories which are in close connection and overlap. Literature review starts with a linguistic analysis (cf. 2.2) where some major definitions are offered. A separate chapter deals with the problem of early childhood bilingualism with timely arguments on its pros and cons. Besides, a distinction is made between language learning and language acquisition. Some basic terms and definitions such as culture, inter- and multiculturalism are also clarified in the field of sociolinguistics and leads to modern descriptions of how migrants adapt to new socio-cultural circumstances, i.e. acculturation strategies. Introducing language pedagogical problems is the core of Chapter 2.4 as it is the chapter that enumerates similar educational situations and examines the different examples of multilingual pedagogical programmes all over the world. This chapter also touches upon the role and tasks of individuals and groups that participate in multilingual-multicultural education. Literature review concludes with a chapter on language political issues, namely the question of migration in education, both from linguistic and legal points of view.

Most part of the dissertation is made up of the empirical and desk research (Chapter 3). It contains six studies whose structure follows a similar pattern. From among the six studies one of them deals with the observations in the kindergarten, four others elaborate the interviews with parents, children, kindergarten teachers and educational decision-makers,

while the last one is devoted to desk research where the programme of the kindergarten is analysed. The consistent patterns of the different parts of research start with the introduction of the context and participants, then comes the research design and the methodology of the actual research. Under the sub-title Results it is described what could be seen and experienced during research. The ending summary at the end of each study sums up the main points briefly only as reminders.

Although the framework is the same, the given chapters can be completed with special amendments, according to the nature of research section. While research design in observation will focus on the structure of the observation chart and the analysis of the observation aspects, under the same heading different issues will be scrutinised in the interviews, where structure, types and wording of the interviews will be in the foreground. Similarly, results will be categorised in different ways in the case of observation, interviews and desk research, according to the material and experience gained during research. The study thrives to be consistent and flexible at the same time and aims to show harmony between form and contents.

Research findings converge in Chapter 4 where an Overall discussion of results takes place. Here the different research results will be examined from the most relevant language pedagogical aspects. Theoretical issues, the setting, methods, linguistic phenomena, pedagogical strategies and socio-cultural elements will be revisited in a detailed and coherent way within the frame of the research questions.

In Chapter 5 the main findings are revealed by the confirmation or rejection of the hypotheses and language pedagogical implications are explored. Besides, the limitations of the research will be taken into consideration and directions for future research will be designated. In the end, final conclusions will be drawn.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The aim of the literature review

The aim of the literature review, beside explaining, examining and clarifying up-to-date trends in applied linguistics, is to draw attention to the multi-faceted, interdisciplinary nature of the research topic. Therefore, literature for this study is built upon four basic pillars which support and complete each other: the four elements are of linguistic, sociological, language pedagogical and language political nature (Figure 2). The structure of each unit and the contents will be introduced at the beginning of the related chapters.

Linguistic terminology and questions

- Bilingualism, multilingualism and related terms
- Early childhood bilingualism
- Language learning and language acquisition

Sociological elements

- Basic terms and definitions: culture, multiculturalism and identity
- Culture in education
- Acculturation strategies

Language pedagogical problems

- Typology of bilingual school
- Multilingualmulticultural schools
- Teacher training aspects

Language political issues

- Migration as a social and legal category
- Migration, minorities and language rights
- Migratory language education in Hungary

Figure 2. The four pillars of the literature review

Additionally, the literature review should provide a sound basis for the empirical research after the author has developed her own theoretical framework. While the literature review here aims to introduce and analyse existing research findings under similar educational conditions at international level (cf. 2.3.2 and 2.4.2), it will also focus on available Hungarian settings (cf. 2.5.3) and will show how (inter)national research findings can be related to the present situation. In this way, it may highlight important gaps in the field, which will hopefully be bridged by the end of the final conclusions. The structure of each unit and the contents of the literature review will be introduced at the beginning of the related chapters.

2.2 Linguistic terminology and questions

As the research is built primarily upon linguistic basics, first of all it is necessary to clarify the key linguistic terms without which the present language educational study would be difficult to decipher. From the vital points of the different interpretations of such linguistic terms as bilingualism, multilingualism and the related features (e.g. code-switching, code-mixing) the discussion moves toward the present views in the field, i.e. early childhood bilingualism. At the end of the section the actual scene of the research will be examined and the distinction between learning and acquisition will be highlighted. The latter issue plays an important role when discussing early childhood language education, also in the multilingual kindergarten in Pápa.

2.2.1 Linguistic terms and definitions

2.2.1.1 Who is bilingual?

Bilingualism is as old as languages themselves. Nevertheless, during different eras the justification of the phenomenon changed to a great extent. In ancient times it was not rare that conquerors and conquered people learnt each other's language and up to the establishment of nation-states bilingualism was an everyday routine worldwide. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, however, bilinguals were considered to be different from the norm in Europe and bilingualism was not an example worth following (Bene, 2000). Even today bilingualism might cause ambivalent feelings in monolingual people: on the one hand, bilinguals are envied because of their command of more than one language, and on the other hand, they might be implicitly excluded from different communities and considered to be outsiders (Wardhaugh, 1995).

In the 20th century bilingualism came into the limelight of linguists', psychologists' and sociologists' attention (Göncz, 1985) and many of them tried to serve with an acceptable definition about the gist of the notion. In spite of all the efforts, it seems to be easier to categorise bilingualism than to give an overt, extended and valid definition to it. Altogether, it is relevant to scrutinize the existing classical and modern definitions as it is done in the following table (Figure 3).

Approaches of	Who is bilingual?/		Author	Date
bilingualism	What is bilingualism?			
maximalist	Bilingualism is the	"native-like control of	Bloomfield in	1933
		two languages".		
minimalist	A bilingual can	"produce complete	Haugen	1953
		meaningful utterances		
		in the other language".		
permissive	Bilingualism is the	"contact with possible	Diebold	1961
		models in a second		
		language and the ability		
		to use these in the		
		environment of the		
		native language".		
functional	Bilingualism is	"the practice of	Weinreich	1979
		alternatively using two		
		languages".		
functional	Bilinguals are	"those who use two (or	Grosjean	1994
		more) languages (or		
		dialects) in their		
		everyday lives"		
fractional	Bilinguals are	"two monolinguals in		
		one person".		
holistic	Bilinguals have	different characteristic	Baker	2011
		linguistic features,		
		especially relating		
		acquisition, thinking or		
		interconnections of		
		languages.		

Figure 3. Who is bilingual? - Definitions of bilingualism on the basis of the indicated authors

To clarify the definitions, it is worth going back to the first conventional interpretation which was provided by Bloomfield in 1933. He examined new immigrants to the USA who became more and more fluent in their newly acquired language. Bloomfield, in his oft-cited definition states that bilingualism is a "native-like control of two languages" (as cited in

Hoffmann, 1991, p. 15). This strict rendition determined the views on the subject for a long time and it was not until the 1950s that a new, less strict interpretation came to light by Haugen, who describes bilinguals individuals who, besides their first language, are able to "produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language" (Butler & Hakuta, 2004, p. 114). With this breakthrough the myth of "true" bilingualism (Gottardo & Grant, 2008, p. 1) has been destroyed and it was time to give more refined definitions from different scientific aspects. Before that the most permissive definition came to light by Diebold in 1961. In his essay titled *Incipient Bilingualism* the author goes further than others. He concludes that bilingualism is the "contact with possible models in a second language and the ability to use these in the environment of the native language" (Diebold, 1961, p. 111). Although Macnamara (1967) shared his views, later researchers (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986; Bartha, 1999) find the definition an exaggerated one as according to it anyone who speaks a few words in a foreign language can be considered bilingual. Conferring this view with Bloomfield's definition it can be stated that they represent the two far extremes of the definitions. This idea is supported by Baker, who makes a distinction between Bloomfield's and Diebold's concepts when he calls the first the "maximalist" and the second the "minimalist" definition (Baker, 2011, p. 8). He also categorises views on bilingualism when he discusses "fractional" and "holistic" (2011, p. 9) views of the problem. By "fractional" he means "two monolinguals in one person", while the "holistic" view confirms that bilinguals, unlike monolinguals, have very different characteristic linguistic features, especially relating acquisition, thinking or interconnections of languages, which cannot be compared with those of monolinguals. This basic distinction can explain the different approaches to the question.

Another school of bilingual researchers was established by Uriel Weinreich, who puts an emphasis on functionality: "the practice of alternatively using two languages will be called bilingualism and the person involved, bilingual" (1979, p. 71). It is he, who introduces the notion of 'multilingualism' in 1953 as "the practice of using alternately three or more languages" (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986, p. 2) which will be discussed later in this chapter. Mackey (1970) confirms Weinreich's statements by involving two or more languages in the scope of bilingualism. Since that time researchers have dealt more and more with the functional side of bilingualism. Still in Weinreich's path, Grosjean also emphasises language use and multilingualism in his definition according to which bilinguals are "those who use two (or more) languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives" (1994, p. 1656).

It has already turned out how difficult it is to find a proper definition for bilingualism. Yet, it is useful to clarify which one it is preferred and applied in the present study. On the

basis of Grosjean's (1994) already cited definition from the aspect of this research it is Bartha, who can provide a definition of bilingualism that will be used in this dissertation later on:

"[...] bilingual is the person who, in his/ her everyday contacts, is able to use two or more languages regularly (in oral and/ or written forms or in sign language) according to his/ her communicative and socio-cultural needs." (1999, p. 40)

2.2.1.2 Types of bilingualism

Towards the end of the 20th century researchers seemed to be confused about the multi-faceted feature of bilingualism and instead of giving definitions, they rather made categories. Baetens Beardsmore (1986, p. 2) tends to admit the limits of definitions and considers bilingualism a notion that must be clear to everyone even without further explanation:

"To some extent the notion of bilingualism finds itself in the same category as the elusive yet so familiar concept of the word; everyone knows what a word is yet no one can give a satisfactory definition. [...] Just as in our bones we know what a word is, inadequately definable though it may be, so most of us have an opinion as to what bilingualism is, even though individual interpretations may vary considerably."

What several scientists point out is that the definitions are moving along a scale of contrasts like 'productive – receptive', 'active – passive', 'natural – guided', 'primary – secondary' (Bartha, 1999), 'individual – societal' (Hoffmann, 1991), or 'dominant – balanced' and 'bilateral – unilateral' (Kiss, 1995). On the basis of modern psycho- and sociolinguistic typologies and descriptions (Cummins, 1979; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990; Hoffman, 1991; Kiss, 1995; Baker & Prys Jones, 1998; Baker, 2011) in the following table (Figure 4) the different characters and varieties of bilingualism will be outlined:

Factors	Types	Comments		
Age	1. early	Cut-off points are not firm. Adolescent		
	2. late	bilingualism may also be added.		
Competence	1. balanced	It suggests the level of proficiency in		
	2. dominant	the different languages.		
Level of language command	1. perfect	It always refers to age-appropriate		
	2. partial	language command.		

Origin	1. natural/ spontaneous	Natural bilinguals acquire the
	2. artificial/ cultural	languages from speakers around them
		in childhood (e.g. one-parent-one-
		language method) while artificial
		bilingualism can be achieved in a
		systematically structured way (e.g. at
		school).
Extension	1. bilateral	In terms of societal bilingualism, it is
	2. unilateral	important which language community
		has learnt the other's language. If
		acquisition is mutual, bilingualism is
		bilateral. If not, unilateral.
Effectiveness	1. active/ productive	It refers to productive (speaking &
	2. passive/ receptive	writing) and receptive (reading &
		listening) language skills.
Nature of language acquisition	1. ethnic	Ethnic bilingualism is characteristic of
	2. elite	co-habiting communities, while elite
		bilingualism is more voluntary and
		depends on individual choice.
Context of acquisition	1. coordinate	The linguistic concepts are learnt either
	2. subordinate	in the same or in different settings. In
		coordinate bilingualism concepts are
		recognised in two languages, while in
		subordinate bilingualism one of the
		languages is dependent on or secondary
		to the other.
Socio-cultural environment	1. additive	In the first case L2 is added to L1 while
	2. subtractive	in the second case L2 displaces L1.
Social context	1. societal	The terms refer to the languages
	2. individual	acquired in a community and languages
		that are learnt on a personal basis.
Cultural identity	1. monocultural	It depends on how many cultures the
	2. bicultural	individual identifies him-/ herself with.

Figure 4. Types of bilingualism on the basis of Cummins (1979), Skutnabb-Kangas (1990), Hoffmann (1991), Kiss (1995), Baker & Prys Jones (1998) and Baker (2011)

The term "bilingual" in the standard language and in the usage of linguists are not so far from each other as both refer to the application of two languages. The only difference, presumably, as Kontra (1999) seems to suggest, is that linguists also use the term "bilingual" to people who speak two languages badly. In this sense "bilingualism" might carry the pure chance of language use, and not the level or quality of speech.

2.2.1.3 Multilingualism

As the focus shifts from bilingualism towards multilingualism, it may be noticed that bilingualism as a term is widely used both for literary bilingual and multilingual people as well. The latter means that the individual may have "varying degrees of proficiency in three, four or even more languages" (Baker & Prys Jones, 1998, p. 17). Literally, multilingualism is "the use of two or more languages" (Biseth, 2009, p. 7). Multilingualism is especially widespread in Africa and Asia and according to Baker & Prys Jones (1998) it is due to the coexistence of local or ethnic languages, historical traditions, industrial development and different political unions or urbanisation. Additionally, it can also be the outcome of modern language learning requirements, for instance in Europe, and especially in countries where language learning has a high prestige (e.g. Scandinavia), language learning policy support it (e.g. Canada) or language communities give priority to multilingualism (e.g. Yiddish, Hebrew and English in New York). Obviously, just like in the case of bilingualism, there might be large differences between the level of competence and skills in the different languages.

Baker (2011) makes a clear distinction between bilingualism and multilingualism. The latter term, in his interpretation, means that three or more languages are used in communities where local, regional, official or international languages are acquired and learnt. He also examines multilingualism in the light of bilingualism, supposing that two languages are already given, and a third/ fourth language is added to the existing ones. In this case he considers the actual bilingualism an asset and a favourable soil for learning further languages. He is ready to add that multilingualism is often in the limelight of political and social arguments. As far as the individual is concerned, he stresses the importance of the acceptance of languages by peers. It might be considered to be a crucial factor in our research, too, while examining the kindergarten community.

Research into tri- or multilingualism, comparing it with bilingualism is relatively rare. Cenoz and Genesee in their research found that "bilingualism does not hinder the acquisition of an additional language and, to the contrary, in most cases bilingualism favours the acquisition of third languages" (1998, p. 20). It is also important to notice that multilingual competence should not be confused with monolingual competence. For a multilingual, according to the different use of different languages there is no need to develop all competences to the same level. Cenoz and Genesee (1998) suppose that multilingual schools have different aims in the different languages, which is manifested in their educational programme as well. They describe what happens if the target languages are used in a community by native-speakers and if they are not used by a native community. In the first case the usage of the target languages can be noticed both in formal and informal situations, while in the latter example the spectrum of the target languages will be reduced only to formal (e.g. academic) situations. In our research the kindergarten will give a very special setting of using the target (Hungarian and English) languages. As it will be seen, it may also happen that a child's L1 will become an additional language under kindergarten circumstances (e.g. in the case of Bulgarian, Polish or Dutch in Pápa), as these languages are not among the official languages of the kindergarten and not spoken by the kindergarten teachers or the majority of the children.

Although in literature bilingualism often overlaps the concept of multilingualism, in this research they are not used alternately. First, with their sharp and consequent distinction I want to show clearly when children use two languages ('bilingualism') and when they exceed the point of strictly described bilingualism, i.e. they are able to make themselves understood in an additional language, too. Secondly, I examine not only the languages but also the existence and co-existence of different cultures, whose number is, due to the special circumstances, are necessarily more than two. Therefore, I find it more rational to make the bilingual vs. multilingual distinction.

2.2.1.4 Code-switching, code-mixing and linguistic interference

Languages are usually not kept apart from each other in the communication of bilinguals, which brings along the problem of linguistic interference, code-switching or codemixing. Up to now these concepts have not yet been separated clearly in linguistic literature. Languages are stored in the same territory in the brain, but storing might be influenced by several factors, for instance the method or the starting point of second language acquisition (Navracsics, 2007). In terms of bilingualism researchers draw attention to the linguistic interference. As Bakk-Miklósi (2009) explains, it is a phenomenon where the bilingual

individual cannot isolate two structurally contrasted linguistic systems, therefore the two languages interfere. Cseresnyési (2004) gives a graphic example to this by Leslie Barrat when he refers to the difficulties of Hungarian–English bilinguals or language learners who are trying to identify the colours, *pink* and *purple* in these languages. Interference tends to be usually stronger in the case of dominant than in balanced bilingualism.

In M. Batári's (2008) opinion code-switching is generally considered to be a functional shift from one language to another, while code-mixing means a regular and sudden replacement of a language by another language (i.e. between codes) where replacement is continuous and not strategically planned. According to Thompson (2000) borrowing is based on the supposition that speakers use one dominant language which is "complemented" (2000, p. 178) by special elements of another language, while code-switching is rooted in the "one-speaker-one-language description of language behaviour" (2000, p. 178).

Code-mixing as a term is sometimes used at word-level (e.g. word or words of a certain sentence might be from another language) while code-switching often refers to the changing of the languages within a conversation either at word or sentence level; if Baker's (2011) concept is considered. This distinction is rooted on Poplack's definition from 1980 (Hoffmann, 1991), who makes a difference between intra-sentential (code-mixing) and intersentential (code-switching) alterations. He reduces the first to single lexical items within a sentence while by the second he means the use of whole tags or exclamations even across sentences.

The criteria of 'mixing' and 'moving' are not specified; therefore the definitions seem to remain ambiguous. This ambiguity often leads to the alternate use of the two terms. Taking a look at the sociolinguistic purposes of code-switching Baker (2011), finds the most obvious reasons in emphasizing a point in a conversation, substituting words due to a lexical gap, expressing a lacking concept in one language, reinforcing a request, clarifying a point in a conversation, injecting humour or excluding people from a conversation. Additionally, code-switching can also be an expression of identity, a sign of solidarity, therefore a useful communicative strategy (Bartha, 1999; Baker, 2011). According to another phrasing, code-switching applied indifferent situations is called 'situational code-switching' while changing languages according to different topics is called 'metaphorical code-switching' (Wardhaugh, 1995, p. 92).

Code-switching and code-mixing can be observed in educational situations as well, especially in a bi- or multilingual kindergarten. Whether it is used in a meaningful and

pedagogically justified way or in a confusing insert or embedding into another language as futile "sandwiching" (Djigunović & Nikolov, 2014) will be discussed in this work.

2.2.2 Early childhood bilingualism

2.2.2.1 Background theories

As our research definitely trends towards pre-school children, it is important to narrow our topic and concentrate on the bilingual-multilingual features of the very young age. Researchers should be aware of what theories are in the background of young children's language development. Here two of them will be discussed with the related pros and cons, fallacies and practice.

In 1959 Penfield and Roberts, then in 1967 Lenneberg (Navracsics, 1999) stated that there is an optimal age of language learning. The theory called Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) sets this time span between 21 months and 14 years in the human development. The researchers explained the presumably better chances for language acquisition at this life stage with biological reasons, i.e. the development process of the brain. They were convinced that after puberty our brain loses its plasticity and sensibility; thus, language acquisition could be successful neither before nor after this extent of time.

The term "critical period" is often used alternately, therefore confusedly, with another term, namely the "sensitive period". The latter, however, seems to be the result of recent research that, as Bartha (1999) points out, deal with the question in a more refined way. The sensitive period hypothesis broadens the starting time to the time of birth, or even before, to the pre-natal period and is more careful about the possibility of acquiring and learning a language.

Psychology and neurolinguistics seem to give a better explanation to the different terms. According to Gabel and Hunting's (2000) metaphor, "critical period" can be imagined as a "narrow window", while sensitive period as a "broad window" (2000, p. 2). Also upon the basis of their graphic phrasing, it may be concluded that in language learning "critical period" means a kind of restriction after which development cannot be possible (i.e. foreign languages cannot be learnt), while "sensitive period" only suggests that although there might be a specific time span that favours easier and faster language learning, the end of this period by no means coincides with the end of a successful language learning process.

Due to its controversial characteristics, CPH does not seem to be accepted unanimously. Singleton (Baker & Prys Jones, 1998), for instance, considers language acquisition and learning a life-long process whose certain domains (e.g. writing or reading skills) can and should be developed in adulthood as well. Hoffmann (1991), agreeing with Singleton, tends to find it exaggerated to think that language development has been finished in childhood. Comparing children's and adults' language learning she remarks that adults' language use is much more sophisticated and there are skills and techniques that can be practised especially well in adulthood (e.g. memorising, abstracting or classifying). Ellis (1994) also seems to support this idea, i.e. acquiring phonology is an especially age sensitive activity, while acquiring grammar is less sensitive to age. As a result, in this research Bartha's (1999) opinion may be shared, according to which childhood undoubtedly provides a favourable setting to acquire a language if, for instance, the ability of copying mimics and intonation or less controlled behaviour are considered. On top of it, the language acquisition process can be even more beneficial if all this is backed up with a playful educational approach.

Another widespread theory, the Thresholds Theory was formulated by Cummins, who supposed that

"there may be a threshold level of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain both in order to avoid cognitive deficits and allow potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to influence his cognitive functioning." (1976, p. 1)

It involves that in bilingual children's cognitive development there are two points: before the first threshold children get weaker, and after the second threshold they get better results than their peers in language and cognitive competences. It means that bilingual language development does not proceed smoothly ahead but the child has to reach two important plateaus which serve as milestones. To illustrate it, Baker (2011) uses a house-and-ladder metaphor where ladders are the languages and the house is the domain of knowledge. It graphically helps us to understand the characteristic features of the different levels (Figure 5):

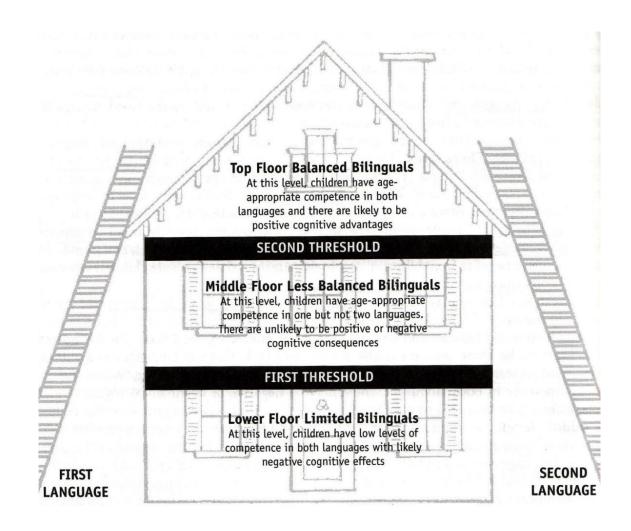


Figure 5. Cummins's Thresholds Theory (as cited in Baker, 2011, p. 168)

Although the hypothesis was proved by researchers, for example by Cummins (1976) himself, Göncz (1985) or Bialystok (1988), Baker (2011) draws our attention to some problematic issues, especially the starting points of the different levels: where does one end and where does the other begin? Additionally, the nature and level of language proficiency of children also need to be clarified.

2.2.2.2 Arguments for and against early start

There is still a lot of uncertainty around early childhood bi- and multilingualism as far as the relation between the starting age and efficacy is concerned. Two camps seem to have emerged: the ones who are for and the other ones who are against starting L2 at an early age.

(By "early" here pre-school and primary school age are meant; i.e. before the age of puberty.) The first group, using the supposed truth value of CPH (cf. 2.2.2.1), intend to prove the advantage of early start while the latter, referring especially to psychological reasons, want to show that learning a foreign language at an early age is unnecessary or even harmful. Neither group's position can be called easy as up to now there have been no solid (psycho)linguistic proofs either for or against.

Experienced researchers, due to lack of evidence, tend to avoid providing the public with black-and-white answers. Hoffmann (1991), instead of taking a firm position, draws the conclusion that both young and adult ages have advantages and disadvantages in respect of L2 learning. Although she seems to neglect the supposition that "children *per se* have better language learning abilities than adults" (1991, p. 35), she presumes that as far as "phonetic-auditory ability" (1991, p. 36) is concerned, adults may have a drawback in comparison with children. On the other hand, she finds that adults' cognitive and social skills are more developed, which results in faster and more effective language learning. Ellis (1994) also stresses the better understanding of vocabulary in adulthood and the mature cognitive skills. However, he is careful about drawing far-reaching consequences out of this, as in his opinion, it cannot guarantee a long-term success in the complex process of language learning.

In the current topic, a remarkable description can be read in Johnstone's (2002) study that takes the advantages of the different ages in language learning into account. In the following table (Figure 6) an overall picture of the benefits is made by completing them with the characteristic factors of language learning:

The advantage of learning L2 in				
childhood (vs. adulthood)			adulthood (vs. childhood)	
benefits +	factors		benefits +	factors
• easier acquisition of the sound system and intonation	phonetic- phonological factor		• better vocabulary acquisition due to previous concepts about the world in L1	linguistic and pragmatic factor
• less 'language anxiety'	psychological factor		• more experience in the discourse of conversations	pragmatic factor
more time available for learning	time factor		• more developed strategies for learning	educational factor
• better chance to establish productive links between L1 and L2	inter-lingual factor		• clearer objectives of language learning	motivational factor

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• wider range of acquisition processes (e.g. more intuition)	psycho-pedagogical factor	• conscious, analytical learning	educational factor
• positive influence on general educational development	pedagogical factor		
better chance to establish a multicultural/ inter- cultural identity	intra-/interpersonal factor		

Figure 6. The advantages of learning L2 in childhood and adulthood on the basis of Johnstone (2002)

Studying the above table it may be concluded that acquiring a language at an early age might be called "parallel" while learning it in adulthood might be labelled as "consecutive". The parallel characteristic of language acquisition is often attacked as it means that a child starts learning L2 before he/ she has confirmed his/ her mother tongue. M. Batári (2008) has collected the most usual counterarguments of early L2 learning which may be as follows:

- forgetting: children forget as fast as they learn, thus it makes no sense to put the burden of a new language on them
- low efficacy: e.g. forgetting it can be easily observed at the beginning of a school year
- obstacles in L1 acquisition: it is not worth starting to learn a foreign language until one is not aware of the basic vocabulary and grammatical structure of his/ her L1
- identity problems: children's own cultural identity will be hindered.

The arguments "against" can be completed by the opinion of Nikolov (2009), who points out that referring to CPH is useless in non-native educational context as language teachers cannot speak the target language at mother tongue level either. Whatever aspects you scrutinize the problem from, at one point the debates of "pros and cons" meet, asserts Nikolov (2009). It is the question of the speed of FL development. It may be added that while adolescents and adults can reach an impressive achievement within a relatively short time, young children's FL acquisition is limited to a very basic lexical repertoire indeed which can be easily caught up by older children in the primary school even if they had not learnt a foreign language previously.

Thought-provoking aspects are mentioned in the "against" camp by psychologists who are in fear of children's "stolen childhood". Among their argumentation the danger of the global consumer society, the developmental industry (i.e. the new key word in pedagogical psychology is "development"), and aggressive marketing appear. The myth of "the hurried child" (Vajda, 2009, p. 3) is flourishing and the demands towards young children are growing rapidly. Kolozsváry (Nyelvtanulás, 2008) also draws the attention to the risks of direct method language teaching in the kindergarten stating that children's sound analysing abilities are week and it is very difficult to improve sounds learnt in the wrong way at an early age.

An inspirational argument was initiated on the topic by Copland (2014), in the introductory debate at the latest IATEFL conference, who states that "Primary ELT does more harm than good". The remark is intentionally provocative and is supported by the speaker by several arguments, among which low English language command of primary school pupils, better chances for wealthier parents' children in ELT, lack of qualified primary school language teachers and missing instrumental motivation from children's side appear.

From the opposite end, the other participant of the debate, Enever (2014) puts methodology into the limelight. In her response, she refers to a recent study which seems to prove that those who start learning a foreign language earlier (in this case English in Germany) do possess better receptive skills by approximately 50%. She also argues for a higher number of languages learnt at primary level and sets Luxembourg, Belgium and Spain as an example. She firmly believes in further advances of early start and mentions better cognitive, communicative and social skills in the development of early starters. Among the decisive factors to improve the situation she emphasises the importance of well-trained teachers, the necessary resources and the appropriate classroom methodologies.

In the labyrinth of pros and cons, it is worth taking a closer look at the elaborated argumentation of Kovács (2009 b), who goes into details about pre-school language acquisition and provides us with the up-to-date fears and facts of language development at a very young age (Figure 7). In the table I call the preliminary fears 'fallacies'.

	Fallacies	Meaning	Comment
1.	The immaturity fallacy	Pre-school children are	Learning a foreign language is a
		immature for heavy mental	different activity for a child
		strains	(acquisition) and for an adult
			(learning). Therefore brain is not
			more burdened than in the case of
			acquiring L1.

2.	The L1 priority fallacy	First the mother tongue should	Our brain possesses an unlimited	
		be learnt perfectly	place for storing languages.	
			Languages do not exclude but	
			complete each other.	
3.	The uselessness fallacy	Early childhood language	It is true for every other activity	
		acquisition does not have	in early childhood (cf.	
		measurable benefits	mathematical). However, using	
			different codes support diversity	
			in thinking.	
4.	The deprivation fallacy	Foreign language learning takes	Language acquisition is never	
		away time from playing	separated but embedded in	
			activities (e.g. physical exercises	
			or singing) and connected with	
			senses. Therefore language	
			acquisition, with the suitable	
			methods, is an organic part of	
			playing.	
5.	The incompetent	There are not enough	Today in Hungary there are	
	professionals fallacy	professionals in this field	teacher training faculties which	
			train pre-school teachers with	
			foreign language specialisation.	

Figure 7. Fallacies of pre-school language acquisition on the basis of Kovács (2009 b)

Whether bilingual children have advantages over monolinguals is still a question. On the basis of worldwide research Baker (2007) declares that bilingual children are in a favourable position as far as flexibility, creativity and divergent thinking are concerned. They seem to be more sensitive to communication and they are much more able to concentrate on the meaning than the sound of a word: for them a similar word to 'cap' is 'hat', and not 'cat', which sounds more similar to 'cap'. Also, they tend to be much more inventive if they are asked about the use of a certain object. Baker (2007) is confirmed that the reason why bilingual children's intelligence was underestimated until the 1960s was due to the wrong assessment systems: the wrong language choice of IQ tests (they had to be filled in in the children's weaker language) or other "mitigating factors, of a sociolinguistic nature related to the learners' immigrant status" (Cenoz & Genesee 1998, p. 21). At the same time Baker does

not tell us whether the advantage might be considered temporary or it will accompany the children throughout their lives.

Another researcher, Diamond (2010) examines bilingualism from the part of infants and old people and finds that bilingualism has advantages at both ages. Infants can have cognitive benefits which may affect their life later, as bilingualism, based on "executive function" (2010, p. 332), advances to cope with different inputs: what children already know from possessing two languages (e.g. lexical flexibility) can be beneficial in other areas of life, especially in situations where one has to adapt to unpredictable situations or distracting stimuli have to be coped with. This latter function of the brain is called "executive function" (2010, p. 332) whose forming goes on in the prefrontal cortex which can be developed in the first 5 years of our lives. As far as old people are concerned, bilinguals' Alzheimer's symptoms appear 5 years later. Diamond makes a parallel between physical exercise's beneficial effects on body and mental exercise's positive effects on brain and mental diseases. The bilingual brain's best exercise is practising two languages as a bilingual continuously keeps himself/ herself asking: "Shall I think, speak, or interpret sounds spoken to me according to the arbitrary rules of language A, or language B?" (2010, p. 333).

As far as the 'quality' of bilingualism in terms of age is concerned, Navracsics (2008) cannot determine who can be regarded as better language learners: adults or children? She assumes that there are domains of language learning where children, and there are fields where adults may have better results: youngsters have advantages in phonetics and prosody of speech while adults are usually quicker at learning grammar and producing sentences and texts. At lexical level there is no age limit.

How age appears in language learning it is the best if a few recent examples from our field, i.e. early childhood, are taken into consideration. Lundberg (2007) gives an account of a study based on educational action research where a special stress was put on early start and target language use. Although Sweden often serves as a good example in language teaching and learning, in the article a significant gap is described between educational policy and school practice. The author concludes that very young children in pre-school can profit from language acquisition just as much as older students do at school. Two surprising facts are mentioned here: firstly, very young children can pick up language at an astonishing speed through songs and rhymes, and secondly, children cannot benefit linguistically as much from computer-related games as they had been expected to. What all teachers agree is the stimulating and very effective role of songs and the use of illustrative materials through total physical response (TPR) activities. These activities encourage children to use the target

language bravely, which will result in a relaxed and natural atmosphere that promotes communication. Basically, "effective planning" and "goal-setting" (2007, p. 28) are indispensable in early childhood language education and it is the task of pre- and in-service teacher training.

Szulc-Kurpaska (2007) reports about the experience of trainee teachers who, although they were studying to become lower primary class teachers, happened to be placed in a kindergarten during their internship in Poland. As their school subject was English, it was observed how they managed to cope with early language development in a very young age group. The illuminating study examines both failures and success in this special setting. Comparing lower primary classes with the kindergarten the most surprising phenomenon was "unpredictability" (2007, p. 37) both from behavioural and linguistic aspects. Discipline problems were very difficult to overcome and trainees had to work out their own techniques and strategies. They described the positive effects of movements, arts and craft activities, signals (that refers to the beginning of a new activity), illustrative materials, music, repetition and acting out. They emphasised children's involvement in the activities, which made management and learning smoother. One of the trainees made an especially noteworthy remark about discipline (2007, p. 39):

"I tried hard to maintain discipline in a school-like way. After some time, I learnt not to pay so much attention to the silence in the classroom. Moreover, I even understood that the more they speak and react the stimuli, the better. [...] I know they need this freedom of movement and if they don't pay attention, it does not necessarily mean they don't respect me."

It may be concluded that early childhood language development demands not only special techniques and methods but a particular approach to teaching profession as such. It is examined in a study by Bogucka (2007), who was trying to reveal the self-perception of early childhood educators. Although the study promises to examine the problem from the aspect of English teachers, quite a little is reported about their attitude to early childhood language development. Yet, some observations are worth noticing, for instance the ever-changing setting of teaching, which is called "liquid modernity" by Bauman (Bogucka, 2007, p. 47) or low social prestige. An interesting remark can also be cited about boredom in teaching: "If I am bored, my students will be bored. If they are bored, they will stop liking me. And because young children study for the teacher they will stop learning." (2007, p. 52) As far as second language acquisition is concerned, according to several teachers in the study "good teaching is

motivating" (2007, p. 51) and may give a special sense of satisfaction. Feedback from parents may confirm it, for example after a holiday abroad where children can use what they learnt in an English lesson. It is peculiar, however, that teachers do not seem to pay any attention to interculturality between L1 and L2. Although the topic became especially popular in the late 1990s and acknowledged researchers (Byram & Fleming, 1998; Pope, R., 1998; Andrews, 2000; Pulverness, 2000; Byram, 2000; Bredella, 2003) dealt with it, scientists seem to forget about its relevance at pre-school level. Even early childhood specialists prefer focussing on tangible materials, for instance course books analysis in connection with interculturalism (Vickov, 2007) than reveal the gist of intercultural education.

2.2.3 Language learning and language acquisition

It has been noticed how much language educational methods and approach contribute to the success of early language development. Here, a further distinction will be made between the features of language education on the basis of age characteristics.

Wolff (1998) determines the different levels and goals in multilingual education while emphasising the different features of learning and acquisition. In Wolff's model familiarising with foreign languages starts already in the kindergarten where children get to know songs and rhymes in L2. Systematic learning here does not play a role, while playful method does. In the lower classes of primary school there is an overlapping with the aims of the kindergarten, but acquisition will gradually be accompanied with conscious usage and learning of a foreign language. On the third stage, in the secondary school bilingual education is recommended with the method of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) where foreign language is the language of instruction in the case of school subjects. Language learning cannot finish at school; therefore a great emphasis should be put on vocational training as well. Wolff especially suggests learning the languages of neighbour countries and languages which are related linguistically.

On the basis of this brief introduction, it is crucial to emphasise that very young children do not learn but acquire L2, therefore "what" should sometimes be behind "how". What Kovács (2002) suggests at the pre-school age is a holistic pedagogical attitude where the pre-school programme is absolutely adjusted to children's age characteristics and the methods of L2 development does not differ much from those of L1 development. Although she mainly focuses on primary education, several key points are worth mentioning in the case

of the very young as well, for instance the harmony of language programmes with the overall educational goals, the development of social and communicative skills or the importance of shaping a positive attitude towards languages which may ground conscious language learning later.

The terms and the distinction of language learning and acquisition were introduced by Krashen (1981), who in his Natural Approach made a distinction of the types of language learning. His theory has been closely examined from the aspect of language pedagogy as well. Kovács (2009 a, 2014) gives a graphic summary of Krashen's distinction (Figure 8) which serves as a solid base for everyone who is involved in early childhood language development:

Aspects	Language acquisition	Language learning
Processing	unconscious	conscious
Goal	delivering the message	delivering knowledge on
		the language
Focus is on	the function	the form
It rewards	risk	accuracy, carefulness
Teacher's role	partner, co-communicator	checker, controller
Learner's role	senses rules	applies rules
Error correction	inhibiting	crucial
Communication	appears as a process	appears only as a goal
Way of learning	integrated	specific

Figure 8. Krashen's (1981) language acquisition and language learning distinction adapted from Kovács (2014)

Acquisition is often connected with the mother tongue and learning is with foreign languages. However, it is only partially true, as a second language can also be acquired, e.g. during travels in a foreign country and the mother tongue can also be learnt, e.g. if one has to learn the terminology of a profession. Why acquisition is important for us might be sought in its naturalness. This characteristic feature can and should be conveyed to early childhood language learning so that it could be real acquisition instead of learning. Therefore, L2 teaching methods should be very similar to those of mother tongue development.

In this way, mother tongue can support L2 learning (M. Batári, 2008) and mother tongue acquisition can be imitated in L2 acquisition, too. If a foreign language is not learnt

but acquired, the learner develops his/ her language command without conscious grammatical analysis. Additionally, complex structures and macro lexemes are acquired without any conscious effort. In early language development communication (characteristic of acquisition) is essential instead of following the rules (characteristic of learning).

2.2.4 Brief summary

Up to now the basic linguistic definitions and terms related to bilingualism and multilingualism have been discussed. The aim of the chapter was to give a linguistic theoretical framework to the empirical study. Findings show that there is common consensus neither on the definition of bilingualism nor on multilingualism, and code-switching and code-mixing also seem to be ambiguous. Background theories like Critical Period hypothesis and Thresholds Theory are widely used and argued in language educational literature. There are also still some debates on how early it is worth starting to learn an L2 and whether bilingual children have any advantages over monolinguals. Another crucial point at this stage is the distinction between language learning and acquisition as they are two terms which are either not used or not known. In the present research all of these issues should bear relevance as the setting is a multilingual kindergarten with a bilingual educational programme. Therefore, in spite of the common trend which uses bilingualism and multilingualism alternately, under these circumstances it is worth making a clear distinction between the two by applying them literally. Although the pros and cons of the age of language learning may address further questions, in this setting it is more important to deal with the educational profit as it is the major task of the kindergarten to make benefits out of this situation. From the linguistic precepts the focus of the next chapter will shift towards another aspect of the problem, i.e. the sociological elements.

2.3 Sociological elements

The scene of our research is a kindergarten in Hungary where children from different nations go to. With different nations different cultures encounter on the spot. Thus, in this work beyond a linguistic base a social aspect has to be taken into consideration as well. While the previous chapter dealt with language and its relations in bi- and multilingual setting, the key term of this part is 'culture' and its relations. Therefore terms like 'culture', 'multiculturalism' and 'interculturalism' will appear and it will be seen how culture in education emerges. The chapters on Culture in education (cf. 2.3.2) and Multilingual-multicultural schools (cf. 2.4.2) aim to draw attention to existing research findings at international level which can provide data comparable to research results in Pápa. Additionally, some classic examples of human behaviour will be discussed when one needs to adapt to a different culture from his or her own.

2.3.1 Basic terms and definitions

2.3.1.1 The concept of culture

The concept of culture has gone under changes during the centuries from an anthropological point of view. First, cultural anthropologists put the stress on the objects of exotic people which were displayed in museums. Later, culture was thought to be equal to customs and traditions and especially learnt behaviour. Then, interpretative anthropology noticed that culture was not embedded in the tangible objects. It has an underlying characteristic feature, a so-called "cultural knowledge" (Feischmidt, 1997, p. 18) which individuals share about the visible world. This knowledge can especially be recognised in the language. The main point of this trend was that it assumed a stable world with a neverchanging culture. On the other hand, one of the branches of cultural relativism, epistemological relativism realised that each culture is unique, therefore they cannot be compared.

Culture as a concept (Cohen, 1997) has undergone several paradigm shifts as well. It used to mean a decisive factor of behaviour developed by the given environment or technology. Then culture was regarded as a tool which integrated politics, economy and religion. Recently culture has gained a much wider meaning: it mirrors social interactions

where individuals are not only passive receivers but also active participants and aggregators of social processes. Critical culture research draws attention to the interlocking of culture and politics and deals with two types of culture, i.e. canonised and popular culture. In this way it finds important to show and analyse different cultures beside the mainstream culture Feischmidt (1997).

The relationship of culture, language and nation is also worth mentioning. Risager (Koyama, 2007) states that these three do not overlap absolutely as it was believed in the nationalist theories and they have to be examined in terms of linguistic and cultural "flows" (Koyama, 2007, p. 436), which means that these entities go beyond borders and are able to network with each other in the localities. These localities can be either regions, communities, homes and schools without distinct socio-cultural borderlines. As culture has a special role in the present research and education in general, it will be discussed in more details in the next chapter (cf. 2.3.2).

Additionally, culture is not a static phenomenon, but, according to Barth, its continuous changes and development have to be taken into consideration as well (Feischmidt, 1997, p. 16). The dominant discourse tends to take culture as a stable and solid phenomenon which is inherited from older generations and is passed on to the next ones (Byram *et al.*, n.d.). Opposite to this aspect, demotic discourse finds that culture is dynamic, ever-changing continuum where individuals have the right and will to make alterations and changes. Irzik & Irzik (2002) support the concept that culture is not static. They firmly believe that both culture and identity have the space and chance to develop or change as neither of them can be regarded as a "closed-off, homogeneous entity" (Irzik & Irzik 2002, p. 395). Today the term 'culture' is used as our common tradition, value and beliefs which are handed on from generation to generation. Thus, culture can be defined as the "practices, beliefs, values, symbols and traditions" (Byram *et al.*, n.d. p. 9.) of a society.

Obviously, the concept of multiculturalism is even more extended and complex. According to Parekh, "multiculturalism is about cultural diversity or the differences embedded in culture" (Rédei, 2007, p. 172). Referring to the characteristic features of "melting pot" and "mosaic or kaleidoscopic" societies, Rédei (2007) concludes that multiculturalism is a tendency which supports cohabitation and values of culturally, linguistically, identically and religiously different groups. Thus, multiculturalism can be regarded as a "meeting point" (Turner, 1997, p. 109) of national and ethnic cultures and their relations (technology, media and consumption). All forms of multicultural thinking are associated with activity where the stress is on change.

2.3.1.2 Multiculturalism as an ideology

Multiculturalism can be determined as "the politics of recognition" (Taylor, 1994, p. 25) where recognition means that one notices the same characteristics with others and these characteristics can be considered as results of cultures which are equal. Blum (1998), however, argues that it is only the obfuscation of the term. He insists that not the cultures but people should be considered equal as entire cultures cannot get this label. In spite of the antagonistic nature of the debate, Irzik & Irzik (2002) find it a fruitful dispute as it reveals the difference between the essence of products (culture in this case) and human beings.

Feischmidt (1997) points out that multiculturalism is a characteristic feature of late modernism which, in spite of early modernism's homogeneous strategies, puts heterogeneity into limelight. The key concepts of this discourse are culture, identity and politics which gain new meanings in a modernised context. In this way the basic levels of multiculturalism can be descriptive (where multiculturalism is manifested in different cultural and industrial objects), normative (which strives to create new norms) and critical (whose aim is to develop a more open and democratic common culture). According to these categories, multiculturalism in education belongs to the normative division the essence of which can be found in the mutual respect of each other's culture and in a curriculum which urges to get acquainted with different subcultures beside the traditional canon. Going on in this path, Raz (1997) declares that the aim of multiculturalism is to help communities to maintain their own different culture while he adds that multiculturalism is the result of a break in the society which may be the consequence of immigration or conquer. In all cases there is a pressure on the host cultures from the direction of the new culture(s).

Multiculturalism as an ideology is especially accepted in Canada and supposes that the member of the society wants to remain different in a unity. Fleras and Elliot (1997) point out that this theory does not contradict the national convergence and togetherness because it guarantees equal rank for each different custom and lifestyle in the society without subordination. In their opinion this type of multiculturalism (unity in the diversity) will result in developed self-esteem, annihilation of preconceptions and in an intercultural exchange. They also see that differences in race and cultures may facilitate tension and they emphasise that laissez faire methods may be useless to solve conflicts. It is multiculturalism that develops passive attitude into active practice where the individual does not suffer inactively in a situation but, with his/ her active participation they are trying to improve it to the point of national unity. Fleras and Elliot are convinced that this ideal setting will become reality if

members of the society are given equal treatment, protection against racial discrimination, equal opportunities and the right to preserve everybody's own cultural heritage.

Besides 'multiculturalism', the term 'interculturalism' often appears in literature. Sometimes the two terms are used alternately, especially in German-speaking countries. On the other hand, some researchers find it important to make a difference between the two notions. According to Clarke (as cited in Kitzinger, 2009 b) multiculturalism emphasizes inclusion and thus means the existence and interaction of many cultures within a common entity while interculturalism refers to the encounter between cultures without any long-term adjustment or change within any culture. What he considers a relevant difference between the two is that multiculturalism, unlike interculturalism, has both spatial and temporal aspects as it reflects a process. At the same time interculturalism is not a long-term process.

Both monolingualism and multilingualism can result in either interculturalism or multiculturalism. Komlósi & Knipf (2002) make a distinction between inter- and multiculturalism explaining that interculturalism is the core of the communication phenomena where different cultures are not entwined and do not converge into a synthesis while multicultural communication phenomena do not only appear but also work together organically and create an integrated and synthesised worldview. Therefore, interculturalism results in empiric experiences while multiculturalism in reflective experiences.

According to some other views (Byram *et al.*, n.d.), interculturalism includes four basic elements: 1. knowledge and skills where people apply their skills to get familiar with other people's beliefs, expectations and stereotypes, 2. behaviour where people can adapt to new situations, 3. attitudes and feelings which presupposes great empathy from the individual, and 4. action where all intentions and motives for change things better will become practical and will be applied in everyday interactions.

Interculturalism can be examined on a macro-societal level and be characterised by majority/ minority dualities where tension can often be noticed between major and minority cultures, especially in terms of values, language and traditions. In Bouchard's (2011) opinion interculturalism also favours interactions and initiatives within a community and interactions result in mutual adjustments and understanding. Interculturalism also aims the integration of cultures while engages a great number of people in special (social, economic, educational) dimensions. During the process of integration a common entity is born which brings along a new type of common culture and belonging. Bouchard also states that balance between "often-competing principles, values, and expectation" (2011, p. 461) must create the basis of interculturalism.

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2.3.1.3 The question of identity

Culture is often related to another notion, i.e. identity which serves as a core concept in multicultural-intercultural discourse, and also relevant in our present study as it will be scrutinised, for instance in parents' interviews (cf. 2.4). As far as identity is concerned, the definition of the Encyclopedia of Race and Ethnic Studies (Rédei, 2007) equals identity to belonging and self-consciousness, with the help of which, the individual recognises his/ her place and role in the given groups, moreover he/ she follows the characteristic patterns of these groups. "What I am" and "What I am not" are the basic questions along which the individual can find his/ her identity. In this categorisation "What I am" represents the (social, cultural, ethnic) values while the "What I am not" puts stress on the differences.

Although geographical location may influence culture and identity, in several modern states, especially in the Anglo-Saxon world, inhabitants historically face the culture of the host country and that of other emigrants as Tisdall (2000, para. 8) points out:

"[...] Britain in the final analysis is made up of the peoples who inhabit it. Once they were Celts, Romans, Angles, Normans and Saxons. Now they include many people of African and the Caribbean descent as well as Bengalis, Kurds, Sikhs, Indians, Turks and Greeks. This multicultural diversity has developed without any help [...]. And it will continue to evolve [...] Britain and 'Britishness' are, as always, a work in progress."

About identity (Hall, 1997) it is worth knowing that old identities are declining and new identities appear making the individual a less unified subject. It leads to an identity crisis which causes instability and uncertainty in the individual, and thus in the society as well. Symbolic interactionists state that identity evolves during the interaction of the ego and the society. The ego has to face the outside (cultural) world and its identity patterns. Identity is created due to this dynamic encounter.

Identity has gone over tremendous changes which are mostly due to the demolishment of political, cultural and linguistic barriers, the result of which can be observed in multilingualism, for instance. Rajagopalan (2001) refers to identity as a Protean feature after the Greek god of the seas, who were able to change his form according to different situations. Identity is characterised by "easy adaptability to changing circumstances" (2001, p. 25) and more flexible than fixed. Interfaces of cultures means interfaces of languages (cf. mono- and

multilingualism in modern societies) and the notion of mother-tongue or native speakerhood fall more into the area of political entities than into those of linguistic matters.

2.3.2 Culture in education

Culture and its related terms, especially multiculturalism, are highlighted in modern education. Pedagogical multiculturalism considers each culture equal and stresses mutual respect among cultures. According to Radtke (1997) it is a socio-romantic form of multiculturalism which underestimates material conflicts and gives culture a folkloric hue. In this "naive structure" (1997, p. 40) institutes, teachers and researchers tend to play a leading role as active professionals. Hamburger's determines three basic pillars of multicultural education: mutual tolerance, solidarity and a universal moral (Feischmidt, 1997).

Culture in education indeed has a very special place. Martin-Jones & Heller (1996) warn us that seemingly minor arrangements at school, for instance the organisation of a classroom and the structure of a lesson can influence on students' language use and cultural attitudes. The authors give an example of turn-taking which is an everyday practice in the classroom and only few notice its influence on children's behaviour and language use. Participants are covertly controlled about the contents and the form of their speaking.

Classroom interactions may even lead to deny one's own identity at the expense of other (majority) identity. Interactions are very often misinterpreted as well. Carbaugh in an interview (as cited in Berry, 2009) gives an example of it when he recalls his memories about one of his research activities in the USA. At the University of Montana native students were labelled as "uncooperative or incorrigible" (2009, p. 235), which is, according to Carbaugh, is a typical discourse in the States and a pure misunderstanding of native culture where being "uncooperative" is a sign of respect. On the other hand, native students have often been exposed to situations which, in their interpretation, made no sense. 'Invisible misunderstandings' (2009, p. 240) can also be discovered in language use where, although the speakers may share the same language, certain terms and vocabularies may have different connotations and it causes a gap in understanding.

A huge gap in language use was detected under US school circumstances by Heath (1982, 1983), who in her remarkable study reveals the relations of language and culture and, what can be considered even more important in this context: how they are manifested in education. Heath compares three communities, namely a black working-class, a white

working-class and a black and white middle-class community where different patterns of language use can be observed. Beyond the description of the language patterns, the author, using the methodological repertoire of a participant observer, goes further and analyses the relationship between school expectations and family customs through language use. The influence is two-directional: while the language use (rooted in family culture) creates considerable impact on school progress, the prevailing school norms (e.g. the expectation of giving one-dimensional answers to *what*-questions, and following a strict story-line) seem to absolutely neglect the cultural traditions of for instance, non-mainstream black children.

Michaels (1981) gives a similar account of her observation series conducted in an ethnically integrated first grade classroom in the United States. She witnessed young children during their 'sharing time' activity, which means a usual narrative process when children describe an interesting or important object or event in their lives in front of their peers and with their teacher's comments or questions. The action aims to prepare children for literacy. Michaels, the researcher carefully sets her own categories along which she is able to analyse this key situation at school. Among others, she puts intonation patterns, teacher's sharing schema and children's sharing style into focus. What she concludes shows great similarity with Heath's (1983) results, i.e. there is a serious mismatch between children's performances and school's expectations. Schools are simply not prepared to receive and develop children with different home values: home-based experiences conflict with school expectations to a great extent.

The reason why both of the studies mentioned (Michaels, 1981; Heath, 1983) can be called a breakthrough is that researchers, with their elaborated ethnographic methods, manage to go beyond the traditional labels, dig deeper and detect the very refined complexity of "culture", in this case by searching and finding coherence between culture, language and education. Their work must have been a triggering factor for the 1990s when culture gained a different meaning in language teaching, especially in ELT. According to Kramsch (1993, 2001) the shift in paradigm was due to a different approach where teaching culture tended to develop novel characteristic features, for instance involving "interculturality", "interpersonal process" and "crossing disciplinary boundaries" (1993, pp. 206-207).

Going on in the same path, Porto (2000) finds involving cultural features in language education especially important as cultural awareness, embedded in language teaching, may result in a special approach to communication and helps to create the appropriate communication strategies that can be applied in varied socio-cultural settings. Thus, learners' cognitive and social development is also guaranteed along the linguistic path. At the same

time, she sees that not every learner wants to undertake a new identity with a new language and its culture. In addition, learner's own identity can be fostered by widening it with new cultural roles.

As a basic tool of identity and culture is the language, Rédei (2007) also realises that the role of a common language cannot be neglected while discussing multiculturalism. She guesses that the spread of the English language made English-speaking countries (USA, Australia and Canada) especially popular among migrants.

Teaching culture in higher education has become a crucial issue as well. The question is "Which culture to teach?". Thanasoulas (2001) makes a difference between cultural facts, statistics and matter-of-fact information and cross-cultural psychology and anthropology while Serrano (2001) points out that there is a distorted shift in teaching between the culture of nations: for instance in English teaching the stress is on English (vs. e.g. Irish) culture, while in Spanish teaching the stress is on Spanish (vs. e.g. Latin American) culture. It is neither a linguistic nor an educational problem but the result of political attitude to these countries and nations.

2.3.3 Acculturation strategies

Acculturation comes into question when people leave their home and move to another place, often abroad. Therefore the term mostly refers to immigrants. With the encounter of the cultures, personal attitude (rooted in history, traditions and customs or outside circumstances) will determine how the individual adapts himself or herself to a new culture (Kitzinger, 2009 b). Among acculturation strategies, Rédei (2007) mentions two major classes: integration and assimilation, which seems to be a simplification of the phenomenon. It is better to turn to a more detailed and clarified analysis. The term, 'acculturation strategies' was first used by Berry (1997), who alternated his own previous term, 'acculturation attitudes' (Berry, 1980). Acculturation basically depends on two key factors: how the individual approaches his or her own culture and what his or her relation to the majority culture is like. On the combination of these factors the following pattern will emerge (Figure 9):

	High value on one's own culture	Rejecting one's own culture
	+	_
High value on		
majority culture	integration	assimilation
+		
Rejecting		
majority culture	segregation/	marginalization
_	separation	

Figure 9. Acculturation strategies on the basis of Berry (2008)

Integration (Kitzinger, 2009 b) is the process when immigrants manage to accept the majority culture while preserving their own. There is an ideal balance between immigrants' own culture and that of the receiving country. This balance, however, is fragile and there are usually anomalies either toward one's own culture or towards the culture of the majority. By integration Rédei (2007) means the adjustment and fusion of a small part into a large unit emphasising that in sociology it indicates the integration of the minorities into the majority society.

Integration (Feischmidt, 1997) at the same time is a bi-directional process which produces a new culture which is represented in the state, especially in state institutions and in education. However, in the private sphere there is still the opportunity of maintaining one's own culture. Integration (Fleras & Elliot, 1997) was initiated by liberal democratic societies whose aim was to cancel racist laws and segregation, for instance with the abolition of colour bars in schools (in Ontario it happened only in 1964). Integration, despite assimilation which will be discussed later in this chapter, is a dual-way process where a new unity is born from major and minor cultures and societies, for instance with the help of intermarriages and education.

When the individual cannot detach from his or her own culture and completely rejects majority culture, he/ she separates (Kitzinger, 2009 b). In this case the immigrant is not able to accept the values of the receiving country, which means a cutting away from the society he/ she lives in. It is a common phenomenon which could be called 'forced emigration' (2009, p. 27). It can be noticed in the cases where the individual does not leave his/ her homeland voluntarily. Separation and segregation complete each other as they are on the sides of the

same coin, states Wetzel (2011). While separation belongs to the strategies of ethnocultural groups, segregation refers to the strategy of the larger society (Berry, 2008). In segregation (Fleras & Elliot, 1997) the society is split into dominant and subordinate groups which live in social, cultural and legal divisions and where there is no transit between the two groups.

Rédei (2007) determines segregation as the detachment of social groups from the majority society. She uses the categorisation of de jure (legal) and de facto (practical) segregation. An example for the first can be the apartheid regime in South-Africa where segregation was legal. Another case is when segregation is not supported by the law, yet it exists, for instance in the southern states of the USA, where poverty, high unemployment rate and discrimination hinder the settlement of Afro-American population. What is interesting here is the fact that segregation remained even when Afro-Americans immigrated to the northern cities and lived in the impoverished ghettos. Therefore, segregation might influence the image of the cities and the landscape as well.

In conclusion, segregation (Feischmidt, 1997) is a detaching tendency which is usually supported by certain political groups and its major element is inequality. The problem of segregation is still alive. One of the solutions could be if citizenship were given according to territorial principles and not with "ties of blood" (1997, p. 14).

Reasons for separation can be various, e.g. war, revolution or economic difficulties. Similar reasons can be noticed in connection with assimilation (Kitzinger, 2009 b), too, but individual reaction is just the opposite of the reaction in the case of separation: the individual tries to exclude the country left behind. At the same time, assimilation may be the result of fear: parents want their children to grow up in a new world forgetting their parents' roots, traditions and culture.

It was Gordon, who elaborated the concept of assimilation in 1964. According to his often cited work, *Assimilation in American Life: the Role of Race, Religion, and Natural Origins*, assimilation is influenced by seven factors (Rédei, 2007): 1. acculturation (adoption of language, customs, values and norms), 2. structural assimilation (minorities participation in local groups), 3. marital assimilation (intermarriage), 4. identification assimilation (exclusive bond to the host society and its culture), 5. attitude reception (absence of prejudice), 6. behaviour reception (absence of discrimination), 7. civic assimilation (absence of power struggles). Assimilation as a process has been finished if all these conditions are fulfilled. During assimilation the individual or the group partially or entirely lose their own language, customs, and values while take over those of the host society. Despite multiculturalism in which diversity is a value which is worth maintaining, assimilation is based on homogeneity.

Gordon differentiates two types of assimilation: cultural and structural (Feischmidt, 1997) where the first one involves the assimilation into the lifestyle of the majority culture, while the latter refers to the assimilation into the hosting country's (legal, social and educational) institutions. Assimilation (Fleras & Elliot, 1997) is also a historical phenomenon where the aim is to meld minority into the mainstream society and it reflects the superiority of the West. In some places it was going in an openly racist form, while more refined tools can be noticed in the policy of state in the area of schools (education) and church (religion).

Marginalization (Kitzinger, 2009 b) is a relatively rare and the most problematic phenomenon. It might happen especially under circumstances where religious and cultural differences are considerable. In this case individual excludes him- or herself from both cultures: he/ she lives his/ her life as a rootless, rebellious, self-destroying alien. Marginalised children, while rejecting their parents' culture, cannot completely accept the culture of the host country either. They often find themselves on the margin of the society.

In his noteworthy article Chambers (2010), also on the basis of Berry's (2008) spreading concepts relates the acculturation strategies to Hungary. He makes a comparison of Canada's, the USA's and Hungary's migration policy and arrives at a conclusion that Hungary is painfully delayed in passing a migration law; which would naturally, have an impact on education, work and everyday life of both the lives of the migrants and Hungarians'. He warns Hungarians that they cannot avoid the modern flows of migration and gives a graphic example of American and European nations who have already faced challenges, and chose from among different alternatives. Although he tends to draw some haphazard conclusions (for instance about the Czech student who feels uncomfortable in Hungary) and uses an imprecise term ("Carpathian plains") (2010, p.113), his advice about a proper law would be more than desirable to follow.

If a closer look is taken at acculturation strategies, it is not difficult to see that whole societies and political systems are built on them. Just to mention the two most obvious: Canada is often represented with the metaphor of the "mosaic", while the USA is the home of a "melting pot" (Fleras & Elliot, 1997). Victoria Hayward, a writer shows the cultural changes of the Canadian prairies as a "mosaic" as early as the 1920s in a very graphic picture (Day, 2000):

"New Canadians, representing many lands and widely separated sections of Old Europe, have contributed to the Prairie Provinces a variety in the way of Church Architecture. Cupolas and domes distinctly Eastern, almost Turkish, startle one above the tops of Manitoba maples or the

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bush of the river banks. These architectural figures of the landscape, apart altogether of their religious significance, are centers where, crossing the threshold on Sundays, one has the opportunity of hearing Swedish music, or the rich, deep chanting of the Russian responses; and of viewing at close hand the artistry that goes to make up the interior appointments of these churches transplanted from the East to the West... It is indeed a mosaic of vast dimensions and great breadth, essayed of the Prairie."

There is a sharp contrast between "mosaic" and "melting pot" where the first concept stresses the cohabitation and cooperation of diverse groups and the latter expects the immigrants and minorities to give up their own cultural identity and assimilate into the mainstream culture (Fleras & Elliot, 1997). The two acculturation strategies affect the language policies of the states as well. Although at the beginning of the nation diversity was a highly valued trait of US society, by the late 19th century an "English-only, standard-English-preferred policy was institutionalised though not legalized", as Heath and Mandabach point out (Phillipson, 1992, p. 21). It is the reason why the following situation could be highlighted by Pfeiffer (Phillipson, 1992, pp. 21-22): "Navajo children are taught in a foreign language: they are taught concepts which are foreign, [...] values that are foreign, [...] lifestyles which are foreign and they are taught by human models which are foreign".

2.3.4 Brief summary

This chapter gave some relevant definitions and explanations for the most important sociological elements. Therefore, the term 'culture' and its relations like multiculturalism, interculturalism and identity came into limelight. The aim of this chapter was to show their relevance in educational situations as well. Findings show that, that just like in the case of linguistic terms (cf. 2.2.1), there are no ready-made definitions for cultural terms and phenomena. Additionally, there is still a gap in teaching culture and multiculturality, especially in Hungarian education. With this drawback, the kindergarten teachers in Pápa have to establish a new type of institution in Hungary, where different languages and cultures play an important role. The matrix of acculturation strategies will serve as a useful device for the educational staff to identify the theoretical background and handle the different multicultural aspects in the present research field. From now the secondary research will concentrate on the actual setting and get closer to language pedagogical problems in the following chapter.

2.4 Language pedagogical problems

Having laid down the linguistic and sociological foundations of our research the study will continue with the third pillar, i.e. the pedagogical aspect. To see and understand the present research setting better, different types of bilingual schools in the world must be familiarised with. Afterwards, a classic typology will be accompanied with modern illustrations from up-to-date literature which serves as a solid background to our unique environment, curriculum and its realisation. As education at kindergarten level presupposes appropriate teacher training as well, at the end of the chapter the focus will shift towards kindergarten teacher training where multilingual-multicultural education plays an important role.

2.4.1 Typology of bilingual schools

Bilingual education appeared in the 1960s when demographic changes urged its existence in schools on state levels. In Europe, Busch (2011) differentiates two shifts of bi- or multilingual research: the first one stemmed from shaking monolingual hegemony in excolonial states in the 1960s while the second one can be dated from the 1990s when an enormous flow of people was generated by the altered geopolitical situation of the European continent. In America, Hakuta & Garcia (1989) see its reasons in the migration of families from Spanish-speaking territories in the USA. In their basic work on the topic, Bilingualism and Education they question the definitions of bilingualism which focus only on the linguistic side of the phenomenon. They cannot accept that bilingualism means simply "the usage of two languages in instruction" (1989, p. 374). As it will be seen later in the research, bilingualism or multilingualism is a very complex issue which cannot be narrowed into pure linguistic borders. At this point Hakuta's & Garcia's (1989) pioneering recognition forwarded later research into social and cultural contexts, beyond the analysis of linguistic structures. Moreover, modern researchers (Baker, 2000; Kovács, 2008; García, 2009; Busch, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2011), while shifting from psycholinguistic aspects to socio-linguistic questions, also added a language educational value to their work.

By the turn of the century bilingual schools have mushroomed to such an extent that it was time to produce typologies in order to see bilingual educational programmes clearly. Although different aspects and subjective points are usually added to these typologies, I was

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trying to find one that can explain well the characteristics of the bilingual features of the kindergarten where I was doing my research and found Baker's (2000) division especially useful (Figure 10).

What first meets the eye is the two different forms, i.e. "weak" and "strong" forms of bilingual education. The distinction lies between the aims: while in weak forms the outcome will be monolingualism or limited bilingualism, strong forms concentrate on bilingual and biliterate outcome. Beyond linguistic aims, weak forms are called "assimilationist" by Baker (2000, p. 93) where the target language and culture will make an impact on the individual and strong form will maintain "cultural pluralism and multiculturalism" (2000, p. 94).

Тур	e of Program	Typical Type of Child	Language of the Classroom	Societal and Educational Aim	Aim in Language Outcome
1.	Submersion (Structured Immersion)	Language Minority	Majority Language	Assimilation	Monolingualism
2.	Submersion (Withdrawal Classes/Sheltered English)	Language Minority	Majority Language with 'pull-out' L2 lessons	Assimilation	Monolingualism
3.	Segregationist	Language Minority	Minority Language (forced, no choice)	Apartheid	Monolingualism
4.	Transitional	Language Minority	Moves from minority to majority language	Assimilation	Relative Monolingualism
5.	Mainstream with Foreign Language Teaching	Language Majority	Majority Language with L2/FL lessons	Limited Enrichment	Limited Bilingualism
6.	Separatist	Language Minority	Minority Language (out of choice)	Detachment/ Autonomy	Limited Bilingualism
B. S	Strong Forms of Edu	cation for Bilingua	alism and Biliteracy	1	
	e of Program	Typical Type of Child	Language of the Classroom	Societal and Educational Aim	Aim in Language Outcome
7.	Immersion	Language Majority	Bilingual with initial emphasis on L2	Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism and Biliteracy
8.	Maintenance/ Heritage Language	Language Minority	Bilingual with emphasis on L1	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism and Biliteracy
9.	Two-Way/ Dual Language	Mixed Language Minority and Majority	Minority and Majority	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism and Biliteracy
10.	Mainstream Bilingual	Language Majority	Two Majority Languages	Maintenance, Pluralism and Enrichment	Bilingualism and Biliteracy

Figure 10. The ten major styles of bilingual education by Baker (2000, p. 93)

As the present subject matter is bi- and multilingual education, here I will focus only on the strong forms:

1. Immersion bilingual education originated in Canada and involves schools where children from a language majority (e.g. English children in Canada) are instructed in a minority language (e.g. in French in Canada). It means an initial emphasis of L2 and gradually, L1 also appears both as a subject and as the language of instruction. Depending on the quantity of the language of instruction the programme can be divided into "total immersion and partial immersion programmes" (Richards *et al.*, 1992, p. 174). Another distinction can be made according to the age of children. Therefore researchers mention "early, delayed/ middle and late immersion" (Vámos, 2008, p. 29). Benson (2009) stresses that immersion programmes can be especially advantageous in the case of children of bilingual families where parents can help their children to become bilingual and biliterate. Yet, it might be successful with familial monolingual children as well, as the programme follows L2 teaching methods. At the same time it would be a mistake to think that L1 one is absolutely hidden. Immersion schools highly reckon on parents who support L1 acquisition at home (Genesee, 1987). The advantage of home support will be justified in the present research, too.

Before going on to the other types, it is worth making a detour to submersion education as it is often confused with immersion bilingual education. The gist of this type is mirrored in its usual name, i.e. 'sink or swim' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990, p. 13), which refers to the fact that it is an assimilation programme (Figure 8) where language minority children are given instructions exclusively in L2. It is important to notice that children in this approach are not at all given the opportunity to choose among languages and there is a great chance that children do not understand the language of the school (Benson, 2009). It can easily be seen that this method lacks every form of L1 support; therefore children might suffer not only from language but also from culture shock which hinders both their linguistic and social development.

2. The aim of maintenance/ heritage language bilingual education is to protect and develop a community's original language which usually means an ethnic or minority language. As L1 serves as the language of instruction and L2 is taught as a foreign or second language, full bilingualism can be achieved with this method. A series of examples can be mentioned in America (Navajo or Hawai'ian languages), in Australia (Aboriginal languages), in New Zealand (Māori) and also in Europe (Irish, Maltese and Catalan languages). This type of education is a relevant field in early childhood language acquisition: the success of a Māori

full-immersion pre-school programme, the "language nest" (Baker, 2011, p. 233) justified the necessity of L1 in the kindergarten.

- 3. Two-Way/ Dual Language bilingual education uses two languages as the language of instruction where the rate of majority and minority children permits it, i.e. their percentage is approximately 50%-50%. The programme started in the early 1960s with Cuban immigrants to Florida and it also aims bilingualism and biculturalism. The latter is the core of the programme as according to the mission of the schools equality in the education and in the society should be given to all children. The two languages are also given equal status, and ideally, equal amount of time. Language boundaries, however, are strict in these schools, which means that bilingual teachers are employed and the 'one-person-one language' principle is followed. The latter is based on the different persons and their linguistic abilities and skills that are applied parallel in bilingual classes (Busch, 2011). Problems may arise when the rate of students is not equal, or when not enough bilingual teachers are available. Dual language schools can easily be connected with peace missions where bilingual education can be used as a tool of reconciliation, for instance in war-torn or unpeaceful areas, like the countries of former Yugoslavia or Israel.
- 4. Mainstream Bilingual education in its aims is very similar to dual language education. The most important difference between the two is that while in the previous form there are no criteria which languages to use, in mainstream bilingual education two majority languages are applied. Baker (2011) differentiates two main reasons for mainstream bilingual education. In the first case the majority is already bilingual (e.g. in Singapore or Luxembourg), while in the second case the population wants to be bilingual, i.e. they learn a foreign language in order to use it in their later life or career. In both cases two majority languages are the languages of instruction and several subjects are taught through both languages. Under this heading the following educational types may fit 1. Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), which integrates language learning and learning with the help of another language, 2. International Schools where one of the languages of the school is usually the English language, and 3. European Schools which form a network of Europeans, mostly from those who work in the bureaus of the European Union (Baetens Beardsmore, 1993; Vámos, 2008; Schola Europaea, n.d.).

As far as Hungary is concerned, the above typology should be dealt with care as the history of language teaching is fairly different from that of the Western world. How foreign languages were taught in Hungary and how the different languages and methods alternated with each other in different historical eras is beyond the focal point of our present study. Yet,

it is important to know that the political changes brought significant changes in foreign language teaching, thus, in bi- and multilingual education as well. While the 1990s seemed to favour establishing bilingual schools and launching Content and Language Integrated Learning (Bognár, 2005; Vámos, 2008a, b), Hungary's accession to the European Union in 2004 set further priorities into limelight like linguistic diversity, early start and language learning in secondary and higher education (Promoting, 2004). Although a lot has been done in the above mentioned areas, Hungary still faces challenges in receiving migrant children because, as Vámos (2008 a) points out, the country does not have an official migration policy and it makes a heavy impact on multilingual-multicultural education. Schools receiving foreign pupils have to work out their own programme as it will be revealed in the related chapter (cf. 2.5.3) about migratory education in our country.

Terms on typologies, however, do not seem to be consistent. Skutnabb-Kangas (1990) examines bilingual programmes from the aspect of language rights which will be discussed later (cf. 2.5), while García (2009) applies a different frame from Baker's arguing for the term "type" instead of "model" criticising Hornberger's (1991) concept explaining that her own approach carries more pragmatic values than her predecessor's. She also creates new terms using "monoglossic' and 'heteroglossic' instead of 'monolingual' and 'bilingual', but from our aspect it is more important that she also introduces new concepts as well. One of them is the "subtractive" and "additive" features (García, 2009, p. 116) of bilingual education. Although these terms must be familiar by now from our linguistic overview (cf. 2.2), it is worth noticing how García applies them to education. She makes this distinction according to the language of instruction in education and serves with two formulas which summarise the gist of her ideas. Here the formula

$$L1 + L2 - L1 \rightarrow L2$$

shows how the language of education (L2) displaces children's mother tongue (L1) with which they appear at school (subtractive) and

$$L1 + L2 = L1 + L2$$

justifies that using two languages in education will result in bilingual outcome (additive).

Similarly, recursive and dynamic theoretical frameworks may also be considered to be important in García's study. Recursive in educational context supposes complex (vs. static)

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bilingualism where using two languages is not a goal but a device and where the two languages are added to and support each other (Figure 11):



Figure 11. García's Recursive Bilingual education Theoretical Framework 1.

(García, 2009, p. 118)

Dynamic, on the other hand, cannot be considered to be the "opposite" of recursive framework, but this has other, more subtle features. In this model languages (not necessarily only two) interface in a flexible way completing and supporting each other with different cultural elements as well. Thus, a very vivid coexistence of languages and cultures can be noticed (Figure 12):



Figure 12. García's Recursive Bilingual education Theoretical Framework 2. (García, 2009, p. 119)

Understanding the gist of recursive and dynamic theoretical framework it can be concluded that in Pápa the dynamic model can be witnessed which is an up-to-date and fruitful manifestation of multilingual education. Additionally, it can be emphasised that bi- or multilingualism cannot be observed only from a narrowed linguistic point, but also cultural and social entities must be taken into consideration.

At this point modern pedagogical considerations have to be added to our discussion. Varga (2006) shows the place of multilingual-multicultural education as a part of inclusive educational system. She sees clearly how the term "inclusive" was extended first in Britain, then gradually all around the world from the education of socially disadvantaged children to linguistically and culturally different children. The collected criteria of multicultural education can serve as our guidelines in our examination of the multicultural kindergarten of Pápa, Hungary. She outlines seven basic elements of multicultural education which are the principles of

- 1. flexibility
- 2. simultaneous parallel interactions
- 3. positive interdependence
- 4. equal participation
- 5. individual responsibility
- 6. continuous cooperative publicity
- 7. intently developed personal and social competences.

In the present research attention will be paid to each of them from the aspect of the actors of multilingual-multicultural education.

2.4.2 Multilingual-multicultural schools

Having scrutinised the most relevant typologies of bilingual education the spotlight will now fall on modern trends and good practice. Kenner and Hickey (2008) seem to be convinced that learning different languages and learning through these languages leads to advantages in cognitive skills and support the shaping of multilingual identity. Moreover, it fosters the understanding of other cultures. As Kitzinger remarks (2013) their aim can be accepted when they state that showing good examples with the help of creative and innovative practice it is possible to motivate schools, communities and the whole society to develop multilingual skills and the teachers' pedagogical repertoire.

One of the basic questions in multicultural education is identity. A great number of researchers have recognised it and some of them do noteworthy investigations into the topic. Related studies introduce multilingual places like the Dutch Utrecht (Nortier, 2008 a), the English Sheffield (Ferguson, 2008), the Spanish Barcelona (Carrasco, 2008) or a Tamil diaspora in the UK (Pillai & Anderson, 2008). These reviews make us familiar with the migration history of the given community and the associated economic and social changes that triggered relevant shifts in education from traditional monolingual schooling to multilingual-multicultural education. Instead of stereotypes the authors give data based analyses of the actual situation not hiding real problems and the chances of solutions either. For instance, the town of Utrecht (Nortier, 2008 a) has introduced intercultural policy which involves a bidirectional process: it has impact both on the local population and on the immigrants as well. In the frame of this policy the annual Tolerance Awards is presented and a 'Cultural Sunday' has been introduced where locals and immigrants may meet on different

cultural occasions, like exhibitions or presentations. It is important to add that official educational policy is extended only to Dutch–English bilingualism, but there are initiatives to launch other bilingual programmes, e.g. besides the official language of the Netherlands, Moroccan children can learn school subjects in their mother tongue as well. It obviously opens up new spaces to multilingualism in the school.

Creating and maintaining identity can be done effectively through artistic activities, like bilingual theatre plays as it is a practice in a Bosnian community in London (Mehmedbegovic, 2008), and the youngest generation can be motivated with the help of modern technology. However original and promising these initiatives may be, they are not exempt from failures either. Ali (2008) in his study gives an account of an action where a photographer from London organised a photo exhibition for Greek and Turkish Cypriot children in Cyprus. Due to political pressure the exhibition had to be closed earlier than planned. It suggests for us that politics is able to intervene and create enemy-labelling even in places where people with different languages, cultures and religions could live their lives without conflicts.

The results and effects of multilingual-multicultural education are based on the community where this type of education is going on. Therefore, it is a crucial point to investigate how home, school and community relate to each other in special multicultural settings. Studies focus on the importance of intergenerational learning in Bengali communities in East London (Kenner *et al.*, 2008), on cooperation among schools in the Netherlands and France (Nortier, 2008b; Hélot, 2008), and preschools in Sweden (Axelsson, 2008). It can noticed that besides mainstream schools, complementary education also plays its part in linguistic-cultural activities e.g. in Chinese and Portuguese community schools in London (Barradas & Chen, 2008) and it is worth emphasising the necessity of parent-teacher partnership as a key element (Young & Hélot, 2008).

In Europe, the European Union offers valuable contribution to school projects. Hélot's (2008) review gives details about a Comenius-project called Only Connect which was launched in Greece, France, Spain and the UK at the same time in order to get to know each other's cultural heritage through children's literature works. To break down language barriers, teacher trainees, who translate the given works, are at disposal. By this, several target groups can have an insight into a lesser known segment of European culture. Up to now thirty books have been translated and read in the participating schools (Figure 13).



Figure 13. The products of the Only Connect project (Hélot, 2008; p. 79)

Axelsson (2008) examines a Swedish pre-school where in big cities like Stockholm, Göteborg or Malmö it may easily happen that in the outskirts even whole kindergartens are multicultural. The study reveals that according to a law from 1977 in Sweden if at least five children of the same nationality go to the same kindergarten, the kindergarten is obliged to provide them with mother tongue education. It is interesting, however, that the law does not refer to Sweden's own minorities, namely Sami, Finnish or Meänkieli as they, disregarding their number, are automatically entitled to receive mother tongue education. Axelsson in her research aims to show how kindergarteners adjust to the language use in the kindergarten and at home. The relevance of her study is shown in the fact that during her investigation some hidden circumstances that had retarded mother tongue acquisition came into limelight. On the basis of this research teachers and education professionals were able to improve the situation, e.g. with a greater involvement of parents and wider availability of L1 books.

Actors of multilingual-multicultural education can do a lot not only on micro level in their own environment, but also on a higher level, i.e. on the level of policy making. Therefore multicultural education requires special strategies along which effective and beneficial practice can be evolved. On official level schools are the core and basic triggering factors of pedagogical development, therefore it is important to see how they work and what they do in the area of multiculturalism. In this topic, studies deal with the needs of primary school children in Luxembourg (Portante & Max, 2008), secondary school children who learn both Arabic and Hebrew (Mor-Sommerfeld, 2008), and pre-school children's requirements in South London (Gómez, 2008) and Ireland (Hickey, 2008). Additionally, systems and policies are examined from several aspects (Ashton, 2008; Kirsch, 2008; Yagmur, 2008).

In Hickey and Portante's opinion "even young children become aware of the lower status accorded to their minority language" (2008; p. 121). Therefore, Hickey (2008) finds it useful that in Ireland already very young children should get acquainted with their national language; in the shadow of a world language. The presence of the Irish language, which became one of the official languages in the EU in 2007, means a special challenge as its usage is not unified, i.e. there are people who use it as L1 and others as L2. Paradoxically, children whose L1 is Irish are in a disadvantageous situation as their language level is not properly developed in the kindergarten where Irish is mostly taught as a foreign language. The conclusion is that different pedagogical approaches are needed for the different groups of speakers in order to gain useable language command already in early childhood.

In Europe, multilingual education is supported by the European Union, whose language educational policy is manifested in different language learning projects just as well as its basic principle, "mother tongue plus two", which means the acquisition of two foreign languages beside one's mother tongue. Among the different projects VALEUR expresses the precept which can be considered a useful educational and cultural ideology, i.e. it should be seen that each language has its own values, whether it is spoken by the majority or minority of a state, therefore each of them should be supported (McPake, 2008). According to this, it is promising that the United Kingdom, in its new language strategy, overtly supports early childhood language acquisition, not only in the area of mother tongues, but also in the case of foreign languages (King, 2008).

In Hungary it may be observed that there are more and more chances for the youngest language learners to develop their language competence. Within the frame of the so-called World–Language Programme a special DVD was issued which aims to present the available best practices in early childhood English and German language education. The contents range from holistic language acquisition through environmental education in a foreign language to theme-centred language acquisition in the kindergarten ("Jó gyakorlat", 2009).

2.4.3 Teacher training aspects

The basis of effective multilingual-multicultural education at school is the related teacher training. Similarly to bilingual education typologies multicultural teacher education (MTE) can also fall into different categories from among which a modern division will be

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shown here. Gorski (2009), on the basis of conservative, liberal and critical multiculturalism offers an extended version that connects the previous labels with MTE (Figure 14):

	Approaches	Objectives
Traditional	by Gorski	
Conservative	I. Teaching the "Other"	To prepare teachers to work effectively with a
		diverse student population by studying the
		cultures, values, lifestyles, and worldviews of
		individual identity groups and how to
		assimilate them into the education system
Liberal	II. Teaching with Cultural Sensitivity	To prepare teachers to tolerate differences and
	and Tolerance	to be aware of and sensitive to diversity,
		particularly through an examination of
		personal biases and prejudices
	III. Teaching with Multicultural	To equip teachers with practical skills
	Competence	necessary to implement multicultural
		curricular and pedagogical strategies, enabling
		them to meet the diverse learning needs of
		students
Critical	IV. Teaching in Socio-political Context	To engage teachers in a critical examination of
		the systematic influences of power,
		oppression, dominance, inequity, and injustice
		on schooling, from their own practice to
		institutional and federal education policy
	V. Teaching as Resistance and	To prepare teachers to be change agents
	Counter-Hegemonic Practice	through the sort of critical examination
		described under "teaching in Socio-political
		Context" and through studying strategies for,
		and engaging in, counter-hegemonic teaching
		and social activism

Figure 14. Approaches to multicultural teacher education based on Gorski (Gorski, 2009; p. 312)

Although the original table contains more elements (e.g. Contextualising frameworks and Course organisation) for our research the most important is to see the approaches and their objectives in teacher training. The categories are sharply divided but while examining the educational strategies of the kindergarten in Pápa, it will be realised that they cannot be

separated as easily as it has been done for the sake of theoretic identification. The categories will overlap and for good reasons. The problem of putting the theory into practice often arises in MTE as it has been noticed by Schoorman & Bogotch according to whom it is worth working harder "to integrate valuable theory of multicultural education with the practical realities of teachers and administrators" (2010, p. 1047). Besides revisiting theory in order to make it applicable they also urge to extend multicultural education in teacher training in general instead of leaving it in a confined state as if it were the matter of each school separately.

Multilingualism and multiculturalism, as Ziegler (2013) clearly recognises in her recent study means new tasks not only in school education but also in teacher training. She suggests leaving behind the traditional method of teaching languages "one after another" (2013; p. 2) by creating a more multicultural setting to language learning. Obviously, it is impossible to do it without changes in teacher training, which is a very complex issue. First of all, both teachers and stakeholders should be involved in the identification of demands and strategies. As language teachers are in a key position regarding multicultural education, their curriculum should be changed above all. Language teachers' central position is supported by the assumption that language teachers are those who, besides the actual teaching of a language, are expected to deal with the cultural, political and historical background of the target language. If this theory is accepted, it may be concluded that language educators are those who use a language with a double function, i.e. as a possible outcome of language studies and also as a tool for cultural and social understanding in a given society. From this point it is easy to see that in order to make an achievement in language teacher education, it is essential to know what topics teachers find relevant in a new type of education, where multiculturalism is a central issue of the teaching routine. The diagram underneath (Figure 15) shows the result of the survey about the important themes of language teacher education according to the priorities of the interviewed teachers:

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Rating of themes, relevant for language teacher education (6,0 highest rank, 1,0 lowest rank)

Item W3: In-service training for language teachers (language comptence) Item C5: Development of intercultura competence in language teacher education Item W5: Multilingual teacher education and diversity integration Item W2: Common Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFRL) in evaluation Item W10: Intercultural competence language learners and how to train it Item W4: European Portfolio for Student Teachers of Languages (EPOSTL) Item C3: Designing/implementing initial teacher education on multilingualism Item W1: The European Language Portfolio (ELP) and multilingual society Item C6: Strategic Context for Language Teacher Education 4.39 Item W16: Information/Communication Technologies (ICT) in language teacher. Item C4: Elaboration and implementation of plurilingual curricula Item W9: Criteria for comparison of language teacher education in Europe Item C2: Common European evaluation framework for language teachers Item W11: Specificities of multilingual and multicultural teaching Item C1: Problems/solution for mobility of language teachers in EU Item W12: Language teaching in the development of European Values Item W6: Profile of language teachers in early 4.04 education Item W8: Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) 3.97 Item W14: Online support websites: A policy implementation tool 3.83 Item W15: Virtual/non-virtual mobility in language teacher training
Item W7: Economic value of language teaching 3.82 and learning Item W13: Modularity in language teacher training

Figure 15. Rating of important topics in multicultural teacher education (Ziegler, 2013; p. 22)

If a closer look is taken at the first six most important topics, it can be stated that, although the most relevant theme is a general one (training for better language competence), the need for intercultural and multicultural education is a hot issue in modern European language teaching. It is, however, surprising that early language development, among others, has been regarded as a priority of language learning for a decade in the European Union (cf. *Action plan on language learning and linguistic diversity, 2003)*, yet it does not appear on this list by Ziegler (2013), which can be the gap of the survey from our research point. It shows the underrepresentation of this segment of education, which should be corrected as multiculturalism does appear with families with young children, thus in pre-school education as well.

Another thought-provoking result of the previous study (Ziegler, 2013) is the point of the identity of language teachers who, before finding and creating their professional approach to multiculturalism, should define their own identity and their role in the paradigmatic change of teacher education. Its necessity is underpinned by other researchers (Vámos, 2003; Lazar, 2004; Nikitina & Furuoka, 2008; Trentinné, 2008) who try to find metaphors for language teaching and language teachers highlighting the core elements of language education from the point of the teacher. It would be advisable to do similar research into the topic in the case of early childhood educators as well, and especially in the area of multicultural education. In our research, parts of the interviews with the kindergarten teachers will show the forming of new identities of educators in a multilingual-multicultural pre-school.

Unpreparedness in the theoretical background and the lack of a common framework in multicultural education in Europe means that "multilingualism is highly available in discourses but is still in its infancy from a methodological and applied viewpoint" (Ziegler, 2013, p. 13). At the same time, it does not mean that there are no fresh and successful initiatives in pre- and in-service teacher training in MCE (multicultural education). Due to the absence of the aforementioned missing factors, they reflect more local than international trends and tendencies. In the United Kingdom, it is clearly seen that new subjects and methods should be launched to train teachers for the new challenges. In London Anderson (2008) witnessed the initiation of a course in minority languages like Arabic, Mandarin Chinese, Panjabi and Urdu. Here they use the socio-constructivist theory with communicative methodology in order to broaden not only students' language command, but also their cultural and social knowledge about the given culture. To put it all into practice is more complicated as only few schools volunteer to accept students for teaching practice. Yet, Anderson is convinced that this initiative has launched a serious reform in British teacher training. Catlow (2008), also from the British education, gives an account of a pilot programme where professional teaching materials were tried out by children and teachers of EAL (English as an additional language). The materials were carefully structured and contained central aspects of multilingual education like integrated language and curriculum content, assessment and parent-teacher-community partnership. Due to its professional planning and a positive evaluation the programme has been extended to the whole UK. Other good examples can be mentioned from Finland (Marsh et al, 2013) or Sweden (Otterup, 2013) where 20th century migration indicated changes in teacher education.

Promising results can be expected from international partnership. Kirsch (2008) points out the usefulness of student teacher exchanges in Europe. This has two major advantages: on the one hand, students can develop their language command, and on the other hand, they improve their own intercultural competence. The students of Goldsmith University, London can spend four weeks in France, Spain or Germany. Kirsch's research reveals several benefits

of these exchanges, e.g. the improvement of students' attitude to the education profession as general (not only to foreign language teaching), the relevance of better planning and more thorough preparation as well as the more precise structure of students' own teaching lessons. Another inspirational example is provided by the TESSLA project where six European countries co-operate to develop multicultural teacher training (Young, 2008). The programme is based on holistic and multidisciplinary approach and its aim is to produce useful materials for teachers who take part in multicultural education. A major element of the programme is to make teachers sensitive for the needs of their multiethnic students and with an empathetic approach to create a suitable atmosphere for multilingual-multicultural teaching and learning.

In Hungary one of the major problems in early childhood language development, according to Nikolov (2009), is the paradox that those who are familiar with little children's age characteristics cannot speak foreign languages well, while those whose language command is good can be usually found in language teacher training and know little about the youngest target group. To bridge the gap, besides Finland and the UK, Hungary has also introduced special programmes in three venues: Budapest, Sopron and Hajdúböszörmény. These programmes, as Kovács (2009 c) reveals, put a special stress on the theory and practice of bilingualism.

2.4.4 Brief summary

In this chapter about language pedagogy the aim was to review the different types of bilingual and multilingual education so that their appropriate characteristic features could be applied to the research context. Findings show that it is worth making a difference between the strong and weak form of bilingual education. In the present research both immersion (Hungarian and American children) and submersion education (non-Hungarian/ English mother tongue kindergarteners) have their roles. It has also been revealed what kinds of up-to-date findings can be observed in international literature and that Hungarian education misses these examples up to now. The shortcomings in teacher training can also be observed as far as teaching multiculturalism in higher education is concerned. Having discussed the major issues of linguistic, cultural and educational theories, the next chapter will deal with the legal and political background of the present situation.

2.5 Language political issues

Migration and its related problems have to be taken into consideration in this research as the examined children and their families are from a special aspect the subject of this social phenomenon. In this chapter the reasons and effects of migration will be discussed and an upto-date picture of the transfer of our age will be provided and it will be examined how the present research topic is embedded in it. In connection with migration human rights and especially language rights will be discussed on the basis of acknowledged authors' points of view. In the end, the presence of language rights in Hungarian education will be scrutinised as our setting in Pápa is a representative example of migrant children's and their families' living environment.

2.5.1 Migration as a social and legal category

As the basis of multiculturalism can be migration, it is worth examining the phenomenon from socio-legal aspects. Although migration is as old as humanity, there are ages when it has new waves in rising tendencies, and the beginning of the 21st century is undoubtedly belongs to this era.

If the modern definitions of migration are taken into account, clear similarity can be noticed among them. Migration is "a word of Latin origin which means wandering, going, moving, travelling from one place to the other" (Rédei, 2007, p.13) and its final outcome is the translocation of the place of work and residence (Rédei, 2007). According to Münz (2009) migration is a process where individuals or groups of people change their place of living and the surrounding society and the change will become permanent. In another work of his, he gives a very brief definition of migrants stating that they are "persons moving (or having moved) from one country to another" (2008, p. 48). Aranyos (2005), taking EU-law into consideration, gives a minimum time-limit for migration and adds that a criterion of migration is that the migrants want to stay at least another year in the country where they are staying at present. Tóth (2001) emphasises the complexity of migration declaring that migration is highly impacted by the actual social, economic and political processes which are combined with personal interests and will. Additionally, he classifies migration according to its internal vs. external (i.e. within a state or across states), forced/ artificial vs. spontaneous/ voluntary characteristics. The category of legal and illegal migration, with trafficking involved, appears

as a criminological class in Hungarian literature (P. Tóth, 2001; Wetzel, 2011; Jungbert, 2013), but due to the characteristic of the present topic, this latter category will be neglected. Cseresnyés (2005), citing Delfs, completes the aforementioned typology with the time factor, i.e. how long migrants are staying in the host country (short-term, long-term or continuous migration).

To the reasons of migration Cseresnyés (2005) also adds that the motives of migration can be extremely combined: religious, ethnic and political reasons may overlap. All of these reasons are supported by the so-called "pushing" and "pulling" factors which were introduced by Ravenstein in the 19th century (Hárs, 1992; Cseresnyés, 2005; Rédei, 2007). Pulling factors (advantageous socio-economic circumstances) strengthen, while pushing factors (disadvantageous circumstances) drive away the motivation of migrants as their future prospects' success may depend on them. Wetzel (2011) classifies developed economy, better job opportunities, already existing diasporas in the host country as pulling factors, while socio-economical unsteadiness, poverty and the lack of jobs as pushing factors.

Migration has not only reasons but also effects on the society especially from demographic point of view. Among them Rédei (2007) mentions the increase of the population in a given country and the change in the population pyramid and age diversity. She also emphasises the economic results in a society where migrants mean new labour sources while they also appear as consumers in the target country's society. Cseresnyés's (2005) observations about the outcome of migration coincide with those of Rédei. He remarks that the new host countries in Europe face real challenges of creating their self-image and identity. Besides, on the basis of 19th century Malthusian theories, he notices modern fears of migration such as the fear of the diminishing living space and ecological problems.

"The number of estimated migrants in the world is about 175 million people; 35 million of them live in the USA", cites Wetzel (2011, p. 15) the data of the survey made by the House of Commons International Development Committee in 2000. In most West-European countries the rate of immigrants is over 10%. In Europe the so-called "quality immigration" (Wetzel, 2011, p.20) is supported with the help of the Blue Card, which means the stimulus of immigrants with a higher academic background. Hungary, however, has not become a favourite target country for immigrants. On the other hand, Hungary does play a role in the migration process, whihe is due to the Hungarians who live outside the borders of Hungary and who can be regarded as supplies, i.e. potential employees instead of the aging population of the country. Wetzel (2011) also draws our attention to the age of the immigrants who usually belong to the younger generation. It is also relevant for our study as the age

group between 20-39 years can be considered to be young adults with children who are integrated in the Hungarian education system. The demographic problem of Hungary could be resolved by the reception of 1,8 immigrants as a recent study revealed (Dobszay, 2013). At the same time, at the end of 2012 fewer than 100,000 people intended to settle down in Hungary, and half of them are from non-EU countries (Migration, n.d.).

Britain, which can be called one of the target countries of international migration, has a much higher number of immigrants. 195,000 people became British citizens in 2010, which stimulated different research activities in the field. For instance, an in-depth survey titled *Understanding Britain* started in 2013 and focuses on the special needs and problems of immigrants such as education, employment, health, family life and their attitudes in and across their ethnic borders (A new picture, 2012). One of the most surprising early results suggests that British identities can be noticed better in ethnic minorities than in the white majority (Just who, 2014). It seems to be supported by the appreciation of the British passport among immigrants which has become the tangible symbol of Britishness. Belonging and integration highly depend on locality, neighbourhood and the length of time a migrant spent in Britain. According to the Economic and Social Research Council, some more aspects of integration should be examined as well, for instance English language learning and interaction opportunities (Becoming, 2013).

In the European Union the official number of third country nationals reaches 11 million people who can be categorised as labour migrants (with their family members), ethnic returnees (due to repatriation), and asylum seekers. Naturally, clandestine migrants are not counted here. Geddes (2003) points out a changing paradigm of migration by 1990. Since then more attention has been paid to discrimination laws, xenophobia, immigrant integration and the protection of minorities. The roles of "unwanted migrants" (Geddes, 2003, p. 85) are also in the limelight as they are the ones who might threaten Western welfare states. In order to help integration, the author urges to understand different cultures as basic components of modern societies.

The reasons of modern migration can also be seen in the foreign labour recruitment programmes, the end of the Soviet bloc, the new democracies in Eastern Europe and the new enlargements within the European Union. Instead of static cultures, Romaniszyn (2003) writes about the "migration of cultures" (2003, p. 103) which are the outcomes of ethnic migration. Migration here also appears as the reason for merging cultures or globalization. In trade, for instance, one of its manifestations is "McDonaldisation" (2003, p. 103).

To see the difference between earlier and modern migration clearly, the following table will summarise the scene, the aims and the outcome of the phenomenon (Figure 16):

	Historical migration (3 rd -8 th cc. BC) Modern migration (movement of masses)	
Scene	ene Europe All over the	
Aim	Conquering Co-habiting, mixing, integ	
Outcome	ne Demolishing conquered Confrontations and confl countries' culture	

Figure 16. Historical overview of migration (Hegedűsné, 2013)

While Hegedűsné (2013) tries to catch the basic factors of migration, she seems to omit other characteristics of it. For instance, the aim is not necessarily co-habiting or integrating in the case of some migrant individuals or groups, and mentioning only confrontations and conflicts as an outcome is superficial. In the present research it will be seen special strategies in education which intend to eliminate confrontations and instead, the modes of cooperation will be searched for and analysed.

Literature about the types, categorisation and characterisation of migration is sometimes not only one-dimensional or sketchy, but from our point of view is relatively defective. The gap is obvious when the legal status of the foreign parents in Pápa has to be identified. Although labour force migration is a well-known category, literature usually deals with the problem of labour market (Cseresnyés, 2005), the general status of foreign employees in Hungary (Jakubovich, 2001; J. Tóth, 2001), career migration (Nagy, 2001), employment of foreigners in Hungary (Borók, 2001), migration of the highly trained (Rudolph & Hillmann, 1998) and the study visits of Erasmus-students (Rédei, 2007), but it does not provide researchers with clear and reliable guidelines about foreigners who are sent abroad for other, in our case military, reasons. They do not seem to fit into any of the categories as they are neither individuals seeking for a job, nor refugees or asylum seekers who have poor academic or economic background.

Vasilescu (2011) and Gubcsi (2011) lead us closer to the problem by introducing these foreigners' work. Although they do not clarify the status of this group either, they depict that they are from those who work in a peace keeping mission in one of the multinational military capabilities, under the auspices of a partnership called Strategic Airlift Consortium (SAC).

More information can be gained about the history of Pápa Air Base in the *Military Installations Booklet* (2014) where important details are given also about the educational institutions which are available to these families' children. Here Fáy András Kindergarten is mentioned as the designated pre-school for children, but the information about the curriculum is not precise as the kindergarten applies a bilingual Hungarian–English programme, and not an exclusively Hungarian one, as it is suggested here.

What may be concluded on the basis of available relevant literature is the fact that foreign parents who came to Pápa into a military installation belong to qualified professionals who enjoy free movements in the European Union according to the Articles 52-58 of the Treaty of Rome (Borbély & Lukács; 2001) and may work according to special partnership agreements (Lukács, 2001). They may be considered the so-called "seconded personnel" which in law means that their company or institutions send them into a foreign country for a special time limit (Csóka, 2001). In a way they are similar to diplomats who are not actually employed by the host country, but are sent there to work (Ónodi, 2001).

2.5.2 Migration, minorities and language rights

Migrant and minority people's basic human right is, or should be, the access to their mother tongue whatever point of the world they are. The question is usually examined on a superficial way, believing that if a major document contains the word "language" or drafts tenets about language use in a special community, language rights are automatically on their way to be granted, respected and practised. However, according to some watchful sociolinguists (Phillipson, 2003; Kontra, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004 a, b) there are still a lot to do till theories will become daily practice or there will be a widespread agreement on ideologies.

The idea of general human rights emerged in the age of enlightenment. These rights distinctly appear in *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in 1948, which does not mean that linguistic rights are overtly expressed in the document. Ferenc (2012) points out that while the right for education is considered to be a human right, it is not articulated that the access to mother tongue education belongs to these rights. For this problem only "soft rights" (recommendations, directives) have been established which do not guarantee the avoidance of injustice. The author mentions the states in the Carpathian basin where the ideology of nation-states and the unilingual educational model of the minorities can easily

lead to conflict. To put basic linguistic rights into practice, it is necessary to elaborate the policy of the language of instruction which should be promoted by additive multilingual models.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1998) introduced the term *linguistic human rights* which is the result of adding *language rights* and *human rights* together. Although she welcomes the initiatives launched in this area, she still notices some overt and covert obstacles which hinder their realisation. Her remarks and suggestions are especially important for us, because she puts education into the focal point of changes. Going further she coins the notion *educational linguistic rights* which she considers the most important base of linguistic and cultural diversity. She argues that due to early school attendance the scene of language learning has passed on to educational institutions which, in many cases, fail to teach for instance children's mother tongue. To support her suspicion, she enumerates a great number of legal documents, where linguistic rights openly disappear or they are interpreted in a one-dimensional way (e.g. *Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948; International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1976*). An example to this is the *Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights* (1996) where bi- or multilingual geographical territories are simply not taken into consideration. She thinks that all this leads to indirect assimilation which is a covert form of curtailing linguistic human rights.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1998) and Kontra (2004) both introduce terminology which are the results of neglecting language rights. They are convinced that *language murder* and *linguistic* genocide will lead to language death, even if the speakers are physically not maltreated or killed. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1998) the lack of bilingual educators are especially present in "core-English speaking countries" (Phillipson, 1992; p. 17), for instance in the USA where linguistic disintegration is considered to be equal to political disintegration. Skutnabb-Kangas (1998) overtly accuses Western countries of subtracting children's L1 at the expense of their state's official language, especially English. She also gives a reason while searching for the starting point in politics and economy. Economic and political homogeneity is manifested in globalism which has a harmful effect on linguistic diversity as it supposes assimilation. Additionally, she mentions racism which, according to her, has moved from biologically and culturally or ethnically argued racism to linguistic racism, i.e. linguicism which means modern colonialism with the help of a more prestigious language vs. minority languages or those used by migrants. Citing a Gikuyu writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, who writes about Africa's division between European empires, she depicts the process graphically (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998, p. 16):

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"[...] the night of the sword and the bullet was followed by the morning of the chalk and the blackboard. The physical violence of the battlefield was followed by the psychological violence of the classroom. But where the former was visibly brutal, the latter was visibly gentle... The bullet was the means of the physical subjugation. Language was the means of the spiritual subjugation."

Brutt-Griffler (2004 b) also draws attention to the existing connection between linguistic imperialism and language rights. She highlights that the basic reason for the necessity of language rights is linguistic imperialism and first of all its nature should be understood before starting to form language rights.

It must be seen that fallback in linguistic rights or linguistic human rights cannot be discussed separately, because it may easily entail conflicts in the society. The statement is supported by Skutnabb-Kangas (1998), according to whom "linguistic and cultural underdevelopment parallels and supports the maintenance of economic and political underdevelopment" (1998, p. 18). In order to hinder or eliminate this deficit, it is useful to formulate what linguistic human rights should be (Figure 17):

A UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS SHOULD GUARANTEE AT AN INDIVIDUAL LEVEL, IN RELATION TO THE MOTHER TONGUE(S)

that everybody can:

--identify with their mother tongue(s) and have this identification accepted and respected

by others:

---learn the mother tongue(s) fully, orally (when physiologically possible) and in writing

(which presupposes that minorities are educated through the medium of their mother

tongue(s));

--use the mother tongue in most official situations (including schools).

OTHER LANGUAGES

--that everybody whose mother tongue is not an official language in the country where

s/he is resident, can become bilingual (or trilingual, if s/he has two mother tongues) in

the mother tongue(s) and (one of) the official language(s) (according to her own choice).

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGES

--that any change of mother tongue is voluntary (includes knowledge of long-term

consequences), not imposed.

PROFIT FROM EDUCATION

--that everybody can profit from education, regardless of what her mother tongue is.

Figure 17. The scope of linguistic human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998, p. 23)

To achieve the above aims, the author emphasises the importance of bilingual teachers vs. monolingual teachers and that parents should be enlightened about the latest scientific results in this area, namely that mother tongue is a key factor in minority children's L2 acquisition and teaching. Skutnabb-Kangas (2004 b), similarly to Rubio-Marín (2003), also differentiates two kinds of interest in language rights: one of them is the expressive and the other is the instrumental interest, where the first is in connection with identity and the latter is with communication. To these Skutnabb-Kangas assigns rights as "necessary rights" (to "expressive interest") and "enrichment-oriented rights" (to "instrumental interest") Skutnabb-Kangas (2004 b, p. 159). She states that both of them need to be taken into consideration while shaping linguistic human rights. Andrássy (2001) finds the difference in the legal status of languages in the fact that the usual legal practice is to accept the majority language of the state as the official language, which results in social and legal injustice.

In Hungary, Act 1993, s. 77 deals with the language rights of national and ethnic minorities. In this frame the so-called "minority right act" Article 51, Section (1) prescribes that "in the Republic of Hungary anyone can use his/ her mother tongue whenever and wherever he/ she wants" (Bodáné, 1994, p. 175). Bodáné (1994) adds it means that there are no prohibited languages but in public places it is not obvious that foreign people (minorities or tourists) can use their own mother tongue effectively as in public places making themselves understood cannot be guaranteed.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2004 a) clearly stands up for learning foreign languages, but she can accept it only as learning them additionally, and not subtractively, i.e. besides one's mother tongue and not instead of it. English is also mentioned in this context as one of the many languages of linguistic diversity and by no means as a dominant global language. In this spirit she does not consider English-medium education as a human or linguistic right. Inevitably, together with Phillipson she points out, before any kind of misinterpretations, that "Nothing I have said so far should be constructed as meaning that I would suggest that anyone in our part of the world should stop learning or using English, that would be plain stupid" (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996, p. 447). Skutnabb-Kangas (2004 b) is confirmed that subtractively taught English (and any other L2) leads to the lack of social mobility while the additive method by bilingual teachers results in positive outcome.

According to Brutt-Griffler (2004 a) English as a global language does not come from the colonial time, but rather from the end of colonialism. English has become widespread and the tool for communication among colonised people. The author finds Skutnabb Kangas's opinion about English-medium schools as a "disdain for the rights of the poor" (Brutt-

Griffler, 2004 a, p.139). She insists that English is spreading through bilingualism, and it is not worth pondering upon whether it is learnt additively or subtractively. Parents simply have the right to give the chance for their children to learn this language.

What Pennycock (2004) concludes here is that both Skutnabb-Kangas and Brutt-Griffler promote the access to English and multilingualism. The difference is that the former stresses the additional language status, while the later argues for primary access to this language. Pennycock does not think that the debate about mother tongue and L2 access would guarantee equality. He thinks it is much more relevant to understand how languages and their teaching work in a mobile and global world, and only after that it is worth dealing with the ways of their access.

Song's (2009) research underpins the assumption according to which English as a foreign language enjoys considerable prestige among parents. From her research interviews made with Koreans living in Korea and in the USA she concludes that English is a language of "marketable commodity" and "cosmopolitan membership" (2009, p. 40). Parents, who themselves speak very little English want their children to learn the language with practical methods where the stress is on communication (2009, p. 32):

"Throughout six months, my husband has spoken only two words in English, 'Marlboro Light' and 'eighteen'. At a grocery store, he uses the first one in order to purchase the cigarette that he wants. The latter he utters it when he selects the eighteen holes at the gold course. That's it."

"For the next generation, they cannot live without English skills. What I mean by English skills are not just reading and grammar skills, but communication skills in English. [...] It doesn't necessarily mean that English will guarantee them a better life, but that English is a necessity to have better jobs and education."

In 200 countries there are approximately 6,500 languages (Biseth, 2009) which demands careful policy making. According to Canagarajah (2004) in policy making the most important factors are communities, identities, groups and minorities. In the debate of "multilingual" vs. "monolingual" state Wolff (1998) definitely stands for the first and points out that the European Union undertakes a pioneering role in multilingual language policy both on individual and societal levels. Its documents (*Memorandum in Higher Education, 1991* and *White Paper, 1996*) however, did not become well-known enough. In Europe, the European Union is committed to multilingualism on historical, legal and societal bases. For its

450 million inhabitants the EU considers multilingualism a "democratic representation tool" (Athanassiou, 2006, p. 7). Therefore the Union promotes multilingualism in education, too.

Tollefson (2004) gives several examples of successful language policies in different parts of the world (USA, South Africa, New Zealand, Serbia) and concludes that even if equality and national unity enjoy more privilege in policies, language policy can still be influential. Yet, the gap between theory and practice of language policies is still visible. Language policies do not automatically solve social, political and economical differences, but they might be guiding and form policy as such.

As far as identity is concerned, Skutnabb-Kangas (2004 a) draws attention to multiple identities that humans develop during their lives, the major element of which is laid in the language people take over. She draws a parallel between malnutrition and deprivation of L1 and stresses the role of mother tongue especially in elementary education.

The question of identity constructed by L2 is not so unequivocal in Song's (2009) research. Korean sojourners believe that English provides their children with a cosmopolitan identity, while Korean immigrants to the States do not take this aspect into consideration. They feel that American identity, through the English language, is a part of their children's identity already, and not an additional value.

Coulmas (1998) examines the question from a pragmatic point of view while touching upon the language rights in educational circumstances and sees clearly that no government "is likely to [...] provide a full set of teachers for every immigrant child" (1998, p. 63). At the same time he pinpoints that curtailing the use of minority languages is politically incorrect. He suggests that language rights should cover social and individual aspects which have to be taken into consideration according to the given situation. He does not underestimate the role of the state either because it is the state that can formulate "legal codes" (1998, p. 64) which are the basis of living language rights. In his opinion what is appropriate in general human rights should be enforced, with the necessary changes, in language rights as well. Therefore he urges the cooperation of linguists and lawyers.

Hornberger (1998) finds ideal if bilingualism and biculturalism became a norm in case of immigrant children. She, just like Coulmas (1998), sees the problem from educational aspects and welcomes the consensus according to which models of bilingual-bicultural education should be introduced. She sets the Canadian French immersion model as an example and two-way bilingual education (cf. 2.4.1) as another confirmation that there is no single solution which would lead to exclusive success.

According to Biseth (2009) in a democracy living together with immigrants is one of the most challenging factors and in its nature it may be mostly linguistic. Therefore school has a special role to promote cohabitation in peace and it is education that can give an answer to problems originated from linguistic differences. One of its reasons is that schools have to meet social and national needs as well. If only mother tongue is used as the language of instruction, teachers cannot create democratic classroom environment. Here two approaches might clash, i.e. "language-as-right" and "language-as-resource" (Biseth, 2009, p.12) where the first regards language as an obstacle while the latter considers language as the source of diversity which is a societal asset.

In the debate of "parents beliefs" and "false explanations" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004 b, p. 158) overtly criticises researchers and theory makers who, according to their wrong approach, blame minority children for poor achievements at school. She understands parents who, for the sake of "upward mobility" (2004 b, p. 158) want to send their children to English-medium schools. At the same time she highlights that researchers wrongly attribute low performance at school to innate psychological characters of minority children. The reasons should be searched rather in contextual than psychological factors. She calls the phenomenon "false explanation" from the side of researchers.

2.5.3 Migratory language education in Hungary

In Hungary migrant children of mandatory school age must be provided with the suitable education. Forgács (2001) explains that the education should be free of charge, with a special stress on the language of the host country, moreover, migrant children's own language and culture should be familiarised as well. Besides, teachers should get special initial and inservice training. Although the Directive 77/486/EEC prescribes the aforementioned rights for children from the European Union, the effect of the directive should be extended to the children of non-EU citizens, too, especially if they stay in the country for the reason of permanent work. Legally, migrant children should have the same rights and obligations and be treated equally at school. The author does not deal with children under 6, and he does not give a comprehensive answer to the question of the language of education either. He is confirmed that migrant families send their children to the so-called "international schools" which are maintained by foreign states. As far as language is concerned, he mentions bilingual schools where the conditions of teaching Hungarian and a foreign language are

already given. At this point the question arises which foreign languages are taken into consideration. The language problem of children with less widespread languages is absolutely neglected.

Simon (2009) cites the same source as Forgács (2001) and emphasises that according to the Directive 77/486/EEC migrant children, regardless of their state of origin, should be integrated in a way that both their language and their culture could be preserved (Integrating, 2009). In Hungary, organising mother tongue tuition is within the scope of the country's own education system. It means that the country can choose the way of funding and establishing L1 education. The integration policy of the European Union was refined in 2003 in Thessaloniki, where education and language teaching got into the limelight. Children can get direct integrated education within the majority classes, segregated education in special classes or they can take part in extra-curricular activities. How the teaching of the language of the host country is provided depends on the different educational traditions of the states. The examples range from the reception centres (United Kingdom) through school organised language courses (Czech Republic) to separated language teaching (Norway) or bilingual education (Sweden). Several countries (Denmark, Holland, Finland) support immigrant children's mother tongue education. As far as intercultural education is concerned, religious holidays and traditions should be respected in all European countries. Clothing is a more varied question: in Ireland and in the United Kingdom uniform is worn, in Belgium and France clothing causes the most conflict, while in Sweden all kinds of prohibition concerning clothing is prohibited. Meals are plural in most countries according to religious or health considerations of the immigrants.

Vámos (2011) gives a comprehensive example of a Hungarian school, namely Tarczy Lajos Primary School, which is an interesting insight from our point of view as this school works under the direction of the self-government of Pápa, where our target institute, Fáy András Kindergarten works as well. The school operates on the basis of a Hungarian-English educational programme, which is mutually favourable to both foreign and Hungarian pupils, states the author. It is a very important point that this school has gained exempt from general legal rules and a unique permission was given in order to establish their own bilingual programme. The former Ministry of Education gave two main reasons for this:

- 1. foreign pupils' expectedly large fluctuation and
- 2. the principal task of teaching Hungarian to foreign pupils and teaching English as a common language.

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In this sense the most accented areas of the bilingual pedagogical programme became as follows:

- 1. Foreign language command
- 2. Personality development
- 3. Intellectual attitude
- 4. Cognitive abilities
- 5. Mother tongue acquisition & cultural studies
- 6. European thinking

The slogan of the school became "meeting languages = meeting cultures" (Vámos, 2011, p. 203) which stimulates intercultural attitude among students. Similar goals can be observed in the programme of Fáy András Kindergarten (Morvai, 2008) which will be analysed in the related section of the dissertation (cf. 3.7).

2.5.4 Brief summary

In this chapter a new aspect of the theme was discussed, i.e. the socio-political background. The aim was to place an emphasis on what migration means and what kind of reasons and impact it has together with the implementation of language rights in school setting. Findings show that besides general human rights linguistic human rights (cf. 2.5.2) should be the topic of serious consideration. It also turned out that in Hungary there were very few examples of migratory language education. The one that was introduced here bears special importance for the present research as it discusses the setting of Tarczy Lajos Primary School (cf. 2.5.3) which can be considered to be the "continuation" of multilingual-multicultural kindergarten education in Pápa. At the end of the literature review when the basic definitions and theoretical background are revealed, it is helpful to develop theories which might serve a framework in the empirical research. Therefore, the research theories in the next chapter, although based on existing results, are tailor-made to the present situation. With revealing the basic linguistic, sociological, educational and political questions, the secondary research is completed and the focus will shift towards the empirical research in the following chapters.

2.6 Research theories

Examining the setting and the probable results of the research, three background theories are worthy of note.

2.6.1 The gift language – gift culture theory

The theory is based on the bare fact that migrant children who come to Hungary with their parents are exposed to foreign languages (Baker & Prys Jones, 1998; Biseth, 2009; Vámos, 2011), especially that of the host country to a significant extent. It could easily be supposed that children of this age (between 3 and 6) acquire a language (Krashen, 1981; Kovács, 2009a), or even different languages with no serious effort. The public generally think it granted that these children "automatically" become bi- or trilingual under the given circumstances. The gift language – gift culture theory, however, questions the validity of this statement and tries to take the deeper layers of the phenomenon into consideration.

First, it says that children do not necessarily become bilingual without a certain amount and quality of the different linguistic inputs gained from the environment. The research meticulously examines the type and variety of these outside effects: who are they given by, when, under what circumstances, for what time period and at what language level? Moreover, it examines how the inputs are reinforced or reduced in social and family setting, and what kind of positive and negative feedback helps or hinders children's language development.

Secondly, the same refers to culture. In this case as well, different cultures must be mentioned: they are different from each other, and different from the host country's culture. The gift culture theory states that even if the child attends a multicultural kindergarten, if different cultures are not present in the daily routine, the kindergartener will actually have no notion about them. Here comes the responsibility of kindergarten teachers and parents again. The research studies their role in this question, too. It also examines the way how different cultures are manifested in everyday and extra-curricular activities.

Finally, connecting the two parts of the theory, i.e. language and culture as such, the third point connects language and culture. It declares that culture is partially language dependent. Therefore, the study examines the vehicle language of the given culture, its role in forwarding the cultural content: whether language supports or the lack of a lingua franca

hinders the understanding and decoding of the several cultures present in this multilingual-multicultural mini-society. Besides, it also pays attention to non-verbal communication and other verbal and non-verbal manifestation of the conveying culture.

To sum up, the research, in the frame of "gift language – gift culture" theory, examines the conscious efforts of forwarding linguistic and cultural elements from the side of the actors – from children through educators to parents – in the community of the multilingual-multicultural kindergarten in Pápa, where a considerable linguistic diversity can be noticed.

2.6.2 The language puzzle theory

Since Chomsky (Chomky, 1968) it has been supposed that children possess a special language acquisition device (LAD) which is innate and is waiting for activation in children's brain in order to choose the adequate elements from it and compile them to produce and generate infinite number of sentences. Bruner (as cited in Jávorszky, 2001) goes further and accepts Chomsky's innate theory while points out that language learning is a conscious process at the same time, where mother plays the key-role (LAD becomes LADY) by providing the appropriate verbal and non-verbal background to language acquisition.

Applying the above mentioned theories to a multilingual setting, the language puzzle theory completes the existing suppositions and states that children have to put together the different elements of the languages around them. Before putting them together as a jigsaw, children in a multilingual community have 'double tasks': first they will assemble L1 elements, then will realise the different, odd-one-out elements, i.e. "the rest" or "remaining elements" which will be stored and created into a second system. It is a double task for the brain which is stimulated by more than one language.

From this point it is worth examining the question of language choice which is a significant point of children's early stage language acquisition also in the kindergarten in Pápa, where children have the chance to "choose" their language applied under different circumstances. The research studies the reasons and manifestation of language choice and the result, i.e. the real use of language(s). It also goes into details of familial and institutional motivation, input and circumstances, and how they influence children's language choice.

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2.6.3 The language self – cultural identification theory

This theory states that human beings in society possess their own language self which is completed by a cultural identity. At the same time, the number of language selves and cultural identities are not limited. This theory can especially be supported by multilingual individuals, who might develop double selves and identities; according to their special circumstances (Berry, 1980, 1997; Rédei, 2007; Kitzinger, 2009 b). Children, who in their early childhood interface with different languages and cultures, have more chances to feel they belong to more than one speech and cultural community. Although, the question has been examined (e.g. Gal, 1978; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1990, 1998, 2004), research has mostly been carried out in natural speech communities and not under institutional circumstances, especially not in early childhood, where institutional language development is still underrepresented and underestimated.

Therefore, on the basis of this theory, the dissertation will examine on the Pápa spot how and why language self and cultural identification are created and developed by studying the different elements of institutional multilingualism-multiculturalism and its effects on personality both from children's and kindergarten teachers' aspects.

2.7 Summary of literature review

Why very different research fields were brought together in the literature review can be explained by the fact that for examining the complexity of the educational situation in Pápa, several disciplines had to be taken into consideration. Although, references are made about the relevance of related literature in the review, here, an explicit explanation of findings is provided, which shows the relation between the theoretical background and the empirical research in the second part of the dissertation.

As linguistic diversity is a key point both in the bilingual kindergarten programme and the everyday routine of the institution, linguistic terms like bilingualism, multilingualism and their relations, like code-switching or code-mixing had to be examined. It turned out that there are no matter-of-fact definitions for these phenomena, moreover, the descriptions also move on a very large scale (cf. 2.2). Among the interpretations offered in literature, Grosjean's (1994) functional definition can be considered to be the starting point of the present situation (cf. 2.2.1.1). Additionally, it must not be forgotten that, even if there are two "official

languages" of the kindergarten, children live under multilingual circumstances which are widely dealt in literature about linguistics (cf. 2.2.1.3) and education (cf. 2.4.2).

The debate on early start cannot be left out from a literature review on early childhood language development (cf. 2.2.2.2), which still appears to be a timely question. At the same time, what happens in Pápa is not the question of choice: it has to be seen that it is the consequence of a political decision for which the kindergarten provides its language educational repertoire and language political tools. To do it deliberately, everybody who deals with the question has to know about the recent results of early childhood acquisition also by making a difference between language acquisition and language learning (cf. 2.2.3) and being familiar with the relevant theories in the field (cf. 2.2.2.1).

As children in Pápa do not only live in a pure linguistic but also in a socio-cultural community, the questions of culture, multiculturalism and the adjustment to different cultures (cf. 2.3) are also worth examining. The theoretical framework of Berry's (2008) acculturation strategies (cf. 2.3.3) serve a basis for the empirical research where children's different techniques of acculturation and accommodation will be observed.

The line of multilingual-multicultural education (cf. 2.4.2) at international level can be completed with the present kindergarten practice in Pápa. The classification of Fáy András Kindergarten cannot be imagined without knowing the different types of bilingual schools (cf. 2.4.1). Baker's (2000) typology appears especially useful as children in Pápa do not belong to the same category. While children whose mother tongue is Hungarian or English may benefit from two way/ dual language education, children whose mother tongue is neither Hungarian/ English may face the challenges of submersion education; as it will be discussed in the empirical research sections (cf. Chapter 3).

As a fourth aspect, after linguistics, pedagogy and sociology, political and legal questions were also discussed. The reason is that in Pápa children's status is not clearly defined and it is important to know what kinds of educational and linguistic rights migrant children can enjoy besides the general human rights (cf. 2.5.3). Categorisation in this case is unavoidable as it serves as a basis for determining their status in Hungary. Additionally, it also has administrative consequences, for instance, what kind of projects the kindergarten is eligible to apply for on behalf of the migrant children.

Although there is a reason to suppose that relevant literature was selected and related to the empirical research, gaps in literature can also be noticed. Gaps are referred to in the relevant chapters (cf. 2.4.3 or 2.5.1), yet it might be useful to take them into consideration as

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the findings of literature review as well (Figure 18). One of the aims of this study is to identify and bridge these gaps on the basis of the present research.

Gaps id	entified	Comments		
The literature is	one-dimensional	The literature is very much divided into different		
		sections according to the traditional disciplines. One		
		phenomenon is usually seen from a single aspect		
		excluding other points of view. Therefore, it lacks		
		complexity and it does not promote cooperation		
		between disciplines. An interdisciplinary approach is		
		needed.		
	ambiguous	Definitions are not always well-focused. Contradictions		
		can be noticed in basic definitions like bilingualism,		
		multilingualism or code-switching. Also, terms like		
		'acquisition' or 'learning' are sometimes blurred.		
		Tailor-made definitions and terms are recommended in		
		the empirical research.		
	subjective	Arguments are sometimes based on subjective attitudes		
		instead of data-based research. For instance, the debate		
		on early start does not lack emotional overtones.		
The literature lacks	the focus on	Basically, very little can be found in literature about		
	kindergarten	kindergarten setting. School education dominates		
	setting	literature on multicultural education. There should be		
		clear distinction between children according to their		
		age and their educational setting.		
	the focus on	On the basis of literature, multilingual education does		
	Hungarian setting	not seem to have a long tradition in Hungary. Although		
		noteworthy initiatives can be observed in the		
		theoretical field, multilingual-multicultural		
		kindergarten setting in Hungary has not yet been in the		
		limelight of language pedagogical research.		

Figure 18. Gaps identified in literature

3. RESEARCH

3.1 Overall introduction to research methods

As the nature of the setting and the complexity of the problem require an interdisciplinary research, in harmony with this idea a multifaceted Literature review was carried out. Additionally, it is also advisory to choose the research methods carefully in order to receive the most appropriate results.

Triangulation as a method has become widespread in social sciences since the 1970s when it was borrowed from navigation. There it means that the position of an object is determined from two other points whose location has already been known (Brown & Rodgers, 2002). Although by now it is often applied to mixed method research where qualitative and quantitative methods are both used, originally, Denzin (1978) used it for the application of multiple qualitative methods. From whatever aspect it is used (either for mixed method research or only for qualitative research), this suggests that "Triangulation is a method [...] to check and establish validity [...] by analyzing a research question from multiple perspectives" (Guion, Diehl, & McDonald, 2002, para. 1), and its major goal is "to validate one's conclusion by presenting converging results obtained through different methods" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 164). However, the results do not have to be convergent, as Patton warns researchers and argues that divergent results, due to their motivating force, can be just as much illuminating and stimulating (Guion, Diehl, & McDonald, 2002).

From among the different types of triangulations researchers have categorised up to now (Denzin, 1978; Janesick, 1994; Freeman, 1998; Brown, 2001), in this research data triangulation, methodological triangulation an interdisciplinary triangulation are applied. In data triangulation I used the information from different sources, i.e. the data gained from the interviewees with different roles and I was trying to understand their special aspects. By methodological triangulation in this research I mean the use of different methods side by side, i.e. observation, interviews with various types of actors and desk research with varied types of documents. Simultaneously, the method can be called interdisciplinary as well, due to the linguistic and pedagogical methods applied along with some sociological and psychological value.

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In the light of the above, to achieve outcome from multilateral perspectives and to be able to expand the validity of results (Seidman 2002; Nádasi 2004 a), the method of triangulation was employed in the research which was made up of the following components (Figure 19):

Methods	Subject of research	Research tools and methods of analysis		
Observation	 personal & material conditions in the whole kindergarten curricular & extracurricular activities in 3 kindergarten groups (61 children) 	Content analysis of the observation chart		
Interviews	 9 parents in 3 groups: Hungarian, native English, non-native English/ Hungarian 3 educational decision-makers 5 kindergarten teachers 6 children 	Content analysis of the answers to the semi-structured interview questions		
Desk research	• the intercultural programme of the kindergarten	Analysis of the document within the frame of Grounded Theory		

Figure 19. Summary of research design

In the research qualitative and quantitative methods are related to each other in the following pattern: QUAL + quan, which means that mostly qualitative methods are applied with the completion of some minor quantitative data (Dörnyei, 2007). Qualitative research was preferred, as I believe, qualitative data collection and analysis can guarantee to gain more sophisticated and manifold results than quantitative research. Additionally, it will show different experience and opinions (e.g. those of the families involved) and the uniqueness of the situation better.

Apart from this overall introduction to the philosophy of methodology applied in this research, the actual types of methods and their way of realisation will be discussed in the related chapters under the headings, Methodology and Research design. The structure of studies has a consistent form where between a short introduction of context and participants and a Brief summary, Research design and Methodology chapters appear. The major contents of the research can be found in the Results section, usually under several headings. However, the real in-depth discussion will be provided in the Overall discussion of results in Chapter 4.

3.2 Study 1: Observations in the kindergarten

3.2.1 Context and participants

As an organic part of triangulation (cf. 3.1) I chose observation (cf. 3.2.3) as one of my research methods. It is an indispensable method in language educational research, because the researcher can find him-/ herself in lifelike situations where the previous hypotheses can be accepted or rejected in real life settings. Other methods (e.g. interviews or document analysis) cannot be replaced but can be effectively completed by observation. The findings are tangible and the results are supported by authentic experience on the spot.

Three basic questions arise while planning observation, i.e. *What to observe?*, *Where to observe?* and *How to observe?* While the third question will be discussed in the Methodology section (cf. 3.2.3) later, here I concentrate on the primary content and scenes of the observations. First of all, I wanted to visit the kindergarten itself to get an insight into the setting of multilingualism and multiculturalism. Then I intended to visit the related groups, wanted to be familiar with their daily routine and concentrate on several linguistic phenomena (cf. 3.2.4.3-3.2.4.5). Although it had not been planned intentionally, I took the opportunity of visiting an extra-curricular activity (cf. 3.2.4.6) in the kindergarten as well.

The kindergarten houses six groups out of which three are involved in multilingual-multicultural education. I focussed on the three multicultural groups, namely on Elder Group, Lavender Group and Blueberry Group which I will call later The Young Group, The Middle Group and The Old Group for easier distinction.

Therefore, systematic observations were carried out on three stages (Figure 20):

	What?	Where?
1.	Setting & material conditions	in and outside the kindergarten
2.	Curricular activities:	in 3 groups: 61 children,
	Playing time & initiatives	4 kindergarten-teachers,
		3 pedagogical assistants
3.	Extra-curricular activities:	in the yard of the kindergarten
	International Family Day	

Figure 20. The stages of observation

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Before the actual observation in Fáy András Kindergarten, the research was designed with an observation chart (cf. 3.2.2.1) focussing on linguistic, pedagogical and cultural contents; and with technical help (a video recorder and a camera). Piloting of the focal points in the observation chart was also done.

3.2.2 Research design

3.2.2.1 The development of the observation chart

The observation chart as a tool was my own product based on the experience of previous job shadowing. (Appendix 1 shows the whole preliminary chart.) It contains two main parts. The first involves the actual data such as date, name of observer and kindergarten teacher, the age group and the number of children, the central topic and the linguistic, pedagogical and cultural aims of the given period. The second part is made up of five broad aspects which form the chart itself. The aspects are as follows: 1. Procedures, 2. Techniques and tools, 3. Vocabulary and phrases, 4. Children's reactions and 5. Comments (Figure 21):

1. PROCEDURES	2. TECHNIQUES and TOOLS	3. VOCABULARY, PHRASES	4. CHILDREN'S REACTIONS	5. COMMENTS

Figure 21. The content part of the preliminary observation chart

As the multicultural kindergarten in Pápa is a truly unique place I could not find an identical, only a similar institution for the scene of piloting. It was Lewinsky Anna Kindergarten affiliated with Benedek Elek Faculty of Pedagogy of West-Hungarian University, Sopron. The kindergarten group is one of the groups in town where German as a minority language is applied in education. In the chosen group the majority of children speak Hungarian as mother tongue except for two boys whose fathers are Austrian; therefore they use both the Hungarian and the German language at home.

The observation chart proved to be generally satisfactory during piloting. It covered all the visible features that can be observed in a bilingual kindergarten group. The procedures were easy to follow and the different activities could be separated, e.g. free playing time with parallel playing activities like building, creative visual activities or playing in the kitchen corner. Techniques and tools were connected with the actual activities, e.g. making boxes – scissors and glue; talking about vehicles – flash cards. Similarly, vocabulary and phrases could be followed either parallel with the activities, e.g. names of vehicles (Fahrrad = bicycle, Strassenbahn = tram, Schiff = ship) or as separate units as the so-called "linguistic signals" which are simple songs or rhymes used to introduce certain activities, e.g. before tidying up the room ("Liebe, liebe Leute, aufgeräumt wird heute" = "Dear people, there'll be a cleaning up today"). Children's reactions could sometimes be better seen than heard. Therefore, this part needed to be revisited in the observation chart. The slot for comments was particularly useful and supplied me with extra ideas for the correction of the observation chart.

However successful the observation chart was in the broad sense it had to be refined especially for the sake of getting more information about linguistic phenomena.

3.2.2.2 Analysis of observation aspects

After piloting, the final observation chart (Appendix 2 shows the whole final chart.) required a few alterations. The introductory part of the observation chart remained untouched, i.e. date, name of observer and kindergarten teacher, the age group and the number of children, the central topic and aims. The grid itself, however, needed to be rearranged so that a more detailed, profound and subtle insight could be gained in harmony with the main purpose of the research, especially from linguistic point of view. Therefore, the most emphasised item of the scheme became Linguistic features which were divided into two: Linguistic features related to children and that related to the kindergarten teachers. The original Vocabulary and phrases got involved in these sections (see later in this chapter). Techniques and tools were replaced by Pedagogical tools and methods as method might have more sub-categories, for instance also including techniques. Children's reactions as an independent unit was deleted, too, but it reappeared under the headings of Linguistic features of children and Cultural phenomena. The latter proved to be a separate and new item as piloting and the unique nature of the kindergarten demanded putting this trait in the limelight. Comments remained leaving space for any unexpected events or movements which could not be taken into consideration beforehand. According to the above discussion the final observation chart implied five main features which are as follows: 1. Procedures, 2. Linguistic

features of children & kindergarten teachers, 3. Pedagogical tools and methods, 4 Cultural phenomena and 5. Comments (Appendix 2). Before moving on to real findings it is worth examining the sub-categories, which were absent on the piloting stage, as they supported the actual observation to a great extent.

The question "What is worth observing?" arises in each item, thus this issue guided me in thinking while forming the aspects of observation. As far as Procedures (*Item 1*) are concerned, the most obvious point of observation is the daily schedule that is made up of activities which might be richly varied. What I intended to examine is among activities are the ones connected with language development. They might be curricular, i.e. initiated or led by the kindergarten teacher or other spontaneous activities that kindergarteners invent and do themselves on their own, in pairs or in small groups. As the most usual and obvious activity of the children at this age is play, I focussed on different types of playing, for instance social plays, constructive plays, fantasy or rule plays. According to the nature of my research I especially put an emphasis on social plays as an important scene of language use and development. Apart from the types of play children's participation in the given play might also count. I was particularly interested in pairs and small groups from the point of view which language or languages is/ are used by which children, i.e. how they relate to each other through the language, for example, how they communicate, how they initiate an activity or respond to a certain situation, how they understand each other and how they manage to be understood, which language they choose and why, how many of them speak the same language and what happens if a mixed mother tongue group is formed. Additionally, I was curious to observe parents' role, especially at the beginning and at the end of a day in the kindergarten: what they say to their children and to the kindergarten teacher and which language they use.

Regarding linguistic features (*Item 2*) I divided this component into two, according to who I am observing: children or the kindergarten teacher. In the two sets of aspects some overlap as I find these angles equally relevant in the case of both child and adult speakers. Identical aspects are the proportion of languages, meta-communication, language use, mistakes and corrections. At the proportion of languages I wanted to know the rate of language use, i.e. to what extent Hungarian, English and the other languages are applied by the kindergarten teachers and the children. The other relevant observation point is meta-communication that indicates mimics, gestures, vocal communication, motor communication, eye-contact, pose or space. I was especially keen to know if they were used as language substitutes or reinforcing the verbal message of communication. In language use I

concentrated on code-switching and code-mixing and again which part of communication they are applied to. The last common features intended to be observed with all actors are mistakes and corrections. In the former phonetic, morphological and syntactic mistakes were monitored. At the same time emphasis was put on the reaction to the mistakes, i.e. who corrects them if he/ she does at all and how they are corrected.

As it has already been mentioned, there were a few features which were treated separately as I did not or could not observe them on both the children's and the teachers' sides. The children's active and passive language use and their language reactions fall into this category. While observing active and passive language use I was searching if the child's productive or receptive skills are stronger in a language. Again, the objective was to notice under which circumstances children use and/ or understand the different languages. There were some other traits, however, I examined only in the case of kindergarten teachers. They were individual differentiation, feedback and pedagogical role. I wanted to detect if teachers showed differentiated behaviour towards children when language was in the limelight. The other crucial point is feedback whose quality (positive or negative) I examined wanting to know how this pedagogical technique impacts children's language use. By "kindergarten teacher's role" I mean the teacher's participation in different language related activities. Whether she remains in the background, is a mediator or puts herself in the leading role.

Pedagogical tools and methods (*Item 3*) were contracted under the same heading as they complete each other to a great extent. I focussed on language related tools or devices, i.e. on material that help early language acquisition. I observed what kind of authentic or adapted materials (e.g. books, leaflets or cassettes) were used, what their role was and what the reasons for their use were. I also reckoned on illustrative or visual aids which did not contain the language itself but played active and constructive role in language development (e.g. flash cards, pictures, maps or posters). In this sense not only the materials in the group rooms but the whole equipment of the kindergarten was taken into consideration. As language pedagogical methods have already been detailed in the previous part of the observation chart (*Item 2*), here I concentrated on kindergarten teachers' problem solving skills in case of problems originated from language use. I was eager to find the answer to the question how they notice, identify and understand language problems and if they manage to cope with conflicts of this kind.

Cultural phenomena (*Item 4*) became an absolutely new item in the final observation grid. Here two major issues are listed: child-to-child interaction and cultural differences. The first one cannot be completely separated from linguistic features (*Item 2*) as interaction might

include verbal communication as well. What I wanted to see here is whether the children set up groups according to their nationalities or it is a negligible feature; and if the group is multinational which nationalities it contains. The latter topic refers to cultural differences which do not necessarily belong to language related diversities, e.g. behaviour while sleeping, eating or playing.

The conclusions of piloting suggested keeping the last item, Comments (*Item 5*). Some literal quotations from children and kindergarten teachers might come into this column, as well as pieces of observation which are difficult to categorise on the spot or do not belong to any of the designed categories such as pedagogical reactions which derive from certain unexpected situations. It is also good to know that some children get into interaction with the observer; these spontaneous events can also be recorded here.

The observation scheme was designed in a grid format (Figure 22) so that recordings can be seen as linear and parallel order at the same time. In this way successive actions can be seen vertically while different aspects are described horizontally according to the actual time of events. Grids are easy to handle as they are perspicuous, thus transparency is guaranteed for further analysis. In spite of the advantages of tailor-made items it is advisable for the researcher to memorise the contents of the items beforehand for the sake of smooth recoding.

1.	2.		3.	4.	5.
PROCEDURES	LINGUISTIC FEATURES		PEDAGOGICAL	CULTURAL	COMMENTS
	children	k-g	TOOLS and	PHENOMENA	
		teacher	METHODS		
- daily schedule	- proportion of Ls	- proportion of	-authentic	- child-to-child	
- activities	(according to diff.	Ls	materials	interaction	
(L developing,	Ls and time)	(according to diff.	(books, cassettes,	(according to	
other;	- active and	Ls and time)	etc.)	nationalities)	
spontaneous -	passive L use	- individual	-illustrative	- cultural	
curricular)	-meta-	differentiation	materials (flash	differences (e.g.	
- play (types,	communication,	- speech panels	cards, pictures,	during eating,	
children's	gestures (as 1	-meta-	etc.)	sleeping)	
participation –	substitutes or	communication,	- conflicts &		
how many with	reinforcement)	gestures (as L	solution		
the same L1)	- L use: code-	substitutes or			
- parents' role (at	switching and	reinforcement)			
the beginning/ end	code-mixing	- feedback (+/ -)			
of the day)	- children's	- L use: code-			
	reactions:	switching and			
	1. migrants in HU	code-mixing			
	2. HU ch. in L2	- k-g teacher's			
	- mistakes (lexical,	role (mediator/			
	syntactic)	leader)			
	- correction	- mistakes			
		(lexical, syntactic)			
		- correction			
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Figure 22. The content part of the working copy of the final observation chart

3.2.3 Methodology

Observation applied by pedagogues or linguists and ethnographic field work, which was borrowed from anthropologists, have a lot in common (Byram *et al.*, 1994; Byram, 1997; Roberts *et al.*, 2001). Observers of both types of research should be supplied with information about the setting prior to the actual visit of the scene. They have to know what they want to focus on and what their reasons for each item are. They should prepare with a research design and find the appropriate methodology for the sake of successful research but they must not underestimate the appearance of unexpected situations and their proper treatment as they might be beneficial, too. They must not forget about technical equipment either.

As far as methodology is concerned, different types of research strategies are available. Among them participant observation might offer the most benefit as the most first-hand results can be gained from it and the "Having Been There" (Eisenhart, 2006, p. 573) experience can be displayed. Time period also has to be determined. The more time a researcher can spend in the given setting the more he/ she is involved and the more he/ she can exploit from observation. As far as the present exploration is concerned I tailored the needs to my possibilities and managed to create a combined strategy which is shown in a) the time spent on the spot, b) my status in the kindergarten and c) the equipment I used.

As a practising teacher I could not spend long continuous periods in the kindergarten. In this sense I did not become an anthropologist who can observe the setting and the situations for a relatively long and an uninterrupted time period. What I kept in view and managed to carry out is a *gradual approach*. Observation is a delicate stage of this research as not only adults (parents and kindergarten teachers) should accept and get adjusted to my presence in the kindergarten but children as well. As Fáy András Kindergarten is not a kindergarten affiliated to a teacher training institute, the appearance of an outsider is not part of their daily routine.

Group observation took place three times within six weeks in the spring of 2011. According to my gradual strategy by that time I had been in contact with the kindergarten teachers for three years, I had regularly visited the kindergarten with my colleagues and students, and I had done all the interviews with the parents. Whenever I visited the kindergarten (e.g. during the times of parental interviews) I endeavoured to get acquainted with the children and to make friends with them; I never missed greeting them and talking to

them. Due to this regular contact when the time of observation arrived, we were not strangers; and the "observer's paradox" (Labov, 1972, p. 209) could be minimised as much as possible.

In this way I confirmed my status in the kindergarten with children, kindergarten teachers, nurses and parents. During group observations I played neither the role of a participant observer nor that of an outsider. I tried to maintain the proper balance between the two extremes: as far as communication and interactions with children are concerned I was considered to be a participant observer while I avoided intervening in pedagogical or linguistic situations on purpose as an outsider. On the basis of time period, regularity and the informal style with the children this type of researcher attitude might be characteristic of a so-called *semi-participant observer*.

My participation partially depended on the equipment I used as well. As it has already been discussed, I took my self-designed observation scheme with me. Then I had some technical support such as a digital camera and a DVD-recorder whose content was later burnt on a DVD disc. I needed the equipment for different stages of observation. I very soon realised that due to the different characteristic features of the educational institutions, (school) classroom observation and (kindergarten) group observation do differ especially as 1. children's and 2. (kindergarten) teachers' behaviour and 3. school settings are concerned. I summarise the major difference in the chart below (Figure 23):

	Aspects	Classroom observation	Group observation	
		at school	in the kindergarten	
1.	children's			
	mobility	limited (e.g classroom	free (e.g. mobile furniture)	
		arrangement)		
	interaction	directed (e.g. repetition)	free (e.g. during activities)	
	activities	regulated (e.g. lessons)	free (e.g. children can choose)	
	communication	limited & in certain periods	free & spontaneous (e.g. children	
		(e.g. when activities allow it)	can talk to anybody)	
	spontaneity	minimal	not limited	
2.	teachers'			
	role	mostly directive	mostly initiative or mediating	
3.	setting	classrooms for subjects	group rooms for any activity	

Figure 23. The difference between school and kindergarten observation

Although modern pedagogical methods make school, especially the lower grades less directed by the teacher than depicted in the chart above, kindergartens still provide a more stress free atmosphere for children which is beneficial in language development among other activities. Here I do not wish to provide any justification for different pedagogical methods just examine the question from the suitability of observation techniques. On the whole, I found that some techniques which could be reasonable and practical under school circumstances would fail in the kindergarten. For instance, I could not base the research on DVD-recording as in a kindergarten a great number of children groups are formed and the noise level is so high that making valid recordings during free playing activity time is impossible. I truly agree with Wragg who draws researchers' attention to the fact that "Classrooms are exceptionally busy places, so observers need to be on their toes" (1999, p. 2). However, when the kindergarten teacher makes initiatives to gather children for a common activity (it might be a so-called "talking circle", listening to a tale, singing together or the everyday physical exercises), recordings might be useful.

I must also mention here that children in the kindergarten, according to their age characteristics sometimes do not produce long and coherent dialogues with their peers or the kindergarten teachers, thus it is more difficult to record and follow their verbal communication. On the other hand, speeches to themselves can be noticed while playing, which causes further difficulties in the observation. Therefore very often the researcher faces difficulties and cannot put the mosaics and fragments of conversations into a wider context. Obviously, it is a drawback that serves as a limit to the research.

According to the previous conceptions I decided to employ *a mixed method research* where observation is adjusted to the actual activities. Therefore I used the designed observation chart in the group room during free play activities, the camera in the group room, the corridors and the yard to take photos of the setting and the DVD-recorder to make records of kindergarten teacher initiated group activities. It might be important to note that even these activities are not obligatory for the children. If they do not want to take part, they can play on their own or with the group's pedagogical assistant.

I made observations in 3 groups with 61 children, 4 kindergarten teachers and 3 pedagogical assistants. Free playing activities varied from constructive plays through board games to role-plays; among the "initials", which are activities triggered by the kindergarten teacher, I observed a tale telling & singing circle and three physical exercises sessions. Outside the group rooms I reviewed the materialistic conditions in the corridor and in the

courtyard with a special attention to materials made for language acquisition. Besides, I also managed to take part in an extra-curricular activity, namely in an International Family Day.

3.2.4 Results

3.2.4.1 Setting and material conditions

The building of the Fáy András Kindergarten bears the mark of the typical housing estate design of the 1970s: the grey cube building with its minimalist style does not inform about the special work in the kindergarten. There are two flags on the wall outside: one is that of Pápa town and the other is the Hungarian national flag. The name of the kindergarten is written on the wall in Hungarian. The courtyard is a little more modern with the usual playing territories and toys for children like a shallow swimming pool, sand pits and monkey bars with slide-ways, tyres, see-saws and swings (Appendix 3). A safety notice can be read on one of the iron gates in Hungarian and English.

The visitor is welcomed by two framed texts on the tiled wall of the corridor: Hymn, the Hungarian national anthem by Ferenc Kölcsey and Appeal by Mihály Vörösmarty. Both of them can be read in Hungarian supplemented with Hungarian national symbols like the coat of arms (Appendix 4). Other parts of the walls are used to inform parents about the news. Posters and notes vary according to the timely events running and organised in the institute. I noticed an invitation in English for Children's Day (Appendix 5), the weekly menu containing all the three meals provided by the kindergarten in Hungarian and English, a notice, also in Hungarian and English to inform parents about the approaching summer cleaning break, and a bilingual piece of information about how to cancel meals (Appendices 6, 7 & 8).

The arrangement of the group rooms do not differ either from other group rooms in a Hungarian kindergarten. Separate water units (toilet and wash basins) and dressing halls belong to each of them. The dressing halls, however, do differ. Every group furnishes and decorates its dressing hall according to their taste and their special characteristics. Flags, bilingual information, maps, coloured pictures and realia appear on the walls. Flags show which countries children of the given group come from, bilingual information, just as in the common corridor tells parents about the news of the given group, bilingual posters contain useful phrases in Hungarian and English, maps, pictures and objects give an insight into the different countries national costumes or sights (Appendices 9, 10, 11 & 12).

Inside the group rooms one can find the usual equipment of a Hungarian kindergarten group: bookcases, a large carpet to play on, little chairs, dining tables, plants, shelves and pin boards with children's products (e.g. drawings, ceramics, toys and presents made for special occasions). Besides, the basic equipment in multilingual groups is completed with American books and leaflets, English language story books and CD-s and Hungarian–English, English–Hungarian dictionaries, and pictorial dictionaries (e.g. David McPhail's Animals A to Z, Emmano Crisit: In my garden, Helen Oxenbury: Friends, Franklin Hammond: Ten little ducks etc.).

3.2.4.2 Grouping and activities

I visited 3 kindergarten groups. Although each group is a mixed-age group (i.e. no strict division among children according to their age), The Young Group involves very young children between 3 and 4 while The Middle Group and The Old Group have older children, between 4 and 6. The days I managed to observe them, The Young and The Middle Groups each was made up of 19 children, and The Old Group up of 23 children. In The Young Group (Figure 24) 6 foreign children were present whose pseudonyms with the real name of their country are used all over the dissertation: Momchil (Bulgaria), Ingrid (Norway), Karin (Sweden), Jesper (Sweden), Vuokko (Sweden), and Chessa (USA).

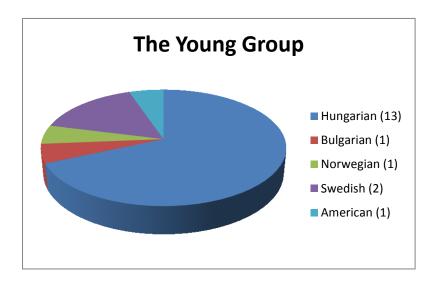


Figure 24. Division of The Young Group according to nationalities

In The Middle Group (Figure 25) from among the 19 observed children 6 came from foreign countries: Anastasiya (Bulgaria), Luboslaw (Poland), Adalstein (Norway), Emily (USA), Bailey (USA), and Neil (USA).

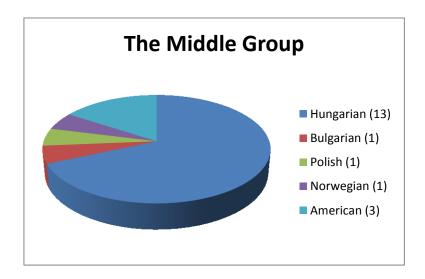


Figure 25. Division of The Middle Group according to nationalities

In The Old Group (Figure 26) there were 23 children present. 5 of them came from two different foreign countries: Halldora (Norway), Mjoll (Norway), Mandy (USA), Jonas (USA), and Bradley (USA).

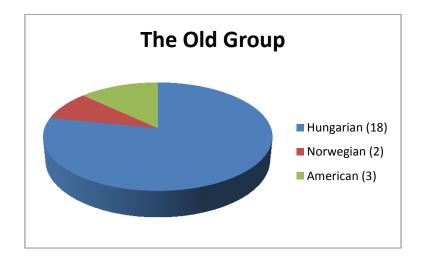


Figure 26. Division of The Old Group according to nationalities

Altogether I observed 3 kindergarten groups with 61 children form among which 17 came from five different foreign countries and 44 were Hungarians (Figure 27). In The Young

and The Middle Groups there was a kindergarten teacher and a pedagogical assistant, while in The Old Group there were two kindergarten teachers and a pedagogical assistant present.

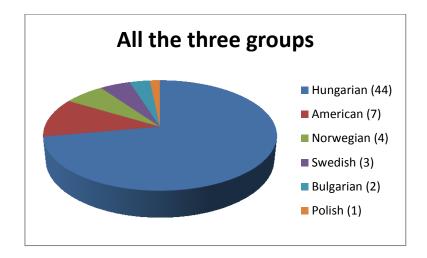


Figure 27. Division of all the three groups according to nationalities

In The Young Group children were preparing for Mother's Day, in The Middle Group there was no particular topic of the day as the school year was already over, and The Old Group was preparing for Easter. In The Young and Old Groups the cultural and linguistic aims were preparing for holidays with visual aids, songs and rhymes, while the concrete aim of the activities were missing in The Middle Group, due to the fact it has been discussed above. The pedagogical aim in all groups was a revision and maintenance of skills children have learnt in the previous school year, e.g. eating habits, manual skills and linguistic skills. Naturally, in two groups children were also preparing for holidays.

Procedures were similar in all groups. Days were running adjusted to the daily schedule, which involved an individual morning greeting (when a child arrived), free time activity, calling-over, washing hands, a 10 o'clock snack, cleaning up together, everyday physical exercises, initials or sessions, outside/ inside free-time activities, daily hygiene, lunch, preparing for sleep, sleeping, afternoon snack, free-time activity and departure.

In free play time activity children chose the games and toys according to their interest. Kindergarten teachers had prepared the space for the activities and worked as mediators. The most popular games in The Young Group were fishing with magnets, building with animals on the carpet, memory game, and a cutting game with scissors and plasticine. In The Middle Group children liked drawing with crayons and chalk at a table, building a town on the carpet, and playing with LEGO. Children in The Old Group made Easter eggs from flour plasticine at a table, built an airport on the carpet, and played a memory game. Playing went on in pairs,

small groups or individually, with or without the kindergarten teachers or the assistants. (I will turn back to the question of grouping at the linguistic description of the different plays later in this chapter.) After cleaning up I observed three sessions which I recorded: in The Young Group a story telling session, and in the two other groups two P. E. sessions. After meals (snacks and lunch) free time activities were going on.

Parents' roles in the daily routine were reduced to the few minutes when they brought their children to the kindergarten and took them home in the afternoon. With the Hungarian parents kindergarten teachers spoke Hungarian, while the vehicle language between foreign parents and kindergarten teachers was English even with non-native English parents, too. Few fathers bring their children to the kindergarten but a Bulgarian father appeared during my visit. Parents did not stay long and their communication usually contained some information just like the American mother's in The Old Group who told the kindergarten teacher in English to change her child's clothes if they go outside.

Linguistic features could be observed together with social grouping. In The Young Group Vuokko, whose mother is Finnish and father is Swedish called Jesper, the Swedish boy to play, probably, in Swedish ("Komm, Jesper!") and then they were playing together using the Swedish language continuously. I must admit here, however, that as I do not speak Swedish, I cannot state this definitely, yet I might deduce it from the background information according to which Vuokko is Swedish–Finnish bilingual and Jesper's L1 is Swedish. On the other hand, as I speak a little Finnish, I may say that it was not the Finnish language the children used between themselves.

The American Chessa and the Norwegian Ingrid were playing with plastic animals on the carpet. Chessa gave Ingrid instructions in English, like "Put the crocodile to the zoo!" or "Take another one!". Although Ingrid did not answer her in English, she followed the instructions. Children were very mobile and new groups were constantly forming. Karin, the Swedish girl joined the Vuokko–Jesper pair playing together using the Swedish language. Ingrid left Chessa and continued playing with a group of Hungarian children where her reactions showed that she understood Hungarian, but she did not use the language. In between I asked Vuokko "Mistä sinä olet kotoisin?" ("Where are you from?") in Finnish. She was also talking about her family in Finnish expecting me to understand. When she realised that my Finnish was not enough to understand her, she was trying to explain some Finnish words to me at snack time by showing and miming ('voileipä' = "bread and butter"; "Hyvää ruokahalua!" = "Enjoy your meal!" etc.).

A few children were playing alone, for instance Ingrid, who was dressing up a wooden bear family. When I asked her in Hungarian ("Mit csinálsz?") she did not answer. Later I asked about the bear family still in Hungarian, and she started to answer me in the same language: "Ez a mama. Ez a papa. Ez Krisztina. Ez én vagyok." ("This is mother. This is father. This is Christina. It's me.") When I inquired "Ez a te családod?" ("Is this your family?") she gave me a positive answer in Hungarian. When I repeated the same question in English, she gave me a positive answer again, but this time in English. When she put a bear aside, I asked her "Miért nem tetszik ez a mackó?" ("Why don't you like this bear?") "Mert..." ("Because..."), but she did not finish the sentence. She showed me the bear's mouth which curved down and told me a Norwegian word I could not understand. She repeated the word louder and louder while she became more and more impatient. When I told her "Sir. Szomorú." ("He's crying. He's sad."), she accepted my version and repeated in Hungarian: "Igen. Sír. Szomorú." ("Yes. "He's crying. He's sad."). After a while Chessa and Ingrid were together again playing memory game with animals. Chessa was speaking English all the time: "The zebra goes there. One goes there ... here. It's a bird right there." Ingrid took part in the game but did not speak either Hungarian or English. When the kindergarten teacher went up to them, she asked Ingrid in Hungarian "Segítesz Chessának?" ("Will you help Chessa?") -"Nem, nem tudom ezt." ("No. I cannot do it."), came the reply in Hungarian. While Chessa was speaking English during the memory game, Ingrid used basically Hungarian: "Ez itt egy fish." or "piros egg".

There were two more groupings worth mentioning: Momchil and Jesper were very often together. They were speaking their own mother tongue: Momchil the Bulgarian and Jesper the Swedish language even while playing e.g. cutting figures and using plasticine. Hungarian children were speaking exclusively Hungarian, even when they were playing with foreign children. Hungarian children did not go up to foreign groups by themselves. On the other hand, when a foreign child joined them, they let her/ him join but did not change the language. Also some Hungarian children prefer playing alone, e.g. Noémi who was not involved in any children's group during the day. At the same time she was very much interested in my presence, gave me a gift and was talking about herself gladly.

Linguistic features from the kindergarten teacher's side were more observable when she got control over the whole group. After the free play activities she called the children to tidy up the room. She did it with the help of a short English song (one line repeated several times) whose similar version was also told in Hungarian: "Listen children, clean up time...!" and "Dolgozni szaporán, felmossuk a konyhát..." ("Let's work quickly, we'll scrub the

kitchen...") Afterwards, with a similarly simple line the teacher raised children's attention: "Listen, children, be quiet!"

3.2.4.3 Observation in The Young Group

Calling-over went on in a playful way in The Young Group, where children were sitting together with the kindergarten teacher and the assistant on the carpet. At this time the teacher checked children's presence with the same question in English: "András Baráth, what's your favourite animal?" "Dino." etc. Not whole sentences were expected; one word was enough. Most Hungarian children answered in Hungarian which was translated by the teacher into English: e.g. 'paci' → 'horse', 'sárkány' → 'dragon', and the pronunciation was taken care of 'dino' [di:nó → 'dainou]. Some of the names were not corrected, however, e.g. 'delfin' ('dolphin') and 'krokodil' ('crocodile'). English was used as the main language in this session (e.g. "Raise your hand if you want to go home after lunch."), but sometimes Hungarian was used even in the communication with foreign children. The kindergarten teacher consistently talked to Vuokko in Hungarian: "Várj egy picit, Vuokko!" ("Wait a minute, Vuokko."). American English could be observed, e.g. "We're waiting for you in the restroom." Counting the number of the children present was going on in Hungarian. At the end of this procedure, two children were sent out to the nurses to report how many children would stay in the kindergarten after lunch. One child was Hungarian and the other is American. The instructions (what to say to the nurses) were given by the teacher slowly in Hungarian. Finally, lining up was also introduced with an English rhyme: "Listen, children, line up now!"

After washing hands children were waiting in the corridor where the teacher initiated to sing the song learnt for Mother's Day together:

"We love mothers, we love mothers,
Yes, we do. Yes, we do.
Mothers are for hugging, mothers are for kissing
We love you. Yes, we do."

As an illustration, she asked each child in English to go up to her: "Momchil, come here. I'd like to hug you. I'd like to kiss you." In this part she spoke English to everybody, even to the Hungarian children. At the same time she asked the pedagogical assistant in Hungarian. Apart from the procedure, she spoke English to Karin ("Sit nicely. Put down your

leg. Thank you.") and Hungarian to Vuokko ("Vuokko, gyere ide!" = "Vuokko, come here!") and she seated the little girl on her lap.

According to the rules of the Hungarian system children were having their snacks and lunch together at different tables. The kindergarten teacher started in Hungarian: "Jó étvágyat kívánok!" ("Enjoy your meal!") and children answered in the same language: "Köszönöm, viszont kívánok!" ("Thank you. Same to you!") Children were playing while eating, especially with bread. The Hungarian Nelli said to Vuokko: "My name is 'krokodil'.", then Vuokko answered with the same method showing her piece of bread: "My name is 'zsiráf'." The kindergarten teacher warned the American girl in English: "Eat your bread, Chessa!" During meal the kindergarten teacher, the pedagogical assistant and the nurse were all ready to help. When children needed something, Hungarian children told the teachers, and foreign children raised their hands.

The actual initial or session led by the kindergarten teacher started after hygiene activities. It began with physical exercises in the disguise of a train journey. The kindergarten teacher introduced the exercises in Hungarian using popular rhythmic Hungarian children's verses like *Tengerecki Pál (Paul Tengerecki)* by Tamkó Sirató Károly or *Mozdony (Train)* by Gyula Illyés:

Tamkó Sirate	Károly:	Tengerecki Pál -	- parts

Szil, szál, szalmaszál! Merre jár a Pál?

Tenger szélén? Hegyek élén? Havas sziklák meredélyén?

a messzivágyó, tűzhegyjáró, felhőszálló Tengerecki Pál?

Hol bolyong?

Illyés Gyula: Mozdony

Ssh-sszh, beh sok súly! Meg se mozdul! Friss szenet, ha bekapok: messze, messze szaladok, szaladok...

The first one is about a boy who likes strolling all over the countryside and the second is the personification of a train.

Also an English rhyme was used to show parts of body together with moving:

Hop one, two,
Jump three, four,
Turn around quickly,
And sit upon the floor.
Clap one, two,
Knock three, four,
Jump up again,
And be ready for more.

Some children were singing and almost everybody was doing the movements. Chessa did not feel like joining, so she was staying apart first watching the children, then playing with a doll. Later Momchil joined her. The kindergarten teacher praises the children in Hungarian "Karin, ügyes vagy!" ("Karin, you're clever!") Later she invites Momchil to the circle in Hungarian.

The P.E. session was followed by a rhyme which Hungarian boys say at Easter when they sprinkle girls with water or perfume. This rhyme was very carefully introduced with visual aids which helped children imagine the situation and make out the Hungarian words, e.g. 'fecske' ('swallow'), 'ház' ('house') and 'domb' ('hill'). The words and the rhyme were practised only in Hungarian. The teacher asked Vuokko and Ingrid to recognise the pictures and they answered in Hungarian saying 'piros tojás' ('red egg') or 'fiú' ('boy'). Then a ladybird was put together out of coloured paper forms. The name of the animal and its different parts were told in Hungarian: 'katicabogár' ('ladybird'), 'pötty' ('spots'), 'lábak' ('legs'). Also little ladybirds were handed to children and the instruction to pull them on fingers was given both in Hungarian and English stressing 'mutatóujj' ('pointer'). Then a Hungarian song about a ladybird (Katicabogár by Vilmos Gryllus) was sung together:

Domború hátam, pöttyös a szárnyam, baktat a fűben hat pici lábam. Mászom a dombra szárnyamat bontva, ringat a szellő, ez csak a dolga.

Szállok az égen, nap süt a réten, hét kicsi pöttyöm csillan a fényben, ámde megállok, rád ha találok, nyújtsd fel az ujjad: arra leszállok.

In the tale telling part of the session the kindergarten teacher tells a tale about the lost goose. Children sit around her on the carpet and listen to the tale. The teacher pretends that

they are a part of a theatre play and asks in Hungarian: "What do we do if we like the performance?" Children answer: "We clap," and they do so. The tale goes in Hungarian. Some paper puppets on a wooden stick illustrate the tale. At the beginning of the tale the question "How many little geese were born?" is asked, then children count and answer in Hungarian. The tale is interrupted three times by short songs which intend to comfort the goose that seems to have lost her mum. Two songs are sung in Hungarian ("Száz liba egy sorba..." and "Látod, kisliba, meglett a mama...") and one in English ("Don't cry little goose, we will take you home..."). At the end of the 'performance' children clap and Chessa wants to take home the puppets. The kindergarten teacher tells her in English that she would need them again later, so she cannot give them to her.

3.2.4.4 Observation in The Middle Group

Older children go to The Middle Group than into The Young Group and their age can be noticed in their play and communication as they have known each other for a longer time. Therefore in The Middle Group children are more relaxed and there are a few "old friends" who usually play together. Luboslaw, a Polish boy speaks to the kindergarten teacher fluently in Hungarian. "Megetted a süteményt?" ("Have you eaten the cake?") asked a teacher and he answered "Majd holnap." ("Tomorrow.") He was not embarrassed at my presence either. He involved me immediately in castle building on the rug. He spoke to me Hungarian telling me that although he was playing with Hungarian boys, his real friend was absent. When I inquired in Hungarian who his friend was, he replied: "Mariusz, de ő polska." ("Mariusz, but he is polska."). "Szóval lengyel." ("So, he is Polish."), I stated. "Nem, polska!" ("No, but polska!") When the kindergarten teacher warned Luboslaw in Hungarian not to hit other children, he stopped doing so. When I asked him about the animals in the zoo on the rug, he clearly made a difference among them. E.g. "Ez oroszlán vagy tigris?" ("Is this a lion or a tiger?") "Oroszlán." ("A lion.") When an American boy, Blake joined the Polish–Hungarian group of boys, the vehicular language was Hungarian. Matyi, when he realised that I was speaking to the children, asked me: "Te tudsz magyarul beszélni az angolokkal?" ("Can you speak Hungarian to the English children?")

Anastasiya and Emily make another mixed (Bulgarian–American) pair. They were inseparable also during my visit. They are building an animal farm and speaking English. Emily: "They're horses. This is their house." Anastasiya: "They're ghosts. The horses are scared." When the Bulgarian girl was speaking to me, she used English. Matyi was ready to

help me and showed me his translating skills: "Azt mondja, kísértet jön." ("She says a ghost is coming.") Free playing activity is ended up with cleaning up. The assistant says: "Listen, children, clean up time!", and then in Hungarian: "Dolgozni szaporán..." ("Let's work quickly...")

The common activity led by the kindergarten teacher in this group was physical exercises. It was embedded in a game called "Fire, water and air". Different activities were connected to these words. It means that children were expected to do the following movements on hearing the calling words: fire – crouching, water – running, air – lying on the floor. One more activity was added to the word: on hearing 'sunshine' children had to lie down on the back. The teacher was playing with the words and also with the rhythm of the game (slow and quick movements were required). Children followed the instructions which were given only in Hungarian.

3.2.4.5 Observation in The Old Group

Just like in the previous two groups, social grouping of children influenced language use in The Old Group as well. Halldora and Mjoll came from the same country (Norway) and they usually play together. They used their mother tongue, the Norwegian language, during my visit, too. Klári, a Hungarian girl joined them while cutting Easter eggs and spoke English to the girls: "It's orange. It's pink." Klári wanted to show me her English command and started to sing and dance at a nursery rhyme: "Two little dicky birds sitting on a tree..." A group of Hungarian boys declared that they were soldiers and did not like Klári's singing, so they kept their ears stopped. In between, the American Mandy arrived who started to play alone till Hungarian children called her to play with them. She accepted the invitation, but the communication was not smooth: Hungarians spoke Hungarian to her, but she did not respond. Two more American boys arrived who started to play together immediately. First, Jonas and Bradley were playing a memory game and Jonas listed the names on the cards in English: "clown, plane, ghost, etc." When I ask him if he could name them in Hungarian, a negative answer comes. Meanwhile the boys were talking about animals: "We have four kittens. I saw the Dad cat, but his eyes were broken." When they got bored with the memory game, they moved onto the rug to play with airplanes. Jonas spoke more ("Help me, here. Oh, my God!"), Bradley moved and jumped with the planes but his words were not clear.

The teacher initiated activity in this group, just like in The Middle Group, was physical exercises. The kindergarten teacher used exclusively Hungarian in this section. She

took part in the activities (walking, stretching, tiptoeing etc.) while she was saying what they were doing. Before they started the exercises, a Hungarian boy counted the boys in Hungarian and then Halldora, the Norwegian girl was asked to count the girls. She was offered to count either in Hungarian or in English. She chose Hungarian, and counted fluently. When the kindergarten teacher asked in Hungarian how many girls were present, she answered in the same language: "Nyolc." ("Eight.") In the second part of the P.E. session children were boxing in the air and for some safety reasons the teacher asked them to box only forward. Halldora did not seem to catch it and the others warned them in Hungarian: "Előre, Halldora, előre!" ("Forward, Halldora, forward!") The last part covered hurdle race with a ball where all the instructions were given only in Hungarian. Although the pedagogical assistant was present, this time she did not speak either language.

The language share between the teacher and the assistant could be observed easily as the kindergarten teacher used almost exclusively Hungarian and the assistant used English both with Hungarian and foreign children. Dorottya, the assistant uses English systematically and consistently: if she does not remember a word, she rather consults the dictionary than says it in Hungarian. This time she looked up vocabulary connected with flying: "power plant" and "runway". In this group the kindergarten teacher's English was limited to some panel expressions or instructions, e.g. "Silent, please!" "Come here." "Let's start." "Close your eyes." etc. Signals were repeated by her in English and Hungarian, too: "Clean up, clean up, everybody!" and just after it in Hungarian: "Dolgozni szaporán, felmossuk a konyhát..." ("Let's work quickly, we'll scrub the kitchen...") At meal time "Jó étvágyat!" ("Enjoy your meal!") and the reactions were heard also only in Hungarian, just like in the other groups.

3.2.4.6 Extracurricular activities: International Family Day

During my visit a special event was organised in the frame of the European Social Reform Operative Programme (TÁMOP). I was invited and observed this extracurricular happening. It was arranged in the courtyard of the kindergarten where all the Hungarian and foreign families were invited. The scene was decorated with huge pictorial boards where the characteristic features of kindergarteners' different countries were introduced. Seven countries were displayed: Hungary, the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Poland, Bulgaria and the United States. In the thematic boards, children and their parents could see the map, some famous people, typical animals, the national costume, the flag and the coat of arms of each country (Appendices 17 & 18). Besides, a brief description of the countries was added in

Hungarian and English. Before the main activities started, everybody could taste some cakes made by foreign and Hungarian parents for the occasion, e.g. the American muffin and the Bulgarian cabbage pastry (Appendices 19 & 20). Each tray of cakes was decorated with the flag of the given country.

The masters of the afternoon were the local Pegasus Theatre which is made up of teachers and actors who have entertained children on several occasions. This time they set up different scenes for different games where children could take part. The scenes were signalled by the flags of the countries and everybody who managed to accomplish a task won a little flag. The flags were picked into an apple and those who collected all the seven flags were rewarded. The games were varied: for instance children were fishing in "Poland", throwing apples from horseback in "Hungary", slaloming with a broom around witch hats in "Sweden" or skiing in "Norway" (Appendices 21 & 22).

Languages were used by the actors alternatively: narrating went on in Hungarian and English, one after the other, and on the different spots Hungarian and English were used depending on children's demand. With non-native English foreign children the actors employed meta-communication: they showed and helped the process of playing in this way when a mother tongue was not available. In some other cases, the instructions were given to parents in English and they passed them on to their children in their own language.

3.2.5 Brief summary

During observation I was trying to gain insight into the setting and material conditions of the kindergarten, watching how grouping was formed and what kind of activities children took part in, and carried out careful inspection in and outside the kindergarten group rooms. In order to find answers to the preliminary research questions (cf. 1.4) and consider the hypotheses (cf. 1.3) in the light of the previously developed theories (cf. 2.6) I will enter into an in-depth discussion in the Overall discussion of results chapter (Chapter 4). In the following chapters I will continue the exploration with the interviews.

3.3 Study 2: Interviewing the parents

3.3.1 Context and participants

During observations the stress was mostly on children's and kindergarten teachers' actions and reactions in the kindergarten. Parents were not present during the whole day, although they appeared in the morning and in the afternoon and we also met them at the extracurricular activity where they played an active role.

If triangulation is considered to be a prism, with the next step I will have the opportunity to look at another side of the same prism: interviewing parents will provide us with some more aspects and will answer the questions which can only be answered by the parents who can see their children at home and who can give information about their linguistic and social behaviour under a setting different from the kindergarten. I was especially interested in parents' attitude to multilingual-multicultural education and their children's adjustment to the multilingual-multicultural kindergarten: how they help to develop their children's linguistic self and identity, what kind of motivation they can provide to ease the problems of their children and what their opinion about the pre-school education in Pápa is like.

I put a special stress on finding parents of children from different kindergarten groups, age groups and nationality. Taking my requests into consideration, kindergarten teachers helped me to find the suitable interviewees who are as follows with pseudonyms (Figure 28):

	Name	Parental status	Nationality	Child's name and age
1.	Zita S.	mother	Hungarian	Misi (4,5)
2.	Kinga R.	mother	Hungarian	Diána (4)
3.	Klára K.	mother	Hungarian	Hunor (5)
4.	Kira U.	mother	American	Chessa (3)
5.	Wendy C.	mother	American	Mandy (5)
6.	Megan P.	mother	American	Jonas (5,5)
7.	Hristo N.	father	Bulgarian	Anastasiya (4,5)
8.	Polanka S.	mother	Polish	Luboslaw (4)
9.	Rosalind N.	mother	Norwegian	Ingrid (4)

Figure 28. List of the interviewed parents

3.3.2 Research design: structure of the interview items

The interview is a semi-structured interview which is made up of 47 items (Appendix 23). Questions are built upon each other, fit together and they have elements connected to each other, thus they possess logical inherent coherence. Semi-structured interview (Dörnyei, 2007) was chosen because previous information about the scene, educational setting and multicultural environment determined the types of the questions. At the same time interviewees were highly encouraged to give their reflections without limits. Therefore, the order and the wording of the questions slightly varied from one parent to the other. However, the interview guides were similar and consistent.

Interviewees in this case are kindergarteners' parents whose opinion, attitude, way of life and former experience are brought into limelight. According to Nádasi's (2004 a) classification the questions of the items fall into the following broad categories:

Items about

- opinion: e.g. Item 37 Do you like multilingual education in the kindergarten?
- attitude: e.g. Item 20 Would you prefer a native English kindergarten teacher?
- way of life: e.g. Item 7 *How many countries had you lived in with your family* (before you came to Hungary)?
- experience: e.g. Item 16 What is the mother tongue of the children your child plays with?

Besides the categorisation the target audience of the interview had to be decided. The interview was prepared for three groups of parents, namely for

- 1. Hungarian parents,
- 2. native English parents and
- 3. non-native English parents.

Questions are constructed with a parallel structure for all the three groups of interviewees. However, there are necessary changes either in the structure or in the wording. These usually happen within one item and does not affect the whole structure of the questions. For instance, in Item 13 the question, *How did your child's mother tongue develop in the kindergarten?* is transformed into the following question: *Does he/ she get mother tongue education in this kindergarten?* The reason for this alternative is that the first question is addressed to native English parents, while the second one to non-native English parents.

Obviously, the researcher has the limits in the case of a standardised interview; therefore the nature and the order of the questions do not change.

Nevertheless, types of questions alternate. On the one hand, it serves the avoidance of monotony and the maintenance of attention. On the other hand, the interviewer does not strive to elicit well-structured, fluent answers without discrepancies, but to gain answers the truth value of which can be taken into consideration. Thus, probable contradictions cannot be overlooked. To explore them it is useful to ask similar questions at different points of the interview. For instance between the answers for Item 14 (*Does your child take part in the English language sessions in the kindergarten?*) and Item 39 towards the end of the interview (*Does your child talk about what happened in the kindergarten?*) contradiction might appear.

Questions which aim to raise interest and are about biographic information take place at the beginning of the interview; for instance Item 1 (*How old is your child?*) or Item 2 (*How long has your child been going to the kindergarten?*). Content questions convey the essence of the interview and they go to the middle part of the series of items; for example Item 10 (*Why did you enrol your child in this particular kindergarten? In this group?*) or Item 18 (*What language does he/ she speak to the kindergarten teacher?*). Interviews usually start with demographic questions. In the present case they go to the beginning of the interview in order to reveal background and set the appropriate tone of the dialogue. An example for the latter is to call the child, and also the parent, by his/ her first name. Item 3 is a typical question about biodata (*a) What is your mother tongue? What is your husband's/ wife's mother tongue? c) what do you consider your child's first language?*).

According to another categorisation the types of the items can also be examined. The questions of the items correlate with four main topics which are as follows:

- I. General (introductory) questions; e.g. Items 1-3, 5-11
- II. Questions about languages and language learning; e.g. Items 4, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18-28, 31, 32, 40, 43, 44
- III. (Inter)cultural questions; e.g. Items 16, 17, 33-36, 42, 45
- IV. General pedagogical questions; e.g. Items 29, 30, 37-39, 41, 46, 47

With reference to the aim of the research most questions belong to Category II., where questions about language, language use and language learning are asked. Questions after piloting were added to the series of items (e.g. Items 4, 6, 15, 20, 22, 30, 34, 36).

Questions can also be categorised according to their grammatical form, i.e. yes-or-no and Wh-questions. It is expedient to use the two types alternatively for the sake of the rhythm

and for a change. Among these items, however, Wh-questions play a more significant role than yes-or-no questions as the main emphasis is placed on the interviewees' own opinion (Item 34), attitude to a certain problem (Item 38), and their motivation for action (Item 10). Naturally, Wh-questions give more space to discuss special issues.

A problem in terminology can be noticed regarding closed-ended or open-ended questions. The dilemma is how to call questions which expect short, definite answers, for instance demographic questions (Items 1, 2, 7, 8). For these I consistently use the wording 'closed-ended' as answers range on a very short, limited scale. For example, Item 5 (What is the language you use at home a) with your husband/wife? b) with your child(ren)?). Very often these questions offer a limited set of answers; therefore they can be called multiple choice questions as well.

As far as the form of questions is considered main and sub-questions can be differentiated. For example, in Item 7 the main question is *How many countries had you lived* in with your family (before you came to Hungary), while the sub-questions connected are a) Which were they and b) How long did you live there?

The order of items has already been discussed. What is worth mentioning about the interview closing items is that they tend to be appropriate for evaluation, judgement and at the same time they are trying to be thought-provoking, e.g. the last item (Item 47. *Is there anything you would alter in the kindergarten?*).

As far as the language of communication is concerned, the languages of the interviews are Hungarian with Hungarian parents and English with native and non-native English speakers. In wording the questions I tried to follow Dörnyei's (2007) rules. He draws researchers' attention to the fact that, besides academic merits, interviewers cannot lack creativity and common sense either in item writing.

In wording the series of items the primary aim is to put the questions into a clear, unambiguous and simple language. Therefore some archaic or sophisticated expressions had to be replaced by more everyday or understandable ones (e.g. the Hungarian equivalent of child: 'gyermek' – 'gyerek'; the latter is used). Foreign words, special terminology or complex grammatical structures are also avoided (e.g. Item 26. 'manifested' was replaced by 'show' after piloting). Instead of synonyms the same expressions were used consistently (e.g. 'kindergarten', instead of 'day care' or 'pre-school'). Sometimes it caused difficulties as the Hungarian equivalents of some foreign words are not yet widespread. Thus for instance the foreign word 'multikulturális' ('multiculutural') is much better understood in Hungarian than its Hungarian translation ('többkultúrájúság'). The latter sounds slightly artificial.

Piloting has also helped to make questions more precise and unambiguous. For instance the wording of Item 12 was not clear for the American pilot interviewee as she could not decide which language is included in the question: mother tongue or the foreign language. Originally the question sounded *When did your child start to speak?* Two words were added to make it clear: *When did your child start to speak in general?* Similar corrections were made in Items 7, 10 or 26.

It is worth mentioning that the addressing was written in formal style in Hungarian, while the interviews were made in informal style. Similarly, interviewees' first names were used to avoid formality with English speaking parents as well.

Finally, after the overall notes about the structure, types and wording of the items, it is useful to review some major principles and check if the series of items fulfil these general expectations (Reményi, 2010):

First of all the items proceed *from general to specific*. This relevant guideline helps to find the way from universal questions to more definite ones as in Items 3 (*What is your mother tongue?*) and Item 5 (*What is the language you use at home a) with your husband/wife? b) with your child(ren)?*). Item 3 wishes to identify the interviewee's mother tongue introducing the topic of language with this simple, broad question while questions about languages and language use are becoming more and more concrete. Item 5 offers the choice to concentrate on different languages and their use in different situations making the questions more distinct.

At the same time items are advancing from simple to compound issues. This principle serves to receive profound answers to the problems. The uncomplicated question of Item 9, in the form of a straightforward yes-or-no question focuses on a single experience about multilingualism (Has your child always attended a multilingual kindergarten?). A similar idea is becoming more and more complex and thought-provoking in Item 21, which is also shown in the form of sub-questions (In which languages does your child communicate with foreign children? a) Does he/ she speak to them in a foreign language?, b) Does he/ she answer in a foreign language?).

While compiling the items, it is also advisable to take *chronology* into consideration. Keeping the timeline of past – present – future it is easier to follow data during the interview and analyse data after the conversation. This schedule of events can be noticed for example from Item 2 (*How long has your child been going to the kindergarten?*) through Item 26 (*Has your child's English developed in the kindergarten?*) to Item 44 (*At present do you consider your child monolingual or bilingual (trilingual)?*). These systematic sets of items will mirror

not only the timeline but also the educational-linguistic development of the kindergartener in the proper chronological order.

The problem of *eliciting* is a technical issue in interview questions. It can especially be noticed in case of yes-or-no questions where the question forks into two directions. In Item 26 (*Has your child's English developed in the kindergarten?*) for instance, the closed-ended question cannot be finished as further exploration is needed to reach usable answers. Thus, two sub-questions were added to the main question (*a) If yes, how does it show? b) If not, what is the reason?*). This technique helps to gain valuable result and makes both the interviewer and the interviewee think about the problem; not only on the surface.

While making an interview it is important to elicit important details, hence very often compound questions are needed. If a question contains positive and negative elements, the appropriate order of the questions is proceeding *from positive to negative*. In this case it is ideal if the questions are asked separately as in Item 38 (*a*) Can you see any advantages of multiculturalism in the kindergarten? b) Any disadvantages?). In this way the researcher has the chance to receive balanced answers while concentrating on positive conceptions first.

Another general principle is concerned with the direction of questions from the interviewee's point of view, which means that questions should start from the interviewee's personality and advance to the broader situation, circumstances or general opinion. The progress from 'near' to 'far' can be noticed in Items 9 (Has the child always attended a multilingual kindergarten?) and 38 (a) Can you see any advantages of multiculturalism in the kindergarten? b) Any disadvantages?). Here general conclusions can be drawn which lead further from the concrete situation to broad information about multicultural education in general.

It is also advisable to keep the order of *neutral and evaluating* questions. First neutral questions should be asked and towards the end of the interview evaluating questions can take place. In the present series of item it can be seen for instance in Items 3a) (*What do you consider your child's first language?*) and 28 (*Do you consider Hungarian important for your child?*). Starting with neutral questions has the advantage of giving the opportunity of a free conversation without any kind of commitment to an idea or opinion which might become inconvenient during the course of the interview. Yet, with the progression of the dialogue more and more opinions, ideas, evaluation and judgement can be revealed.

As items are are in close connection, thus, overlapping, i.e. taking more than one principle into consideration at the same time is not only unavoidable but desirable so that the items could show a coherent and mature structure.

3.3.3 Methodology

Interviewing in education started to become popular in the 1960s when it was adapted from sociology (Nádasi, 2004 a). Among its advantages flexibility and adaptability are mentioned and it is especially favourable when the research wants to gather the interviewee's experience and opinion and its aim is to explore new patterns and to give novel explanations to a phenomenon (Bell, 1993; Majoros, 2004; McMillan & Weyers, 2007). The other side of the coin is, however, that interviews are time-consuming, can be biased and are not easy to analyse as they do not provide the researcher with black and white, tangible and measurable results (Fóris, 2008). At the same time, the results are usually not representative, because the sample is by far not as large as in the case of quantitative research methods (Szabolcs, 2001).

In our research, interviews seem to be a plausible solution: there had been enough necessary information and knowledge about the scene of the research before the actual start of the interviews and instead of numerical data it was more reasonable to go deep and elicit as many subtle details about the educational situation as possible. In order to do so, on the basis of similar aspects different actors of pre-school education were interviewed.

In this chapter the interviews conducted with the parents will be analysed. The interviews were carried out between August 2010 and January 2011. Altogether 13 parents were interviewed, but only nine interviews were taken as final samples. The others were neglected as the families were moving from Hungary and their children could not be observed in the kindergarten. The actual interviewees belong to three categories: 1. Hungarian, 2. English native speaking and 3. non-native English/ Hungarian speaking parents (cf. 3.3.1). Most interviews were held in a separate room provided by the kindergarten, except for two when I visited the family's home. In one of these homes, the whole family was present and the husband also joined the conversation; as it is referred to in the appropriate points (cf. 3.3.4). Apart from this case, the interviews were face-to-face interviews with one of the parents where no other person was present beside the interviewer and the interviewee. The length of the interviews was 50-60 minutes. Due to its flexibility and effectiveness in this case, 47-item semi-structured interviews were prepared and conducted. The reasoning for this and the detailed analysis of the interview questions can be seen at the beginning if this chapter (cf. 3.3.2).

During the accomplishment of the interviews Bell's (1993) and Kvale's (1996) advice was followed and the following schedule is being kept to:

- 1. Preparing the interviews with the help of the kindergarten teachers
- 2. Designing the interview guide
- 3. Piloting the interview guide
- 4. Revising the interview guide according to piloting
- 5. Conducting the interviews
- 6. Selecting the interviews
- 7. Transcribing the interviews
- 8. Analysing the interviews

As a tool an interview guide was used whose detailed analysis has already been done (cf. 3.3.2). Piloting was done by two parents: one of them is a Hungarian mother whose 4-year-old daughter went to a German minority kindergarten, and the other is an American mother, whose 5-year-old adopted daughter went to a Hungarian kindergarten. Both children attended the kindergarten in Sopron.

Ethical issues were also taken into consideration. Therefore, after a brief oral introduction a Hungarian or English Agreement about the conduction and the application of the interviews were read and signed by the parents (Appendices 24 & 25). Among other, parents gave their consent for using a Dictaphone during the interviews.

As far as the analysis of the interviews is concerned, qualitative content analysis was applied in all the interviews. In parents' interviews, after transcribing approximately 80% of the material, coding was done (Szabolcs, 2001; Brown & Rodgers, 2002). At this point I absolutely agree with Seidman (2002), who makes us understand that text analysis is not a single-method job where a certain pre-planned scheme can be applied for the sake of attracting results. It is a time-consuming process which is built both on the researcher's cognitive skills and creativity. In our case, analysis started with reading and re-reading the scripts according to different aspects. Colour-coding, by which key-terms emerged, helped to categorise, re-categorise and assign relating themes so that special patterns of independent and interdependent opinions, attitudes and experience could be gained within one interview and among the net of the interviews. Having prepared, conducted and analysed the interviews I do not feel Cohen's 'fishing' metaphor for interviewing an exaggeration: "like fishing, interviewing is an activity requiring careful preparation, much patience, and considerable practice if the eventual reward is to be a worthwhile catch" (Bell, 1993, p.92).

The results of parents' interviews with discussion will be reported in the following chapter (cf. 3.3.4), while the closing conclusions, together with the results gained by the other methods (within the frame of triangulation) can be found in the final chapter (Chapter 5).

3.3.4 Results

3.3.4.1 Background to families

From basic biodata it turns out that children's age ranges from 3 to 5 years and they have been going to the kindergarten for 0,5-2 years. Foreign parents' jobs are connected with the NATO base. Usually husbands work for the air base except for the Norwegian Rosalind, who is an officer herself. Wives are usually housewives here, except for the Polish Polanka, who is an economist and is trying to organise her own job with the stock exchange from Hungary. Rosalind left her husband, who works in the oil industry, back in Norway. Hungarian parents work in a wide area not related to the NATO: there are primary school teachers, trade company managers, social workers and entrepreneurs among them.

Before coming to Hungary, one American family lived only in the USA, and two others in Japan for 8 and 3 years. For the other foreign families Hungary is the first foreign country during their mission, while Hungarian families have not lived abroad. Two children had not attended the kindergarten before Hungary due to their young age. One American child went to the kindergarten in Japan, and the other in the Philippines, other foreign children in their native country (Bulgaria and Norway), while Hungarian kindergarteners' first experience is Fáy András Kindergarten. For most children it is the first multilingual-multicultural kindergarten, while American children went to American and international kindergartens in Japan and in the Philippines. All foreign parents agreed that the only reason they brought their children to Fáy András Kindergarten is that they knew that in Pápa, it was designated for the NATO-families, and there were no other options. Hungarian parents said that they had had good experience with this kindergarten with their elder children already and additionally, they support early childhood foreign language acquisition. It was especially emphasised by Zita Szigeti, who also teaches English in a primary school.

To the question "How does your child feel in the kindergarten?" (Item 11) different answers were received. American and Hungarian parents were satisfied; their opinion can be summarised with the words of Kira, who is speaking about her daughter, Chessa: "She loves it. She's always happy when she comes home and she likes to talk about it, says what she did."

The impressions of other foreign parents were more varied:

"At first she was a little bit lonely here, because nobody speaks her language and that was like one month. We had a lot of problems. She started crying but ten minutes later she stopped. I

know that from the teachers. After that no problem, she started to understand what the other kids speaking or something." (Hristo, Bulgaria)

"I think at the beginning he was lost, odd. There were Hungarians, Americans here, and he was the only Polish child. And the children were playing together, and talking together and he was like one finger standing, and he didn't even know what to do with himself. Or he couldn't even understand everyone. He was speaking only Polish. So, now I think it's easier for him, because now he can speak Hungarian, he can understand some English, and he's got a Polish friend. He's been here for two weeks. They are in the same group." (Polanka, Poland)

The Norwegian mother, too, mentions language as a difficulty. She also notices several problems about food with white bread and too much sweet, and sleeping after lunch which is not part of the daily routine in Norway.

3.3.4.2 Mother tongue development

American parents' mother tongue with one exception (Filipino) is English, while other parents' mother tongue is Bulgarian, Polish, Norwegian and Hungarian. Parents consider their children's mother tongue the same as their own. English is considered to be the mother tongue of Jonas as well, whose mother's mother tongue is Filipino. Although the Bulgarian Anastasiya's mother tongue is considered to be Bulgarian, her father adds that his daughter's "Bulgarian is a little broken here". In American families English is used generally, although Kira and her daughter, Chessa sometimes talk to each other in Hungarian. In the other families Polish, Norwegian, Bulgarian and Hungarian are used. The Bulgarian father, Hristo remarks that sometimes he speaks to her daughter in English and he is proud that Anastasiya can speak "English for ten minutes at length".

Children started to speak from the age of 8 months to 2 years. Luboslaw was the 'fastest', while Megan's son, Jonas started to speak at the age of 2. Luboslaw's mother remembers that

"...he was always fast in everything. He was 8 months old and he started walking. At the age of 3 or 4 months, he started babbling, and when he was 7 or 8 months old he said 'ryba', which means 'fish' in Polish. When he was 1 year and a half he was speaking like 'bla-bla-bla'." (Polonka, Poland)

Generally, American parents are contented with their children's mother tongue development. According to Megan and Wendy, children started to say new words also in

English while their Hungarian definitely develops, too. Kira is uncertain about L1 development:

"I'm not sure, actually. Fine, I suppose she speaks just as well as she did before she started in the kindergarten [...] Probably due to the family, I would guess, just because this isn't her first language here. But her Hungarian has definitely improved." (Kira, USA)

Hungarian parents also think that mother tongue acquisition has speeded up in the kindergarten. Zita observed that her daughter's vocabulary, comparing it with the nursery, had suddenly increased, while Klára notices gradual vocabulary extension. The vocabulary of Kinga's daughter has also extended, but she is not at all satisfied with pronunciation. According to her, Diána's pronunciation has deteriorated. In the case of non-native Hungarian/ English speakers the item (Item 13) referring to mother tongue development has been changed. I wanted to know if children get mother tongue education in the kindergarten at all and what parents opinion is about it. Children's mother tongue is not at all developed in the kindergarten, and parents do not have such expectations either:

"Our language is very difficult. She [Anastasiya] is alone and I don't think it's worth getting some teacher from Bulgaria because of her. It's quite OK to learn English and Hungarian, I think. She can listen to us, and she can learn Bulgarian." (Hristo, Bulgaria)

"I think he has enough Polish education at home, so it's not important here." (Polonka, Poland)

Rosalind involves another aspect at this point:

"[...] before school she might have some use of learning to count and do some simple preschool tasks in her mother tongue." (Rosalind, Norway)

3.3.4.3 General communicative skills

Relating children's general communicative skills all parents report about development, especially considering the Hungarian language. They are also convinced that multicultural background plays an important role in their children's linguistic development:

"I think she speaks a lot more Hungarian, e.g. counting and just pleasantries, niceties and such. She's definitely improved, I know. She seems to be instinctual instead of like having to really think about it. It just comes out, which is great! I think it's just constantly being immersed in it, hearing it. It's due to the foreign children and the teacher, of course!" (Kira, USA)

"It developed very well. They are picking up the Hungarian language very well. It's amazing. They might even help me my Hungarian." (Megan, USA)

"Developed. Anastasiya is more talkative now, definitely - in Bulgarian and English. And I like this result. She doesn't talk that much Hungarian." (Hristo, Bulgaria)

"It has developed. Because of the situation he had no choice, he had to adapt. Yes, foreign surrounding counts, of course. Because they are playing together." (Polonka, Poland)

"Yes, she makes good communication with a lot of people. Of course it would be easier for her to speak Norwegian to the teachers. First it was difficult for her to let the teachers know that she wanted to go to the toilet. She couldn't say that. So, she started to use her fingers. But now it's getting better because she's learning more and more Hungarian every day." (Rosalind, Norway)

Hungarian parents mention the "force" of communication in another language and they appreciate that their children learn a lot of new poems and rhymes in the kindergarten. Hunor's mother tries to explain the process of language acquisition from the experience their family gained from this situation:

"Language acquisition at home and in the kindergarten is built upon each other and it takes the child forward. It's a complicated and complex process that develops a bit every single day: the child asks something he does not understand, you explain it, show it, and then he uses it! [...] Foreign children's habits, communicative style and meta-communication have brought something new to the child's life. Sometimes I exclaim: 'Oh, he didn't learn it from me; how fine!' Hunor also realises that he is not so easily understood here as in a Hungarian community." (Klára, Hungary)

3.3.4.4 English and Hungarian language command

The development of English language command is a refined question. As it has been discussed earlier, American parents cannot definitely judge it as they also use this language at home and they cannot separate precisely what their children learnt in the kindergarten and at home. Other foreign parents think that their children's English has developed due to the kindergarten teachers and the native English peers, and their Hungarian has developed more than their English. They can count and say simple things in English and sometimes they enjoy 'teaching' their parents new English words. Hungarian children also use English, e.g. Hunor has used simple words or phrases like "Come on!", "Show it!", "Pick it up!" during holiday,

abroad. Anastasiya's father remarks that his daughter also uses slang like "Oh man, what's up?" Hungarian parents definitely state that their children's English has developed a lot:

"We used to go to Helen Doron. Although it was good, it was going on in a set 45 minutes and with an unknown person who was not so much accepted by my child. I guess that method is also good, but surely emotional connections are very important, and Hunor accepts things more from a person he loves. He simply prefers learning from her kindergarten teacher." (Klára, Hungary)

As Hungarian can be considered to be a foreign language for foreign children, there were questions about children's Hungarian knowledge as well. American parents say that sometimes they can notice Hungarian words in the children's use, but they are only words used separately. The Norwegian mother says that her child likes teaching her Hungarian songs and phrases. The Polish Luboslaw's Hungarian is fluent, yet her mother gives a negative answer to the question whether the boy uses any foreign languages at home:

"Hardly ever. He seems to be ashamed of his knowledge. When I'm near, he doesn't answer the teacher in Hungarian, only when he thinks I'm not there. His behaviour suggests: 'I can't speak Hungarian, I don't understand a word.'" (Polonka, Poland)

American parents also accept that there are no native English kindergarten teachers in the kindergarten. Parents tolerate what is available; one of them even appreciates teachers' language command: "I like it now. They speak good English. They speak better English than me", laughs Megan, whose mother tongue is Filipino. Foreign parents prefer Hungarian native (vs. English native) educators in this special setting. Hungarian parents do not find the presence of a native English teacher important either. In Klára's opinion at this age motivation for foreign language learning is more important than native English environment. She thinks it will play a more important role later, at school.

Foreign parents do not know if English sessions are compulsory or not in the kindergarten. Hungarian parents think that although they are not compulsory, teachers are trying to involve children. According to parents' answers, children, irrespective of their nationality, enjoy English sessions, especially those which contain movements, singing and rhymes. Children often sing in English at home and use expressions that were not taught by parents. The Hungarian Hunor has friends who he speaks English with. Luboslaw seems to be an exception, however, as he is not actually involved in English language activities:

"I know he is very resistant almost to everything: 'Mum, today all the children were doing gymnastics and I was sitting doing nothing.' And he is proud of himself. [...] he is not taking

part in them, not even in language activities, I guess. I don't know why. [...] When I ask him in English: 'Do you like bananas?', he answers: 'Yes, I do.' And I never taught him that. So, he must get it from the kindergarten. He gets the right reactions." (Polonka, Poland)

3.3.4.5 Language use in and outside the kindergarten

Concerning linguistic relations, the two-way communication between children and teachers was examined. Hungarian parents support the teacher's Hungarian language use, and most foreign parents prefer the teacher to speak Hungarian to their children, except the Bulgarian father:

"Both English and Hungarian, and this is good. Honestly, I prefer English, because it's an international language. This is the only reason I prefer English. Almost everybody could understand her when she starts speaking." (Hristo, Bulgaria)

From the other side of the same question it turns out that Hungarian children speak Hungarian and American children speak English to the kindergarten teacher inserting a few Hungarian words like 'kérem' ('please), or 'köszönöm' ('thank you'), while other foreign children use both Hungarian and English. Luboslaw has a special attitude to languages:

"I believe he speaks Hungarian. I know he speaks Hungarian quite well. But when we are there, he pretends, he doesn't speak any other languages than Polish." (Polonka, Poland)

As far as children's language use among themselves is concerned, the results show that American children choose English to communicate with their peers both in and outside the kindergarten. Besides, they do understand Hungarian and use the language, but mostly in a passive way, only in their reactions. Other foreign children's language choice depends on the actual company. Anastasiya can separate languages and speak Hungarian to Hungarians and English to Americans. Outside the kindergarten she can also use her L1 as there are three Bulgarain families who regularly meet. Luboslaw uses Hungarian with foreign children, not only with Hungarians, e.g. with Norwegians, too. Luboslaw and Ingrid also have the opportunity to use their L1 as they are not the only ones from Poland and Norway. From among Hungarians, Misi and Diána use Hungarian, and Hunor tries to speak English as well. When he does not know the answer, Hunor asks the kindergarten teacher what to say in English, and then he uses his newly gained knowledge. The formula of vocabulary extension works in the kindergarten with the teacher as well (cf. 3.3.4.3). Diána's mother is convinced

that foreign children can also understand Hungarian, and most of them, especially non-Americans, do use it as a common language:

"I've noticed that also foreign children speak Hungarian. Basically, they speak Hungarian. They are trying to use another language only if they don't understand each other in Hungarian." (Kinga, Hungary)

The interview also covered parents' language use among themselves. Everybody states that parents use English when they meet. Foreign parents also try to learn some social phrases in Hungarian, but it does not go beyond greetings. Megan says that she also understands more and more Hungarian, so her communication with parents has improved. The Polish and Norwegian parents remark that Hungarian parents do not speak much English. On the other hand, Hungarian parents claim that foreign and Hungarian parents' communication with each other is minimal:

"They simply don't speak. Basically, there is no communication. Nobody initiates here." (Kinga, Hungary)

"They are trying to get contact in English. It depends on the person. There are a few mothers who are trying to learn Hungarian phrases to develop a friendly atmosphere. It is not mutual, though. Not every foreign parent wants to make friends, but there are exceptions." (Klára, Hungary)

3.3.4.6 Attitude to foreign languages in the families

As far as the importance of foreign languages is concerned, it turns out from the answers that there is no parent who would question the importance of foreign languages generally. In the case of Hungarian, however, some doubts appear and practical considerations get into the limelight:

"As long as we are here it is important to learn the language, but when we go back I cannot see that she will have any use of the language, because it is so totally different from every other language in the world. But if we can maintain it, I think it can also be good to her 'language ear' later, you know what I mean." (Rosalind, Norway)

"Yes. It's very important. Because we're here. So they don't have a hard time to communicate with other kids especially when we go out. He also helps me in the store. E.g. I didn't know what 'water' is in Hungarian and he helped me: 'It's 'víz', Mummy.' I know that kids gonna help a lot." (Megan, USA)

Hungarian parents support foreign language development, and they think it should be a part of their lives. Hunor's mother admits that one of her inadequacies is that she cannot speak good English, and she does not want her son to feel the same later. Diána's mother gives a thought-provoking answer:

"Actually, it is not important for Diána, but for our modern lifestyle. It would not be important for Diána herself. I'd be happier with an education with a Hungarian identity. But our world demands today that children should be well-prepared. My aim is not to hurry her English, but to provide her with the adequate opportunity. We belong to the generation who learnt Russian and do not know it. So, English should be 'in her ears'. Now I'd just like to give that to her. So, when she really starts to learn it, it should not be 'foreign' to her." (Kinga, Hungary)

Although at the beginning of the interview most parents said that children use their L1 at home, when a more detailed question is asked about language use (Item 31), it turns out that children do use foreign languages in their daily communication, even if not to the same extent as their mother tongue. One of the American girls uses Hungarian with the babysitter, another one while playing on her own and with Hungarian speaking friends, and another chooses Hungarian channels if there are cartoons on. Besides their mother tongue the Bulgarian girl uses English with her American friend, and she can also listen to English on her father's Bulgarian TV channel as the programmes are only subtitled in Bulgarian. She sometimes sings in Hungarian. The Norwegian and the Polish kindergarteners do not use English. Ingrid uses Hungarian with her friends and likes watching films in Hungarian. Luboslaw speaks Hungarian with his Hungarian and Norwegian peers, but only when he thinks his parents cannot hear him.

"Once we saw 'Micimackó', Winnie-the-Pooh in Hungarian. He was watching and laughing, but when we asked if he understood he said: 'No, but it was so funny!'" (Polonka, Poland)

Hungarian children mostly use Hungarian at home, but they also like singing in English, speaking English while playing or watching cartoons in English. About language separation Hunor's mother remarks:

"When he got into the group, he always said, 'We have two languages: Hungarian and English.' Later, when I told him, he understood that Hungarian is our mother tongue and English is the language we learn." (Klára, Hungary)

Parents thrive to support their children's foreign language acquisition either practically or theoretically. Although American parents do not speak Hungarian, their attitude counts.

Kira is trying to cooperate because she thinks it is the best time for her child to acquire a foreign language. Wendy and Megan are ready to learn Hungarian with their children:

"We teach each other. They teach me more. If I ever hear a new word, I say 'Hey, have you ever heard of this? OK, I'll learn that!'" (Wendy, USA)

"I think THEY can help me! I want them just to focus on English and Hungarian. I don't want to confuse them with Filipino. [...] I'm looking for an opportunity to learn Hungarian. I know somebody and I'll ask her to teach me. But she told me that Hungarian was very difficult." (Megan, USA)

From another point of view, for Hungarian children English is the foreign language. Zita, who teaches English in a primary school and Klára can help their children, but Kinga cannot as she does not speak English. Both English and Hungarian are considered to be foreign languages for other foreign children as well. All foreign parents can speak English, therefore they can help their children. The Bulgarian father uses pictures to stimulate conversations in English, and the Norwegian mother helps with simple things like counting. Additionally, the Polish mother pays attention to another phenomenon as well:

"Sometimes Luboslaw can help me with Hungarian, e.g. in the shops. He also corrects me, e.g. 'alma' ['apple'], the right pronunciation." (Polonka, Poland)

In each interviewed family foreign languages play an important role. Wendy's family is in a special situation. Her husband, who was also present at the interview, gave the account of it:

"It's very important, especially as we're from a different culture. For instance, we're from Guam. We're Americans, yes, but we have our own cultural identity. If we don't have the language, we have no language, we have no culture.

We are Americans, but we do emphasise when in America that we're from a fairly different race and culture. Some of our relatives still live there. It's also a real culture shock for many people who lived on the island in their entire lives and travel to the United States, 'the mainland' for the first time. But we watch American TV, we speak English.

Some people in the USA know, but some don't where Guam is. However, immigrants to the United States don't pay particular attention to Guam, as it is not a state. Everybody knows the 50 states but they always forget about the territory. We are American citizens, but not from a state. Guam is considered an unincorporated territory of the United States... We've got a governor." (Wendy's husband, USA)

Other foreign families have to face two foreign languages in Hungary. In the Polish family learning languages is both a must and a hobby: Polonka's husband is learning Japanese as he is so much interested in Japanese culture. They are glad that their son has the opportunity to acquire Hungarian. They think he already has good basics for this language. The Bulgarian father also emphasises the role of foreign languages in their daily life:

"I think right now in my family it's very important. We definitely need foreign languages. It doesn't matter if it's Hungarian or English. I'd like my wife to speak Hungarian." (Hristo, Bulgaria)

Hungarian families' opinion about learning languages is also very positive. They find it not only prestigious; moreover, Zita considers it a hobby as well. They like reading in English. Klára cannot imagine her son's future without a foreign language either.

3.3.4.7 The evaluation of children's language command

As a summary of language learning and children's language command, I asked parents to evaluate their children's level of language(s) and whether they consider their children mono-, bi- or trilingual in the present situation. The offered choices for evaluation were *perfect - very good - fairly good - not too good - poor*. The results are as follows (Figure 29). The abbreviations are US = The United States, EN= English, HU = Hungarian, BG = Bulgarian, PL = Polish, NO = Norwegian.

Child's name	L1 command	L2 command	L3 command	mono-/ bi-/	
and nationality				trilingual	
Chessa (US)	a (US) very good (EN) fairly good (HU)			monolingual (EN)	
Mandy (US)	very good (EN)	fairly good (HU)	fairly good	monolingual (EN)	
			(Chamorro)		
Jonas (US)	very good (EN)	fairly good	fairly good (HU)	trilingual	
		(Filipino)		(EN, Filipino, HU)	
Anastasiya (BG)	very good (EN)	fairly good (EN)	not too good (HU)	monolingual (BG)	
Luboslaw (PL)	very good (PL)	very good (HU)	fairly good (EN)	bilingual (PL, HU)	
Ingrid (NO)	perfect (NO)	fairly good (HU)	not too good (EN)	monolingual (NO)	
Misi (HU)	very good (HU)	not too good (EN)		monolingual (HU)	
Diána (HU)	very good (HU)	not too good (EN)		monolingual (HU)	
Hunor (HU)	very good (HU)	fairly good (EN)		monolingual (HU)	

Figure 29. Evaluation of children's language command by parents

The table shows that parents are satisfied with their children's L1 command. However, only one mother evaluated it as 'perfect'. Others mentioned that they said 'very good' because it was not absolutely fluent and there were still some vocabulary or pronunciation problems:

"She's got some pronunciation problems, e.g. she says 'fog' instead of 'frog', so she thinks 'It's froggy out.', which is funny. Some words switching still. She's only three. I wouldn't expect her any perfect." (Kira, USA)

"Jonas is trying to communicate and understand. His sister learns Hungarian subjects at school, so she also teaches him Hungarian at home. She's 7 and speaks quite good Hungarian." (Megan, USA).

Probably not each parent compared his/ her child's language command to the children's peers', but they regarded the item (Item 43) as an abstract, general question.

3.3.4.8 Cultural aspects: customs, traditions and holidays

Linguistic and cultural aspects obviously overlap in the research as it is shown in the questions (Items, 16, 17) where the nationality of children playing together is asked. All American parents say that their children play together with both American and Hungarian children, and assumingly they have more Hungarian than American friends. Kira's daughter also has a Swedish friend who she speaks English with. The Bulgarian father mentions American children first, and then he adds that his daughter also plays together with Polish and Hungarian children. Luboslaw plays mostly together with Hungarian children, and now with a newcomer Polish boy. Hungarian, Norwegian and Swedish children belong to the Norwegian Ingrid's friends who she communicates with in Hungarian, Swedish and Norwegian. Her mother states that Norwegian and Swedish are so similar languages that children understand each other.

About their national customs and traditions American families put an emphasis on Thanksgiving and Halloween. The family from the American Guam Island celebrate Liberation Day, too, which is held to celebrate their independence from Japan. European foreign parents find more similarities than differences between their national and the Hungarian holidays and their ways of celebration. Hristo and Rosalind mention that they have their own way of celebrating Christmas in Bulgaria and Norway, and in Bulgaria New Year is more important than Christmas. For two Hungarian interviewees the 'basic' holidays, like Christmas, Easter and the related celebrations are important. Boys enjoy sparkling girls with

water and they prepare for the holidays long before their actual celebration. One of the Hungarian mothers stresses the importance to get back to the roots and revive old traditions in their daily routine as well:

"Traditions are getting more and more important in our family, e.g. sparkling at Easter or baking bread. We're making more and more programmes which are connected with old traditions, e.g. we go to the bio market. The stress is on naturalness. They are important things." (Kinga, Hungary)

From among the holidays which they introduced in the kindergarten, the American Wendy mentions Halloween and Thanksgiving, while Megan says that from the Philippines she brought general politeness as a custom and she tries to pass it on to her children as well. The Norwegian Rosalind says that they made a Norwegian birthday celebration for her daughter with a basket of fruits, instead of sweets. Polonka does not find it important to introduce their own customs or celebrations here, as she thinks they are very similar to the Hungarian ones. For instance, she refers to the Hungarian kisze-bábu (a puppet that drives winter away), which is just the same in Poland. The Bulgarian father tells the story of Baba Marta and he makes an account of how they celebrated it in the kindergarten:

"Yes, we have some Bulgarian holidays: e.g. Baba Marta's Day – when we wear a red and white ribbon on the wrist. We showed it in the kindergarten. [...] A lot of parents asked me about it and I gave an explanation." (Hristo, Bulgaria)

Hungarian parents say that if a new foreign national custom or holiday is shown or celebrated, parents get information about it and they can come to see how introduction happens. All Hungarian parents and the Polish mother remember the Bulgarian celebration:

"The Bulgarian child's parents gave everybody a puppet saying that if they hang it somewhere in the house, they won't be ill. Misi asked me to hang it above his bed so that he shouldn't be ill. He kept the puppet." (Zita, Hungary)

"I don't know to what extent children can identify themselves with these traditions, but there was a Bulgarian holiday when the little girl brought puppets. My child dealt with it a lot; she was speaking about it for a long time." (Kinga, Hungary)

"I know a Bulgarian lady. She brought in a small puppet. We all have the puppet at home called 'Baba Marta' ". (Polonka, Poland)

Two Hungarian parents find important for their children to get to know foreign customs and celebrations, while a Hungarian mother sees it in a different way:

"I wouldn't be happy if Halloween were in the limelight. Children should know about it, but they should appreciate its Hungarian equivalent." (Kinga, Hungary)

Foreign parents remember Hungarian celebrations and find them important and useful in this setting. They also notice similarities and differences:

"[...] this year St. Nichol's Day. It's the first time we've ever done St. Nichol's Day. Why not? I think we'll continue to do that now. [...] and a lot of things are really central around children's understanding and bringing them into it. So, the colours, and the customs and a candy." (Kira, USA)

"Yes, like last year. They wore white and black on special occasions. They always participate in Hungarian celebrations. Yes, the Day of Independence in spring: black and white everybody. I want to make sure that they participate. When they grow up, I want them to remember where we were and say: 'Oh, we've been in that country and experienced Independence Day.'" (Megan, USA)

"Every one of them is interesting, especially for me, and for my daughter too. E.g. The Day of the Earth. The other thing is Mother's Day. In Bulgaria it's the 8th March." (Hristo, Bulgaria) "I like it. I think Hungary has a very interesting history, and I like that my child will learn about these customs and traditions. I think they are important." (Rosalind, Norway)

3.3.4.9 Multilingualism, multiculturalism and identity

About the special multilingual-multicultural setting most parents have their own idea. Attributes to describe the situation are "unusual", "privileged" and "useful". Especially American parents see the uniqueness of the circumstances:

"Chessa gets more language exposure and cultural exposure and traditions and customs. It's useful to meet people outside America." (Kira, USA)

"It's a very special situation. The curriculum is different. Most formal education starts at the kindergarten age in the USA. As a military brat Mandy is very young. Most military brats, even if they are in a foreign country, they still go to an American school on the military installation." (Wendy's husband, USA)

Two Hungarian parents' opinion is very positive about the special setting, especially about the pedagogical methods:

"Education is really manifold here. Children do handicraft and sport. It's only advantageous that they do everything in two languages. Here education isn't just sitting down to learn the language. Not at all! That wouldn't be efficient. They do everything through activities,

embedded in a natural environment. It does work, and children don't feel it a burden." (Zita, Hungary)

At the same time some criticism can be noticed as well:

"Foreign children are much more mobile. They're just coming and going all around the world. And mixed age groups are not at all appropriate: children cannot make headway as they should. It takes long months to get children adjusted to the group; that is a burden for the whole group." (Kinga, Hungary)

"One of the problems is that our school system is not yet ready to continue language development. They start it over and over again." (Klára, Hungary)

If, after all the real examples, it is examined what multilingualism and multiculturalism mean for the different people and families, mosaics of opinions appear, the gist of which is summarised by an American mother:

"For me it means being a witness in person instead of just reading about it, traditions and customs and food and sights and smells and just hearing a language spoken by a native tongue. It's just now living it... living it, which is awesome. Not many people get to do that. It's fantastic!" (Kira, USA)

The picture is even more refined if the interviewees have different roots:

"It really opens our eyes to different things. My kids were born in Japan. They are of Chamorro and Guamian descents, but they call themselves American. And they're in Hungary learning Hungarian and English. So, it's very multicultural. And I think it's a great opportunity for them. It's a very exciting experience. And they love it." (Wendy's husband, USA)

Other foreign parents stress the importance of English as a global language, and they admit that it is sometimes tiring to switch over languages all day long. At the same time friendships might be shaped between families from different nations:

"We are happy with that fact, because we're different persons form a different country... and everybody's country and culture is interesting. So, I think it's very useful for us. I have lots of friends with my job, and we're friends with an American family. We meet outside work." (Hristo, Bulgaria)

Two Hungarian mothers find multilingualism and multiculturalism in the kindergarten beneficial, useful and interesting. Although they do not take over foreign customs or

celebrations, they talk about them and find it relevant in the 21st century. One parent says she is not affected by multiculturalism, but she also wants her children to become more open and tolerant:

"I'm not involved in it. I'd like my children to live a more open life and to be able to communicate in foreign languages." (Kinga, Hungary)

A question about identity was asked only from parents in mixed marriages. The item (Item 45) aims to know what parents think about their children's identity. One couple is Guamian–American, and the other is a Filipino–American couple. In both cases each parent's citizenship is American:

"My children are American. They do know about their origin, but they also know there is a difference from where they were born and from where their Mummy and Daddy is from. And then America. And home. They know we're living in Hungary." (Wendy's husband, USA) "Jonas was born in Japan, but he's an American citizen already. But we, my husband and I call him Asian—American. The identity is Asian—American. But when they ask their citizenship, it's American. It's fairly confusing. We can say Hispanic. We cannot say just Asian, because his Dad is American." (Megan, USA)

3.3.4.10 Pedagogical aspects: cooperation and information

As parents are one of the actors of multicultural education, there were several questions where their opinion was needed. I also wanted to know their opinion about their involvement in programmes organised by the kindergarten. The parents mentioned some day out programmes, trips to the forest, sporting activities and Children's Day. Although most parents know about these opportunities because messages are pinned to the notice boards, they do not seem to participate for different reasons:

"I don't have enough time to participate. And my wife doesn't speak enough English to participate. Yes, parents are invited. My wife definitely has the time to go, but it depends on the other guys." (Hristo, Bulgaria)

"Yes. Like the last time, they went to the forest. We can go, but I didn't want to go, because I wanted Jonas to get attached to the teachers and the children, not to me." (Megan, USA)

A Hungarian mother reveals another problem:

"We didn't take part. I don't feel the transition among nations: relatively they are moving separately. We've just received an invitation for a birthday party from a foreign parent. I

don't know how many people will take part; maybe 50 per cent. This is a good initiative, but it tends to inhibit Hungarian parents. They can't arrange the same thing for their own children." (Kinga, Hungary)

Regarding cooperation between parents and the kindergarten, an American and a Hungarian mother mention language barrier, and another American parent says they are not asked to do many things in the kindergarten. The Bulgarian and Polish parents are also helpless as they do not have a lot of experience with kindergartens generally:

"I don't know. It's my first time with my first child in the kindergarten. Maybe the leader of the kindergarten should say: 'We would like to do this or that.' And we would say: 'Yes, of course.'" (Polonka, Poland)

Hungarian parents also add that cooperation needs lots of tolerance from each side and the whole situation requires an even more open attitude. They say it is not up to the kindergarten teachers. Parents should be more active and participating.

Generally, children do not speak much about what happened in the kindergarten if parents do not ask them. The American Jonas sometimes speaks about food, and the Norwegian Ingrid about sleeping, especially when she does not want to go to sleep. Yet, language activities appear at home as well, when children sing or speak a foreign language. Parents give an account of them:

"She sings Hungarian songs. She says it's really good. Her Hungarian accent is really good and she understands Hungarian very well." (Wendy, USA)

3.3.4.11 Advantages and disadvantages of multilingual-multicultural education

Among the advantages and disadvantages of multicultural education the idea of foreign language acquisition in this kindergarten is approved by all foreign parents. They mention that it opens children's and families minds if they get to know different languages and cultures. Most of them, together with Hungarian parents, find more advantages than disadvantages of early language acquisition:

"They're so young and they have the opportunity to pick up a foreign language. Even though maybe Hungarian is not a foreign language that she would eventually learn in the future, but now they can understand the characteristic trait of a foreign language. At a much younger age than high school. It opens up opportunities." (Wendy's husband, USA)

"It's ideal to develop tolerance as children come from societies with different values. However different they might be, they should tolerate each other. Obviously, language acquisition is another advantage. I couldn't mention any disadvantages." (Zita, Hungary)

The Norwegian mother finds some difficulties in communication on a daily basis, and a Hungarian mother admits that she would be happier if her son went to a Hungarian group.

From parents' accounts it also turns out that children in American sate schools start learning a foreign language only at high school and in the Philippines when they go to school. In Japan there are international kindergartens where English is the vehicle language, as Megan and her family experienced. Norwegian children start L2 learning in the first grade of primary school, just like Bulgarians. Polish children start it in the fourth grade. American and Filipino children's L2 is usually Spanish, while in Europe English is the leading second language. Although all parents gained knowledge about the bilingual programme of the kindergarten at the parents' meeting, they have not seen it in writing.

Parents generally have good experience with the kindergarten. Parents think they can talk everything over with the teachers and the head teacher, so they gave very positive answers to the question about evaluating the kindergarten:

"We came here thinking it was gonna be like an American school. But after a while we came to realise that it was different. A lot of issues that we have bothered they have corrected. I think it's just getting to know each other. E.g. the swimming-pool was locked up and they opened as parents complained about it. But otherwise we've come to understand the differences in culture." (Wendy's husband, USA)

"It's good here, because they like parents. My kids gave the teachers a card at the end of the year, because they're just like mums. They love children and care." (Megan, USA)

"The teachers are so nice. They are really physical and nice to kids: they are hugging and kissing them. And it's not so normal in Norway, and I really like that." (Rosalind, Norway)

"They just keep the children busy here. It's not like in Bulgaria. In Bulgaria, honestly, nobody cares that much about the kids. Here the level is a little bit higher." (Hristo, Bulgaria)

After the positive features some criticism can also be noticed:

"I'm really very satisfied. What I miss is the openness of parents. It is not easy, though as they are moving around the world every two years." (Zita, Hungary)

"I'd change mixed age groups. The kindergarten is well-equipped and full of very nice kindergarten teachers." (Kinga, Hungary)

"There's only one thing that is strange: American parents take their kids to school when they are only 5. So, in this way, fewer children stay here leaving others without mates in the same age group." (Klára, Hungary)

"One thing I really don't like here is the way the children sit. It's not healthy for your back. I can see people in Pápa who walk in a bended way at young age. We sit in the Turkish way. Children should sit properly." (Polonka, Poland)

"It's difficult to change the system. But we really started that. And also about the afternoon nap and outside activities. In Norway the children are always out for 3 or 4 hours a day. And in Norway, believe me, we have the weather! And they are out anyway. The food, the afternoon nap and the time of being outside is really important to change." (Rosalind, Norway)

3.3.5 Brief summary

As a part of an interview series, I started to introduce the interviews conducted with the parents. I concentrated the topics around general introductory and pedagogical questions and put a special stress on language and cultural issues which might be important both for parents and children. I made explorations in the area of mother tongue and foreign language development, general communicative skills, the attitude to language learning while further research into cultural aspects were done. With this part of the interviews an insight into parents' opinions, attitude and experience was gained. The in-depth discussion of parents' interviews, together with the outcome of the other phases of our research, will be provided in the Overall discussion of results chapter (Chapter 4). The next part of the interviews will describe the interviews done with children.

3.4 Study 3: Interviewing the children

3.4.1 Context and participants

In a kindergarten everything should serve children's physical, emotional and mental well-being. In a multilingual-multicultural institution the line can be supplemented with social and sociolinguistic well-being as well. While interviewing students in primary and secondary schools is a usual method in language educational research, very young children (between 3 and 6) are rarely interviewed. As I consider children-centred education a key factor in preschools, interviewing children became a part of the interview series.

Besides, the reason of interviewing children can be explained by the fact that they are the main characters: whatever has been said, done or planned in this institution so far, experts had to take into consideration children's ethnic and linguistic heterogeneity. Therefore, interview questions largely focus on kindergarteners' diversity. Basically, the research is based on a linguistic aspect: I was curious to know what children know about languages, language use and the cultures connected to languages. Questions were deliberately adjusted to their mental maturity.

I tried to choose children for the interview, who I had already met during my observations in the kindergarten, but I was not always successful as holidays and illnesses influenced my previous plans. In the end, I asked for kindergarten teachers' help to choose children who are available and whose parents might also support the running research. Consequently, I managed to make interviews with the following children (Figure 30):

	Name (= pseudonym)	Age (years old)	Nationality	Group
1.	Emily	5	American	Old
2.	Anastasiya	4,5	Bulgarian	Old
3.	Chessa	3	American	Young
4.	Csabi	3	Hungarian	Young
5.	Évi	5	Hungarian	Middle
6.	Bence	4	Hungarian	Middle
7.	Zita	6	Hungarian	Old
8.	Luca	4	Hungarian	Old

Figure 30. List of the interviewed children

3.4.2 Research design: the interview guide

Similarly to the interviews conducted with the parents, the interviews with children were also based on a pre-planned set of parallel questions in Hungarian and English. Originally, a semi-structured interview guide of 17 items was outlined which was completed with eight more items after piloting (Appendix 26). The following central themes were intended to be examined:

- 1. Languages & cultures (concepts, approaches):
 - a) mother tongue
 - b) foreign language
 - c) countries and nationalities

(Sample Questions: 1. Do you speak Hungarian?, 2. Does everybody speak Hungarian here?, 3. Which country is X from? 5. Do you know where X's country is? 7. Have you been abroad? 8. How did you speak there?, 18. Who speaks English? Where?)

- 2. Activities and relations (among children):
 - a) linguistic
 - b) social

(Sample Questions: 10. Who do you like to play with? 13. Do you understand each other? 20. What do you like to do in English best? 21. Do you play in English? Do you sing in English? Do you speak English? 24. Which language do you like playing: in Hungarian or in English?)

The carefully structured interviews have been converted into less formal conversations, where not the previously planned questions were asked literally, but the major topics were touched upon; often with supplementary remarks and questions. In this way, the outcome of some interviews was more similar to the think-aloud technique (Dörnyei, 2007; Brown & Rodgers, 2002) than to the semi-structured interviews. This shortcoming of the interview with the children could not be foreseen during piloting as the piloted interviewees belonged to the elder kindergarteners who managed to concentrate on the questions and did not tend to stray from the interview line to such an extent as the actual subjects of the interviews. The items were phrased in short and simple questions which focused on children's concrete and tangible experience instead of eliciting abstract opinions and views on sociolinguistic questions.

3.4.3 Methodology

In comparison with what is described as interviewing methods (e.g. compiling the interview guide, using different tools and analysing results), very little is said about interview sampling strategies. In this respect, literature on research may be called defective. For instance, I soon realised that interviewing children cannot be compared with interviewing adults from many aspects (Figure 31). First of all, the length of attention span is much shorter than in the case of adults. Therefore, the interviews were relatively short, especially the one with the 3-year-old Chessa, whose attention could be very easily distracted by external factors (e.g. an open door or a spider). Then, conducting an interview might be boring and monotonous for a kindergartener. Last, but not least, a personal face-to-face interview cannot be carried out because of some artificial nature of this research method. To solve these problems, the interviewer has to be much more creative with children. A lot of extra questions should lead the research to the actual items, which requires creativity and spontaneity. Flexibility is another key word: if the children feel more comfortable in their kindergarten teachers' or friends' company, the interview schedule has to be altered on the spot. A structured interview is deemed to failure: in the interview with kindergarteners the researcher has to give enough time and space so that children could tell their own thoughts and ideas, even if they are not in connection with the original questions of the interview. Researchers have to be especially inventive if they want to lead back the interview to its pre-planned course and avoid distraction.

Factors	Nature	Adults		Children	Solution
Time	attention	long		short	short, simple
	span		~ν	V	questions
Procedure	conducting			boring,	interaction
	the	stimulating	\Box	monotonous	instead of
	interview				interrogation
Circumstances	face-to-face				the presence
		acceptable	$\qquad \qquad \Box \rangle$	unacceptable,	of extra
				disturbing	persons

Figure 31. Major differences between interviewing children and adults

In spite of all these drawbacks, I agree with Pinter & Zandian (2014) who emphasise that it is neither worth falling back nor underestimating the relevance of the interviews with children, because they can have several benefits due to the interviewees' original viewpoints and their age-appropriate way of thinking.

Piloting was done with two children: one of them is a Hungarian girl (6 years old), and the other one is the American daughter (5 years old) of the same American mother with whom the piloting of parents was carried out (cf. 3.3.3). As a result of piloting, Questions 17-24 were added to the preliminary interview guide. Finally, a 24-item interview guide was applied with Hungarian and English questions (Appendix 26).

In the end, ten children were interviewed, out of which I use eight in the finalised study. Two of them were so much distracted from the topic that the interviews cannot be used. Out of eight children five were Hungarians, two American and one of them is Bulgarian (cf. 3.4.1). Children were selected with the help of the kindergarten teachers who chose the children on a voluntary base and according to their communicative competence. The interviews were made on two days in June 2011. In two cases, children came in pairs (Emily & Anastasiya; Éva & Bence). With the youngest ones also the kindergarten teacher was present, who did not ask or interrupted the interview. Similarly to the interviews with the parents, an Agreement in English and Hungarian was read and signed by the parents (Appendices 27 & 28) who also gave their consent for using a Dictaphone.

3.4.4 Results

3.4.4.1 Background to mother tongue and L2 in the family

Two American children, Emily (5) and Chessa (3), and a Bulgarian child, Anastasiya (4,5) were interviewed. One of the American girls and the Bulgarian kindergartener go to the same group, while the other American little girl goes to another one. Emily's and Chessa's mother tongue is English, and Anastasiya's mother tongue is Bulgarian. Besides their mother tongue Anastasiya can speak English as Emily is her best friend in the kindergarten and they communicate in English. I also interviewed two Hungarian boys, Csabi (3) and Bence (4), and three Hungarian girls, Évi (5), Zita (6) and Luca (4). They go to three different kindergarten groups. All the Hungarian children's mother tongue is Hungarian.

Speaking about languages, Anastasiya illustrates her Bulgarian command with a Bulgarian word which means 'cup'. Additionally, Emily mentions that she knows a few words in Bulgarian. She also informs me that '256a' means 'mushroom' and 'Yao!' means 'Bye!' in Bulgarian. Anastasiya understood my questions in English and also answered in English with an American accent: e.g. 'talk' [ta:k] or 'because' [bi'ka:z]. Both Emily and Anastasiya said that they understood Hungarian, but they preferred to answer in English:

```
Interviewer: "Do you speak Hungarian?"
Emily: "Yes."
Interviewer (switching into Hungarian): "Akkor mondd meg, honnan jöttél?" <sup>1</sup>
Emily: "From America."
```

Both Anastasiya and Emily talk about their friendship with pleasure. Emily says that they often meet either in their homes or in the kindergarten. When I ask them whether they speak Bulgarian, too, when they are together, Anastasiya gives a definitely negative answer. However, when I want to know which language they prefer to use while playing, English or Hungarian, Emily replies: "Hungarian and English." Chessa, the other American girl, also has a Hungarian friend in the kindergarten who speaks English, so they use the English language among themselves.

Children also speak about their family member's language command. Csabi says: "[...] my Daddy doesn't speak English". According to Zita, her mother speaks English, and Bence mentions that his parents speak Italian and Hungarian. Évi's mother seems to be in closer connection with foreign languages:

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Évi: "My mum is in France now. She's an airliner<sup>2</sup>."
Interviewer: "A guide?"
Évi: "Yes."
Interviewer: "Does she speak French?"
Évi: "I think so. She speaks both French and English."
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¹ "Then tell me where you are from?"

² The Hungarian word was 'utasszállító' (= someone/ something that carries passengers). In Hungarian it refers to airplanes.

3.4.4.2 Foreign language speaking children in the kindergarten

Most of the children are aware of the fact that there are children in their groups who speak languages different from Hungarian:

Interviewer: "Do you know that there are children in your group who don't speak Hungarian?"

Zita: "Yes, Anastasiya and Emily."

Interviewer: "And where are they from?"

Zita: "From abroad."

Interviewer: "From which country? For example Emily?"

Zita: "From abroad."

Interviewer: "And Anastasiya?"

Zita: "Bulgarian."

Interviewer: "And Luboslaw?"

Zita: "Polish."

Interviewer: "Does everybody speak Hungarian in the kindergarten?"

Évi: "No. Not everybody."

Interviewer: "Is there anybody who doesn't?"

Évi: "Emily can speak Hungarian, too, but she's not Hungarian, anyway."

Yet, Csabi does not seem to know about other children's languages:

Interviewer: "Do you know that there are children here who don't speak much Hungarian?"

(Csabi is shaking his head.)

Interviewer: "Didn't you realise while playing?"

Csabi: "No."

Interviewer: "How does Chessa speak?"

Csabi: "English."

Interviewer: "And who else speaks English here?"

Csabi: "I don't know."

Interviewer: "Why do they speak another language?"

Csabi: "I don't know... But my Daddy doesn't speak English."

Children, on the other hand, have also observed that some of their foreign mates or their family members speak quite good Hungarian:

Interviewer: "Where is Luboslaw from?"

Zita: "From Poland."

Interviewer: "And what language does he speak?"

Zita: "Polish, but he already speaks very good Hungarian."

Bence: "I met Joseph in the thermal spa."

Interviewer: "And how did you greet him?"

Bence: "In Hungarian."

Interviewer: "Does he speak Hungarian?"

Bence: "He does. And so does his sister, Mandy."

Évi: "Mandy and Joseph's mum can speak all kinds of things in Hungarian."

Interviewer: "Did she learn Hungarian so well?"

Évi: "Yes, she did. So well that I thought she was Hungarian even if their children aren't!"

3.4.4.3 Children's notions about languages and countries

Emily calls the English language 'American' ("Anastasiya speaks Bulgarian and American.") and both Emily and Anastasiya use the word 'Magyar' instead of 'Hungarian'.

Anastasiya and Emily can name their country while Chessa answers in an enigmatic way:

Interviewer: "And where are you from?"

Chessa: "I'm from home."

Anastasiya speaks about her Bulgarian memories with pleasure:

"I come with the car to my Sofia and then I was not having car when I did a baby. My daddy didn't drive a car, because now it's too late... When I go to Sofia I will have a baby dog. And I have a mummy cat. Three baby cat and one mummy cat."

When the interview turns to other foreign languages in the world, Emily mentions "Magyar", "English", and "Norwegian", while Évi says "Greek", and adds that she has also heard about the French language. Anastasiya knows that people in Bulgaria speak Bulgarian and adds that this is their language at home. Luca knows someone who speaks German.

As it can be seen, making connection between countries and languages is not always easy for children. Some children can connect a language to a country or place: for example Zita knows that one of the boys in the kindergarten is from Poland and he speaks Polish. Évi finds connection between Paris and French. However, Luca's connection between German and Norway is not so clear:

```
Interviewer: "What kind of other languages have you heard about?"
Luca: "German."
Interviewer: "Do you know someone who speaks German?"
Luca: "Andreas."
Interviewer: "And where is he from?"
Luca: "From Norway."
Interviewer: "And did he speak German?"
Luca: "No."
```

About Hungary both Emily and Anastasiya mention how much they like Hungarian food:

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Interviewer: "Do you like being in Hungary?"

Emily: "Yes, I certainly do, because you have beautiful, delicious foods here."

Interviewer: "What do you like eating here?"

Anastasiya: "In the restaurants I like chicken and broccoli pizzas."
```

When I ask where people speak English I get several answers: Luca mentions America and Australia, while Évi mentions England. Here again, the age shows: older girls have more extended information about languages and countries.

Some children even have a liking to a foreign language that they might learn later:

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Interviewer: "Are there any other languages you would like to learn?"

Zita: "Yes. Spanish."

Interviewer: "Have you heard Spaniards speaking?"

Csabi: "No, but I am very much interested in it."

Interviewer: "Why just Spanish?"

Csabi: "Because I've never heard such a language and I am curious to know what it is like."

Évi: "I want to learn Greek, because Jorgos and Jimmy live in Greece."

Interviewer: "Are they your friends?"

Évi: "Yes."
```

An elder child, who will go to school, wants to go on learning English at school, too, which means that she already likes the language and is planning to go on learning it:

Interviewer: "Which school will you go to?"

Zita: "To the Lutheran school."

Interviewer: "Will you study English there?"

Zita: "Yes, I'd love to."

Some young interviewees have already visited or are going to visit foreign countries. Évi is soon off to Greece and Luca to Croatia. She thinks that in Croatia people also speak Hungarian. Csabi tells me that he has been on the sea, but does not speak about people who live there only about activities: "We were swimming." Zita has not been abroad. She speaks about foreign countries in connection with their mates in the kindergarten: she informs me that Luboslaw and Magnus come from Poland.

When I ask children if they understand their foreign mates, Zita says that she does not understand the Polish boys, but sometimes she plays with the American girl and they speak English while playing:

Interviewer: "Do you understand them when they speak another language?"

Zita: "No."

Interviewer: "And when you play with Emily?"

Zita: "Yes, sometimes."

Interviewer: "And which language do you and Emily speak to each other?"

Zita: "English."

To a more abstract question, "What's that English language?" (Item 17), Csabi cannot give a reply, while Évi finds connection between speaking and English:

Interviewer: "What's that English language?"

Csabi: "I don't know."

Interviewer: "What's that Hungarian?"

Csabi: "I know that."

Interviewer: "What's that English language?"

Évi: "That we speak English."

Interviewer: "And why is it good to know a foreign language?"

Évi: "Because we can speak another language."

Bence likes counting in English and he enumerates the numbers in English from 1 to 19. Évi also counts when I ask "How does one speak English?". Zita gives another direct answer:

Interviewer: "And how does one speak English?"

Zita: "Well, 'sit'." [She says the word in English.]

Interviewer: "Does Miss Hajna [the kindergarten teacher] say so?"

Zita: "Yes, she does."

Interviewer: "And what do you do when she says so?"

Zita: "We sit down."

Interviewer: "And what does she say when she wants you to stand up?"

Zita: "'Stand up!'" [She says the expression in English.]

Interviewer: "Do you understand what Miss Hajna tells you in English?"

Zita: "I do."

3.4.4.4 English language activities in the kindergarten

As far as English language activities are concerned, children especially like to mention singing. Évi sings two songs without asking ("Jingle bells" and "One, two, three, four five...") and she hastily adds that she knows even more. Luca also starts singing the song "Teddy bear..." spontaneously (Appendices 29, 30 & 31):

Interviewer: "That's really nice. And what is this song about?"

Luca: "About a bear."

Some children mention different activities, e.g. children games in English:

Interviewer: "What do you like doing best in English?"

Évi: "Hide-and-seek." [Then she tells me the rules.]

Interviewer: "And what is English about it?"

Évi: "Well, it's an English game."

Interviewer: "Don't you play hide-and-seek in Hungarian as well?"

Évi: "No!"

3.4.5 Brief summary

Although children's interviews are shorter and it causes more difficulty for the researcher to conduct and discuss them, this chapter sought to see kindergarten life through children's eyes. After depicting family background, I examined how children saw their foreign language peers in the kindergarten and considered what their ideas about languages and countries were. In the end, I was curious to know what kinds of activities were connected to the English language in the kindergarten groups. The detailed analysis of children's interviews, together with the discussion with the other parts of research, will be provided in the Overall discussion of results chapter (Chapter 4). The next part will deal with the interviews with the children's kindergarten teachers.

3.5 Study 4: Interviewing the kindergarten teachers

3.5.1 Context and participants

Conducting an interview with the kindergarten teachers is a crucial part of the interview series as they are not only one of the key participants of the educational process, but most of them are experienced actors whose professional knowledge, experience and opinions can be invaluable in a linguistic research. They are educators, employees of the kindergarten and contact persons between children and parents, parents and the management as well. The five interviewees were as follows with their pseudonyms:

- 1. Imola Szegedi, an experienced teacher, who has taken part in the project from the beginning. She had already taken an intermediate level English language exam before the programme started. In her group she is the one who is responsible for English language development.
- 2. Olga Asbóth joined the programme in the second year. She received her BA degree a few years ago and had an intermediate level English language exam. At present she is working in the United States and is going to return to the multilingual kindergarten of Pápa. She worked together with Hajna Agárdi, who she shared the English language duties with.
- 3. Hajna Agárdi, originally a primary school teacher, who works in this kindergarten as a pedagogical assistant till she gets her degree in kindergarten teaching, too.
- 4. Noémi Kiss graduated as a kindergarten teacher a few years ago. Her English language command made her able to take part in the programme. In her group she is the one who is responsible for the English language development.
- 5. Kati Horváth, a kindergarten teacher already on pension. She was called back to substitute Olga Asbóth while she is abroad. Kati is a very experienced kindergarten teacher who, in her active years, always worked in monolingual groups. She has also developed several educational programmes mostly in the field of mathematical education. Now she is responsible for the Hungarian language development.

From among the above teachers three took part in the in-service course titled *English* in the kindergarten at the Faculty of Education of the University of West Hungary. This training made the kindergarten teachers familiar with modern foreign language educational methods which might be of help in their new educational situation.

3.5.2 Research design: the interview guide

Bearing in mind the major research aims and questions (cf. 1.4), I tried to compile an interview guide that makes kindergarten teachers think over their work from the beginnings and helps all of us to understand their special situation. Therefore, while in some respects the interview scheme was similar to the previous ones conducted with parents and children (cf. 3.3.2 and 3.4.2), some questions dig deeper, especially in language educational issues. This time an 18-item interview guide (Appendix 32) was assembled with the following broad categories:

- I. Kindergarten educational questions (topics: preparation and start, changes in the kindergarten)
 - (e. g. Items: 1. How did you receive the idea of multicultural-multilingual education in the kindergarten?, 18. What would you change in the kindergarten?)
- II. Language educational questions (topics: language development methods, language use, language aptitude, assessment, the comparison of monolingual and multilingual groups, linguistic problems and solutions)
 - (e. g. Items: 5. a) Does English pronunciation cause difficulties for children?, 5. b) Does Hungarian pronunciation cause difficulties for children?, 10. a) Do you influence language use in free playing time?, 10. b) Do you influence language use during kindergarten sessions?, 11. What kind of linguistic problems arise a) in the group b) with parents? How can you overcome them?, 12. How does a kindergarten teacher's task differ in a monolingual and in a multilingual group?)
- III. (Inter)cultural questions (topics: advantages and drawbacks, personal and professional influences of multiculturalism)
 - (e. g. Items: 15. a) What kind of advantages of a multicultural group can you see?, 15. b) What kind of drawbacks of a multicultural group can you see?, 16. What does multilingualism and multiculturalism mean in your personal and professional life at present?)

Just like in the previous cases, the items started with the introductory part and the majority of the questions were of linguistic or, in this case, of language educational characters. All the questions were asked in Hungarian, as all the kindergarten teachers' mother tongue is Hungarian, and the addressing of the teachers was informal. Piloting of the questions was done with a kindergarten teacher who works in a kindergarten in a group of

German as an ethnic language. Naturally, while the questions to her referred to Hungarian—German bilingualism, in the final version they referred to multilingualism (e.g. in Items 15, 16). After piloting only one more item was added to the actual interview guide: Item 18. *What would you change in the kindergarten?* According to the rules of a semi-structured interview, the kindergarten teachers were given the opportunity to add their own thoughts and perceptions connected to the guiding questions. Just like in the case of parents' interviews (cf. 3.3.2) the aim of the interview was to elicit the interviewees' opinions, attitude and experience in their special educational context.

3.5.3 Methodology

Unlike with parents and children where personal interviews were conducted (cf. 3.3.3 and 3.4.3), in the case of the kindergarten teachers another method was applied. Why I chose the small group interview method can be explained by the fact that by the time of the interview I had known most interviewees for three years and I had known about their special job in the kindergarten. I also knew that they worked well together and completed each other's work in linguistic and pedagogical sense; and, just like in their work, I supposed they would help each other with their remarks during the interview as well. I firmly believe that they share a common knowledge that has accumulated, and discussing it together was not only a relevant experience or summary but also a stimulus for their personal and professional development. At the same time it is a treasury for the research.

The group interview was made with five kindergarten teachers in June 2011. Four teachers took part in the group interview and I made an extra interview on Skype with one of them who was working in the USA at the time of the interview. Yet, I insisted on interviewing her as she had been a very motivated member of the staff while in Hungary. The questions to her were the same as to all the other teachers, except for the additional question which inquired about her future plans after her return to Hungary.

As far as the process of interview making is concerned, the same interview schedule was used as in the case of the previous interviews (cf. 3.3.3). Additionally, the kindergarten teachers gave me an oral consent for letting me use the interviews for research purposes. On this occasion, too, a Dictaphone served to be a useful technical tool.

3.5.4 Results

3.5.4.1 Preparation and start

First I asked the kindergarten teachers to recall their memories of the very first steps of multilingual-multicultural education in their institute. They all agreed that the first impressions were unique. Teachers, however, had ambivalent feelings: they were afraid of the sudden changes, at the same time they considered the arrival of the foreign children an educational challenge where they could show their linguistic and pedagogical skills. The first common memory was a concert for children where, among Hungarian children, the first family from Sweden took part. Nobody exactly knew what to do, or how to handle the situation. When a teacher saw the Swedish mother and her child falling in each other's arms in tears because they did not understand a word, the teachers realised that parents had not been given the necessary information. What the teachers saw on parents' face was that "they were coming to the Nirvana", and they had had no idea about how they had got there. At the same time Imola as a kindergarten teacher also identified her own tasks:

"My God. The whole thing is not simply about that I'm a kindergarten teacher and I educate them. It's absolutely different... I put myself in their shoes: 'What would happen to me in the same situation?' [...] Here you should partially be a psychologist and a spiritual partner. So, it is really complex... You'll have to support the child who's leaving home."

At the same time, the kindergarten teachers were carefully preparing the kindergarten itself by decorating rooms and corridors. They had to brush up their language command as well. Therefore some of them attended a language course, and all of them started a correspondent course on bilingual education at the Faculty of Pedagogy of the University of West Hungary. Besides, they started collecting English songs, rhymes and tales so that their everyday activities could be enriched with cultural examples of bilingualism.

3.5.4.2 Monolingual and multilingual education

Although the educational bases are the same in a monolingual and a multilingual kindergarten in Hungary, teachers, who all had had experience with monolingual groups, are generally happy by now to work under special, i.e. multilingual circumstances. They stress the cultural differences from educational point of view:

"Foreign children come with different values which do differ from our norms. They are much more liberal. They are allowed to do lots of things which a Hungarian child is not allowed to do." (Kati)

"It is worth knowing something about the children's national customs. If you even know a few foreign words in their language, e.g. greetings or saying thanks, it does make wonders... and inspires confidence. No doubt, we have to be more empathetic. [...] How to keep in touch with parents is also a key question: it is not enough to smile at each other; but we do have to discuss problems as well." (Olga)

3.5.4.3 Teachers' and children's language use

When language use is examined, not only children's but also kindergarten teachers' language command has to be mentioned. Out of the five kindergarten teachers, four had studied English already when foreign families arrived at Pápa. Yet, they were all afraid of having to use the language in their everyday routine. Moreover, American parents thought that everybody spoke fluent English in the kindergarten. Hajna admits: "It hurt me so much that I couldn't speak English as well as I was expected to".

When I ask if it was important to employ a native English speaking kindergarten teacher, the answer is that not necessarily a kindergarten teacher would be useful but someone who can help with administration and language use; and "is always in the background". When I ask why not a kindergarten teacher, Imola's reaction is that "children will go into a Hungarian school, and an American cannot see the Hungarian educational system." When I remind them that their educational program is Hungarian—English bilingual, Imola says that they have to teach children Hungarian, while Noémi adds: "Those, whose mother tongue is not English, often ask us to teach their child English". Olga reinforces her comment: "The Polish boy's mother asked me to speak English to her son".

When I ask which language is worth using with the Hungarian, native English and non-native English children, the answer comes in chorus: "Hungarian!" Only Olga makes distinctions. She thinks it is better to speak English to Hungarian children and use Hungarian with foreign children. This method worked best with memory card games. In the other cases she adjusted her language use to the number of the majority of children in a small group.

Another question is how languages are divided between kindergarten teachers. In every group there are two teachers. The one who works in the morning is the group leading teacher. There is an overlap between the working hours of the teachers in the late morning and

early afternoon during lunch time and sleeping time. In the multilingual groups there are also pedagogical assistants: one for each group. From among the kindergarten teachers at least one of them speaks English. The assistants all speak English. Yet, they do not follow the same routine of language use in each group:

"Till I worked with Olga, everything was going in two languages. Now we don't do it. And I see that there's no need for constant translation. When I translate somebody's words it is by far not the same as if I said the same in the language that the children understand. The two methods don't have the same effect!" (Hajna)

"Switching over languages comes naturally to me. It is embedded anywhere in the day: in the courtyard or in the group room. The children get lazy if we translate all the time. They think they don't have to make any effort, they'll understand what we're going to say, anyway. But sometimes we do translate when children don't understand." (Imola)

In Noémi's group the assistant speaks English to the children, but

"...by the end of the school year we realised that they understood Hungarian, too. They somehow 'puzzle things out'. We connect everything to songs or movements. It works well. We are looking for an equivalent to each song. Whichever language we start them, children join in singing." (Noémi)

In children's language choice there is no rule to follow:

"Some children don't want to speak English. Momchil, the Bulgarian boy for instance doesn't want to speak English. He's chosen Hungarian. He speaks Hungarian even to the American girl." (Imola)

"Anastasiya from Bulgaria and Emily from the USA are friends. Anastasiya always speaks English when Emily is present. It happened that Emily went home for three weeks. Then Anastasiya spoke Hungarian." (Hajna)

"The Polish Luboslaw and Emily also speak Hungarian in the sand pit." (Kati)

Teachers also point out that there is a continuous language development in the groups: "Hungarian children can count, know the names of colours, or we play memory games with them in English." (Noémi)

3.5.4.4 Language aptitude

In a kindergarten where so many languages are used and heard day by day, the question of language aptitude inevitably arises. According to the teachers' experience there

are children who acquire foreign languages easily and quicker than their peers. At this point three names appear: a Polish boy's, a Bulgarian girl's and a Finnish–Swedish girl's name. Luboslaw chose Hungarian in the kindergarten:

"He likes being with adults and he literally forces us to deal with him in Hungarian. For example he brings a book to the kindergarten and asks us to speak about it. He is extremely eager to speak Hungarian. Yet, sometimes he inserts English or Polish words into Hungarian: e.g. 'Azt hiszem, Daddy katona.' ('I think Daddy is a soldier.') or 'A barátom polska.' ('My friend is Polish.'). Other children think his father's real name is 'Daddy'". (Hajna)

The Polish boy's sensitivity to Hungarian is obvious to Olga as well. She summarises that Luboslaw is a very success orientated child who wants to achieve the maximum in every area of life. At the same time he enjoys other children's company and he wants to communicate with them.

Olga shares her colleagues' opinion that the Bulgarian girl's English command is due to the two families and girls' friendship. They socialize with each other and the families often go out together. Not only the little girl, Anastasiya's English developed but also her mother's who did not speak much English when they came to Hungary.

Vuokko's mother is Finnish and her father is Swedish. She speaks both languages at home and she uses Swedish with a Swedish boy in the kindergarten. She does not speak much Hungarian as she goes to the youngest group. However, she understands the language well (cf. 3.2.4.3).

Hajna adds a new aspect:

"We can notice that now we're speaking exclusively about children who have learnt Hungarian well from a Hungarian kindergarten teacher. But what about English? I can name only Anastasyia who speaks very good English, but she did not learn the language from us but from her friend, Emily. The best is if the kindergarten teacher is a native speaker of a language. We can see that our children can speak Hungarian because we are Hungarian and we can pass on this language best."

When I wondered if there were any American children who chose Hungarian (instead of English), Imola recalls the case of Andrew, who had a Hungarian baby-sitter at home and his mother very much wanted her son to speak Hungarian.

Examining difficulties in communication, the interviews with the kindergarten teachers reveal that there are children who have problems with communication. Teachers' general impression is that children understand much more than they speak. A Dutch boy often

asks the other child with the same mother tongue to help him. Translation is a usual method among children to help each other in communication. An American boy, who never takes part in Hungarian sessions, sings Hungarian songs at home. Olga says that they never force children to use Hungarian: if the child is slow or shy, they give him/ her enough time to choose the language of communication. At the same time, they talk to children a lot about who come from where, what the flag of their country is like, and what language they speak in the given country. Sometimes children reject to speak English. For instance, a Hungarian girl said in Hungarian: "I'm Hungarian. I speak Hungarian," remembers Olga. Later this girl made friends with an American boy, started mothering him and began speaking English. Another Hungarian girl in Olga's group wanted to thank for the birthday greetings to a Polish father. She asked the teacher's help who said she could not say it in Polish, only in English. The little girl then went up to the father and, lacking Polish, he used the English words her teacher had told her. Olga also states that Hungarian pronunciation causes more problems to foreign children than English pronunciation to Hungarians. Pronunciation is practised by hearing, e.g. by songs and rhymes. The English voiceless 'th' [Θ] was pronounced best by the Hungarian child who had a speech impediment in Hungarian.

3.5.4.5 Best practices in language development

According to the teachers, small groups and relaxed setting are important for effective language development. They also underline the importance of activities with different senses:

"I see it, hear it, feel it, and touch it. Then there is a task connected to it; something rhythmic with movement for instance... and fun! Humour is absolutely motivating." (Imola)

Olga is also in favour of "learning by doing"; that is why she likes e.g. physical exercises where directions can be learnt: "up and down, left and right". It is especially important to use the same vocabulary in different situations. Another way of "learning by doing" is to make comments on the agenda: "We always say what we're going to do next," explains Olga.

The kindergarten teachers do not direct children's language use in free time playing either. Children can use the language they want or can. Yet, sometimes children go up to the teacher to ask for language help. Noémi remembers a Hungarian child's request:

"'Would you ask Joseph to lend me his car?', Tibi asked me.

'You can say it in Hungarian to him because he can understand it', I replied. And he really understood."

Olga's reaction coincides with Noémi's. She asked the children to turn to her in case of any problems so that teachers could help with translation. "We did not want them to experience disadvantage just because the lack of language." She observed that at the beginning children were looking for someone with the same mother tongue in the group. If they could not find anybody, they rather played on their own. "The more they speak a foreign language, the more open they become towards each other," remarks Olga.

3.5.4.6 Language assessment

The question of assessment and measurement often arises when discussing early language development. I wanted to know how it worked in this kindergarten. The teachers say that there is an assessment sheet, but it does not say much to an outsider. In Imola's opinion

"if somebody came in to see how much the children know, he or she would be foredoomed to failure. Knowledge can be evaluated only by the person who deals with the child day by day. For instance, it's only me who knows the level of a child's passive vocabulary. So, the assessment is important only for us: it is a register of progress, a useful aid to the teacher."

Olga thinks they cannot carry out an objective evaluation as they are not language teachers. Moreover, there is another drawback of measuring: kindergarten teachers cannot notice tiny details and cannot judge the mother tongue development in the case of American children.

Teachers consider a child bilingual or multilingual if s/he uses the foreign language also apart from the songs or rhymes they learnt: if children ask for something, inquire about something, or say what happened to them. Multilingualism, however, is difficult to judge as the teachers in this kindergarten do not speak a third language, i.e. the mother tongue of the child.

"We were talking about wild animals. Luboslaw asked his father at home what 'vaddisznó' ('boar') means in Polish. He knew it first in Hungarian, then he wanted to know it in his mother tongue. He is also able to make fun in Hungarian. He is already bilingual, I guess!" (Olga)

3.5.4.7 Problems and solutions

In spite of the difficulties at the beginning, the teachers were speaking about today's situation with pleasure and in a relaxed way. Imola summarised the difference in this way:

"By now there have been several brothers and sisters and there exists a so-called 'information channel' among the parents. They soothe each other and the newcomers are much more open than two or three years ago. They say: 'It's a good kindergarten with good teachers and children really love to be here.' And then children do come with confidence."

Imola's opinion is reinforced by her colleagues' words: "If the mother is not worried, the child is relaxed, too," says Kati. "Now the little brothers and sisters would like to come into the room as they like the kindergarten so much," adds Noémi.

Kindergarten teachers had to get acquainted with the children one by one, which was a very slow, careful and gradual process. Teachers had to learn how to accept aggressive ("he was just like a little wild animal; we had to literally 'stalk' him") or shy behaviour. Just like Imola put it into words: "We had to get from 'Oh, my God' to 'Thank you indeed' from the part of the parents".

Hajna remembers the most embarrassing times in her work:

"The most challenging situations were when I had to do simultaneous interpreting. I was puzzled [...] about the nutriment of food and its influence on the nervous system. [...] Well, I was sweating."

Joining Hajna, Imola adds:

"And all those delegations I had to accompany. My God! We also had to write things down. But why us? It's simply not in our employment contract. It is the task of the pedagogical assistant, but you can't always separate the language tasks of a kindergarten teacher and an assistant in the daily routine."

In Olga's opinion it is useful to use the children's mother tongue, if it is possible, at the beginning. She also noticed that some non-native English parents taught a few words to their children in English which proved to be useful in practical situations; e.g. when they were in the bathroom or they asked for food. Olga had a colleague who, although her English was poor, looked up a lot of words in the dictionary and was very enthusiastic about using English. She was sure it would help in conflict management. At the same time, teachers paid attention to non-native English parents as well. These parents received a list of everyday

expressions in English and Hungarian. Where mothers did not speak English well, fathers were the contact people, for instance it was the case with a Bulgarian family.

With the different cultural traditions, the kindergarten teachers also touch upon the question of food. Foreign parents usually consider Hungarian food unhealthy and too sweet. Children, however, get accustomed to it relatively easily. A little boy who speaks Hungarian fluently once asked Kati, the kindergarten teacher not to speak about the food he had had for lunch: "Don't tell Daddy that I've eaten it up. Don't say it to him, and then it'll be OK".

Conflicts might also occur because of the different expectations in the education system of the children's countries. In this case only patience helps:

"One of my foreign children in the oldest group cannot eat with a spoon. I teach him how to do it and I have a real sense of achievement." (Kati)

Raising foreign children's attention to the different sessions in the kindergarten might cause problems, too. Here teachers had different, not always conscious strategies to fulfil this task. They used lots of visual aids, e.g. puppets and used meta-communication in case of children whose mother tongue was not English:

"We were trying to seat him, talk to him both in Hungarian and English, but he did not understand. We had to calm him down: we caressed him, and hugged him." (Noémi)

3.5.4.8 Benefits and drawbacks of multiculturalism in the kindergarten

In the end it is worth examining the kindergarten teacher's personal opinion about multilingualism and multiculturalism while getting to know if they were satisfied with the results in their kindergarten. They all stressed the advantage of multilingualism and a positive change of the general attitude to other people. Imola thinks the children in her group become more efficient and cope better with complicated situations. Olga is also sure that these children's problem-solving ability is better, they communicate well and gradually they become more patient than other children. As she put a great emphasis on getting to know cultural differences, she thinks that in her group children accept otherness naturally.

Among the drawbacks the teachers mention the lot of extra working hours, especially in everyday preparation and that using more than one language takes more time.

"You have to do everything twice, or maybe three times. [...] Then also at home I keep thinking of my next day job [...] and my family says: 'Wake up, come back to us!'" (Imola)

Those who deal with the oldest children experience that, due to the lack of time during the sessions, they cannot prepare children so well for school. It might be problematic when the children go to school. Integration into the Hungarian system takes longer time for foreign children than to Hungarians. It also shows if children, Hungarian or foreign, had gone to the nursery before the kindergarten or not.

I was especially interested in Olga's opinion about multilingualism as she was a solid pillar of multilingual education in Pápa and now is spending a year in the USA with a trilingual Hungarian–English–Spanish family. She is absolutely certain that

"multilingualism is a treasure and it is a definite advantage in adulthood as well. In childhood it is a chance for getting to know the world from different aspects. While bilingualism in the kindergarten is still criticised in Hungary, it is natural here where I'm living now. I often meet families of Hungarian, Spanish, Japanese and Chinese origin. On coming home I want to go on with my work and I am already preparing for it both linguistically and pedagogically: I want to visit schools and make friends with foreign families." (Olga)

The kindergarten teachers in the interviews generally seem to be satisfied with the results they have managed to achieve in the recent years. Yet, they think they would need more material conditions (space, equipment) to continue their work on the same or better level.

"You should be proud of yourselves that you were chosen for this task and that you have created your own model in Pápa." (Kati)

3.5.5 Brief summary

In this chapter another side of the situation was put into limelight, i.e. the kindergarten teachers' opinion and attitude while I gained insight into their pedagogical repertoire and linguistic challenges. I got to know their memories about the start of multilingual-multicultural education and how far they got with their work. In between, I described teachers' and children's language use and language aptitude and received information about different problems and some possible solutions. The detailed analysis of this interview part will be found under the heading Overall discussion of results (Chapter 4). The ending part of the interview series will go on with exploring the pedagogical background in the mirror of the interviews conducted with educational decision-makers.

3.6 Study 5: Interviewing the educational decision-makers

3.6.1 Context and participants

Although educational decision-makers do not play a tangible role in the everyday multilingual-multicultural setting, as they are not continuously in the limelight, without their conceptions, plans, decisions and agreements the situation would not be the one that is being examined today. Their professional expertise gave the original impetus to the birth of the project, their guidance and control supported to maintain the necessary quality of pedagogical work and it leaves its mark on the manifestation of their professional theories related to multilingualism.

Thus, the question was definitely not the justification of interviewing educational decision-makers, but who should be the ones to gain data from. I chose three experts who have been and are still in the background of multilingual education in Pápa and have an overall view of the conditions. Therefore, three executives were asked to help the research with their expertise. They were as follows:

- 1. Nóra Nemes, who graduated as a kindergarten teacher in 1979 and since 1983 she has been the head kindergarten teacher of Fáy András Kindergarten. Before she started to work in multilingual-multicultural education she had been involved in environmental education. Together with her colleagues she took part in the in-service course *English in the kindergarten* at the Faculty of Education of the University of West Hungary. She was the one who framed the intercultural programme, created the Hungarian–English bilingual programme of the kindergarten and had a key role in carrying out the two-year project titled *Migrant Children in Public Education*. She is the contact person who plays a vital role in the relationship between Pápa town and the kindergarten.
- 2. Júlia Cziráki was appointed the general head of all the kindergartens of Pápa in 2008. She graduated as a kindergarten teacher and is also specialised in developmental pedagogy. She took an active part in launching the multicultural programme of Fáy András Kindergarten as well as in carrying out the two-year European project mentioned above.
- 3. Péter Peterdi is the cabinet secretary of the self-government of Pápa. Previously he was a head teacher, then the general head of all the head teachers in the town. Now he

is responsible for the educational issues of the whole town, thus he is the contact person between the educational institutions of the town and the delegates of *The Partnership for Peace* programme.

All the three respondents are qualified as official public education experts.

3.6.2 Research design: the interview guide

Following the previous patterns of the interviews, an interview guide had been made before the conduction of the conversations. In this case two interview guides were prepared as two types of experts were asked. The first one was developed for the cabinet secretary of the self-government of Pápa and the other for the head kindergarten teachers. Correspondingly, the items were different in the two schemes. While the cabinet secretary is more directly related to the local NATO base, the head kindergarten teachers are the actual executives of the programme initiated by the self-government. Therefore the items to the secretary inquired about

1. the military background

(e. g. Items: 1. How and why did the idea come about the NATO-families' children's integrated education in a kindergarten in Pápa instead of establishing an international kindergarten? What was its aim?, 2. What kind of education political principles and laws were taken into consideration? What kind of rules and regulations had to be kept?, 4. a) How did the local NATO headquarter receive the idea? c) How did the town receive the idea?)

2. partnerships

- (e. g. Items: 3. a) What kind of partners could you cooperate with at the beginning?,6. What kind of pedagogical scenes does education take place?, 7. Draft how the
- idea is put into practice in the different scenes!)

3. agreements

(e. g. Items: 5. What kind of agreements were made with the educational institutions? (For how long? Under what conditions?))

4. responsibilities

(e. g. Items: 8. a) Do the institutes have any reporting obligations to you? b) Do you have any reporting obligations? To whom? (To the ministry? To the NATO?))

At the same time, the questions to the head teachers were more education-related. They dealt with

- 1. the educational programme
 - (e. g. Items: 4. What kind of educational programme is followed by the groups?,
 - 5. Why did you decide to start a Hungarian–English kindergarten programme while there are a lot of children from other countries, too?, 6. What are the basic principles of the programme? Were there any samples for this?)
- 2. educational trainings
 - (e. g. Items: 7. What kind of language / pedagogical training did the teachers of the kindergarten have to take part in?)
- 3. projects
 - (e. g. Items: 11. Please outline the running project in the kindergarten! a) What kind is it? b) For how long? c) What are its objectives? d) What did you manage to realise up to now?)

However, there is a slight overlapping between the questions to the secretary and the head teachers, mostly about

• their opinions and attitudes to the bilingual programme and the hardships of the first times

(e.g. Items: 2. How did the teachers of the kindergarten receive the introduction of the multicultural programme?, 11. Do the multicultural kindergarten teachers play a particularly important role in the life of the town and the educational institutions? For instance, do they have a higher financial and moral prestige?, 12. After three years what are your perceptions? a) What did you manage to achieve? b) What would you like to change?, 3.b) What kinds of difficulties did you have to overcome at the beginning?)

Similarly to the previous interviews, the interviews to the educational experts were also semi-structured so that they could complete the questions with their additional comments or highlight problems besides the original interview plan. The interview guide to the secretary is made up of 12 items (Appendix 33) while the guide to the head teachers comprises 15 items (Appendix 34).

3.6.3 Methodology

Although each interviewee in this chapter belongs to the management team, they see different sides of the educational system. Therefore, two interviews were made. The first was conducted as a personal interview with the cabinet secretary while the questions of the other were put to the two head teachers who participated in the interview as a pair. It sometimes resulted in overlapping questions and two different aspects of the same question, especially when the item focussed on the respondents' opinion for instance about kindergarten teachers' appreciation or the views on the progress the kindergarten made during these years from the very beginning. In this way, three educational decision-makers were interviewed in two interviews in June, 2011. They received me in their office and gave their consent for using a Dictaphone and agreed orally that the interviews would be used for research aims. They seemed to be glad that the information given by them would be made available for a wider public, for instance at conferences or in kindergarten teachers' training. In this sense the interviews with them can be considered to be rewarding not only for the research but also for the whole programme. Disseminating their results is important for the participants, i.e. stake holders and decision makers as well.

Piloting was done with the head and deputy head teacher of a kindergarten where there is German as an ethnic language education. According to the uniqueness of the pre-school in Pápa, the questions about the NATO could not be asked during piloting (e.g. Items 1, 4 or 8). The analysis of the interviews was done according to the method already described (cf. 3. 3.3).

3.6.4 Results

3.6.4.1 The military-economic background

First I wanted to know how the idea of involving the children of the NATO-families in our education system came into mind and into this town instead of establishing a so-called "international school" somewhere in Europe. The cabinet secretary explained that there had been three potential locations of the NATO air base: one of them in Germany, another one in Romania and the third one in Pápa, Hungary. Among the criteria the NATO took four points into consideration: 1. educational, 2. residential, 3. recreational and 4. medical conditions. The

first steps were made by American commanders who were contemplating either establishing an affiliated school to the American International School in Budapest or creating a Hungarian–English bilingual programme in the schools of Pápa. Having made an agreement on the latter, which was also the preferred version of the self-government of the Hungarian town, the other NATO states (USA, Norway, the Netherlands) and a partner country (Sweden) followed the conception. The reason why this version came into being is two-fold. On the one hand, it had financial reasons as the fees of an American international school were not affordable to everyone. On the other hand, there was a kind of distrust in an American institution from the side of the other parties. As Péter Peterdi put it: "The American school comprises a system which is suitable for American students, but not necessarily for Dutch or Swedish children."

To be more precise, Mr. Peterdi warned me, it is not exclusively a NATO-project, but a programme called SAC-C/17 (SAC = Strategic Airlift Capability), which aims to operate three Boeing C-17 aircraft in the town for humanitarian reasons. It is a military programme which comprises ten NATO-members and, in our case, two non-NATO-countries, namely Sweden and later, Finland. The Hungarian State entered into an interstate agreement which was ratified by each participating country and is valid for 30 years.

To achieve the goal, the town was financially supported neither by the Hungarian state, except for a 30 million Forint worth teacher training course, nor by the NATO. Mr. Peterdi emphasises that

"the town provided all the necessary conditions. We offered infrastructure and they [the coming families] realised that the kindergarten was free. There is an allowance fee, but not a tuition fee, which does make a difference. Once our mayor remarked: 'This project has two big supporters: The United States of America and Pápa.'".

The self-government as a maintainer started to make the arrangements, among which the most relevant ones were to build up the network of schools, to alter the founding regulations of educational institutions, to work out educational programmes, to build and expand classes and institutions and to increase the number of students in them. Beside the material conditions, the appropriate educational personnel had to be found. The self-government was given one year to prepare the educational setting. By September 2008 all the schools were ready to welcome the new kindergarteners and students.

Equipment donations arrived from the USA and the Netherlands. These cover mostly books and tools used for mathematical and environmental experiences. The donated toys,

however, are suitable mostly for babies, not for kindergarteners. Except for these donations, everything was provided by the maintainer, i.e. the self-government of Pápa. "The air base cannot help because we are not a school; and the kindergarten does not exist, there is no way, no financial aid", remarks Nóra Nemes, then Júlia Cziráki adds: "At the same time, it is the kindergarten and the lower grades of school which are mostly attended by foreign children."

At the same time the cabinet secretary remembers that the inhabitants of the town were very open to accept foreign families. Although it was difficult for them to imagine 250 foreign families coming to town, they were looking forward to it. Living together on town level proved to be fruitful and made daily life more varied than before. Local businessmen profited from house renting, while language learning and services in town started to boom. Just like cultural and social life, as new-comers took a very active part in local programmes (e.g. wine days, goose days, etc.). Actually, educational decision-makers have not received any negative information about the appearance of foreign families in town.

Julia Cziráki also adds that there is an ideal relationship with the town leaders (mayor and vice mayor) who also work for the success of the kindergarten and make multicultural education a special point in the life of their town.

3.6.4.2 Pedagogical preparations

According to the head teachers information was not always punctual and in the end they did not get to know why exactly this teaching staff and the kindergarten were chosen. They only had guesses about the reasons, for example personal conditions or the condition of the building. The cabinet secretary, however, goes into details about the selection. He explains that the self-government, before making a decision about the scenes of education examined the conditions in the potential kindergartens, which were as follows: 1. infrastructure, 2. residential area, 3. educational traditions and 4. the quality of the management.

He also added that they needed a manager with outstanding abilities to make things smooth: who is able to take criticism and can socialise with parents. "We needed an experienced and excellent head teacher, and Nóra Nemes undoubtedly met the requirements." (Peter Peterdi)

The cabinet secretary also gave an overall answer in the interview about what the self-government sees from multicultural and multilingual education in the kindergarten. He confirmed that his colleagues, together with kindergarten teachers, first went to see bilingual

kindergartens, e.g. in Szombathely just to have an impression about early childhood language acquisition.

Gaining experience has always been a crucial point in the programme, so later, while attending the in-service courses, kindergarten teachers also had the opportunity to visit kindergartens where bilingualism was in the limelight, e.g. the German ethnic kindergarten in Brennbergbánya, Maria Montessori Bilingual Nursery in Budapest and two multicultural kindergartens in Austria. Due to a running project, teachers managed to make a study tour in the Netherlands, where they saw two types of schools: one of them was an international school and the other was a monolingual integrated school. "There, children had to learn Dutch; and there wasn't a question about it", as Ms. Nemes summarised the linguistic programme of the Dutch school.

In spite of the informative visits, in the head teachers' opinion it is difficult to establish international relations at kindergarten level. First of all, kindergarten teachers in Fáy András Kindergarten today are far too overloaded to deal with it and the other problem, which was pointed out by Júlia Cziráki, is that

"in our sister towns early childhood education is not so well-developed and well-structured as in Hungary. Quite often kindergartens are attached to schools, which also hinders bilateral relations. Last, but not least we must admit that we didn't have the appropriate language command. It will be easier when kindergarten teachers' English is getting better."

The self government were also exploring to what extent kindergarten teachers could and would be willing to take part in such co-operation, i.e. what their language command was like and if they could devote time and energy for further (language and pedagogical) trainings for the sake of the partnership. As far as the suitable educational personnel are concerned, kindergarten teachers had to undertake to develop their language command and their multicultural competence as well.

At the same time the head teachers still did not finish recruiting kindergarten teachers with an appropriate English language command. New kindergarten teachers had to be informed that apart from their qualifications it is English that counts. Recruiting proved to be a very complex activity as Ms. Nemes describes:

"We had to choose colleagues who, besides their English, had the courage to study and develop, who could cope with extra workload, and who possessed professional respect so that I could charge them with this task. At this point, we were looking for kindergarten teachers for the children with good English."

Júlia Cziráki emphasised that the fact was that in Hungary young teachers speak better English than their experienced colleagues and it caused problems to send a fresh graduate, into such a mixed group full of challenges, however good her English was. Some teachers even had to decide if they undertook to learn English or choose another kindergarten. "Now we can accept only those who undertake language learning and further trainings", added Ms. Cziráki.

The interviewees also gave an account of the educational trainings they took part. They were as follows:

- 1. English language course (240 lessons)
- 2. Professional methodological and language course (90 lessons)
- 3. Specific in-service training called "English in the Kindergarten" (4 semesters)
- 4. Specific in-service training called "Hungarian–English Bilingualism" (2 semesters)

Except for the English language course, which was organised and sponsored by Pápa self-government, the other three courses were held at the Faculty of Pedagogy of West-Hungarian University, Sopron. While methodological courses were attended by the kindergarten teachers, the language course was attended by the kindergarten secretary as well, because it was important for her to use English in everyday communication with parents. The cabinet secretary completed the information with the fact that not only educators but other actors of services had the chance to improve their English: for instance, nurses from hospital, self-government officers and nurses from the nursery also attended language courses.

Besides the personal conditions, documents had to be revisited, too. The details of multilingual and multicultural work in the kindergarten were illuminated by the two head kindergarten teachers. When I asked them why they had finally decided upon a Hungarian–English bilingual work programme while there were so many other nations whose mother tongue was not English, they answered that those families were moving from place to place and usually they used English as their second language all over the world. Additionally, parents' working language is also English and there is a requirement from their side to the kindergarten teachers to pass on English to their children in the kindergarten, too. There is also an association called "Multicultural Parents' Centre" initiated by parents where English is the vehicular language. Nóra Nemes also found it important to declare that "we are the first example of educating children in an integrated way in a settlement of a host country. In other places there is a separated English language preparation for school". She also adds that in Hungary the right to learn in one's own language refers only to minority children; there is no regulation regarding migrant children.

3.6.4.3 The educational programme in action

In the autumn of 2008 the first families arrived. The school worked in an uplink system, while the kindergarten was much more homogeneous as there is no relevant differentiation according to age groups vs. the school where there are classes. Yet, starting was not so simple in the kindergarten either. The problem can be found, Mr. Peterdi explained, in the fact that the education system of the "four big countries" (USA, Sweden, the Netherlands and Norway) differ not only from the Hungarian system, but also from that of each other:

"They [the families] came from different cultures and different expectations. For instance, things we agreed upon with the Americans could not work with the Swedes, because they had so different expectations... Educational culture is absolutely different in each country. Foreign parents formed expectations individually which simply could not be interpreted at institutional level. E.g. 'Why do we have to take an afternoon nap?', 'Why do we need to change shoes?', 'Why do we have to arrive and leave on time?', 'Why can't a parent enter the room in muddy boots?', asked the Americans. Then a Swede: 'Why don't you take out children to the kindergarten yard in minus 14 degrees centigrade?' I could endlessly go on. And it was even simpler than the school as at school level there were problems with the curriculum, too."

According to Nóra Nemes, in 2008 they were "flying blind", yet they were trying to solve the problem together with the self-government. As it has been mentioned (cf. 3.6.4.2), they were visiting bilingual kindergartens and they were searching for the opportunities of further trainings both in the area of language learning and multicultural education. In October, 2008 the first children, Swedish twins appeared and by the next January, 15 foreign children started to attend the kindergarten. The head kindergarten teachers soon realised that they needed help in their everyday routine:

"We'll need a pedagogical assistant, otherwise we'll die... We mustn't accept too many foreign children as there are no patterns... If the majority of children can't speak Hungarian, we'll have to face a serious problem in socialising the children, teaching them the agenda, fixing behaviour, etc." (Nóra Nemes)

Later the self-government submitted a tender for a project to develop bilingual education in Fáy András Kindergarten. It was the project titled "TÁMOP³ 3.4.1 B-08/2. Migrant Children in Public Education". It was going on between February 2009 and

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³ TÁMOP (Társadalmi Megújulás Operatív Program) = SROP (Social Renewal Operational Programme)

September 2011. The major aim of the project was to work out the so-called "good practices" and to give it publicity so that other educators could learn from it. It also involved two study tours (one in Austria, and the other one in the Netherlands), an international conference on multilingual-multicultural affairs, and a homepage on the Internet which, in accordance with a basic principle of the project, will be maintained for five years. The project entailed a great number of valuable social relations: the kindergarten worked together with The Multicultural Parents' Organisation where, with the words of Nóra Nemes, "parents take part not as military officers but mothers and fathers". Then they co-operated with the local Jókai Mór Cultural Centre where there was a series of programmes called "The Scene of Knowledge" for foreign children. The Association of Kindergarten Pedagogy, which is the small region's own foundation with 30 kindergartens, also took part in the project. Pegasus Puppet Theatre was a key actor of programmes organized. This regionally well-known theatre is made up of teachers and actors and made bilingual performances in the framework of the migrant project (cf. 3.2.4.6). Although "The Christmas of Civilians" was not part of the project, but it was a good example of cooperation where Hungarian and foreign children mixed and "everybody who passed by could see and took pleasure in children's performance", Ms. Nemes remembered.

3.6.4.4 Rules and regulations

As far as education policy is concerned, there are no clear principles or legislation regarding early childhood education of foreigners in Hungary. According to the cabinet secretary the term 'migrant' cannot be applied to the children in Pápa, as 'migrant' refers to people who made illegal border crossing and are collected in relocation camps. Therefore problems might arise e.g. in educational tender applications as well, because they involve questions which cannot refer to children whose parents work in Hungary legally. Mr. Peterdi would rather call the foreign families in Pápa 'temporary employees' as their children are just as much entitled to be the actors of Hungarian education system as their Hungarian peers. Being conscious of this, the Hungarian Ministry of Education gave a free hand to Pápa self-government to realise its own plans:

"We were given a 'bianco': we, as a maintainer became exempt from all the existing laws and regulations. The Ministry of Defence must have forgotten about education in the international agreement. They simply don't care about it... I, myself, would have been happier to be given some help instead of free hand." (Péter Peterdi)

Although there were no special regulations on the general education level, the kindergarten had to make changes in their documentation so that they could accept foreign children. First of all, they amended their existing educational programme converting it into a Hungarian–English bilingual programme involving the SAC 17 project. "The possibilities and the methods and tools of language acquisition were taken into account... The Ministry could not give us a proper name. They called us 'the children staying in Hungary'", explained Nóra Nemes. Her colleague, Ms. Cziráki confirmed the information about this borderline situation:

"Although they are foreign children, we were not entitled to get the governing state aid as it is the case in ethnic kindergarten groups. At the same time, we also had to 'take out' the number of all the three groups attended by foreign children from the small regional aid as well."

Regarding reporting requirements I got to know that both the school and the kindergarten have to report to the self-government, while the self-government does not have to report to the ministry. The ministry is entitled to examine unlawful events, but it simply does not have the power to ask for a report from the self-government.

3.6.4.5 An overall evaluation of the programme

Multicultural education is provided in different scenes in Pápa today: in the kindergarten, at primary and secondary schools among which kindergarten proved to be a real "success story" according to the cabinet secretary. Mr. Peterdi also told me that there had been attempts to introduce multiculturalism in a nursery (between the age of 0 and 3 years) as well, but foreign parents rather sent their children into private nurseries, the reason of which can be found in canteen meals that cannot be tolerated by foreign parents.

As far as multilingualism is concerned, the efforts of the kindergarten seemed to be crowned with success:

"A few weeks or maybe a month later the linguistic difference that did exist at the beginning disappeared. Because while playing and being together kindergarten teachers managed to create an environment that these national differences disappeared and everybody established a kind of communication and children did mix in a wonderful way. What was really a big thing to me is that the Dutch child started to speak Hungarian, the Hungarian spoke English to I don't know who, and finally, it was a magic to me! I consider it something fantastic!" (Péter Peterdi)

From the interview with the cabinet secretary it turns out that sometimes the kindergarten was given criticism and

"...I said: 'when Teréz Brunszvik established the first kindergarten here; people were chasing buffalos on the prairie there.' I reacted in this way when the kindergarten was criticised. When a child went on to primary school from our kindergarten, there was absolutely no problem with him or her; as if they had been living here for five hundred years. According to our measures they were mature enough and ready for school. There is usually very good feedback from the primary school." (Péter Peterdi)

Head kindergarten Júlia Cziráki also added: "First, there should have been regulations and then expectations." She also complained about monitoring of the TÁMOP-project:

"If somebody comes to the kindergarten and brings us to account, he should take the trouble to get informed, watch the children and talk to the parents. It hurt me a lot when someone happened to come in for five minutes, and then criticised things. Just come here and watch the work we're doing."

After all, about the overall educational experiences Mr. Peterdi states that "Although there are a few individual approaches, they do not influence the basic principles". There are several activities, e.g. a multicultural camp at school or a multicultural gala at the theatre, moreover children celebrate Hungarian and foreign holidays (Thanksgiving or Advent) together. About the kindergarten teachers' appreciation, one day after the TÁMOP-project closing conference, Júlia Cziráki felt that "yesterday proved that these kindergarten teachers really had a high prestige and the common task induced cohesion."

About financial appreciation the cabinet secretary remarks that there are more ways to make a difference at school than in the kindergarten because of the different elements of payment. Among the financial elements he mentions that the kindergarten itself did not have to pay for teachers' in-service training and their study tours abroad. At the same time he admits that they do not really intend to give more payment for taking part in multicultural education because there are so many other specialities at a school (e.g. dealing with the ethnic minorities) that almost every teacher should claim a higher salary for one or two reasons. He, however, recognises the special role and achievement of multicultural kindergarten teachers:

"This is a kind of elite activity within pedagogy; it's on the top. We provide them [the kindergarten and its teachers] with everything and it is a positive thing that they work in this project. I don't think that anyone in this kindergarten would change her position with someone

else's in another kindergarten. Especially not now when they have already overcome the initial difficulties... It is something positive to work here: they give and take."

When evaluation took place in the interviews, all the interviewees looked back on the past three years with satisfaction. However, they agreed that there were problems they naturally had not expected. The school had to face more challenges than the kindergarten. The self-government wanted to launch a Hungarian–English bilingual programme at school as well, but they soon realised that the English language command of foreign (Norwegian, Swedish and Dutch) children was far behind the expected. Therefore these children were provided by mother tongue teachers. At school, parents and military officers also formed a Multicultural Council that is more similar to the English 'school board', i.e. external actors can have more voice than in the Hungarian system. The other important difference between school and kindergarten in Pápa is that at school there are five American teachers who teach school subjects in English. They are provided with accommodation. At the same time there are no native English kindergarten teachers. When I ask the head teachers about it they say that the reason why they do not have mother tongue English kindergarten teachers can be found in the lack of financial resources. Kindergartens have a different financial scheme from that of schools.

3.6.5 Brief summary

This chapter of the interviews with the educational decision-makers began with examining the military and economic background of the setting where I found relevant differences between a monolingual and a multilingual institute. It is also true in the case of pedagogical preparations which had been made before the implementation of the bilingual programme of the kindergarten. Beyond the theoretical concepts, the interviewees also informed me about the daily application of the educational programme and about the rules and regulations valid to this special kindergarten. In the end, a general evaluation was made from the initial difficulties to present day achievements. A detailed analysis with references and comparisons with the other parts of research will be found in the Overall discussion of results chapter (Chapter 4). With this chapter I have finished the series of the interviews and in the rest of the dissertation the results of the desk research will be shared.

3.7 Study 6: Desk research

3.7.1 The subject of desk research

The last part of the research is the desk research which covers the analysis of relevant documents in the life of the kindergarten. First of all, it has to be clarified what is called a document. According to Nádasi (2004 b) documents are materials which are originally made not for the sake of research, yet its analysis can be very instructive and fruitful for scientific investigation. Therefore, formal and informal, written or oral documents can be differentiated.

Getting familiar with the documents, the first decision is which ones to choose for analysis? In the present case several different types of documents had to be considered: for instance, the general kindergarten programme, the intercultural kindergarten programme, kindergarten registers, project documents, the website of the kindergarten etc. As desk research in this dissertation fulfils confirmative aims (i.e. to get convinced of the results of our previous elements of research), I carry it out at the end of the exploration trying to find the valid background whose basis the observation and interviews were examined on. Hence, the material of the desk research will be the official programme of intercultural education in Fáy András Kindergarten (Appendix 35). The document was written in Hungarian.

The official programme of intercultural education was written by the head teacher of the kindergarten not long after the arrival of foreign families to Pápa. The programme is a completion of the general programme of the kindergarten and applied additionally in the multicultural groups. The two programmes run parallel as there are three groups in the institution which are attended only by Hungarian children and three more for foreign and Hungarian children.

3.7.2 Methodology

In the analysis of the interviews in this work, which in their transcribed version eventually showed the pattern of coherent texts, traditional content analysis was applied following Szabolcs's (2001), Brown's & Rodgers's (2002) and Seidman's (2002) advice. In the case of written documents, however, a different approach is applied.

Grounded Theory (GT) originates from social sciences in the 1960s and was later accepted and applied in other sciences like psychology and pedagogy as well. As it is a

carefully constructed technique, it occupied a prominent place among qualitative methods and was successful enough to be acknowledged also by researchers who had favoured quantitative practice before. Its major novelty is how it addresses a problem. Instead of formulating hypotheses at the very beginning of the research it applies a more gradual, yet more open order so that the researcher could feel more freedom and fewer limits, which helps to trigger the brain. During a step-by-step approach the researcher works more "empirically" than "logically" as Reason remarks (Davis, 1995, p. 440).

Although this holistic way might seem to be vague or indistinct at the beginning of the research process, its relative freedom serves only for making creative connections in a network which needs to be explored. The connections will generate new ideas which will accumulate in new junctions which will also play their special role in the network till the whole process will end in a "saturation point" where "the new information obtained does not further provide insight into the category" (Creswell, 2007, p.160). All of this is elaborated in a theory in the background which is "grounded" in experience. Thus, the scheme of GT process can be demonstrated in the following table (Figure 32):

Grounded Theory

- Introduction (problem, questions)
- Research procedures (grounded theory, data collection, analysis, outcomes)
- Open coding
- Axial coding
- Selective coding and theoretical propositions and models
- Discussion of theory and contrasts with extant literature

(Adapted from Strauss & Corbin, 1990)

Figure 32. The Structure of Grounded Theory (Creswell, 2007, p. 80)

While some stages in the procedure tend to be self-explanatory, others require an explanation. The different steps of coding seem to be rather enigmatic; therefore, it is worth examining them one by one. The first phase of coding is called *open coding* where texts are scrutinised minutely and "broken into chunks" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 260). These parts (words, phrases or paragraphs) will be associated with categories; the latter ones are temporary, though. Temporary and replaceable, because they can provoke new ideas which might turn into more valid and useable concepts. While making headway in the text and forming

categories, the researcher cannot stop paying attention to the connections between categories. It may also be considered to be the starting point of the next step, i.e. axial coding.

The aim of axial coding is to establish connections between categories and its different aspects (i.e. moving along an axis). Basic research questions should be asked and examined here in the hope of finding an answer to them at this stage of coding. By the end of axial coding, while taking the similarities and differences among the categories into account, the researcher should have categories and sub-categories. Information gained from axial coding will then give the basis of a theoretical model.

The theoretical model will provide the background for *selective coding* that will emphasise the "core categories", as Richards calls them (Dörnyei, 2008, p. 261). At the same time, the categories that prove to be irrelevant from the point of theory making will be selected and removed. With the remaining categories and especially with the network of the categories, according to Creswell's (2007) advice, a matrix can be created which will visually introduce the model which involves the different relations of conditions, context, strategies and consequences.

Although the three types of coding here were described as sequential actions, in practice they cannot be separated sharply. During the thought-provoking process of the application of GT, the researcher will face the issues of parallel coding techniques as they do not only complete but also stimulate each other. It is due to the iterative appearance of codes, concepts and related questions to our main research problem.

Additionally, it is worth bearing in mind, as Dörnyei (2008) warns that the "theory" in the name of Grounded Theory does not necessarily mean theory in the sense of an abstract or grandiose concept. It is rather a sound and acceptable exploration and explanation of a phenomenon that needs to be understood and deciphered.

3.7.3 Research design

As GT is based on experience, and this is what has already been gained during the previous parts of research, applying the method seems to be a rational and exciting challenge in document analysis. To decrease the risk of subjectivity an assistant got involved into the process. Ibolya Molnár is a third-year kindergarten teacher trainee at Benedek Elek Faculty of Pedagogy of the University of West Hungary, who had already possessed the sufficient

insight into the life of Fáy András Kindergarten as she did her three-week pedagogical practice there.

After outlining the major tasks, in most of the time we worked parallel but in detachment. Then, at certain points I compared the results of our investigation and set the new goals. With this method we were trying to reach neutrality as far as possible. The research questions (RQ) of this dissertation (cf. 1.4) served as an introduction to the problems we wanted to explore in the kindergarten's intercultural educational programme (Appendix 35).

We started our examination with open coding which in our case meant to read the document (i.e. the intercultural educational programme) letting it "make impact" on us. We both had a master copy of the written document which could be highlighted and commented. During the second reading, still within the frame of open coding, we broke the text into "chunks" and chose the option of "interrogating" the data segments (Dörnyei, 2008, p. 261).

The interrogation resulted in a great number of questions which were collected. Relevant contents of the questions were highlighted. The questions were then attributed to each other and the corresponding ones remained in the frame and were chosen to be the basic questions for further investigation. A few examples of correspondence are shown in the next chart (Figure 33):

Questions by Researcher 1.		Questions by Researcher 2.
How are the preservation and maintenance)	• To what extent does the programme take
of migrant children's identity and culture		the different behavioural norms into
carried out?		consideration?
What kind of behavioural differences can		
be observed between Hungarian and migrant		
children?	J	
What kind of effects does inter- and		How does intercultural education help
multicultural education have on the		personality development?
development of children's personality?		
• How can the pedagogical assistant help the	(How does the programme take personal
integration of migrant children and the		conditions into account?
kindergarten teachers' work?		• What kind of help comes from outside to
		solve language and cultural problems?
		What kind of professional competences do
		the participants have to possess?

• To what extent does intercultural education	(• What kind of advantages and
help/ hinder Hungarian children's foreign		disadvantages does multicultural education
language learning?		have?
		What kind of difficulties occurs in the
		process of multicultural education?
• What kinds of visual aids help children's	(How do material conditions serve
foreign language learning?		intercultural education?
		What kind of modern pedagogical tools are
		available?

Figure 33. Example set of corresponding questions in open coding

In this way the key questions were as follows (LOC as *locus* means the related places in the programme: Appendix 35):

- What is the context of the programme? (e.g. LOC 1, 6 & 7)
- What kind of education is applied according to the programme: integrated or segregated? (e.g. LOC 2 & 23)
- What kind of interpersonal relations does the programme involve? (e.g. LOC 10, 15, 20 & 46)
- What influence does intercultural education have on personality development? (e.g. LOC 21 & 29)
- What kind of professional competence do kindergarten teachers have to possess? (e.g. LOC 13 & 39)
- What kind of emotional attachments can be observed in the case of migrant children? (e.g. LOC 19)

While questions were attributed to each other, it was obvious to see that they form coherence. Thus, getting further, questions were collected into the same groups and these groups of questions were directed into broad categories; still while elaborating open coding. The broad categories, on the basis of the groups of questions, can be seen in detail in Appendix 36.

In this way we gained broad categories like:

• creating emotional attachment

- developing socio-psychological abilities
- preserving migrant children's self-identity and culture
- discovering behavioural differences
- establishing personal conditions, etc.

In axial coding the connections were looked for, convergent contents were recognised and classified into central categories and got the labels of 'psychological', 'sociological', 'pedagogical', 'language pedagogical', 'linguistic' and 'legal' characteristics. (See it in full details in the fourth column of Appendix 36.)

Further filtering or selection was done in selective coding. Altogether, the very basic nucleus was identified and resulted in 13 "core categories". They were as follows:

1. legal and political context, 2. general preparations, 3. socio-psychological personality development, 4. behavioural norms, 5. emotional attitude, 6. identity development, 7. language educational strategies, 8. intercultural goals and strategies, 9. multicultural-multilingual challenges (advantages & disadvantages), 10. kindergarten teacher's competences, 11. interpersonal relations, 12. material conditions, and 13. experience & results.

Finally, the categories were revisited in the text where we attributed the related terms and phrases to the programme in parallel. The whole process can be followed in full details in Appendix 37. Then, a comparison was made and the essence of the text remained.

Although, again, the steps of coding were described above as if they were detached phases, they actually were not. It is difficult to tell which item generated new ideas and how they were involved in the whole process. However, coding aimed to give an overall view of our theory which will be introduced in the next chapter (cf. 3.7.4).

The categories and the repeated look at the text led us closer to our theoretical model which was visualised and compiled (Figure 34). This theoretical model did not come into being abruptly but it is the result of several readings of the programme as such. Its outline was vague at the beginning, but later, while making headway in the text and the different stages of coding, it gradually evolved and took its form. Its core is made up of the different coping strategies in the actual intercultural setting which have three pillars like 1. pedagogical, 2. language educational and 3. socio-psychological. From these major entities the previous preparations and the general background had been explored together with the direct challenges of the educational situation. Additionally, as GT is based on experience, our results from our former investigations (observation and interviews) were used up in creating this model.

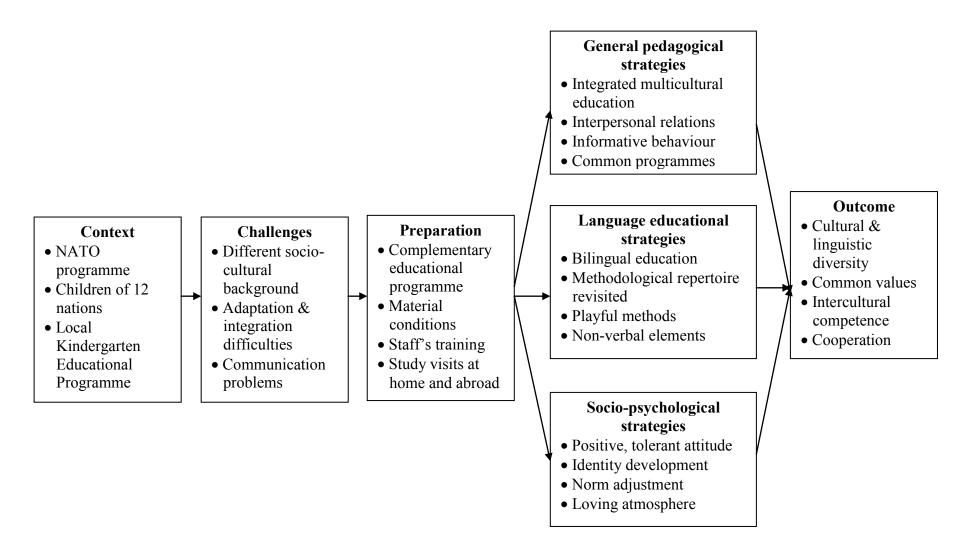


Figure 34. Theoretical Model for Multilingual-multicultural Challenges in the Kindergarten

3.7.4 Results

3.7.4.1 Context and challenges

The programme gives relevant information about the new educational context which originates from the changing legal and political circumstances. It describes the appearance of families and their children who represent 12 nations; the 13th is the Hungarian. (The number might vary during the period of agreement, however).

It names the programme (SAC/C 17) and draws the attention to the fact that parents', who all work at the NATO air base of Pápa, working language is the English language. The programme also clarifies that the educational principles should harmonise with the rules and regulations of those of the European Union. At the same time, the multicultural pedagogical work should be embedded in the Local Kindergarten Educational Programme, which is the official programme of Fáy András Kindergarten. Additionally, Article 79 of the Hungarian Public Education Bill of 1993 has to be kept in evidence.

The altered background may induce complications during the transformation of a monolingual kindergarten into a multilingual-multicultural institution. The problems are taken into account from different angles. The programme also derives from the already gained experience as well. In this way, from foreign children's aspects the main issues can be found in communication (e.g. the lack of a common language in the case of non-Hungarian and non-English speaking children), emotional instability, adaptation (to the rules and routines of the Hungarian kindergarten), integration, and cooperation (with the peers and the teacher), while from parents' aspects problems can be manifested in the difficulty of establishing and maintaining contact, the different types of expectations in the case of foreign parents (due to the different socio-cultural and educational background), and the probable decrease of Hungarian educational material (i.e. fewer Hungarian tales, games, songs and rhymes) in the case of Hungarian parents. At the same time, the kindergarten teachers will also have to develop linguistic, pedagogical, social and psychological competences which were not required earlier in their career in a monolingual group.

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3.7.4.2 Preparation

The arising problems in the new educational context required detailed and profound considerations. To provide an acceptable and feed forwarding response, the kindergarten was ready to prepare for the reception of foreign families with several alterations.

The programme gives a detailed account of what kind of conversions were carried out in and outside the kindergarten. The building had to be enlarged because of the increased numbers of children. The gymnasium, however, fell victim to the reconstruction. Two more rooms are missing still: one as a staffroom for the kindergarten teachers, and another one which would be suitable for sessions in a small group.

The most important pedagogical tools are also in the possession of the kindergarten: developmental games, picture books, pictorial dictionaries, visual materials, software (CD-s and DVD-s), just like hardware (notebook, projector) and internet access are available. However, the staff could make good use of a digital audio recorder, a Dictaphone and a digital whiteboard, too.

Kindergarten teachers have also actively taken part in compiling an impressive range of supplementary material. What they have developed, according to the programme, is a collection of Hungarian–English phrasebook, personality development sheets, foreign language evaluation sheets, and a multilingual emergency vocabulary. In intercultural terms, the self-made posters and information booklet of the different countries are available which help children to get an impression of various nations (cf. 3.2.4.6 and Appendices 17 & 18).

As far as educational work is concerned, the expansion of the local programme was due at the time of changes. Although the programme (Appendix 35) is a complementary document, it is generally applied in the three multicultural groups. It is built upon the *Basic National Programme of Kindergarten Education* that emphasises child-centeredness, the integration of migrant children, the maintenance and confirmation of identity, just like the preservation of basic human rights and freedom. These principles served as guidelines while developing the intercultural programme.

As the programme highlights, the staff's English language competence was improved in language courses and a special methodological course in bilingual education (LOC 9). Besides, study visits to similar institutes were organised in Hungary (Montessori Bilingual Kindergarten, Budapest) and abroad (Austria, the Netherlands) (LOC 14) so that teachers could take a closer look at good practices and observe intercultural education as a daily routine.

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3.7.4.3 Coping strategies

How to cope with the new situation, the altered linguistic, cultural and pedagogical circumstances is a key issue of kindergarten education in Pápa as it is reflected in the programme, too. The different approaches can be covered under the heading: "strategies". Scrutinising the programme general pedagogical, language educational and socio-psychological strategies can be recognised, which naturally overlap. Yet, here, for the sake of analysis the examination will be done one by one.

3.7.4.3.1 General pedagogical strategies

The pedagogical basis of the kindergarten is the integrated education of foreign and Hungarian children. On the one hand, the programme does not give an explicit explanation why they have chosen this type of education (vs. segregated) as a starting point; it only refers to the fact that the NATO operates international schools elsewhere in the world. On the other hand, the whole programme stresses the advantages of integrated education and parents' increasing demand for early FL development (LOC 3). Therefore, both parties (i.e. foreign and Hungarian parents) may find integrated education beneficial. Integration means a two-way process: it requires effort both from the actors of the host country and from those of the foreign countries.

Integration naturally generates linguistic diversity and results in a more refined repertoire of pedagogical methods. The programme highlights kindergarten teachers' intercultural competence which, besides tolerance and unconditioned acceptance, means the rational organisation of kindergarten sessions and playtime. During these activities children will get the opportunity to establish and maintain friendship; thus, from concrete personal relations general characteristic features like tolerance and acceptance can be developed. Additionally, integration can also be extended beyond the kindergarten, i.e. in the town community.

Another manifestation of supporting integration can be noticed in the emphasis of interpersonal relations. Relations among children and parents from different countries are promoted by the kindergarten in extra-curricular activities as well. Examples for this are outings with parents and the International Day (cf. 3.2.4.6 and Appendices 21 & 22).

Informative behaviour in both Hungarian and English is also a key issue. It involves kindergarten teachers' regular contact with Hungarian and foreign parents. The programme

mentions that foreign parents require more teacher–parent meetings. Teachers also provide parents with bilingual information booklets and notices (cf. 3.2.4.1 and Appendices 7, 8 & 12). On the other hand, the kindergarten relies on getting information from parents and asks for their help in English language matters as well.

3.7.4.3.2 Language educational strategies

The kindergarten declares in its programme that bilingual Hungarian–English education is available for all children in the multicultural groups. As English is used among the NATO officers in their workplace on the air base, it becomes the vehicle language between the kindergarten teachers and the parents as well. With this commitment the kindergarten has to fulfil a double duty: on the one hand, English is used as L2 for Hungarian and other, non-English speaking children; in this case it can be regarded as foreign language development. On the other hand, English is the mother tongue of American children; in this case the status of English is not L2, but L1. Similarly, Hungarian is the mother tongue of Hungarian children; while it can be "offered" to children whose mother tongue is not Hungarian (also for American children) as a foreign language.

However, the programme indicates that mother tongue development is beyond the competence of the kindergarten. It reads: "Kindergarten teachers can be expected to have intercultural awareness, yet they cannot be expected to know and mediate the traditions of the different nations. [...] In the case of migrant children the responsibility of maintaining mother tongues and traditions goes to the parents." (LOC 35) It is especially true for non-native Hungarian/ English children.

To achieve the aim, language educational strategies (both in L1 and L2 development) had to be revisited in the multicultural groups. Therefore, a playful language acquisition method was introduced which involves a patient, natural approach based on a wide range of activities (LOC 32 & 34) just as much as spontaneous and continuous everyday language use (especially in the case of Hungarian).

Motivation for language acquisition is supported by positive feedback from the side of the kindergarten teachers. As it reads in the programme, one of the goals is "to motivate children and create interesting opportunities for practice by experience". (LOC 33). Metacommunication also plays an even more important role in multilingual groups than in a monolingual (LOC 38). It is especially valid in the case of non-Hungarian/ English speaking

children. To expand the "territory" of languages, teachers organise special programmes for children (e.g. puppet shows, interactive musical programmes, outings and swimming) (LOC 25 & 36) where, through experience, they can develop understanding Hungarian (and also English in the case of bilingual events) as a foreign language.

The elements of language education strategies are summarised in the chart below (Figure 35):

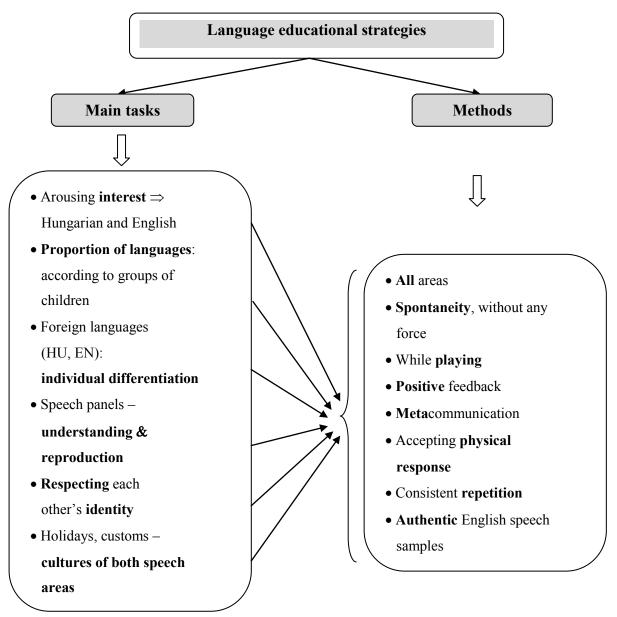


Figure 35. Language educational strategies with the main tasks & methods

Additionally, the improvement of kindergarten teachers' English language command is a permanent task. In one group there is at least one teacher who speaks English. Pedagogical assistants who can speak English are also employed in each group (LOC 11).

The employment of English native speaker kindergarten teachers does not appear in the programme.

3.7.4.3.3 Socio-psychological strategies

Pedagogical and language educational strategies cannot be successful if there is not an articulated socio-psychological approach from the side of the kindergarten teachers towards the Hungarian and foreign children and their parents. The programme confirms that the kindergarten works according to the *Basic National Programme of Kindergarten Education* that announces equal attitude to all children and does not permit any social, sexual and other kinds of prejudice against children and their families. Therefore, staff members guarantee personal treatment and the opportunity of integration and socialisation in order to create a loving, homelike and supportive atmosphere. Kindergarten teachers' professional and personal qualities should also guarantee the development of children's empathy, interpersonal and communication skills just like tolerance, flexibility and respect. To achieve these aims, the programme puts cooperative methods in the limelight. It also seems to be a good solution that children go to mixed age groups as older children are socially more mature and can help their younger migrant peers.

Another important feature is to gain children's and parents' trust in the institution and the staff. Children from other countries might suffer from emotional insecurity. Therefore, one of the major tasks is to assure a secure background with well-planned activities in order to gain experience and foster cooperation among the peers. To lessen emotional instability, the role of encouragement cannot be underestimated.

A loving attitude cannot be missing either. It can be manifested in close contact (e.g. playing on the teacher's lap), conforming behaviour (also in a non-verbal manner) and unconditional love; all of these according to children's age characteristics (LOC 28). As far as parents are concerned, an essential part of the daily routine is to give the necessary information to the parents about their children and the operation and programmes of the kindergarten.

Other major aspects of socio-cultural integration can be adjustment to norms (i.e. to the Hungarian daily routine, food, etc.) while foreign children can also create new habits (e.g. introducing their own national customs, celebrations or food brought from home). They, in the frame of integration and multiculturalism, can become an organic part of kindergarten life so that children's own identity can be preserved while respecting others' (LOC 29).

3.7.4.4 Highlighted elements

Besides the content elements, the wording of the programme can also betray the highlighted elements of intercultural education in Fáy András Kindergarten. If a closer look is taken at words and expressions, it can be observed the following phrases as key terms of the programme (Figure 36). Although the programme was written in Hungarian, as the phrases are either mirror translations (e.g. "personal treatment" = "egyéni bánásmód") or international words (e.g. "integration", "migrant", "tolerance" etc.), it causes no difficulty to examine them in English.

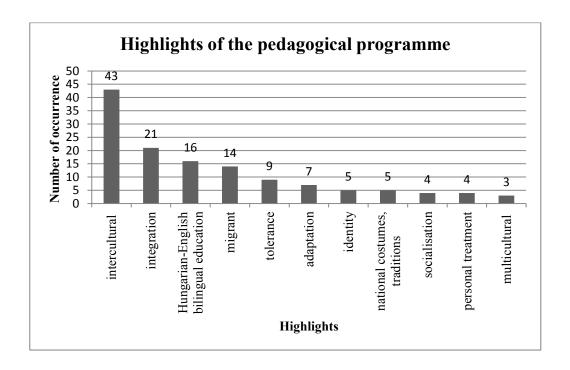


Figure 36. Highlighted elements of the intercultural programme of Fáy András Kindergarten, Pápa

The question is not simply wording, but the ideology behind. In this way, it may be declared that the most important pillars are "intercultural", "integration", "bilingual education" and "migrant" which support our results as well. Other frequently used words like "tolerance", "adaptation", "identity" etc. also mirror the context and the content. The only doubt may arise in the usage of "intercultural" and "multicultural". Although the programme clarifies in which sense they are used ("interculturalism" as a synonym of "cultural diversity";

and "multiculturalism" as the encounter and impact of different cultures), in the context they seem to appear rather as synonyms than distinct phenomena (cf. 2.3.1).

The most frequently used word was not displayed in the chart as it is on the one hand, so obvious, and on the other hand, it usually turns up in different compounds and relations, so it is worth scrutinising it separately. It is the word "language" which can be found 98 times in the text of the programme. However, very often not alone. The most common compounds or expressions with this word are as follows (Figure 37). The numbers in brackets show their occurrence.

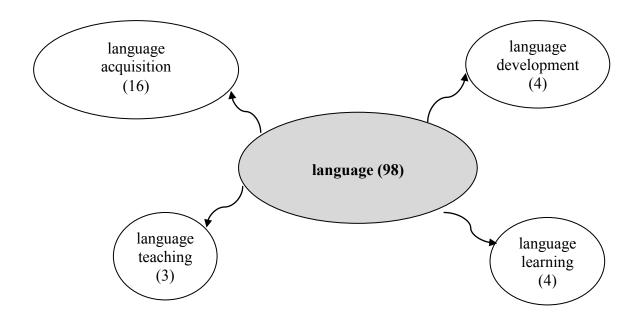


Figure 37. The occurrence of "language" and its related terms in the programme

These expressions are especially important from language pedagogical aspects. Their number of usage and also the narrow context show that the programme uses linguistic terms mostly in a targeted way. For instance, "language acquisition" (vs. "language teaching") is used to describe the language pedagogical aims in the kindergarten programme (LOC 4 & 5) in connection with pedagogical tools (LOC 16), with age characteristics (LOC 24), with playful pedagogical methods (LOC 27 & 31) or with intercultural competence (LOC 24). "Language development" is used as a synonym with "language acquisition" and can be found in the context of language educational methods (LOC 17), principles (LOC 26) and children's and teachers' linguistic competence (LOC 41). "Language teaching" appears when the programme gives an account of the study visits in multicultural kindergartens (LOC 12), and in terms of Hungarian as a foreign language teaching (LOC 8). "Language learning" turns up

when the programme describes parents' increasing demands for early childhood FL education (LOC 3) and when comparing L1 and L2 learning (LOC 32). In one case "acquisition" and "learning" are used as synonyms (LOC 45).

Although the number of language related terms demonstrates the conscious usage of these words, as far as the context is concerned, more emphasis should be given to the distinction of "acquisition" and "learning" as it is a basic feature of early childhood foreign language education (cf. 2.2.3.1).

3.7.4.5 Outcome

The programme gives an account not only about probable but real results because the kindergarten teachers had already had some experience at the time of compiling the educational programme.

A lot depends on the teaching staff's intercultural competence. As a basis of the programme, in integrated education kindergarten teachers should adopt and show a multicultural attitude which determines the pedagogical methods. The different cultures are welcome with curiosity also in the daily routine, for instance by encouraging children to bring in photos from home life in the native country (LOC 37). The kindergarten shows a special interest in foreign children's own cultural heritage, their national symbols, the families' habits, and contact mode while the teachers try to arouse interest in the different cultural traditions and literature as well.

A crucial point in kindergarten teachers' intercultural competence is the ability to see things from parents' perspectives and understand what foreign parents find peculiar in the Hungarian pre-school system and values which need explanation (LOC 44). In the case of cultural misunderstandings, the teacher should be able to analyse them and find a solution strategy (LOC 42 & 43).

In this way, the final aim is to establish a system of common values which everybody can respect and tolerate and to increase the demand of cooperation among the different actors of education, i.e. in the relations of children, kindergarten teachers and parents (LOC 30). Cooperation is needed also among the teachers themselves in respect of completing each other's pedagogical methods and sharing a similar educational philosophy.

The programme already mentions the most important results of intercultural education. The majority of the parents find it valuable for their children to get acquainted with other nations' culture and/ or language and some of them have already experienced changes in their children's conduct. Foreign parents highlighted self-service, better cooperation skills and a generally calmer behaviour in their children's personal traits (LOC 21). They also appreciate the kindergarten teachers' pedagogical and linguistic efforts. At the same time, Hungarian children have become more tolerant, empathetic, flexible and helpful, according to their parents.

In conclusion, what the programme considers the advantage of multicultural education is establishing mutual respect, living in a linguistic and cultural diversity, arousing interest and curiosity in otherness and an increasing demand for communication (LOC 22). On the other hand, the drawbacks may be adaptation, communication problems and emotional instability (LOC 18).

3.7.5 Brief summary

The aim of this chapter was to introduce the major written document of the kindergarten (i.e. the intercultural programme) in order to see the official basis of educational work better and justify the results of the present research gained from previous explorations. Here, a different method of text analysis was applied (Grounded Theory) which was outlined generally and described step by step in the research. On the basis of the theoretical model a closer look was taken at the context and at the different (pedagogical, linguistic, educational, and socio-psychological) strategies of coping with multilingual-multicultural challenges. After a graphic display of highlighted elements of the programme the outcome originated from the documents was summarised.

4. OVERALL DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

After the presentation of results and the brief summaries, an overall discussion will deal with the results from the different stages of research. The research questions (RQ) (1.4) from the beginning of this work will be used as guidelines along which relevant meanings will be revealed. In this way, considerations about theoretical issues, the setting, language use and communication, language pedagogy, socio-cultural elements and kindergarten pedagogy will be provided. Additionally, an evaluation of the whole programme will be carried out. All the research questions will be subordinated to the primary aim of the whole research, i.e. to see how kindergarten teachers, children, parents and educational decision-makers form a common linguistic, cultural and pedagogical basis for communication in their very complex setting. The research questions will also be provided at the beginning of the related chapters.

4.1 Theoretical issues

RQ 1. What are the major language educational theories that serve the basis for early bi- or multilingual education?

The first step of doing research into bilingual education is to clarify the basic definitions and terms of the field. What secondary research (i.e. literature review) reveals (cf. 2.2.1) is the fact that there is no clear and unambiguous answer to the question What is bilingualism? or Who is bilingual? Literature offers several notions from Bloomfield's high expectations about bilinguals (as cited in Hoffmann, 1991) through Diebold's (1961) permissive approach to modern functional access (Grosjean, 1994). This latter appears to be the most useful in the present empirical research as it is the one that can be referred to educational situations as well. According to Grosjean bilinguals are "those who use two (or more) languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives" (1994, p. 1656). Instead of definitions, very often a typology is given along a scale of contrasts like 'early - late' 'balanced dominant' etc. (cf. Figure 4). A similar vagueness can be noticed with the definitions of multilingualism (cf. 2.2.1.3) which is sometimes used alternately with bilingualism. If the present research topic has to be taken into consideration, it must be known that, although the kindergarten operates a Hungarian-English bilingual programme, the setting for the children can be called multilingual. Therefore, in this case both naming can be used but with clear reference to the written document and the pedagogical practice.

The two most cited theories concerning bilingual education are the Critical Period Hypothesis and the Thresholds Theory (cf. 2.2.2.1). While the former deals with the optimal period of language learning and determines this age between 21 months and 14 years, the latter focuses on a minimum proficiency in language learning without which progress cannot be expected. If the critical Period Hypothesis is accepted, in the present research setting the critical period is "given" as children between the ages of 3 and 6 are examined; and these years must be called ideal according to the theory. The Thresholds Theory may be called confusing when it speaks about "negative cognitive effects" before the first threshold, "positive cognitive effects" after the second threshold, and "positive or negative effects" between the two. The problem with the theory is that there is no guide about the ages, moreover, proficiency as such is not explained either.

What can be useful in the present situation in Pápa is to take a look at Baker's (2000) bilingual school typology (cf. 2.4.1) from language educational point of view, and to understand Berry's (2008) acculturation strategies (cf. 2.3.3) from the aspect of multiculturalism. From Baker's classification (cf. Figure 10) it will turn out that the children in Fáy András kindergarten experience two different types of educational institution. As far Hungarian and American children are concerned, "dual language education" can be mentioned but children whose L1 is neither Hungarian nor English have to live under less favourable circumstances, i.e. in submersion education. Acculturation strategies (cf. Figure 9.) will help to understand the behaviour of immigrant children who cannot be divided into one single cultural group.

4.2 The setting

RQ 2. How is multilingual-multicultural education manifested in the material conditions of the kindergarten?

Based on the results it is apparent that the present pedagogical situation is the outgrowth of a political decision where the actors' participation could not be called "balanced" if a world power and a small town are put on the scales. While the political concept had prominent supporters, in finding an appropriate base for the educational scene the town of Pápa was left alone. It could have indicated an intolerable educational situation if the self-government had not seen a certain challenge which had to be responded to.

Some hesitation and doubts can also be observed about the legal status and naming of the foreign families, too. Terms like 'migrants' and 'refugees' appear. In fact, the working members of the foreign families are on secondment from the NATO. Therefore, 'seconded' and 'secondment' can be the proper expressions while determining their status. The reason why it is important to deal with it is that inappropriate naming can impact upon educational issues as well.

Consequently, the educational setting had to be formed according to the socio-political expectations. The setting and material conditions in Pápa are fairly favourable for a multilingual-multicultural kindergarten. However, it does not show a consistent or standardized picture: while the inner design is adjusted to this type of education with its bilingual posters and notes, from outside nothing reveals the international profile of the kindergarten. Symbols, like the Hungarian flags could be completed with the symbols of the nations represented in the institute. The role of the Hungarian Hymn and Appeal, especially without any notice of their importance for foreign families, can also be considered unusual in a multicultural kindergarten. Similarly to multicultural educational institutions abroad (e.g. in Sweden, the UK or Spain; Appendices 13, 14 & 15.) this Hungarian kindergarten also uses decorative and informative boards and maps where interculturality is emphasised (Appendices 10 & 16.). The situation in Pápa shows that kindergarten teachers have already started to think over multicultural visual elements inside the building, but they have not yet found the time or paid attention to these signs and symbols outside.

As far as language use is concerned in material conditions, it seems that the kindergarten is absolutely aware of the fact that bilingual notices are necessary. Even if linguistically they may be objected at some places (Appendix 8.), it is praiseworthy to give information in English as well. They undoubtedly reinforce linguistic and social communication. The bilingual education programme is also manifested in the English language books. The sight of letters and illustrations (vs. texts) in the books might attract children's attention. At this point, however, it must be mentioned that learning reading and writing in the Hungarian school system starts only in the first grade of primary school, while American parents expect these skills already in the kindergarten.

4.3 Language use and communication

RQ 3. Which languages are used in the kindergarten and how are they developed?

With mother tongue development clear distinctions must be made. As the programme of the kindergarten prescribes, Hungarian and English bilingual development is available. Linguistically, Hungarian children's needs are satisfied to the greatest extent; especially concerning vocabulary. On the other hand, it is difficult to judge native English children's mother tongue development in the kindergarten as English is used at home as L1. Yet, the interviews with the parents show (cf. 3.3.4.4) that some additional English words and expressions are also used by children that must have been acquired in the kindergarten. What is obvious from European parents' accounts is the fact that they are relatively happy with the bilingual programme and they do not have unrealistic expectations regarding their own language. Additionally, they support Hungarian language development. At the same time, the question of mother tongue acquisition might be more crucial when children go to school. Just like the Bulgarian father noticed her daughter "broken" Bulgarian (cf. 3.3.4.2), the Norwegian mother also tries to find a way to L1 acquisition before sending her daughter to school (cf. 3.3.4.2).

From the aspect of the mother tongue, the circumstances favour American children. Based on the results it can be declared that American children's mother tongue use is encouraged by different, not necessarily overt, facts. First of all, in each groups there is a kindergarten teacher or assistant who speaks English. Then, American children's number is the highest in the kindergarten, so there is a good chance for an American child to meet another child with the same mother tongue in the group. Last, but not least, English is one of the declared official languages of the kindergarten, which means that it is used in verbal (e.g. between teachers and parents) and written communication (e.g. pin boards), too. The use of English in this institution seems to be justified from several aspects, i.e. its overall dominance in our globalised world (Phillipson, 1992, 2003, Crystal, 1997; Wolff, 1998; Thompson, 2000; House, 2003), being parents' official working language, the common vehicle language status and also that it enjoys immense prestige in foreign (non-native English) families. Among American and Hungarian children English seems to be the common language, too, which proves the dominance of English over Hungarian under kindergarten circumstances.

The results of parents' interviews also seem to suggest that children whose mother tongue is neither English nor Hungarian may face more difficulties. Speaking every child's

mother tongue is obviously beyond kindergarten teachers' competence. Therefore, the dominance of two languages (Hungarian and English) can be noticed in the kindergarten, while other languages are accepted but not spoken "officially" by the kindergarten teachers or the children who cannot find a mate with the same L1. Therefore, while American and Hungarian children seem to be relaxed and carefree, other foreign children are 'lost' and frustrated as the whole situation seems to be fearful for them. The Polish mother's "finger" metaphor (cf. 3.3.4.1) expresses their loneliness in a graphic way. All European parents mention a definite language barrier which is accompanied by physical and mental isolation. By the passing time, however, the stress is gradually relieved. There are two ways of stress reduction: one of them is coping with the language barrier, e.g. in the case of Luboslaw's Hungarian acquisition, and the other way is meeting another child with the same L1 and cultural background. While the first one can be supported and developed, the second is only accidental in this setting. Among pedagogical tools, using a dictionary, supplying children with everyday expressions, compiling a bilingual 'survival' dictionary are all a part of the strategies that help to reduce linguistic barriers.

One might expect that in a multilingual kindergarten, due to the above mentioned reasons, a foreign language, like English here, must be the dominant language. Hungarian, however, can easily be the lingua franca among children. For instance, the Polish Luboslaw's chosen L2 is Hungarian. In addition, he is a leading person in the group, children follow him, even if they have different mother tongues, which seems to promote Hungarian's leading status among his peers. The American Blake's L1 is English, yet he joins the Hungarian speaking group of children. The Hungarian Matyi's remark (cf. 3.2.4.4) shows two phenomena: on the one hand, some children are still surprised to see a bilingual model, and on the other hand, in his mind the notion of language and nationality have not yet been separated. Besides, kindergarten teachers' Hungarian language use is mostly accepted and even required by parents (cf. 3.3.4.5).

In several cases children distinguish languages and produce code-switching (cf. 2.2.4). For instance, this phenomenon has been developed in Ingrid, a Norwegian kindergartener's daily routine. During play time she did not hesitate to recognise the two (Hungarian and English) languages, moreover, she responded, even if in a laconic way (cf. 3.2.4.2). At the same time, her productive language skill is limited in foreign languages; it is the reason why she returns to her L1 when she wants to get into a longer conversation. When the conversation dies (this time according to the receiver's insufficient language command), linguistic frustration, accompanied by social frustration, can be noticed.

Language choice can be greatly influenced by the familial background, too. It can be seen in the case of a boy from a mixed marriage and a girl from a family with Guamian ancestors. Results show that in Jonas's family two languages, English and Filipino are used. As Jonas had lived in the Philippines as well, he was exposed not only to the language but culture as well, which makes him not only bilingual but bicultural (cf. 2.2.1.1), too. The case is similar to that of Mandy, whose family understand the Chamorro language from the Isle of Guam. In another example, Anastasiya's "broken" Bulgarian command, as her father described, reveals the phenomenon that although in her family Bulgarian is used on a daily basis, she misses their peers' Bulgarian language and it shows in her communication at home. The use of English in the Bulgarian family and the use of Hungarian in an American family (cf. 3.3.4.2) suggest that foreign languages must have high prestige in families and they can be used in a playful way as a kind of 'complementary' communicational device. What is even more important here than the actual use of foreign languages is the attitude from parents' side, which proves to be positive.

Children's language choice sometimes tends to be influenced by the kindergarten teacher who can choose only from among Hungarian and English. In the cases of non-Hungarian/ English speaking children teachers need great empathy and patience. Vuokko, for instance, is definitely allowed to use Hungarian, which shows that children's language choice is respected and supported. Vuokko comes from a bilingual Swedish–Finnish family, and in the kindergarten she tends to prefer Hungarian instead of English, especially with the kindergarten teacher. It is the fact that the teacher knows and supports.

As far as children's language use is concerned, it can be observed that children's language choice is optional. In fact, parents expect their children to use L2 much more than teachers. As it has been mentioned, a Polish mother, for instance, asked the kindergarten teacher to speak English to her son. Teachers, on the other hand, only "offer" the choice, but they do not decide the actual use of the language instead of the child. Also, the example of Anastasiya shows that children are able to make a difference between languages, even in the case of foreign languages. It can also be noticed that children learn a lot from each other through communication. The stronger the motivation for communication is, the better result can be expected in language acquisition.

Still within the frame of communication and language use, two other language phenomena are worth commenting: pronunciation and vocabulary. Kindergarten teachers are also aware of the "critical period theory" (cf. 2.1.2), according to which early childhood is an absolutely ideal time to acquire the right pronunciation. Although, today, when English is

used in very dispersed geographical areas as L1, moreover it is the most global language that is used as L2, there might be debates about the "right" pronunciation. Yet, teachers would like to pass on the pronunciation they follow and correct phonological errors as shown (cf. 3.2.4.3). As far as vocabulary is concerned, it is apparent that American vocabulary is used in this kindergarten. It must be due to the daily contact with American parents, who the kindergarten teachers consider to be the authentic users of the English language, thus they serve as language models and their examples are followed. In this case, e.g. with the word 'restroom' which can hardly be heard in British English context (cf. 3.2.4.3).

From the results it seems that children's general communicative skills have definitely improved. From the point of Hungarian it is mostly due to the total immersion setting (cf. 2.4.1) in the case of foreign children. Results also suggest that the power of the surrounding community and its influence on early childhood language acquisition must be taken into consideration as well. Additionally, literature proves to be an especially effective method both in L1 and L2 acquisition. A mother gives a meticulous description of linguistic progress (cf. 3.3.4.3) that suggests the following steps:

child: lack of knowledge in L2 \rightarrow *parent*: explanation \rightarrow *child*: use

The formula can naturally be supplemented by meta-communication and extra knowledge of other cultures. The question of language choice also appears and it can be concluded again that it absolutely depends on children individually. Although impetus can be given by parents and kindergarten teachers, the choice is self-dependent.

Using different languages including languages which are not their mother tongue, children show personal and linguistic flexibility. It means that they are brave enough to be involved in conversations in L2, and they even enjoy playing with foreign words. It plays an important role in developing a linguistic self-confidence and serves as motivation for L2 use and acquisition.

According to the teachers, defining who is bilingual is based on active language use. If a child can actively participate in or initiate a conversation in L2 is considered to be bilingual by the teachers. In this setting it is not rare that a child knows the name of something in L2 earlier than in his/ her own mother tongue. This phenomenon depends on the situation, on the topic of the day and the general communication in the kindergarten. It may happen especially when the child learns not only a new word in L2, but the concept itself is new to him/ her, e.g. in the case of Luboslaw, who had not heard the word 'vaddisznó' ('boar') in his Polish mother tongue at home.

Hungarian children's English command is not as good as the foreign children's English command, who chose English as L2 (vs. Hungarian). It is definitely shown in the table (cf. 3.3.4.7; Figure 29.) and turns out from the interviews that Anastasiya's English command surpasses others'. Attitude also counts e.g. in Hunor's case. The Hungarian boy is very open to make friends with foreign children and it shows in his language command as well. Children who chose Hungarian as L2 made less progress in English. The same can be said about the Bulgarian girl's Hungarian knowledge. Two American children are affected by other languages than English and Hungarian: although Mandy understands Chamorro quite well, her mother says that by now her Hungarian has become better than her Chamorro. On the other hand, Jonas, whose mother's L1 is Filipino speaks better Filipino than Hungarian. The last two cases suggest the role of the environment and the mother's language use at home.

Out of 9 parents 7 state that their child is monolingual, which refers to their L1. Although Mandy's mum states that her daughter understands Chamorro very well, she would not call her bilingual as, according to her, Mandy's Chamorro is only receptive and not productive. Megan calls her son trilingual which means they (Megan and Jonas) use Filipino between themselves, and she is very glad with her son's progress in the Hungarian language. Although Luboslaw's parents speak Polish at home, the boy's very good Hungarian knowledge makes him bilingual.

It turns out that the kindergarten teachers feel the importance of objective evaluation, but they are quite helpless how to do it. They are afraid that they do not have the same pedagogical competence in evaluation as a language teacher at school. Evaluation also causes problems as teachers cannot precisely judge the progress of an English-speaking child.

4.4 Language pedagogy

RQ 4. What language pedagogical methods are applied and what is the role of the kindergarten teacher?

The results of the observations suggest that already at a very young age, under institutional circumstances, language development requires detailed and thorough preparation. In a Hungarian session words were taught to children with the help of demonstration (here: visual aids) while learning by doing (here: movements) could also be observed as a useful technique. Songs (cf. 3.2.4.3) were not translated, which shows the method of monolingual

language education. With the help of the soothing music, children naturally felt the relaxing atmosphere, and on the basis of the vocabulary, which had been introduced beforehand, children could understand the song. Teaching a song in English proves that with the appropriate methods monolingual teaching is a useful and beneficial way of second language education, already in early childhood. Completing it with Total Physical Response (TPR) it might be linguistically rewarding and emotionally satisfying for young children.

Another interesting conclusion can be drawn at this point from the fact that Hungarian and foreign children were asked to do activities together. It proves that mother tongue education can be extended and carried out as integrated education even from linguistic aspects. It means that L1 education and L2 education at very early stage might not differ a lot. If it is done carefully, children may learn languages parallel. It is also an answer for sceptics, according to whom foreign language learning can start only when L1 learning is "finished" (cf. 2.2.2).

Parallel approaches can be noticed in English and Hungarian language development. Although, the latter shows more elements of full immersion, achievements in English as a foreign language cannot be underestimated either. For a 5-year-old Hungarian kindergartener using English phrases in the appropriate situations can be called a good basis for further development. Using American slang (cf. 3.3.4.4) in the case of the Bulgarian kindergartener could be peculiar if it had not turned out earlier that her family was in close friendship with an American family (cf. 3.2.4.4). From the words of a Hungarian mother (cf. 3.3.4.4) it can be concluded that the emotional side of foreign language learning is very important already at the youngest age.

It can also be observed that the kindergarten's Hungarian–English bilingual programme, which would be worth sharing with parents also in a written form, is accurately and consistently carried out in daytime activities. The technique, i.e. inviting children for an activity is usual, for instance, in Hungarian–German bilingual kindergartens as well. This kind of imperative is called "signals" which introduce different activities in the daily routine (cf. 3.2.4.5). The use of them suggests that kindergarten teachers find it a useful tool in a multicultural setting as well; first because it gives a frame and structure to children's day, and secondly, its bilingual manifestation becomes a basic element of bilingual education.

The outcome shows that kindergarten teachers have tried different methods in early childhood language acquisition and finally they have found the most effective ones. The results prove that methods based on or inspired by TPR (Brown, 2000) are very useful. It also means that many non-verbal elements are involved in language development. Smelling,

hearing and touching all support language acquisition as language is connected not only with verbal input. Non-verbal input can be useful in presenting new vocabulary and it can also help to evoke the language. Humour is a similar device in the progress of learning: it helps association and evoking.

According to the results, it can be declared that language development seems to be the most successful if it is embedded in everyday routine, experiential situations and carefree playing activities in a gradual and relaxed way without any force. The necessary practice, which is needed for reinforcement, is carried out with repetitive elements, i.e. a certain topic can go on for a few weeks with alterations and completion so that it should not be boring. The emphasis is on the powerful effects of playful activities in early childhood language development (cf. 3.4.4.4) which shows positive attitude and a solid repertoire of rhymes and games from the kindergarten teachers' side. Latter is valid for their application both in English and in Hungarian. The example of the Dutch child who uses Hungarian (cf. 3.6.4.5) is an additional example to our supposition that to a foreign child both English and Hungarian are foreign languages and it is up to the child's own choice which will be his/her L2.

It is easy to see that the poems were recited not only because of their content. What is more important than the actual meaning of the words is the chance for playing (moving around like a train), and the melody and rhythm of words that are formed into poems. Using rhymes and rhythms, also short poems is the usual way of L1 and L2 development in the kindergarten. It has been revealed that languages, especially foreign languages can be best acquired if words are accompanied with music and/ or rhythm and movements (cf. 2.2.2). Besides, they serve as excellent motivation for playing and building communities. Moreover, poems and rhymes can also be considered cultural elements of education. The kindergarten teacher's short praises with the appropriate meta-communication (mimics and gestures), even for those who do not understand every Hungarian word, suggest a positive and motivating attitude and creates a relaxing, playful atmosphere which should be the basis of all kinds of education, also of language education.

"Learning by doing" is also a popular method nowadays. In the kindergarten it may be equal to CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) with the advantage that at this age children see the world as a global unit and it is not yet divided into different segments as in the school. Besides physical exercises, visual activities, housework like activities, e.g. gardening or laying the table can be a good area of learning by doing. During these activities the teacher gives verbal and non-verbal input, e.g. she says "Let's put the fork beside the plate", and at the same time she is doing it. Using the same vocabulary in different situations

may reinforce the meaning of words. For instance, the word "circle" is used in different context in visual activities where children draw a geometrical shape on paper and when they form a circle during physical exercises or sitting in a circle on the carpet during tale sessions. In a kindergarten it is very important to accompany our actions with words. It is a useful tool not only in foreign language acquisition, but it is the way how children learn their mother tongue, too.

Besides the different activities, is also worth examining the language share between the kindergarten teachers and the assistant. As only one of the teachers speaks fluent English in every group and the assistant is actually the one who helps with English, it is quite usual that two methods mix. One of them is the "one person - one language" method, where one language can be connected to one person, and the other is the "bilingual model" (Talabér, 2004), when the kindergarten teacher speaks both Hungarian and English. Children feel relaxed and secure in the presence of the person with whom they can share the same L1. This is, however, not available for everybody, just for Hungarian and English speaking kindergarteners.

What can also be noticed is the fact that it is not clearly determined which teacher uses which language. They are relatively free to use the language they want to. The only guideline is that in each group there should be someone who speaks English. Teachers can also decide which methods to use. Kindergarten teachers' different views on the translation method (cf. 3.5.4.3) show that even if teachers theoretically are for deleting translation, in some cases practical situations overwrite methodological concepts. They have not yet examined which method is more effective, they only realise that from the different languages children will put together the one they need. Therefore, language share between teachers does not show a clear pattern: it is not yet elaborated. Teachers' code-switching is also more instinctive than deliberate.

Parents, apart from their nationality, do not expect the presence of an English native teacher. American parents accept the situation that English language development is rather a family task, and they are generally contented with Hungarian teachers' English language command and their efforts to involve children in English language activities. About the latter it must be added that children can naturally be motivated by singing and moving while practising a language. What might be surprising is that foreign parents insist more on Hungarian than English language development. It definitely shows a positive attitude to the country, a great extent of flexibility and a wish to be integrated. The Polish boy's case proves

that for a foreign child both Hungarian and English are foreign languages and it is advisable to let children choose a foreign language instead of prescribing it officially.

As far as the employment of a native English teacher is concerned, kindergarten teachers' views are not clear. One of them mentions that children learn languages best from native teachers or peers. She, however, seems to contradict other teachers' opinion when they state that they would not need a native English teacher. The question of native speaker's presence is not included in the educational programme.

Together, the results show the importance of affective and linguistic help which kindergarten teachers can provide. In these cases the teacher is not only a help, but also a stimulator for using the foreign language. When children start using a foreign language, it is a great success when they are understood. This success may easily generate, maintain and develop communication.

4.5 Socio-cultural elements

RQ 5. How do language and nationality take part in children's social relations and how are different cultures present in the kindergarten?

Observations suggest that children, apart from the language use among themselves, often change their playfellows, the result of which is creating new communities. The communities are not necessarily language determined, i.e. their formation might be rather due to the type of game and children's momentary interest than the actual language use. This conclusion seems to be supported by the fact that even if children themselves do not speak a language, they may accept their group-mates and join them. It was illustrated by a Norwegian kindergartener who understood English, and a Finnish girl, who understood Hungarian. The latter case moreover shows that children are able to find a way (in this case via non-verbal explanation) to bridge linguistic gaps and forward the conversation. It also indicates that children at this age already realise the different codes and with their special techniques (e.g. following instructions or explaining ideas) try to overcome difficulties caused by the different languages.

Choosing friends is optional and from the results it may be concluded that it influences language choice as well. Apart from Hungarians, American children have the most chance to find friends from the same nation because their number is the highest in the kindergarten. Choosing friends is based upon personal motivation, including family relations (e.g. the

Bulgarian and American parents' friendship), and unintentional psychological considerations. In the case of European children the tendency of choosing Hungarian friends is common. It might also be influenced by the kindergarten teachers who, from the aspect of non native Hungarian/ English children, speak two foreign languages. If these children choose Hungarian, it helps them to make friends with Hungarian peers.

Different socio-cultural background is also a key issue that makes its impact on children's behaviour in the kindergarten. Two American families spent a relatively long time in foreign countries where children were exposed to different cultures. Linguistically, however, it did not mean a real linguistic diversity for these children as English was the common language of the institutes. In the so-called "international schools" (cf. 2.4.1) the nationality of children might be various, but the language is English in all cases. Thus, the word "international" refers to the composition of children, not to the language.

On the basis of the results it may also be concluded that foreign languages enjoy high prestige in the families. Although foreign parents welcome the acquisition of the host country's official language, they question its later practical use. Yet, apart from the language parents find it important to develop their children's 'language ear'. Although language learning aptitude is considered to be a very complex ability (Robinson, 2013), parents are convinced that if their children are exposed to a certain 'amount' of foreign language(s), a basic linguistic skill, especially the productive and receptive ability for good pronunciation, can be established at a very young age.

Related to children's and parents' foreign language command, another remark is worth noticing in an American mother's account. The situation is typical in emigrant families where parents do not work and their children acquire the host country's language earlier. They can help their parents, which might be satisfying for the children. After a while however, parents, if they do not keep pace in language learning, might feel their parental status shaken. In extreme cases it is called "lost parenthood" (Kitzinger, 2009 b, p. 22). In this case, it will probably not happen because this mother tries to learn basic Hungarian and they are staying in Hungary for a relatively short period.

Besides language diversity, cultural diversity is also apparent in the kindergarten. In a group kindergarten teacher was asking children about national flags while they were talking about a previous event in the kindergarten. A Hungarian child could answer the question asked by the kindergarten teacher in Hungarian: "What was the Polish flag like?" ("Red and white."), and another child added that he preferred the Star-Spangled Banner. "Whose flag was that?" asked the teacher. As children did not answer, she was adding a leading remark:

"You know, it's Emily's and Neil's flag". "Then, it's American" answered Matyi in Hungarian. It shows that overt cultural questions can be asked even at this stage of education in a multicultural kindergarten. Naturally, cultural issues should be discussed at the appropriate level and according to age characteristics. The result will be better if abstract notions are transferred into tangible questions and based on children's previous experience, in this case for instance on the sight of the flags that could be seen in a kindergarten event.

Problems may arise not only from linguistic or pedagogical aspects, but also from cultural aspects. Food is definitely one of them. Sometimes it is the source of conflicts even between parents and children if children want to accept it but parents do not want them to do so (cf. 3.5.4.7). There have been initiatives to change it so that it could be healthier, but it is a long process (cf. 3.3.4.1).

In conclusion, it may be stated that national traditions and celebrations play an important role in all families apart from their nationality. Maintaining their national holidays means that celebrations are not only a part of family life, but also the symbol of identity, as it can clearly be seen in the case of the family from Guam. Based on these results it can be declared that parents put an emphasis on introducing their own holidays and celebrations in the kindergarten. As American is the biggest community here, no wonder that their holidays are involved in the kindergarten, probably, because the kindergarten teachers also know about them. At the same time it can be noticed that teachers welcome other types of celebrations as well, moreover they raise parents' and children's attention to them. It is a conscious and tangible way of familiarising with each other's culture. The Bulgarian introduction (Marta Day) seems to be the most successful up to now as it definitely left its mark not only on children, but on their parents as well (cf. 3.3.4.8). Principally, at this age, the most important thing is to open children's mind and make them recipient and tolerant with foreign customs.

After all, it would be a mistake to think that celebrating foreign holidays is welcome by everybody. The fear of shaking or losing identity appears in Kinga's response, and it reveals that in Hungary migration and thus multiculturalism in its modern form is a new phenomenon that has to be dealt with care and expertise, especially from the kindergarten's side in this case. Assumedly, the key is mutuality among nations and cooperation among parents, children and the educators. The other side of the question is how foreign children accept the host country's traditions and celebrations. A very well-thought and elaborated attitude can be noticed in an American mother's answer when she says that she definitely wants her child to participate in these events (cf. 3.3.4.8). Cultural openness and enrichment should and can start already in the kindergarten.

Although learning foreign languages may be a special interest in itself ('hobby', as Polonka and Zita said), most parents connect languages to other segments of life. Present familial situation and future career are emphasised in parents' accounts (cf. 3.3.4.6). On a more abstract level language and culture are in close relation. Obviously, language as the basis and carrier of cultural identity appears in the history of the family from Guam. The results gained from the interview with this family clearly support the necessity of interdisciplinary research of the topic and provides us with the lesson that cultural identity is worth examining from both linguistic and social aspects. This special case enriches our knowledge about American culture and focuses on this manifold, diversified society. It is important to notice that the American families who came to Pápa may face the question of linguistic and cultural diversity in their own country, too. Consequently, their children must already have experience with multilingualism and multiculturalism.

4.6 Kindergarten pedagogy

RQ 6. What kind of educational philosophy do kindergarten teachers follow in their everyday practice?

The results show that there was a great need for compiling a new kindergarten educational programme where educational aims and tasks of an integrated programme were laid down. It could be seen that preparation was very conscious and well-planned. It turns out that every actor of multilingual and multicultural education had the chance to take part in an official training which is necessary for their future work. Apart from the educational sector, different other jobs were represented in the official trainings, which shows the significance of the programme for the whole town. For the new programme, competent leaders and a team with a new philosophy were needed. In the case of the head teachers, the most important criteria of selection were the human and professional factors: they needed somebody with excellent management and diplomatic skills and a solid pedagogical background, who can be relied upon, and who can inspire trust in all the actors of education. Further exploration of the personnel had to be done, where besides pedagogical experience and attitude, linguistic skills, as a key of multilingual education, were in major focus. The potentials had to be measured and the willingness of the kindergarten teachers had to be detected. Here the weakness and the strength of the teachers' pedagogical attitude can be noticed: although their language

command was in most cases far from the requirements (cf. 3.5.4.7), they had the strength and motivation to develop it.

Although kindergarten teachers and specialists had made preparations, the starting steps proved to be difficult and teachers felt alone in real life. Even if they had had ideas about starting, everyday practice made them alter their concepts. The situation shows a natural clash of theory and practice and the kindergarten teachers could not prevent conflicts before their actual appearance. Yet, with a special attention they had enough educational experience to improve their circumstances gradually, for instance with the help of pedagogical assistants who play an essential role in multilingual groups. It can also be considered to be an effective outcome that language support is given by two Hungarian officers who speak good English and are ready to help at parents' meetings and personal consultations to express linguistic nuances. They also give a helping hand in translating circular e-mails or information sheets.

Additionally, exchanging experiences with other colleagues was a must. The process introduces the very gradual, "step by step" approach to multilingual education and what was happening in the background for the sake of the realisation of the educational concept. It must be seen that in Pápa, the situation was rather different from that of an ethnic bilingual kindergarten (e.g. in Szombathely), as there were several nationalities here whose mother tongue was neither Hungarian nor English. Therefore, paying a visit to a real multicultural kindergarten must have proved to be the most beneficial. Even at this point it shows, however, that a multicultural kindergarten does not necessarily mean a multilingual kindergarten as well. The Dutch example illustrates a different practice: here, children from different nationalities are not offered another language in the kindergarten, besides the language of the state.

The results reveal other key elements of multicultural education as well, like patience and persistence in pedagogy. Establishing emotional safety in an affectionate atmosphere can give a relaxing and reassuring background to the children and it is an important part of teachers' strategies which aim to lower anxiety. Intimate relationship between children and teachers may be formed even if the languages are different. To access a high level of pedagogical and psychological competence, teachers' identity has to be revisited and new elements like establishing "spiritual partnership" or undertaking the role of the missing parents have to be added. It is apparent that the key term is "diversity": in education, in tradition and in culture, which indicates the altered atmosphere of the kindergarten and the changed attitude of children, parents and kindergarten teachers. Kindergarten is the ideal

place for holistic education where besides verbalism, all senses are drawn in, according to the modern so-called "global education" (Kivistö, 2008).

To approach the educational aims, the importance of cooperation cannot be neglected from the parents' side either. With their positive and helping attitude they have done a lot to make integration easier for their children. The potential of cooperating with parents, however, has not yet been exploited. The results indicate that parents' involvement in kindergarten programmes seems to fail sometimes and cooperation is usually missing. The reasons for parents' absence are various: lack of time, lack of experience as young parents, unsatisfactory language command, or the feeling of financial inferiority. Although the reasons are true and should not be underestimated, it is obvious that parents are difficult to motivate because of unwillingness. The rejection can be derived from the lack of experience and would probably be diminished after the first endeavouring. The International Family Day (cf. 3.2.4.6) was a good initiative where parents took part actively. If a similar project starts, probably further opportunities will be offered, which will demolish the conscious and unconscious barrier among foreign and Hungarian parents.

There are also some questions which caused problems, especially at the beginning. For instance, the roles of the kindergarten teachers are not always clarified either. Therefore they had to undertake tasks beyond their linguistic competence, which was intimidating for them. In the end, they managed to solve the problem with the division of the tasks among themselves, especially among teachers and assistants. Besides linguistic problems, some educational problems arise as well. From the interview with the teachers it is not clear what the real task of the kindergarten is: whether to develop children's language skills in two languages or to prepare them for the Hungarian school system? Definitely, teachers would welcome someone whose English command is good, yet from the pedagogical point of view they think they can solve the task better as they know the Hungarian school system which they prepare the children for. The paradox is that those who have the appropriate language skills have not yet enough experience in education, and those who speak languages well are usually not trained for kindergarten pedagogy. It is undoubtedly a general challenge in bi- and multilingual kindergarten training, especially in Hungary. What is more important: to be a kindergarten teacher or a good FL speaker? The two, by no means, exclude each other. The problem can be solved by specialised language education in kindergarten teacher training institutes where the candidates learn language, language development methodology and the other segments of early childhood pedagogy related to mother tongue, literary, visual, musical and physical education parallel. There are more and more training institutions with this profile in Hungary (e.g. Budapest, Sopron, Hajdúböszörmény) which provide these types of kindergarten teachers. It takes time, however, till the country can be supplied with them.

The above examples show that even if first the whole programme seemed to be a "blind flight", within a relatively short time the actors responsible for multilingual-multicultural education in Pápa did find their own ways not only to implement but to continue and maintain their own programme. The frame was gradually filled with content and everybody was trying to find their place both in innovation and fulfilment.

4.7 Evaluation

RQ 7. What are the most important advantages and drawbacks of multicultural education?

It is undoubtedly a very important outcome of the interviews how parents see the whole situation of multilingual-multicultural education in a Hungarian little town. American parents see its peculiarity and their remarks show that they are satisfied with the situation and the way it is handled by the kindergarten teachers. Rich language and cultural exposure is definitely stressed as a benefit. The American father points out (cf. 3.3.4.9) that American children go to "international schools" on the other military bases in the world where they are under homogeneous circumstances. He uses the expression "military brat" which alludes to children whose parents serve in the armed forces and usually move from one military base to the other. Hungarian parents emphasise the linguistic input that children get. Zita, the English teacher, definitely likes the natural method of language acquisition in the kindergarten and mentions the advantage of "learning by doing". It may easily be called one of the biggest advantages of early childhood education; if the pedagogical approach is appropriate. Klára adds a very important fact, i.e. Hungarian schools are not yet ready to welcome children who already have a language basis from the kindergarten. This problem is real in Hungarian education and should be solved by giving the opportunity of L2 learning earlier in case it is required by the families.

According to the results, foreign language development and tolerance prove to be the most beneficial parts of multicultural education. Early start in language acquisition is appealing to most parents even if children with a non-Hungarian and non-English background definitely face more difficulties. English is not welcome by all Hungarian parents. Here

different approaches can be noticed, e.g. from an English teacher mother and another Hungarian parent who is critical of the multicultural setting (cf. 3.3.4.11).

Parents' meeting is the regular forum of discussing actual linguistic and pedagogical issues in the kindergarten. The interviewees have noticed some results due to the discussions and they are pleased with the changes. As it is shown, the kindergarten is also the scene of learning for parents as well. As the American father phrases the learning process is extended to everybody, not only to the children. Physical closeness is a peculiar characteristic feature of Hungarian kindergarten teachers. Parents find the atmosphere friendly and familial, which is due to the pedagogical competence and personal traits of the kindergarten teachers.

Besides the advantages, drawback has to be mentioned, too. Criticism was given to the age composition of the groups from the side of Hungarian parents, while food, afternoon nap, outside activities and the way of sitting were objected by foreign parents. It must be difficult to favour all children and parents as they came to Hungary not only with different cultural background but they grew up in different education systems as well. At the same time, the new situation places increased demands on teachers whose pedagogical repertoire had to be revised from one day to the other. Extra workload must be devoted to preparation and it has effect on teachers' private life as well.

The status and appreciation of kindergarten teachers in the educational process seems to be contradictory. A paradoxical situation can be noticed here: while the educational activity is labelled "elite", there is no additional benefit for extra work. Although the reasoning for this (cf. 3.6.4.5) seems to be proper, the special characteristic features of bilingual education should not be overlooked either. A sober and clear system of payment should be formed which is valid for the different specialities and not the different specialities but the basic services and the specialities should be compared. Otherwise, the danger of fluctuation will unavoidably occur especially today when early start of foreign languages is a key term also in the European Union (Council, 1998).

The characteristics of different (pre-)school systems in the world seem to cause misunderstandings or wrong interpretations. Criticism may result in frustration and a defensive attitude which is shown in striking back (cf. 3.6.4.5). The difference between the establishing dates of kindergartens in different countries *per se* does not explain the level of education today. On the other hand, the positive feedback from the primary school seems to acknowledge the efforts of the kindergarten teachers. Although it can be considered to be true for the Hungarian educational setting, this fact cannot guarantee that children, after being educated in a bilingual kindergarten in Hungary, will achieve well in any other primary

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school in the world. Naturally, it is not the major aim of this kindergarten. From the head teacher's remark (cf. 3.6.4.5) it also turns out that there were no clear expectations and rules at the beginning, which might be the source of initial confusions that might lead to criticism.

Together, the results suggest that kindergarten teachers managed to understand the nature of multilingual-multicultural education and they are trying to put the bilingual programme of the kindergarten in practice.

5. CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Main findings

At the end of the exploration, it appears advisable to return to the set of hypotheses (H) from the beginning of the dissertation (cf. 1.3) and present the main findings along our assumptions. There are six hypotheses which will be confirmed or rejected here.

H 1. There are theoretical issues that generate debate in early childhood language development.

The hypothesis is confirmed. There are still a few crucial issues the discussion of which is not exempt from emotional overtones either. Chomsky's Innate Hypothesis (cf. 2.6), Lenneberg's Critical Period Hypothesis (cf. 2.2.2.1) and Cummins's Thresholds Hypothesis (cf. 2.2.2.1) are still widely argued, moreover, the ever-green dispute on early start does not seem to end. This latter takes on outstanding importance in the present research subject as examination was made in a kindergarten. Findings show that the debate branches off into different directions and questions like when to start learning a L2, whether bilingual children have advantages over monolinguals and what the advantages of starting earlier are have still not been responded unanimously. In this question Krashen's (1981) distinction between language learning and language acquisition (cf. 2.2.3.1) and Johnstone's (2002) comparison of early and late language learning (cf. 2.2.2.2) give invaluable help as they focus on the different characteristics of the different ages and reveal that both early and late start have their raison d'être. The focus instead of "what" should shift towards "how" at any age.

H 2. The pedagogical and material conditions of starting multillingual-multicultural education in the kindergarten were given.

This statement can be considered to be partially confirmed. The pedagogical conditions became favourable due to the enormous work of the heads and the staff of the kindergarten. They undertook and still undertake the lion's share in the process of forming a multilingual-multicultural kindergarten from a monolingual one. It is questionable, however, that without their dedicated work how long the programme could have been continued. The local self-government also seems to support their educational work, for instance, with study visits and language courses. Yet, they cannot offer any extra benefits for the extra work. The

role of the NATO appears to be also vague: it does not turn out whether they really wanted to establish this multicultural institute, and if yes, what their responsibility would be. More support could be expected from them in the field of mother tongue help (e.g. L1 assistants' continuous presence), organisational and administrative work.

H 3. Integrated language education is applied in the kindergarten (vs. separated education) which is manifested in parallel Hungarian–English language use.

This statement is confirmed. Integration is one of the major aims of the intercultural programme which seems to be completely fulfilled in the kindergarten's curricular and extracurricular activities. Within integration each group houses two types of education, i.e. immersion and submersion education, which can be called unique under one roof. To diminish the challenges of submersion, the kindergarten teachers have already asked for foreign parents' help in order to compile a "survival kit" in children's L1. To go further, negotiations could be made with the maintainer to lessen this problem with L1 assistants; in case the kindergarten wants to become a multilingual kindergarten from a bilingual one.

- H 4. a) All participants of multilingual-multicultural education in the kindergarten have to face linguistic, cultural and pedagogical challenges.
 - b) Children whose mother tongue is neither English nor Hungarian have to face the most challenges.

Both parts of the hypotheses are confirmed. However, the challenges did not affect every participant to the same extent. While most educational experts had to revisit their language command and intercultural strategies seriously so that they could do their jobs, not all the parents or children had to do the same. English-speaking children and parents can speak their own mother tongue, and it is the same with Hungarian children. Non-English/Hungarian speaking children have to accommodate themselves to the language educational situation offered by the kindergarten. At the same time, parents do not expect mother tongue education in all cases and the programme also assigns mother tongue development to the families. It is also true that L1 in several cases is pushed into the background, and Hungarian and American culture seem to be in the limelight. The new intercultural educational programme with its wide educational implications (e.g. new methods, tools and strategies) highlights the pedagogical challenges which had to be faced by the actors.

- H 5. a) Children will not become automatically bilingual under institutional circumstances.
 - b) Children can become bilingual with the help of a carefully elaborated educational programme.

The first part of the hypothesis can be considered to be fully and the second part partially confirmed. Becoming bilingual is a very complex and delicate matter: several components may influence its development. An appropriate educational programme, although it may serve as a decisive factor, cannot guarantee absolute success either. In Fáy András Kindergarten an intricate network of relations can be observed, which can all make their impact on language use and communication (cf. 2.6.2). Therefore, language use can be partially influenced by the teacher, and the role of peers and the family cannot be neglected either. Also, intrinsic and instrumental motivation may stimulate bilingualism; thus, it cannot be stated that children "gain" languages without their own participation or as a gift (cf. 2.6.1).

- H 6. The multilingual-multicultural group gives the opportunity for children and kindergarten teachers to
 - a) create language self, i.e. which language(s) they can identify with and
 - b) develop cultural identity, i.e. which culture(s) they accept and belong to.

These suppositions can be regarded as confirmed. The special setting favours children and their teachers to create a language self and develop cultural identity (cf. 2.6.3); earlier than the school age as they already get to be familiar with different languages and cultures at a very young age. To what extent it remains an opportunity and to what extent the actors catch this opportunity is mostly up to them. The kindergarten, by all means, tries to provide children and adults with varied linguistic and cultural inputs which promote the development of these dimensions. In the case of most children it was observed the positive effects of the educational setting; mostly due to the kindergarten teachers' positive approach and serious efforts. However, there are still special fears e.g. of identity confusion in Hungarian parents and slight pedagogical criticism, e.g. about food and daily routine among foreign parents.

5.2 Language pedagogical implications

On the basis of the results it may be reasonably concluded that a new model of multilingual and multicultural education in the kindergarten was launched and developed in Hungary under the auspices of the NATO. Here I offer its definition and call it "Pápa Model" (PM) whose novelty I describe below.

"Pápa Model" is a Hungarian educational pattern introduced in the kindergarten pedagogy in 2008 which operates within the frame of the SAC/17 (Strategic Airlift Capability) NATO programme and makes integrated multilingual and multicultural education possible for Hungarian and migrant children in Fáy András Kindergarten, Pápa. The main elements of the programme are as follows:

- 1. The programme of PM is based on Hungarian–English bilingualism while children, due to the international composition of the kindergarten groups, can also get familiar with several other languages.
- 2. Kindergarten teachers and pedagogical assistants use the Hungarian and/ or the English language(s). At the same time, children's language choice and language use are optional.
- 3. The language pedagogical aim of PM is
 - a) to give the appropriate motivation and impulse for kindergarteners to acquire their mother tongue and foreign language(s) and
 - b) to facilitate language development under spontaneous and natural circumstances, embedded in playful setting whose result should be the oral production of languages according to the age characteristics.
- 4. The programme puts a special emphasis on the acquaintance with Hungarian and other nations' culture present in the kindergarten and on their widespread introduction.
 - Therefore, the multicultural aim of the programme is to arouse interest in exploring other cultures among children, parents and educators so that children could get accustomed to cultures and behavioural norms different from their own. At the same time, they should be familiar with their own culture's features and values as well.
- 5. The major features of PM are
 - a) uniqueness, i.e. it is unexampled at worldwide language education policy level
 - b) innovation, i.e. the continuous renewal and development (e.g. by projects, material and personal conditions)
 - c) expansibility and expandability both in its linguistic and cultural contents
- 6. The prospect of PM lies in its "good practice" or "pattern" status which can be implemented through further dissemination and cooperation emphasising both the advantages and drawbacks of the programme.

5.3 Limitations of the research

"No study is perfect" (Murray & Beglar, 2009, p. 183). At this point a few limitations require mention. First, a possible imperfection can be the extended and exhaustive literature review which has already been cut down and tailored to the actual topic. Second, the problems of interviewing children appear here again as a special limitation. While it seems to be an innovative method, children between 3 and 6 are difficult to interview (Pinter & Zandian, 2014). Third, the sample size (e.g. parents interviewed) may cause limitations. Yet, detailed qualitative methods aimed to compensate this potential drawback.

5.4 Directions for future research

An interdisciplinary dissertation like this may open different directions for future research into the academic field. The recommended areas would be mostly linguistic and pedagogical. It would be interesting to carry out a follow-up research, i.e. a longitudinal investigation examining the linguistic and/ or cultural outcome of this special (trans)migratory period of the actors with research questions like: How has the period spent in Hungary made an impact on children's later personal and educational career? How can they benefit from the linguistic and cultural experience gained in Hungary? How has their linguistic competence developed? What has remained from the Hungarian language? How has it influenced language learning, language learning motivation and the attitude to foreign languages and cultures later? etc.

Another relevant point could be the examination of the transition from a multilingual-multicultural kindergarten to school examining the questions, e.g. *How has kindergarten promoted the linguistic development and the acculturation strategies of the children? To what extent was it beneficial to go to this kindergarten from the aspects of school? What were the difficulties and benefits of the transition? Was transition more or less difficult than for those who came from a monolingual kindergarten? etc.*

It could also be instructive to compare the operation of Fáy András Kindergarten with other kindergartens with a similar profile, e.g. bilingual, multilingual, ethnic minority kindergartens in Hungary and abroad alike. With the application and extension of the present results such studies would shed further light on this underrepresented area of language

pedagogy and could enhance innovation both in the theoretical and practical sides of early childhood multilingual-multicultural education.

5.5 Final conclusions

The major aim of the dissertation was to study a very special educational setting in Hungarian kindergarten education and find to see how kindergarten teachers, children, parents and educational decesion-makers form a common linguistic, cultural and pedagogical basis for communication in their very complex setting. Besides asking research questions and formulating hypotheses, I also developed theories which might be relevant in this case. Having examined the answers to my research questions and confirmed or rejected the hypotheses, I may summarise what I have mastered about my theories as well.

It was revealed that no children can become "automatically" bi- or trilingual in the kindergarten. To achieve this aim, if it is an aim at all, children need a very carefully elaborated programme carried out by dedicated and professional kindergarten teachers. As it could be observed, children and kindergarten teachers were only partially prepared for multilingual-multicultural challenges. It has been a long way through a lot of practice and experience till a really appropriate setting was established and developed. Apart from this, children's active participation is also necessary for a positive result in language acquisition. Because of these special efforts, it cannot be declared that languages are acquired and cultural identity is formed "accidentally" and can be presented as a "gift".

On the other hand, I may state that children in the kindergarten are ready to choose and apply the languages heard around them. In this way, it is not an exaggeration when the process of language acquisition is compared to a puzzle. Children do play a language puzzle where language choice depends on themselves and the rules of the chosen language(s) are constructed from the language(s) perceived in the family and in the kindergarten (from peers and teachers).

How to create linguistic and cultural identity has also been displayed in the study especially from the aspect of pedagogical methods. The different reinforcements and stimuli were closely observed: they were gained in the kindergarten in order to offer the children the choice of languages and the development of identity. At this point, too, it was obvious to see how much this multilingual-multicultural kindergarten differed from a monolingual one, as far as linguistic, cultural and social roles are concerned.

As it has been revealed, both the linguistic and the educational aspects of the dissertation intended to show a fresh and timely picture of early childhood multilingual-multicultural education in a country where neither multilingualism nor multiculturalism in the kindergarten have been exhaustively discussed and investigated yet in language educational research. Hopefully, this study has managed to add some new aspects and results to this less known and acknowledged field of language pedagogy.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I			<u></u>	
Observation chart for pilo	oting			
	<u>(</u>	DBSERVATION CHAR	<u>xT</u>	
DATE: NAME OF OBSERVER:		KINDERGA GROUP (Ag	ARTEN TEACHER: ge/ Level):	
TOPIC				
AIMS (linguistic/ cultural/ pedagogic)				
1. PROCEDURES	2. TECHNIQUES and TOOLS	3. VOCABULARY, PHRASES	4. CHILDREN'S REACTIONS	5. COMMENTS

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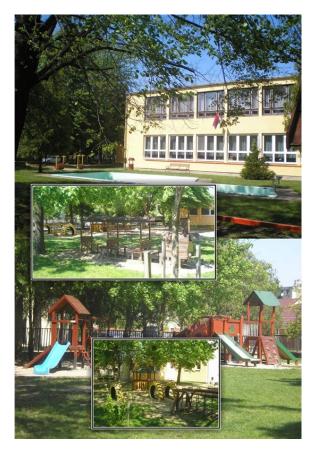
The final Observation chart

OBSERVATION CHART

DATE: GROUP (Name/ Age): KINDERGARTEN TEACHER:

TOPIC					
AIMS (linguistic/					
cultural/ pedagogic)					
1. PROCEDURES	2. LINGUISTI	C FEATURES	3. PEDAGOGICAL	4. CULTURAL	5. COMMENTS
	a) children	b) k-g teacher	TOOLS and	PHENOMENA	
			METHODS		
- daily schedule	- proportion of Ls	- proportion of Ls	-authentic materials	- child-to-child	
- activities	(according to diff. Ls	(according to diff. Ls	(books, cassettes, etc.)	interaction (according	
(L developing, other;	and time)	and time)	-illustrative materials	to nationalities)	
spontaneous -	- active and passive	- individual	(flash cards, pictures,	- cultural differences	
curricular)	L use	differentiation	etc.)	(e.g. during eating,	
- play (types, children's	-meta-communication,	- speech panels	- conflicts & solution	sleeping)	
participation – how	gestures (as l	-meta-communication,			
many with the same L1)	substitutes or	gestures (as 1			
- parents' role (at the	reinforcement)	substitutes or			
beginning/ end of the	- L use: code-	reinforcement)			
day)	switching and code-	- feedback (+/ -)			
	mixing	- L use: code-			
	- children's reactions:	switching and code-			
	1. migrants in HU	mixing			
	2. HU ch. in L2	- k-g teacher's role			
	- mistakes (vocabulary,	(mediator/ leader)			
	syntactic)	- mistakes (vocabulary,			
	- correction	syntactic)			
		- correction			

APPENDIX 3⁴ The building of Fáy András Kindergarten, Pápa, Hungary



Source: http://varosiovodakpapa.hu/fay-andras-lakotelepi-ovoda-fay-andras-housing-estate-kindergarten

APPENDIX 4

Two Hungarian national poems in the corridor



⁴ Photos, if not stated otherwise, were taken by the author with the kind permission of the people in them

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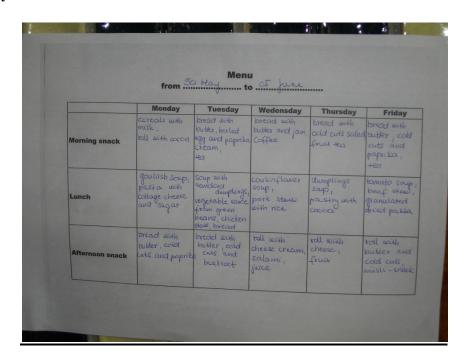
APPENDIX 5

An invitation for Children's Day



APPENDIX 6

The weekly menu



APPENDIX 7

A notice about the cleaning break



APPENDIX 8

A notice about meal cancellation



APPENDIX 9 Phrases in English about the weather



APPENDIX 10 Dutch clogs



APPENDIX 11 Objects and pictures from Norway



APPENDIX 12 Bilingual notice for parents



APPENDIX 13

A welcome board at Möllevångsskolan, Malmö, Sweden



APPENDIX 14

The fence of Dog Kennel Hill Primary School, London, UK



APPENDIX 15 A multicultural board at a primary school, Manacor, Spain



APPENDIX 16

A multicultural board in Fáy András Kindergarten, Pápa



APPENDIX 17 The national board of Sweden



APPENDIX 18

The national board of the USA



APPENDIX 19 The American muffin at the International Day



APPENDIX 20
The Bulgarian cabbage pastry at the International Day



APPENDIX 21 The Swedish game at the International Day



APPENDIX 22 A winner at the International Day



APPENDIX 23 Interview guide for all parents

Magyar szülők részére	For native English parents (i.e. US parents)	For non-native English parents
1. Hány éves a gyereke (kisfia/ kislánya)?	1. How old is your child (son/ daughter)?	1. How old is your child (son/ daughter)?
2. Mióta jár óvodába?	2. How long has your child been going to the kindergarten?	2. How long has your child been going to the kindergarten?
 3. a) Mi az Ön anyanyelve? b) Mi a férjének/ feleségének az anyanyelve? c) Mit tekint a gyerek első nyelvének? 	3. a) What is your mother tongue?b) What is your husband's/ wife's mother tongue?c) What do you consider your child's first language?	3. a) What is your mother tongue?b) What is your husband's/ wife's mother tongue?c) What do you consider your child's first language?
 4. a) Beszél-e Ön idegen nyelv(ek)et? Melyik az?/ Melyek azok? b) Beszél-e a férje/ felesége idegen nyelv(ek)et? Melyik az?/ Melyek azok? 	4. a) Do you speak any foreign language(s) ? Which is that?/ Which are they? b) Does your husband / wife speak any foreign language(s)? Which is that?/ Which are they?	4. a) Do you speak any foreign language(s)? Which is that?/ Which are they?b) Does your husband/ wife speak any foreign language(s)? Which is that?/ Which are they?
5. Milyen nyelvet használnak a szülők otthon a) egymás között? b) a gyerekkel?	5. What is the language you use at home a) with your husband/ wife? b) with your child(ren)?	5. What is the language you use at homea) with your husband/wife?b) with your child(ren)?
6. a) Mi az Ön foglalkozása ? b) Mi a férje/ felesége foglalkozása ?	6. a) What's your job ? b) What's your husband's/ wife's job ?	6. a) What's your job ? b) What's your husband's/ wife's job ?

7. Hány országban lakott eddig a család? a) Melyek voltak ezek? b) Mennyi időt töltöttek ott?	7. a) How many countries had you lived in with your family (before you came to Hungary)?b) Which were they?c) How long did you live there?	7. a) How many countries had you lived in with your family (before you came to Hungary)?b) Which were they?c) How long did you live there?
8. Mindig ebbe az óvodába járt a gyerek? a) <i>Ha igen</i> , mikor kezdte az óvodát? b) <i>Ha nem</i> , hová járt eddig ?	8. Had your child attended a kindergarten before you came to Hungary?	8. Had your child attended a kindergarten before you came to Hungary?
9. Kezdetektől fogva multikulturális óvodába jár-e?	9. Has (s)he always attended a multilingual kindergarten?	9. Has (s)he always attended a multilingual kindergarten ?
10. Miért íratta gyerekét ebbe az óvodába? Kifejezetten ebbe a csoportba ?	10. Why did you enrol your child in this particular kindergarten ? In this group ?	10. Why did you enrol your child in this particular kindergarten? In this group?
11. Hogy érzi magát a csoportban a gyerek?	11. How does your child feel in this kindergarten?	11. How does your child feel in this kindergarten?
12. Mikor kezdett el beszélni a gyerek az anyanyelvén? (II.)	12. When did your child start to speak in general ?	12. When did your child start to speak in general ?
13. Milyen mértékben és hogyan fejlődött anyanyelvi téren a gyereke az óvodában?	13. How did your child's mother tongue develop in the kindergarten?	13. Does he/ she get mother tongue education in this kindergarten? (If not, do you think it would be ideal?)
14. Részt vesz-e a gyerek az angol nyelvű foglalkozásokon ? a) <i>Ha igen</i> , milyen angol nyelvű tevékenységeket (pl. játék, dal, mondóka, testmozgás stb.) kedvel a legjobban?	14. Does your child take part in the English language sessions in the kindergarten? a) <i>If yes</i> , which are his/ her favourite activities (e.g. a game, song, nursery rhyme, physical activity etc.) in English?	14. Does your child take part in the English language sessions in the kindergarten? a) <i>If yes</i> , which are his/ her favourite activities (e.g. a game, song, nursery rhyme, physical activity etc.) in English?

b) Ha nem, miben látja tartózkodásának az okát?	b) <i>If not</i> , what is the reason for not taking part?	b) <i>If not</i> , what is the reason for not taking part?
15. Kötelezőek-e az angol nyelvű foglalkozások az óvodában?	15. Are English language sessions compulsory in the kindergarten?	15. Are English language sessions compulsory in the kindergarten?
16. Milyen nyelvű gyerekekkel szokott az Ön gyereke játszani?	16. What is the mother tongue of the children your child plays with?	16. What is the mother tongue of the children your child plays with?
17. Vannak-e más nyelvű barátai az óvodában?	17. Does your child have friends in the kindergarten with a different mother tongue?	17. Does your child have friends in the kindergarten with a different mother tongue?
18. Milyen nyelven beszél a gyerek az óvónőhöz?	18. What language does he/ she speak to the kindergarten teacher?	18. What language does he/ she speak to the kindergarten teacher?
19. Ön elvárja, hogy az óvónő angolul beszéljen a gyerekéhez?	19. Do you expect the kindergarten teacher to speak English to your child ?	19. Which language does the kindergarten teacher speak to your child? Which language would you like her to use?
20. Igényelné-e Ön, hogy angol anyanyelvű legyen az óvónő?	20. Would you prefer a native English kindergarten teacher?	20. Would you prefer a Polish/ Bulgarian etc. kindergarten teacher?
21. Milyen nyelven beszél gyereke a külföldi gyerekekhez? a) Megszólítja őket idegen nyelven? b) Válaszol nekik idegen nyelven?	21. In which language(s) does your child communicate with foreign children? a) Does (s)he speak to them in a foreign language? b) Does (s)he answer in a foreign language?	 21. In which language(s) does your child communicate with foreign children? a) Does (s)he speak to them in a foreign language? b) Does (s)he answer in a foreign language?

22. Kapcsolatban van a gyereke más nyelvű gyerekkel is az óvodán kívül? Milyen nyelvűek ezek a gyerekek? Milyen nyelven kommunikálnak az Ön gyerekével?	22. Is your child in contact with children outside the kindergarten? What is the mother tongue of these children? How do they communicate with your child?	22. Is your child in contact with children outside the kindergarten? What is the mother tongue of these children? How do they communicate with your child?
23. Milyen nyelven beszélnek a külföldi szülők egymás között, ha találkoznak az óvodában ?	23. What language do foreign parents speak to each other when they meet in the kindergarten ?	23. What language do foreign parents speak to each other when they meet in the kindergarten ?
24. Milyen nyelven kommunikálnak a magyar és külföldi szülők egymás között?	24. What language do foreign and Hungarian parents speak to each other?	24. What language do foreign and Hungarian parents speak to each other?
25. Mit gondol, fejlődött vagy hanyatlott gyereke általános kommunikációs készsége, amióta óvodába jár? a) Minek köszönhető ez? b) Ön szerint köze van ehhez a csoportban lévő idegen nyelvű gyerekeknek?	25. What do you think: have your child's general communicative skills developed or deteriorated since (s)he attended this kindergarten? a) What is the reason for that? b) Do you think it has something to do with the foreign children in the group?	25. What do you think: have your child's general communicative skills developed or deteriorated since (s)he attended this kindergarten? a) What is the reason for that? b) Do you think it has something to do with the foreign children in the group?
26. Fejlődött-e gyereke angol nyelvtudása az óvodában? a) <i>Ha igen</i> , miben nyilvánul ez meg? b) <i>Ha nem</i> , vajon mi lehet az oka ?	26. Has your child's English developed in the kindergarten? a) <i>If yes</i> , how is it manifested ?/ (=How does it show?) b) <i>If not</i> , what is the reason ?	26. Has your child's English developed in the kindergarten? a) <i>If yes</i> , how is it manifested ?/ (= How does it show?) b) <i>If not</i> , what is the reason ?
27. Használ-e a gyereke otthon angol szavakat ? Mondjon példákat !	27. Does your child use Hungarian at home? Give an example !	27. Does your child use foreign language (either English, Hungarian or any other)

(Kifejezéseket vagy szavakat használ?)	(Does s/he use phrases or only words?)	words or phrases at home? Give an example!
28. Ön szerint fontos a gyereke számára az angol nyelv ? Miért?/ Miért nem?	28. Do you consider Hungarian important for your child? Why?/ Why not?	28. Do you consider Hungarian important for your child? Why?/ Why not?
29. Vannak-e óvodán kívüli közös tevékenységeik (pl. kirándulások vagy kulturális programok) a magyar és külföldi óvodásoknak? Részt vesznek-e ezeken a szülők?	29. Are there any extra-curricular activities for children (e.g. hiking or any cultural programmes) organised by the kindergarten? Are parents involved?	29. Are there any extra-curricular activities for children (e.g. hiking or any cultural programmes) organised by the kindergarten? Are parents involved?
30. Mit gondol, mit tehetnek a szülők egy ideális együttműködésért az óvodával?	30. What do you think parents can do for an ideal cooperation with the kindergarten?	30. What do you think parents can do for an ideal cooperation with the kindergarten?
31. Otthon milyen nyelvet használ a gyerek a) a szüleivel? (a babysitterrel?) b) testvéreivel? c) barátaival? d) játék közben? e) Milyen nyelvű filmeket, TV- műsorokat néz?	31. What language does your child use at home a) with his/ her parents? (babysitter) b) his/ her siblings? c) his/ her friends? d) while playing – by herself? e) while watching films or TV?	31. What language does your child use at home a) with his/ her parents? (babysitter) b) his/ her siblings? c) his/ her friends? d) while playing – by herself? e) while watching films or TV?
32. Ön tudja-e segíteni gyerekét az idegen nyelv elsajátításában? Hogyan?	32. Can you help your child in foreign language acquisition? How?	32. Can you help your child in foreign language acquisition? How?
33. Tanult-e gyereke az óvodában a magyartól eltérő szokásokat ? Melyek ezek?	33. Have you or your child introduced your own national customs or traditions into the kindergarten group (e.g. a special way of celebrating birthday or a national holiday)?	33. Have you or your child introduced your own national customs or traditions into the kindergarten group (e.g. a special way of celebrating birthday or a national holiday)?

34. Fontosak-e a néphagyományok Önöknél a családban? Tudna példát mondani? Tudna példát mondani?	34. Do you put an emphasis on your own national customs in your family? Can you give an example?	34. Do you put an emphasis on your own national customs in your family? Can you give an example?
 35. Hall-e az óvodában a gyereke az idegen ünnepekről? a) <i>Ha igen</i>, helyesli-e ezt Ön? Milyen mértékben? b) <i>Ha nem</i>, fontosnak tartja-e ezt Ön egy multikulturális csoportban? Milyen mértékben? 	35. What do you feel about Hungarian national customs and traditions in the kindergarten? Do you think they might be interesting to your child?	35. What do you feel about Hungarian national customs and traditions in the kindergarten? Do you think they might be interesting to your child?
36. Emlékszik olyan alkalomra, amikor valamilyen külföldi hagyományról, népszokásról hallottak a gyerekek az óvodában?	 36. a) Do you remember an occasion when Hungarian traditions played an important role in the kindergarten group? b) Do you remember an occasion when any other foreign traditions played an important role in the kindergarten group? 	 36. a) Do you remember an occasion when Hungarian traditions played an important role in the kindergarten group? b) Do you remember an occasion when any other foreign traditions played an important role in the kindergarten group?
37. Ön helyesli-e a kétnyelvű nevelést az óvodában?	37. Do you like multilingual education in the kindergarten or not? When does foreign language teaching start in your country?	37. Do you like multilingual education in the kindergarten or not? When does foreign language teaching start in your country?
38. Milyen előnyeit vagy hátrányait látja a multikulturális csoportnak?	38. Can you see any advantages or disadvantages of multiculturalism in the kindergarten group?	38. Can you see any advantages or disadvantages of multiculturalism in the kindergarten group?
39. Elmondja-e a gyerek, mi történik az óvodában? Mesél-e az idegen nyelvi	39. Does your child talk about what happened in the kindergarten? Does	39. Does your child talk about what happened in the kindergarten? Does

tevékenységekről?	(s)he also speak about any foreign language activities?	(s)he also speak about any foreign language activities?
40. Menyire fontos az Ön családjában a nyelvtanulás?	40. How important is language learning in your family?	40. How important is language learning in your family?
41. Ön szerint speciális helyzetben van-e a gyermekük, hogy multikulturális csoportba jár?	41. Is your child in a special situation by attending a multicultural kindergarten?	41. Is your child in a special situation by attending a multicultural kindergarten?
42. Mit jelent az Ön számára a a) többnyelvűség és a b) többkultúrájúság a jelen helyzetükben? 43. Hogyan értékelné gyereke a) magyarnyelv-tudását? 1. tökéletes; 2. nagyon jó; 3. mérsékelten jó; 4. nem túl jó 5. alig tud b) angolnyelv-tudását? 1. tökéletes; 2. nagyon jó; 3. mérsékelten jó; 4. nem túl jó 5. alig tud c) egyéb () idegennyelv-tudását? 1. tökéletes; 2. nagyon jó; 3. mérsékelten jó; 4. nem túl jó 5. alig tud 5. alig tud	42. What do a) multilingualism and b) multiculturalism mean to you in your present situation? 43. How would you evaluate your child's a) English language command? 1. perfect; 2. very good; 3 fairly good; 4. not too good; 5. poor b) Hungarian language command? 1. perfect; 2. very good; 3 fairly good; 4. not too good; 5. poor c) command of any other foreign language? 1. perfect; 2. very good; 3 fairly good; 4. not too good; 5. poor	42. What do a) multilingualism and b) multiculturalism mean to you in your present situation? 43. How would you evaluate your child's a) Bulgarian/ Polish/ Norwegian language command? 1. perfect; 2. very good; 3 fairly good; 4. not too good; 5. poor b) Hungarian language command? 1. perfect; 2. very good; 3 fairly good; 4. not too good; 5. poor c) English language command? 1. perfect; 2. very good; 3 fairly good; 4. not too good; 5. poor
44. Jelenleg egynyelvűnek vagy kétnyelvűnek (háromnyelvűnek) véli gyerekét?	44. At present do you consider your child monolingual or bilingual (trilingual)?	44. At present do you consider your child monolingual or bilingual (trilingual)?

45. Vegyes házasság esetén:	45. In case of mixed marriages :	45. In case of mixed marriages :	
Mit gondol, milyen identitású a gyereke?	What do you think about your child's	What do you think about your child's	
(Minek gondolja/ érzi magát?)	identity?	identity?	
	(Is s/he American/ Turkish/ Polish etc?)	(Is s/he American/ Turkish/ Polish etc?)	
46. Ismeri-e az óvoda többnyelvűségi	46. Do you know the multilingual	46. Do you know the multilingual	
programját?	programme of the kindergarten?	programme of the kindergarten?	
47. Van-e valami, amin változtatna az	47. Is there anything you would alter in the	47. Is there anything you would alter in the	
óvodai csoportban?	kindergarten?	kindergarten?	

Δ	P	P	\mathbf{R}^{*}	N	D	IX	24	1

Agreement on interviews with the parents in English

Agreement

Name of researcher: Kitzinger Arianna

Place of work: Nyugat-magyarországi Egyetem Benedek Elek Pedagógiai Kara,

(West-Hungarian University, Benedek Elek Faculty of Education)

9400 Sopron, Ferenczy János u. 5.

Address: 9400 Sopron, Bánfalvi út 84/a e-mail: kitzingerarianna@hotmail.com Mobile phone: +36/30/316-0653

Name of Interviewee: _	 	
e-mail:	_	
Telephone:		

- 1. The aim of the interview is to supply *research material* for a linguistic PhD dissertation in progress about multilingualism. The researcher is a third-year student of the Linguistic Doctoral School of Pázmány Péter University.
- 2. The interview is recorded on a *Dictaphone*. It can exclusively be used for academic research which, besides the dissertation itself, involves publications or lectures at conferences.
- 3. Giving data is *voluntary*. If the interviewee does not wish to answer certain questions, he/ she is entitled to deny answering or stop the interview.
- 4. The interviewee is *anonymous*. As agreed, the interviewer can give the interviewee a pseudonym.
- 5. The interview is based on *mutual support*. The researcher can ask the interviewee to check the written version of the interview, while the interviewee can ask the interviewer not to use certain parts.
- 6. The aim of the interview is **not to gain financial profit**. Therefore the interviewee gives the data without financial compensation.

If the above agreement is broken by the researcher in any way, the interviewee can make a complaint with the researcher's employer.

Date: January 2011, Pápa	
	
Signature of Interviewee	Signature of Interviewer

APPENDIX 25

Adatközlő aláírása

Agreement on interviews with the parents in Hungarian

Megállapodás

Wieganapodas
Interjúkészítő neve: Kitzinger Arianna Munkahelye: Nyugat-magyarországi Egyetem Benedek Elek Pedagógiai Kara, 9400 Sopron, Ferenczy János u. 5. Címe: 9400 Sopron, Bánfalvi út 84/a e-mail: kitzingerarianna@hotmail.com Mobil: +36/30/316-0653 Adatközlő neve:
 Az interjú célja, hogy kutatási anyagot szolgáltasson egy készülő nyelvészeti doktori disszertációhoz a többnyelvűség témakörében. A kutató a Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem Nyelvtudományi Doktori Iskolájának harmadéves hallgatója. Az interjút a kutató diktafonra veszi. Anyagát kizárólag kutatási célokra használja fel. A disszertáció mellett ez jelenthet publikációt és konferencia-előadást. Az interjúadás önkéntes. Amennyiben az adatközlő bizonyos kérdés(ek)re nem kíván válaszolni, megtagadhatja a válaszadást vagy felfüggesztheti az interjút. Az interjúalany anonim. Megbeszélés alapján az interjúkészítője álnevet adhat az interjúalanynak. Az interjú kölcsönös segítségnyújtáson alapszik. A kutató kérheti az adatközlőtől a magnószalagról átírt anyag ellenőrzését, az interjúalany pedig bizonyos részek közlésétől elállhat. Az interjúkészítő célja nem anyagi haszonszerzés. Ennélfogva az adatközlő nem kap az interjúért anyagi ellenszolgáltatást.
Amennyiben a fenti megállapodást a kutató bármely formában megszegi, az adatközlő panasszal
élhet a kutató munkahelyén. Kelt: Pápa, 2010. szeptember

Interjúkészítő aláírása

APPENDIX 26 Interview guide for all children

	magyar	English
1.	Te magyarul beszélsz?	Do you speak English?
2.	Itt mindenki magyarul beszél?	Does everybody speak English here?
3.	X milyen nyelven beszél?	What language does X speak?
4.	X honnan jött?	Which country is X from?
5.	Tudod, hol van (X országa)?	Do you know where is?
6.	Voltál már ott?	Have you been there?
7.	Voltál már külföldön?	Have you been abroad?
8.	Ott milyen nyelven beszéltél?	How did you speak there?
9.	Szoktál X-szel játszani?	Do you play with X?
10.	Kikkel szeretsz játszani?	Who do you like to play with?
11.	Kik a barátaid?	Who is your friend?
12.	Y-nal (más nemzetiségű gyerek) nem	Don't you play with Y?
	játszol?	
13.	Megértitek egymást?	Do you understand each other?
14.	Milyen nyelven beszéltek?	Which language do you speak?
15.	Szeretsz angolul beszélni?	Do you like speaking English?
16.	Megérted, ha X mond neked valamit	Do you understand if X says something to
	angolul?	you in English?
17.	Mi az az angol nyelv?	What is that English language?
18.	Kik szoktak angolul beszélni? Melyik	Who speaks English? Where?
	országban?	
19.	Csak az angolok beszélnek angolul?	Do only English people speak English?
20.	Te mit szeretsz a legjobban csinálni	What do you like to do in English best?
	angolul?	
21.	Szoktál angolul játszani? És énekelni?	Do you play in English? Do you sing in
	Beszélni?	English? Do you speak English?
22.	Hogyan kell angolul beszélni?	How do we have to speak English?
23.	Milyen nyelveket ismersz még?	Which other languages do you know?
24.	Melyik nyelven szeretsz jobban játszani:	Which language do you prefer playing: in
	magyarul vagy angolul?	Hungarian or in English?

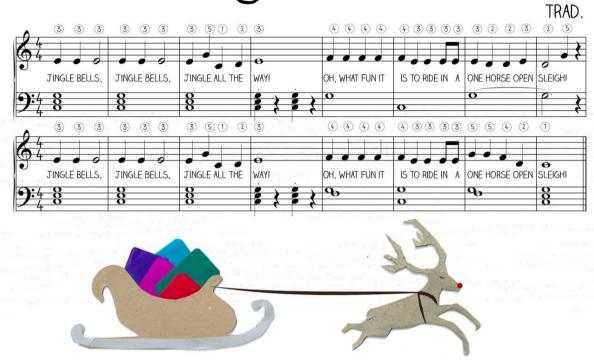
APPENDIX 27	
Agreement on interviews with the children in Engli	ish
Agreeme	ent
Hereby I (parent) agree that my change is linguistic researcher in the kindergarten. The interview used only for research purposes.	
Date: Pápa, June 2011	
Signature of Interviewee's parent	Signature of interviewer Kitzinger Arianna Nyugat-magyarországi Egyetem Benedek Elek Pedagógiai Kara, 9400 Sopron, Ferenczy J. u. 5. e-mail: kitzingerarianna@hotmail.com Mobil: 06/30/316-0653
APPENDIX 28 Agreement on interviews with the children in Hung	
iviegaliapo	ruas
Alulírott, szülő ezúton hozzájáru beszélgetést folytasson az óvodában. Az interjú diktaf használható fel. Kelt: Pápa, 2011. június	ilok ahhoz, hogy gyermekem rövid fonra kerül, és kizárólag kutatási célokra
Adatközlő (szülő) aláírása	Interjúkészítő aláírása Kitzinger Arianna Nyugat-magyarországi Egyetem Benedek Elek Pedagógiai Kara, 9400 Sopron, Ferenczy J. u. 5. e-mail: kitzingerarianna@hotmail.com Mobil: 06/30/316-0653

APPENDIX 29

English song from the Interviews with the children: 'Jingle Bells'

LET'S PLAY MUSIC

Jingle Bells

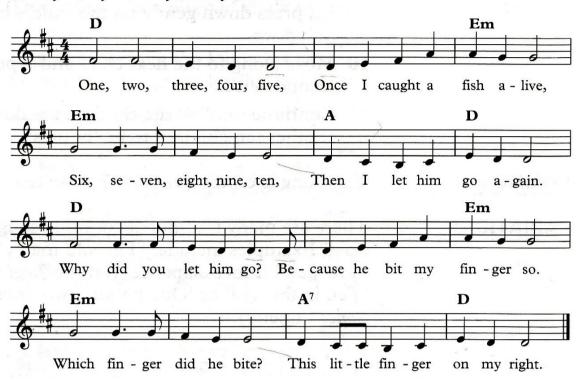


Source: Let's Play Music, n.d.

APPENDIX 30

English song from the Interviews with the children: 'One, two, three four, five'

One, two, three, four, five



Source: Reilly & Ward, 1997, p. 92

APPENDIX 31

English song from the Interviews with the children: 'Teddy Bear'





Source: Beth's Music Notes, 2013

APPENDIX 32 Interview guide for the kindergarten teachers

1.	Hogyan fogadtátok a multikulturális, multilingvális nevelés gondolatát az óvodában?
2.	Hogyan zajlik a nyelvek megoszlása szempontjából egy tipikus óvodai nap?
3.	Szerinted milyen nyelven célszerű az óvónőnek a gyerekekhez beszélnie?
4.	Szerinted melyek a legjobb nyelvfejlesztési módszerek ?
5.	a) Okoz-e az angol kiejtés nehézséget a gyerekeknek?
J.	b) Okoz-e a magyar kiejtés nehézséget a gyerekeknek?
6.	a) Lehet-e mérni az anyanyelvű, illetve az idegen nyelvi fejlődést? Ha igen,
	hogyan méritek?
	b) Lehet-e értékelni az anyanyelvű, illetve az idegen nyelvi fejlődést? Ha igen,
	hogyan értékelitek?
	c) Lehet-e a mérés objektív?
	d) Lehet-e az értékelés objektív ?
7.	Mi alapján jelented ki egy gyerekről, hogy egynyelvű/ kétnyelvű/ háromnyelvű?
8.	Megfigyeléseid szerint hogyan viszonyulnak szabad játékidőben egymáshoz a
	különböző nemzetiségű gyerekek? Pl. Kik játszanak egymással? Vannak-e
	kialakult játszócsoportok vagy -párok a nyelvek megoszlása szerint?
9.	Milyen nyelven beszélnek egymáshoz játék közben az azonos és az eltérő
	anyanyelvű gyerekek? Mondj konkrét példákat!
10.	a) Befolyásoljátok-e a nyelvhasználatot a szabad játékidőben? (= A magyar
	gyerek tanuljon angolul, a külföld magyarul?)
	b) Befolyásoljátok-e a nyelvhasználatot a foglalkozásokon? (= A magyar gyerek
	tanuljon angolul, a külföldi magyarul?)
	c) Szerinted kell-e befolyásolni a gyerek nyelvválasztását?
	d) Egyáltalán vannak-e nálatok "foglalkozások"?
11.	Milyen nyelvi nehézségek merülnek fel
	a) a csoporton belül?
	b) a szülőkkel?
	Hogyan igyekeztek ezeket legyőzni ?
12.	Mennyiben más az óvodapedagógus feladata egy multilingvális csoportban, mint
13.	egy egynyelvűben?
13.	a) Az idegen nyelv elsajátítása szempontjából vannak-e kiemelkedő tehetséget
	eláruló gyerekek? b) Mi lehet ennek az oka ?
14.	a) Vannak olyan gyerekek, akik nem értik meg az idegen nyelvet és nem is
14.	kommunikálnak azon?
	b) Mi lehet ennek az oka ?
	c) Mit tesztek ennek kiküszöbölésére? (Fontos-e ezen változtatni?)
15.	a) Milyen előnyeit látod a multikulturális csoportnak?
13.	b) Milyen hátrányait látod a multikulturális csoportnak?
16.	Mit jelent számodra jelenlegi személyes és szakmai életedben a többnyelvűség és
10.	többkultúrájúság?
17.	Fontosnak tartanád-e angol anyanyelvű óvodapedagógus jelenlétét az óvodában?
18.	Mi az, amin szívesen változtatnál az óvodában?
10.	

APPENDIX 33

Interview guide for the educational decision-makers I. (The cabinet secretary of the self-government of Pápa)

1.	Hogyan és mikor született az ötlet, hogy a NATO-családok gyerekei nem ún. nemzetközi
	iskolákban, hanem a pápai oktatási intézményekben tanuljanak?
	Mi volt ennek a célja?
2.	Milyen oktatáspolitikai elveket, törvényeket vettek figyelembe? Milyen szabályozásoknak
	kellett eleget tenni?
3.	a) Milyen partnereket tudtak maguk mellé állítani a kezdeti lépésekkor?
	b) Milyen nehézségeket kellett leküzdeniük a kezdetekkor?
4.	a) Hogyan fogadta a NATO helyi parancsnoksága az elgondolást?
	b) Hogyan fogadták a helyi pedagógusok az elgondolást?
	c) Hogyan fogadta a város az elgondolást?
5.	Milyen jellegű megállapodásokat kötöttek az oktatási intézményekkel? (Hány évre? Milyen
	feltételekkel?)
6.	Milyen oktatási színtereken (bölcsőde, óvoda, általános iskola, középiskola) folyik a
	multikulturális oktatás?
7.	Kérem, vázolja, miként valósul meg az elképzelés a gyakorlatban
	- a bölcsődében
	- az óvodában
	- a középiskolában?
8.	a) Van-e az intézményeknek beszámolási kötelezettségük Önök felé?
	b) Van-e Önöknek beszámolási kötelezettségük ? Kiknek? (Minisztérium? NATO?)
9.	Hogyan biztosítják a pedagógusok megfelelő nyelvi és pedagógiai képzését/ továbbképzését?
10.	Beváltak-e valamennyi intézményben a multikulturális neveléshez fűződő előzetes
	elképzelések?
11.	Kiemelt szerepet töltenek-e be a multikulturális pedagógusok a város és a tanintézmények
	életében? Nagyobb-e pl. az erkölcsi, anyagi megbecsültségük?
12.	Három év elteltével mik az észrevételeik ?
	a) Mi az, amit sikerrel hajtottak végre?
	b) Mi az, amin változtatni kívánnak?

APPENDIX 34

Interview guide for the educational decision-makers II.
(The general head of all the kindergartens & the head kindergarten teacher of Fáy András Kindergarten)

1.	Miért éppen a Fáy András Lakótelepi Óvodára esett a választás, amikor Pápa városa úgy
	döntött, a NATO-családok gyerekei helyi óvodába járjanak?
2.	Hogyan fogadták az óvoda pedagógusai a multikulturális nevelés bevezetését?
3.	Milyen oktatáspolitikai elveket, törvényeket vettek figyelembe? Milyen szabályozásoknak
	kellett eleget tenni?
4.	Milyen óvodai program szerint haladnak a csoportok?
5.	Miért éppen magyar-angol óvodai program mellett döntöttek, amikor sok más anyanyelvű
	gyerek is látogatja az intézményt?
6.	Milyen elvek alapján állt össze a program? Volt-e minta?
7.	Milyen nyelvi/ pedagógiai képzésen kell(ett) részt venniük az óvodában dolgozó
	pedagógusoknak?
8.	Ismernek-e hasonló példákat Magyarországon? És külföldön?
9.	Vannak-e nemzetközi kapcsolataik? Mennyire élő a kapcsolat?
10.	Milyen segítséget tudtak igénybe venni? Honnan? Milyen formában? (Pl. képzések, szakértői
	segítség)
11.	Kérem, ismertesse az óvodában futó oktatási projektet! (=pályázat)
	a) Milyen jellegű?
	b) Hány évre szól?
	c) Milyen célkitűzései vannak?
	d) Mit sikerült eddig megvalósítani belőle?
12.	Milyen pályázati formák állnak rendelkezésükre ebben a speciális helyzetben?
13.	Kívánnak-e újból pályázni ? (Igen/ Nem. Miért?)
14.	Kiemelt szerepet töltenek-e be a multikulturális pedagógusok a városi óvodák életében?
	Nagyobb-e pl. az erkölcsi, anyagi megbecsültségük?
15.	Három év elteltével mik az észrevételeik ?
	a) Mi az, amit sikerrel hajtottak végre?
	b) Mi az, amin változtatni kívánnak?

APPENDIX 35	A	P	ΡF	CN	D	IX	3	5
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The Intercultural educational programme of Fáy András Kindergarten, Pápa

AZ INTERKULTURÁLIS NEVELÉS ÓVODAI GYAKORLATA

VÁROSI ÓVODÁK FÁY ANDRÁS LAKÓTELEPI TAGÓVODÁJÁBAN

Készítette: Morvai Marianna

Bevezetés

Nevelő munkánkat befolyásolja, hogy Városi Óvodák Fáy András Lakótelepi Tagóvodájában 2008 őszétől külföldről érkező, nem magyar állampolgárságú nem magyar ajkú gyermekek vannak jelen. Szüleik, jellemzően az apák, NATO katonák. A családok határozott időre (általában másfél – négy évre) szóló szerződéssel érkeznek a Pápai Légibázisra. A gyermekek tehát a bevándorlók azon csoportjába tartoznak, akiknek eltartói munkavégzés céljából hosszabb tartózkodási engedéllyel rendelkeznek, a családtagjaik pedig családi együttélés címén kapnak engedélyt ugyancsak hosszabb magyarországi tartózkodásra (LOC 1).

Nevelésük a pápai gyermekekkel integráltan történik (LOC 2). Ez a gyakorlat eltér az általánostól, hisz a NATO jellemzően nemzetközi iskolákat, óvodákat alapítva saját pedagógusokkal oldja meg alkalmazottai gyermekeinek nevelését - oktatását. A nem magyar állampolgárságú gyermekek létszáma óvodánkban nevelési évente változik, összetételük ugyancsak évről évre módosul. Jelenleg 7 országból érkeznek az óvodába, ők az amerikai, bolgár, holland, lengyel, norvég, román, svéd nemzetet képviselik. Kezdetben egy, jelenleg 3 vegyes életkorú csoportban fogadjuk őket.

A NATO hivatalos munkanyelve és családtagjaik közösségi érintkezésének a nyelve egyaránt az angol, tehát a szülők szinte kivétel nélkül jól beszélnek angolul. A szülők és az óvoda közötti kommunikáció ebből kifolyólag ugyancsak angol nyelven zajlik. Az óvodába lépő külföldi gyermekek és szüleik nem rendelkeznek magyar nyelvismerettel. Az angol anyanyelvűeket kivéve a külföldi gyermekek nem beszélnek angolul sem.

A magyar szülők körében az utóbbi időben mind nagyobb érdeklődés mutatkozik az angol nyelv tanulásának korai megkezdésére (LOC 3).

Fent említett körülményekre való tekintettel a magyar és nem magyar gyermekek integrált együtt nevelése természetes helyzetet teremtett a magyar – angol kétnyelvű nevelésnek. A korai idegen nyelv elsajátítás (LOC 4) pedagógiai célkitűzéseit, feladatait, módszertani alapelveit, valamint a magyar és angol nyelv elsajátításának (LOC 5) lehetőségeit a Magyar – angol két nevelési nyelvű kiegészítő óvodai pedagógiai programunkban fogalmaztuk meg.

Az óvodában megjelent különféle állampolgárságú családok által képviselt nemzeti és kulturális sokszínűség indokolja azt, hogy az alprogramot az interkulturális nevelés helyi gyakorlatával (stratégiájával) egészítsük ki. Gyermekeik révén a külföldi családok jelen vannak a város életében, szülőként természetes kapcsolatba kerülnek a helyi lakosokkal. Kézenfekvő feladatunk beilleszkedésük segítése, a magyar kultúra szeleteinek megismertetése mellett a helyi lakosság befogadó készségének alakítása. A nem magyar gyermekek későbbi életükben további nemzetközi közösségekbe kerülnek. Szeretnénk hozzájárulni ahhoz, hogy identitás tudatuk jelentősége mellett számukra a kulturális sokszínűség, más nemzetek kulturális értékeinek elfogadása, tisztelet, elismerése az emberi értékekre való nyitottság is természetes legyen. A magyar gyermekek esetében ugyanerre törekszünk. Tanulási folyamataik zavartalanságát szem előtt tartva nagy hangsúlyt fektetünk tanulási készségeik, képességeik fejlesztésére is. További feladatunknak tekintjük a magyar nyelv alapozását, mellyel mind az óvodában, mind pedig a helyi iskolában az életkornak megfelelő információ felvétel, tanulás lehetővé válik.

Interkulturális óvodai nevelési gyakorlatunk megalkotásakor figyelembe vettük "A külföldi állampolgár gyermekek, tanulók interkulturális pedagógiai rendszer szerinti óvodai és iskolai

nevelése –oktatása irányelvéről" szóló OKM közleményt, valamint jogszabályi háttérként az 1993. évi LXXIX évi közoktatási törvény és "Az óvodai nevelés országos alapprogramja" vonatkozó rendelkezéseit. Ez utóbbiból emeljük ki a következőket (LOC 6):

Gyermekkép alcím 2. pont:

" ... Az óvodai nevelés gyermekközpontú, befogadó, ennek megfelelően a gyermeki személyiség kibontakoztatására törekszik, biztosítva minden gyermek számára az egyenlő hozzáférést. Nem ad helyet az előítéletek kibontakozásának sem társadalmi, sem nemi, sem egyéb értelemben."

Óvodakép alcím 6. pont:

" A hazájukat elhagyni kényszerülő családok (a továbbiakban: migráns) gyermekeinek óvodai nevelésében biztosítani kell az önazonosság megőrzését, ápolását, erősítését, társadalmi integrálását, az emberi jogok és alapvető szabadságok védelmét."

Helyzetelemzés

Pápa Város Önkormányzata, mint fenntartó a SAC/C 17 NATO program megvalósítása kapcsán Pápára érkező családok óvodás korú gyermekeinek ellátására jelölte ki a Fáy András Lakótelepi Tagóvodát. A programban 12 nemzet vesz részt (LOC 7).

Az óvoda pedagógiai munkáját Városi Óvodák Nevelési Programja alapján végzi, mely az interkulturális csoportokban 2009 szeptemberétől a már említett Magyar-angol két nevelési nyelvű programmal egészült ki. Ezekben a csoportokban az angol és a magyar nyelvet részben anyanyelvként használják a gyermekek, részben idegen nyelvként van lehetőségük azok elsajátítására.

Az óvodapedagógusok számára új feladatként jelentkezett a migráns gyermekek nevelése, a magyar - angol kétnyelvű nevelés, a magyar, mint idegen nyelv tanítása (LOC 8), az interkulturális pedagógia, valamint a családok beilleszkedését segítő törődés. Az új feladatokkal egyidejűleg megkezdődött a pedagógusok szervezett nyelvi, szakmódszertani, szakirányú továbbképzése (LOC 9), emellett folyamatos önképzés, a munkatapasztalatok kiértékelése, átadása vette kezdetét,

továbbá Pápa Városi Óvodák tagintézményébe külföldről érkező, nem magyar állampolgárságú, nem magyar ajkú gyermekek befogadása, nevelése és oktatása TÁMOP 3.4.1 B-08/2.-2009-0001 pályázat végrehajtása került a nevelőtestület feladatkörébe.

Az új feladatokkal összefüggő változások az óvodában:

- 2008 őszétől érkeznek migráns gyermekek, fogadásuk céljából az óvoda épületben bővítés, korszerűsítés zajlott.
- 2008/2009. nevelési évben egy magyar angol két nevelési nyelvű és négy magyar csoport működött.
- 2009 őszén csoport-, és létszámbővülés történt (plusz egy csoport, 25 férőhellyel). Ez a tornaszoba megszűnésével, valamint az óvoda helyiségeinek maximális kihasználtságával jár együtt.
- 2009/2010-től három magyar angol két nevelési nyelvű és három magyar csoport működik
- 2011. augusztusáig folyt hat nemzet gyermekeinek integrált együtt nevelése magyar gyermekekkel.

- 2011 szeptemberétől 7 nemzet gyermekeinek együtt nevelése folyik az óvodában magyar gyermekekkel.
- A migráns gyermekek létszáma évről-évre változik, jellemzően 20 és 30 fő között mozog. Be- és kilépésük időpontja nem mindig tervezhető. Az interkulturális csoportokban a nem magyar gyermekek aránya 32 48% között van. A gyermekek nem rendelkeznek sem magyar és többségük, természetesen az amerikai gyermekek kivételével, angol nyelvismerettel sem.

Személyi feltételek (LOC 10)

Elsődleges céljaink közé tartozott, hogy a kétnyelvű csoportokba legalább egy, angolul szóban és írásban egyaránt jól kommunikáló óvodapedagógus és nyelvileg hasonló tudású pedagógiai asszisztens (LOC 11) kerüljön. A pedagógiai munkában ők jellemzően az angol nyelvet reprezentálják. A csoportok második óvodapedagógusa alap szintű angol nyelvtudással rendelkezik, ő a magyar nyelv domináns képviselője. További célunk volt az is, hogy óvodapedagógusaink képzettségre tegyenek szert a korai idegen nyelv-elsajátítás, ezen belül a magyar és az angol mint idegen nyelvek tanítása (LOC 12) idegen ajkú gyermekeknek, a kétnyelvűség biztosítása terén.

Az óvodapedagógusokat tartjuk a siker kulcstényezőjének, akiknek a magas színvonalú szakmai tudás mellett kiváló együttműködő képességgel kell rendelkezniük a gyermekek és családjaik felé. A jó empátiás és kapcsolatteremtő képesség mellett fontosnak ítéljük az érintett nemzetek társadalmi, kulturális, oktatási hagyományaiban való jártasságot, azaz azinterkulturális tájékozottságot (LOC 13).

A felkészülés érdekében a következők történtek:

- 2008/09-ben folytak az alapfokú nyelvi képzések és szakmódszertani előképzések.
- 2010-ben 3 óvodapedagógus és az óvodavezető szerzett képzettséget a Nyugat-Magyarországi Egyetem Benedek Elek Pedagógiai Karán "angol nyelvű óvodapedagógus" szakirányon.
- 2011-ben ugyancsak az említett pedagógiai karon "óvodás kori magyar-angol kétnyelvűségre felkészítő" szakirányú képzést végezte el további 5 óvodapedagógus.
- A szervezett képzéseken túl közelről is megtapasztalhattuk az interkulturális nevelés hazai és nemzetközi jó gyakorlatát.
 - 2010-ben holland (kampeni óvodák, iskolák, Arhemi Nemzetközi Iskola), osztrák (wiener neustadti óvodák), magyar (Montessori Óvoda, Csepel) szakmai tapasztalatszerző látogatásokon vettünk részt (LOC 14).
 - 2011-ben Ausztriában, a Wallerni és schattendorfi óvodákban a magyar mint idegen nyelv tanításának módszereit tanulmányoztuk. Óralátogatásokon vettünk részt a Tarczy Lajos Általános Iskola magyar-angol két tanítási nyelvű 1. osztályában.

Alkalmanként segítségül tolmácsokat veszünk igénybe (LOC 15), akiket a katonai szervezet biztosít számunkra.

Tárgyi feltételek

Helyiségek:

Az utóbbi időben lehetőségünk nyílt az óvodai berendezések ütemezett cseréjére, így korszerűsödtek a termek, javult az épület miliője.

Egyenlőre minden tevékenység a csoportszobákban zajlik. Hiányzik a tornaszoba, egy megfelelő méretű, nyugodt, munkaszoba az óvodapedagógusok részére (előkészítő munkák, megbeszélések, adminisztratív teendők, stb. miatt), valamint legalább egy kiscsoportos foglalkozásokra alkalmas helyiség (a nyelvelsajátítás elősegítéséhez, az egyéni és kiscsoportos fejlesztésekhez).

Szemléltető és fejlesztő eszközök:

A gyermekek képességfejlesztéséhez, valamint a nyelvelsajátításhoz (LOC 16), az interkulturális neveléséhez nélkülözhetetlen, alapvető eszközök a rendelkezésünkre állnak. A nyelvelsajátításhoz általunk alkalmazott kész eszközökről felhasználhatóságuk megnevezésével listát készítettünk. Folyamatosan törekszünk az eszközök pótlására, a megjelenő újabb kínálatok tervezett beszerzésére. Ezek elsősorban fejlesztő játékok, képeskönyvek, képes szótárak, képanyagok, műsoros cd-k (zene, dal, mese, vers) dvd-k a jelenlevő nemzetek országát bemutató gyermekkönyvek, képek, plakátok, tárgyak.

Emellett természetesen rendelkezünk saját fejlesztésű eszközökkel is, amelyek körét szintén folyamatosan bővítjük. Ezek kép- és hanganyagok, interkulturális információt hordozó tablók, fejlesztő játékok.

A technikai berendezések:

Rendelkezünk egy digitális hangfelvevővel, laptoppal, projektorral és internet elérhetőséggel, amelyek segítségével képeket, rövid ismeretterjesztő filmeket, stb. tudunk vetíteni, cd lejátszókkal.

Szükségünk lenne digitális fényképezőgépre, mindhárom csoportban digitális diktafonra, szívesen használnánk digitális táblát is.

Pedagógiai eszközök:

Óvodapedagógusok által készített módszertani segédletek, amelyek óvodai aztevékenységeken belüli (ének-zene, dalos-játék; vizuális tevékenységek; mese, vers, dramatizálás; a természet és jeles napjai; a formai és mennyiségi viszonyok) idegen nyelvi fejlesztést (LOC 17) segítik; repertoár gyűjtemény mind a magyar, mind pedig az angol nyelv vonatkozásában; a HOP-ban meghatározott személyiségfejlődési lapok kétnyelvű változata; idegen nyelvi fejlődés mérésére szolgáló dokumentum; kétnyelvű baleset, betegség szótár és kifejezés gyűjtemény; a pedagógusok tájékozódását, felkészülést információ gyűjtemény az érintett országokról; magyarul és angolul sem tudó gyermekek részére anyanyelvi piktogramos segédlet.

Eddigi tapasztalataink összefoglalása

A különböző nemzetekből érkező gyermekeknek nem csak a nyelve, hanem a szociokulturális háttere, neveltetése is eltéréseket mutat. A pedagógusok számára az alapvető kihívás az, hogy míg a tiszta magyar csoportokban nincsenek nyelvi nehézségek, a kulturális gyökerek, tradíciók azonosak, a gyermeknevelési szokások hasonlatosak, az óvodáztatás emlékei a családokban hagyományozódnak és érzelmileg, mentálisan is összeköti a gyermekeket a nemzeti együvé tartozás, addig a migráns gyermekeket is nevelő csoportokban ezekkel a kohéziós erőkkel nem, vagy csak kis mértékben lehet számolni. Továbbá előfordulhat a migráns gyermek és a család esetleges beilleszkedési nehézsége is.

Az első három év tapasztalatait összegezve a következő problémák fordultak elő, melyek megoldását, vagy kiküszöbölését minden új nem magyar beiratkozó gyermeknél figyelembe kell venni: -

Gyermekek vonatkozásában (LOC 18):

- Beszédértési és kommunikációs problémák
- Érzelmi labilitás (hátrahagyott múlt, idegen környezet) (LOC 19)
- Alkalmazkodás a magyar óvoda szabályaihoz, szokásrendjéhez (öltözés, közös étkezések, naposság, a délutáni pihenés)
- Ismerkedés a magyar ételekkel
- Figyelem felkeltése és fenntartása, a gyermekek bevonása a közös tevékenységekbe
- Együttműködésre, pontos feladatvégzésre ösztönzés

Szülők vonatkozásában (LOC 20):

- Kapcsolattartás, elégséges információ áramlás. (Külföldi szülők)
- A külföldi szülők egy része keresi és kéri a hazájában megszokott nevelési szokásokat (nincs délutáni alvás, az írás,- olvasás tanulás korábban megkezdődik, mint Magyarországon, Norvégiában, Svédországban szinte egész nap kint vannak a szabadban a gyermekek, stb.).
- A magyar szülők kevésnek találják a magyar vers, mondóka, mese, dalos-játék arányát az interkulturális csoportokban

Eredmények:

- A szülők többségének hovatartozástól függetlenül tetszik a különböző nemzetekből érkező gyermekek együtt nevelése a befogadó ország gyermekeivel. Értékesnek tarják gyermekeik más nemzetiségű gyermekekkel, kultúrákkal, nyelvekkel való korai ismerkedését.
- A migráns gyermekek általában jól érzik magukat óvodánkban, szüleiknek is alapvetően jó benyomásaik vannak. Elismerően nyilatkoznak az óvodapedagógusok felkészültségéről, a gyermekekkel való bánásmódról. A külföldi szülők gyermekeikben végbemenő kedvező változásokról is beszámoltak. Főként az önkiszolgálást, önfegyelmet, együttműködési hajlandóságot, nyugodtabb viselkedést emelték ki (LOC 21).

- A magyar gyermekek elfogadóbbak lettek. A magyar szülők szülői értekezleteinken elmondták, hogy gyermekük empatikusabbá, rugalmasabbá, segítőkészebbé, türelmesebbé vált.
- Az óvoda tartalmi munkája gazdagodott, hisz a magyar és migráns gyermekek integrált nevelése természetes módon produkálta a soknyelvűséget, a kulturális sokszínűséget (interkulturalitás) és a különböző eltérő kultúrák egymásra hatását (multikulturalitás). Az óvodapedagógusok a napi összetett munka és a képzések hatására attitűd változásokon mentek keresztül. Elfogadóbbak, ugyanakkor kreatívabbak, rugalmasabbak lettek.

Az interkulturális tanulás

Maga az interkulturális tanulás folyamata segíthet rádöbbenteni arra, hogy a valóságot nagyon sokféle módon lehet megélni, értelmezni és megtapasztalni. Az interkulturális nevelés fejleszti a gyermekek kulturális identitását, és egyidejűleg erősíti az egymás iránti tiszteletet, a toleranciát az ismeretlennel, a szokatlannal szemben. Fokozza az érdeklődést és a kíváncsiságot, gyermekek kommunikáció iránti igényét (LOC 22), kapcsolatokat minden nemzeti, kulturális és nyelvi határon túlnyúlóan. Az interkulturális nevelés társadalmunk hétköznapjaiból, életéből indul ki és az idegen gyermekkel szembeni kapcsolat áll az előtérben. Az a fontos, hogy hogyan látja az egyik gyermek a másik gyermeket, azt, hogy mi az, ami megkülönbözteti tőle, és mi az, ami összeköti vele. Az interkulturális nevelés egyfajta tartás, viszonvulás, viselkedés. Sem otthon, sem az óvodában, sem az iskolában nem lehet egy megerőltető "stressz program" amelyet meg kell valósítani. Az interkulturális nevelés a hétköznapokba érdekesen, izgalmasan és ösztönzően beépítve örömöt szerezhet a felnőtteknek is. (Montanari Burkhardt, Elke)

Az interkulturális nevelési gyakorlat kapcsolódása a helyi óvodai nevelési programhoz

Az óvoda pedagógiai munkáját a magyar közoktatási szabályok és előírások, figyelembe vételével, a magyar óvodapedagógiai hagyományokra épített Helyi Óvodai Nevelési Program alapján végzi. Az abban megfogalmazottak jól adaptálhatók a külföldi gyermekek nevelésére is. Az interkulturális csoportokra vonatkozó kiegészítéseket a Magyar – angol két nevelési nyelvű kiegészítő alprogramban már rögzítettük. Az interkulturális nevelés helyi gyakorlatának megfogalmazáskor nem térünk ki a pedagógiai tevékenységek, tartalmak részletezésére, csupán utalunk az összefüggésekre, kapcsolódási pontokra és jellemzően csak az interkulturális elemekre koncentrálunk.

Az interkulturális nevelés alapelveinek értelmezése óvodánkban

Multikulturális szemlélet

A különböző országokból hozzánk érkező migráns gyermekek anyanyelve, kultúrája, sok vonatkozásban eltér egymásétól, valamint a magyar jellemzőktől. Éppen ezért fontos, hogy nevelőtestületünkben a más kultúrát elfogadni, annak értékeit hasznosítani tudó nevelői szemlélet határozza meg a pedagógiai eljárásokat. Keressük a különböző kultúrák közös és eltérő jellegeit és azok megjeleníthetőségét. Igyekszünk olyan pedagógiai környezetet teremteni, ahol a gyermekek megélhetik identitásukat, ugyanakkor megtanulják elfogadni másokét.

Integráció (LOC 23)

A befogadó társadalom számára előnyös, ha az érkező családoknak a közoktatási intézmény pedagógusai hozzáértő segítséget nyújtanak a társadalmi és lakókörnyezetbe való eligazodáshoz, beilleszkedéshez. Az első osztályt Magyarországon megkezdő migráns gyermekek részére a magyar nyelv elsajátítása, legalább a beszédértés és az alapszókincs tekintetében, kardinális az iskolai tanulás eredményessége és a sikeres kortárs kapcsolatok szempontjából.

Óvodánkban egyéni módon segítjük a gyermekek beilleszkedését a számukra idegen nyelvi és szociális környezetbe, támogatjuk a nyelvi nehézségekkel küzdő gyermek szituáció értését, önkifejezését, önérvényesítését. A magyar nyelv közvetítő nyelvként való használata elősegíti gyermekek beilleszkedését és tanulási folyamatokat. Életkori sajátosságaiknak megfelelő módon segítjük a gyermekeket a magyar nyelv elsajátításában (LOC 24), támogatjuk az alakuló barátságokat, információkkal, programokkal (LOC 25), segítjük a családokat és pozitív viszonyuk kialakulását országunkhoz, népünkhöz, kultúránkhoz. Emellett következetesen, türelmesen szoktatjuk őket az óvoda szabály-, és szokásrendszeréhez.

Adaptivitás-komprehenzivitás

Az adaptáció, a környezetei adottságokhoz való alkalmazkodást, a komprehenzivitás együttnevelést jelent.

A gyermekek alkalmazkodása az új környezethez akkor lehet eredményes, ha fogadásuk körülményei kedvezőek, befogadásuk szeretetteljes, környezetük érzelmileg biztonságos, elfogadó, segítő. A gyermekeket heterogén összetételű csoportokban integráltan neveljük. A közös együttlétek, élmények segítik a megismerési folyamatokat (társak, pedagógusok, család, nyelv, kultúra, másság) és a beilleszkedést.

Célkitűzéseink

Az óvoda egyik alapvető célkitűzése, hogy a nem magyar állampolgárságú gyermekek óvodai nevelése az Európai Unió irányelvében foglaltakkal összhangban történjen. Mindenekelőtt nagy hangsúlyt fordítunk a magyar mint idegen nyelv elsajátítás megalapozására, fejlesztésére (LOC 26). Interkulturális tanulási környezetet biztosítunk, ahol a magyar és nem magyar

gyermekek integráltan együtt nevelődnek, a nem magyar gyermekek megismerkedhetnek a

magyar kultúra kisgyermekkort érintő szeleteivel, valamint valamennyi gyermek kölcsönösen ismerkedhet az érkező gyermekek származási országának bizonyos jellemzőivel.

További célunk

- Derűs, tevékeny óvodai élet megszervezése, a gyermekek különböző igényeinek összehangolása.
- A gyermekek bizalmának elnyerése, biztonságérzetük növelése, különös tekintettel a beszédértési, kommunikációs problémával küzdő külföldi gyermekekre.
- Olyan készségek, képességek kialakítása, amelyek segítségével a gyermekek interakcióba léphetnek a környezetükkel, ezáltal megismerhetik egymást, képessé válnak az együttműködésre, a tanulásra. Ennek alapja a magyar mint idegen nyelv, illetve az angol mint idegen nyelv játékos elsajátításának (LOC 27) megkezdése. (Lásd: kiegészítő alprogram).
- A kulturális, nyelvi sokszínűség megtapasztaltatása, igazodva a kisgyermekkor tanulási sajátosságaihoz.
- A társak között lévő különböző anyanyelvű, más nemzetiségű, bőrszínű, öltözködésű, vallású, étkezési szokású, azaz a tőlük eltérő gyermekekkel szembeni nyitottságra, kölcsönös elfogadására való nevelés. Ezzel együtt annak az elsajátíttatása, hogyan kezeljék a különbségeket.
- Nemzeti hovatartozásuk, identitásuk elismerése, támogatása, ugyanakkor az egymás iránti toleráns, tiszteletteljes, udvarias viselkedés megalapozása, fejlesztése.
- Pozitív viszony kialakítása a magyar hagyományok és kultúra óvodás gyermekek által felfogható, befogadható elemeinek közvetítésével.
- Az emberi értékekre, a szépre, a jóra való kíváncsiság és hajlandóság formálása a nemes gesztusok felismerésére, és azok viszonozására nevelés. A barátkozási szándék támogatása, amelyben a személyes tulajdonságoknak jut igazán fontos szerep.

Az interkulturális nevelés kiemelt feladatai

1. Integráció, szocializáció, egyéni bánásmód

Az interkulturális csoportban folyó pedagógiai munka összetett, az óvodapedagógusi feladatok túlmutatnak a hagyományos magyar óvodai csoportokban szükséges feladatokon.

Az interkulturális nevelésben központi szerep jut az integrációnak, a szocializációnak, az egyéni, differenciált bánásmódnak.

A magyar családból érkező gyermekek néhány hét alatt elfogadják az óvodai élet szabályait, a migráns gyermekeknél a beszoktatás gyakran néhány hónapos folyamat. Az ő estükben ugyanis számolni kell a hazájukból, családjukból, előző intézményükből hozott más szokás- és szabályrendszerrel, érdeklődési körük, megszokott játékaik, elfoglaltságaik szintén különbözhetnek a magyar gyermekekétől, de eddig megszokott földrajzi, éghajlati környezetükhöz képest is jelentős különbségeket tapasztalhatnak Magyarországon. Újak a lakáskörülményeik, környezetükben új szereplők jelennek meg és megszokott, régi életük nagyon hiányzik nekik.

Ezek a különbségek az óvodás korosztálynál olyannyira befolyásolhatják a gyermekek érzelmi állapotát, hogy az első napokban, sőt hetekben sokan közülük képtelenek az együttműködésre. Fentiek és nem utolsó sorban a nyelvi nehézségek miatt csak lassan tudunk a bizalmukba férkőzni s miután ezt elértük, csak azután tudunk hatni rájuk. A magyar gyermekek részéről nagyobb együttérzés, tolerancia szükséges ahhoz, hogy megértsék, elfogadják a külföldi gyerekek viselkedését, másságát. Ezért jó megoldás, ha olyan "idősebb" magyar gyermekek tagjai a csoportnak, akik életkoruknál, szociális fejletségüknél fogya kellő viselkedésmintát tudnak nyújtani a migráns gyermekeknek, ezzel is segítve az ő eligazodásukat, alkalmazkodásukat, beilleszkedésüket. Az óvodát kezdő 3 évesek életkori sajátosságaik miatt erre kevésbé alkalmasak. Legalább fél év kell a napirend rögzítéséhez, a szokásrendszer megalapozásához, az érzelmi biztonság, a csoport kohézió kialakításához. Amikor a gyermekek már tisztában vannak a lehetőségeikkel és képesek alkalmazkodni, akkor kezdik igazán jól érezni magukat. Az integrált együttnevelésben nagy segítség az angolul tudó pedagógiai asszisztens, aki jelen van a pedagógiai helyzetek megoldásában, közreműködik a foglalkozásokon és a gondozási feladatokban, segítség a figyelem megosztásban és az egyéni bánásmód gyakorlásában.

Az integráció érdekében konkrét feladatunk:

- Szoros kapcsolattartás a külföldi gyermekek szüleivel.

A nem angol anyanyelvűek szüleit eleinte felkészítő és tolmács szerepre kérjük meg. Elsősorban a biztonsági, balesetvédelmi szabályok megértetésében, elfogadásában, a változásokra, új helyzetekre való felkészítésben, olykor egyes problémahelyzetek tisztázásában számítva rájuk.

- A gyermekek vigasztalása hozott anyanyelvükön, alapvető testi szükségleteik, igényeik, közérzetük tisztázása.
- Sok biztatás és szeretet megnyilvánulás nyújtás, megnyugtatás. Közelebbi kontaktusra törekvés, ölbeli játékok kezdeményezése (LOC 28).
- A gyermekek feltétel nélküli elfogadása, majd lassú, fokozatos, türelmes hozzászoktatása a szabályokhoz, valamint az együttműködés megtanítása.
- A gyermekek bevonása vonzó tevékenységekbe, feladatokba pl. közös játékokba, vizuális teendőkbe, ezzel együtt kezdődik meg a magatartásszabályozás és a magyar nyelvvel való ismerkedés.
- A napirend elemeinek rögzítése piktogramok, ismétlődő dalok, mondókák, versikék segítségével.
- Az óvoda belső és külső tereinek megismertetése, az otthonosság érzet kialakítása.
- Nonverbális eszközök használata a kommunikációban.
- A különböző nemzetiségű gyermekek ösztönzése egymás megismerésére, megértésére, elfogadására, de a kapcsolatok alakulását nem erőltetjük. Az egymásra figyelést, a gyermekek empatikus, beleérző, kapcsolatteremtő, együttműködő képességeit, a türelmességüket, rugalmasságukat és a tiszteletadást erősítjük bennük (LOC 29).
- Megismerésük, fejlesztésük egyéni bánásmóddal, személyre szabott figyelemmel és támogatással.
- Rendszeres konzultációk folytatása (LOC 30) (óvodapedagógusok, ped. asszisztens, óvodavezető),

amely során egyrészről a gyermekek fejlődését elemezzük, és további pedagógiai eljárásokat határozunk meg, valamint – megoldást keresve - a szokatlan nevelési helyzeteket, váratlan

fordulatokat vitatjuk meg, másrészről belső képzésként növeljük interkulturális kompetenciánkat.

2. Tanulás

A gyermekek tanulása óvodás korban főként mozgás, cselekvés és érzékszervi tapasztalatok útján történik, élményekhez kötődik önkéntes választási lehetőségeken alapul és önfeledtséggel társul. A legfontosabb ismeretek a közvetlen környezetről szólnak, illetve a környezetben való pontos eligazodást szolgálják.

A korai idegen nyelvelsajátítás (LOC 31) óvodánkban kényszermentesen, türelmes, természetes, játékos módon, az anyanyelv tanulásához hasonlatosan történik (LOC 32). Nem elég hozzá pár hónap, még gyermekkorban sem. Az eredmény nagyban függ a gyermek motiváltságától, nyelvi képességeitől. A külföldi gyermekek esetében a környezettel való kontaktus minősége és

tudásuk fejlődése függ az idegen nyelvi kompetenciájuktól.

Feladatunk

- A gyermekek motiválása, érdekes, élményszerű gyakorlási helyzetek megteremtése (LOC 33).
- A gyermekek bevonása közös játékokba, feladatokba, ahol a szerepek cserélődnek, azaz kommunikatív együttműködés, interakciók megteremtése (LOC 34).
- Próbálkozásokra, kísérletezgetésekre, kreativitásra ösztönözés, a kooperációs technikák tanítása: mutasd meg, értesd meg, segíts, engedd, hogy segítsünk, légy türelmes, próbáld újra, próbáld másként, engedd magad rávezetni.
- A tanult szavak, ismeretek alkalmaztatása.
- A meglévő ismeretekhez a tudás következő szintjének a hozzárendelése.
- A szülők tájékoztatása az aktuális hónap tématerveiről, és a főbb fejlesztési feladatokról. A szülők így gyermekeikkel folytatott otthoni beszélgetéseik tartalmát hozzáigazíthatják a gyermekek óvodai élményeihez, ezáltal is erősítve a gyermek anyanyelvi tanulását.

3. Interkulturális tartalmak közvetítése

A gyermekek, miközben együtt nevelődnek, játszanak, találkoznak egymás családjával,rendszeresen hallhatják a különféle nyelveket. Így természetes interkulturális tanulási környezet teremtődik a számukra. Az óvodapedagógusoktól elvárható az interkulturális tájékozottság, de az már nem, hogy megtanulják és közvetítsék a különféle nemzetek hagyományait. Különösen a mi esetünkben van ez így, hisz a gyermekek számos kultúrát képviselnek. A migráns gyermekek esetében az anyanyelv-, és hagyományápolás felelősségét a szülők viselik (LOC 35).

Feladatunk

- A multikulturális sokszínűség bemutatása.
- A kulturális tolerancia képességének kialakítása. Egymás kölcsönös megismerésének támogatása a sajátosságok megtartásával, megőrzésével.
- A gyermekek és a családok beilleszkedési és befogadási készségének erősítése.
- A magyar kultúra közvetítése, amely ugyanazon az alapokon nyugszik, mint a tiszta magyar csoportokban. A versek, dalok, mondókák, népi játékok mennyisége ugyan valamivel kevesebb, hisz az angol nyelvhez kapcsolódóan is tanulnak ilyeneket a gyermekek.

- Magyar és más népek meséinek átdolgozása egyszerű magyar nyelvre, feldolgozásuk szemléltetőeszközökkel, bábozással, dramatizálással. A mesék átültetése egyszerű angol nyelvre és megjelenítésük.
- A magyar nyelv elsajátítását, a beszédértést segítő élményszerző szolgáltatások megszervezése: Bábszínház, interaktív zenés műsor, kirándulások, uszodai foglalkozások (LOC 36).
- A magyar ünnepek, jeles napok hagyományai és más nemzetek tradícióinak esetenkénti összekapcsolása, vagy épp a köztük lévő különbségek feltárása (Pl. magyar és svéd húsvéti hagyományok, kiszézés és a bolgár Márta nap, évente egy- két külföldi hagyomány befogadása, bemutatása (pl. Haloween).
- A magyar és angol nyelven tanultak megjelentetése az évzáró műsorában, közös évzárók szervezése, a gyermekek sikerélményhez juttatása.
- A gyermeknapi játékok koncepcionálása attól függően, hogy adott évben milyen kulturális vonatkozásokat szeretnénk bemutatni. (pl. egy nemzet egy játék, indián hagyományok, magyar mesevilág megelevenítése, régi magyar gyermekjátékok felelevenítése stb.)
- Az általunk készített országtablók felhasználásával megjeleníteni a gyermekek számára az egyes országok jellemzői közötti hasonlóságot és eltérést.
- A tablókra válogatott képanyag az óvodás korú gyermekek által megragadható módon (képi gondolkodás) nyújt információt a különböző országokról.
- Magyarország és a többi származási ország nemzeti ünnepén, nemzeti hét szervezése a csoportokban. Ilyenkor zene, kép, film segítségével mutatjuk be az országok jellegzetességeit emellett egy-egy jellemző használati tárggyal is ismerkedhetnek a gyermekek. Az arra vállalkozó szülők süteményt, vagy egyéb nemzeti ételt, italt ajánlhatnak fel kóstolásra, vagy mutathatnak lakóhelyükről és lakóhelyükön készült családi fotókat (LOC 37), mesélhetnek életükről, de élő mesét, verset, éneket is szívesen meghallgatunk tőlük. Örömmel vesszük, ha tánclépéseket, vagy népi játékokat tanulhatunk tőlük, esetleg népviseletet, népies ruhát mutatnak be nekünk. Egyéb alkalmakkor is szívesen fogadunk minden olyan információt, tárgyat, amely reprezentálja a külföldi gyermek emlékeit (Pl. fotóalbum az otthoni óvodás évekről, mesekönyv, képes szótár stb.).

A nevelést segítő módszerek

A HOP-ban megfogalmazott módszertani alapelvek teljes mértékben használhatók az interkulturális nevelés során. A hangsúly a módszerek fokozásában van. Az interkulturális csoportokban nagyobb figyelemben, támogatásban stb, kell részesíteni a gyermekeket, és a nyelvi nehézségek miatt alkalmazkodni kell a megértési szintjükhöz, a terhelhetőségükhöz. Nagyfokú türelmet, rugalmasságot, kreativitást követel a munka. Nagyobb szerepet kapnak a metakommunikációs eszközök, a szemléltetés, a cselekedtetés, az utánzásos tanulás, az ismétlés, a gyakorlás (LOC 38).

A gyermekeket nem kényszerítjük, de késztetjük az óvodai tanulásra. Helyzetük stabilizálódását követően elvárásainkat a gyermekek személyiségéhez, képességeihez, viselkedéséhez igazítjuk. Nagyon sokat bíztatjuk, dicsérjük, szeretet megnyilvánulásokban részesítjük őket.

Az együttműködést, kapcsolatépítést szolgáló kooperatív módszerek alkalmazását tarjuk a legcélravezetőbbnek.

Feladatrendszerünk további elemei

Feladatainkat a következő területek mentén határozzuk meg:

- 1. Interkulturális kompetencia
- 2. Az új gyermekek fogadása
- 3. Tájékoztatás
- 4. Szakmai együttműködés

1. Interkulturális kompetencia

Az interkulturális nevelés feladatainak ellátása elsősorban az óvodapedagógusok interkulturális kompetenciáján múlik. Az interkulturális kompetencia fogalmán a következőeket értjük:

Alapja egyfajta *alaptudás* a különböző nemzetek főbb jellemzőiről, azaz a földrajzi, történelmi, gazdasági, társadalmi, kulturális, oktatási háttérről, a habitusról. Ezeket információgyűjtéssel, megfigyeléssel, tapasztalatszerzéssel, nevelőtestületi műhelymunkával szerezzük meg. Az információszerzésbe bevonjuk a szülőket is, mert érdeklődésünkkel tiszteletünket fejezzük ki irántuk, és bizalmat tudunk bennük ébreszteni. Legfőképp az érintett nemzetek iskolás kor előtti nevelési-oktatási rendszere, ünnepeik rendje, jeles napjaikhoz fűződő szokásaik, társadalmi jelképeik, a családok nevelési,- étkezési, érintkezési szokásai, mese irodalmuk jellemzői érdekelnek bennünket.

Az interkulturális kompetenciával rendelkező óvodapedagógus ezen túlmenően (LOC 39):

- ismeri az idegen nyelvelsajátítás alapelveit (LOC 40),
- tisztában van az anyanyelv jelentőségével,
- a gyermekek nyelvi kompetenciáját minden nyelvi területen képes fejleszteni (LOC 41),
- tudatában van a migráció gyermekekre gyakorolt hatásaival,
- pozitívan viszonyul az idegen dolgok és idegen személyek iránt,
- a kulturális félreértéseket képes elemezni és azokra megoldási stratégiákat találni (LOC 42),
- tisztában van az interkulturális kommunikációval,
- tisztelettel fordul a gyermekek szülei felé és számukra kompetens beszélgetőtárs,
- folyamatosan megbeszéli munkatársaival az interkulturális nevelésben és az idegen nyelvelsajátításban felmerülő kérdéseket.

A másik összetevő olyan *képességek* megléte vagy kifejlesztése, amelyek alkalmassá tesznek bennünket a sokféleség ellenére az összehangolódás megteremtésére. Ezek a személynek szóló figyelem, empátia, türelem, tolerancia, alkalmazkodás, befogadás,- beilleszkedés segítése, megfigyelés, előre látás, jó szervező képesség, a pedagógiai felkészültség nyilvánvaló és udvarias képviselete, jó tárgyaló képesség, esetünkben angolul is. Jó reagáló képesség a szokatlan nevelési helyzetekre, váratlan fordulatokra (LOC 43) (átgondolni és később visszatérni a felvetésre, tolmácsolni a kérést és a válasz előtt egyeztetni az óvodavezetővel-, a nevelőtestülettel, megvizsgálni, mit lehet tenni, stb.).

Az interkulturális kompetencia harmadik összetevője a következő *attitűdök*ben rejlik. Ezek a kíváncsiság, nyitottság, más nézőpontok felfedezése, rugalmasság. Ez utóbbi azt is jelenti,

hogy a külföldi szülő látásmódjával is vizsgálódnunk kell ahhoz, hogy megértsük

rendszerünkben mi a furcsa a számára, mit kell megmagyaráznunk neki, mire kell a figyelmét felhívni (akár az értékeink vonatkozásában is) stb. (LOC 44)

2. Az új gyermekek fogadása

Az új gyermekek fogadására alaposan felkészülünk. Már a beiratkozáskor érdeklődünk a gyermekek felől: személyes jellemzők, aktivitás, nyelvtudás, érdeklődési kör, egészségi állapot, étkezési sajátosságok, esetleg speciális diéta, megelőző közösségi tapasztalatok stb.. Minden család kap óvodába lépéskor (jellemzően e-mail-ben) egy angol nyelvű írásos tájékoztatót, amely a magyar óvodai nevelés általános jellemzőit foglalja össze, kitér óvodánk helyi programjára, a házirendre és az egyéb tanügyi szabályokra. A nevelési év megkezdése előtt tájékoztató szülői értekezletet tartunk, itt a cél szintén a magyar óvodai rendszer, a helyi sajátosságok, a kétnyelvű nevelés, praktikus információk átadása és a szülői kérdések megválaszolása. Megbeszéljük a gyermekek fogadásának rendjét és a fokozatos beszoktatás fontosságára is felhívjuk a figyelmet.

3. Tájékoztatás

Az óvodában egész nap jelen van a magyar és angol nyelv használata. A szülőkkel való kapcsolattartás, informálásuk szintén angolul zajlik. Az óvoda épületében található felirataink kétnyelvűek, magyar nyelvű nyomtatványaink mellett angol és kétnyelvű nyomtatványokat is használunk. A magyar nyelvű tájékoztatók mellett a szülők minden információt megkapnak angol nyelven is. Ez folyamatos feladat számunkra.

Ebből következően nagyon fontosnak tartjuk angol nyelvtudásunk fejlesztését, valamint a biztos számítógép használatot és az informatikai ismereteket.

4. Szakmai együttműködés

Nyitottak vagyunk információ- és tapasztalatcserékre, az önképzésre. Figyelmet fordítunk a hasonló feladatokat ellátó intézményekkel való kapcsolatfelvételre, hazai és nemzetközi téren egyaránt és kölcsönösség esetén szívesen építünk ki szorosabb együttműködést.

Egyéni fejlesztés, tervező és értékelő munka

Csoportra szóló nevelési tervek, ezek megvalósulásának kiértékelése, az egyéni fejlődés jellemzőinek, ütemének regisztrálása, a gyermekekről készített feljegyzések HOP szerint történnek. A heti tanulási terveket kiegészítjük a szókincsfejlesztési anyaggal, és itt rögzítjük a gyermekek nyelvelsajátítási, tanulási (LOC 45) folyamatainak eredményeit, nehézségeit. Évente kétszer kiértékeljük az idegen nyelvi fejlődést, és egyénenként rögzítjük a képességszinteket az általunk erre a célra kidolgozott idegen nyelvi fejlődési lapon.

Kapcsolattartás a szülőkkel (LOC 46)

Szintén a HOP elvei szerint történik a kapcsolattartás. Olykor tolmács segítségét is igénybe vesszük, akkor, ha a párbeszédnek az árnyalt, pontos, gyors közlés a célja. A külföldi szülők

több fogadóórát kezdeményeznek, ezt természetesen megértjük és elfogadjuk. Számunkra is

célravezetőbb ez a forma, így az óvónők is rendszeresen kezdeményezik a személyes találkozásokat. A szülők ismerik az óvoda e-mail címét. Ezen keresztül is intézhetnek kérést az óvoda felé.

A gyermekek felvételének rendje

A gyermekek felvételi regisztrációját a fenntartó által meghatározott időpontban, illetve évközi érkezés esetén aktuálisan szervezzük meg.

A felvételhez szükséges iratok:

- A gyermek születési anyakönyvi kivonatának hiteles másolata.
- A szülő, gondviselő magyarországi tartózkodási jogcímét igazoló irat
- Lakcím/tartózkodási hely igazolása
- Oltási könyv másolata

APPENDIX 36
The process of open and axial coding in GT

	Groups of questions	Broad categories (1. open coding)	Concept features	Central categories (2. axial coding)
1.	 Milyen pedagógiai eljárásokat alkalmaznak a pedagógusok a migráns gyerekek érzelmi kötődésének kialakítására? 	Creating emotional attachment	psychological	emotional attitude
	• A migráns gyerekeknek milyen érzelmi kötődése alakul ki a fogadó ország értékeihez, szokásaihoz?	Receiving host country's values		
	• A gyerekek mely pszicho-szociális képességeinek fejlesztésére van hatással az interkulturális nevelés?	Developing socio-psychological abilities		socio-psychological personality development
2.	• Hogyan valósul meg a migráns gyerekek önazonosságának, s kultúrájának megőrzése, ápolása?	Preserving migrant children's self-identity and culture	sociological	identity development
	• Milyen viselkedésbeli különbségek figyelhetők meg a magyar és a migráns gyerekek között?	Discovering behavioural differences		behavioural norms
	 Mennyire veszi figyelembe a program az eltérő viselkedési normákat? 	Taking different behavioural norms into account		
3.	Milyen hatással van az inter- és multikulturális nevelés a gyermekek személyiségének kialakulására és kibontakoztatására? Creating and unfolding children's personality		psychological	personal development features
	Hogyan segíti az interkulturális nevelés a személyiségfejlődést? (szem. fejlesztő jegyek)	Helping personal development		
4.		Discovering pedagogical assistance's role	pedagogical	kindergarten teacher's competences

	• Hogyan veszi figyelembe a személyi feltételeket a program?	Establishing personal conditions		
	Milyen személyi feltételek szükségesek?	Facing the problem of personal conditions		
	• Milyen külső segítség érkezik nyelvi/ kulturális problémák megoldására?	Applying outsiders' help in problem solving		
	• Milyen szakmai kompetenciákkal kell bírniuk az interkulturális nevelésben résztvevőknek?	Possessing professional competences		
5.	• Mennyiben segíti/gátolja a magyar anyanyelvű gyerekek későbbi nyelvtanulását az interkulturális nevelés?	Supporting and hindering language learning	language educational	multicultural-multilingual challenges (advantages & disadvantages)
	Milyen előnyök, hátrányok származnak a multikulturális nevelésből?	Revealing advantages and disadvantages of multicultural education		
	• Milyen nehézségek adódnak az interkulturális nevelésben?	Facing challenges		
	• Miért szükséges az integrált nevelés?	Approving the launch of integrated education		
6.	• Milyen vizuális szemléltető eszközökkel segítik a gyerekek idegen nyelv tanulását?	Helping language acquisition	pedagogical	material conditions
	Hogyan szolgálják a tárgyi feltételek az interkulturális nevelést?	Putting material conditions into the service of intercultural education		
	• Milyen modern pedagógiai eszközök állnak rendelkezésre?	Putting modern pedagogical tools into the service of intercultural education		
	• Milyen interperszonális kapcsolatokra épít a program?	Building on interpersonal relations		interpersonal relations
7.	Milyen nyelvpedagógiai módszerekkel él?	Applying language educational methods	linguistic, language educational	language educational strategies
	Milyen stratégiák vannak a magyar és az	Adopting strategies in Hungarian and English		

idegen nyelv elsajátítására?	language acquisition		
• Hogyan nyilvánul meg a kétnyelvűség a programban?	Manifesting bilingualism		
 Milyen nyelvi/ kulturális/ pedagógiai megközelítésekre épít a program? 	Building on linguistic/ cultural and pedagogical approaches		
• Milyen verbális és non-verbális tartalmak jelennek meg a nyelvi nevelésben?	Appearance of verbal and non- verbal contents in language acquisition		
• A nyelvek milyen kapcsolódási pontjait tárja fel a program?	Revealing interlingual relations		
 Hogyan valósítja meg a multikulturális nevelést a program? 	Putting multicultural education into practice	pedagogical -sociological	intercultural goals and strategies
Hogyan kapcsolódik az interkulturális program az óvodai program egészéhez?	Relating the intercultural programme to the whole educational programme	pedagogical - sociological	
 Hogyan tükröződik az interkulturális nevelés a pedagógiai tevékenységben? 	Embedding intercultural education in the educational process	pedagogical - sociological	
• Milyen interkulturális nevelési stratégiákat foglal magába a program?	Adopting intercultural strategies	pedagogical - sociological	
• Milyen interkulturális tartalmak jelennek meg a programban?	Appearing intercultural contents	sociological	
• Hogyan segítik a nevelési feladatok az interkulturális kompetenciát?	Helping intercultural competence by educational objectives	pedagogical - sociological	
• Milyen általános célokat fogalmaz meg a program?	Phrasing general objectives	pedagogical	
• Mi a program alapja/ bázisa/ háttere/ kontextusa?	Putting the programme into context	sociological	legal and political context
• Milyen törvény szerinti alapelvek érvényesülnek?	Applying legal principles	legal	
Hogyan történik a felkészülés a külföldi gyerekek fogadására?	Preparing the reception of foreign children	pedagogical	preparations
• Milyen tapasztalatok állnak rendelkezésre?	Possessing experience	pedagogical, organisational	experience & results

Menyiben mutatnak a megszerzett	Feed forwarding experience	pedagogical, organisational	
tapasztalatok és eredmények előre?	and results		

APPENDIX 37 The process of open and axial coding in GT

	Central categories	pp.	Researcher 1.	pp.	Researcher 2.
1.	legal and political context	2.	- nem magyar állampolgárságú nem magyar ajkú gyermekek	2.	NATO katonák
		2.	- az apák, NATO katonák	2-3.	A külföldirendelkezéseit.
		2.	- eltartói munkavégzés céljából hosszabb tartózkodási engedéllyel rendelkeznek	2.	szerződéssel érkeznek a Légibázisra
		2.	- 7 országból érkeznek az óvodába,	2.	A gyerekektartózkodásra.
		3.	- 1993. évi LXXIX évi közoktatási törvény	3.	Pápa városNATO program
		3.	- SAC/C 17 NATO program	3.	TÁMOP 3.4.1 B-08/22009-0001 pályázat
		3.	- A programban 12 nemzet vesz részt	7.	Az óvoda pedagiaialapján végzi.
		7.	- Helyi Óvodai Nevelési Program alapján	8.	Európai Unió
		8.	- az Európai Unió irányelvében foglaltakkal összhangban történjen	15.	(anyakönyvi kivonat, magyarországi tartózkodási jogcímet igazoló irat)
2.	general preparations	2.	- Magyar– angol két nevelési nyelvű kiegészítő óvodai pedagógiai programunkban	2.	Magyar-angol két nevelési nyelvű program (létrehozása)
		2.	- az alprogramot az interkulturális nevelés helyi gyakorlatával (stratégiájával) egészítsük ki	3.	Az új feladatokkalfeladatkörébe.
		3.	- új feladatként jelentkezett a migráns gyermekek nevelése	3.	óvoda épületében bővítés,korszerűsítés
		3.	-a pedagógusok szervezett nyelvi, szakmódszertani, szakirányú továbbképzése, emellett folyamatos önképzés, a munkatapasztalatok kiértékelése, átadása vette kezdetét	3.	csoport-és létszámbővülés→maximális kihasználtság
		4.	- alapfokú nyelvi képzések és szakmódszertani előképzések.	4.	interkulturális tájékozottság
		4.	- szakmai tapasztalatszerző látogatásokon vettünk részt.	4.	A felkészülés érdekében:osztályában.

		4.	- Alkalmanként segítségül tolmácsokat veszünk igénybe, akiket a katonai szervezet biztosít számunkra.	5.	módszertani segédletek (készítése)
		8.	- A gyermekek alkalmazkodása az új környezethez akkor lehet eredményes, ha fogadásuk körülményei kedvezőek, befogadásuk szeretetteljes	8.	szeretetteljes befogadás
		14.	- Már a beiratkozáskor érdeklődünk a gyermekek felől: személyes jellemzők, aktivitás, nyelvtudás, érdeklődési kör, egészségi állapot, étkezési sajátosságok, esetleg speciális diéta, megelőző közösségi tapasztalatok stb.	8.	heterogén csoportokban integrált nevelés
		14.	- Minden család kap óvodába lépéskor (jellemzően e-mail-ben) egy angol nyelvű írásos tájékoztatót	10.	"idősebb" magyar gyerek
		14.	- A nevelési év megkezdése előtt tájékoztató szülői értekezletet tartunk	10.	A nem angolkérjük meg.
				12.	országtablók készítése
				13.	pedagógusok interkult. kompetenciája
				14.	Már a beiratkozáskora figyelmet.
3.	socio-psychological personality development	3.	- Az óvodai nevelés gyermekközpontú, befogadó [] egyenlő hozzáférést biztosít	2.	
		7.	- a valóságot nagyon sokféle módon lehet megélni, értelmezni és megtapasztalni. Az interkulturális nevelés fejleszti a gyermekek kulturális identitását, és egyidejűleg erősíti az egymás iránti tiszteletet, a toleranciát az ismeretlennel, a szokatlannal szemben. Fokozza az érdeklődést és a kíváncsiságot, a gyermekek kommunikáció iránti igényét	6.	gyermekekben végbemenő kedvező változások: önkiszolgálásviselkedés
		7.	- Az a fontos, hogy hogyan látja az egyik gyermek a másik gyermeket, azt, hogy mi az, ami megkülönbözteti tőle, és mi az, ami összeköti vele. Az interkulturális nevelés egyfajta tartás, viszonyulás, viselkedés.	7.	Magyar gyerekek elfogadóbbakvált.
		9.	- a gyermekek interakcióba léphetnek a	7.	egymás iránti tisztelet, tolerancia

			környezetükkel		
		9.	- Az interkulturális nevelésben központi szerep jut az integrációnak, a szocializációnak, az egyéni, differenciált bánásmódnak.	7.	Fokozzatúlnyomóan.
		10.	 - A gyermekek bevonása vonzó tevékenységekbe [], - az otthonosság érzet kialakítása. 	9.	Az emberiszerep.
		10.	- Az egymásra figyelést, a gyermekek empatikus, beleérző, kapcsolatteremtő, együttműködő képességeit, a türelmességüket, rugalmasságukat és a tiszteletadást erősítjük bennük.	10.	együttérzés, tolerancia, másság elfogadása
		10.	- gy-ek fejlesztése egyéni bánásmóddal, személyre szabott figyelemmel és támogatással.	10.	szeretet megnyilvánulás nyújtás
		11.	- A gyermekek tanulása óvodás korban élményekhez kötődik önkéntes választási lehetőségeken alapul és önfeledtséggel társul.	10.	A különbözőbennük.
		11.	- beilleszkedési és befogadási készségének erősítése	11.	közös játékok, feladatok
		12.	 kapcsolatépítést szolgáló kooperatív módszerek alkalmazását tarjuk a legcélravezetőbbnek. 	11.	élményszerű gyakorlási helyzetek
				11.	kulturális tolerancia képessége
				12.	bábozás, dramatizálás
				12.	biztatás, dicséret, szeretet megnyilvánulás
4.	behavioural norms			6.	neveltetés eltéréseket mutat
				7.	beszédértési és kommunikációs probléma
				7.	érzelmi labilitás
				8.	ismerkedés a magyar ételekkel (étkezési szokások eltérései)
				10.	elfogadják külföldi gyerekek viselkedését
				11.	A külföldikompetenciájuktól.

5.	emotional attitude	9.	- Derűs, tevékeny óvodai élet megszervezése,	6.	A migráns gyerekekemelték ki.
		5.	- A gyermekek bizalmának elnyerése,	6.	érzelmi labilitás
		10.	- A gyermekek vigasztalása hozott anyanyelvükön, alapvető testi szükségleteik, igényeik, közérzetük tisztázása.	6.	Érzelmileg,mentálisannehézsége is.
		10.	- Közelebbi kontaktusra törekvés, ölbeli játékok kezdeményezése.	7.	erősíti az egymás iránti tisztelet, toleranciát
		10.	- A gyermekek feltétel nélküli elfogadása	7.	Fokozzatúlnyomóan.
		12.	- Nagyon sokat bíztatjuk, dicsérjük, szeretet megnyilvánulásokban részesítjük őket.	8.	pozitív viszony kialakulása országunkhoz
				8.	A gyerekekelfogadó, segítő.
				9.	derűs, tevékeny óvodai élet
				9.	bizalom elnyerése, biztonságérzet növelése
				9.	Pozitív viszonyközvetítésével.
				9.	Az emberiszerep.
				10.	Ezek a különbségekegyüttműködésre.
				10.	lassú bizalomba férkőzés
				10.	
				10.	gyerekek vigasztalása
				10.	sok biztatás és szeretet
					megnyilvánulás, megnyugtatás
				10.	feltétel nélküli elfogadás
				10.	közelebbi kontaktus, ölbeli játékok
				10.	otthonosság érzet kialakítása
				10.	nonverbális eszközök használata
				10.	A magyar gyerekekmásságát.
				11.	A különböző
					nemzetiségűbennük.
				12.	A külföldi gyerekekkompetenciájuktól.
6.	identity development	3.	- az önazonosság megőrzését, ápolását, erősítését, társadalmi integrálását, az emberi jogok és alapvető szabadságok	2.	identitás tudatuk jelentősége

			védelmét		
		9.	- identitásuk elismerése, támogatása	3.	"A hazájukatvédelmét." (ONAP)
		9.	- Pozitív viszony kialakítása a magyar	5.	nemzetek országát bemutató
			hagyományok [] közvetítésével (Mihez?)		könyvek,képek,tárgyak
				7.	Az interkulturálisszemben.
				8.	gyerekek megélhetik indentitásukat
				9.	kölcsönösen ismerkedhetjellemzőivel.
				9.	kulturális, nyelvi sokszínűség
				9.	Nemzetifejlesztése.
				10.	gyerekek vigasztalása hozott anyanyelvükön
				11.	anyanyelv-,és hagyományápolás felelőssége a szülőké
				11.	kulturális tolerancia képessége
				12.	nemzetek tradícióinak feltárása
				12.	országtablók
				12.	nemzeti ünnep, nemzeti hét
7.	language educational strategies	2.	- A NATO hivatalos munkanyelve és családtagjaik közösségi érintkezésének a nyelve egyaránt az angol [], a szülők és óvoda közötti kommunikáció ebből kifolyólag ugyancsak angol nyelven zajlik.	2.	A NATOangolul sem.
		2.	 mind nagyobb érdeklődés mutatkozik az angol nyelv tanulásának korai megkezdésére. 	2.	angol nyelvtanulás korai megkezdése
		2.	- további feladatunk a magyar nyelv alapozása	2.	Magyar-angol kétnyelvű nevelés
		3.	- az angol és a magyar nyelvet részben anyanyelvként használják a gyermekek, részben idegen nyelvként van lehetőségük azok elsajátítására.	2.	Magyar nyelv alapozása
		4.	- A gyermekek nem rendelkeznek sem magyar és többségük [] angol nyelvismerettel sem.	3.	részben anyanyelvként, részben idegen nyelvként
		9.	- a magyar mint idegen nyelv, illetve az	3.	Magyar mint idegen nyelv tanítása

		angol mint idegen nyelv játékos		
		elsajátításának megkezdése (cél)		4 11
	9.	- A kulturális, nyelvi sokszínűség	4.	A gyerekek nemsem.
	10	megtapasztaltatása		1,, 1,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,
	10.	- A gyermekek vigasztalása hozott	4.	kétnyelvűség biztosítása
		anyanyelvükön, alapvető testi szükségleteik, igényeik, közérzetük tisztázása.		
	10	- Nonverbális eszközök használata a	4.	2011-benóvodapedagógus.
	10.	kommunikációban.	4.	2011-benovodapedagogus.
	11.	- A korai idegen nyelvelsajátítás	4.	tolmács
	11.	óvodánkban kényszermentesen, türelmes,	4.	tomacs
		természetes, játékos módon, az anyanyelv		
		tanulásához hasonlatosan történik.		
	11.	- A tanult szavak, ismeretek alkalmaztatása.	5.	A gyerekekállnak.
	11.	- A magyar kultúra közvetítése []: versek,	8.	beszédértés és alapszókincs
	11.	dalok, mondókák, népi játékok által	0.	beszedertes es arapszokines
	12.	- Magyar és más népek meséinek	8.	Óvodánkbanfolyamatokat.
	12.	átdolgozása egyszerű magyar nyelvre,	0.	Ovodankoantoryamatokat.
		attorgozasa egyszert magyar nyervie,		
	12.	- A mesék átültetése egyszerű angol	9.	játékos elsajátítás
		nyelvre és megjelenítésük.		
	12.	- A magyar nyelv elsajátítását, a	10.	nyelvi nehézségek miatt lassan
		beszédértést segítő élményszerző		
		szolgáltatások megszervezése: Bábszínház,		
		interaktív zenés műsor, kirándulások,		
		uszodai foglalkozások.		
	14.	- A szülőkkel való kapcsolattartás, informálásuk	10.	angolul tudó ped. asszisztens
		szintén angolul zajlik.		
	14.	- Az óvoda épületében található felirataink	10.	piktorgramok, ismétlődő dalok,
	17.	kétnyelvűek, magyar nyelvű		mondókák
		nyomtatványaink mellett angol és kétnyelvű		
		nyomtatványokat is használunk.		
	14.	- az idegen nyelvi fejlődést, és egyénenként	10.	nonverbális eszközök
		rögzítjük a képességszinteket az általunk		
		erre a célra kidolgozott idegen nyelvi		
		fejlődési lapon.		
			11.	A korai
				idegenkompetenciájuktól.

				11.	közös játékok, interakciók
					teremtése
				11.	közös játékok, interakciók
					teremtése
				11.	próbálkozások, kreativitásra
					ösztönzés
				11.	tanult szavak alkalmaztatása
				11.	tudás következő szintje
				11.	A szülőktanulásását.
				11.	anyanyelv ápolás a szülők
					felelőssége
				12.	mesék átültetése angol nyelvre
				12.	beszédértést segítő élményszerző
					szolgáltatások
				12.	évzárókon a tanultak
					megjelentetése
				12.	Nagyobb szerepetgyakorlás.
				12.	kapcsolatépítő módszerek
				14.	A heti tanulásilapon.
8.	intercultural goals and	2.	- Szeretnénk hozzájárulni ahhoz, hogy identitás	2.	integrált nevelés
	strategies		tudatuk jelentősége mellett számukra a kulturális		
			sokszínűség, más nemzetek kulturális értékeinek		
			elfogadása, tisztelete [] természetes legyen		
		7.	- a valóságot nagyon sokféle módon lehet	2.	Kézenfekvőalakítása.
			megélni, értelmezni és megtapasztalni. Az		
			interkulturális nevelés fejleszti a gyermekek		
			kulturális identitását, és egyidejűleg erősíti		
			az egymás iránti tiszteletet, a toleranciát az ismeretlennel, a szokatlannal szemben.		
			Fokozza az érdeklődést és a kíváncsiságot, a		
			gyermekek kommunikáció iránti igényét		
		8.	- Multikulturális szemlélet: a más kultúrát	2.	tanulási készségeik fejlesztése
			elfogadni, annak értékeit hasznosítani tudó		umanas neozoogen rejresztese
			nevelői szemlélet határozza meg a pedagógiai		
			eljárásokat.		
		8.	- Integráció - A gyermekeket heterogén	2.	Magyar nyelv alapozása
1			összetételű csoportokban integráltan		

		neveljük.		
	8.	- Óvodánkban egyéni módon segítjük a gyermekek beilleszkedését a számukra idegen nyelvi és szociális környezetbe, támogatjuk a nyelvi nehézségekkel küzdő gyermek szituáció értését, önkifejezését, önérvényesítését.	3.	migráns gyerekek kétnyelvű nevelése
	8.	- Interkulturális tanulási környezetet biztosítunk, ahol a magyar és nem magyar gyermekek integráltan együtt nevelődnek	3.	családok beilleszkedését segítő törődés
	9.	- A kulturális, nyelvi sokszínűség megtapasztaltatása	4.	Magyar és angol mint idegen nyelvek tanítása
	11.	- A gyermekek motiválása	5.	interkult. információt hordozó tablók
	11.	- A gyermekek bevonása közös játékokba	7.	kulturális sokszínűség
	11.	- A kulturális tolerancia képességének kialakítása	7.	Az interkulturálisfelnőtteknek is.
	12.	- más nemzetek tradícióinak esetenkénti összekapcsolása	7.	kiegészítő program
	12.	- a gyermekek sikerélményhez juttatása	8.	környezeti adottságokoz való alkalmazkodás
	12.	- A gyermeknapi játékok koncepcionálása	8.	közös élmények, együttlétek
	12.	- országtablók felhasználásával megjeleníteni a gyermekek számára az egyes országok jellemzői közötti hasonlóságot és eltérést	8-9.	Interkulturális tanulásijellemzőivel.
	12.	- minden olyan információt, tárgyat, amely reprezentálja a külföldi gyermek emlékeit (Pl. fotóalbum az otthoni óvodás évekről, mesekönyv, képes szótár stb.).	9.	különböző igények összehangolása
	12.	-Nagyobb szerepet kapnak a metakommunikációs eszközök, a szemléltetés, a cselekedtetés, az utánzásos tanulás, az ismétlés, a gyakorlás.	9.	játékos nyelvelsajájítás
	13.	- óvodapedagógusok interkulturális kompetenciáján múlik (az intkult nevelés)	9.	integráció,szocializáció, egyéni bánásmód
	13.	-Legfőképp az érintett nemzetek iskolás kor előtti nevelési-oktatási rendszere, ünnepeik rendje, jeles napjaikhoz fűződő szokásaik,	10.	'Konkrét feladatunk' rész

			társadalmi jelképeik, a családok nevelési, étkezési, érintkezési szokásai, mese		
			irodalmuk jellemzői érdekelnek bennünket.		
				11.	élményszerű helyzetek
				11.	próbálkozások, kísérletezgetések
				11.	A gyerekekszámukra.
				11.	egymás kölcsönös megismerése
				11.	gyerek és családok beilleszkedése
				12.	A HOP-bansorán.
				12.	Az interkulturálisa gyakorlás.
				13.	interkulturális kompetencia elsajátítása
9.	multicultural- multilingual challenges	2.	-a helyi lakosság befogadó készségének alakítása	6.	beilleszkedési nehézségek
	0		unikusu		
	(advantages & disadvantages)				
	uisauvantages)	4.	- 7 nemzet gyermekeinek együtt nevelése	6.	beszédértési és kommunikációs
			folyik az óvodában magyar gyermekekkel	0.	problémák
		6.	- a migráns gyermekeket is nevelő	6.	érzelmi labilitás
			csoportokban ezekkel a kohéziós erőkkel [pl.		
			nemzeti együvétartozás] nem, vagy csak kis mértékben lehet számolni		
		6	- előfordulhat a migráns gyermek és a család esetleges beilleszkedési nehézsége is	6.	alkalmazodás új szabályokhoz
		6.	Problémák: gyerekek: - Beszédértési és kommunikációs - Érzelmi labilitás - Ismerkedés a magyar ételekkel - Figyelem felkeltése és fenntartása, - Együttműködésre ösztönzés szülők: - Kapcsolattartás, elégséges információ áramlás A külföldi szülők egy része keresi és kéri a hazájában megszokott nevelési szokásokat (nincs délutáni alvás, az írás,- olvasás	7.	Az óvoda tartalmihatását.

			tanulás korábban megkezdődik, mint Magyarországon, Norvégiában, Svédországban szinte egész nap kint vannak a szabadban a gyermekek, stb.) A magyar szülők kevésnek találják a magyar vers, mondóka, mese, dalos-játék arányát az interkulturális csoportokban - számolni kell az otthonról hozott más		
		9.	szokás- és szabályrendszerrel, [] - régi életük nagyon hiányzik nekik.	7.	fokozza az érdeklődést, és a kíváncsiságot
		10.	 különbségek miatt: az első napokban, sőt hetekben sokan közülük képtelenek az együttműködésre. 	8.	A különbözőmásokét.
		10.	- A gyermekek vigasztalása hozott anyanyelvükön, alapvető testi szükségleteik, igényeik, közérzetük tisztázása.	9.	ismerkedhet más országok jellemzőivel
		11.	- A migráns gyermekek esetében az anyanyelv-, és hagyományápolás felelősségét a szülők viselik	9.	kulturális és nyelvi sokszínűség megtapasztalása
		13.	 hogy a külföldi szülő látásmódjával is vizsgálódnunk kell ahhoz, hogy megértsük 	10.	kölcsönös elfogadásra való nevelés
		13- 14.	- rendszerünkben mi a furcsa a számára, mit kell megmagyaráznunk neki, mire kell a figyelmét felhívni (akár az értékeink vonatkozásában is) stb.	10.	hogyan kezeljék a különbségeket
		13.	- a kulturális félreértéseket képes elemezni és azokra megoldási stratégiákat találni,	11.	multikulturális sokszínűség
				12.	nemzeti hetek (lehetőség a bemutatkozásra)
10.	kindergarten teacher's competences	4.	- angolul szóban és írásban egyaránt jól kommunikáló óvodapedagógus és nyelvileg hasonló tudású pedagógiai asszisztens kerüljön.	4.	Elsődleges céljainkképviselője.
		4.	- óvodapedagógusaink képzettségre tegyenek szert a korai idegen nyelv- elsajátítás, ezen belül a magyar és az angol mint idegen nyelvek tanítása idegen ajkú	4.	Az óvodapedagógusokattájékozottság

	gyermekeknek, a kétnyelvűség biztosítása terén.		
4.		4.	tolmács
4.	1 <u>č</u>	7.	attitűd változások: elfogadóbbak, kreatívabbak, rugalmasabbak
11	 - Az óvodapedagógusoktól elvárható az interkulturális tájékozottság, de az már nem, hogy megtanulják és közvetítsék a különféle nemzetek hagyományait. 	8.	Éppen ezérteljárásokat.
	Ci i	8.	következetesen, türelmesen szoktatjuk
13	vizsgálódnunk kell ahhoz, hogy megértsük ↓	10.	angolul tudó pedagógiai asszisztens
14	kell megmagyaráznunk neki, mire kell a figyelmét felhívni (akár az értékeink vonatkozásában is) stb.	10.	sok biztatás, szeretet megnyilvánulás
14	- fontosnak tartjuk angol nyelvtudásunk	10.	gyerekek feltétel nélküli elfogadása

			fejlesztését, valamint a biztos számítógép használatot és az informatikai ismereteket		
				10.	egyéni bánásmód
				11.	interkulturális tájékozottság
				12.	türelem, rugalmasság, kreativitás
				13.	interkulturális kompetencia
				13.	Ismeri az idegenkérdéseket.
				13.	A másik összetevőfordulatokra.
				13.	attitüdök: kíváncsiság, nyitottság,más nézőpontok felfedezése, rugalmasság
				14.	önképzés
11.	interpersonal relations	2.	- szülőként természetes kapcsolatba kerülnek a helyi lakosokkal	2.	családi együttélés(gyerek és szülők)
		2.	- szülők és az óvoda	2.	külföldi szülők és óvoda közti kommunikáció (angolul)
		8.	- támogatjuk az alakuló barátságokat, információkkal, programokkal, segítjük a családokat és pozitív viszonyuk kialakulását országunkhoz, népünkhöz, kultúránkhoz.	2.	szülők és a helyi lakosok,város
		9.	- A társak között lévő különböző anyanyelvű, más nemzetiségű, - bőrszínű, öltözködésű, vallású, étkezési szokású, azaz a tőlük eltérő gyermekekkel szembeni nyitottságra, kölcsönös elfogadására való nevelés. Ezzel együtt annak az elsajátíttatása, hogyan kezeljék a különbségeket.	2.	A nem magyar gyerekekkerülnek.
		9.	- A barátkozási szándék támogatása	3.	Pápa város Önkormányzata (fenntartó) és a Fáy András Ltp-i óvoda
		10.	 megbeszéli munkatársaival : az angolul tudó pedagógiai asszisztens; óvodapedagógusok, ped. asszisztens, óvodavezető 	3.	óvodapedagógusok és migráns gyerekek
		11.	- Szoros kapcsolattartás a külföldi	3.	nemzetek gyerekeinek

			gyermekek szüleivel: a szülők tájékoztatása		együttnevelése
		13.	- Az információszerzésbe bevonjuk a	4.	NYME-BPK és az
			szülőket is		óvodapedagógusok
		14.	- A szülőkkel való kapcsolattartás, informálásuk	4.	(óvodalátogatási helyszínek itthon
			szintén angolul zajlik.		és külföldön+ Fáy Óvoda)
		14.	- tolmács segítségét	4.	tolmács és külföldi szülők
		14.	- A külföldi szülők több fogadóórát	5.	Magyar szülői értekezlet (Magyar
			kezdeményeznek		szülők+pedagógusok)
				9.	gyerekek interakcióba léphetnek a környezetükkel
				10.	pedagógiai asszisztens és a
				10.	csoport(gyerekek,pedagógusok)
				10.	rendszeres konzultációk
				10.	(óvodaped., ped. asszisztens,
					óvodavezető)
				12.	külföldi és magyar szülők között
					(pl.nemzeti héten)
12.	material conditions	3.	- az óvoda épületben bővítés, korszerűsítés zajlott	3.	bővítés, korszerűsítés
		3.	- a tornaszoba megszűnésével, valamint az óvoda helyiségeinek maximális kihasználtságával jár együtt	3.	tornaszoba megszűnése
		5.	- az óvodai berendezések ütemezett cseréjére	3.	maximális kihasználtság
		5.	- Hiányzik:	5.	berendezések ütemezett cseréje
			 a tornaszoba, nyugodt, munkaszoba az óvodapedagógusok részére egy kiscsoportos foglalkozásokra alkalmas helyiség 		
		5.	 - az interkulturális neveléséhez nélkülözhetetlen, alapvető eszközök a rendelkezésünkre állnak 	5.	korszerűsödtek a termek
		5.	- törekszünk az eszközök pótlására	5.	Hiányzikhelyiség.
		5.	- fejlesztő játékok, képeskönyvek, képes szótárak, képanyagok, műsoros cd-k (zene, dal, mese, vers) dvd-k a jelenlevő nemzetek országát bemutató gyermekkönyvek, képek, plakátok, tárgyak	5.	Folyamatosanbeszerzésére.

	Ezek elsősorbantágyak.
információt hordozó tablók, fejlesztő játékok. digitális hangfelvevővel, laptoppal, projektorral és internet elérhetőséggel	Ezekjátékok.
fényképezőgépre, digitális diktafonra, szívesen használnánk digitális táblát is	Rendelkezünktáblát is.
- repertoár gyűjtemény mind a magyar, mind pedig az angol nyelv vonatkozásában; - személyiségfejlődési lapok kétnyelvű változata; - idegen nyelvi fejlődés mérésére szolgáló dokumentum; - kétnyelvű baleset, betegség szótár - információ gyűjtemény az érintett országokról; - anyanyelvi piktogramos segédlet	módszertani segédletek
12 országtablók felhasználásával 5. megjeleníteni a gyermekek számára az egyes országok jellemzői közötti hasonlóságot és eltérést	repertoár gyűjtemény
5. 9	személyiségfejlődési lapok
	idegen nyelvi fejlődésdokumentum
	kétnyelvű betegség,baleset szótár és kifejezés gyűjtemény
	gyűjtemény az érintett országokról
	anyanyelvi piktogramos segédlet
	összefogl.: Az óvodapedagógusok
	általsegédlet.
	piktogramok
	szemléltetőeszközökkel, bábozással (bábok)

				12.	általunk készített országtablók
				12.	Magyarország és a többiemlékeit.
				12.	angol nyelvű írásos tájékoztató
				12.	kétnyelvű feliratok, nyomtatványok
13.	experience & results	6.	- Szülők többsége: Értékesnek tarják gyermekeik más nemzetiségű gyermekekkel, kultúrákkal, nyelvekkel való korai ismerkedését.	4.	hazai és nemzetközi jó gyakorlat
		6.	- A migráns gyermekek általában jól érzik magukat óvodánkban, szüleiknek is alapvetően jó benyomásaik vannak.	6-7.	A különböző nemzetekbőlrugalmasabbak lettek.
		6.	- A külföldi szülők változásokról is beszámoltak: önkiszolgálást, önfegyelmet, együttműködési hajlandóságot, nyugodtabb viselkedést emelték ki.	9.	beszoktatás néhány hónapos
		6.	- Értékesnek tarják gyermekeik más nemzetiségű gyermekekkel, kultúrákkal, nyelvekkel való korai ismerkedését.	14.	Figyelmet fordítunkegyüttműködést.
		6.	Elismerően nyilatkoznak az óvodapedagógusok felkészültségéről, a gyermekekkel való bánásmódról. (külf. szülők)	14.	A heti tanulásilapon.
		7.	 - A magyar gyermekek elfogadóbbak lettek; - empatikusabbá, rugalmasabbá, segítőkészebbé, türelmesebbé váltak (szülők véleménye) 		
		7.	-Az óvoda tartalmi munkája gazdagodott		
		7.	- a kulturális sokszínűséget (interkulturalitás) és a különböző eltérő kultúrák egymásra hatását (multikulturalitás).		
		7.	- Az óvodapedagógusok - elfogadóbbak, ugyanakkor kreatívabbak, rugalmasabbak lettek.		
		10.	- Ezért jó megoldás, ha olyan "idősebb" magyar gyermekek tagjai a csoportnak, akik életkoruknál, szociális fejletségüknél fogva kellő viselkedésmintát tudnak nyújtani a migráns gyermekeknek		

ABSTRACT

The dissertation introduces the procedure and outcome of a language educational research project on multilingualism and multiculturalism in a Hungarian kindergarten. Since September 2008 the children of foreign families working at the air base of Pápa have been going to the local Fáy András Kindergarten. The setting is exceptional as NATO bases establish more usually their own international schools in the world. The town of Pápa, Hungary is, however, a first NATO example of a pre-school where 23 foreign families' children from six different countries are trying to adapt to the local community. Apart from Hungarian, the mother tongues of the children are Swedish, Bulgarian, Norwegian, Dutch and, in the case of American families, English, Filipino and Spanish.

The interdisciplinary research aims to explore the main question, i.e. How can kindergarten teachers, children, parents and educational specialists form the common linguistic, cultural and pedagogical basis for communication in this very complex setting?

Theoretical background is built upon four pillars, i.e. linguistic, sociological, language pedagogical and language political bases where relevant literature on the theme is discussed. Terms and definitions of bi- and multilingualism, culture and identity from different aspects are taken into consideration. The modern typology of bilingual schools is depicted, just like the theoretical background of the argument of early language development. Here, different theories of early childhood bilingualism, for instance, Critical Period Hypothesis or Thresholds Theory are expounded. The historical and socio-cultural environment of migration is also discussed while up-to-date approaches of multicultural education are taken into consideration both in Hungary and abroad.

Adjusting to the research method of triangulation, observation, interviews and desktop research are devised as key methods. Observations were made in the kindergarten groups where, besides the language pedagogical methods, actors' linguistic and social behaviour and the actual setting were examined. A rationale for the interview procedures and interviewee selection is also discussed, with reference to the layered complexity of the analysis. The desktop research was done according to the grounded theory analysis method and deals with the intercultural educational programme of the kindergarten.

Findings shed light on linguistic, cultural and pedagogical questions such as how and to what extent mother tongue and foreign languages appear in kindergarten activities, how the languages relate to each other, how different cultural identities are developed under

institutional circumstances and what the actors' attitude is to early childhood multilingual-multicultural education. As the major results of the empirical research it can be concluded that children and kindergarten teachers had only partially been prepared for the challenges and non native Hungarian/ English children's case proved to be the most complex and difficult. Additionally, the tasks of a multilingual kindergarten differ greatly from those of a monolingual one, as far as linguistic, cultural and social roles are concerned. On the basis of the results in Hungary a new form of kindergarten education could be identified which can be called "Pápa Model". It supports the hypothesis according to which no children will become automatically bilingual under institutional circumstances, but only with the help of a carefully elaborated educational programme and its professional implementation.

ÖSSZEFOGLALÓ

A disszertáció egy olyan nyelvpedagógiai kutatásról számol be, mely egy magyarországi óvoda multilingvális-multikulturális programját vizsgálja. 2008 szeptembere óta a pápai katonai légi bázis NATO-katonáinak gyermekei a helyi Fáy András Lakótelepi Óvodába járnak. Ez a NATO gyakorlatában példa nélküli, hiszen valamennyi más támaszpont saját nemzetközi óvodát, iskolát működtet. Pápa az első olyan hely, ahol a gyerekek nyelvi és szociális téren egyaránt a helyi közösségbe próbálnak illeszkedni, ahol a hat különböző országból származó 23 külföldi család miatt az óvodában magyar, svéd, bolgár, norvég, holland, illetve az amerikai családoknál angol, filippínó és spanyol anyanyelvű gyerekeket nevelnek.

Interdiszciplináris kutatásom az ebben a pedagógiai és nyelvpedagógiai szempontból igen komplex helyzetben vizsgálja a fő kérdést, azt, hogy hogyan tudják megtalálni az óvodapedagógusok, a gyerekek, a szülők, illetve az oktatáspolitikusok a közös nyelvi, kulturális és pedagógiai alapot a migráns és a magyar családokból jövő gyermekekkel való kommunikációban.

Az elméleti háttér négy pillérre épül: a nyelvészeti, szociológiai, nyelvpedagógiai és nyelvpolitikai szakirodalmat egyaránt számba veszi. A szakirodalmi áttekintés a két- és többnyelvűség terminusai és azok meghatározása mellett számol a kultúra és az identitás fogalmával is. A kétnyelvű iskolák modern nyelvpedagógiai tipologizálása mellett a korai nyelvfejlesztés kezdésének elméleti háttere szintén kirajzolódik és a hozzá kapcsolódó teoretikus keretbe ágyazódik a kritikus periódus elméletének és a küszöbelmélet ismertetésének segítségével. A migráció történelmi és szociokulturális háttere szolgál kiindulópontként a modern külföldi és magyarországi multikulturális nevelés bemutatásához.

A kutatás a trianguláció elvei szerint él a megfigyelés, az interjúztatás és a dokumentumelemzés módszereivel. A megfigyelések az óvodai csoportokban zajlottak, ahol a nyelvpedagógiai módszerek mellett a szereplők nyelvi és szociális viselkedése is a vizsgálat tárgya volt. Az interjúztatás szükségességének indoklása mellett az elemzés komplexitására való tekintettel az interjúalanyok kiválasztásának szempontjai is szerepelnek. A dokumentumelemzés, melynek tárgya az óvoda interkulturális programja, a megalapozott elmélet ("grounded theory") módszere szerint történt.

Az eredmények többek között olyan nyelvi, kulturális és pedagógiai kérdéseket értelmeznek, mint hogy milyen mértékben szerepel az óvodai tevékenységben az anyanyelv

és az idegen nyelv, hogyan viszonyulnak egymáshoz a nyelvek, illetve hogyan fejlődik a kulturális identitás intézményes keretek között. Az empirikus kutatás legfőbb eredményeképp levonható az a következtetés, hogy a gyermekek és nevelőik csak részlegesen voltak felkészülve a várható kihívásokra. Közülük a nem magyar és nem angol anyanyelvű gyermekek helyzete bizonyult a legnehezebbnek és legösszetettebbnek. Az is bebizonyosodott, hogy egy többnyelvű óvoda nyelvi, kulturális és szociális szempontból is jelentősen eltér egy egynyelvű óvodától. A kutatási eredmények alapján megállapítható, hogy Magyarországon az óvodapedagógiában egy új minta, a "Pápai modell" megszületésének lehetünk tanúi. Mindez alátámasztja azt a feltételezést, miszerint egy gyermek sem válik automatikusan kétnyelvűvé intézményes keretek között. Ehhez szükség van egy gondosan kidolgozott programra és annak professzionális megvalósítására.