



**AMuSE WORKING PAPERS
ON MULTILINGUALISM • P8**

2• 2013

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Bottle: A Proposal for a Trilingual Model for
Schooling in Community Languages used in Turkey**

*AMuSE – Approaches to Multilingual Schools in Europe
P8: Aspects of Multilingual Schooling in Turkey, Project No. 519055-LLP-1-2011-1-IT-KA2-KA2NW,
2012 – 2014 within the Life Long Learning Program (LLL) of the European Union*

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Releasing the Genie of Multilinguality out of the Bottle: A proposal for a Trilingual Model for Schooling in Community Languages used in Turkey

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Abstract

Language difference is seen more and more as a right which has to be negotiated in linguistically diverse communities (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), and this enormously contributes to appreciation of language rights between language majorities and minorities. Accordingly, this paper provides an overview of bilingual and multilingual education models in different parts of the world and suggests a trilingual education model that values multilingual repertoires of population and intercultural communication in Turkey. Countries have always encompassed speakers of different languages and minority groups and at this point multilingualism guarantees maintenance of native language of linguistically diverse communities and strengthens the relationship between identity and language. Children in Turkey do not start school education with homogenous language uses. Instead, they bring a variety of their home languages to the classroom. However, this wealth and potential is reduced to one and children change their own practices with those of schools. Turkish is imposed on diverse ethnic communities through monolingual schooling and this appears to be utterly inappropriate for the linguistically diverse population of Turkey and its intellectual growth. This paper provides a revision of various models of multilingual education and aims at proposing a trilingual model which turns schooling into a meaningful and comprehensible practice for the millions of children whose home languages are different from the dominant language in school and society, i.e., Turkish.

Keywords: Multilingual schooling, intercultural communication, identity, language minorities, languaging

“Bilingual education does not focus on the acquisition of a second language at the expense of one’s native language” (O. Garcia, 2009, p.390)

1. Introduction

A day of a child in Mardin

Zeynep is the youngest sibling of a family in Mardin. She spends her days in a multilingual circle of home, school, and neighborhood. She starts her day with her mom waking up with the phrase of “*De keçkamı rabî*” (Dear my daughter get up) in Kurdish. On her way to school, she meets her friend Zozan who has Arab origin. On their way to school, Zozan tells some stories that include expressions from Arabic, and Zeynep enjoys listening to the stories which are originally told by Zozan’s grandmother. As soon as they arrive at school, she meets friends with diverse language backgrounds: some with Arabic, some with Kurdish, and some others with Syriani. They start to converse with each other by going back and forth from their family, play and school language. The conversation moves smoothly till the school bell. Then they enter the class by silencing their community languages. Zeynep shares her desk with Aram who is Syriani and they both listen to their teacher carefully to comprehend the content of the lesson presented in Turkish. When they experience difficulty, they switch to the language of friendship to check their understanding of content. However, this should be done quietly as other languages than Turkish are not welcomed in the classroom. Then, they have a break and Zeynep goes back to operating on her multiple language practices at breaktime. At the end of school day, she is back home and starts to do her homework which she is supposed to complete in the school language. She asks for help but her father is reluctant. To help his daughter, he does the calculations in Kurdish first and then tries to translate information into Turkish. After finishing her homework, Zeynep turns on TV and as she presses the remote control, she dives into the world of different channels broadcasting in a wide range of different languages or language varieties such as Sorani, Gorani, Zazaki, Arabic, Turkish, and English. She stops at a Turkish channel as she can watch her favorite cartoon, Caliou. Her older sister arrives at home and grabs the remote control and moves to a music channel in which she listens to her favorite English songs. Zeynep decides to go out and meet her friends in the neighborhood. They start to play together with their multilingual repertoires and switch between languages. Everything seems right in the playground. Zeynep is back home and they have a huge family dinner. After dinner her grandma starts to tell her stories in Kurmanji and Zeynep listens to her stories with great attention and enthusiasm. Finally, she goes to bed and starts to dream in a language of her own.

As seen in Zeynep’s story, a child raised in Mardin can operate on multilingual repertoires. The ability of interacting in languages other than their mother tongue is not challenging for children in natural interactional contexts particularly when languages are part of their daily practices. Schooling changes spoken practice of these languages into a formal written form. However, not

all languages in natural life contexts are treated equally in schooling context. If multilingual ability of children is harnessed in school environment, languages of all communities can be treated fairly. In the same way, Garcia (2008:12) notes that “In educating equitably, multilingual education focuses on making schooling meaningful and comprehensible for the millions of children whose home languages are different from the dominant language in school and society”. In Turkey in particular, children’s multilingual ability to interact is not transferred to school environment. Turkish is imposed on the other ethnic communities through monolingual schooling and this appears to be inappropriate for the linguistically diverse population of Turkey. Monolingual or ‘education in national language’ policy of the administration in Turkey fails to utilize the creativity of the multilingual competencies of population. This paper first provides a general definition of bi/multilingual education and mechanisms involved in it, and then discusses cognitive and social benefits of multilingual schooling. Then, bi/multilingual educational models that are implemented around the world are presented. The paper concludes with a proposal of a model for the linguistically diverse communities in Turkey.

2. Defining Bilingual Education and Reasons of Multilingual Education

The term bilingual education is a complex phenomenon as it has differentiated levels of practice and policy in different parts of the world. Bilingual education can be defined: i) in terms of its goals, ii) when languages are introduced into curriculum, iii) how languages are treated in schooling process, iv) what kind of students it serves, v) status of languages involved, vi) the sequence of languages in bilingual education process, and so on (Garcia, 2009). Moreover, a number of various factors play significant roles in the education process. As it is not possible to provide an exhaustive list of these factors, some of influential factors are socio-economic background of students, motivation of students, parents, and teachers, attitude of society, linguistic repertoire of society in which bilingual education is offered, geographical features of a country, and language policy of the country. Though many researchers prefer to use ‘bilingual education’ as an umbrella term (Beatens Beardmore, 1982; Bialystok, 2001; Cummins, 2003; Garcia, 2009) in this paper I use the term ‘multilingual education’ which is also adopted by European Commission. European Commission’s policy of “*mother tongue plus two other languages for all*” aims at using at least three languages in education and these languages are the mother tongue of children, an international language, and a regional or national language of a country. The adoption of the term ‘multilingual education’ is thus suitable for the Turkish context inasmuch as there are a number of ethnic communities with a linguistic background other than Turkish such as Kurdish, Arabic, Zazaki, Syrani, Lazuri, Greek, Armenian, Sorani, Gorani, Tatar, etc. Speakers of these languages learn and use their heritage language at home and use Turkish in formal contexts due to its administrative language status. As third, a prestigious international idiom, in this case English, is introduced as a subject in school. Thus, the term multilingual education is favored so that heritage language, national language and an international language can be employed in educational settings in Turkey.

Several languages are spoken in various parts of the world (Baker, 1996; Crystal, 1997) and social, political and technological changes and more importantly globalization in the present century necessitate communication among speakers of these languages. Thus, nations and political entities they are part of, i.e. countries, face the need for setting up conditions for multilingual and bilingual education (Wei, 2000). This paves the way for bi/multilingual education programs which are offered in many countries around the world. Bilingual education programs often aim at teaching English which is deemed as lingua franca in science, technology, trade and internet. Many countries whose national language is not English favor integrating English in their curricula either as medium of instruction, as a subject at different levels of schooling.

Countries have always encompassed speakers of different languages and minority groups. Language ideologies in the countries are accordingly affected by various factors like ideological changes, wars, colonization, and migration (Wei, 2000). Wei (2000) reports that ramifications of colonization in Africa, Asia and South America at the end of 19th century, changes in the Soviet Union after the Second World War or more recently changes in borders of the Balkan countries in the second half of 20th century have altered the linguistic landscape around the world. These changes have affected treatment of languages belonging to language majorities and language minorities. Brisk (2005:12) maintains that “Changes in 19th century universal education turned schools into a tool to impose and spread the use of languages of those with power.” The population which has power has always more advantage in using their languages freely in both social and educational settings. Although languages of those with power and prestige have always been favored in educational settings, now the change is for a better one in which minority, migrant languages and varieties of low-status languages appear to be valued and are gradually included into bilingual education programs.

Another contributing factor for the use of more than one language in educational settings is the importance attached to the maintenance of linguistically diverse practices around the world. Maintenance of heritage languages and preservation of minority languages has become highly valuable with the rise of linguistic ecology which emphasizes the uniqueness of forms of human communication. The aim of ecological linguistics which overlaps with that of multilingual education is to offer a wide range of sociologically and structurally different languages rather than a single world language (Mühlhäusler, 2000). Though English is in its heyday and has prestige in almost all countries around the world, awareness of “linguistic ecology” contributes enormously to appreciation and preservation of linguistic minorities.

Additionally, many languages that are at grave risk of extinction and the answer to the problem of extinction is multilingualism and multilingualism can be best practiced through multilingual schooling. Some language majorities have a gut reaction to the ones speaking a language different than their own and in such communities, languages other than the majority languages disappear the fastest. Canadians in West Quebec and Americans appear to value the majority language rather than languages of other ethnic communities. Nevertheless, language difference is seen more and more as a right which has to be negotiated in linguistically diverse communities

(Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) and this enormously contributes to appreciation of language rights between language majorities and minorities. Negotiation and appreciation open the door to intercultural communication which provides understanding of different ways of being in the world.

As there is an immutable relationship between identity and language, many communities with ethnolinguistic background try to endure continuation of their native language across generations. At this point multilingualism has a significant role in that it guarantees maintenance of native language and strengthens the relationship between identity and language. Cummins (2000) asserts that identity has to be negotiated when students of minority background are taught. Additionally, students construct multiple identities through the languages they use. Similarly, Norton (2000) notes the significance of identity in bilingual education as identity is an integral part of the languaging process (s. Jørgensen 2004 for the term '*languaging*').

3. Advantages of multi/bilingual education

Multilingualism and multilingual education have a number of advantages including cognitive, social, cultural, economic, and communicative advantages over monolingual education. Multilingualism has benefits for all that include both language majorities and language minorities since members of these communities develop mutual understanding and tolerance towards each other. Benefits of multilingualism and multilingual schooling are presented below (Baker & Prys Jones, 1998; Bialystok; 2001; Garcia, 2009; Grosjean, 2008; Paradis, 2004).

- Multilingualism and multilingual schooling foster tolerance towards linguistic variety and show appreciation of different cultures across the world.
- Multilingual schooling increases the potential of children's intellect, creativity and imagination (Bialystok, 1991, 2001).
- Multilingualism provides opportunity to communicate with a wider variety of people than monolinguals. It contributes to development of multilingual repertoires as multilingualism allows one to interact in different languages in different social contexts.
- Multilingualism removes barriers between nations and acts as bridges for transnational communication.
- Multilingual schooling helps protection of identities in ethnic communities and recognition of ethnolinguistic minorities.
- Multilingualism results in more sensitivity in communication. Multilingual speakers can switch between languages and can develop understanding towards different speakers. Also, they tune their speech according to needs of hearers in communication.
- Multilingualism leads to understanding and experience of more than one culture. Experiencing two or more cultures broadens horizons of multilingual speakers.

- Multilingualism provides better job opportunities in that international communication and trade necessitates knowledge in two more languages. Thus, having knowledge of more than one international language rates higher chance for employment.
- Multilingualism and multilingual schooling help flexibility and elaboration in thinking and awareness of diverse elements in life as bilinguals rely on two or more languages in forming different concepts pertaining to life.
- Multilinguals differ from monolinguals in production and perception processes from the vantage point of psycholinguistics and they can act on multilingual modes (Paradis, 2004).
- Last but not least multilinguals have the ability to learn more languages since bilingual learners have a knack for additional language learning (Cenoz and Genesee, 1998).

In addition to abovementioned benefits and advantages, multilingualism and multilingual schooling trigger great cultural, economic, political, social equality and more importantly social recognition of those with low power. Those with power generally have greater political and economic power which results in advantage in many aspects, one of which is social status. However, ones with minority ethnic background have to fight for their natural right, that is, education in one's mother tongue.

4. Multi/Bilingual education models

Estimating the number of programs adopting multilingual or bilingual education is not an easy task with the number of languages in thousands and dynamics and complexity of programs offered in different countries around the world (Garcia, 2009). There are a large number of programs that have been put into action with increasing emphasis on language rights, recognition of global multilingual situations, greater mobility, and revitalization of threatened languages. Multilingual education is different from language education programs that teach a second or foreign language as a subject. In multilingual education, content is taught through an additional language, that is, the additional language is the medium of instruction. This leads to the development of both linguistic and cultural competence in the other languages in the curriculum. Allocated time for languages in the curriculum depends on the program implemented. The aim of a bi/multilingual program is a deciding factor for the use of languages and their order of introduction. Languageing process can be accompanied by development of competencies in target culture.

Bi/multilingual education models offered in different parts of the world can be classified into two broad categories in terms of language ideologies: a) monoglossic and b) heteroglossic. In monoglossic models, all children start schooling with a shared language background. In heteroglossic models, children starting schooling are not monolinguals. They have knowledge of more than one language, generally home language and standard language. Monoglossic language ideologies result in two forms of bilingualism: subtractive and additive bilingualism. First type

aims at reduction of L1, so non-dominant or minority language is used to a very small extent and is ultimately replaced by L2. Orientation of bi/multilingual education is shift from L1 to L2 which is accompanied by monocultural linguistic population. Non-dominant linguistic populations who are generally immigrants change their cultural routines with those of target culture gradually. Transitional bilingual education programs fall under this category. Transitional bilingual education programs refer to the use of child's mother tongue in the early grades of schooling until the child acquires the standard language or superstrata language. The latter type is more promising in that it attempts balanced bilingualism (Garcia, 2009). Additive bilingualism triggers biculturalism and hence enrichment for both communities. Subcategories of this type of bilingualism are elite bilingualism in which a prestigious language is taught to children with economic and social orientations in mind. This type also serves maintenance of non-dominant languages. In maintenance programs, however, time allocated for instruction in dominant and non-dominant language is not equal. Monoglossic models are presented below by their linguistic aims, types of bilingualism targeted and bilingual education frameworks.

Models of Monoglossic Bilingual Education		
A. <u>Subtractive bilingualism</u> <i>[Moves towards monolingualism L1 subtracted; abandoning L1 and taking up dominant language]</i>		B. <u>Additive bilingualism</u> <i>[attempts balanced bilingualism Bilingualism for prestigious groups, maintenance of non-dominant language]</i>
1. Transitional Bilingual Education		1. Maintenance Bilingual Education
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-dominant group undergoing language shift • The use of non-dominant languages medium of instruction for a short period 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-dominant social group's insistence of maintenance of their language • The use of two languages throughout a child's education; inequity of time for them
<i>Linguistic goal</i>	monolingualism-L2 learning	Bilingualism
<i>Target Population</i>	Minority	Minority
<i>Languages involved</i>	L1 and then L2 introduction	L1 and L2 (minority languages a source of enrichment)
<i>Bilingual Orientation</i>	L1 viewed as problem	Enrichment
<i>Cultural Orientation</i>	Monoculture	Bicultural
<i>Linguistic ecology</i>	Shift from L1 to L2	Maintenance of L1
<i>Examples</i>	US, China	US Latinos, Western Thrace in Greece
2. Pull-out Transitional Bilingual Education		2. Elite/Prestigious Bilingual Education
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teaching national language and a language of prestige • Two languages used to varying degrees
<i>Linguistic goal</i>	Monolingualism- L2 learning	Bilingualism
<i>Target Population</i>	Minority	Majority
<i>Languages involved</i>	L2 with L1 support	L1 & L2 (language of prestige at different degrees)
<i>Bilingual Orientation</i>	L1 viewed as problem	enrichment/ gaining prestige
<i>Cultural Orientation</i>	Monocultural development	Monoculturalism / low level of biculturalism
<i>Linguistic ecology</i>	Shift from L1 to L2	Addition
<i>Examples</i>		All-day private bilingual schools
3. Integrated Transitional Bilingual Education		3. Bilingual Immersion Education

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building on children’s strengths, their language • Superiority of majority language and bilingualism on as a temporary measure 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The use of target languages as medium of instruction • Instilling a strong bicultural identity
Linguistic goal	Monolingualism- L2 learning	Bilingualism
Target Population	Minority with majority	Majority
Languages involved	L2 and L1 for a limited amount of time	L2 first and then L1- eventually both languages in the curriculum
Bilingual Orientation	Shift from immigrant languages	enrichment/ immersion
Cultural Orientation	Monoculture	Biculturalism
Linguistic ecology	Shift from L1 to L2	Addition
Examples		Quebec, private bilingual schools in Qatar

Table 1: Models of Monoglossic Bilingual Education (adapted from Garcia, 2009; Brisk, 2005)

Heteroglossic models of bi/multilingual education are on the rise as people have come to the understanding that developing multiple languages to take part in various communicative practices with multiple identities is possible (Garcia, Beatens Beardsmore, Cole & Zakharia, 2009). Furthermore, claim of language right by ethnic minorities and emphasis on linguistic ecology pave the way for inclusion of heritage languages in the curricula in the developing world. Social and economic advantages of gaining multiple linguistic skills also contribute to spread of heteroglossic models. These models have awareness of children’s access to diverse languaging practices in their communities and they try to acknowledge children’s linguistic heterogeneity by translanguaging. Heteroglossic models have to do with recursive and dynamic bilingualism. Recursive framework show the understanding that children from minority groups experience language loss. This loss can be revitalized by going back and forth in the language of ethnolinguistic communities throughout bilingual programs. In programs adopting recursive bilingual framework, children develop understanding of their histories and learn to appreciate them. At the same time, they gain acceptance of linguistic and cultural differences between their heritage language and standard language. Garcia (2009:118) notes that “Bilingualism is not the endpoint or the goal, but the core, the center of what these programs are about, and *their language policy is more than revitalization of a heritage language to raise fully fledged bilinguals* (italics added by the author).” As for dynamic theoretical framework, the ultimate goal is not bilingualism itself but the development of multilingual repertoires embracing multimodalities and multiple linguistic interrelationships among many individuals. Students engage in a program in which they share their cultural and linguistic experiences with members of the class. The outcome is the development of integration of all cultural elements, egalitarian approach to linguistic elements. This model responds to not only local but also global contexts as suggested by Mühlhäusler (2000). The core aim of the model is to enable children to use languages for functional interrelationships (Garcia, 2009) in which they do not consider language learning as separate functional allocations. Instead, the language learning process is hybrid; and bilingualism of children is a resource. The languaging process is complex and linguistic and cultural multiplicity is the goal to be attained. Programs under this theoretical framework are CLIL-type and multiple multilingual.

Models of Heteroglossic Bilingual Education					
A. <u>Recursive Bilingualism</u> <i>[Planning for revitalization of endangered minority languages; Groups developing understanding of their histories and acceptance of linguistic and cultural differences]</i>				B. <u>Dynamic Bilingualism</u> <i>[Simultaneous coexistence of different languages; development of multiple linguistic identities; the use of language for functional interrelationships]</i>	
Type	<u>Immersion Revitalization</u> <i>[moving back to non-dominant language; Revitalizing endangered language]</i>	<u>Developmental</u> <i>[two languages throughout education process; more emphasis on endangered language]</i>	<u>Poly-directional or two-way</u> <i>[benefiting from close contact btw two languages; cultural sharing; different groups learning each other's language]</i>	<u>CLIL-Type</u> <i>[use of a home language as medium of instruction for one or two subjects in addition to national language; little amount of time in curriculum]</i>	<u>Multiple multilingual</u> <i>[the use of more than two languages; linguistic and cultural multiplicity; complex languaging process;]</i>
Linguistic goal	Bilingualism	Bilingualism	Bilingualism	Bilingualism	Bilingualism/ Multilingualism
Target Population	Language minority (emergent bilinguals); different points bilingual continuum	Language minority; different points bilingual continuum	Multiple groups: different points of bilingual continuum across groups	Entire population; points of bilingual continuum within groups	Entire population; points of bilingual continuum
Languages involved	Endangered language predominantly	Emphasis on threatened language; both languages to varying degrees	Both languages across groups and two or more languages used in instruction	Two languages throughout for two or more subjects within groups	More than two languages used in curriculum, weaving languages in and out of curriculum
Bilingual Orientation	Language right	Language right	Resource for children	Resource for children	Resource for children
Cultural Orientation	Bicultural multiplicity	Bicultural multiplicity	Transculturalism	Transculturalism	Translanguaging leading to Transculturalism
Linguistic ecology	Revitalization of endangered languages	Revitalization; minority language expanding; languages side by side	Plurilingualism across groups	Plurilingualism within groups	Plurilingualism
Examples	Hawaii, Maori, Navajo	Wales, Scotland, Catalonia	France, Austria	Malaysia, Shanghai, CLIL Type	Luxembourg, Brunei, India, Hong Kong

Table 2: Models of Heteroglossic Bilingual Education (Based on Garcia, Beatens Beardsmore, Cole & Zakharia, 2009)

5. Trilingual education in Turkey

Defined as the cradle of diverse cultures, Turkey encompasses a number of ethnic groups; Arameans, Azerbaijani, Kazaks, Tatars, Ozbeks, Ossetes, Armenians, Kurds, Zazas, Laz, Arabs, Greeks, Georgians, etc. (For a detailed list see Andrews, 2002). However, schooling is carried out in one language, i.e. Turkish, which has the administrative status of the languages of the state. Multilingual repertoires of the population are not harnessed and integrated into the schooling process in that a uniformist language policy safeguards Turkey which is in fact a linguistically diverse nation. Children in Turkey do not start school education with homogenous language uses. Instead, they bring a variety of their home or community languages to the classroom. However, this '*richness*' and variety is reduced to one and children change their own practices with those of schools. Thus, rather than harnessing children's potential of capacities, school practice changes a garden full of colorful flowers into one of a single color.

In Turkey's current education system, children starting school have to leave their heritage or community language at home and learn Turkish which is medium of instruction. Children experience difficulties in getting used to a new language which is introduced in the school environment since schooling system does not build on their existing linguistic experience. The school system undermines multilingual repertoires of children (Matras, 2009) and fails to utilize them in schooling context. However, research suggests that bilingualism has positive effect on children's educational and linguistic development (Baker, 2000; Cummins, 2003). When children's home language is promoted at school, school language and home language nurture each other and children develop better thinking skills by processing information through two languages. Additionally, they develop flexibility in social relations, and develop understanding towards different cultures.

Currently, the Turkish education system adopts a monolingual and uniformist education system in contrast to bilingual education policy adopted in many countries around the world. No matter, what home language children have, they are instructed in Turkish when they enter the schooling system which can be kindergarten or the elementary level of schooling. Then, the second language, which is English, is introduced in later stages of schooling as a subject. The selection of English as a subject is due to its status as a lingua franca. However, introduction of English as a subject does not achieve bilingualism. Rather, English remains as a subject taught in schooling system and fluency is not achieved. Some private schools use English as medium of instruction in subject matters like mathematics, physics and biology. Bilingualism is achieved to a certain extent in these schools but the number of them is relatively low in all schools. Additionally, with new legislation, schooling age is lowered to 36 months old and kindergarten education is also carried out. This means children leave home at an earlier age compared to previous schooling system. In such a system, the use of children's home or community language is a necessity as their linguistic experience at home is a foundation for self-expression and accordingly development of identity. One main aim of schooling is to equip children with necessary skills of self-expression and according to psychologists it is through self-expression that one actualizes

himself or herself (Edwards, 2003; Garcia, 2009). Monolingual education decreases potential ways of expression of those with different linguistic backgrounds while multilingualism supports self-expression in an enriched manner that widens children' horizons.

In this section of paper, four main factors from an exhaustive list are presented. Then arguments for trilingual education model in Turkey are discussed.

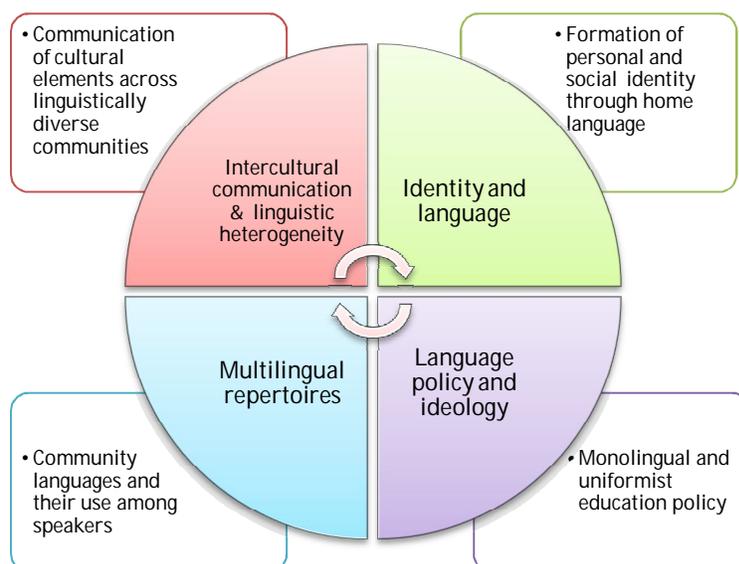


Figure 1: Variables involved in multilingual education in Turkey (Based on Cummins, 2003)

- a) **Intercultural communication:** Communication of cultural elements across linguistically diverse communities is a natural part of ‘*linguaging*’ process (Norton, 2000). Culture is intricately intertwined with language and it is omnipresent in natural communication. With its linguistic heterogeneity, Turkey is home to intercultural communication and all communities with various backgrounds communicate their cultural elements through their languages.
- b) **Identity, language and emotion:** ‘*Linguaging*’ or language practices are symbolic for ethnic communities and it is part of identity. Identity formation is actualized through language practices and language practices act as symbol systems (Fishman, 1996). Language speakers attach symbolic meaning to their heritage languages and build their personal and social identity through their heritage languages.
- c) **Multilingual repertoires:** Community languages are prominent components of daily interaction. Speakers of different communities interact with each other through their linguistic repertoires. They develop multilingual repertoires as a result of bidirectional communication between members of disparate ethnic communities. If these multilingual repertoires are impeded by schooling environment, speakers may show resistance towards standard language in schooling practice.
- d) **Language policy and ideology:** Language policy of a country is shaped by politics. Around the world, less than 25 percent of more than 200 countries or political entities

recognize two or more official languages (Tucker, 1998). Nonetheless, not all countries are bold enough to accept languages rights of their population. Turkey adopts a standard national language policy in order to deal with its heterogeneous population and unite population under the umbrella term of Turkish. Furthermore, Turkification is imposed on culturally and linguistically diverse population due to ideological considerations. The ideological considerations prevent multilingual schooling scenarios.

Not all social groups have a degree of agency and aspiration for their children's education (Cummins, 2003). Kurdish community does not have agency but do have strong aspiration to educate their children in their heritage language that they consider as representative of their identity. Ethnic communities from different linguistic backgrounds like Zazaki, Sorani, Gorani, Arabic, Syrani, also have strong desire to maintain their languages across different generations but some fail to do so, especially the ones who migrate to different regions in Turkey for better living conditions and job opportunities. The families who were not able to teach their native language to their children want to revitalize their languages that they could not transfer to younger generations. Taking all these into account, we propose a model in which linguistic diversity of population is harnessed. In this part of the paper, a model which has taken cultural and linguistic heterogeneity of children into account is proposed and discussed by providing supporting reasons. Trilingual model contains children's home languages, official language and an international language. In very first years, the first three languages are taught by translanguaging process. Children from different linguistic backgrounds work together in groups to learn each other's languages. For example, children with Turkish linguistic background work collaboratively with children with Kurdish linguistic and cultural background. They develop literacy in both languages in natural classroom environment. At the same time, the third language is introduced to curriculum as children have the ability to develop competence in many languages with less effort than adult learners. Stories and songs are the best methods of teaching and learning languages in childhood. Then in schooling process, fourth language is introduced as a subject. In the present schooling conditions, an international language such as German and French is introduced to the school system in which they are taught as a subject. However, as they are restrained to classroom environment, fluency in these languages is not achieved. In our model, fourth language introduced should be taught through more intensive hours and should be part of medium of instruction as well.

Language practice in three or more languages is highly intricate and should be handled with great care in that it is not as straightforward as education in a standard national language. Languageing process should be accompanied by transcultural development that contains understanding and appreciation of cultures belonging to different languages. The aim of the present model is multilingualism not monolingualism. Children develop literacy and fluency in three languages and use them actively in natural languageing contexts. In this model, literacy level and communication patterns are also analyzed and elaborated. Translanguaging process commences at kindergarten between the ages of 3-5. At this stage, children from different language back-

grounds work in groups. For example, children with Turkish and Kurdish linguistic backgrounds work in groups and communicate with each other. Children help each other simply by communicating in their mother tongues so that the classroom turns into a natural languaging environment. Home languages are recognized as a resource in languaging process. The role of instructor is to mediate between children with different linguistic backgrounds. Languaging process is supported by stories told in two languages; Turkish and Kurdish. Children enjoy having stories read to them. Additionally, an international language, in this case English, is introduced simultaneously with home and national language. Third language is taught verbally with basic vocabulary expressions. Authentic materials, videos, songs are employed in teaching third language as there should be utmost exposure to the target language which is not the natural language of society. First period is preliteracy in which children build up symbolic representation (Bialystok, 2001). This period is also identified with development of receptive skills such as listening and comprehension in the target languages. Code-mixing and code-switching are integral part of classroom communication. Children code-mix between languages fluently after exposure to languages in the class and code-mixing is followed by code-switching.

Second stage has to do with introduction of writing systems of home and national language, i.e. administrative language. The age range is 6-8. In the very first year of elementary school, writing systems of home and national language are taught. Equal amount of time is allocated for two languages and classroom communication is full of high rate of code-switching and communication of cultural elements. International language is also taught verbally and % 20 of instruction is allocated to teach it. At this level, monolingual Turkish children work with bilingual children and learn their languages in a natural language learning environment (Rehbein, 2012, 2013). Languages are woven together and their sound systems are developed by children. Intercultural communication is practiced not only in classroom context but also in outer social circles. This stage is recognized as early reading by Bialystok (2001) in which children learn the rules to decode the written system into familiar sounds of the spoken language.

Next stage covers the ages between 8-12 at which children are actively engaged with the use of three languages in the instruction process. After the introduction of writing systems of two languages, writing system of a third language is taught in the third year of elementary school. With the introduction of writing system in the third language, medium of instruction is carried equally in three languages. This stage is titled as fluent reading (Bialystok, 2001) and the meaning of text takes priority. Children begin to use written texts for receiving and expressing ideas. Different subjects like Math, Science are taught in three languages. Both verbal and written communication is carried out in all languages. Intercultural communication is also emphasized throughout this process. For this, introductory courses giving information about cultural elements of three languages can be offered. Each culture course should be conducted in the language in which culture gains meaning.

In the following stage, students make use of three languages interactively and medium of instruction is carried in all languages with different subjects. For example, Kurdish literature is

taught in Kurdish and this is the same with Turkish literature. The language of science and technology classes can be English. At this level, courses should be tailored to the needs of the students. A large number of elective courses can be offered by schools so that the students can choose the courses that they are interested in. Teachers should be bilingual or multilingual in this process as they act as facilitators and guide the students throughout the process. The students move their multilingual repertoires out of school context such as playground, daily social communication, and so on. Below is a table displaying stages and components of a trilingual education model for Turkey which is based on HELIX Model of Multilingualism (Rehbein, 2013).

Stages of Introduction		Trilingual Education Model for Turkey			Communication Patterns and Literacy levels
Age	School Year	Home language	National Language	An international Language	
3-5	Kindergarten	Home language is used naturally in class with national language which is used in formal communication, and on TV. Also basic vocabulary and expressions in international language are introduced simultaneously and verbally through games, videos, and realia.			Comprehension and speaking in home language and national language. Development of receptive skills in international language and verbal communication at basic level. Code-mixing and code-switching in classes at communication level.
6-8	Elementary school	Writing systems of both home language and national languages are introduced at the very beginning of 1 st class. Medium of instruction is done in both languages. (E.g. Kurdish and Turkish are medium of instruction). International language is still taught by focusing on speaking and listening skills (Children communicate in international language but do not read and write).			Speaking, listening, reading and writing in home language and national. Both receptive and productive skills are developed in two languages. Both languages become part of schooling in the first two years of schooling. Intercultural communication is supported in school and outer social circles.
8-12	Elementary school Classes 3-4	Writing system of international language is introduced in the 3 rd year of elementary school. Home language and national language are medium of instruction in the 4 th class.			Verbal and written communication in all languages. Intensive instruction in international language resulting in development of productive skills in international language.
12-15	Secondary school Classes 5-8	Introduction of various subjects (E.g. Science, Math, social classes) in three languages. Home language, national, and international languages used as medium of instruction. Languages are assigned to different subjects. For example, Kurdish is used to teach Kurdish Literature, Turkish is used to teach history and English is used in Technology and Communication classes.			Development of knowledge-base in three languages. Achievement of multilingual repertoires in all languages. Productive skills at a competent level among students in and out of school context.
15-18	High school Classes 9-12	All schooling is carried in home language, national, and international languages.			Development of multilingual repertoires.
Outcome	Full multiple literacy in home language, national, and international languages. Not necessarily native-speaker proficiency in all languages. Dynamic learning process of which aim is to equip the students with diverse linguistic and cultural knowledge of all languages.				Transcultural development and fluent communication of ideas among students.

Table 3: A Trilingual Model for Schooling in Community Languages used in Turkey (based on the Helix Model of Multilingualism, s. Rehbein, 2010, 2012, & 2013).

The last stage matches with high school education. The students develop multilingual repertoires in three languages. The process of language learning is not finalized but moved to an extended level in which linguistic and cultural multiplicity is highly valued. The learning process is dynamic at this level in that the students have active roles in their learning process. The students can participate in exchange programs so that they can practice international language in authentic languaging environment. Exchange students can travel to the countries in which international language is spoken, e.g. Germany, or England for short periods of time like three months so that communication of the culture of a third language is guaranteed with the help of contact with the target community. Finally, the outcome of this process is multiple literacies in home, national, and international languages. The students, however, are not necessarily expected to develop native-speaker fluency in all languages. They develop communication skills in all languages learnt throughout the languaging process.

As shown above, languaging process is accompanied by exchange of cultural elements from all languages involved in teaching process. The process of developing multilingualism is full of challenges in which many problems may arise. Training teachers for this burdensome process is the first step and factor in translanguaging process. Many other factors come into play such as language policy, resources, curriculum development, teacher education, development of instruction techniques, and so forth but if Turkey takes initiative steps by changing its language policy, other potential problems may be overcome easily.

6. Conclusion

This paper presents an overview of bi/multilingual education models by providing some reasons for multilingualism. Factors that are supported by the arguments for conduct of multilingual education are also discussed. Among these are language policy and ideologies, identity and language, intercultural communication among the linguistically diverse ethnic communities, and the multilingual repertoire of Turkish population. By considering all the factors and the arguments, we can arrive at the conclusion that Turkish education system should adopt a system which accommodates the linguistic heterogeneity of the children rather than undermining already existing repertoires of children.

To meet the needs of the linguistically diverse population, bi/multilingual teacher training programs should be developed so that the teachers take initiative roles in the application of multilingual schooling. The programs that educate teachers to use the languages spoken by the population (i.e., Kurdish, Arabic, Lazuri, Zazaki, Syrani, and so on) should be offered so that the bedrock of multilingual schooling and education can be built. But until then hiring bilingual teachers who are the members of the ethnolinguistic groups themselves and who are deeply familiar with the home language practices and the culture is a wise option to opt for. Bilingual teachers from the community can code-switch back and forth enabling communication with chil-

dren both in their home languages and the administrative language, i.e., Turkish. Being competent in both languages bilingual teachers can facilitate and speed up the learning process. The role of home language is not only to teach the administrative language but also to gain prestige in the community with its inclusion into literacy. Multilingual education programs to be implemented should be dynamic models in which three or more languages are used interactively and communication of cultural elements is highly valued.

Allowing linguistically diverse communities to speak with their own voices is the ultimate aim of multilingualism and multilingual schooling. And in the world of a global village, the genie of multilinguality is out of the bottle and will not be put back again. Thus, policy makers should overcome their political-ideological fears and prepare necessary conditions for the development of multilingualism which has a large number of social, cultural, economic, and cognitive benefits. Dispelling fears is the most rational option in the present century, in which one can opt for multilingualism for educational reasons, employment opportunities, better living conditions, or simply intellectual needs. Bilingual acquisition does not pose any challenge for children; instead, children have the capacity to acquire two or more languages faster particularly when they are exposed to target languages in their natural contexts.

All in all, multilingualism has benefits at many levels particularly at societal and personal level. I would like to conclude with a quotation from Wei (2000:11): “For a linguistically diverse country to maintain the ethnic-group languages alongside the national or official languages can prove to be an effective way to motivate individuals while unifying the nation. Additionally, a multiethnic society is arguably richer, more exciting and stimulating place to live *than a community with only one dominant language*” (italics added by the author). Thus, Turkish policy makers should initiate ample steps in order to benefit from the multilingual repertoires of Turkish population and raise a generation that will benefit from societal, economic, and most importantly intellectual advantages of multilingualism.

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