

A Chapter from Hungarian Multilingual–Multicultural Education

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A tanulmány egy nyelvpedagógiai kutatást mutat be, amely egy magyar multilingvális–multikulturális óvodában zajlott. Bevezetésképp leírja a pápai Fáy András Óvoda különös helyzetét, ahol 2008 szeptemberétől 23 külföldi család gyermekét fogadták. Az interdiszciplináris kutatás azt a fontos kérdést vizsgálja, hogy ebben a pedagógiai és nyelvpedagógiai szempontból igen komplex helyzetben 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 bemutatása után, amely a migránsok nyelvtanulásával és az akkulturációs stratégiákkal foglalkozik, az ismertetés betekintést nyújt az óvoda kétnyelvű magyar–angol pedagógiai programjába. A tanulmány középpontjában a kutatási eredmények állnak, melyek a szocio-pedagógiai környezetet, az óvodai nyelvhasználatot és kommunikációt, illetve a nyelvpedagógiai módszereket és eszközöket tárják fel. A diszkusszió végkifejlete az a következtetés, miszerint Magyarországon egy új nyelvpedagógiai modell születésének lehetünk tanúi, mely jellemzőinek ismertetésével zárul a tanulmány.

Kulcsszavak: nyelvpedagógia, multilingvális és multikulturális óvoda, akkulturációs stratégiák, nyelvi és kulturális sokszínűség

The Background

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 kindergarten was appointed as the host institution of foreign children by the local government of Pápa. Families came from the member states of NATO and from the two member nations of Partnership for Peace in the frame of the *Strategic Airlift Capability programme (SAC/C-17)* (Strategic Airlift Capability, 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. This unique multilingual-multicultural kindergarten hosts 23 foreign families' children from 6 different countries (i.e. from Sweden, Bulgaria, Poland, Norway, the Netherlands and the United States) and from Hungary. The mother tongues of the children are Swedish, Bulgarian, Polish, Norwegian, Dutch, and in the case of the American families the native languages of these families are English, Filipino and Spanish. The setting is exceptional as NATO bases establish their own international schools elsewhere in the world. The Hungarian town, Pápa, is the first place where foreign children are trying to adapt to the local community from linguistic, social, educational and cultural points of view.

Multilingualism and early childhood education have been widely examined from the aspect of linguistics pedagogy. Many Hungarian researchers dealt with bilingualism (e.g. Bartha, 1999; Navracsics, 2007, 2008, 2010), childhood language acquisition (e.g. Kovács, 2002, 2008, 2009a, 2009b), or multiculturalism (e.g. Cs. Czachesz, 1998; Torgyik, 2005; Varga, 2006; Gordon-Győri et al, 2011) although a gap in the discussion can be noticed: the social context and the educational setting seemed to be a novelty in Hungary

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Research aims and methods

The previously discussed problems can be examined from different aspects. This study aims to approach the question from language educational and sociological points of view. Therefore, the following main research question can be formulated: *How can kindergarten teachers, children, parents and educational specialists form the common linguistic, cultural and pedagogical basis for communication in this very complex context?*

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), the method of triangulation was employed which was made up of the following components (Table 1):

Table 1. Summary of research design

Methods	Subject of research	Research tools and methods of analysis
Observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> personal and material conditions in the kindergarten curricular and extracurricular activities in 3 kindergarten groups (61 children) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> content analysis of the observation chart
Interviews	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9 parents in 3 groups: Hungarian, native English, non-native English/Hungarian 3 educational professionals 5 kindergarten teachers 6 children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> content analysis of the answers to the semi-structured interview questions
Desk research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> the intercultural programme of the kindergarten 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> analysis of the document within the frame of Grounded Theory

Migratory education in Hungary

As children of the families came from NATO member states can be considered to be migrants, it is worth taking a look at migratory education. In Hungary, migrant children of mandatory school age must be provided with the suitable education. Forgács (2001) suggests that the education should be free of charge with a special focus on the language of the host country. Moreover, migrant children's own language and culture should be familiarised as well, and teachers should get special initial and in-service training (Vámos, 2013). 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 be treated equally and must have the same rights and obligations at school. Forgács (2001) does not deal with children under 6, and he does not give a comprehensive answer to the question of the language of education either. Forgács (2001) confirms that migrant families send their children to the so-called "international schools" which are maintained by foreign states. As far as language is concerned, the study mentions bilingual schools where the opportunity and the conditions of teaching Hungarian and a foreign language are already proven. At this point the question whether which foreign languages

are taken into consideration may arise. 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 native language and their culture could be preserved (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency, 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. The way 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 (e.g. in the United Kingdom) through school organised language courses (e.g. in the Czech Republic) to separated language teaching (e.g. in Norway) or bilingual education (e.g. in Sweden). Several countries (e.g. Denmark, Holland, and Finland) support immigrant children's mother tongue education, and in Hungary (Vámos, 2013). Concerning intercultural education religious holidays and traditions should be respected in all European countries. Although 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 regulation concerning clothing is prohibited. Meals are plural in most countries according to religious or health considerations of the immigrants.

Vámos (2011) examines a Hungarian comprehensive school, namely, the Tarczy Lajos Primary School that can be an interesting insight from our point of view because this school works under the direction of the local government of Pápa similarly to the target institute, the Fáy András Kindergarten, of this research. The school operates on the basis of a Hungarian-English educational programme that is mutually favourable to both foreign and Hungarian pupils, states Vámos (2011). 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 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. 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 and 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 the Fáy András Kindergarten (Morvai, 2008) which will be discussed at the Hungarian–English bilingual educational programme of the kindergarten.

1. First language.

Acculturation strategies

Besides education, migrants also have to face issues regarding their identity. According to the Oxford Dictionary entry (Hornby, 2000, p. 643) by *identity* we mean

1. who or what somebody or something is,
2. the characteristics, feelings or beliefs that distinguish people from others
3. the state or feeling of being very similar to and be able to understand somebody or something.

Additionally, identity has different aspects in psychology, sociology and history.

With the encounter of the cultures personal attitude (rooted in history, traditions and customs or outside circumstances) will decide how the individuals adapts themselves to a new culture. Acculturation strategies are summarized in the table below (see Table 2):

Table 2. Acculturation strategies (based on Berry, 2008)

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

The optimal variety of acculturation is *integration* 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 very fragile and there are usually anomalies either toward one's own culture or towards the culture of the majority.

When the individuals cannot detach from their own culture and completely reject majority culture, they *separate* or *segregate*. In this case the immigrants are not able to accept the values of the receiving country that means a total cutting away from the society they live in. It is a common phenomenon that the present research call *forced emigration*. It can be noticed in cases where the individuals do not leave their homeland voluntarily. Reasons can be various, e.g. war, revolution or economic difficulties.

A similar situation can be the reason of *assimilation*. Individual reaction is just the opposite of the reaction in case of separation: the individual tries to exclude the country left behind. This process is going on in a great number of families of (half)-Russian origin where usually a Russian woman marries a Finn. 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.

Marginalization is a relatively rare phenomenon. It might happen especially under circumstances where religious and cultural differences are considerable. In this case individuals exclude themselves from both cultures: they live their life as rootless, rebellious, self-destructing aliens. It can be noticed for instance in the second gen-

eration Pakistani children in Great Britain. While rejecting their parents’ culture, they cannot completely accept the culture of the host country either. They often find themselves on the margin of the society.

The Hungarian–English bilingual educational programme

Considering the above mentioned, very complex setting and expectations, Fáy András Kindergarten had to work out their own educational programme. A programme that should support the social acculturation and linguistic accommodation of the children, and at the same time, could favour Hungarian children as well. The institution launched its Hungarian–English bilingual educational programme in September 2009 (Morvai, 2008). The document laid down the trinity of basic educational principles which can be regarded as the objectives of multicultural education (Table 3).

Table 3. The objectives according to the bilingual educational programme

Objectives
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Process of language acquisition with the help of <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • wide range of activities and • everyday communication 2. Migrant families’ acculturation 3. Familiarisation with each other’s language and culture

Additionally, the objectives are underpinned by the main tasks which should be carried out by appropriate language educational methods (Table 4).

Table 4. The main tasks and the language educational methods

Main tasks	Language educational methods
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Keeping Hungarian traditions according to regulations, • respecting each other’s identity • Arousing interest toward Hungarian and English • Proportion of languages: according to groups of children • Individual differentiation in foreign language use • Speech panels serve understanding, reproduction • Introducing holidays and cultures of both speech areas (Hungarian and English) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All areas of activities • Spontaneity, without any force • While playing • Positive feedback • Metacommunication • Accepting physical response • Consistent repetition • Authentic English speech samples

The context

As it has already been mentioned that by “context” this study means the political and legal background together with the educational setting. Based on the research results one must say 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 one considers a world power and a small town on the scales of life. While the political concept had

prominent supporters, in finding an appropriate base for the educational scene Pápa was left alone. It could have indicated an intolerable educational situation if the local-government had not faced a certain challenge which had to be responded to.

Some hesitation and doubts can also be observed concerning the legal status and naming of the foreign families who came to Hungary to work within the frames of the NATO. Terms like 'migrants' and 'refugees' appear. In fact, the working members of the foreign families are on secondment from the NATO. Therefore, 'seconded', 'secondment' can be the proper expressions while determining their status. The reason why it should be dealt with it is that inappropriate naming can impact upon educational issues as well. It might mean disadvantage, for instance, in application for tenders and generate other administrative misunderstandings.

In spite of the theoretical problems, interestingly it can be observed that the settle down of foreign families was welcomed, and proved to be stimulating in several areas of business and social life. The reasons must have been the following facts: the settlers had a solid workplace, they were financially secure, their academic level was high (they are all military officers), and they intended to provide their children with the best available education. It might explain the fact that from the very beginning parents wanted to cooperate with the local educational institutions where education seemed to be financially favourable. The pedagogical setting, however, was a new experience for each actor of education.

In Hungary, foreign parents 'automatically' brought their children to Fáy András Kindergarten knowing that it is the only one for international children. At the same time, Hungarian parents chose the kindergarten voluntarily that shows a positive attitude to foreign languages and the multicultural atmosphere.

Material conditions

In conclusion, we may declare that 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. Similarly to multicultural educational institutions abroad, this Hungarian kindergarten also uses decorative and informative boards and maps where interculturality is emphasised (Figure 1).

Figure 1. The national board of Bulgaria



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, 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.

Language use and communication

With mother tongue development clear distinctions must be made. As the programme of the kindergarten prescribes, Hungarian and English bilingual development is available in this institute. 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 that some additional English words and expressions are also used by children that must have been acquired in the kindergarten. It is undoubtedly a promising point in carrying out the bilingual programme. 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, we must see that the question of mother tongue acquisition might be more crucial when children go to school. Just like a Bulgarian father noticed her daughter "broken" Bulgarian, a Norwegian mother also tries to find a way to L1 acquisition before sending her daughter to school.

We may conclude that non-native English/ Hungarian children's mother tongue acquisition is the greatest challenge as, according to the intercultural educational programme, it is beyond kindergarten teachers' competence. Therefore, the dominant use of of the 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.

From the aspect of the mother tongue, the circumstances are favourable for American children. Based on the results we can state 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), as well.

Results on parents' language use among themselves show that global English sometimes fails to fulfil its role because of the unsatisfactory command of the actors. However, results are difficult to evaluate in this area as parents explain weak communication by different reasons: language barrier may be only one of this. Others might be parents' accidental encounters in the kindergarten, politeness or simply individual differences. 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 that proves the dominance of English over Hungarian under kindergarten circumstances.

One might expect that in a multilingual kindergarten, due to the above mentioned reasons, a foreign language, like English, must be the dominant language. Hungarian, however, can easily be the lingua franca among children. For instance, the Polish Luboslaw's² 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. Besides, kindergarten teachers' Hungarian language use is mostly accepted and even required by parents.

The results suggest that children can make a difference between their mother tongue and other languages. They also have information about their family members' foreign language command and they can connect it to other notions (e.g. jobs, countries, travelling). It is clear that children's information about languages is made up of different factors: first of all they mention the foreign languages they encounter in their multilingual situation. Then, in the interviews made with the children, they name languages which are used by a family member or heard from friends.

At the same time, in children's interviews children automatically answered in the language of the interview (English or Hungarian), and they are also aware of the fact that their peers speak other languages as well. Moreover, they are happy to show their foreign language competence. In some cases the receptive command of a third language, Hungarian, can be noticed as well, even if it is definitely not the language children actively use among each other.

In several cases children distinguish languages and produce code-switching. 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. 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. Ingrid also seems to understand which language was practical to use and to whom: she, even if in a reproductive way, used English with the American Chessa, while she used Hungarian, already in a productive way to the Hungarian kindergarten teacher. Besides, code-switching and code-mixing can also be noticed in her phrases.

The results prove that children who are exposed to foreign languages, even if not consciously, will start to use them. At the same time, foreign languages are not necessarily used for mutual communication. They are spoken or sung as if they were integrated parts of a game or other activities. On the basis of the language choice, we may conclude that children are aware of the differences between languages, and they feel free to choose from among the different codes. They also know which code to use, when and to whom. It means intentional language choice from their part. On a more developed stage, parents may explain children the importance of different codes according to their cognitive level.

Language choice can also be greatly influenced by the familial background. It can be seen in the case of a boy from a mixed marriage and a girl from a family with Guamanian 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, too. The case is similar to that of Mandy, whose family understand the Chamorro language from the Isle of Guam. In another exam-

2. In each case children's pseudonyms are used.

ple, 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 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 that proves to be positive.

Children's language choice sometimes tends to be influenced by the kindergarten teacher who can choose only Hungarian or 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 that 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. Additionally, in the case of an American kindergartener, who was also given instructions in Hungarian, we may conclude that the teacher has realised that the girl understands Hungarian and wants to develop this language.

As far as children's language use is concerned, we may conclude that children's language choice is absolutely optional. In fact, parents expect their children to use L2 much more than teachers. As we have seen, 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. We notice 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. Therefore, we may conclude that the level of language command depends on the motivation of children. In practice it is shown in the fact that children with the same mother tongue (e.g. English) are not motivated enough to get familiarised with other children's language. An English-speaking teacher's or assistant's presence also lessens the interest in foreign languages in the case of American kindergarteners.

The results of parents' interviews also seem to suggest that children whose mother tongue is neither English nor Hungarian may face more difficulties. While American and Hungarian children seem to be relaxed and care-free, other foreign children are 'lost' and frustrated as the whole situation seems to be fearful for them: *"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 Polish mother's "finger" metaphor 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.

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 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 that suggests the following steps: *child*: lack of knowledge in L2 • *parent*: explanation • *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. At the same time, there are activities where meta-communication may substitute verbal communication. The fact that these children use their own language, and they do not remain silent may indicate the urge of communication and, due to the lack of a common language, they solve the problem in their own way, each using their L1 parallel as if only to themselves.

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 Hungarian word 'vaddisznó' ('boar') in his Polish mother tongue at home.

The results of the interviews with the parents show that children are able to acquire their mother tongue even if they do not use it in the kindergarten, because parents put a great emphasis on it. Four parents consider Hungarian their child's L2 and all of them think that their child's Hungarian is really good. 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 (Table 5) 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.

Table 5. Evaluation of children's language command by parents

Child's name and nationality	L1 command	L2 command	L3 command	mono-/ bi-/ trilingual
Chessa (US)	very good (EN)	fairly good (HU)	--	monolingual (EN)
Mandy (US)	very good (EN)	fairly good (HU)	fairly good (Chamorro)	monolingual (EN)
Jonas (US)	very good (EN)	fairly good (Filipino)	fairly good (HU)	trilingual (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)

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.

Language pedagogy and teacher's role

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 (i.e. visual aids) while learning by doing (i.e. movements) could also be observed as a useful technique. Songs were not translated showing 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

stages 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”. In fact, 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.

We may also conclude 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. 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, which is highly needed at this age, and secondly, its bilingual manifestation becomes a basic element of bilingual education. For instance, “*Make a circle big, big, big*” can be sung before playing a circle game, or “*This is the way we wash our teeth*” before going to the bathroom together.

From language educational aspect it shows that, apart from sessions, bilingualism can be present even in “dead time” (e.g. waiting for hand washing) or in extracurricular activities and can be embedded in every segment of life. An example for this is the *International Family Day* (Figure 2) where, with a very careful choice of languages, language shift could easily be solved. Moreover, with the presence of the families (who could help) and the professionalism of the actors (who used meta-communication when needed) linguistic difficulties could be overcome.

Figure 2. An image from the *International Family Day*



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 lan-

guage development. Smelling, hearing and touching all support language acquisition as language is connected not only to 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, we may declare 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 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 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.

Literature is also a key element of the bilingual educational programme in Pápa. 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. Besides, they serve as excellent motivation for playing and building communities. Words and their meanings are easily memorised in a simple but effective way. 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.

According to modern children's literature methodology, tales in L1 should be told with no tools and dramatisation in the kindergarten, because children should use their imagination instead of receiving a ready-made version. In our observation, however, the tale was presented not only to Hungarian children, but also to an international "audience". Therefore, elements of ESL³ methodology can be traced: e.g. the tale was accompanied by illustrative puppets and language was not only heard but explained. The inserted songs bear rhyme and rhythm of the language and onomatopoeic words are used, e.g. the sound of a goose ("gá-gá-gá" in Hungarian). The inserted song in English mirrored the bilingual characteristics of the kindergarten programme. Although it would not have been necessary to give the English version, it was not disturbing, as it was clear how it was connected to the tale: it had the same tune as the previous Hungarian song.

"Learning by doing" is also a popular method nowadays. In the kindergarten it may be equal to CLIL⁴ 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 cir-

3. English as a Second Language.

4. Content and Language Integrated Learning.

cle 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, it 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 we can conclude is that it is not clearly declared 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 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 we must state 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.

Pápa Model (PM)

On the basis of the results we may reasonably conclude that a new model of multilingual and multicultural education in the kindergarten (Vámos, 2011) was launched and developed in Hungary under the auspices of the NATO. Here we offer its definition and call it *Pápa Model (PM)* whose novelty is described 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 multi-

lingual and multicultural education possible for Hungarian and migrant children in Fáy András Kindergarten, Pápa, Hungary. The main elements of the programme are listed below:

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 aims of PM are
 - to give the appropriate motivation and impulse for kindergarteners to acquire their mother tongue and foreign language(s), and
 - 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
 - uniqueness, i.e. it is unexampled at worldwide level,
 - innovation, i.e. the continuous renewal and development (e.g. by projects, material and personal conditions), and
 - expansibility and expandability both in its linguistic and cultural contents.
6. The prospect of PM lies in its “good practice” or “model” status which can be implemented through further dissemination and cooperation.

Summary

There are several fallacies and uncertain views about early childhood language development in Hungary. Due to the lack of good practice and empirical studies, there is also little experience of multicultural kindergartens. Thanks to the local government and the kindergarten teachers, the presented research had a chance to gain direct insight into the language educational work of Fáy András Kindergarten in Pápa, Hungary. With their special work and great dedication, the educators in Pápa managed to show that it is possible to establish an inventive bilingual educational programme, and carry it out at a high level. The inevitable results discussed above will hopefully solve the doubts and direct attention to this educational field which is still less known and less acknowledged in today’s language pedagogy.

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